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Time, Space, and Sanctity in the Early South English Legendary

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<u>Abstract</u>

This thesis studies one of the earliest extant and most important manuscripts of
the extensive and widely circulated Middle English hagiographical collection
conventionally known as the *South English Legendary.* Asserting that the
organisational principles of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108 are no
less conscious than later *SEL* manuscripts and are in fact frequently more complex
and involved in MS L than in other *SEL* manuscripts, this thesis offers a detailed
reading of MS L's structure and compositional templates. Moreover, rather than
seeking to force MS L to conform to "normal" *SEL* patterns, this thesis examines
MS L on its own terms. Arguing that MS L is not merely an early, erratic witness
to the evolution of the *SEL*, the thesis demonstrates that MS L is part of a branch
of the *SEL* stemma that includes Winchester College 33A. With special emphasis
on the legend of *Sancta Crux*, a new approach to MS L's texts is presented based
upon the Bakhtinian narrative theories of the chronotope, heteroglossia, and
dialogism. In addition, I argue that MS L adheres to liturgical or "horizontal" time
far more than scholars previously have suggested and that it also incorporates
spiritual or "vertical" time in a number of its texts. Furthermore, the
characteristics of "recreation," "re-creation," "naming," and "re-naming" in MS
L's texts are discussed in relation to medieval church dedication practices and
modernist literary theory, particularly that of Gertrude Stein. I also conjecture a
possible audience for MS L and discuss intrinsic and extrinsic textual
communities.

Time, Space, and Sanctity in the Early *South English Legendary*

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Thesis submitted for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy

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Durham University

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

"A"   Manfred Görlach's delineation of an
                        SEL redaction largely influenced by
                        the *Legenda Aurea*

aa   "St Agatha"

BHL   *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina: Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis.*
             Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1898-1901. Print.

cp   "St Christopher"

EETS e.s.   Early English Text Society
                        Extra Series

EETS o.s.   Early English Text Society
                        Original Series

EETS s.s.   Early English Text Society
                        Supplementary Series

Havelok   *The Lay of Havelok the Dane.*
                        Eds. Frederic Madden and Walter Skeat
                        London: Trubner, 1868. Print.

Horn   *King Horn*. Ed. Joseph Hall.
                        Oxford: Clarence Press, 1901. Print.

HBS   *Henry Bradshaw Society*

Infancy   *Infancy of Christ (Kindheit Jesu)*
                        in *Altenglisch Legenden*.
                        Ed. Carl Horstmann.
                        Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1875. Print.

jc   "St Julian the Confessor"

LAEME   Laing, Margaret, ed.
            A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325.
            Version 3.2. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh. 2013. Web.

LALME   McIntosh, Angus, M.L. Samuels, Michael Benskin,
            Margaret Laing, and Keith Williamson, eds.

almost complete" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 60)

Vernon Manuscript	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1
YoB	*Breviarium Ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis.* Durham UK: Surtees Society, 1880-1883. Print. 71, 75.
"Z"	Manfred Görlach's delineation of the original *SEL* collection from which Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108 descended.

DECLARATION

Parts of Chapter III of this thesis previously were published as "*Sancta Crux*: Time-Space for Contemplation and Crusade" in *Freond ic gemete wið: A Student Conference on the Middle Ages in Britain*, Ed. Helena Filipova, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Publishers, 2011.

STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

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years of my PhD studies. Without that fellowship, I could not have drawn as much inspiration for writing my PhD as I did from living in Durham where remnants of the Middle Ages cling yet in the forms of narrow, cobblestone vennels and a Norman Cathedral (where I could frequently visit St Cuthbert's shrine and that of the Venerable Bede) and Castle. I am extremely grateful to the late principal of St Chad's, Rev Canon Dr "Papa" Joseph Cassidy for selecting me for the Fellowship.

Among other fellow-PhD pilgrims, I owe special thanks to my good friends Peter Okeno Ong'are and Naomi Hoogesteger. Peter gave me my doctoral graduation present several years ago - and informed me that I had to finish my PhD because he had already given me my graduation present. Naomi Hoogesteger unfailing accompanied me to the St Chad's SCR after every Formal to eat the leftover cheese, talk about our lives, and pester me about how far I was along with the PhD/when I was graduating.

I also am indebted to my undergraduate professors at Mary Baldwin College (Staunton, Virginia, USA) English department who helped to nurture my love of English literature and have cheered me on every step of the way. Thank you, Katherine Turner, Frank Southerington, Robert Grotjohn, Molly Petty, Rick Plant, and Sarah Kennedy for all that you invested in me. Long may your tribe increase!

Strange though it may seem, I also owe a great deal of thanks to the very obstinate Russian children that I tutored from 2013-2014. I hope that they learned something of English language and literature from me that will stay with them their entire lives. They taught me some important life lessons as well. Perhaps the most important lesson that they taught me was the criticality of believing in oneself when going through great difficulty, such as the last stages of a PhD. Whenever I asked them to cease inappropriate behaviour (such as destroying the prize rose bushes at a French chateau in which we stayed at one point), they responded, "And we just will [do whatever they were doing]!" Although it was a trying attitude to encounter at the time, the children's words have become useful to me. As I was finishing my PhD and feeling as if I could not continue, I repeated

within my mind, "And I just will!" Thank you, Taisia, Deni, and Danya. You were an unexpected inspiration.

Last, but not by any means least, I owe a tremendous debt of thanks to my mother. Although not academically inclined in the slightest and having only attended school until she was fourteen-years-old, she has always been interested in my academic endeavours. Having that kind of quiet support during the last stages of writing up my PhD has been invaluable, and I am very grateful to my mom.

Many other friends and scholars have supported me in various ways throughout the duration of my PhD, and I am grateful to all of them. Thank you for your support, and, as it says – in some shape or form - at the end of many of the saints' lives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108, when our lives on earth have ended, may God "helpe us and alle is pilegrimes: and bringue us to heouene blis."

DEDICATION

For my mother, Betty Kinsinger. Also for my nephews Toby and Shad and my nieces Wilda and Maya who continually bring me joy. May you far outpace me in all that you do.

INTRODUCTION

Saints, their shrines, and the communities surrounding them played an integral role in Christian life in the Middle Ages. Within Europe as well as in Britain, saints were understood as liminal figures who "were both in heaven and ever-present" functioning as "both role models and intercessors, alien and distanced; their bodies stretched across the spaces between life and death, heaven and earth" (Salih 1). As Peter Brown writes, "in Christian circles, tombs, fragments of bodies or, even, physical objects that had made contact with these bodies—were privileged places, where the contrasted poles of Heaven and Earth met" (Brown, *The Cult of Saints* 3). The resulting popularity of saints meant that "They pervaded the landscape: their names, images and narratives were attached to buildings, geographical features, parishes, guilds and towns" (Salih, *Companion* 1).

The mystery surrounding these sacred remains inspired a large number of writings concerning the saints, their shrines, and their relics. Perhaps the best known of these is Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*; such works are also represented in monumental form in the hagiographical collection known as the *Acta Sanctorum*. Such collections included saints "from all the places and times of Christendom" (Salih, *Companion* 1). The sources of these collections firstly were scripture with its accounts of the early Christians and apostles, and in the case of native British saints who were included "may be Christianisations of pre-Christian deities or spirits of place" (Salih, *Companion* 2). Granted, many of the British saints who were included also were "historical persons – the monk Cuthbert, the king Edmund, the abbess Mildred" (Salih, *Companion* 2). These collections generally were organized according to the liturgical calendar and may have been used as compendiums from which material for sermons were drawn. Jacobus's compilation was written in Latin but similar compilations in most European languages quickly followed the publication of the *Legenda Aurea* (Reames, *Legenda Aurea* 4). One

collection in particular which was compiled in the south of England and derived inspiration from Jacobus's hagiographical narratives and other anonymous *legenda* close to Sarum Use was the *South English Legendary* (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 46; Reames, "Latin Models" 251-270). Like the texts of the Katherine Group (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 34), this tradition's texts generally "are closely related to a Latin source or sources" (Huber and Robertson, "Introduction to the Katherine Group").[1] Unlike the Katherine Group texts, however, which are known to have been "Produced in an area of Scandinavian settlement on the Welsh marches, far from metropolitan and regal centers, and "designed to cater to the needs of a predominantly English-reading audience" with "the authors' proximity to prominent religious establishments such as Hereford Cathedral and Wigmore Abbey [allowing] them to draw on the latest theological developments" (Huber and Robertson, "Introduction to the Katherine Group"), it is difficult to discern the provenance of manuscripts of the *SEL* tradition.

It is worth noting that in the north of England in the early part of the fourteenth century, several manuscripts comprising the *North English Legendary* or *North English Homily Collection* also were composed. The provenance of the collection is uncertain with identities of the poet and his intended audience remaining unknown. The *North English Legendary* has "hitherto been considered an independent compilation" (Gerould, "The North-English Homily Collection" 95),[2] and Gordon Gerould once believed that he had discovered a connection between the *North English Legendary* and "the Anglo-French poem entitled *Miroir* or *Les evangiles des domeés...* written by Robert Gretham about 1250" (Gerould, "The North-English Homily Collection" 95). Gerould found "much evidence of almost word-for-word

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[1] Although the Katherine Group manuscript is considerably smaller than manuscripts of the *SEL* tradition, it seems likely that the manuscripts could have shared a common audience. The audience of the Katherine Group texts may have been "Englishmen and women of the thirteenth century [who] enjoyed reading the lives of both male and female saints, whether the protagonists were of local origin (e.g., the early English saints Cuthbert and Aethelthryth) or historically and geographically remote (e.g., the fourth-century Juliana of Nicomedia), or even of doubtful historical existence" (Huber and Robertson, "Introduction to the Katherine Group"). Possible audiences for one early *SEL* manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108) are discussed in Chapters I and VII of this thesis. This *SEL* manuscript also includes one of the texts of the Katherine Group manuscript: "The Martyrdom of St Katherine."

[2] I believe that the primary manuscript examined in this thesis, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108, like the *North English Legendary*, also was an independent compilation rather than part of a tradition and discuss this in Chapter II.

paraphrase" (Thompson, *The Northern Homily Cycle*), but later was reluctant to state with certainty that the *North English Legendary* derived from the "series of metrical homilies [Gretham wrote] in Anglo-Norman for every Sunday of the year" (Thompson, *The Northern Homily Cycle*). More recently, Anne Thompson has examined the Duncan-Connolly edition which presented the *Miroir* alongside its potential *North English Legendary* descendant. Thompson's conclusion coincided with Gerould's later concession, and she noted that "the overall correspondence between the two is not great. The prologue is entirely different and there are no overlapping *exempla*" (Thompson, *Northern Homily Cycle*).

Like the *North English Legendary*, the *South English Legendary* tradition contains a large number of English saints' lives, but strangely little can be stated with absolute certainty about the ultimate sources of the hagiographic and homiletic texts that comprise the collective that came to be known as the *SEL* tradition. German scholar Carl Horstmann was the first to call the collection by this name and does so in his edition of the sanctorale of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108. He includes a footnote which far too often is overlooked: "The title of the complete collection was perhaps the Mirrour of Saints Lives" (Horstmann vii). In his 2011 essay "The South English Legend<u>arie</u>s," Thomas Liszka comments on the tendency among scholars to borrow Horstmann's naming of the lives without taking into consideration the ramifications of the renaming. Liszka also argues that the so-called South English Legendary might more aptly be called the South English Legend<u>arie</u>s (Liszka, "The South English Legend<u>arie</u>s," 23-65).

Despite the Collection's puzzling provenance, one fact appears definite: the manuscripts of saints' lives that form the *South English Legendary* were quite well-received in their time. As Anne Thompson aptly writes, "This collection was popular with—well, we have really have no idea with whom—but someone, apparently, as over sixty manuscript copies of it had been made by the end of the fifteenth century" (Thompson, *Everyday Saints* 3), and Manfred Görlach notes as well that it "must have been one of the most popular vernacular [collections]… as the number of the extant manuscripts, the variation in the contents, and the wide geographic distribution over the South of England and parts of the Midlands indicate" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 1). As it stands today, "by number of extant

manuscripts alone, the *South English Legendary* (*SEL*) is among the most popular texts of the English Middle Ages, alongside *The Wycliffite Bible*, *The Prick of Conscience*, the *Prose Brut* and *The Canterbury Tales*" (Blurton and Wogan-Browne 3).

The provenance of the entire *SEL* collection poses an enigma to scholars, but no manuscript of the collection does so more than Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108 (hearafter MS L). Like other *SEL* manuscripts, MS L bears witness to the popularity of hagiography from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in England while continuing to puzzle scholars with its organizational principles or perceived lack thereof. MS L's assumed lack of organization is closely linked to the fact that later *SEL* manuscripts include more texts and follow the liturgical calendar more closely than MS L does.[3] This confusion is further complicated by 1) uncertainty about the author(s) of the manuscript, 2) uncertainty about language and dialect, 3) uncertainty about the intended audience(s) of the manuscript, and 4) uncertainty about the manuscript's purpose.

Authorship

If the authorship questions of the *SEL* could be resolved, it might be easier to conjecture who the audience of MS L might also have been.[4] Unfortunately, discovering the composer(s) of MS L and other *SEL* manuscripts has thus far proved elusive. The scribes of the *SEL*, like other medieval writers in the vernacular, do not identify themselves, neither do they provide overt clues to similar collections that they use as sources or give hints as to the intended range of texts that they planned to include in their manuscripts, although they do cursorily describe the types of texts that will be included. Despite the difficulties inherent in determining *SEL* authorship and audience, scholars have persisted in trying to discern who wrote MS L and the capacity in which the manuscript was used. Several candidates have

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[3] MS L does not precisely conform to later *SEL* conventions. It appears to have a slightly different selection template from other manuscripts, and this different compilation approach also suggests a different attitude towards the function of time in narrative and compilation than other manuscripts of the tradition. See chapters II and V for further discussion of MS L's selection template and time within the manuscript.
[4] Within the context of the *SEL* tradition, the term "author" refers to scribes or copyists of individual legends and manuscripts.

been suggested, and Manfred Görlach summarizes many of them in his detailed study titled *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary*.

Candidates for the authorship of the *SEL*, and consequently MS L, have been suggested for nearly every known medieval English religious house. The arguments for associations with specific religious houses typically draw upon the little that is known about the latest manuscripts of the *SEL* tradition. For example, there is some evidence that *SEL* manuscripts were used by Augustinian canons. MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 145 is known to have been bequeathed to John Kateryngton who was an Augustinian canon at the Priory of Southwick in the fifteenth century. Leicester City Museum MS 18, D 59 is closely related to MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 145 in its construction and therefore may also have been used by Augustinian monks. A manuscript unrelated to the MS C branch, British Museum, MS Harley 2277 is known to have been used been at Combe Florey which is near Taunton where there was an Augustinian house in the sixteenth century (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 45). Laurel Braswell also acknowledged the possibility that Augustinian canons or secular clergy might have authored some *SEL* manuscripts (Braswell, "Saint Edburga," 292-333).

A Cistercian connection to production of the *SEL* has also been suggested. According to Görlach, the Vernon Manuscript in Oxford's Bodleian Library seems to have been compiled at Bordesley, Worcestershire, where there was a Cistercian abbey. It also has been suggested that Cambridge, Magdelene College, MS Pepys 2344 may also have been compiled by Cistercians as its inscription reads "Master Bollar at Swyneshe(d)". Görlach also tentatively asserts that this "*might* refer to the Cistercian abbey" of Swineshead, Lincolnshire (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 46).

Some *SEL* manuscripts could even have been composed by Premonstratensians, although evidence of precisely which manuscripts now is unknown. The library catalogue of the monastery at Titchfield records that in the fifteenth century the library's holdings included a "*legenda aurea in anglicis*" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 46). Görlach notes that the reference to this manuscript of saints' lives written in English is too early to be associated with either *Mirk's Festial* or the *Gilte Legende* which suggests that this manuscript may well have been one of the many circulating *SEL* manuscripts at that time. David N. Bell

concurs with Görlach in his *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians* including an entry for Titchfield that states that the abbey had a "Legenda sanctorum que dicitur Aurea in anglicis". Bell notes that this is "Probably one of the versions of the *South English Legendary*" and cites "ed. C. D'Evelyn and A. J. Mill, EETS 235, 236, 244 (1956-59); J.B. Severs (ed.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400* (Hamden 1970), 2. 413-8, 556-7" (Bell 200). It is also of interest that the Titchfield library had many manuscripts of individual Latin saints' lives, perhaps suggesting that this library could have been one of the libraries on which the *SEL* compilers relied for Latin sources when English exemplars were unavailable.

At least one *SEL* manuscript, London, Lambeth Palace, MS 223, is known to have been privately owned by one Thomas Wotton, and Görlach states that this led to conjecture by Theodor Wolpers and Laurel Braswell that other *SEL* manuscripts also were privately commissioned. It has also been suggested that if MS L had a private owner at one time, the manuscript may have been commissioned by a guild. Christina Fitzgerald has discussed the connection between guild ownership of MS L and the fifteenth-century owner of the manuscript. A fifteenth-century London merchant appears to have owned MS L as the manuscript's inscription attests:

> …it begins, "Iste liber constat" in one hand, then, in a later hand (dated c. 1450-75 by A.I. Doyle), over an erasure, it reads, "Henrico Perueys, testantibus Iohanni Rede presbitero, Willelmo Rotheley, et aliis". (Fitzgerald 87)

Henry Perveys was a London draper during the fifteenth century, and Fitzgerald's argument for Perveys's ownership of the manuscript is drawn from the texts chosen for inclusion in the manuscript. Fitzgerald argues that, "In the combination of romantic, devotional, and moral texts of L, the ideology to which the manuscript contributes is an acquisitive one that takes elements from a variety of masculine ways of being" (Fitzgerald 96). She further writes that "Perhaps the solemnity of the association of this manuscript with Perveys also manifests an appropriative desire for the authority of both court and church and constructs an idea of

masculinity that is dependent on and compiled from public homosocial relationships between a variety of men" (Fitzgerald 96). Through comparing a number of other *SEL* manuscripts containing L texts,[5] Fitzgerald concludes that, "Together the collection of manuscripts described here, each one with poems sharing interchangeable couplets with 'Be þou nauȝt to bolde to blame' and some sharing lines with each other, suggests L's connection to a network of texts and readers larger and more dynamic than previously thought". She also writes that this network of texts and readers "puts L into a textual community of real and imagined counsellors and advisees, particularly men, across time and space" (Fitzgerald 112). Her conclusion about the texts of MS L and the textual community with which it finds itself in dialogue complements Horstmann's earlier deduction that MS L, as an early manuscript of the *SEL* tradition, helped the collection to grow "slowly, and expand […] by degrees, round [*sic*] a first nucleus; it was the work of many decades of years, of many collaborators" (Horstmann viii).

Fitzgerald is almost certainly correct about the network of texts and readers that contributed to the *SEL* collection and to MS L, but her conclusion that MS L appealed especially to men may be disputed. Fitzgerald largely bases her argument for a male mercantile audience for MS L on the fact that the manuscript includes the romances of *Havelok* and *Horn* who she rightly identifies as liminal figures. Yet, she neglects to take into account the significant number of women saints (eleven total) included in MS L and their centrality to the manuscript itself.[6] If, in fact, a merchant or merchants wanted a manuscript that included characters with whom they could identify (Fitzgerald argues that the liminality of *Havelok* and *Horn* appeals to Perveys's plight as an orphan as well as to the inbetweenness or liminality of his mercantile work - buying, selling, trading, all things constantly in a state of flux) it would seem that he/they possibly would choose a manuscript less sympathetic to women. Perhaps some truth lies in the idea that Henry Perveys would have been interested in reading about how the psychological workings of

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[5] Among the manuscripts that Fitzgerald compares with MS L are Harley 2252; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 328; Windsor, St George's Chapel, MS E.1.1; London, British Library, MS Harley 665; and Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354.

[6] The female saints' lives of MS L primarily are clustered in the centre of the manuscript, a characteristic that could possibly be used to argue for a feminist reading of MS L.

romantic heroes mirrored his own life experiences, but an examination of MS L, suggests that Perveys's and other MS L owners' interest in the manuscript's texts extended beyond an interest only in the romances of *Havelok* and *Horn*.

Convincing arguments also have been made for Benedictine composition of *SEL* manuscripts. Among the chief proponents for Benedictine authorship have been Carl Horstmann, J.E. Wells (who was much influenced by Horstmann),[7] and G.H. Gerould. Gerould went so far as to say that the *SEL* was read by Benedictine monks at mealtimes, but Görlach is quick to dismiss this claim, saying that there is no evidence for this. Görlach also is dismissive of the assumption that the Benedictines would have used the hagiographic accounts to instruct the laity because this is contradicted by "the factual neglect of the few parishes served by monks in the 13 C" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 47). Görlach pares the argument for Benedictine authorship down to two points: 1) Benedictine libraries were known for the quantities of books that they contained and 2) the area that the *SEL* traditionally is associated with (Worcestershire and Gloucestershire) had an enviable number of Benedictine monasteries from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

Perhaps the most compelling argument put forward for authorship of the *SEL* is that of fraternal compilation. Proponents of fraternal authorship have included Beatrice Brown, Minnie Wells, and William Hinnebusch. In her 1927 edition of the *Southern Passion*, Beatrice Brown made a particularly convincing case for fraternal authorship of manuscripts such as those comprising the *SEL* collection. Brown first considered arguments as to the *SEL*'s provenance beginning with the premise that *SEL* manuscripts must necessarily have been composed in monasteries because monks were known for their erudition and monasteries often held large libraries. Brown acknowledged that monasteries held everything needed to create a physical manuscript, that is, a "library, scriptorium, a group of educated persons with leisure at command" (Brown xcv). Brown noted, nonetheless, that although monasteries themselves would have been perfect places for the creation

of *SEL* manuscripts, "The difficulty that presents itself primarily is this: the *South English Legendary* appears to have been written for a purpose which is not historically consistent with any of the known activities of a thirteenth-century monastic house" (Brown xcv). She argued that monks and nuns themselves would not have used the collections themselves and neither would they have written the manuscripts to instruct parish churches under their care.

She bases her argument upon the fact that the scribes' decision to write the *SEL* in the vernacular suggests an uneducated lay audience and not a monastic one. Furthermore, the *SEL*'s composition in English coupled with historical evidence that monasteries tended to neglect the spiritual welfare of churches under their care, instead looking upon them "as sources of revenue by the monasteries, rather than as [spiritual] responsibilities" (Brown xcvii), seals Brown's argument. On those bases, therefore, Brown concludes that it is unlikely that a monastery would either have used such manuscripts itself or produced the collections to minister to those under its spiritual care.

Brown's argument for fraternal composition mainly hinges upon assumptions about the nature of the congregations targeted by friars. Brown argues that the contents of the Legendaries "compel the conclusion that the work was intended for the oral instruction of 'lewed folk'" (Brown xcvii). This argument carries a great deal of weight especially where MS L is concerned as the manuscript contains part of a *temporale* sequence (the beginning folios of MS L sustained damage at some point), a large *sanctorale* section, two romances, and some poems which were later added. The presence of the romances especially supports Brown's hypothesis that the Legendaries were intended for "lewed" audiences as it appears unlikely that such stories would be common reading within a monastery.

Manfred Görlach appears to have agreed with Brown only partially in the case of the *SEL* manuscripts, suggesting only one manuscript (MS L) with the possibility of a distinctly lay audience. Görlach stated that "the scorn the "A" prologue pours on romances suggests a slightly different audience [to that of MS L]: [it] is offered as a pious substitute for the too worldly interests of people accustomed to listen to romances" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 7). This comment suggests that he felt that the majority of the *SEL* manuscripts were appropriate

reading for those interested in more pious matters (perhaps a monastic community with lay members), but that MS L, in contrast, was not strictly compiled for monastic audiences.

Among other candidates who might have composed or commissioned the manuscripts of the *SEL* collections, Brown considers secular canons and chaplains, a private reader or wealthy landowner who might have commissioned the book for personal or household reading—perhaps around the supper table after a day's work was done. Brown systematically rules out each of the previous possibilities, leaving the friars as the most likely candidates for creating and circulating *SEL* manuscripts.

On the basis of her interpretation of textual evidence, Brown dismisses the possibility of secular clergy having composed the *SEL* and similar manuscripts. Various passages in the *Southern Passion* mock the clergy, and Brown thinks it unlikely that if secular clergy produced the *Southern Passion* and the *SEL* that they would mock themselves. As she writes, "we can hardly suppose that the secular clergy would put forth a work which contained expressions reflecting on their order, and which could not be employed by a priest without considerable editing" (Brown xcviii).

Similarly, Brown discounts the possibility that a wealthy landowner might have commissioned the *SEL*. She contends that "An audience of actual listeners appears to be repeatedly recognized" (Brown xcvi) and this is particularly true in the case of *Havelok the Dane* where the readers are invoked at the beginning of the tale: "Herkneth to me, gode men -/ Wives, maydnes, and alle men -/ Of a tale that ich you wile telle/ Wo so it wile here and therto dwelle" (1-4). Because such a varying group of people is instructed to listen, it seems clear that this particular tale is, if not all of the texts of MS L are, at the very least, imagined for and addressed to implied listeners-- and perhaps these implied listeners are a church congregation.

On those grounds, Brown concludes that the mocking nature of some phrases found in the texts of the *SEL* coupled with the emphasis on readers suggests fraternal authorship. Friars served as missionaries to the lay community, and because of the simplicity of *SEL* texts and the fact that they are written in the vernacular, the friars "present perhaps the most reasonable solution for the puzzle of the purpose and authorship of the *South English Legendary*" (Brown xcviii).

10

Brown states that although the parish priest would find the texts commonly contained in the *SEL* difficult to incorporate into the mass, "the preaching friar would find in them sermons 'made to his hand'". The varying lengths of legends lent themselves to friarly adaptation for use in the "out-of-doors, in tavern porches or open fields, when, as often happened, the parish priest refused them the use of his church" (Brown xcviii).

The argument for fraternal authorship seems to me a valid one but leaves some questions to be answered. As Brown herself acknowledges, if one narrows the authorship answer to "friars," the question then becomes, what kind of friars? Would they have been Dominican or Franciscan? Görlach writes that, "If mendicant authorship of the whole or of portions of the *SEL* were admitted, it would be doubtful whether Dominican and Franciscan contributions could be distinguished…they had become very similar in the late 13 C" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 49-50). It is interesting to note that, in line with Görlach's observation, the evidence of *SEL* manuscripts does not favour one order over another. Where Dominican versus Franciscan interests are concerned, the two orders are placed on the same level, with the inclusion of the lives of both St Dominic and St Francis. Neither order is exalted above the other in the narrations of the lives of their founders.

For Brown, the practical functionality of the *SEL* manuscripts (and this is especially true of later manuscripts which employ the liturgical calendar to order the saints' lives) suggests Dominicans, and she ends her introduction to the *Southern Passion* with the observation that "it is not to be forgotten that the great contemporary collection, compiled independently in Italy--the *Legenda Aurea*--to which the English collection corresponds in general plan and outline of context, was the work of a Dominican, Jacobus Voragine" (Brown cx).

Görlach, while still acknowledging the temptation to attribute *SEL* manuscripts to Dominicans since the *SEL* texts show "strong links with the *LgA* a text by the Dominican Jacobus," warns that it is "doubtful whether the *LgA* contribution and Dominican influence can be equated: no English *LgA* MSS can be traced to a Dominican owner" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 49). Görlach also mentions that, stylistically, the texts included in the *SEL* show an interest on the

compiler(s)'s part in desiring to produce a "continuous story fit to be understood at first hearing and not caring about theological niceties" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 49): a characteristic possibly more in keeping with Franciscan writings than Dominican ones.

In 1942, Minnie Wells also wrote of the *SEL* that since the Pepys manuscript contains a life of St Francis based upon Bonaventura's version of the saint's life, this strongly indicates that the *SEL* had Franciscan origins.[8] Wells further wrote that the political sympathies signaled in the *SEL* life of St Wulfstan through the collection's sympathetic portrayal of the death of King Harold and England's subsequent fall during the Norman Conquest suggest Franciscan political leanings (Wells, "Structural Development" 326). More recently, in 2011, Daniel Kline also commented upon the *SEL*'s Franciscan tendencies, stating that the collection "seems to fit better the Franciscan penchant for encyclopedic compendia, affective spirituality, vernacular compositions, didactic import, and wide-ranging exempla" (Kline 137). These are meagre clues as to the *SEL* manuscripts' fraternal affiliations, and tracing the true authorship is further obscured by the fact that, as various legendaries were created, the circle of interest in the *SEL* tradition expanded with the collection becoming "known and used by others than the Franciscans" (Wells, "Structural Development" 327).

Language and Dialect of MS L

One of the distinguishing features of Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108, is that, despite being labeled a miscellaneous manuscript,[9] it is monolingual.[10] With

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[8] While I do not disagree with Wells's premise, I do somewhat disagree with some of the evidence that she presents for Fransciscan authorship. Many *SEL* manuscripts provide an account of St Francis and St Dominic, so claiming that the Bonaventura version of the life of St Francis in the Pepys manuscript indicates Franciscan authorship seems inconclusive to me. Wells's argument for political sympathies indicating Franciscan authorship is more convincing, however.

[9] The collection largely has come to be known as a miscellany because of its status as a donation from William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud's manuscripts typically were classified by language (i.e., Laud Latin, Laud Greek, and Laud Oriental). For an unknown reason, MS L, was classified as "Laud Misc". Bell and Couch argue that this shelf mark "has branded L as essentially miscellaneous in content" (Bell and Couch 1).

[10] Four thirteenth century miscellanies exist which conventionally have been called "Friars' Miscellanies". The miscellanies are multilingual but like MS L are of unknown provenance. These miscellanies are Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14.39; London, BL, Cotton Caligula A. ix; Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86. Much debate has

the exceptions of the Latin prayer at the beginning of the manuscript, the Latin rubrics preceding many saints' lives included in the manuscript,[11] and the unique four-line benediction in French that follows the text of "The Debate between the Body and the Soul," each text included in MS L is written in English. Somewhat ironically, the manuscript's simplicity and monolinguality has caused controversy. Conclusive evidence for MS L's earliest owner and his/her motivations for compiling the manuscript may perpetually prove elusive.

As Manfred Görlach writes concerning the whole of the *SEL*, "The simple sentence structure, the black-and-white method of characterization, the adhortative insertions and other elements of popular narrative technique make it almost certain that the collection was intended for oral delivery, but no decision is now possible about whether friars, monks, nuns, or parish priests used it for religious instruction and edification, and on what occasions. The simple style made it easy to imitate, and therefore anyone who wanted to add a particular text on a local saint might have been able to compose an additional legend on the *SEL* pattern" (Görlach, *East Midland Revision* 8). It is the very simplicity of the *SEL* that makes it difficult codicologically to discern who might have compiled the *SEL*, and in particular MS L.

Some have compared the process of attempting to localize MS L with examining the clouds which are constantly shape-shifting. Murray Evans has written that "Hamlet's dialogue with Polonius about the debatable shapes of clouds can be an apt metaphor for codicological analyses of medieval manuscripts such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108 (L)". There are some things which are mostly clear about MS L such as "the number and dates of hands and

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surrounded the authorship of these manuscripts as well, and some scholars have attributed them to either Franciscans or Dominicans. John Frankis questioned the attribution to Franciscans and Dominicans and suggested that all four manuscripts may have been circa 1260-80 A.D. After linguistic analysis, he suggested that the four manuscripts, like MS L, possibly could be localized to "the diocese of Worcester or the diocese of Worcester or the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford." Frankis made a strong argument that the manuscripts were prepared by clergy for laypeople (Frankis, "The Social Context of Vernacular Writing in Thirteenth Century England" 180-4). However, it should be noted that in 1997, Neil Cartlidge argued that the monolinguality (particularly in relation to the English language) of a manuscript did not necessarily confirm its production for lay use (Cartlidge, "The Composition and Social Context" 250-269).

[11] Many of the saints' lives of MS L include Latin rubrics, but not all of them do. See the Appendix to this thesis for a full outline of which lives include Latin rubrication.

compilers", but "the timing of stages of compilation is not entirely clear". This lack of clarity can lead to confusion about "how we are to regard the contents of the manuscript generically. The material clues for attempting to answer these questions are the physical features of the manuscript" (Evans 51).

In his 1887 edition of the *sanctorale* of MS L, Carl Horstmann posited that the *SEL* originated in Gloucester, and the "Collection grew slowly, and expanded by degrees, round a first nucleus; it was the work of many decades of years, of many collaborators, most likely the joint work of a whole abbey, that of Gloucester" (Horstmann viii). Horstmann remains the only editor of the *sanctorale* of MS L, but he was not the first to ascribe the manuscript's likely provenance to Gloucester. As early as 1822, Frederic Madden wrote in his edition of *Havelok the Dane* that Robert of Gloucester was the author of MS L. Similarities in metrical form and literary style led Madden to believe that this was the case (Madden xxxv).

Görlach writes that some later scholars including Carl Horstmann himself, W. Ellmer, and H. Thiemke indicated that they believed that Robert of Gloucester did not write *Havelok* but must have been drawing upon a manuscript similar to the known *SEL* manuscripts when he wrote his Chronicle (Görlach 40). Görlach, nevertheless, stated that it was uncertain even that Robert of Gloucester was drawing from *SEL* manuscripts or manuscripts similar to them. Görlach writes that "The sum of Robert's borrowings… stands at over 500 *SEL* lines. It is certain that he drew from at least eight Lives of English saints" (Görlach 40). Regardless of the fact that Robert of Gloucester drew from at least eight English saints' lives for his Chronicle, "in none of these cases does there seem to be sufficient proof that Robert borrowed from the *SEL* rather than independently paraphrased the same story" (Görlach 41).

The Hands of MS L

Dialectal analysis provides some evidence that potentially may help to identify the *SEL*'s authors and intended audience, but even such analysis does not provide complete satisfaction regarding MS L's provenance. Proving the origins of MS L through dialectology remains difficult because dialectal analysis is not an exact science. Dialectal evidence does not necessarily permit one to narrow the

provenance of a manuscript to a particular religious house(s) or to a specific intended audience. Along with the inherent difficulties of discerning the provenance and audience of MS L, one also can be misled through instances of *Mischsprachen*, varying exemplars, and erratic manuscript circulation practices.

Despite dialectal analysis's lack of certainty, it still is helpful to have an understanding of the hands in which MS L is written, and from examining them, to discuss when and by whom MS L might have been compiled. MS L is written in multiple hands, was compiled over a period of three centuries, and undoubtedly served more than one audience. MS L was written by two main scribes, Scribe A and Scribe B. A third scribe, Scribe C, contributed the romances of *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn*. [12] A fourth scribe, Scribe D, included "Somer Soneday" in the collection. Finally, the verses on fol. 238r-v appear to have been written by three different fifteenth-century scribes.[13] A number of the scribal dialects have been identified.

Most recently, the editors of *LALME* have stated that, based upon their analysis of the texts of MS L from ff. 228v-237v, the "language is mixed, and suggests a western (probably Gloucs) original, with an East Anglian overlay" (McIntosh, *Linguistic Atlas* 198). Linguistic analysis of *SEL* texts can be quite varied though as Margaret Laing notes in her *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English*: "The language of *King Horn*… has a non-Norfolk substratum which M. L. Samuels considers to have characteristics pointing to an origin in SE Surrey, SW Kent, or N Sussex" (Laing 137).[14] Because there appear to be multiple scribes writing in different dialects, different hands, and in different centuries (thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth), the manuscript may have been used in different places and for differing purposes; the manuscript's use evolved along with the addition of texts to the volume. Alternatively, a possibility is that the

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[12] The scribal delineations of A, B, C, and D (occasionally labelled as 1, 2, 3, 4) are borrowed from various scholars and most recently were used by A.S. G. Edwards in his description of MS L's contents. Edwards thoroughly (as possible) treats the complexities of MS L's contents, construction, and circulation. (Edwards, "Contents, Construction, and Circulation" 21-30).

[13] See the Appendix to this thesis for an outline of the hands of MS L and the texts produced by the various scribes.

[14] This publication by Margaret Laing is not *LAEME*, which is an online resource, but is the print catalogue of resources that she compiled prior to the completion of *LAEME* online.

manuscript stayed in one place, scribes with different dialects lived in one place (a monastery, perhaps) and added texts to the manuscript using their own dialect. In any case, these varying possibilities render determining MS L's provenance an arduous task.

Audience

In 1974, Görlach also alluded to the difficulties of localising MS L and any *SEL* manuscript saying "…there is no reliable indication as to either date or place of origin, or even to the author's intention, or the use these texts actually served" (Görlach 1). It has been noted previously that the manuscript's language (English) suggests a lay audience, but as with determining the author(s) and provenance of MS L, what can be said about audiences relies on the clues offered by individual texts, the overall shape of *SEL* manuscripts, and the marginalia surrounding texts. Chapters I and VII will outline MS L's physical characteristics and discuss selected texts to offer some conjectures about the nature of the manuscript's audience.

Hagiography and Recent *South English Legendary* Research

Hagiography frequently has been disparaged as a genre in the past. Even scholars such as the editor of MS L commented that he knew that "most Englishmen consider it not worth while to print all these Legends; I know they regard them as worthless stuff, without any merit" (Horstmann xi). In recent years, "scholarship has found it necessary to rehabilitate hagiography" (Salih 20), but in the past, the genre was regarded as "too crude or stereotypical to be truly artistic or historically informative" (Salih 20). This accusation of artistic lack also has been leveled against the *SEL* tradition with D'Evelyn and Mill proclaiming in their edition of the *SEL* "No one will claim that the SEL is a work of art" (D'Evelyn and Mill, *South English Legendary Vol. III* 26). Presently, however, "hagiography has joined the critical mainstream" (Salih 20).

A factor that pushed hagiography into obscurity in the past is that it "often is anonymous and existing in multiple redactions," attributes generally regarded unfavourably "by a literary canon based on named authors and discrete texts" (Salih, *Companion* 20). Although the provenance of MS L and other *SEL*

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manuscripts has proved enigmatic, relatively recently, three publications have been produced seeking to shed further light on the textual history of the *SEL* texts. Each work takes a different approach to going about the task. The first is by a single author who provides close readings of various texts, and the two subsequent publications are anthologies of essays: one specifically devoted to MS L and the other devoted to the *South English Legendary* tradition as a whole.

The first publication is Anne Thompson's *Everyday Saints and the Art of Narrative in the South English Legendary* published in 2003. Previous scholarly work on the *SEL* focused upon tracing the history of its transmission, conducting dialectal analyses of texts, and producing critical editions of various manuscripts. Thompson's book was one of the first to examine the texts of the *SEL* through sustained close reading and literary theoretical approaches; Thompson opened eyes to the fact that *SEL* texts are indeed works of art reflecting the cultural, political, and religious landscape of late medieval England and therefore are worthy of further consideration.

Thompson begins her reading of *SEL* texts by considering how the *SEL* narratives fit together. She begins with a look at the beginnings of the saints' lives and how they lead into the various legends. She then moves to a close analysis of the text of St Hilary. She then considers the influence of everyday medieval living upon the shaping of the texts included in the *SEL* manuscripts. She then considers popular instructional texts such as the *Ormulum* and *Cursor Mundi* and discusses how narrative functions in each of these instructional manuals. Having looked at the narrative in writings similar to the *SEL*, Thompson then discusses the originality of some *SEL* texts and contrasts this originality with the inclusion of "generic" medieval texts such as the romances of *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn* in MS L.

Later, Thompson moves on to consider the idea of a Collection: the formation of a *corpus* of texts known as the *South English Legendary*. She once more returns to her argument that scenes from everyday life are purposefully woven into saints' lives and discusses the ordinary wives of the *SEL*. Thompson concludes her book with a discussion of how the popular saints' lives of the *SEL* provided a way for medieval laity to tell stories both about themselves and the larger world. Thompson's emphasis on the everyday nature of the legends included in *SEL*

manuscripts has increased accessibility to these culturally and hagiographically important medieval texts for undergraduate students and experienced scholars alike. Her idea of the saints' lives of the *SEL* being "everyday" very much has influenced my thinking and no doubt echoes of Thompson appear in this thesis.

The remaining two recent publications appeared when I was midway through my PhD and are essay collections. The first collection of essays was edited by Kimberly K. Bell and Julie Nelson Couch, published in 2011, and titled *The Texts and Contexts of Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108: The Shaping of English Vernacular Narrative*; the second was edited by Heather Blurton and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, also published in 2011, and titled *Rethinking the South English Legendaries*. The appearance of these essay collections was both a wonderful yet uncomfortable event for me. On the one hand, it was pleasing to see the current scholarly interest in the *SEL* (and specifically in the manuscript that I had chosen to research) and to feel that I had captured the scholarly *Zeitgeist*; on the other hand, several of the essays which appear in the two collections, while not deploying precisely the same angle that I was taking towards MS L and its texts, did somewhat anticipate my own plans.

Early on, I planned to include a detailed account of the manuscript's physical appearance in my thesis, but A.S.G. Edwards provides an excellent outline of the manuscript's physical description in the first chapter of Bell and Couch's volume, contributing to the book's overarching argument regarding MS L's tendency towards anthology by describing the layout and decoration of the manuscript. Similar to Manfred Görlach's approach to the *SEL* tradition, the bulk of Edwards's chapter provides a list of the manuscript's contents. While this is an extremely useful tool for understanding MS L's construction, it suggests little in the way of analyzing precisely how, why, and for whom the manuscript was created at its various stages. MS L seems to have the capacity to reduce even the most capable of scholars to lists of what can be seen, since the binding of the manuscript is tightly bound and resists examination which could provide further indications of the manuscript's early purposes.

However, Edwards does contribute to the argument for MS L's orderliness and tendency towards anthology. He notes, on the basis of the consistent decoration

of the manuscript, that it appears as if fairly early in the history of the manuscript a scribe endeavored "to give L a degree of formal coherence". Edwards cites as evidence for this the facts that the manuscript was thoroughly numbered in "red crayon in the upper margin in an early hand, at a point when the manuscript was larger than it now is: the first surviving item is numbered '8'". In addition, the manuscript was decorated "by one main flourisher who added decorated initials, thus imposing another degree of visual continuity on the contents of L" (Edwards 28). I decided to build upon Edwards's work and have used his observations concerning the manuscript's appearance to conjecture possible audiences for the manuscript. These conjectures can be found in the following chapter.

From the outset of my doctoral research, I also have been interested in the topic of place as it relates to MS L, as many of the saints' lives in MS L, and particularly those of the English saints' lives which are included, seem to demonstrate a distinct interest in place. To that end, I spent a great deal of time searching for possible links between medieval English church dedications and potential *SEL* communities affiliated with specific churches. When I opened Heather Blurton and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne's collection I was, therefore, both dismayed and delighted to find Virginia Blanton's essay titled "Counting Noses and Assessing the Numbers: Native Saints in the South English Legendaries" immediately followed by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne's essay titled "Locating Saints' Lives and Their Communities" which focused upon situating saints' lives in geographical places based upon cartographical descriptions given in lives such as that of St Kenelm.

Both of the aforementioned essays reflect research similar to the lines of inquiry that I was pursuing, and Wogan-Browne's essay in particular emphatically nudged me to rethink my approach to places in relation to MS L's legends. From this necessary re-examination of the significance of place in MS L emerged Chapters IV and VI of this thesis. For both of the chapters, I opted to take a literary theoretical approach to the texts of MS L, incorporating Bakhtinian and modernist literary theory to offer fresh analyses of texts, significantly departing from Wogan-Browne's approach. That said, both Chapters IV and VI were influenced by Blanton

and Wogan-Browne, and, where appropriate, I have incorporated some of their thoughts.

Another concept that has continued with me from the beginning of my *SEL* research is the idea of religious and parish communities and how they relate to the compilation of *SEL* manuscripts. Once more, in Blurton and Wogan-Browne's collection, Catherine Sanok's essay "Forms of Community in the *South English Legendary*" seemed to cross my path. As it happens, Sanok's argument takes a more abstract approach to the concept of community and how it intersects with *SEL* texts than I intended to take; in her essay, she discusses how individual saint's lives function as synecdoche, symbolizing the communities that surrounded them. Some of Sanok's ideas caused me to refine my thoughts about community inside and outside MS L. Chapter VIII interweaves a few of Sanok's ideas, particularly in its discussion of the life of St Thomas of Canterbury and his relationship with English political and religious communities.

Not all of the essays included in the two collections significantly redirected my research plans. Many of them provided welcome germs of inspiration for potential discussions of MS L and the *SEL* within this thesis. For example, Christina Fitzgerald's essay (in Bell and Couch's publication) which elaborates upon the precise class (London merchant classes, specifically drapers) to whom such a manuscript that includes the text of *Havelok* and *Horn* would appeal partly supplied an impetus for Chapter VI of the thesis. Likewise, Robert Mills's essay concerning MS L's treatment of the concept of difference in regard to race, place, language, and belief partially inspired the section on Becket's mother included in Chapter VI.

Some chapters in the two essay collections, such as John Frankis's essay "The Social Context of Vernacular Writing in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of the Manuscripts" and Thomas Liszka's "The South English Legend<u>aries</u>" created excellent springboards for thinking about the *SEL* and provoked me to consider the texts and tradition in ways that I had not previously contemplated. The afterword by Anne Thompson (also the writer of the volume of *Everyday Saints* which was discussed previously) that appears in Blurton and Wogan-Browne's collection proved especially beneficial. Thompson elaborates further approaches to the *SEL*, among them studies on the many as-of-yet unprinted

manuscripts, more research into the humour of the *SEL* narrator(s) and finally, more writing on how best to make the *SEL* accessible to undergraduates and the next generation of scholars. My study incorporates two of the further approaches that Thompson outlines: studies on an as-of-yet largely unprinted *SEL* manuscript (Winchester College, MS 33), and it employs literary theoretical approaches to create greater ease for students to consider the architectonics of a particular *SEL* manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108.

Along with creating starting points for discussion, the aforementioned publications also suggested some gaps in discussions of MS L which this thesis seeks to fill. Firstly, to date, few comparisons of MS L texts to other *SEL* texts have been carried out. Such comparisons (and perhaps eventually productions of parallel editions of some texts) can shed light on the circulation and possible provenance of MS L. Chapters II and III of this thesis seek to begin to fill this gap. Chapter II conjectures similar textual compilation practices for both Winchester College MS 33A and MS L and suggests that the two manuscripts potentially are derived from similar (and possibly the same sources). Following Chapter II's discussion of these two *SEL* manuscripts, Chapter III elaborates upon the text of *Sancta Crux* which appears both in MS L and in Winchester College MS 33A.

Furthermore, many scholars have mentioned MS L's seeming disorderliness in relation to later manuscripts of the *SEL* tradition which more closely follow the liturgical calendar. Prior to now, the majority of scholars seem not to have considered that this disorganization signifies more than scribal ineptitude or lack of resources. The problem of time, however, is a central to understanding MS L as a work of art and as a potential independent compilation. Chapter II of this thesis examines the organization of MS L and finds that it does not stray so far from the liturgical calendar as previously supposed. Chapter V builds upon this understanding of MS L, pushing it further to consider both horizontal and vertical time in the manuscript. Little work has been completed discussing liturgical time and narrative time in relation to MS L. Chapter V aims to fill this gap and facilitate further discussion in relation to narrative and liturgical time in this manuscript.

Thesis Outline

The shape of this thesis also was inspired in part by Thomas Liszka's essay in *Rethinking the South English Legendaries* where he suggests that the best way to approach the *South English Legendary(ies)* is not to create a stemma for each manuscript of the collection but instead to consider each text within each manuscript and then to create stemmata of each individual text. (Liszka, "South English Legendaries" 23-41). Although the three to four years spent writing this work did not provide sufficient time to undertake such an extensive project, to the end of contributing a more individualized approach to the *SEL*, I did decide to focus upon an individual manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108), and, where appropriate, have concentrated upon individual texts and their situation within the *SEL* tradition. The purpose of this thesis is to show that MS L is more orderly than previous scholarship supposed and to show that the individual texts and themes underlying the manuscript's composition lend themselves to both pragmatic analysis and literary theoretical critique, and to make some new suggestions about the original audience of MS L.[15]

The thesis is comprised of three parts. Part One includes Chapters II and III and primarily deals MS L's situation within the *SEL* tradition. Chapter I examines the shape of the manuscript with particular interest in the physical appearance of the book, the division of the manuscript into two parts (the *temporale* and *sanctorale*), the order in which texts appear, and some implications of the physical appearance of the manuscript for determining the author, audience, and purpose of the manuscript. Chapter II compares and contrasts MS L with another manuscript of the *SEL* tradition, Winchester College MS 33A (hereafter referred to as MS W). The chapter discusses the evolution of the *SEL* and situates the compilation of MS L and MS W within the context of the collection's development. MS L and part one of MS W resemble one another in shape. Similarities between the two manuscripts are explored, and the possibility of MS W belonging to the stemma of MS L is

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[15] In the introduction to their edition of the *SEL*, Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna Mill notably stated that MS L was a disorderly manuscript compared to later *SEL* collections (D'Evelyn and Mill, *South English Legendary Vol III* 15).

examined. This chapter also posits that a clue to the seven missing *temporale* texts of MS L may lie within the *temporale* texts of MS W.

Part Two of the thesis includes Chapters III, IV, and V and applies Bakhtinian narrative theory to provide new perspectives of the *SEL* in general and MS L in particular. Chapter III provides a literary theoretical reading of *Sancta Crux* which is a liminal text of MS L, and considers the legend within the context of Bakhtin's theory of the chronotope or time-space. The chapter discusses how *Sancta Crux* functions as an integral time-space within MS L, and, through its positioning in the manuscript, provides a means of understanding how the texts of the manuscript are organized.

Chapter IV delves further into Bakhtinian narrative theory and its applicability to discussions of the *SEL*, examining how Bakhtin's literary theories of heteroglossia and dialogism are reflected in the texts of MS L and *South English Legendary* texts in general where. The chapter first discusses how medieval Christian concepts of typology in relation to biblical texts helped to shape the narrative spaces of the texts of *Sancta Crux*, "St Agnes," "St Bridget," "St Agatha," "St Nicholas," "St Julian the Confessor," and "St Christopher". Beginning with the formative influences of typology, the chapter considers how the language and motifs of medieval ecclesiastical traditions shape the literary spaces of MS L's texts, and finally discusses the effect that producing a collection of saints' lives in English rather than the accepted language of learning, Latin, has upon the aesthetics and political/national emphases of the manuscript. The chapter further discusses how MS L as a heteroglossal and dialogical manuscript connects with literary works of the past, influenced other medieval English writing, and may also have influenced the works of some future dramatists such as Christopher Marlowe and T.S. Eliot.

Building upon the ending of Chapter IV which alludes to how MS L stands as a manuscript connected to the past, present, and future, Chapter V discusses time in MS L. Since MS L fails to conform to the liturgical calendar as closely as later *SEL* texts, the topic of time is an important one to address in order to better understand the construction and order of MS L. The chapter focuses upon three texts of MS L: "St Michael," "St Patrick's Purgatory," and "All Souls' [Day]". The

chapter first provides an overview of the origins of medieval Christian concepts of time, discusses the intersections of liturgical (horizontal) time and eternal (vertical) time, and considers the use of vertical time in the aforementioned three texts and the implications arising from this for understanding MS L as a whole book.

Part Three of the thesis deals with concepts of community and inclusivity in MS L and finds expression in Chapters VI, VII, and VIII. Chapter VI discusses instances of "Naming," "Re-Naming," "Creating," and "Re-Creating" in MS L. Framing the discussion with Gertrude Stein's modernist concept of the necessity of "Recreation" and "Re-Creation" being essential to the production of literature, the chapter considers "Recreation" and "Re-Creation" in relation to medieval practices of church dedication and draws parallels between these practices and the compilation of *SEL* manuscripts. The chapter then discusses the importance of "Naming" and "Re-Naming" in the MS L legends of *Havelok the Dane*, *King Horn*, and the prologue of *St Thomas of Canterbury*. Chapter VII then examines a central section of female saints' lives in MS L and discusses the implications of this feminine grouping of saints' lives for identifying an audience for MS L. The chapter considers the ramifications of a *SEL* manuscript including specific female saints in conjunction with Christina Fitzgerald's recent conjecture that MS L may have had a merchant audience and, based upon MS L's inclusive language and texts, suggests an alternative audience for the manuscript.

Chapter VIII explores the connections between martyrdom, English saints, and the formation of intrinsic and extrinsic textual communities. The chapter devotes space to examining how individual texts picture the formation of communities around martyrs and explores how the communities described inside texts transfer to literal communities outside the texts. Specific martyrs discussed include *Sancta Crux*, "St James," "St Faith," "St Thomas the Apostle," "St Eustace," and "St Clement". Having discussed the lives of the MS L martyrs and the communities that their texts demonstrate formed around them, the chapter further examines the undulating current between textual and literal communities and how the two complement one another with each community inheriting characteristics of the other. Finally, the chapter discusses extrinsic communities specifically related to the English saints' lives of MS L with interest in the concrete

places associated with them as well as the textual communities that shaped the accounts of their lives provided in MS L. The saints' lives discussed are "St Kenelm," "St Wulfstan," and *St Thomas of Canterbury*.

CHAPTER ONE

Authorship, Audience, and the Shape of Oxford,
Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108

Conclusively identifying the authorship and audience of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108 has eluded past and present scholars and may continue to evade future ones, unless further evidence related to the manuscript surfaces. What can be said for certain about the manuscript must be obtained from its texts and from its physical appearance.[16] This chapter will discuss the appearance of MS L, the arrangement of texts found within the manuscript, and some conclusions that may be drawn from the manuscript's physical characteristics and texts.

Opening the Book

MS L measures 270 x 180mm and contains a total of 238-239 folios which were gradually compiled over three centuries (12th-15th) to form the volume currently residing in the Bodleian Library.[17] A Latin prayer beginning with the lines "Ihesu

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[16] In 2011, I had the privilege of visiting Oxford Bodleian Library for two days and examining the manuscript firsthand. Much of this chapter is my own observations of the manuscript. Thus far, one of the greatest hindrances to researching the manuscript has been its lack of availability. Much of this has been due to the Bodleian Library's understandable reticence to allow many scholars to handle the manuscript due to fear of damage. Since that is the case, some of the resources available to scholars of MS L, including the University of Birmingham's (UK) online database titled Manuscripts of the West Midlands, occasionally contain inaccurate information. Sometimes the resources even include *caveats* as to their accuracy, such as this one on the *MWM* database: "Owing to viewing restrictions the manuscript has not been consulted. Rubrics, incipits, and explicits have been taken from various editions" (*MWM*). Unfortunately, not all editions are completely accurate, and the *MWM* database therefore includes some discrepancies. Another inadvertent hindrance that has contributed to scholarly inertia in discovering the compilers and audiences of MS L has been the only edition of MS L's saints' lives created to date. Because of Carl Horstmann's well-known edition, scholars frequently have thought of MS L as containing only saints' lives when in fact it also includes a *temporale* and didactic poetry. Horstmann did separately edit the *temporale* texts of MS L and also seems to have intended to edit additional *SEL* manuscripts, but no evidence exists suggesting that this actually took place.

[17] Inside the manuscript, an archivist has written "iii + 239". However, from my examination of the manuscript, I note that 238 is the last legible folio and contains *Biblical Sentences*, *On Deceit*, and *Moral Precepts* which are written in a fifteenth century hand. That said, A.S.G. Edwards comments

mercy/ Ihesu mercy" appears at the top of the first folio of MS L and beneath the prayer there appears a catalogue of saints' lives. The catalogue of lives appears to have been cut from another context (the frayed edges of the sheet listing the lives may suggest an earlier use) and pasted onto a larger parchment page in order to match the size of the pages that follow the list of contents. Among the saints listed in the pasted in catalogue are "St Valentine," "St Luke," "St Stephen," "St Chad," and "St Judas," but none of these saints appear in MS L as it exists in its present form. Two more saints may be included in the list, but the ink was too faded for me to read, even with a magnifying glass.[18] It also is interesting that all of these saints' lives *do* appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 43.

Perhaps the table of contents was accidentally placed in MS L when it should have been inserted into the Ashmole manuscript or a manuscript very like it. This is not to suggest that MS L and MS A originated in the same place, but rather that the scribe who inserted MS L's table of contents may have been aware of both manuscripts and mistakenly placed MS A's table of contents inside MS L. The most likely explanations for this inaccurate table of contents are that 1) MS L may indeed have included these lives at one point in its history and a compiler knew this, or 2) a later compiler noted that MS L consisted of saints' lives, found a listing of lives that resembled MS L's lives, and assumed that the list referred to the lives included in MS L.

Binding, Quires, and Damage

As it stands, MS L is a composite manuscript comprised primarily of saints' lives but also including other religious and didactic poetry. The current manuscript

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that "The number of leaves in the manuscript is a problem about which there seems little unanimity," and in his outline of the manuscript's contents states that "It seems now to comprise 243 leaves, and to indicate two broad divisions in its present construction, between fols. 1-203 (Part A) and fols. 204-238 (Part B), divisions marked by quire boundaries and scribal changes" (Edwards, "Contents, Construction, and Circulation 25).

[18] In his description of the manuscript's contents, A.S.G. Edwards notes that "Laid into the leaf is a smaller sheet in a fifteenth century hand beginning 'These ben þe namys of syntys lyfys þat makyn in | this booke. In primis seynt stevyn item seynt | luke item seynt valentine…'" (Edwards, "Contents, Construction, and Circulation" 21). Edwards offers no additional comment upon this unusual insert. The insertion of this table of contents suggests an opportunity for further research into how the sheet came to be placed into this manuscript. It is possible that UV light might reveal the entire table of contents, although a magnifying glass does not.

appears to have been bound in the fifteenth century. The binding of MS L is very tight and in some cases, the words on the page continue almost into the binding itself. This makes discerning individual quires difficult. Two physical characteristics that could suggest quire division, textual organization around particular themes, or individual texts that circulated by themselves prior to their inclusion in MS L are the blank versos that occur in the manuscript and the red Latin rubrics that are included for various saints' lives. [19] The blank versos that occur in the manuscript appear before *Sancta Crux* and "St Nicholas," and the rubrication of saints' lives begins after the life of "St Lucy". Although many scholars have found discerning the manuscript's individual quires difficult, Orietta Da Rold has recently claimed to have discovered the quire divisions of MS L.[20] Da Rold believes that if it is possible to locate other similar medieval devotional manuscripts that have gatherings of twelve leaves in a quire, perhaps it will be easier to localize the production of the manuscript.

Much of MS L appears to have survived intact apart from the missing texts of its *temporale*, but it is obvious that a few folios are missing, and some have been torn out.[21] From the life of "St Blase" onwards, there seems to be water damage. It is also possible that the texts were exposed to the elements, used with great frequency, or made of inferior parchment compared to earlier texts in the manuscript.

Decoration of Parts 1 and 2

In general, scholars have thought of MS L as being comprised of two parts. Part 1 contains the *temporale* and most of the *sanctorale* of the manuscript, and both the *temporale* and the *sanctorale* of this portion are written in one hand. *Temporale*

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[19]This possibility is further discussed in Chapter VI in relation to the text of *St Thomas of Canterbury*.

[20] In her November 2013 masterclass titled "Codicology and Localization in Medieval English Manuscripts," Orietta Da Rold discussed how the quire gatherings of MS L might eventually suggest a localization for the manuscript and stated that the gatherings were in gatherings of twelve leaves rather than eight. Prior to this, A.S. G. Edwards suggested a possible collation of MS L (Edwards, "Contents, Construction, and Circulation" 21-30) but emphasized that it was speculative, reiterating Carl Horstmann and others' assertions that the quires were too tightly bound for him to discern their precise divisions.

[21] For full descriptions of damage to the manuscript and where they occur, see Edwards "Contents, Construction, and Circulation" 21-25 and Görlach, *Textual History* 88-90.

material refers to work surrounding the life and work of Christ while *sanctorale* material refers to the lives of saints. Part 1 also includes the "Sayings of St Bernard: Man's Three Foes," "The Vision of St Paul," and the "Debate Between the Body and the Soul."[22] This first part of the manuscript appears to be the work of two scribes with scribe 1 writing everything up to and including the "Vision of St Paul" and scribe 2 writing the "Debate between the Body and the Soul". Part 2 of MS L is written in a third hand and contains three saints' lives: the lives of "St Blaise," "St Cecelia," and "St Alexis" as well as the romances of *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn*. It also includes the poem "Somer Soneday" and several biblical and moral poems and proverbs.[23] Both Part 1 and Part 2 of the manuscript are decorated in the same way with two-line blue decorated initials with red flourishes which enhance the manuscript's visual appeal and "indicates a more sustained and ambitious attempt to impose a sense of unity on the contents" (Edwards 28). Since the manuscript was compiled over three centuries, it is likely that a later scribe and not the first scribe completed the uniform embellishment of the manuscript.[24]

Temporale

The *temporale* of MS L has not received as much attention in the past as the *sanctorale* has, but the *temporale* is vital to the identification of the scribe(s) and audiences of MS L. When it was first compiled, MS L probably began with nine *temporale* narratives which were followed by *sanctorale* selections. *Sancta Crux*, the first text of the manuscript's *sanctorale* is numbered ten in the manuscript, so it would appear that the manuscript's organizer gave it this number under the assumption that nine texts would precede this legend. Yet, since MS L's beginning is damaged, it is open to conjecture which nine texts preceded the *sanctorale*. Yet,

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[22] Edwards notes that the "Sayings of St Bernard" begin imperfectly. MS L's text of the "Vision of St Paul" is incomplete, appearing only on fols. 199-200v. The version of the "Debate Between the Body and the Soul" that appears in MS L also appears The Auchinleck Manuscript (Edwards, "Contents, Construction, and Circulation" 24).

[23] The biblical and moral poems are "Attributes of the Virgin and Christ," 1 eight-line stanza, and a list of moral precepts comprised of four long lines (Edwards, "Contents, Construction, and Circulation" 24).

[24] A.S.G. Edwards indicates that a later scribe completed the manuscript's decoration (Edwards, "Contents, Construction, and Circulation" 28), but it could possibly be argued that the later scribe was continuing a decorative programme begun by an earlier scribe.

two *temporale* texts do survive: an "Infancy of Christ" and a "Ministry of Christ". Since a number of other *SEL* collections of saints' lives begin with *temporale* selections, it is possible that MS L may have done so as well at some point in its history.

Amongst the various *SEL* manuscripts, typically, a selection of sixteen common *temporale* texts precede the *sanctorales* of the manuscripts. In his article "The *Temporale* Narratives of the *South English Legendary*," O.S. Pickering identifies the sixteen common texts and divides them into two groups: narrative and expository (Pickering 427). Pickering further shows that nine *SEL* manuscripts include a nativity of Mary and/or Christ. Thomas Liszka also has written about MS L's *temporale* and states that the two poems present ("Infancy" and "Ministry") "appear to represent remnants of a *temporale* section" (Liszka, "South English Legendar<u>ies</u>" 28). Liszka builds upon Pickering's research of *temporale* sections in various *SEL* manuscripts and states that "In addition to Laud Miscellaneous 108, there are five other *SEL* manuscripts in which a *temporale* collection precedes a *sanctorale*" (Liszka, "South English Legendar<u>ies</u>" 28). Liszka notes that thus far no editions of *SEL* manuscripts have included the *temporale* sections in addition to the *sanctorale* sections of the various manuscripts. None of the five *SEL* manuscripts that include *temporale* sections place their *temporale* texts in the same order. Typically, the *temporale* sections begin with Old Testament histories of saints and then are followed by material on the lives of Mary and Christ.

Because two of MS L's *temporale* texts do survive, an "Infancy of Christ" and a "Ministry of Christ," based upon Pickering's research, one could posit that one of the texts missing from MS L is a "Nativity of Mary and Christ," or a "Nativity of Mary" or a "Nativity of Christ". Since the "Infancy of Christ" is one of the surviving texts, it seems that if either of the nativities would have been included, it would have been a "Nativity of Mary". This seems likely because the "Infancy of Christ" begins with "canonical material from Matthew 2 (the massacre of the innocents, the flight into Egypt) and concludes with the Wedding at Cana (John 2)" (Kline 142). It would be redundant for a scribe to include what is essentially the same story twice in MS L.

Notwithstanding, it may also be the case that MS L's *sanctorale* was, at one point in the manuscript's history, preceded by seven Old Testament histories. Since two of the potentially nine *temporale* texts survive, what is left to discover is the identity of the remaining seven. Incidentally, the Old Testament histories of *SEL temporale* sections typically were composed of seven histories of Old Testament saints. These saints were "'Adam & Eve', 'Noe', 'Abraham', Iacob', 'Ioseph', 'Moyses', 'Dauid', 'Salamon', 'Roboam', and 'Daniel' (Liszka, "South English Legendar<u>ies</u>" 29). These seven texts would fit neatly into the missing seven *temporale* selections of MS L. A longer discussion of the missing seven texts of MS L and their connection with Winchester College MS 33A will follow in Chapter II.

MS L possesses a slight idiosyncrasy in the order of its *temporale* texts. Chronologically, Christ's ministry and passion occurred after his infancy, but MS L's "Ministry of Christ" precedes the "Infancy". This disruption in chronology has led some scholars to conclude that the manuscript must have been mis-bound at some point (Liszka, "MS Laud Misc. 108" 76; Wells, "Structural Development" 320), and this may indeed be the case since later *SEL* manuscripts place the texts in the correct/chronological order.

Sanctorale

The bulk of MS L's *sanctorale* appears in Part 1 of the manuscript with three additional saints' appearing in Part 2. Most of these lives are popular or common saints' lives and include church fathers, apostles, martyrs, virgins, and hermits. MS L's *sanctorale* frequently has been criticized for being less orderly and complete than later manuscripts of the *SEL* tradition, because it does not contain as many saints' lives as later manuscripts, and it does not follow the liturgical calendar.[25] A closer look at the core *sanctorale* texts of MS L (found in Part One) suggests that this criticism is unfair on two counts: 1) the manuscript has its own style(s) of organizing texts and 2) the majority of the lives included *do*

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[25] Carl Horstmann believed that MS L was an uncompleted draft of a manuscript while Manfred Görlach, Charlotte D'Evelyn, Anna Mill, and Minnie Wells believed that the manuscript was "actually a disarranged text and that the original scope and arrangement is more closely followed in Harley MS. 2277" (Wells, "Structural Development" 320).

appear chronologically according to the Julian liturgical calendar. I will expand upon MS L's distinctive selection template in Chapter II and will further discuss the problems and possibilities of time in MS L in Chapter V.

It is true that MS L can appear disorderly in comparison to well-known *SEL* manuscripts such as Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS. 145 and British Library MS. Harley 2277 which rely more heavily upon the liturgical calendar for their order, but "its relative state of order or disorder would not seem such an anomaly to scholars if the similarly ordered or the disordered *SEL* texts were better known" (Liszka 40). In conjunction with this fact, MS L has its own systems of organization, particularly in Part 1 of the manuscript. Part 1 of the manuscript employs two systems: 1) thematic arrangement and 2) selections of saints popular in church dedications and collective memory.

I will first examine the thematic arrangements of the manuscript. In her 1964 dissertation, Laurel Braswell also touched on the fact that in some places, MS L appears to be organized by themes. For example, some saints are grouped by "'hierarchical' type: a series of apostles… a series of virgin martyrs" (Robins 202). Themes immediately begin to emerge in Part One of MS L. This portion of the manuscript begins with the surviving *temporale* material – thematic in itself with its interest in the life of Christ and Easter material. In the group of legends that follows the *temporale*, what is perhaps most striking is the range of their geographical associations. These narratives are "The Holy Rood" (associated with Jerusalem), "St Dunstan" (associated with Canterbury), "St Austin" (Augustine [associated with Hippo]), "St Barnabas" (associated with Cyprus), "St John the Baptist" (associated with the Jordan River region), "St James the Great" (associated with Spain), "St Oswald the King" (associated with Northumbria), "St Edward the Elder" (associated with England), "St Francis" (associated with Assisi), "St Alban" (associated with the town of St Albans), and "St Wulfstan" (associated with Worcester).

The *sanctorale*'s original selection of eleven saints suggests that the manuscript's original scribe was quite interested in places and their relation to saints' lives and in particular the *genius loci* and sense of spirit that the souls of saints imprint on various places. This interest in place is further manifested in

subsequent texts included in the *sanctorale* of MS L such as the lives of "St Kenelm" and "St Michael". I discuss MS L's distinctive interest in place, and specifically English places, more fully in Chapter VIII. This group of eleven geographically diverse saints is comprised of martyrs. Many of the martyrs are women (virgin martyrs) and among them are "St Faith," "Eleven Thousand Virgins" (also known as the life of "St Ursula"), "St Katherine," "St Lucy," "St Agnes," "St Bride," "St Agatha," and "St Scholastica". The lives of these female martyrs lie at the heart of MS L and suggest that, if the original audience was not solely women, at the very least, the manuscript fostered a healthy interest in feminine sanctity: a topic further explored in Chapter VII.

A monastic theme follows the theme of martyrdom as the manuscript includes legends about two Irish monks: "St Patrick's Purgatory" and the "Life of St Brendan". The lives of two confessor saints, "St Nicholas" and "St Julian," follow the lives of the monastic legends. After the lives of these two confessor saints, the theme-based organization of MS L seems to vanish and a new selection template emerges: popular saints (i.e., saints well-known in oral and written ecclesiastical tradition and through frequent church and cathedral dedications). A compiler might choose to include a popular saint for any number of reasons: "A poet may have wanted to versify in *SEL* style the life of a saint for a variety of reasons: to disseminate information about the saint, to encourage devotion, to celebrate a feast day, to add to the memorials of local customs etc." (Robins 194). Among the popular selections are "St Dominic," "St George" (patron saint of England), "St Gregory," "St Cuthbert," and seven of the apostles. The parallels between selecting popular saints for church dedications and *SEL* compilation practices are elaborated upon in Chapter VI.

Sources of MS L

The potential sources of MS L are varied and may include "Latin sources or composite sources not yet identified" (Whatley, *Saints' Lives*) and "Manfred Görlach has always maintained that it must have been a Latin 'office breviary' containing abbreviated versions of saints' lives" (Whatley, *Saint's Lives*). The 'office breviary' that Görlach describes, (although he never was able to locate the

breviary that he believed to be the source of MS L and other *SEL* manuscripts) appears to have been similar to the *Hereford Breviary* in its compositional selection style. For example, "There never seems to be a standard [liturgical legendary] set, analogous to the Homiliary of Paul" (Frere xxxvii). Instead, as with MS L, the manuscript included texts that were clear favourites.

The texts of the *SEL* likewise were favourites and "versions of the lives of well-known saints of the Church at large as well as of Britain itself" (Whatley, *Saint's Lives*). The resulting collections of saints' lives included New Testament saints, saints with whom places were associated, and saints venerated by French religious houses.[26] As Sherry Reames notes, the selection process for the inclusion of saints was influenced by the fact that "those responsible for the liturgy in each institution chose the saints they wished to commemorate. They did not necessarily begin with the same sources, then" (Reames 85).

It also is worth noting Reames's argument that "compilers of early English breviaries clearly retained considerable freedom to make changes in the hagiographical texts they had inherited or borrowed" (Reames 89). This phenomenon was not only confined to England, and Pierre Salmon writes that, "From the 11th century on, it seems, everyone enjoyed a great liberty in this regard... Everyone made his own office book to suit himself, or almost so, abridging or lengthening the texts – especially shortening them – as seemed good to him" (Salmon 160). Although Salmon here is discussing breviaries, it seems likely that similar compilation principles may also have applied to the compilation of saints' lives such as *SEL* texts.

Indeed, as Reames further notes, "on the basis of the earliest such manuscripts [Sarum use] we have and the loose instruction on lessons in the thirteenth-century Sarum ordinal, [we see] that English compilers of liturgical collections in this period had remarkable freedom to shape the collections to their own specifications or those of their intended audience." Furthermore, "They could keep using local sources about the saints, if they so chose, or they could supplement

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[26] Medieval church dedication practices closely mirror the selection processes of *SEL* manuscripts and, similarly, the church dedications frequently centred around New Testament saints, saints associated with a specific parish, or saints associated with French religious houses. This is further discussed in relation to the *SEL* and MS L in Chapter VI.

or replace them with desired sources from other institutions, apparently regardless of use or rite, religious order, geography or the distinctions between monastic liturgies and secular ones" (Reames 88). That said, despite the fact that the theme of the remaining lives of MS L's *sanctorale* is that they were traditional selections, the lives mostly do appear chronologically according to the liturgical calendar. I expand upon the chronology of these lives and the concept of "traditional/popular selections" in Chapter II and discuss the reasons why this selection criteria might be the compiler's *modus operandi*.

Having considered the physical appearance and contents of MS L, where do the clues provided by the manuscript lead in terms of potentially determining the authorship and audience of the book? In the pages that follow, I will dicuss four aspects of the manuscript's appearance that potentially provide indications as to the manuscript's provenance and purpose. These four attributes are the dimensions of the manuscript, the decoration, the selection of texts for inclusion, and the themes inherent in the manuscript.

Measurements

As I mentioned earlier, given the absence of definitive authors and audiences for MS L, what can be ascertained of authors and audiences throughout the book's lifetime must be drawn from the manuscript itself. One detail of the manuscript that warrants serious consideration is its measurements. The original manuscript probably consisted of what is now known as Part 1, and, therefore, near its genesis, the manuscript would have been less heavy than its current weight and therefore portable. From this perspective, it could perhaps be argued that the book was constructed in such a way as to support its use by an itinerant preacher. To reiterate, the manuscript's early texts may also have circulated individually before being collated in MS L. Both the fact that the manuscript would have been relatively small or medium sized in the beginning and the fact that clues in the manuscript (blank versos) suggest that texts circulated separately before being bound together could point to a first author who, if he was not a friar himself, may have been sympathetic to fraternal preaching needs and aided them in the compilation of a manuscript pertinent to their needs.

MS L has been trimmed and would originally have been a little larger than it is at present. Even so, its current measurements of 270 x 180mm still hint at the purpose of the book. Very small books sometimes were illicitly created while still others were "designed in this way to meet the needs of readers who wished for portable books" (Edwards, "Manuscripts and Readers" 95). In particular, smaller books often were designed for female readers and to this day "a number of small books of hours survive to enable pious lay people to pursue their devotions where and when they wish" (Edwards, "Manuscripts and Readers" 95). One small book that survives and that it was known was designed for a female lay reader is Cambridge University Library MS Additional 4122. This book measures 85x123mm and specifically was designed for ease of transport.

At the other end of the spectrum stand books such as Vernon MS, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. Poet. A.1. This manuscript is quite large, "weighs about 22 kilos and measures 544x393mm" (Edwards, "Manuscripts and Readers" 95). Because of the book's great size, it could not have easily been transported at will. The book's size reflects its intended use. It was not a book designed for private use, but instead, "It is a public book, one that could never have been envisaged as a means of private study but which would probably have to have remained set in a fixed position on a lectern, where it would be the focus of some form of collective contemplation through being read aloud" (Edwards, "Manuscripts and Readers" 95).

While MS L is not as small as books such as Cambridge University Library MS Additional 4122, neither is it as large as the Vernon manuscript. MS L's size falls between the two extremes, suggesting that the spectrum of purposes of the manuscript's original author and audience also fell somewhere in between the purposes of large and small books. For a medieval book, MS L would have been considered medium-sized, and it is therefore difficult to draw any firm conclusions strictly from the manuscript's measurements. Albeit, the measurements of some confirmed fraternal sermon compilations are near the measurements of MS L. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 26 "measures approximately 151 x 116mm, and the manuscript's inclusion of a number of sources of Franciscan origin, coupled with the characteristic portable format of the manuscript—suggests that Bodley 26

was a mendicant compilation". London, British Library, Additional MS 46919, measuring 230 x 170mm, also is known to be a personal mendicant compilation (Fletcher 15).

While the size of the book cannot conclusively prove that the book's authors were friars and its audience was lay congregations, as Beatrice Brown also has argued, it can be conjectured that the book's size suggests an author sympathetic to the needs of friars who created a book that potentially could have been used by them. That said, the book also is of such a size that it could have found a home in virtually any library – and indeed could have originated in almost any scriptorium or workshop.

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Aesthetics

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While MS L is not a highly ornate manuscript, the embellishment of the text is designed to be aesthetically appealing. Both Parts One and Two of the manuscript are embellished with the same decoration style. Despite their similar decoration, Part Two is written in another hand. It is obvious from this that the decoration was later included to add uniformity to the manuscript. If MS L originally was produced as a sermon book (and I believe that it may have been.), that would account for the manuscript's initial lack of decoration. As Alan J. Fletcher writes, "Sermon books are rarely ornate and de luxe; on the contrary, they incline towards the the workaday". "Workaday" perfectly describes how MS L must have looked prior to the addition of its embellishment. Still, as Fletcher also notes, sermon books could be beautiful if they were "made professionally, such as were many of the manuscripts containing the systematic sermon cycles" (Fletcher 24).

The fact that the decoration was added later may suggest the point at which the manuscript passed into new ownership. Whoever the new owner was, it appears as if he or she desired a manuscript with an overarching aesthetic appeal: a volume that appeared as if it had been made expressly for him or her. The decoration also suggests that the embellisher intended for the new audience to read the saints' lives and the romances as a cohesive whole.

Texts

Based upon the disarrangement of texts found in MS L's extant *temporale* texts, a sympathetic reading of the disarrangement suggests that parts of MS L were at first comprised of a small series of booklets which first circulated separately and later were bound into the manuscript.[27] Other clues to the manuscript's texts circulating separately include the damage that appears in the manuscript from the life of "St Blase" onwards. As noted before, the texts from this point forward appear faded which could suggest water damage or exposure to the elements (i.e., perhaps they could have been used in an outdoor preaching environment). The parchment used for these texts also appears to be of lesser quality than that used for the preceding texts.

Such a reading of the manuscript's evidence is also supported by the fragmentary appearance of the "Life of Christ" included in the manuscript and the two blank versos that appear in the *sanctorale* prior to the legends of *Sancta Crux* and "St Nicholas" potentially also offer evidence of some individually circulated booklets. Throughout MS L, except for these isolated narratives, the narratives are written on both recto and verso sides of the parchment. Despite the fact that texts may have circulated separately before being included in a single volume, this does not discount the fact that even an early audience would have accepted the texts included therein as belonging together.

As Thomas Liszka writes, in the case of *temporale* and *sanctorale* texts, "It seems clear that, while the audience probably recognized smaller units and separate sections of the manuscript, they also saw a unity to the whole" (Liszka, "South English Legendaries" 30). While contemporary scholars see MS L's *temporale* and *sanctorale* as distinct entities, medieval readers "recognized the *temporale* and *sanctorale* as one continuous series of *vitae* of holy people" (Liszka, South English Legendaries" 30). This sense of the lives creating a cohesive whole manuscript is further enhanced by the presence of themes within the manuscript's textual organization.

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[27] See Appendix for delineations of where booklets may occur. The booklets indicated in the appendix are suggested by Liszka.

Themes

Evidence for later authors and audiences occurs as the themes of MS L materialize. The predominating theme of the manuscript becomes an emphasis on Christ's passion and Easter material in general as the extant manuscript begins with *temporale* selections of Christ's infancy and ministry and transitions from the *temporale* to the *sanctorale* with the text of *Sancta Crux*. *Sancta Crux* thereby becomes the centre of the manuscript, lying between the *temporale* and *sanctorale*. In Chapter III, I will develop this idea and discuss how this particular text's placement may have shaped past audiences' understandings of MS L as a whole, and what the current state of MS L appears to communicate today.

Similar to the manuscript's decoration, through their organization by theme, the texts selected for inclusion in the *sanctorale* of MS L show an interest in orderliness and coherency. In particular, the texts included in Part One of MS L, the part nearest the manuscript's genesis, indicate a programmatic interest in thematic arrangements of texts. The arrangement of texts according to specific themes early in the manuscript expands later in the manuscript to include various saints known as common or popular in the collective medieval imagination. This shift in themes shows the shift in authorship and audience from the beginning to the end of MS L's compilation process. Yet the uniform decoration shows a scribe with a continued interest in imposing order upon the manuscript.

Conclusion

At the beginning of its compilation, MS L had a specific author and audience; as the manuscript evolved and expanded, it acquired new authors and audiences. As with other *SEL* manuscripts, "there are at least three levels of textual coherence in play: that of the item, that of the compilation, and that of the ensemble (the cultural text of the *SEL* taken as a whole)" (Robins 192). One could, indeed, examine the manuscript by first considering the core texts of Part One which form the foundation of the manuscript and then proceed outward in the manuscript's evolution and consider piecemeal the texts added at a later date. Alternatively, a 'whole book' approach can be taken where the whole book is examined as it stands, and the

current arrangement of texts is regarded as a work of art with individual texts considered in relation to the larger work of art that is the present MS L.

Since the final compilers of MS L, in the first instance, bound all of the texts of MS L together, this suggests a belief that the texts belonged together. Albeit, that sense of anthology may primarily hinge upon "nothing more specific than a shared language (early Middle English) and literary form (verse)" (Edwards, "Contents, Construction, and Circulation" 28). Furthermore, they went to considerable lengths to preserve order in the manuscript through thematically arranging texts. They also uniformly embellished the majority of the texts in the manuscript. It therefore seems appropriate and encouraged by the artefact itself (MS L) to take a whole book approach rather than a fragmented one that considers the book at separate stages of its history. To that end, this thesis approaches MS L on the manuscript's own terms, and incorporates the book's overarching themes as ways into understanding individual texts and gaining a deeper understanding of the manuscript itself. These themes within the manuscript are the centrality of the Holy Cross and Easter, chronology and time in the construction of MS L, the importance of place and space in the manuscript, martyred saints and their communities, and, finally, the centrality of creation and recreation in the *SEL* as a whole and especially in MS L.

Although the manuscript seems to ask for a 'whole book' reading, such a reading still does not conclusively identify the authors and audiences of MS L. As Tony Edwards writes, "much about L resists full clarification." And, as Edwards later says, "The circumstances of its genesis and assemblage can only be glimpsed shadowily through the physical details of the manuscript" (Edwards, "Oxford Bodleian" 30). Despite the fact that MS L's compositional genesis "can only be glimpsed shadowily," the ensuing chapters seek to add a further analysis of the book that will provide *SEL* scholars with a clearer vision of the book's authors, audiences, and textual construction.

CHAPTER TWO

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108, Winchester College, MS 33A, and the *South English Legendary* Tradition

In looking at MS L, scholars commonly begin with the assumption that since the manuscript is the earliest Middle English one of its kind containing a *temporale* and a *sanctorale* and can be dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century the manuscript must have been compiled near the beginning of the *SEL's* evolution and that therefore later scribes may have consulted it whilst compiling later *SEL* manuscripts. In other words, it has been assumed that MS L lies near the core of the evolutionary process. Furthermore, it has been assumed that the *SEL* manuscripts were "most likely the joint work of a whole abbey... where the plan seems to have been fixed and brought into definite shape" (Horstmann viii). It has also been acknowledged as a possibility that "the first attempts, the oldest parts, were made before and at other places" (Horstmann viii). Such assumptions impose an unwarrantedly rigid structure upon MS L because it presumes that MS L's scribes, like other *SEL* scribes, may have intended to produce a manuscript with texts that potentially could be used in the liturgy and sought to follow the liturgical calendar.

In 1968, Beverly Boyd "argued that we should think of the *SEL* as a large corpus of items which had a certain traditional quality to them; these items circulated fitfully, subject to accidents of availability, their transmission animated by the 'ingredient of change'" (Boyd, "A New Approach" 498). In contrast, Manfred Görlach "emphasizes the surviving compilations, seeing them as different redactions of a unified work, each redaction animated by a consistent purpose" (Robins 191). In the case of MS L, I think considering the manuscript as an organic entity which simply shows growth over time is fairer than regarding it as a "disordered" manuscript as some past scholars have viewed it. When one accepts

that the evolution of many (though perhaps not all) *SEL* manuscripts was by organic compilation (i.e., a gradual assemblage of texts) rather than following a prescribed model, it then becomes easier to see why it may have been entirely possible for the MS L scribe to have been operating on a preferential model rather than a prescribed *SEL* template that followed the liturgical calendar.

By preferential, I refer to a type of process whereby the scribe selected the texts to be included in MS L based upon what he or she (or perhaps even a patron) wanted to read but selected the texts from an early manuscript resembling the manuscripts that are deemed more complete versions of the *SEL* (e.g. Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 145 and British Museum MS Harley 2277). Because the later extant manuscripts of the *SEL* order their texts according to the liturgical calendar and MS L does not as strictly adhere to the liturgical calendar, MS L has been considered a less orderly manuscript and therefore has been viewed as being of inferior quality.

If the scribe, however, was selecting texts according to a preferential model, that would account for what frequently has been labelled the disorderliness of MS L. Such a selection model also has significant implications for another manuscript, Winchester College, MS 33, whose first booklet appears to have been copied from MS L or a similar manuscript. In this chapter, I will discuss the construction of MS L in the context of the evolution of the *SEL*, explore the shape of MS L in relation to MS W, consider the prospect that MS L may exist outside the main body of the *SEL* tradition, and will conclude with a discussion of possible exemplars for each manuscript and some of the implications of this.

MS L and the Evolution of the *SEL*

In his exhaustive 1974 work, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary*, Manfred Görlach analysed the genetic history of as many *SEL* manuscripts as were available to him at that time. On the final page of the volume, Görlach presents a stemma of the *SEL* tradition as he conceived of it at that time. MS L appears near the head of this family tree of manuscripts, with Görlach indicating that it descended from an unknown "L" exemplar. Notwithstanding, since the "L" exemplar has never been located and indeed seems unlikely ever to be unearthed, considering MS L as

a manuscript in its own right belonging to a separate branch of its own may prove more fruitful. An examination of Görlach's diagram reveals that even he had his doubts about including MS L in the *SEL* stemma: he places it in such a way as to indicate that the manuscript branches away from the rest of the *SEL* collection, suggesting that it existed mostly as an entity to itself from which few scribes copied.

Furthermore, in the second chapter of his 1974 publication, Manfred Görlach discusses how the *South English Legendary* collection must have grown and developed, and he attempts a reconstruction of its evolution. He begins with the premise that "it is *a priori* likely that the first 'translator' and compiler followed a model, but major differences in the length and in the style of the existing SEL legends and homiletic pieces suggest that the poems derive from different source collections" (Görlach 6). Görlach elaborates on his hypothesis by saying that, for a time, such a model suggests that the textual collection process remained fairly open with early redactors freely adding and omitting texts at their pleasure (Görlach 6).

As was noted in the previous chapter, in her 2011 essay "The *SEL* and Its Major Latin Models," Sherry Reames has argued that there was no reason to confine one's views on *SEL* sources to what Görlach identifies as "a liturgical collection of the Sarum type" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 7), and she also remarks that "Most liturgical collections were still 'open texts' – unregulated, unofficial, largely anonymous, amenable to local variations, and sufficiently flexible and unpretentious to encourage further changes and revisions" (Reames, "South English Legendary" 90). To show how the process of selecting texts worked, Görlach starts with what commonly is considered the beginning of a work: the prologues of two early *SEL* manuscripts. Variations of these two prologues serve as introductions to subsequent *SEL* collections.

Building upon Görlach's research, Thomas Liszka also has carried out extensive research on the evolution of the *SEL* prologue. Liszka notes that, following in the steps of Görlach, many modern scholars have identified the first lines of the *sanctorale* of "A" redactions as "prologue" and that there is indeed "textual authority for using that name". He goes on to point out that "Manuscript J (Cotton MS Julius D IX, British Library), for example, refers to it as 'Prologus

libri'" (Liszka, "First 'A' Redaction" 407). Some manuscripts of the *SEL* tradition do consider the lines to be standard prologue, but in other manuscripts, the selection is given more descriptive names such "'Banna Sanctorum, 'Banna,' 'de Natiuitate,' 'De baptism qui dicitur nouus fructus,' and simply 'Here it spekith of the fruyt called Cristendom'" (Liszka, "First 'A' Redaction" 408). It is helpful to know of these alternative titles for the *SEL* prologue to understand the progression of the *SEL* tradition and scribes' conceptions of the Collection as a whole. In relation to MS L, the title of "Banna Sanctorum" is of particular interest, and the relevance of this later *SEL* prologue title to the structure of MS L will be further explored in the following chapter.

Liszka's research into the *SEL* prologue has advanced scholarly understanding of the *SEL* compilers' motivations, but much of Görlach's work on the *SEL* prologue has yet to be superseded to this day; a consideration of his understanding of the two primary *SEL* prologues is in order. The first prologue that Görlach examines is that of MS Laud Misc. 108. MS L's "prologue" differs from the ordinary definition of a prologue in that it does not appear at the beginning of the manuscript but instead serves as a transitional piece of writing which occurs "mid-volume, but preceding a number of texts of the January to March portion in correct sequence" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 6).

Interestingly enough, this so-called "prologue" also provides a convenient introduction to the short lives of St Fabian and St Sebastian which follow it—leading one to wonder if perhaps that simply was the intention of the redactor and that, in the past, scholars have read too much into the fact that the four lines resemble a traditional prologue (i.e., one that occurs at the very beginning of a book). For purposes of looking at the *SEL*'s evolution, I will continue using Görlach's definition of the lines preceding "St Fabian" and "St Sebastian" as "prologue". MS L's prologue identifies the purpose of the manuscript and describes what can be found inside:

> AL þis bok is i-maked of holi dawes: and of holie mannes liues
> Þat soffreden for ore louerdes loue: pinene manie and riue,
> Þat ne spareden for none eiȝe: godes weorkes to wurche;

Of ȝwas liues ȝwane heore feste fallez: men redez in holi churche.

Þei ich of alle ne mouwe nou ȝt telle: ichulle telle of some,

Ase euerech feste after oþur: In þe ȝere doth come. (1-6)

From this description of the contents which are intended to appear inside the manuscript and the comment on the ordering of the texts ("ichulle telle of some,/ Ase euerech feste after oþur: In þe ȝere doth come"), it is easy to understand why Görlach and others have assumed that MS L was the earliest extant manuscript of a text resembling later collections of the *South English Legendary* and that the order of this original collection was disrupted in MS L when its texts were collated and the scribe(s) misplaced its prologue.

Görlach finds little order in MS L and interprets the dislocation of the prologue as yet another indicator of disorderliness. He states that "Since the poet could have easily achieved calendar order after he had so explicitly stated his intention in the preface, the existing disorder must clearly be due to later scribes and compilers, including the scribe of MS L himself". Görlach shows further frustration with the manuscript's refusal to adhere to the liturgical calendar as he continues "The surviving selection of texts in MS L is even more difficult to account for: with half of the apostles' legends missing, it cannot reflect a deliberate choice guided by the importance or the liturgical rank of the saints, nor is any personal preference apparent" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 7).

Following his description of MS L's prologue, Görlach presents the prologue of the "A" manuscripts (those which approximate MS Ashmole 43's prologue) which is longer than MS L's prologue. MS L includes only 6 lines of prologue while the "A" manuscripts lengthen the prologue to sixty-seven lines. As was noted earlier, in some manuscripts, the "A" prologue is called the "Banna Sanctorum" due to the long catalogue-like procession described near the middle of the prologue. The procession describes the scene when a king goes into battle and begins by describing the war preparations. First the king selects soldiers to accompany him. After that, he sends archers and trumpeters bearing his banner before him to announce his coming (25-28).

The prologue then expands to compare Christ to a king going into battle and

describes how He begins His battle in a manner similar to that of earthly kings. First, He sent forth trumpeters in the form of the patriarchs and prophets who came to earth long preceding Him. These heralds told the earth of the King's coming and told people to amend their ways in preparation for the King's arrival (33-37). Following the trumpeters, the patriarchs and prophets, came the "kniȝtes of Þe rerewarde" (54) and "Þe apostles ne þe martirs" (56).

Near the end of this long prologue detailing the army of the Lord, the scribe outlines the texts that will be included in the book. He notes that men like to hear stories of battles of kings and hearty knights, but instead of engaging in creating more such literary offerings, he instead will be telling stories "Of apostles & martirs þat hardy kniȝtes were/ at studeuast were in bataille & ne fleide noȝt for fere" (63-64). He furthermore states that he will be discussing the sufferings of these mighty men and women of faith, and he will tell their stories in the order that their feast days fall in the year (65-66).

Görlach notes that, unlike MS L, the "A" manuscripts' prologues omit any references to the liturgy. He also notes that "the scorn the "A" prologue pours on romances suggests a slightly different audience: [it] is offered as a pious substitute for the too worldly interests of people accustomed to listen to romances" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 7). It is worth pointing out here that another medieval collection, the Middle English *Myrrour*, "a translation of the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman sermon cycle by Robert de Gretham that was undertaken probably in the late fourteenth century, envisaged its use not specifically by preachers but by *readers* and *hearers*". Similar to the prologue of MS L, the manuscript describes its prospective audience as one inclined to "consume such profitless romances as *Guy of Warwick* or *Sir Tristram*; the *Myrrour*'s sermons were offered to the likes of these as a healthily pious antidote to their unregenerate taste" (Fletcher 27). When one considers that the possible original title of MS L and other *SEL* manuscripts was *Mirror of Saints Lives*,[28] questions of whether or not the two *Myrrours/Mirrors* might have been intended for the same types of audiences come to the fore.

The scorn for romance found in MS L's prologue that Görlach describes is

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[28] Carl Horstmann writes in a footnote to his introduction to MS L that this was perhaps the original title of the *SEL* (Horstmann vii).

a scorn indicated through omission. MS L's prologue, partly by virtue of its brevity, does not devote the space to distinguishing between fiction and nonfiction that the "A" manuscript prologues do. As Klaus Jankofsky notes, "At the end of the extended comparison which takes up 60 lines, the narrator contrasts his *true stories* with those *false stories* that people like to listen to in the narratives of fights and battles as found in the secular entertainment literature of the day" (Jankofsky, "Entertainment" 710).

Through their descriptions of the "A" prologue's disparaging attitude towards romance and its contrast between the true stories of the *SEL* with the false stories of secular medieval English literature, Görlach and Jankofsky suggest a clue as to one of MS L's audiences. The clue lies in the fact that the MS L prologue is *not* dismissive of the secular genre of romance. As it happens, MS L includes two romances in its collection, and, since the decoration of the romances is the same as that of the saints' lives in the collection, this suggests that whoever added the romances in a later hand considered the narratives to be on an equal par with the saints' lives included in the manuscript. Therefore, it is reasonable to conjecture that MS L could have, at least at one point in its history, been compiled for an audience that is not quite the same as the presumed audience of later *SEL* collections. It seems that the MS belonged to an environment that was markedly sympathetic to romance, both when the original copyist wrote the L prologue and when later additions to the manuscript were made.

It is when one assumes that MS L consistently existed as part of the main *SEL* tradition that problems arise. Since later *SEL* manuscripts order their texts by the liturgical year, and MS L does not adhere to the liturgical year so strictly, the temptation arises to think that the work is disorderly because it has no single internal theme around which its texts are grouped. In contrast to later *SEL* manuscripts, MS L employs multiple organizational schema. As Görlach writes at the end of his description of MS L, "Judgement on L is complicated by the mixture of calendar vs. hierarchical order and random arrangement and by the fragmentation at the beginning" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 90). For Görlach, MS L's apparent disorder presents a major challenge to reconstructing the genealogy of the *SEL*. Görlach writes that "The fact that a conflated and much corrupted manuscript like L is at the

beginning of the *SEL* tradition is the greatest problem for the reconstruction of the genesis of the collection" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 90).

If Görlach is correct that MS L stands near the beginning of the *SEL* tradition and that other *SEL* manuscripts were copied from it, then he is correct that it presents a genuine problem in the reconstruction of the *SEL* tradition. But, if it is not necessarily the case that MS L was ever stringently intended to reflect liturgical or calendar order, and was not used as an exemplar for many subsequent copies of the *SEL* (despite the manuscript's relatively early date), that greatly changes how MS L should be viewed. If, for example, MS L was compiled by a friar for his own edification and occasional preaching or was commissioned by a pious layman for the education and entertainment of his family, there would be no need for it to be organised strictly according to the calendar, leaving it open for the contents and composition of the manuscript to be determined by the particular preferences of the person who commissioned it.[29] In fact, as Alan J. Fletcher notes, "The chances are… that when a preaching compilation is found to be thoroughly eclectic in its sermons and other contents, it will be prove to be a personal product". In contrast, a "manuscript that contains the longer and systematic sermon cycle, by contrast, will prove to be institutionally sanctioned or a product of professional scribes who had a practical eye to the clerical book market" (Fletcher 23).

The Shape of MS L

While it is true that MS L does not include all of the saints in its *sanctorale* that later *SEL* manuscripts do, and thus does not as closely follow the liturgical calendar, it is not completely eclectic in that it does not severely depart from the calendar. In fact, since MS L's *sanctorale* begins with *Sancta Crux*, it could be argued that the compiler of the manuscript possessed a special interest in the Christian calendar as Easter and the Cross are central to an understanding of how time is organised in the Christian year. Although the Discovery and Exaltation of the Cross are presented in a single narrative block, if one overlooks for a moment the fact that the Cross has

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[29] For example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Th. D. 1, was compiled by a Franciscan, Nicholas Philip, for his own purposes. Philip copied "booklets of sermons for his personal use—indeed, he tells us when and where he preached some of them—before eventually marshalling his booklets into one codex" (Fletcher, *Popular Preaching* 16).

more than one feast day (the Discovery of the Cross has one feast day in the liturgical calendar [3 May] and the Exaltation of the Cross has another [14 September]), and notices that MS L's calendar begins in May, an interesting pattern emerges in the manuscript.

Here and there also appear saints' lives organised in what could be described as "chronological clusters": a chronological cluster is a group of saints' lives that appear in chronological order. The first cluster in the manuscript comprises items 10-18. The cluster begins with the first feast day for the Discovery of the Holy Cross which is 3 May. The cluster also includes two other saints with May feast days: "St Dunstan" and "St Augustine". It then proceeds to "St Barnabas and "St John the Baptist" for June, "St James the Great" for July, "St Oswald" for August, and finishes with "St Edward the Elder" and "St Francis" for October. Although this first cluster in MS L does not include all of the saints in the liturgical calendar from May to October, all of the saints that it presents *are* in chronological order. Immediately after "St Francis," there is some disruption of the chronological pattern, with the inclusion of "St Alban" (22 June), "St Wulfstan" (19 January), and "St Matthew" (21 September). After these 3 saints, the manuscript resumes its chronological clustering with saints twenty-two to forty-one and fifty to fifty-seven. The final cluster in the manuscript is items sixty-one and sixty-five which consist of a November cluster (i.e., a group consisting of "All Hallows" and "All Souls" days as well as "St Edmund the Confessor," "St Martin," and "St Leonard"). [30]

These 4 clusters do not suggest a manuscript constructed quite so haphazardly as scholars such as Görlach and D'Evelyn and Mill have suggested, but rather a manuscript copy consistent with results that might be produced were a scribe(s) browsing through a collection (or collections) of *temporale* and *sanctorale* material (which was already ordered according to the liturgical calendar) and selecting specific items to be copied as they found them in the exemplar(s) they were copying from. This seems a far more sensible conclusion to reach rather than to assume that a scribe(s) ineptly assembled the manuscript; it also accounts for the

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[30] As noted previously, see Appendix for booklet delineations.

chronological "bunching" that occurs in the manuscript.[31]

Another system of organisation that has been suggested for MS L is that of booklets. The presence of "blank versos on fols. 22 v (after the end of item 9) and 110 v (after the end of item thirty-six), seem to indicate booklet division, as does the space left on fol. 10 v after the completion of item 8". Yet, even the evidence of organisation by booklets opens itself to debate. Since the manuscript is bound so tightly, it is complicated to discern precisely where booklets end and "there is no final agreement as to how many" (Edwards, "Bodleian Library" 25) booklets occur in the manuscript. Thomas Liszka has argued that he believes there were five booklets which were divided into these five folios: 1-10, 11-22, 23-55, 56-203, and 204-237 (Liszka, "MS Laud Misc. 108" 76-78). In either case, both the chronological groupings and the possible groupings by booklet show a careful scribe(s) choosing what he/she wanted included in the manuscript. However, there does not appear to be any particular connection between the chronological clusters of texts previously described and the booklet groupings in the manuscript.

In or Out of the Tradition?

Despite his disparagement of MS L as a "conflated and much corrupted manuscript," Görlach still gave MS L an important place in his *SEL* stemma. Along with the reconstructed "Z" and "A" *SEL* collections from which he conjectured that all of the *SEL* manuscripts descended, Görlach also posited a lost "L" exemplar which MS L itself reflects (if only in a distorted form). Görlach's reasoning was that, since MS L was so corrupt, there must have been at least one manuscript which was copied sometime between the creation of "Z" and "A" and MS L. But, if MS L is seen as the result of a selection made on separate and individual principles, rather than a copy that merely "foreshadows the pattern and content of the later S.E.L." (D'Evelyn and Mill 15), then there is perhaps no need to postulate any great difference between the "L" and "A" exemplars.

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[31] However, it should here be acknowledged that these groupings may or may not have been original with the scribe who compiled the manuscript. In its present state, MS L "has been cropped and is tightly bound, making proper investigation impossible" (Edwards 25).

If the lost "L" exemplar is removed, the resulting stemma leaves MS L branching away from, rather than contributing to the development of the central *SEL* tradition. This is because MS L's differences from this tradition are better explained, not genetically, but in terms of its own particular purposes. Indeed, D'Evelyn and Mill perhaps implicitly acknowledge this when they draw this conclusion from their comparison between MS L, Corpus Christ College, Cambridge MS 145 and British Library MS Harley 2277: "When to all these differences [in lengths of texts of saints' lives in MS L compared with other SEL manuscripts] are added the extensive variants in the readings of single lines throughout the text it is obvious that the place of MS Laud in the history of the text of the S.E.L. is extremely uncertain" (D'Evelyn and Mill 24).

MS L and MS W

MS L is not the only *SEL* manuscript that appears to stand on the borderlands of the *SEL* tradition. Another similar manuscript is Winchester College MS 33. Winchester College MS 33 (henceforth MS W), like MS L, is divided into booklets--and interestingly enough, also can be divided into five booklets. [32] It has received a scholarly reaction similar to that of reactions to MS L. Ralph Hanna III writes that "Winchester 33 certainly looks like a grab bag: simply consider the very different principles by which the *South English Legendary* texts were put together in booklets 1 and 2, from the incipit copying in the latter case to the selective hopping about an exemplar in the former" (Hanna 44).[33]

As with MS L, the primary means of determining MS W's authorship and audience are the texts of the manuscript itself. As Hanna writes, "The only basis one can use to discuss the compilatory procedures by which diverse texts were joined is that of textual detail" (Hanna 40). In conjunction with examining the texts

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[32] As Norman Davis explains in his description of the manuscript, "The book is made up of five distinct sections, all on different types of paper" (Davis 135).

[33] Davis further writes that "The volume is a paper book comprising 119 leaves so numbered in a modern hand, measuring about 8 1/4x 51/2 inches (210x 140 mm). It was bound in green leather in a single volume in 1978" (Davis 135). So, today, the manuscript gives the appearance of being single slender volume, but the manuscript's appearance has differed at some points in history: "From approximately 1948 it had been in two volumes labelled A and B, divided after f. 73, but before that it had been a single volume" (Davis 135).

of the individual manuscript, it is also important "to identify the scribe's source materials and their prior configurations—to measure exactly how 'miscellaneous' the codex is—one must be able to specify, as narrowly as possible, the scribe's sources. And this can only be accomplished by the book's coincidence in shared error with other surviving copies" (Hanna 40). One source for MS W appears to have been MS L, though it should be noted that producing the entire manuscript of MS W required multiple exemplars and "required that the scribe had access to at least five, and possibly six separate examplars" (Hanna 40). Booklet One or Part A of the manuscript, which is the part that I will focus upon in this chapter, "involved at least two different archetypes" (Hanna 40).

MS W was identified by Görlach in *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary* as descending from "L": the hypothetical exemplar previously mentioned which conflated at least two earlier *SEL* manuscripts and subsequently gave rise to MS L. While this conception presents a nice, clear family tree for MS L and MS W, the true story of MS L and MS W does not appear to be quite so clear-cut. Instead of both scribes copying from a single manuscript, it appears as if they instead both may have had access to manuscripts resembling what Görlach has labelled the "Z" and "A" manuscripts: "Z" standing for an original *SEL* collection, and "A" denoting a slightly later *SEL* manuscript more influenced by the *Legenda Aurea* than the preceding "Z" collection. If the scribes of MS L and MS W did have access to such manuscripts, then "L" effectively vanishes from the stemma; MS L becomes Görlach's "L".

In the case of MS W, the first clue that leads in the direction of MS L and MS W drawing upon at least two other *SEL* manuscripts for their compilations is the fact that while the first part of MS W includes many of the same saints as MS L, a selection process that Görlach identifies as following "a conservative 'L' exemplar" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 105), the two manuscripts occasionally supply different versions of the same saint's life. For example, MS L might choose a long version of a certain saint's life while MS W selects a shorter version. Therefore, it seems that the L and W scribes must have had access to at least two Middle English *legenda* collections.

Most of the texts that are the same in MS L and MS W occur in the first

booklet of MS W. MS W formerly was divided into two booklets (there clearly is a definite break between ff.47/48, and Görlach confirms this) before being rebound into one volume in 1660 when a list of contents in the manuscript was made and appended to the beginning of the "new" book.[34] The first booklet contains a "Life of Adam," "Life of Noah," "Life of Abraham," "Life of Rebecca," "Life of Joseph," "Life of Pilate," "Life of Judas Iscariot," "Life of Oswald," "Edward the Martyr," "St Cuthbert," "St Mary of Egypt," "St Philip and James," "De Festis Mobilibus," "St Peter and St Paul," "St Matthias," and "History of the Holy Cross".[35] A number of these saints' lives also appear in MS L. In view of the fact that MS L is damaged, and items one through seven of its *temporale* are missing, it is impossible to say with certainty whether or not any of the Old Testament saints' lives or the lives of "Pilate" and "Judas" ever appeared in its folios. In spite of that, if one accepts that both the MS L and MS W scribes were drawing upon the same texts for their collections, it would seem likely that the lives of "Judas" and "Pilate" could have been included in MS L's *temporale*. Indeed, it would be logical to include them given MS L's emphasis on Easter and these two characters' dominant roles in the events leading up to the crucifixion of Christ.

In booklet 1 of MS W, the saints' lives that appear that MS W has in common with MS L are "St Edward the Martyr," "St Cuthbert," "St Mary of Egypt," "St Gregory," "Saints Philip and Jacob," "St Matthias," "St Paul," and the "History of the Holy Cross". All of these legends in MS W begin in the same way as those in MS L and preserve the same rhyme scheme, suggesting that they descend from a common exemplar. Both MS W and MS L also include a life of St Oswald, but the lives are different versions of the legend. MS W's version of "St Oswald" suggests an exemplar similar to MS Ashmole 43, and it seems to me most likely that, like the MS L scribe, the MS W scribe was picking and choosing specific legends for

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[34] Interestingly enough, a mistake appears in the list of contents. The list of contents states that the "Life of St Edward the Confessor" appears in the manuscript when in reality, the legend included is that of "St Edward the Martyr".

[35] Booklet 2 contains the following: "History of the Fruit Called Christendom," "Feast of the Circumcision," "Feast of Epiphany," "St Fabian," "St Sebastian," "St Agnes," "Dialogue between Dubius and Lucidus," "Dialogue between Occupation, Idleness and Doctrine," "The Gospel of Nicodemus," "The Abbey of the Holy Ghost," and "Charter of God's Foundation".

his/her collection from at least two different early *SEL* exemplars. Given the number of texts that booklet 1 of MS W shares with MS L, it is important to consider the possibility that MS W is actually copying most of its texts in booklet one from MS L. The only text in booklet one that significantly differs from MS L's texts is "St Oswald". Yet, since an alternative "St Oswald" is presented, the scribe of MS W must have used at least one other source besides MS L.

While the first booklet of MS W carries a selection of texts that must surely be derived either directly from MS L or from a lost exemplar common to both MS L and MS W, the question springs to mind of whether or not the two scribes of these manuscripts might have had similar selection criteria. It is significant that the two manuscripts present some items in strikingly similar ways. For example, both of them include the "History of the Holy Cross," which appears in a long form only in these two manuscripts, all *other SEL*-collections dividing it into three parts, Early History, Invention, and Exaltation.

Not only is the same version of the legend of the cross chosen by the MS L and MS W scribes, but also this legend appears in each case in a similar position within the collection. In MS L, *Sancta Crux* is placed between the *temporale* and *sanctorale* sections thus serving as metaphorical textual bridge between two sections. In a similar fashion, MS W's *Historia St Crucis* occurs at the end of the first booklet. The scribe has written a large, fluent Anglicana "Amen" at the end of the legend and what follows in the wake of the cross legend is a blank recto preceding the next text in the manuscript-- the "Feast of Circumcision". Granted, since MS W once consisted of two separate booklets, *Historia St Crucis* would at one time have been the last legend in a booklet. As it has stood from 1660, however, the text of *Historia St Crucis* functions as a transitional text between the two booklets of MS Winchester 33.

Conclusion

Because the MS L and MS W scribes placed the legend of the Cross at the centre of their respective manuscripts, this suggests a particular interest in Easter material (further signified by the inclusion of "Judas" and "Pilate" texts in MS W) as well as the centrality of the Cross to the Christian faith. Of course, this centrality is not

a new concept where Christianity is concerned, and the Cross had been vital to an understanding of the Christian faith for centuries before the creation of these manuscripts. Still, these compilers' decision to place the cross at the centre of their books signals that a cross-centred reading of the texts surrounding the *Historia St Crucis* may be significant to an understanding of the manuscripts as whole books.

CHAPTER THREE

SANCTA CRUX: TIME-SPACE FOR CONTEMPLATION AND CRUSADE[36]

As noted in the previous chapter, *Historia St Crucis* or *Sancta Crux*, appears between the two major structural elements of Winchester MS 33 as well as between the two parts of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108. [37]. The effect of this positioning is that the text serves as connector or pivotal point within both manuscripts. Through the concept of the chronotope, this chapter specifically focuses upon the effect of the text's placement in MS L.

Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of the chronotope, a word which literally means "time-space", provides a valuable framework for examining how *Sancta Crux* functions within this manuscript. In his essay "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," Bakhtin describes the chronotope as "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (Bakhtin 84). Although Bakhtin ostensibly is speaking of the novel in this essay, the concept of the chronotope can be (and has been) applied to other genres. In order to show how the novelistic chronotope developed, Bakhtin refers to hagiography as well as to Greek romance and the romances of the Middle Ages, drawing upon the genres to describe various chronotopes that appear in novels.[38] In

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[37] This is Carl Horstmann's name for the legend. The manuscript itself identifies the text as the *Historia St Crucis*.

[38] In his discussion of the evolution of the chronotope, Bakhtin identifies "crisis hagiographies" as possessing chronotopes that resemble the time-spaces found in Greek romances. Bakhtin notes that the chronotopes that develop within these hagiographies arise from the two kinds of images of individuals that the stories present: "images that are separated and reunited through crisis and rebirth: the image of the sinner (before rebirth) and the image of the holy man or saint (after crisis and rebirth)" (Bakhtin 115). Because *Sancta Crux* is formed from a concatenation of anecdotes, MS L's version of the Holy Cross is held together through a series of individual "crisis hagiographies," each possessing its own chronotopes. This chapter, however, is devoted to a discussion of the overarching chronotope that *Sancta Crux* becomes within MS L by virtue of the text's structure and position within the manuscript.

the same essay, Bakhtin describes chronotopes as being specific points in narrative where "time thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history" (Bakhtin 84).

Not only does the narrative of *Sancta Crux* contain chronotopes, the whole legend as found in MS L becomes a time-space, "takes on flesh", and "becomes charged and responsive". The text does this in three specific ways: 1) through the shape of the narrative itself; 2) through the legend's position at the beginning of the *sanctorale*; and 3) through its location between the *temporale* and the *sanctorale*. As the story of the Holy Cross becomes electrified (to extend Bakhtin's scientific metaphor),[39] the narrative transforms into a single, cohesive time-space, a "still point" (Eliot 15.62) within the manuscript focussed upon inspiring contemplation and crusade.[40]

The legend of the Holy Cross occurs in all of the *SEL* manuscripts, but in MS L it appears in one narrative block rather than being divided into two parts to fit into the liturgical calendar; the medieval church celebrated the History and Invention of the Cross on 3 May and the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September. Like other *SEL* manuscripts, within its single narrative space, MS L first presents the History and Invention of the Cross and follows it with the account of the Exaltation of the Cross. However, since the MS L scribe chose not to divide the legend, what instead appears on the page is a cohesive, focussed time-space for narrative action which creates a different textual atmosphere than that evoked by the presentation of two individual Cross legends as found in other *SEL* manuscripts.

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[39] In his introduction to the concept of the chronotope, Bakhtin writes: "This term [space-time] is employed in mathematics, and was introduced as part of Einstein's Theory of Relativity. The special meaning it has in relativity theory is not important for our purposes; we are borrowing it for literary criticism almost as a metaphor (almost, but not entirely). What counts for us is the fact that it expresses the inseparability of space and time (time as the fourth dimension of space). We understand the chronotope as a formally constitutive category of literature; we will not deal with the chronotope in other areas of culture" (Bakhtin 84).

[40] Incidentally, and of specific interest in the context of the *SEL*, (since the majority of *SEL* manuscripts include a life of St Thomas Becket) T.S. Eliot's poem *Burnt Norton* and his play *Murder in the Cathedral* are closely connected conceptually. Eliot composed *Burnt Norton* while he was writing *Murder in the Cathedral* (Ackroyd 84).

The larger stories of both the History and Invention of the Cross and the Exaltation of the Cross contain shorter anecdotes of the Cross within them.

At the centre of *Sancta Crux*'s chronotope lies the story of the Persian King Cosdroe. The story begins with Cosdroe journeying to Jerusalem, finding "ane partie of þe swete croiz" (403) and becoming very proud of having secured a piece of the Cross for himself. Soon after his return to Persia, Cosdroe commits a blasphemous act. Rather than venerating the cross (as he should by Christian standards), he instead builds a shrine-like tower embellished with "ȝymmes and of deorewurþe stones" (407) for his own honour and glory.[41]

As if it were not blasphemy enough for him to set himself up as a type of saint and to create his own shrine, Cosdroe goes further still:

> þare-a-boue [the tower] he liet do
>
> Foourme of sonne and of mone: and of steorrene al-so,
>
> Schininde ase þei it heom-seolue weren: and tuyrne a-boute faste;
>
> Ase a þondringue he made swyþe ofte: þat muche folk ofte a-gaste;
>
> Þoruȝ smale holes bi quoyntyse: þat watur al-so þere
>
> Ofte he made to grounde falle: riȝt ase it rein were. (407-412)

These lines alluding to the creation of a sun, a moon, and stars foreshadow what the narrative soon reveals. Cosdroe's creation of his own heavenly bodies hints that this Persian king believes himself to be on a par with the first Creator of the sun, moon, and stars.[42] Only four lines later, this suggestion is confirmed when the reader/listener learns that within the tower

[41] For example, the description of St Thomas Becket's shrine resembles the description of Cosdroe's tower with its precious stones. As Alan Kendall writes, "About 1500 the following description of the shrine was given by an anonymous Venetian: 'The tomb of St Thomas the Martyr excels all belief. Notwithstanding its great size, it is wholly covered with plates of pure gold, yet the gold is scarcely seen because it is covered with various precious stones, as sapphires, balasses, diamonds, rubies and emeralds; and wherever the eye turns something more beautiful than the rest is observed. Nor, in addition to these natural beauties, is the skill of art wanting, for in the midst of the gold are the most beautiful sculptured gems, both small and large, as well as such as are in relief, as agates, onyxes, cornelians and cameos; and some cameos are of such size that I am afraid to name it; but everything is far surpassed by a ruby, not larger than a thumbnail, which is fixed at the right of the altar'" (Kendall 115).

[42] "And God made two great lights: a greater light to rule the day; and a lesser light to rule the night: and the stars. And he set them in the firmament of heaven to shine upon the earth. And to

> he [Cosdroe] sitten him-seolf þar-inne ase a god
>
> In his riȝt half one sege he made: his o sone he sette þere
>
> In stude ase þei it were godes sone: þat non defaute it nere,
>
> In his leoft half he made an oþur: and a fair koc he liet fette
>
> And in stude of þe holie gost: on his leoft half bi him sette.
>
> (416-420)

Rather than exalting the Cross wood that he found in Jerusalem, Cosdroe chooses to exalt himself to the level of God the Father and creates both a substitute Son of God and a substitute Holy Ghost. Instead of the Cross standing at the centre of the story, Cosdroe's shrine to himself, the tower, takes pre-eminence. Because of Cosdroe's blasphemous act of building the tower,[43] it is theologically appropriate for a Christian to put the world to rights by first bringing Cosdroe down, then rescuing the Cross wood and exalting it, or raising it high.

In this story, the Christian who restores righteous order is "Eraclius of Rome" (423). When he arrives at Cosdroe's tower, he finds the evil king and tells him "bote þou wolle on him [Christ] bi-lieue: þou schalt here in a stounde / Of mine hondene þolie deth: and þi pruyte i-brouȝt to grounde" (450-451). Cosdroe refuses to believe in Christ and the power of the Cross, so Eraclius "drouȝ out is swerd: and smot of is heued riȝt þere" (455).

Following the narrative of Cosdroe's defeat, the reader/listener is invited to join with Eraclius in rejoicing over this successful "taking of the Cross", or crusade. In celebration of reclaiming for Christendom the piece of the Cross that Cosdroe once possessed, Eraclius "bar þe swete croiz: in-to þe temple an heiȝ,/ He bi-gan to singue þat newe song" (497-498). The description of Eraclius's processing into the

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rule the day and the night, and to divide the light and the darkness. And God saw that it was good" (Gen. 1:16-18).

[43] Cosdroe's construction of a tower which reaches to his personally constructed heaven closely resembles the biblical Tower of Babel described in Genesis: "And the earth was of one tongue, and of the same speech. And when they removed from the east, they found a plain in the land of Sennaar, and dwelt in it. And each one said to his neighbour: Come, let us make brick, and bake them with fire. And they had brick instead of stones, and slime instead of mortar. And they said: Come, let us make a city and a tower, the top whereof may reach to heaven: and let us make our name famous before we be scattered abroad into all lands" (Gen. 11:1-4). Like the builders of the Tower of Babel, Cosdroe's aim is to make himself, not God, famous.

temple bearing the Cross on high imitates both the medieval Mass, where the Cross was borne at the head of the clerical procession, and the military processions of Christian soldiers who followed the banner of the Cross and who came eventually came to be referred to by historians as crusaders.

Having captured the audience's imagination and collective memory, the narrator could then draw the listening audience into the spiritual community that Eraclius creates around the Cross. The MS L narrator does precisely this by extending Eraclius's veneration of the Cross to the present day when he says, "For ȝuyt men it [Eraclius's song] singueth in holie churche: ȝwane huy berez þe croiz on honde" (508). Then he boldly invites medieval Christians to join in the community of the Cross, using the language of invitation in the sentence "Al folk onourede al-so þe croiz: so feor forth so huy miȝten it do / With offringues and with song: and with oþur melodies al-so" (509-510).

The inclusive word "all" coupled with the phrase "so feor forth" expands the company venerating the Cross from only those surrounding Eraclius to everyone surrounding the symbolic Cross in medieval England. Moreover, the inclusivity of the temple scene reveals *Sancta Crux* to be a text so "charged and responsive" that it figuratively leaps the bounds of the page to include its readers in the holy drama. In this way, *Sancta Crux* serves multiple functions as a catalyst for crusade (that is, a gathering around the Cross) and contemplation both inside and outside of MS L.

It is unlikely that the text served as an impetus for actual crusading although the idea of Crusade was one that lived on long after the Crusades had ceased. For example, "Some of crusading's continued appeal in England before the Reformation is evident in c. 1518-20 when an anonymous author compiled an English-focused history of the crusades in English in response to Henry VIII's interest in the pope's plan for a crusade campaign" (Manion 151). Despite continued interest in the idea of Crusades, the motif of Crusade primarily was included in medieval romances and hagiography as a literary device, and consequently primarily served to influence writing in other forms (Manion 155).

The use of Crusade and the Holy Cross as literary device acquires an unusual dimension in MS L in that the manuscript's construction takes on the persona of literary device. This is accomplished through the textual configuration

of the manuscript (i.e., the order in which the texts appear). Like the Cross Wood which Eraclius bears at the head of the procession into the temple, *Sancta Crux*, as the first saint's life recorded in MS L, appears at the head of what could be seen as a procession of saints' lives, forming a type of battle standard after which all of the other saints' lives follow.

Perhaps inspired by this early figurative presentation of the Cross as a banner behind which the other saints followed, later *SEL* compilers came to see *SEL* collections as metaphorical procession[s] of the Old Testament Patriarchs and prophets, Christ and the saints, marching in triumph under military banners. The metaphor was suggested "from a passage in the Rogationtide text describing the procession that occurred in the service on those days (the three days before Ascension Thursday and April 25)" (Liszka, "The Dragon" 54). In fact, as mentioned in the previous chapter, some later *SEL* manuscripts went so far as to title the prologues to their collections the "Banna Sanctorum" or Banner of the Saints. In these later *SEL* collections, the *Banna Sanctorum* came to function as a prologue in many of the manuscripts that lack a *temporale* section" (Liszka, "The South English Legendar<u>ies</u>" 37). As MS L did not lack a *temporale* section, the positioning of the manuscript's nine *temporale* texts together with the legend of the Holy Cross probably functioned as the prologue for this manuscript. Of course, the acknowledged banner of the saints is the Cross.

MS L's prologue stands in contrast to the prologues of later *SEL* manuscripts which primarily consist of "two elaborate metaphors". In such prologues, "salvation history is compared to a battle". Later *SEL* prologues describe how "when a king goes into battle, first, he sends his archers; then, he enters himself; finally, he sends his knights of the rear guard". The *Banna Sanctorum* texts of other *SEL* manuscripts explicate how these three groups parallel "the patriarchs and prophets, Christ himself, and the martyrs who followed, all going to battle against the devil". Liszka comments that the "metaphor nicely unites the three parts of the collection in those manuscripts that have *Old Testament History* and material from the lives of Christ and Mary preceding the collection of saints' lives" (Liszka, "The South English Legendar<u>ies</u>" 37-38).

While Liszka's remarks about the *Banna Sanctorum* in later *SEL* manuscripts are accurate, MS L's compilers' decision to place the *Banna Sanctorum* elsewhere in the manuscript (whether or not the placement was deliberate), transforms MS L into a subtler work of art. Rather than making their purposes immediately explicit, the compilers of MS L strategically arranged the texts of MS L, creating an embedded prologue to the manuscript which can be intuited by the reading audience. This embedded prologue is communicated through the construction of the manuscript with the compiler's placement of the legend of *Sancta Crux* at the beginning of the *sanctorale*; this first selection signals the types of legends that will follow. Such a prologue implicitly suggests that the manuscript is meant to be read in a holistic way, as a collection with an organic identity.

Aside from the element of metaphorical crusade inherent at the centre of *Sancta Crux* and in the legend's positioning at the beginning of the *sanctorale*, perhaps the most striking aspect of the chronotope which *Sancta Crux* becomes relates to another element of the legend's location within MS L: its placement between the *temporale* and the *sanctorale* sections of the manuscript. Because the *vita* is located there, it effectively becomes the figurative centre of time and space in MS L and, by virtue of this, the legend to which all of the manuscript harks back. *Sancta Crux* literally becomes the crux of the manuscript, the place from which much of the meaning of the book can be derived: an attribute reflective of how Christ's death on the Cross came to be regarded by Christians as the point around which all of history revolves and from which it derives sense. As Barbara Baert writes, the Cross is the place "where past and future are gathered," and "the holy wood is the armature of time, the framework of space" (Baert 307). *Sancta Crux*'s strategic positioning within the manuscript provokes contemplation of the cross and the realisation that all of the saints' lives in MS L derive their meaning from the legend of the Cross. Without the Holy Cross – which is "neither flesh nor fleshless" – and its inherent symbolism at MS L's centre, the lives and deaths of the saints which follow *Sancta Crux* count for nothing.

Viewed through the lens of Bakhtin's chronotope, *Sancta Crux* becomes, within the manuscript, a time-space that serves as a text behind which the subsequent saints' lives rally and a catalyst for contemplation and devotional acts.

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Furthermore, from this brief look at one text made clearer through Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope comes a realisation of one anthologizing principle of the compilers of MS L. Instead of the manuscript being the miscellaneous jumble of texts that it is often assumed to be, "the collation of the texts in L suggests a purposeful and deliberate arrangement, revealing a prioritizing, perhaps on the part of an owner or compiler, of certain spiritual and political themes and concerns" (Bell and Couch 2).

Given the shape of the legend of *Sancta Crux* as shown in this chapter and the position of the legend within the manuscript, the structure of MS L suggests that, from the beginning of MS L's compilation, the compiler(s) were interested in designing a manuscript centred around the veneration of the Holy Cross and the magnification of this object through the lives of the "faire compaygnie of Martyrs" and other saints which follow it in the manuscript (Horstmann 350, line 183). D'Evelyn's remark that "No one will claim that the *SEL* is a work of art" (D'Evelyn and Mill, *South English Legendary Vol. III* 26) may be true in relation to the fixed entity that the *South English Legendary* as a whole became, but, due to the positioning of texts such as *Sancta Crux*, such a value judgment may need to be re-evaluated where the earliest extant manuscript of the collection, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108 is concerned.

CHAPTER FOUR

Heteroglossia, Dialogism, and the *South English Legendaries*: A Bakhtinian Reading of the Literal Places and Literary Spaces Associated with the *SEL*

While he was in exile in Kazakhstan and yet a relatively unknown philosopher, Mikhail Bakhtin wrote his now well-known essay titled "Discourse in the Novel".[44] Although Bakhtin's observations centred upon forms of discourse within nineteenth and twentieth-century novels, the theories of heteroglossia and dialogism that he expounds in his essay are highly versatile, and their reach extends beyond the novel. Indeed, it could be argued that these twin concepts find apt applications to almost every literary genre.[45] Bearing that in mind, I argue that Mikhail Bakhtin's interwoven narrative theories of heteroglossia and dialogism offer an excellent framework for contextualizing the production of the *South English Legendaries* because the texts included in these collections of saints' lives are stylistically various (e.g., some are very long and some are extreme in their brevity) and drawn from multiple liturgical sources. [46]

Before proceeding further, it is important to define heteroglossia and dialogism in relation to the *SEL*. First, a brief introduction to the concepts. Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia frequently has been misinterpreted to mean polyglossia. Polyglossia is the interaction of two or more languages within a culture while heteroglossia includes the interaction of languages within a culture but expands beyond that definition to include the substrata of language forms (e.g., dialect, diction, or idioms) within any given language (Bakhtin 67).

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[45] Bakhtin himself acknowledges that elements of heteroglossia occur in other genres such as poetry, although he is quick to downplay their importance saying that "such possibilities are limited: a certain latitude for heteroglossia exists only in the "low" poetic genres –in the satiric and comic genres and others" (Bakhtin 287).

Much of what Bakhtin delineates as different languages within a single language now is called varying registers or levels of diction within a language. For instance, Bakhtin (with a touch of irony) sets forth the example of "an illiterate peasant" (Bakhtin 295) living in a rural area. This peasant, although unable to read his native language, speaks several languages fluently. He "pray[s] to God in one language, sing[s] songs in another, [speaks] to his family in a third". When appealing to local authorities, he employs yet a fourth language—what Bakhtin identifies as "the official-literate language, 'paper' language" (Bakhtin 295-296). Thus, although "illiterate," the peasant exhibits considerable intelligence in his ability to skillfully traverse various linguistic boundaries.

Bakhtin further notes that, within the novel, different registers of language come together in a "…diversity of voices… [which] organize themselves within it into a structured artistic system. This constitutes the distinguishing feature of the novel as a genre" (Bakhtin 262).[47] It is this diversity of voices and the different registers in which they occur while co-existing within a formal artistic structure which will be most of interest in this chapter. In short, the concept of heteroglossia could be regarded as a more nuanced polyglossia; this similarity may be what has led to confusion of the terms.

The heteroglossia that enters a text is highly influenced by the text's historical context. Bakhtin's definition of heteroglossia acknowledges that in any place and time in history there will be irreproducible variables influencing the production of texts, and these same variables will shape the perception of the written word in that particular time and place. The variables cannot be reproduced since time is a living, moving entity,[48] so people living in other times and places can only attempt an understanding of the original implications and force of a text. Although it is possible to comprehend something of the meaning of text composed outside

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[47] Whilst this is not a chapter about the nineteenth century novel, I would argue that this same "diversity of voices" appears in saints' lives of the *SEL* and in particular in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108.

[48] Both language and history constantly are changing and evolving. As Bakhtin notes in relation to language, "at any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles, and so forth. These "languages" of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new socially typifying languages" (Bakhtin 291).

one's time and place in history, it remains impossible for those outside the time and space in which the text was composed completely to apprehend the full scope of its importance. To summarize the concept, "heteroglossia is as close a conceptualization as is possible of that *locus* in which centripetal and centrifugal forces collide" (Holquist 428).

Bakhtin's theory of dialogism operates conjointly with heteroglossia, and Bakhtin frequently refers to perfected heteroglossia as "dialogized heteroglossia" (Bakhtin 263, 272, 273). Dialogism is "the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia" (Holquist 426). As a concept, dialogism embodies the conviction that all things are connected and in dialogue with one another. It could perhaps be argued that (in relation to forms of cultural expression) Bakhtin's concept of dialogism is only a restatement of the biblical Solomon's observation that "Nothing under the sun is new, neither is any man able to say: Behold this is new: for it hath already gone before in the ages that were before us" (Eccles. 1.9). No truly original thoughts have ever been expressed: only old thoughts recreated and presented as new. That being the case, the purpose of the concept that Bakhtin called dialogism is to express the "distinctive links and interrelationships between utterances and languages, this movement of the theme…its dispersion into the rivulets and droplets of social heteroglossia, its dialogization" (Bakhtin 263): thereby demonstrating how all languages are connected.

Drama and the *SEL*

It is perhaps worth noting at this juncture that some have viewed the multiple voices in which the *SEL* is written as evidence that the *SEL* texts are inherently dramatic in nature.[49] Klaus Jankofsky and Karen Bjelland have written commenting upon the

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[49] Definite links between hagiography and well-known miracle and mystery plays also have been established. As G.R. Owst writes, "The researches of Miss Frances Foster in America, have now definitely linked sections of all four great Cycles with two didactic poems which, as she rightly observes, are in the nature of typical verse homilies, framed 'for the purpose of instructing the laity in matters of religion'" (Owst 477). One of the didactic poems linked with medieval and early modern drama that Frances Arnold-Forster identified appears in "The Northern Passion, [a manuscript] with close affinities to the Cursor Mundi and the so-called South English Legendary". Although Arnold-Forster established links between Middle English didactic poetry and medieval religious drama, Owst states that "The relation of these verse homilies to the wider range of sermons

dramatic aspects of the *SEL*. (Jankofsky, "Personalized Didacticism" 69-77). The argument for the *SEL* texts being dramatic texts is drawn from the dramatic model of mimesis (Bjelland 228).[50] For Jankofsky and Bjelland, whether or not the *SEL* exists as a form of drama hinges upon the voices/registers employed in a text. According to Classical models of voice structures for texts, texts can be constructed according to three basic models: 1) diegesis (one basic voice); 2) Mixed voice (one voice and additional quoted voices); or 3) Mimesis (plurality of free voices) (Bjelland 228). The preferred model for drama is mimesis. The texts of MS L verge upon becoming mimetic due to the plurality of voices included in the manuscript, but the *SEL* manuscripts do not quite fully realise their dramatic potential according to the Classical description. The majority of the texts in the *SEL* instead are of mixed voice. Yet, as Karen Bjelland writes, this does not necessarily preclude them from being dramatic texts as "there is some evidence to suggest that the *mixed voice* mode was used long ago to create the same kind of text" (Bjelland 229). Based upon her analysis of older texts that use mixed voice for dramatic effect, Bjelland finds that the texts of MS L particularly lend themselves to drama: "in looking at the Laud record first, we can point to the fact that fifty-eight lections have been written in the *mixed voice* mode and that another two have been written in the *diegetic* mode" (Bjelland 231). The predominance of *mixed voice* mode in MS L indicates a manuscript especially predisposed to dramatic adaptation. The suggestions of drama in biblical and religious texts, however, were more fully realized through later medieval miracle and mystery play cycles. Yet, the *SEL* texts do contain elements of oral storytelling, itself a form of drama.

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in prose has yet to be worked out; and many gaps remain". Despite the obstacle of establishing firm connections to the corpus of associated prose sermons, "Miss Foster [sic] is at least able to state that 'the plays are not isolated phenomena... detached from English literature; but... the dramatists, like the lyric poets, drew from the common store of English tradition". Through Arnold-Forster's examination of the links between didactic poetry and drama emerges an understanding of how "a poem written for use in the pulpit was carried out of the church and brought home to the people through a new medium, the stage" (Owst 477).

[50] Thomas Heffernan conversely has argued that the texts of the *SEL* do not particularly lend themselves to drama, whereas the texts of the *Legenda Aurea* do (Heffernan, "An Analysis of the Narrative Motifs" 63-69).

The drama of the *SEL*, while not realised on a physical stage, would certainly have found a stage in the imaginations of listeners.[51] As Andrew Lynch has written, "Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 108 (L), is without illustrations, but in medieval terms it does not lack 'images' or fail to engage 'imagination,' the faculty that allows humans to see things in the mind that are not actually present to the senses" (Lynch 177). In order to create these images in the audience's mind, the *SEL* scribes drew upon the memories of the listeners and incorporated scenes with which they would have been familiar. Mary Carruthers writes in *The Book of Memory* that reading allows truth to be taken in through the eyes where it proceeds to "the vestibule of common sense and the atriums of the imagination". Eventually, the truths which have been taken in lie "down in the beds of memory" (Carruthers 38) where they are internalized by the reader. Since the truths communicated by the *SEL* contain dramatic imagery (saints' martyrdoms are discussed in gory detail, for example), they would have entered more easily into the "atriums of the imagination" that Carruthers describes. Perhaps they would also have been more quickly internalized than truths less strikingly presented. In MS L, heteroglossia and dialogism play a key role in creating those memorable images of place and space through which truths are communicated.

Heteroglossia, Dialogism, and Place

Before I proceed to show how heteroglossia and dialogism are reflected in the places and spaces of the *SEL*, it is appropriate first of all to define what place and space will mean in the context of this chapter. In this chapter, "place" will refer to the geographical locations outside the texts discussed while "space" will denote the metaphorical locations (which are linguistically connected to specific places) created using spatial details within *SEL* texts.[52] Places, therefore, necessarily will denote physical places on earth which are memorialized in scripture as well as places to which medieval pilgrimages were undertaken. Spaces within *SEL* texts will be understood as possessing a more abstract, ethereal nature created through

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[51] In Chapter VI, I also discuss the theatre of the imagination that is evoked in the *SEL* through the presentation of exotic people and events such St Thomas Becket's fictional mother Alisaundre and the situation that ensues upon her arrival in England.

[52] (Chatman 96-106, 138-145; Ronen 421-483)

the "bare existential quality [of the narratives]" (Thompson, *Everyday Saints* 24). The actual physical places associated with the *SEL* possess a timeless quality of equilibrium; they are places one can come back to; while, in contrast, the spaces of these hagiographic collections show themselves to be kaleidoscopic in their movements (i.e., the narrative spaces of the *SEL* were moved around and reconfigured by scribes creating new spaces within the audience's imagination).

This sensation of spatial movement within *SEL* texts is very much influenced by the heteroglossia and dialogism inherent in the texts. The dialogized heteroglossia that occurs in texts of the *SEL* is created through several registers of language: 1) the language of scripture, 2) the language of the liturgy and parish church, and 3) the fact that the *SEL* is written in English rather than Latin. Each of these registers directly contributes to the language chosen to describe the literary spaces and literal places of legends in the *SEL*.

Although *SEL* texts purportedly are based upon the lives of real people living during real times and in real places, the spaces of the texts incorporate elements of spatial creation used in modern fiction. In his 1984 work *A Theory of Narrative*, Franz Stanzel discusses the undesirability in fiction writing of describing every detail in a physical space. If every detail is described, then nothing is left to the reader's imagination and the result is a dull piece of prose (Stanzel 117-125). The ability of the reading mind to extrapolate meaning from incomplete data should never be underestimated. Therefore, as in fictional writing, the saints' lives of the *SEL* do not describe every element of the places with which the saints are associated. They follow prescribed patterns and incorporate accepted motifs into the story which will, through inference, indicate a saint's holiness to the reader/listener. These motifs are drawn from medieval interpretations of scriptural meaning as well as from local traditions of venerating particular saints.

The result of these combined conventions is a literary space inhabited by the protagonists of *SEL*'s stories (i.e. the saints) which emphasizes the individual saint's holiness, and the careful selection of spatial details for inclusion in the narration causes the space to become semantically charged. The details of the spaces in saints' lives signify what inspires the holy figures to action. In particular I would like to focus on the way in which the linguistic conventions inspire action

on the part of the reader/listener to replicate similar spaces in the places of their own lives. Having explained what is meant by literary space within the context of *SEL* texts, I now will move to a brief description of what this chapter will aim to achieve. Within this chapter, I will consider how the places outside the texts of the *SEL* and the spaces within the *SEL* are shaped by the heteroglossia and dialogism inherent within the texts. I will focus upon the texts of one manuscript (MS L) for the discussion.

I will first concentrate upon the typologies employed to describe the literary spaces of saints' lives. Following this, I will examine the medieval worship motifs found in MS L's legends and how they describe the physical places with which medieval church-goers would have been familiar while simultaneously shaping the literary spaces of the saints' lives in question. Finally, I will discuss how the three primary languages of the *SEL* (typology, worship motifs, and the English language itself) come together to create a work of art that is at once accessible to a lay audience yet also focuses the reader's mind upon the spiritual disciplines of the saints.

Scripture and the Shaping of Liturgical Spaces

Medieval concepts of storytelling were closely linked with and shaped by stories from scripture.[53] It was from the Bible that the oral stoytellers inherited traditions of what made a good story. As it happens, from the very beginning of the stories told in the Bible, an emphasis upon place appears. As theologian John Inge notes, "The second creation account (Gen. 2) revolves around *place*: the Garden of Eden is not just the location where the drama happens to unfold, it is central to the narrative" (Inge 33).

This emphasis on place continues throughout the Old Testament. So, for example, one of the first references to holy ground or holy places occurs in the book of Exodus. In the biblical passage, Yahweh appears to Moses in a burning bush. When he sees that Moses is advancing towards the bush to see why it is burning yet

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[53] Many people tend to assume that prior to Wycliffe, the Bible was virtually unknown to lay members, but the fact is, "a medieval plowman, like Erasmus's plowman, knew more Bible stories than most contemporary college seniors and… allusions to scripture would resonate more meaningfully in the imagination of the former than of the latter" (Morey 1).

is not consumed, he calls out, "Moses, Moses. And he [Moses] answered: Here I am. And he said: Come not nigh hither, put off the shoes from thy feet: for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground" (Ex. 3.4-5). Moses here is not a perfect prototype of Christian sainthood in this story as can be seen when the Lord instructs him to go to Pharaoh and tell him to let the Israelites leave Egypt. Moses makes excuses for why he cannot do this: "They will not believe me, nor hear my voice, but they will say: The Lord hath not appeared to thee" (Ex. 4.1). He further excuses himself from the task saying "I am not eloquent from yesterday and the day before: and since thou hast spoken to thy servant, I have more impediment and slowness of tongue" (Ex. 4.10). Despite his spiritually imperfect state, Moses is permitted to enter into the presence of the Lord. It is this entering into a holy place while yet in imperfect state—but while also desiring perfection—and finding access to a mediator that anticipates the implicit structure of spiritual communities that surrounded medieval shrines of saints.

Although there is an emphasis on holy places in the Old Testament, many "Christians traditionally have had reservations about topics such as pilgrimage or shrines" (Cook 3). These reservations find their roots in the conversation that Jesus had with the Samaritan woman at the well which is recorded in the New Testament. During their conversation, the Samaritan woman says to Jesus, "The woman saith to him: Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet. Our fathers adored on this mountain, and you say, that at Jerusalem is the place where men must adore" (Jn. 4.19-20). The mountain to which the woman refers in this passage is Mount Gerizim, a place of worship for the Samaritans, who were considered a supposedly mixed-race, as opposed to Jerusalem, a place for worship for the supposedly pure-blooded Jews. Jesus's response to the woman eradicates the need for specific holy places of worship as he declares that those who are true worshippers of Yahweh will not need specific places but a specific spiritual condition from which to approach Yahweh: "But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and in truth. For the Father also seeketh such to adore him. God is a spirit; and they that adore him, must adore him in spirit and in truth" (Jn. 4.21-24).

It was not until the fourth century that a shift backwards to Old Testament ideas of certain places being more holy than others occurred. The primary

71

perpetrator of this movement was the Emperor Constantine. According to Lactantius, in A.D. 312, Constantine received a vision of the Cross and of Christ telling him that with this sign (the Cross) he should conquer. Constantine had the sign of the cross emblazoned on his battle standards and credited his victories to the power of the Cross. Constantine consequently created a syncretic faith wherein the ideas of sacred places and edifices inherent in Greek and Roman paganism were combined to form Roman Catholic Christianity, and caused the church to revert to an acceptance of the Old Testament theology of place: a theology which then coexisted with New Testament concepts of Christ's fulfillment of the Old Testament (Constable 123-146). What came into being was a belief that the accounts of Old Testament saints foreshadowed Christ's redemption of humanity and, on many occasions, provided "types" of Christ.

This reconciliation of the Old and New began in the early church and is reflected in the letters ascribed to St Paul that are now included in the New Testament. In his letter to the Christians at Rome, Paul writes that death reigned over all who lived from the time of Adam until the time of Moses, even gripping those who had not sinned (i.e., infants, children) in the same manner as Adam. The verse then states that Adam as the first and original perfect man (before the Fall) was "*a figure* [italics mine] of him who was to come" (Rom. 5.14). Once more, as he is writing about Old Testament Israelites in his first letter to the Corinthian church, Paul states that the things that happened to the people of Israel while they wandered in the wilderness for forty years "happened to them *in figure* [italics mine]: and they are written for our correction" (I Cor. 10.11).

Along with his designation of Old Testament events as figures of what were to come in the New Testament, Paul also refers to events of the Old Testament as shadows of things to come. In Paul's view, the Old Testament law had "a shadow of the good things to come" but it was "not the very image of the things" (Heb. 10.1). Paul furthermore indicated that Old Testament events could operate as parables of the coming Messiah: "By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered Isaac: and he that had received the promises, offered up his only begotten son; (To whom it was said: In Isaac shall thy seed be called.) Accounting that God is able to

raise up even from the dead. Whereupon also he received him for a parable" (Heb. 11.17-19).

This concept that characters and situations in the Old Testament foreshadowed people and events in the New Testament was systematized by the Greek theologian Origen whose thinking was greatly influenced by Hellenistic Jewish thought. Following Origen, Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose significantly contributed to the popularization of typological methodology.[54] As a student of Ambrose, St Augustine also embraced the concept of typology, and it was through his and Ambrose's writings that the concept of typology (as well as allegory) came to grip the popular imagination of the High and Late Middle Ages (Baert 289-294).

For Ambrose and Augustine, most events in the Old Testament could be seen as the shadows of things to come in the New Testament. For example, in describing how the Lord safely brought the children of Israel through the Red Sea, Ambrose explicated the situation thus: "You notice that in the crossing of the Hebrews the figure of holy baptism was even then prefigured, wherein the Egyptian perished and the Hebrew escaped" (Ambrose, *Theological and Dogmatic Works* 9). Ambrose continually uses scenes from the Old Testament to explain spiritual truths of the Christian life. For Ambrose, Isarel passing through the Red Sea explains how "the Christian passing through the font is the passage from earthly things to heavenly things, from sin to life, from guilt to grace, from vileness to holiness. Elisha's floating axe prefigures the removal of sin in baptism that enables humanity to rise" (Satterlee 229). In short, for Ambrose, nearly every event recorded in the Old Testament could be seen as a prefiguring of something to come in the new dispensation of Christ. As Barbara Baert writes, through the concept of typology, "a new Paradise delicately creeps through the Old Testament, accumulating there the soteriological powers it will discharge to the full in the Messianic sacrifice" (Baert 307).

Typology is one of the languages that shapes the *SEL* into a heteroglossic tradition; the language of types shows the *SEL* authors to be heteroglots participating in the linguistic dialogues of their time and chronicling the interests of

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[54] Newlands 151-158 and Satterlee 225-230

their time. [55] The typologies of saints' lives therefore incorporate imagery from both the Old and New Testaments to show how the saints of the church are continually caught up in a "cosmic context which emphasizes not the distinctiveness, the separability of human chronology, but rather its continuity; human chronology possesses a deliberate movement which is divinely maintained…The world is ever moving toward its fulfillment in *Parousia*" (Heffernan, *Sacred Biography* 89).

Sancta Crux

As mentioned previously, the legend of *Sancta Crux* is the first text of MS L's *sanctorale*. From an aesthetic point of view, the text can be seen as the force shaping the form of MS L. The account of *Sancta Crux* that appears in MS L "was paraphrased and given its typical 13 C form in the anonymous *Legend*" (Görlach 166). [56] Again, as noted previously in Chapter II, within MS L, the text comes to function as a "still point," joining saints of the past, present, and future in the manuscript. The typology present in the text further contributes to this characteristic of the legend.

As a text frequently incorporated into *SEL* manuscripts, *Sancta Crux* strikingly demonstrates the tendency towards "typing" in shaping descriptions of places and constructing images of sanctity. *Sancta Crux'*s particular interest in place is shown from the very beginning of the legend when Constantine sends his mother to Jerusalem specifically to find *the place* where the true cross is. Without

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[55] Here I mean "linguistic" in the Bakhtinian sense of the word. That is, the legends of the *SEL* incorporate the various registers of speech in existence during their time, one of which is the "language of typology".

[56] The Legend of the Holy Cross was quite popular in the Middle Ages. Frances Foster writes that "Around the Cross gathered a body of legends known widely in various tongues of the Middle Ages. They concern the Early History of the Cross, the Invention of the Cross, and the Exaltation of the Cross under the Emperor Heraclius". She further elaborates that "Versions of the Early History which took shape in the eleventh century, fall into two groups: The Rood-Tree group and the Meyers Latin Legend group, both probably from one original. Most of the English stories are derived from the Latin *Legend*: *South English Legendary*, *Northern Passion*, *Northern Homily Collection*, and *Worcester Early History*; only the twelfth-century prose History of the Rood-Tree belongs to the Rood-Tree group". Foster then mentions where sections of the story of the Holy Cross are located: "Portions of the Early History are included in the *Cursor Mundi*, in *Canticum de Creatione*, and in the ancient Cornish drama; it is alluded to in Travels of John Mandeville" (Foster 441).

this sense of searching for truth and holiness as associated with place, the legend of *Sancta Crux* would be meaningless--and indeed, there would be no storyline. Within the legend of *Sancta Crux*, there are two places that particularly stand out. The two places are 1) the hill of Calvary when Judas and Helena's company approach the place where the true cross is buried and 2) the tower that the heathen king Cosdroe erects after finding a piece of the Holy Cross.

The medieval fascination with Old Testament foreshadowing in New Testament happenings (and later Christian writings such as the lives of saints) shows itself very clearly in the description of the hill of Calvary as Judas and Helena approach. The MS L scribe writes, "Þe hul bi-gan to quakien: and out of one stude / A smoke þare cam and wende an heiȝ: and muche place fulde— / Swottore þing nas neuere non: þane þat smoke smulde" (64-66). This particular passage is reminiscent of the chapter in the Old Testament book of Exodus which describes the appearance of the Mount Sinai when the presence of God descended upon it: "And all Mount Sinai was on a smoke: because the Lord was come down upon it in fire, and the smoke arose from it as out of a furnace: and all the mount was terrible" (Ex. 19.18). In the Old Testament, a great smoke is associated with holiness and the presence of God, and the writer of the *Sancta Crux* employs this motif to show the great holiness of the cross which is buried in the hill of Calvary.

Since events of Christendom from the time of the New Testament forward were meant to show the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, rather than the smoke emanating from the hill of Calvary being "as from a furnace" and "terrible," the writer instead says of this smoke "Swottore þing nas neuere non: þane þat smoke smulde" (66). The word "swottore" as used here also frequently is used to modify the name of Christ or Jesus in medieval English literature and carries the meaning of being "pleasing to the sense of smell, aromatic, fragrant" ("swottore"). Because of the word's frequent association with Christ who comes to earth to fulfill the law, and since it is used here in connection with the smoke which emanates from the place of Calvary, the entire scene takes on the suggestion of Christ's fulfillment of the Law of Moses as given to the Patriarch in the place of Mount Sinai. The word "swottore" also is a comparative word, indicating that the smoke emanating from

the mount of crucifixion where Christ died is sweeter and thereby better than the holy smoke of Old Testament Sinai.

In the Old Testament, the Holy Mountain Sinai is associated with fear as smoke belches forth from it as if from a furnace. Through Christ and his death on the Cross, a new Holy Mountain, Calvary, now produces a smoke that is sweet-smelling. Therefore, when Judas sees the smoky splendor of the place, his response is one of repentance in seeing the glory of the Cross, and he cries aloud "Iesus is on Almiȝti god: i-bore he was of þe maydene Marie!/ he is wod þat ani oþur bi-leuez : ase ich habbe mani a day./ Taken ichulle cristin-dom : ich for-sake here þe giwene lay" (68-70).

A number of saints' lives following *Sancta Crux* also use typology. While in *Sancta Crux* physical places as described in the text seem to be positive signs pointing the reader to Christ and scripture, the typologies employed in these subsequent lives instead create literary spaces. These spaces carry a sense of place being essential but simultaneously existing as a nonessential. This attribute of the typologies in the texts creates a unique tension between literary spaces and physical places as described in scripture. This tension reflects the shift from the Old Testament valuation of place as central to worship to the New Testament's declaration that worship can occur at any place and is not bounded by specificity.

The textual spaces which are formed from typology take on a spiritual yet everyday quality: an attribute that also was present in relation to place in the New Testament. For example, after Christ rises from the dead, he appears to the remaining eleven disciples who have met in a house with closed doors and says, "Peace be unto you" (Jn. 20.26). After His resurrection, Jesus's physical body no longer is bound to the confines of physical space, and He can appear in any place that He wishes, for the laws shaping the physical nature of those places no longer apply to Him.

In some situations, this dispelling of the bonds of physical places appears also to apply to the disciples of Christ. As with the scene when Jesus miraculously appears before His disciples even though it is physically impossible for Him to do so (the door is locked), the biblical account of the Apostle Philip baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch includes a similar supernatural happening. After the Apostle

Philip preaches to the Ethiopian eunuch and baptizes the man, "when they [Philip and the eunuch] were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord took away Philip; and the eunuch saw him no more" (Acts 8.36). After he baptizes the eunuch, the Apostle Philip mysteriously vanishes from the man's sight. He later is discovered preaching in Azotus, "and passing through, he preached the gospel to all the cities, till he came to Caesarea" (Acts 8.40). In this account, scripture reveals that after the coming of the Holy Spirit, believers in Christ no longer were bound by the constraints of place, and, apparently, could be transported to and appear in alternate places.

As noted earlier in this chapter, the theological abolition of the tyranny of place in regard to worship gave worshippers in the early church a freedom in worship heretofore unexperienced. This freedom also translated to a faith that was especially applicable to everyday living since sanctified places for worship no longer were necessary.[57] The *SEL* metaphorically returns to this New Testament understanding of faith and place with *SEL* scribes creating textual spaces that are not as place-bound as the Old Testament texts in scripture. The occurrences described in the saints' lives of the *SEL* could unfold in almost any place. This versatility reflects the dialogue between the New Testament teaching that specific places no longer matter for worshipping while also acknowledging that place once did matter and had special significance in forming the eventual Christian faith.

"St Agnes"

The next saint's life (in the order of MS L) that includes Old Testament typology is the life of "St Agnes". The source for the life of "St Agnes" is unknown, and, unlike many of the *SEL*'s texts, its source is unlikely to have been the *Legenda Aurea*. The life of "St Agnes" included in *SEL* manuscripts contains several anedotes concerning the saint which do not appear in the *Legenda Aurea* or other similar Latin sources. These anecdotes include "the behaviour of the lover's father 105-6,

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[57] All that said, church dedications and rededications were seen as especially significant in medieval parishes, so a curious tension exists between what is described in *SEL* saints' lives and between what actually occurred in individual parishes.

the maiden's prayer 57-64, the conversion of the lover's father 105-6, with subsequent changes in 106-9" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 139).

The scenario in which the *vita*'s typological reference occurs is the scene in which evil men try to burn St Agnes in a great fire. The men become angry with her refusal to bow to earthly authority and decide that she must die. To kill the saint, "heo leten makien a gret fuyr: þare a-midde þe place,/ For-to brenne seint Anneis: and þar ore louerd cudde is grace" (109-110). The description of the place where St Agnes's tormentors desire to cast her immediately is reminiscent of another place described in scripture where three other believers were punished. Like St Agnes, they refused to revere their earthly authorities as God. Hints of the typological construction of the textual scene are signified through the words "gret fuyr". The audience of the saint's life would have immediately drawn the connection between this description in the legend of "St Agnes" and a similar scene in the biblical book of Daniel. This scene in the life of "St Agnes" is an allusion to the occasion in the biblical book of Daniel when King Nebuchadnezzar commands all of his subjects to bow down to the golden image of him which he has had created. When Daniel's three friends Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego refuse to bow down to the image, the king is very angry and, similar to the evil men in the account of St Agnes, has the three believers thrown into a fiery furnace.

Likewise, in the case of St Agnes, "þat Mayde was þudere i-brouȝt: In þe fuyr men hire þrevȝ" (111). After Agnes has been thrown into the fire, "Þat fuyr clef a-middes a-to: and þe luyþere men it wel i-knevȝ/ For þo it smot in eiþur side: and barnde heom al-clene" (112-113). Although the fire leaps out and burns St Agnes's tormentors, "Þat Maide nas i-wemned nouȝt: for it ne touchede hire nouȝt ene;/ bote heo sat hire a-doun a-kne: and in eiþur half was þe leiȝe" (114-115). As in the situation of St Agnes, the three believers described in Daniel are cast into a fiery furnace which their would-be tormentors "ceased not to heat…with brimstone, and tow, and pitch, and dry sticks" (Dan. 3.46). The servants of Nebuchadnezzar heap the furnace so high with fuel that "the flame mounted up above the furnace nine and forty cubits" (Dan. 3.47). Similarly, in the story of "St Agnes," the believers remain unharmed while the fire instead leaps out and consumes many of their persecutors: "And it broke forth, and burnt such of the Chaldeans as it found

78

near the furnace" (Dan. 3.48). The fire also does not touch the three believers at all because the angel of the Lord comes and protects them. The angel "made the midst of the furnace like the blowing of a wind bringing dew, and the fire touched them not at all, nor troubled them, nor did them any harm" (Dan. 3.49-50). Like these three Old Testament saints, St Agnes also is protected in the fire, and the allusion to Daniel's three friends helps to shape the legend's case for St Agnes's sanctity, showing her to be a saint of similar kind.

"St Bridget"

While many saints' lives incorporate Old Testament typology, showing that the saints whose lives are narrated are saints in the same vein as the saints of old, some saints' lives also interweave allusions to the New Testament, an additional form of typology in which the saint being discussed becomes a type of Christ (*imitatio Christi*). One of these saints' lives is the *vita* of "St Bridget". Manfred Görlach notes that MS L "preserves the best text of St Bridget" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 141). The sources of "St Bridget" are known, and the legend is "translated from the the Life by Cogitosis (*C*), *BHL* 1457, Kenny 147, abridged also in *Mom*, and further shortened in *SaB* and *YoB*" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 142). Görlach establishes the sources of the saint's life by iterating the similarities found between the aforementioned manuscripts' accounts of "St Bridget" as follows: "the exact agreement in the facts and order of events and by the following verbal equations:!1 in scotlonde) in scotia (mistranslated, really 'Ireland')" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 142). Görlach is correct as the MS L account does indeed begin "Seinte Bride of heiȝe men: In scotlond heo cam" (1). No other *SEL* text of the life of "St Bridget" begins in this way.

In MS L's account of "St Bridget," which Görlach has called "the best" in the *SEL*, the typological scene that appears also includes a miracle of "Þe beste" kind. A poor man comes to the saint, and she turns water into ale for him. The man comes to her in a state of starvation and "heo beden hire mete and drinke for godes loue: he nadde nouȝt a spone-ful ale" (44). St Bridget, seeing that a vat of water is standing nearby, "ȝaf it hire blessing" (45). The blessed water becomes "Þe beste Ale a-liue" (46) and Bridget "ȝaf it þe Museles drinke" (46). Through this miracle

of turning water into "the best ale," Bridget imitates the first miracle of Christ at the wedding in Cana where the wedding feast had run out of wine.

Many parallels exist between the account of Jesus's first miracle of turning water into wine as recorded in scripture and the account of St Bridget's miracle of turning water into ale. Scripture records that "there were set there six waterpots of stone, according to the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three measures apiece" (Jn. 2.6). Similarly, in the account of "St Bridget," "A fat þare stod fol of baþe-water" (45). Just as the water that Jesus selects is used for purifying or washing oneself, so is the water (bath water) that St Bridget chooses for her miracle. (Neither the biblical account nor the saint's account mention whether the water had already been used for its intended purpose, but, if it had, that lends another interesting dimension to both stories!)

In the account of St Bridget, the next thing that she does is bless the water. Scripture does not mention that Jesus blesses the water, but it does say that he tells the men in charge of the water pots to "Fill the waterpots with water. And they filled them up to the brim. And Jesus saith to them: Draw out now, and carry to the chief steward of the feast. And they carried it" (Jn. 2.7-9). Somewhere in the midst of this process though, as in the case of St Bridget's miracle, a blessing clearly was given. Scripture records that when the chief steward of the wedding feast tastes the wine, he reacts with surprise, asking from where it has come. He then calls the bridegroom and tells him "Every man at first setteth forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse. But thou hast kept the good wine until now" (Jn. 2.6-10). Like the wine which is created from water by Jesus, St Bridget's ale too is of superior quality, also indicating her depth of spirituality.

Another important parallel between Christ's miracle and St Bridget's miracle lies in the miracles' "everyday" quality. St Bridget sees the needs of the people around her and observes that they are "of-hongrede and of-cale" (43). Because she frequently sees that people need food and are thirsty, she responds to those needs. The man apparently tells St Bridget that he does not have even "a spone-ful ale" (44), and St Bridget responds by performing a miracle that precisely meets the need of the person comes to her: by giving him the ale that he previously did not have.

80

In similar fashion, in the story of the Miracle at Cana, Jesus responds to the everyday needs of the people around him. Like the poor man who comes to Bridget and tells her that he does not have even a spoonful of ale, Jesus's mother comes to Him and tells Him, "They have no wine" (Jn. 2.3). The man with no ale likewise tells St Bridget that he has no ale, with the expectation that she can fulfill his everyday need; in the same way, Jesus's mother approaches Him with the expectation that he can do something to help with this ordinary problem of running out of food or drink at a wedding feast which takes place over several days. Both Jesus and St Bridget respond by providing a beverage of the highest standard to their supplicants: Jesus creates "the good wine" for the wedding feast, and Bridget's miracle produces "Þe beste Ale a-liue" (46).

"St Agatha"

The legend of "St Agatha" also turns to New Testament typology in order to emphasize St Agatha's sanctity. This saint's life frequently appears in *SEL* manuscripts, and the texts that appears in MS L is not necessarily the "best" text. Görlach notes that MS L's "St Agatha" affiliations are unknown, and the source for the text is difficult to identify. He writes that "Neither the Passion, *BHL* 133 (=*Mom*) nor the *LgA* (which are virtually the same) can have been the exclusive source" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 144). Görlach writes that this is the case because it appears that the *SEL* "St Agatha" alternates between sources. For example, "In minor details *aa* agrees with either the Passion or with the *LgA* without any consistency. The breviary texts are even more remote" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 144).

Although it remains difficult to discern "St Agatha's" exemplars, the pattern of typology is readily identifiable. This time, instead of comparing St Agatha to Christ, the saint's life draws similarities from the lives of the Apostles Paul and Silas. For example, while St Agatha is in prison awaiting her trial by fire, "Þo heo [hire] wolden þar-inne do: þe eorþe bi-gan to quake,/ Ase wide ase þe cite was: and felde a-doun þe dom-halle" (90-91). Similarly, when Paul and Silas are thrown into jail in Philippi, the two Christians are singing in the prison at midnight when "suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of

the prison were shaken. And immediately all the doors were opened, and the bands of all were loosed" (Acts 16.25-26). An earthquake occurs when both the apostles and St Agatha are thrown into prison and great fear falls upon those around. In the case of St Agatha, "Þat folk of þe cite was a-drad" (93); in the biblical story of Paul and Silas, "the keeper of the prison, awaking out of his sleep, and seeing the doors of the prison open, drawing his sword, would have killed himself, supposing that the prisoners had been fled. But Paul cried with a loud voice, saying: Do thyself no harm, for we all are here" (Acts 16.27-28). In both of these situations involving earthquakes, the fear of the people involved moves them to action and to make a request. The townspeople are moved to say of St Agatha "Þis Mayde is guod, and we beth for hire: In grete perile and in drede./ gret pine þov hast [hire] i-don : þou ne schal so non-more" (90-95), and the keeper of the Philippian prison comes to Paul and Silas, brings them out and says "Masters, what must I do, that I may be saved?" (Acts 16.30). There also is an immediate recognition on the part of the jailer and the people of the city that the people who have been imprisoned are good and godly and should therefore be released. Paul and Silas are indeed later released, but St Agatha dies a martyr's death. It might be said that the life of St Agatha pushes beyond the account of the sanctity of Paul and Silas, presenting her as an even greater saint, since she endures further trials and finally is martyred. In MS L, the lives of "St Bridget" and "St Agatha" are the only two lives with obvious allusions to New Testament sanctity. The remaining legends of MS L which include typological references demonstrate a preference for Old Testament typology rather than *imitatio Christi*.

"St Nicholas"

The legend of St Nicholas as found in MS L "fairly accurately follows the *LgA* text" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 210). All the same, as Görlach notes, "Frequent paraphrase instead of close translation left plenty of opportunity for the "U" redactor to improve the text by recurring [*sic*] to the *LgA*" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 210). Like the saints' lives preceding it, the life of "St Nicholas" incorporates typologies. The predominating types in this legend are configurations of Nicholas as the Old Testament prophet Elijah, Joseph (the Old Testament son of

Israel, not the New Testament father of Christ), and the prophet Jonah – a strange but effective combination.

Comparable to the prophet Elijah and also like Joseph, St Nicholas finds himself in leadership during a time of famine, and as do Elijah and Joseph, he finds it necessary to procure food for himself and for those surrounding him. A time of famine comes to the land where St Nicholas presides as Bishop, and there is "gret hongur al-a-boute" (124). The famine is so severe "þat no corn nouȝwere nas" (125). His people's lack of food grieves the bishop, and he takes drastic measures to ensure that those in his care have all that they need. When he observes that ships from foreign countries with holds full of wheat and other food supplies are passing through his territory, the bishop goes down to the docks and implores the sailors of one of the ships, "'For þe loue of Iesu crist: leneth me,' he sede,/ 'Ane hondret quarters of þat corn'" (127-128). He tells the sailors that his people are starving for lack of corn (wheat) to make bread.

Understandably, the sailors at first are reluctant to grant his request as they are travelling under royal command. The sailors fear the repercussions from the emperor if they choose to obey St Nicholas's request and respectfully tell him, "'Certes, sire,'... 'þat ne dorre we nouȝt'" (130). The sailors further explain that all of the corn that Nicholas sees that they have brought is "With swyþe schars met with-alle: bitauȝt it is us echone/ Þat we it leden þe Aumperour: ne dorre we make no lone" (132-133). St Nicholas understands their fears but encourages them not to be afraid. If they will give him the grain, then a miracle will take place and the emperor will find that no grain is lacking even though they have given some to the saint (133-136).

St Nicholas's speech is so persuasive to the shipmen that they trust his words and give him a large measure of corn in the amount of one hundred quarters, as he originally requested. They then sail onward to the emperor for whom they are transporting the corn (137-139). The sailors are curious whether St Nicholas's words to them are true that they need not have feared giving the grain to him, so they tell the emperor's stewards to measure the corn well to ensure that the ruler is receiving the full balance that it was agreed would be sent to him. The stewards

"…meten, and founden al þe fulle: and wel more þare-to./ For wonder heo axeden þe schipmen: ȝwi it woxe so" (141-142).

This miracle of plenty performed by Nicholas is reminiscent of the miracle performed by the Old Testament prophet Elijah for the widow of Zarephath or Sarephta. Like St Nicholas, the prophet Elijah finds himself living in a time of extreme famine and the Lord speaks to him and instructs the prophet in what to do to stay alive during this time: "Then the word of the Lord came to him, saying: Arise, and go to Sarephta of the Sidonians, and dwell there: for I have commanded a widow woman there to feed thee. He arose, and went to Sarephta" (I Kgs. 17.8-9) Like St Nicholas, Elijah obeys the inspiration given to him by the Lord and seeks out the person through whom his physical salvation will come.

When Elijah reaches the gate of the city of Zarephath, he sees a widow near the gate picking up sticks for a fire. Elijah recognizes the woman as the one to whom God has sent him and calls out to her saying, "Give me a little water in a vessel, that I may drink. And when she was going to fetch it he called after her, saying: Bring me also, I beseech thee, a morsel of bread in thy hand" (I Kgs. 17.10-11). At this request from Elijah, the widow tells him, "As the Lord thy God liveth, I have no bread, but only a handful of meal in a pot, and a little oil in a cruse: behold I am gathering two sticks that I may go in and dress it, for me and my son, that we may eat it, and die. (I Kgs. 17.12) The woman's reaction to Elijah's request foreshadows the sailors' response to St Nicholas's request that they give him one hundred quarters of their wheat. Their instinct is self-preservation from the wrath of the emperor similar to the woman's desire to preserve herself and her son for as long as possible.

In the same way as St Nicholas, Elijah's instruction to the woman is not to fear but first to fulfill his request and observe what happens next. Elijah tells her that, if she makes a "hearth cake" for him, the Lord says "The pot of meal shall not waste, nor the cruse of oil be diminished, until the day wherein the Lord will give rain upon the face of the earth" (I Kgs. 17.14). Similar to the sailors in the account of St Nicholas, the widow demonstrates tremendous faith in the holy man's words. As the sailors did for St Nicholas, "She [the widow] went and did according to the word of Elias: and he ate, and she, and her house: and from that day the pot of meal

84

wasted not, and the cruse of oil was not diminished, according to the word of the Lord, which he spoke in the hand of Elias" (I Kgs. 17.7-16).

Another typology present in the life of "St Nicholas" is the saint's mirroring of an act of the Old Testament Joseph. Like Nicholas, Joseph needs to provide for the people in his care when a famine falls upon Egypt and its surrounds. Egypt enjoys seven years of plenty during which Joseph supervises food collection storage in preparation for the upcoming seven years of famine of which the king has been warned in a dream. As the seventh year of plenty comes to an end, "The seven years of scarcity, which Joseph had foretold, began to come: and the famine prevailed in the whole world, but there was bread in all the land of Egypt. And when there also they began to be famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for food" (Genesis 41.54-55).

When the people cry out to Pharaoh, he tells them that Joseph will help them. As the famine daily became worse, "Joseph opened all the barns, and sold to the Egyptians: for the famine had oppressed them also. And all provinces came into Egypt, to buy food, and to seek some relief of their want" (Gen. 41.53-57). Just as Nicholas looks after those around him and doles out provisions, so does Joseph. Both Joseph and Nicholas reveal themselves to be types of Christ who care for those who depend upon them for sustenance.

A third Old Testament type which can be found in the *vita* of St Nicholas occurs when the saint calms a storm and saves a ship's crew. In the account of St Nicholas, the sailors find themselves on a ship in the midst of a fierce storm which is likely to sink the ship. They loudly cry out: "'Leoue louerd Nicholas'" (97). They then implore the saint that "Ʒif it is soth þat we habbez: i-heord tellen of þe wide,/ In þis peril saue us nouþe: þat we ne beon a-dreint" (98-99). They then again beg of the saint, "Louerd Nicholas, help us nouþe: are ore schip beo a-seint!" (100).

In similar fashion, when Jonah is sailing away from the Lord's plan for him to preach repentance to the fearsome inhabitants of Nineveh, a terrible storm arises, terrifying the sailors on board his ship. They recognize that Jonah holds the key to calming the storm and call on him for help. The sailors say to Jonah, "What shall we do to thee, that the sea may be calm to us? for the sea flowed and swelled. And he said to them: Take me up, and cast me into the sea, and the sea shall be calm to

you: for I know that for my sake thisgreat tempest is upon you" (Jon. 1.11-15). In like fashion, St Nicholas advises the frightened sailors of what to do to survive the storm in which they find themselves. After the sailors pray a third time to St Nicholas saying, "'Louerd… Nicholas: ȝif it is þi wille,/ Saue us nouþe of þis tempeste: þat we he ne a-spille'" (105-106), St Nicholas answers them telling them,"'Ne habbe ȝe,' quath þis holie man: 'her-of none drede!'" (108). At the words of Nicholas, "Þat weder bi-cam þo stille inouȝ: þo he þeos wordes sede" (97-108).

The aforementioned typologies solidly situate St Nicholas in the Old Testament canon of sanctity, but they also position St Nicholas as a type of Christ. Jonah, like Elijah and Joseph, prefigures Christ, and Jesus alludes to this prefiguration in the New Testament through both His actions and His words. Once, when Christ's apostles were sailing in their boat a storm suddenly arose. Christ and the disciples had entered a small ship and were seeking to cross the Sea of Galilee when the storm arose. Christ was very tired and had lain down in the ship to sleep. His state of exhaustion is such that He remains asleep, despite the fierce storm that arises. The disciples become very afraid that they will capsize and wake Him saying, "Master, we perish. But he arising, rebuked the wind and the rage of the water; and it ceased, and there was a calm" (Lk. 8.24). This scene in which Christ calms the storm is paralleled in the story of St Nicholas when sailors come to him and beg him for his help.

In the New Testament, Jesus also refers to Himself as being a type of Jonah when the scribes come to Him, asking for evidence of who He is: "Then some of the scribes and Pharisees answered him, saying: Master we would see a sign from thee" (Matt. 12.39). Jesus refuses to give them the sign that they supposedly seek and answers them saying, "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign: and a sign shall not be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet. For as Jonas was in the whale's belly three days and three nights: so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights" (Matt.11.39-40). By choosing multiple typological examples for inclusion in the story of St Nicholas, the MS L emphasizes the saint's sanctity.

"St Julian the Confessor" and "St Christopher"

The final two saints' lives of MS L that make particularly outstanding use of typological references are the lives of "St Julian the Confessor" and "St Christopher". The text of "St Julian" most likely comes from Sarum Use as "The closest agreement is with the three *SaB* lessons" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 140). Görlach comments that there is no possibility that the MS L text of "St Julian" is derived from the *Legenda Aurea* as "The *LgA* text is so different from *jc* that the two versions can hardly be identified as legends of the same saint" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 140). "St Christopher," on the other hand, appears to be a composite text with multiple sources. Although the "legend is fairly close to the *LgA* text," there are "a few agreements with the Passion, *BHL* 1767 (=*Mom*)". The agreements with a least two sources "make it questionable that the *LgA* could have been the only source for *cp*" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 184)

Despite the variation in sources, I have chosen to discuss the typologies of the two lives together here because the typologies that appear in the two lives involve two biblical brothers: Moses and Aaron. In the MS L account of St Julian, the text states that he came into a certain place and while he was there, he and his companions grew very thirsty but could see no water anywhere. The companions cried out to St Julian, and he was moved to allay their thirst. To do so, "Þis holie man nam op is staf: smot doun in-to þe grounde" (23). Immediately, from the ground gushes the "Þet beste water þat miȝte beo: a-mong heom euerech-on" (26). The water also is enough for everyone there to drink. The legend very pragmatically notes that prior to Julian striking the ground there had not been a well there (27), and it was "Þoruȝ vertue of þis holie man—: fair miracle þare was!" (21-28).

This miracle performed by St Julian of causing water to flow from the ground when he strikes the earth with his staff resembles a miracle performed by Moses as the Israelites were journeying to the Promised Land of Canaan. God tells Moses to walk before the people and to ask the older men of Israel to accompany him. He also instructs Moses to take his rod with him. Then, as all of the people of Israel are observing, the Lord says, "Behold I will stand there before thee, upon the rock Horeb: and thou shalt strike the rock, and water shall come out of it that the people may drink" (Ex. 17.6). Moses was considered a truly great Old Testament

saint and the father of Judaism; according to scripture, God Himself buried Moses.[58] To equate St Julian with Moses (who also is considered an Old Testament Christ figure) was irrevocable proof of Julian's sanctity.

In much the same fashion, St Christopher is portrayed as a type of high priest in the Levitical tradition. The very first high priest of the Israelite nation, Moses's brother, Aaron, was selected by the Lord when God caused his staff, and no-one else's, to produce buds. This selection was ordained by God who "spoke to Moses, saying: Speak to the children of Israel, and take of every one of them a rod by their kindreds, of all the princes of the tribes, twelve rods, and write the name of every man upon his rod" (Num. 17.1-2). The name of one man from each tribe signified the tribe as a whole, and God told Moses that "the name of Aaron shall be for the tribe of Levi, and one rod shall contain all their families: And thou shalt lay them up in the tabernacle of the covenant before the testimony, where I will speak to thee" (Num. 17.3-4). God then told Moses that He would make the rod of whomever He chose as Israel's high priest blossom with almond flowers.

The purpose of the selection of a high priest was to "make to cease from me the murmurings of the children of Israel, wherewith they murmur against you [Moses]" (Num. 17.5). After God conveys this message to him, "Moses spoke to the children of Israel: and all the princes gave him rods one for every tribe: and there were twelve rods besides the rod of Aaron" (Num. 17.6). Moses then takes the rods and brings them into the prescence of God in the tabernacle. When Moses "returned on the following day, [he] found that the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi, was budded: and that the buds swelling it had bloomed blossoms, which spreading the leaves, were formed into almonds" (Num. 17.8).

St Christopher, therefore, is presented as a type of New Testament high priest when his rod also buds.[59] The setting in which St Christopher's rod buds is a highly symbolic one. St Christopher is known for being a Saracen giant; he is

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[58] And the Lord said to him: This is the land, for which I swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying: I will give it to thy seed. Thou hast seen it with thy eyes, and shalt not pass over to it. And Moses the servant of the Lord died there, in the land of Moab, by the commandment of the Lord: And he buried him in the valley of the land of Moab over against Phogor: and no man hath known of his sepulchre until this present day" (Deut. 34.5-6)

[59] In the New Testament, Jesus also is called a high priest: "Having therefore a great high priest that hath passed into the heavens, *Jesus* the Son of God: let us hold fast our confession" (Heb. 4.14).

"Foure-and-twenti fet" tall, "þicke and brod i-nouʒ" (3). Being of such great size, he also is known for his great strength. As the MS L narrator writes, "A scwuch bote he were strong: me þinchez it were wouʒ!" (4). St Christopher's life aim also is to serve the "hext louerd ouer alle men: and onder non oþur nere" (8). For a time, St Christopher serves the devil, for he is the strongest master that he can find (40-44). As St Christopher is in the service of the devil, he notices that the devil is afraid of the sign of the Cross. St Christopher realizes that this must be the sign of a higher master, and he therefore leaves the devil to go in search of this master. In his search for this greater lord, St Christopher encounters a hermit (62-69). The hermit advises St Christopher to become a ferryman, bearing travellers across a wide river. He tells St Christopher that, if he does so, one day, he will find the highest lord that he could ever hope to serve (71). Ever ambitious, St Christopher undertakes the task of ferrying people across the river. He does this for an unspecified amount of time, and "ʒwane any man wolde ouer þat watur: opon is rug he him caste/ And tok is perche and bar him ouer" (79-80).

Eventually there comes a day when St Christopher carries a child across the river. This child seems to become heavier with each step that the saint takes, and the river seemingly becomes wider as the saint walks (96). When they finally reach the opposite shore, the child tells St Christopher that he is Christ, the highest Lord. As evidence of his identity, the child tells St Christopher that "Sum of þe power þat mi louerd hath: bi mi staf þou schalt i-seo" (122). The evidence provided of the child's power is the budding of St Christopher's staff as "his rodde he piʒte in þe grounde: and heo bi-gan a-non/ To leui and blowe and bere fruyt: bi-fore heom euerech-on" (123-124). When St Christopher sees this, he says, "'On swuch a god ʒe schullen bi-leue: þat swuch Miracle mai do'" (125).

All of the previous typologies interwoven into the saints' lives represent a language with which medieval churchgoers were familiar. It is also interesting to note that some scholars believe that the concept of typology arose as "a natural form of all human thought" (Miner 4). Gerhard von Rad wrote that "What we are accustomed to understand under the heading of typology is, in a broad sense, by no means a specifically theological concern or, indeed, a peculiarity of Oriental thought". Von Rad argued that typology instead was "an elementary function of all

human thought and interpretation… And, above all, without this interpretive, analogical sort of thinking there would be no poetry" (Von Rad 17 & 39). Given this fact, the concept of biblical typology can, therefore, be said to be a natural form of human thought that came about during the Middle Ages due to popular preoccupation with scripture. Closely related to typology and biblical allusion in the saints' lives of the *SEL* is the dialogue between hagiography and imagery associated with the church. For an understanding of the inspiration behind the recurring ecclesiastical imagery in saints' lives, I now turn to a discussion of the Christian worship traditions of medieval England.

Medieval Worship and the Saints' Lives of the *SEL*

Many of MS L's stories are constructed in such a way as to reflect the experience of worship in church and particularly that of worship in medieval parish churches. In the legend of *Sancta Crux*, Heraclius takes the Holy Cross and bears it aloft at the head of the procession into the temple: an image of the clergy's procession at Mass with which the *SEL*'s medieval readers would certainly have been familiar. Here the narrator explicitly emphasises that the reading/listening audience can and should identify with this scene, when he states that the crowd surrounding Heraclius as he processes into the temple sings, and the song that Heraclius sings is one that "ȝuyt men it singueth in holie churche: ȝwane huy berez þe croiz on honde" (508). Similarly, St Dunstan's first miracle, which he performs before he is even born, is performed in a church, "…In a candel-masse day,/ Þat folk was muche at churche: ase hit to þe tyme lay:/ As huy stoden alle with heore liȝt: riȝt also men stondeth ȝuyt nou" (3-5). The narrator tells the audience that this is a Candlemas Service that is just like the ones that they still have with the words "riȝt also men stondeth ȝuyt nou" (5).

Closely connected with parish church life is the practice of pilgrimage which parishioners undertook as often as they were able. One of the most popular places of pilgrimage in England during the late Middle Ages was Canterbury Cathedral where St Thomas of Canterbury was buried. It is unsurprising then that perhaps the most arresting legend of all which had great resonance during the High to Late Middle Ages and is included in almost every manuscript associated with the

SEL is the legend of *St Thomas of Canterbury*. Because the setting of the story is presented in great detail and draws extensively upon historical documents to verify the sanctity of St Thomas, it possesses an immediacy and a sense of verisimilitude that certain other saints' lives of the *SEL* tradition lack.

The church imagery (despite the fact that it occurs in a cathedral and not a parish church) associated with St Thomas's last night on earth is especially poignant and creates a picture of how he looked as he stood and preached his final sermon:

> Seint thomas at Caunterburi: a-midewynteres dai
> Stod and prechede al þat folk: þat mani a man i-sai.
> In is prechingue he bi-gan: to siche swiþe sore,
> And deol and sorewe made i-nov: ne miȝte no man more;
> Swiþe sore he gan to wepe: þe teres ornen a-doun.
> Þare was mani wepinde Eiȝe: wel sone ȝeont al þe toun.
> (1931-1936)

This tender scene where Thomas shows his sadness at having to leave his congregation for good and their equal sadness in knowing that his demise is soon at hand creates a scene of affectionate community with which the *SEL* narrators and their readers/listeners would have been familiar. Throughout the *SEL*, the parish church implicitly is the model for the relationship between the saint and the *SEL*'s readers/listeners: to such an extent that, even in the case of Becket's martyrdom which takes place in a cathedral, the narrative is constructed in such a way to emphasize the intimacy between the preacher and his community. Although such intimacy is more naturally achieved in parochial contexts, Becket's sanctity is imagined in such a way that even the Canterbury Cathedral congregation feels very intimate.

English Language and the *SEL*

The scenes described previously emphasized to the readers of the *SEL* that the saints and those with whom they had lived and interacted were everyday Christians who were touched by a special grace from God and consequently this special measure of favor perpetually rested over the places in which the saints' mortal bodies

resided. Since the scenes described would have strongly resonated with everyday readers, it perhaps seems natural that they would be written in the language of everyday English life: English. However, for the Middle Ages, that was unusual. Texts such as those of the *SEL* which employ the languages of theology and parochial church life generally are written in the traditional language of religion and learning: Latin. As Anne Thompson writes, "English could not boast of an unbroken written tradition in the same way that French or Latin could; though nearly everyone at all social levels spoke and heard English, English continued to be a language associated with peasants and illiteracy" (Thompson, *Everyday Saints* 29).

Since English initially was not viewed as a language sufficiently sophisticated for the written word, in its earliest stages, the *SEL* almost certainly relied upon Latin models for the composition of its texts, but precisely which Latin models remains a matter open to debate. Manfred Görlach believed that the *SEL*'s models could be narrowed to "a liturgical collection of the Sarum type," (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 7) and that "it is *a priori* likely that the first 'translator' and compiler followed a model, but major differences in the length and in the style of the existing *SEL* legends and homiletic pieces suggest that the poems derive from different source collections" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 6).

Sherry Reames agrees with Görlach that the first *SEL* models may have been of the Sarum variety, but she expands upon the German scholar's work, stating that the *SEL*'s sources likely were a conglomerate of liturgical works and not limited to a single tradition as Görlach's statements could lead one to believe. Within "[T]he parallels between the *SEL* and the retellings of saints' legends in contemporary English liturgical manuscripts, especially secular ones," Reames finds connections that "are too numerous and compelling to be coincidental".

Drawing upon the compilation practices of recreations of saints' lives in secular medieval manuscripts to argue that the *SEL* compilers' editorial practices likely were similar to those of scribes who primarily copied secular works but who also had an interest in saints' lives, Reames writes, "As the *SEL* would do, these [secular] liturgical manuscripts freely abridged and recast earlier Latin legends to adapt them to new audiences and circumstances, often simplified their language as

well as their content and generally emphasized basic narrative element more than doctrine or symbolism or historical detail" (Reames, "South English Legendary" 90).

As has been observed previously in this chapter, some *SEL* texts, despite the brevity of many of them, did manage to retain essential symbols and historical details in the recastings of the legends for the laity and these symbols and topographical details served effectively to impress upon collective memory the significance of individual saints and their connection with Old Testament saints as well as with Christ whom they imitated. The scribal interaction with Latin texts and their decision to translate the texts into English was a nuanced polyglossal act then led to the ideal dialogized heteroglossia that Bakhtin describes.

Further emphasizing this act of heteroglossia, Reames writes of the *SEL*'s sources that, "on the basis of the earliest such manuscripts [Sarum use] we have and the loose instruction on lessons in the thirteenth-century Sarum ordinal" it is evident "that English compilers of liturgical collections in this period had remarkable freedom to shape the collections to their own specifications or those of their intended audience". The freedom permitted to compilers was so extensive in fact that "They could keep using local sources about the saints, if they so chose, or they could supplement or replace them with desired sources from other institutions, apparently regardless of use or rite, religious order, geography or the distinctions between monastic liturgies and secular ones" (Reames, "South English Legendary" 88).

From the liberty to incorporate related texts into manuscripts as scribes saw fit came an active dialogized heteroglossia in the creation of *SEL* collections and in the *SEL* tradition as a whole. As they selected texts for inclusion in each manuscript, the scribes were participating in the textual dialogue that Bakhtin describes as dialogized heteroglossia: a situation where multiple languages are in dialogue with one another and consequently create a new form through their dialogue: the form, in this case, being the manuscripts which came to constitute what now is known as the *SEL* tradition.

Out of this tradition then arose a linguistic theme with an emphasis on the centrality of the English language as a valid medium through which sanctity could

be communicated and memorialized. Of all the *SEL* manuscripts, it is MS L that most clearly demonstrates an interest in Englishness. As Kimberly Bell writes, "The *fact* of writing in English emerges as an explicit theme in L: the *SEL* narrator points out regularly that he is translating holy Latin verse into English (e.g. 133.943; 355.344-46); in *St. Edmund of Abingdon*, the saint speaks his dying words 'on Englichs' (448.586)" (Bell 4). Within MS L, English also becomes a language of mightiness as "The narrator of *Horn* describes an Irish court that speaks *English* as the power language although its subjects, apparently, do not (1027-28), and the narrator's 'extravagantly hyper-alliterative' language in *Somer Soneday* reveals a self-conscious awareness of critical political and potent spiritual meaning" (Bell 4). In *SEL* texts and particularly in MS L's texts, "language makes the man" as "communicating in English appears to be central to *being* English; what that identity entails is a theme that echoes through the entire manuscript" (Bell 4). The implications then, especially for MS L, is that the manuscript, like many of the powerful saints that it describes, finds its identity in being an English work. Because the manuscript is written in English, this fact creates an "ongoing commentary—explicit and implicit—on speaking, writing, and translating into (or out of) English" causing the manuscript to "[participate] in a wide-ranging, insistent critical political and potent spiritual" dialogue. Through this on-going conversation, meaning was communicated (potentially) to members of the laity, whether privately or publically (Bell 4).

There also are a satisfying number of English saints included in *SEL* manuscripts: all of which suggests a desire on the part of *SEL* composers to assert the legitimacy of English saints within the saintly canon. The *SEL* manuscript that contains the greatest number of English saints' lives and demonstrates a preponderance towards shaping a distinctively English national and spiritual identity is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108.[60] The English saints' lives included in MS L are the lives of "St Dunstan," "St Oswald," "St Edward," "St Alban," "St Wulfstan," "St Thomas of Canterbury," "St Edmund the King," and

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[60] More concerning the English saints who appear in MS L can be found in Chapter VIII of this thesis.

"St Cuthbert," and the effect of including these saints' lives in MS L on textual and extra-textual communities is elaborated upon in Chapter VIII.

Conclusion

Like the peasant whom Bakhtin describes as being illiterate yet fluent in multiple languages, so the *SEL* and especially MS L reveal medieval laity to have been fluent in multiple registers of language. The laity reading the *SEL* would have been fluent in the language of typology, the language of the liturgy and parish, and in the language of English. These languages all come together in the tradition that is the *South English Legendary*, and, like the peasant that Bakhtin describes, the manuscripts' original audiences (whomever they may have been) exhibited "considerable intelligence in [their] ability to skillfully traverse various linguistic boundaries" (Bakhtin 262). These same boundaries create an artistic structure for the *SEL* consisting of three strands, creating a heteroglossic work.

The dialogized heteroglossia of *SEL* collections becomes apparent when one examines the three dominant strands of language which run throughout *SEL* texts. Since many of the saints' lives included in the *SEL* manuscripts are accounts of the lives of biblical saints, the language of scripture permeates and influences the *SEL*. Where the saints' lives are not adapted from scripture, the Holy Writ yet manages to find its way into the text through the popular theological teaching of typology in which both holy and unholy characters described in the lives find their shadows in scripture. Closely connected with the language of scripture and theology, the language of parish worship is inextricably woven into various *SEL* texts. Finally, the third and dominant language of the *SEL*, English, the language in which the languages of scripture and theology and ecclesiology in the *SEL* are expressed, preserves and contains the legends in the language of the common people.

Because they include the languages of the church in their renderings of saints' lives, the *South English Legendaries* reveal themselves to be collections very much of their own time and heteroglossal (Speed 117-136). As they are written in English rather than in Latin, and incorporate both Old Testament and New Testament typologies this collection intrinsically shows itself to be reaching forward in time as well as reaching back towards saints' past lives. The sense of a

straining both forward and backward reveals the *South English Legendaries* to be manuscripts that, while of their time, also are in dialogue with manuscripts of the past and future.

In his 2011 essay titled "Chaucer and the Auchinleck Manuscript Revisited," Christopher Cannon alludes to how the *SEL*, and particularly MS L remains in dialogue with manuscripts of the future. Cannon believes that it is possible that Chaucer may even have had MS L or a manuscript like it to hand when he wrote the *Canterbury Tales*. Cannon writes, "Although we tend to look for precedent to Boccaccio for the kind of narrative collections Chaucer wrote in the latter part of his career, the *South English Legendary* was probably the largest such collection extant in English when Chaucer sat down to assemble such a collection, and the collection he then assembled was not, of course, the *Canterbury Tales* but the narratives he called the 'Seintes Legende of Cupide' (II 61) in the Introduction to the *Man of Law's Tale*". Cannon further elaborates that although modern audiences generally think of Chaucer's the *Legende of Good Women* as being classically derived, "the prologue to these secular narratives of martyrdom tells us that Chaucer had already written a 'lyf…of Seynt Cecile'" (F 427), since it is listed there as one of his accomplishments" (Cannon 144-145). Since the aforementioned texts usually are thought of as being secular, that delineation "has also helped us to overlook the fact that the *South English Legendary* was both a proximate English model for such a collection of 'legends' and an abundantly available one, perhaps already as popular as the *Canterbury Tales* was later to become, for, as I have said, it survives complete in fifty-one manuscripts (while, even with its own subsequent popularity to aid in the process, the Tales survives complete in fifty-seven)" (Cannon 144-145).

Before I continue, I would like to make a very brief digression. As noted earlier in the Introduction, Murray Evans has commented that those seeking to localize MS L find themselves in a metaphorical dialogue about the shapes of clouds similar to Hamlet's discussion with Polonius. While this may be the case where localizing the manuscript is concerned, the idea of MS L as a cloud actually serves a fitting metaphor for how this manuscript and potentially other *SEL* manuscripts function in the history of English literature. While clouds do have the

ability to shape-shift and take on different attributes, they also perform greater functions.

To the naked eye, clouds appear to be simple formations of air rising and traversing the skies above. Yet, even to this day, scientists continually are making new discoveries about the nature of clouds (Houze xiiii). What currently is known of clouds is that they are inextricably connected to the sustenance of the biosphere of the earth. Many events intersect in the "water cycle" in order to produce the clouds that people see every day. Yet, clouds do not simply stand alone as entities to themselves after they have formed. They also function as "communities," communicating with one another in tangible dialogism, creating future events such as rainfall. Similarly, MS L is part of a "literary cycle" which remains in constant communication with past and present texts which then lead to future literary creations.

The linguistic dialogue through which the spaces of *SEL* texts are created used specific details of past and present physical places to create manuscripts that are of their time, but they simultaneously created manuscripts in which time in some texts takes on a non-linear dimension and created a sense of suspension in which the texts reside. Yet, these same texts, while in a metaphorical state of suspension, remain in dialogue with the liturgical traditions of their day. Bakhtin's literary theories of heteroglossia and dialogism, therefore, provide a helpful framework for understanding the medieval dialogue between *SEL* manuscripts and other liturgical manuscripts as well as the dialogue between the registers of language that exist in *SEL* manuscripts and their effects in shaping the literary spaces of *SEL* texts. In similar fashion, Bakhtin's conception of time provides a way into understanding certain *SEL* texts. It is Bakhtin's conception of time in the novel and the applications of this theory to the *SEL* that will be addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Liturgical Calendars, Changing Times, and Three Texts of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108

Having examined in the previous chapter how the Bakhtinian narrative theories of heteroglossia and dialogism can be used as a framework for discussing the places and spaces of the *SEL*, it logically follows that Bakhtin's understanding of time in literature might also serve as a helpful starting point in discussing the Christian temporalities of MS L. Time has been inextricably linked to declarations of MS L's orderliness or disorderliness; therefore, in considering the manuscript as a work of art, one of the first dilemmas that must be resolved is that of the role of time in individual texts of the manuscript as well as in the structure of the manuscript itself. As the earliest extant manuscript of the *SEL* tradition, MS L frequently has been regarded by scholars as an incomplete *SEL* collection, a claim also made by the only editor of MS L, and an assertion that remains largely unchallenged.

In their introduction to their 1956 edition of *The South English Legendary*, (edited from Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 145 and British Museum MS Harley 2277 with variants from Bodley MS. Ashmole 43 and British Museum MS. Cotton Julius D. IX), Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna Mill echoed Horstmann's sentiments that MS L was not the most apt choice for an edition of the *SEL* collection stating that for their edition they had chosen "to make available for further study the earliest orderly text of *The South English Legendary*" (D'Evelyn v). To their minds, CCCC MS 145 and BM MS H 2277 were the best manuscripts to accomplish this aim, and it is true that these particular manuscripts contain more saints' lives and fill more gaps in the liturgical calendar, suggesting a greater chronological completeness.

As I observed in my introduction above, much of the debate about the contents and composition of MS L has assumed that it was inevitable and essential for the saints' lives of the *SEL* to be arranged according to the order of saints' days

in the liturgical calendar – to the extent that MS L deserves to be seen as intrinsically faulty because its contents are not organised wholly according to the calendar. However, even in the Middle Ages time could be conceived in ways other than the linear. Indeed, the very construction of a linear model of time was a complex process. In Western Civilization today, time functions as a more or less fixed entity, and Western society accepts without questioning that a minute is comprised of sixty seconds, an hour of sixty minutes, a day of twenty-four hours, a week of seven days, and a year of fifty-two weeks. This was not always the case, and in the Middle Ages, time was perceived as a much more fluid, almost wave-like entity, as Bede writes of the waves along the British shoreline and how the times and tides are marked: "…we who live at various places along the coastline of the British Sea know that where the tide begins to run in one place, it begins to ebb at another at the same time" (Bede, *Reckoning of Time* 85).

Foundations of Medieval Liturgical (Horizontal) Time

The Venerable Bede's *De Temporibus* and *De Temporum Ratione* which dealt with the calculation of the date of Easter, explained the order of the cosmos, and provided tables for calculating the cycles of the moon, sun, and stars are themselves an illustration of the extent to which the calendar itself was a cultural construction. When MS L was written (ca. AD 1270-1300),[61] the Julian calendar was in use, but this calendar was superseded by the Gregorian calendar in 1582.[62] Medieval people were aware, perhaps more than we are, that time is an intellectual construct (and to that extent a product of certain kinds of organisation). In the same way, the order of MS L could be seen as a conscious reorganisation of relationships in time – not a failure to understand strict chronology, but a reading of sanctity in which temporal relationships are made deliberately flexible. This sense of plasticity also is reflected in the narratives of saints' lives as MS L and other hagiographic manuscripts

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[61] The first texts of the *temporale* and *sanctorale* of MS L were compiled during this time, but *LAEME* and *LALME*'s analysis of the hands of the manuscript suggests that texts continued to be added until the fifteenth century.

[62] The Julian calendar was implemented by Julius Caesar in 45 BC and continued to be used in Europe until 1582. The Gregorian calendar named after Pope Gregory XIII has come to be called the Western calendar because Western churches adopted the new calendar while some Eastern churches, such as the Russian Orthodox church, still use the Julian or reformed Julian Calendar.

embellish and distort historical facts and occasionally include lives of saints who may or may not have existed.[63]

During the Middle Ages, the gradual shaping of calendars and understandings of the universe were moulded not only by Christian theology but also by Classical philosophy. Much of the Christian Bible was interpreted literally, and scripture was considered an infallible authority.[64] God was accepted as the Giver and Creator of all good things, and "In the beginning God created heaven and earth," (Gen. 1.1) was not questioned. David's Psalm beginning "The heavens shew forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of his hands. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge" (Ps. 18.2-3) was accepted as truth.

Since medieval scholars believed that creation reflected God's glory and order, in response, they sought to order the universe in their writings (e.g., developing the idea of the theme of the Great Chain of Being, cultivating genres such as the bestiary and the encyclopaedia). This impulse to categorize all things found in the material world naturally extended to human lifetimes and to the history of mankind. It therefore became necessary to establish precisely when earthly time began in order best to understand the history of mankind. For this calculation, medieval scholars combined Christian writ with Classical philosophy. Among those philosophers who most influenced medieval Christian thought on temporality were Plato and Aristotle. Plato's last dialogue, *Timaeus,* proved particularly influential. Within *Timaeus*, scholars found inspiration both for pragmatic ways of ordering time as well as a philosophical tradition compatible with Christianity. They appreciated the work's presentation of a "rational, harmonious cosmology that complements Christian doctrine, and that it [*Timaeus*] uses the deductive and quantitative approach that became central in the medieval understanding of nature"

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[63] A number of saints who may or may not actually have lived appear in MS L. Among them are the legends of the majority of virgin martyrs included in the manuscript and this is further dicussed in Chapter VII. A number of the saints' legends also are highly embellished to the point of becoming pleasing fictions.

[64] In general, this is still perceived to be the case. However, Susan Reynolds has written an essay arguing that there was more ambiguity in this area than often is assumed (Reynolds, "Social Mentalities" 21-41).

(Bisson 5-6).

In addition, Plato's "distinction between changing sense appearances and unchanging, immaterial 'Forms' known through the intellect complemented Christianity's otherworldly orientation" (Bisson 5). Platonic thought also anticipated the Christian idea that all of life, both the physical and moral nature of man is a microcosm reflecting a larger macrocosmic order. The medieval syncretising of Christian and Platonic reasoning promoted a "dual awareness [of reality that] characterizes the medieval mindset" (Bisson 3). The medieval mind saw the world as highly symbolic and full of analogies of God. As Otto Von Simson aptly put it, "At the basis of all medieval thought is the concept of analogy. All things have been created according to the law of analogy…they are, in various degrees, manifestations of God, images, vestiges, or shadows of the Creator" (Simson 54).

Horstmann, D'Evelyn, and Mill approached MS L primarily using a linear or horizontal timeline; MS L, nevertheless, does not only function in a horizontal fashion. Several texts within the manuscript show that the compilers were interested not only in horizontal time but also in vertical time. This intersectional perception of time is one that is well-captured in the ancient Greek words for time: *chronos* and *kairos*. *Chronos* pertains to chronological or sequential time (what Horstmann, D'Evelyn, and Mill were interested in), and *kairos* signifies a period of time where elements come together to create a catalyst for moving forward: a concept nearly identical to Bakhtin's theory of the literary chronotope.

While Western Christianity has more or less lost an understanding of how *chronos* (horizontal time) and *kairos* (vertical time) are inextricably linked, this knowledge remains embedded in the liturgy of the Eastern Church. For example, in Eastern Churches, before the Divine Liturgy begins, the deacon traditionally speaks these words: "*Kairos tou poiesai to Kyrie*" ("It is time [*kairos*] for the Lord to act"). This use of the word *kairos* traditionally has been interpreted as signifying that the time when the liturgy is spoken is a time when *chronos* (horizontal time) and *kairos* (vertical or eternal time) intersect. Within vertical time, the past, present, and future merge together into one entity.

Manfred Görlach hinted at the interplay of vertical and horizontal time

which occurs in MS L when he wrote that "Judgement on L is complicated by the mixture of calendar vs. hierarchical order and random arrangement and by the fragmentation at the beginning" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 90). Although Görlach does not directly say it, he suggests that, temporally, far more is at work in this "especially valuable" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 89) manuscript of the *SEL* tradition than previously has been considered. Despite its apparent flaws and unfinished state, MS L offers much to scholars of Middle English manuscripts "not only from an hagiologic, but also from a poetic and literary point of view" (Horstmann xii). A re-evaluation of the manuscript's temporal qualities taking into account both horizontal and vertical timelines dispels some of the confusion often associated with MS L and has important implications for conjecturing a possible audience and provenance for MS L. To begin the re-evaluation, a discussion of the defining characteristics of horizontal and vertical time is in order.

Defining Horizontal Time

Horizontal time, for the purposes of this chapter, is defined as earth-bound time as described by Christian and Jewish traditions. Such time is linear and focused upon getting from point "A" to point "B". Liturgical time is based upon such a calendrical system and has a beginning and an end. It is this time that generally has been focussed upon where the *SEL* collection is concerned, and, in terms of horizontal time, MS L does not navigate its way from point "A" (the beginning of the liturgical year) to point "B" (the end of the liturgical year) completely smoothly although it very loosely adheres to the liturgical calendar; it is largely within this failure that the manuscript's perceived flaws lie. In spite of this supposed imperfection, several texts within MS L suggest that the manuscript does not deliberately deviate from chronological order but, rather, like the recitation of the sentence prior to the Divine Liturgy in the Eastern church, intends to present both horizontal (temporal) and vertical (spiritual) time through the selections of lives included in its manuscript.

Defining Vertical Time

Vertical time, as defined for this chapter, is time in which all things descend from God, and it is in him that they have their meaning; as the Apostle Paul said to the

Athenians of Mars Hill, "For in him we live, and move, and are; as some also of your own poets said: For we are also his offspring" (Acts 17.28). What holds the events of vertical time together "is not the horizontal (syntagmatic) links of chronology or causality but their vertical (associative) links to events in the life of Christ" (Sadlek 179). What one then apprehends through these events which are vertically associated with one another is what Erich Auerbach describes in his writings on *Chanson de Roland* and the *Chanson d'Alexis*: "a string of autonomous, loosely interrelated events" which, rather like a stained glass church window, form "a mosaic of parceled pictures" (Auerbach 114-116).

Auerbach is not the only literary critic to address the idea of vertical time. In his essay titled "Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel," Mikhail Bakhtin also devotes considerable space to discussing medieval ideas of vertical time and how these concepts influence the chronotopes found in medieval chivalric romance. He describes the shaping of this time as a "stretching-out of the world—a historical world, in essence—along a vertical axis" (Bakhtin 156). He acknowledges that the characters of chivalric romance, like the saints of MS L, though inhabiting a vertical world "are profoundly historical, they bear the distinctive marks of time". Yet, although they bear the marks of history and the "human beings" strain "toward participation in historical events...the artist's powerful will condemns... [them] to an eternal immobile place on the extratemporal vertical axis" (Bakhtin 157).

For Bakhtin, the medieval artist who most clearly suspended his characters on this vertical axis is Dante. Bakhtin writes of Dante that the exquisite "architectonics" of his masterpiece *The Divine Comedy* rely upon this textual world having its "life and movement tensely strung along a vertical axis". This tightly strung axis includes the "nine circles of Hell beneath the earth, seven circles of Purgatory above them and above that ten circles of Paradise". These circles of Paradise are contrasted with the sights appearing below them: a "crude materiality of people and things, above, only the Light and the Voice". Yet, despite the coarse appearance of the people and things on earth, Bakhtin writes that the glories of Paradise occur simultaneously with them for "the temporal logic of this vertical world consists in the sheer simultaneity of all that occurs (or, "the coexistence of everything in eternity").

Although Bakhtin finds in Dante's *Divine Comedy* the most apt demonstration of this vertical world, he does not limit his acknowledgements of literary chronotopes employing vertical time to the *Divine Comedy*. He also mentions the *Roman de la Rose* and *Piers Plowman*. These two works share a common genre, the dream vision, and Bakhtin suggests that within late medieval dream visions "...the influence of the medieval, other-worldly, vertical axis is extremely strong". For Bakhtin, because dream visions exist as a world to themselves, "the entire spatial and temporal world is subject to symbolic interpretation" (Bakhtin 156).

Bakhtin then takes his conception of what occurs within the genre of a dream vision a step further and writes that "One might even say that in such works time is utterly excluded from action. This is a "vision," after all, and visions in real time are very brief; indeed the meaning of what is seen is itself extratemporal (although it does have some connection with time)" (Bakhtin 156) In stating this, Bakhtin implies that what happens in a dream vision is not time bound, and the words on the page which are structured in the form of a dream vision allow both the character(s) within the vision to exist outside time as promote a sense of the suspension of time in the reader. Time within the vision itself, therefore, becomes a functional metaphor in an alternate reality – a reality that ceases immediately to exist when the character(s) in the vision awake and when the reader ceases to read. Thus, "the real time of the vision—as well as the point at which it intersects with two other types of time, the specific biographical moment (the time of a human life) and historical time—has a purely symbolic character" (Bakhtin 156).

Vertical Time in Three Legends of MS L

A few legends in particular in MS L betray a distinct interest in the vertical timeline that Auerbach and Bakhtin describe. Perhaps unsurprisingly given Bakhtin's astute perception of the centrality of time in medieval dream visions, these MS L texts resemble the dream visions of which Bakhtin spoke and reveal a fascination with the extratemporal world (e.g. ideas of the cosmos and purgatory). Three texts which especially demonstrate this otherworldly thrust are the legend of "St Michael," "St Patrick's Purgatory," and "All Souls'". Each of these legends shows a strong interest

104

in the spiritual hierarchy in which medieval theology declared the world to hang and an understanding of these particular legends' structures lends the reader a form of synecdoche which sheds some light on how temporality in the whole of MS L can be read.

"St Michael"

The first legend to be considered here is that of "St Michael". In MS L, the legend of the archangel is positioned between the legend of St Edmund the King and the life of St Clement, but the compiler's(s') motivations for placing the story of the archangel between these two legends is not readily apparent. MS L is not the only manuscript of the *SEL* to include the legend of "St Michael". Other *SEL* manuscripts include the legend, but it frequently appears in fragmented form. According to Görlach, there are seventeen other extant manuscripts of this legend, apart from MS L. Later *SEL* revisions of the legend tend to divide it into three sections rather than presenting it as a unified whole as does MS L. The three sections of "St Michael" occur as follows: the subject matter of Parts 1 and 2 "follow the general outlines of the hagiographic myths of Monte Gargano and Mont Tombe… respectively" (Johnson 67). In contrast, Part 3 "is scientific in nature and encyclopaedic in scope covering such topics as the four elements, the weather, the heavens, and even the nature of man's soul and his death" (Johnson 67).

Manfred Görlach writes that, "judging from the hand [in which the legend is presented in MS L], a date after 1330 is unlikely" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 74) but expressed some uncertainty about the legend's precise dating saying that "The hand is very difficult to date from paleographic criteria alone" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 74). Görlach, however, was convinced that the original *SEL* exemplar from which the MS L scribe copied had set out the legend as a tripartite yet connected story unit. Görlach wrote that the "AJ [Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 43 and London, British Museum, MS Cotton Julius D IX] arrangement cannot reflect the original plan, since the shortened text in *mi/mj*, with legends of full length in between, proves that the two parts were continuous in the ancestor"

(Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 192).[65] As of yet, the search for a single ancestor from which the text is derived has proved inconclusive. As Görlach says, "None of the great collections, breviary texts or the *LgA…* versions are related to the SEL text, either in the two legendary portions *mi/mj*, nor in the account of the fight with Lucifer, nor in the cosmology of *ml*, nor indeed in the combination of the heterogenous material".[66] Görlach notes that the inclusion of the lines describing the world from a cosmological perspective also are exclusive to legends of "St Michael" included in the *SEL* tradition, and no exemplar including similar material in a "St Michael" legend has been located: "The pseudo-scientific *ml* text, which is neatly joined to *mj*, but has no apparent connection with the legendary subject matter, is found in no other Michael legend" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 193).

Although the life of "St Michael" was a favourite one among medieval readers, Görlach notes that the scribe who penned the life for the *SEL* strangely appears not to have been familiar with the legend; "the treatment of the complicated material is very popular; [but] in some passages the author obviously did not quite understand his source". That said, Görlach admits that judgement of the scribe's knowledge of the "St Michael" legend "is seriously impaired by the lack of comparable Middle English versions" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 193).

The search for MS L's "St Michael" exemplar has proved inconclusive, and the text currently stands alone in modern understanding; therefore, MS L's "St Michael" constitutes a special text with significant ramifications for understanding the whole manuscript of MS L and scribal textual selection procedure. That a scribe chose to present the text as a whole rather than in a tripartite form, and despite the seeming lack of correlation between the three parts of the saint's life, the combining of the three texts suggests the desire of the compiler to present a fuller picture of the saint's relation to the vertical spiritual hierarchy of the universe: rather than

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[65] Görlach frequently writes "A & J" (his symbols for Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 43 and London, British Museum, MS Cotton Julius D IX) together as he felt that the two manuscripts descended from either the same or from a similar exemplar (Görlach 87).

[66] Although Sherry Reames has written an essay titled "The South English Legendary and Its Major Latin Models," which is included in Heather Blurton and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne's *Rethinking the South English Legendaries*, she does not examine the origins of the St Michael legend. She does, however, provide case studies for the origins of three other *SEL* texts: St Thomas Becket, St Wulfstan, and St Laurence.

constricting the saint to the confines of a narrow liturgical horizontal hierarchy. What now appears to a modern reading audience to be conflicting elements in the MS L text of "St Michael" would not necessarily have been viewed as conflicting by a medieval audience. Medieval readers would have come to the text deeply familiar with the vertical view of the world that Auerbach and Bakhtin explain in relation to medieval poetry.

The legend of "St Michael" begins with some accounts of miracles performed by the archangel. The first miracle recorded is that of the man who shoots an arrow at his ox, but because St Michael wills it, the arrow "boomerangs" and instead wounds the man who shot the arrow (14-23). The second miracle is that of the miraculous appearances of the imprint of the saint's feet in the marble floor of a church dedicated to him (90). The final miracle attributed to him is that of rescuing a mother and child from the sea (147), and the *SEL* account mentions that, as a kind of annual memorial of that miracle, on the anniversary of St Michael's day, the sea recedes from the hill of Toumbe on which a church dedicated to St Michael stands (133). These accounts of miracles and churches dedicated to the saint firmly place his presence on the earth—after all, even the impress of his footprints lingers in a church's floor.

In line 165 of the poem, the story's focus abruptly shifts upward and transitions to a fight scene between St Michael and Lucifer. This sudden jump creates much the same effect as a cross-cutting in a film. Cross-cutting is an editing technique which cuts from one scene in the film to another scene that is taking place elsewhere but at the same instant as the preceding scene. The interweaving of the scenes in the film suggests that the events are taking place simultaneously. Cross-cutting can be used as a dramatic effect which helps to build tension or to show the contrast between the two scenes to great effect (Beaver 61). The legend's swift transition also could be viewed as a kind of "jump cut", that is, "a break or cut in a film's temporal continuity, caused by removing a section of a shot and then splicing together what remains of it. On screen, the result is abrupt and jerky; in certain films it is deliberate" (Beaver 136). The narrative "cross-cutting" and "jump cutting" that occurs in St Michael appears to be deliberate and because the swift transition to the fight scene is so startling, it adds importance to the scene and emphasizes that, as

an archangel, St Michael is especially powerful because he is able physically to ascend in the hierarchy of the universe and engage in battle with Lucifer.

A curiosity of the St Michael legend is that the *SEL* compiler(s) chose to place this particular encounter between the saint and Lucifer in the centre of the story. Medieval readers would have known that, according to the church fathers, the battle between St Michael and Lucifer took place near the beginning of time, sometime before God created the Garden of Eden, Adam and Eve. It would make sense then, according to horizontal/linear, chronological time, to place this encounter near the beginning of the saint's life rather than in the middle. Yet, the MS L scribe(s) chose to place it there. By doing so, the compiler(s) suggest something very important about how time in saints' lives should be regarded.

The suggestion from the positioning of this section is that the compiler(s) viewed temporality in saints' lives (or, at the very least in St Michael's life) as "consist[ing] in the sheer simultaneity of all that occurs (or, "the coexistence of everything in eternity")" (Bakhtin 157). Since within this story of the archangel all time seems to exist within itself and cannot be divided into past, present, and future, it then makes sense to place the most exciting part of the narrative where the climax of a story normally occurs (in the middle or thereabouts) rather than placing it at the beginning. If for a brief moment we return to the analogy of cross-cutting in film where cross-cutting is used "for the purpose of presenting simultaneously occurring events" (Beaver 61), the suggestion then inherent in this story becomes that this battle between St Michael and Lucifer did not end at the beginning of time but is an ongoing spiritual battle. While he is performing miracles on earth and having churches dedicated to him, St Michael simultaneously is engaging in a spiritual battle with Lucifer.

The emphasis on the simultaneity of past, present, and future lessens somewhat as MS L's narrative on St Michael moves along, but the sense of vertical time and the hierarchy of beings in the universe continues. As most of the *SEL*'s medieval readers would have known, the battle between St Michael and Lucifer at the beginning of time ended with Lucifer and his followers being cast out of heaven. Traditionally, this casting out has been seen to take a downward motion with Lucifer and his followers falling downwards toward hell. MS L's rendition of Lucifer's

banishment from heaven follows this tradition with St Michael becoming the master who drives Lucifer "out of heuene adoun" (189). In keeping with the falling motion of Lucifer and his compatriots in the story, the narrative slowly spirals back to earth.

In the descent earthward, the reader is first taught the nature of angels and their deeds (e.g., good angels give good dreams and bad angels give nightmares, bad angels are elves) and how the devil tempts people to sin. The narrative then plateaus slightly with an account of how the cosmos is organised with hell at the bottom, then earth, heaven, and the eight firmaments. The description expands to discuss the phases of the moon and planets as well as the scientific reasons for thunder and lightning, and precipitation. The narrative then turns to the earth to discuss the elements out of which man is created. Here the reader is told that "Man hath of eorþe al is bodi: and of watere he hauez wete,/ Of þe Eyr e hath breth and wind: of fuyr he hath hete" (668-669). A description of the four humours and then the three souls of man then follows. The saint's life ends with a supplication to St Michael to guide the one soul that is immortal to glory.

The shape of the legend of "St Michael" as well as the positioning of the story of the saint's battle with Lucifer each suggest how time within this saint's life, and perhaps within other lives of the *SEL,* should be viewed. This legend's shape has an unmistakable emphasis on the verticality/hierarchy of the universe because of the location of the battle between St Michael and Lucifer (in heaven no less) and because this story took place at the beginning of time, yet appears in the middle of MS L's narrative. This suggests that narratives of other saints' lives should be viewed as having a time-less (that is, existing without the constraints of time) quality.

Two other legends within MS L that demonstrate an interest in vertical time are "St Patrick's Purgatory" and "All Souls'". That these two texts should be present in a medieval manuscript primarily containing saints' lives is not at all surprising as "it is impossible to avoid a discussion of purgatory in late-medieval piety" (Madigan 430). The concept of purgatory was an omnipresent one in medieval life and spirituality and "more masses were almost certainly said to deliver souls temporarily marooned there than for all other purposes combined" (Madigan 430). Purgatory represented the next step towards reaching heaven and prayers for the

future bliss of the believers passing through this place were regarded as essential. That being the case, the emphasis in both of these texts is on creating an abstract space where past, present, and future time coalesce into one entity.

"St Patrick's Purgatory"

Both "St Patrick's Purgatory" and the account of purgatory described in "All Souls'" take place in what Bakhtin calls "adventure-time". Bakhtin identifies this special type of time as one that occurs most often in Greek romances and chivalric romances of the Middle Ages, but it appears in some saints' lives as well. Bakhtin states that in adventure-time, actions chronicled are "neither historical, quotidian, nor even biographical and maturational. Actions lie outside these sequences…In this kind of time, nothing changes… [this time] is an extemporal hiatus that appears between two moments of real time" (Bakhtin 87). Bakhtin further writes that "[f]or Greek adventure-time to work, one must have an *abstract* expanse of space" (Bakhtin 99). In the tales of purgatory which take place in these saints' lives, purgatory provides the necessary "*abstract* expanse" necessary for adventure-time, and thus the lives become suspended somewhere between temporality and eternity. In this suspension between heaven and earth, time in saints' lives "thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history" (Bakhtin 84).

According to Görlach, there are sixteen other extant *SEL* manuscripts apart from MS L that include "St Patrick's Purgatory". As with most other MS L texts (and *SEL* texts in general for that matter), it is not yet possible (and perhaps never will be) to say with certainty what this text's sources were. Manfred Görlach still felt confident enough to conjecture that in the case of "St Patrick's Purgatory," "The original "Z" version is a translation of the work of Henry of Saltry, *BHL* 6510-2. The "A" redactor, not finding the introductory miracles of his *LgA* exemplar in the "Z" legend, supplied them in a rather loose rendering" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 151) Görlach felt some certainty in saying this, though he cautiously stated that his assumption about the text "*appears* [italics mine] to be safe". His reasoning for why it was a safe assumption was "because the *LgA* offers the only parallel to the unusual combination of some short miracles selected at random and the famous story of

Patrick's Purgatory" (Görlach, *Textual Tradition* 151).

From the above information it can be seen that the legend of "St Patrick's Purgatory" is not an unusual one where saints' lives are concerned. The story was included in many collections of saints' lives. In MS L, the legend of "St Patrick's Purgatory" can be found between the legends of "St Scholastica" and "St Brendan". Given its proximity to "Brendan," the positioning of the "Purgatory" text suggests that these two legends may have been grouped together thematically because they both concern Irish saints.

The title of the saint's life is a semi-misleading one and could suggest that the legend is about St Patrick, or at the very least, that he will be a central character in the story. While St Patrick *is* mentioned in the story, the use of him as a character is reminiscent of name-dropping – or perhaps a method of ensuring the continuity of the *sanctorale* – at least at a surface level. The name of St Patrick who allegedly converted the Irish to Christianity (and purportedly drove all the snakes from Ireland) is much more aesthetically suited to a collection of saints' lives. It is possible that an early compiler may have had similar thoughts concerning the legend's title and decided that it was more appropriate to call the story "St Patrick's Purgatory" rather than titling the account "Sir Owayn" which is the name of the Irish knight who is the actual protagonist of this legend in the *SEL*.

St Patrick's Purgatory is a physical place as well and is located on Station Island in County Donegal. It was an extremely popular location for pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, and the location was a cave from which emanated hot steam. Not all pilgrims who visited the place were documented and unfortunately in 1632 many such records were destroyed. That being the case, it is interesting to note that records spanning the years between A.D. 1146-1567 were salvaged, and the names of thirty-two pilgrims who visited during those years are known.

The "Purgatory of Saint Patrick" is one of the longest saints' lives in MS L. As such, the legend's length adds weight to the narrative, which perhaps also is a measure of how important the MS L compiler thought the legend to be. The legend also resembles romances with its motif of a knight who must pass tests of valour as he passes through purgatory, and, like the saints described in the previous chapter who are types of Christ and *imitatio Christi*, Owayn also takes on the character of

Christ. As Laura Ashe writes, "Christ could be envisaged as a warrior in the eighth century" and "by the thirteenth century, he [Christ] could… be imagined as the warrior's new incarnation, the knight" (Ashe 132-133).

The thirteenth-century *Ancrene Wisse* which, like the *SEL*, was very popular and widely circulated (Wada 5-6) provides a description of the Christ-knight that closely parallels the description of Sir Owayn's patience and steadfast faith as he journeys through the many trials of purgatory. The *Ancrene Wisse* states that the Christ-knight fights in a metaphorical tournament for the sake of His lady, the Church, and that today, because He is the victor of the tournament, his shield, the Cross hangs in churches as a memorial of His battle for His lady's love (Millett 147-148). By the time of the fourteenth century, through works such as *Piers Plowman*, the Christ-knight became a familiar motif (Ashe 133).

At one point in the legend, as the knight sets about proving his faith, Sir Owayn crosses an extremely narrow bridge which spans a gorge of deep water. This bridge is reminiscent of the Cross-bridge that the carpenters of King Solomon fashion in the legend of *Sancta Crux*, the first legend in MS L. King Solomon desires to use the wood in the building of the temple, but "Þo it was i-brouȝt to þe riȝte stude: and scholde beon ilaced þere" (283) the carpenters find that it "bi a fote to schort". The carpenters are extremely displeased and "it lieten a-don: in strongue wrathþe and grete" (285) as "to no þing þat huy miȝten it don: it nolde beon i-mete" (286). Determined to use the wood for something, they use the Cross-wood as a "brugge ouer ane olde diche" (287) as a type of revenge upon the Cross since "huy ne miȝten in þe temple: to none oþure weorke it caste" (288). As the Cross lies there spanning the ditch, "Þare-ouer eode mani man: þe ȝwile it þare lay—/ Nusten nouȝt alle hov holi it was: þat defouleden it al dai" (289-290).

Along with the Cross Bridge, the bridge in "St Patrick's Purgatory" also strongly resembles the sword bridge that Lancelot must cross in Chrétien de Troye's *Chevalier de la Charette* (*The Knight of the Cart*). Lancelot crosses the sword bridge to prove his devotion to the Lady Guinevere, and Sir Owayn crosses the narrow bridge to prove his devotion to Christ.[67] The descriptions of the Purgatory

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[67] Although the Sir Owayn of this legend is traditionally thought to be an Irish knight, the similarity between his name and a Knight of the Round Table known as Sir Owain or Yvain is a curious one

Bridge and the Sword Bridge strongly resemble one another with the bridge in *la Charette* being a "very dangerous bridge" with "treacherous water thundering swiftly past, black and turbid, as horrid and terrifying as if it were the Devil's river, and so perilous and deep that there is nothing in the whole world which, having fallen into it, would not vanish as into the salt sea" (3021). Similarly, the bridge in "St Patrick's Purgatory" is so high and treacherous that even the most surefooted cannot be certain of not falling. The river coursing beneath the bridge is shrouded in a foul mist, and as Sir Owayn attempts to cross the bridge, fiends seek to grab him and pull him from the heights into the depths of the river, for this is a true Devil's river. The resemblance of the legend to medieval romance is unmistakable and perhaps the main value of the legend to the MS L compiler(s) was entertainment. Since the sword-bridge has close parallels in both hagiography and romance, the motif demonstrates how permeable the boundaries between these two genres were in the Middle Ages.

The torments undergone by those in purgatory are described in increasingly gruesome detail as the legend moves along. The trials start out with the knight being thrown into a fiercely burning fire. Then Sir Owayn sees twelve men who serve as his guides to the field with no borders, and the sufferings of the men and women who have been brought there are described in detail. The place is described as being full of people who are stretched out and bound to the earth with iron hot nails driven through their limbs and devils walk on the men and women who are bound there which of course results in their flesh tearing. Being bound, they cannot avoid the devilish trampling (203-208). When the devils try to bind Sir Owayn to the ground and inflict similar suffering upon him, he calls on the name of Christ. Because of this dependence on Christ, he is delivered from this suffering.

Sir Owayn then is brought to another field where even greater suffering is being inflicted on men and women. The sufferings are described in the detail of grotesquery common to nightmares. The sources of these descriptions can be found in the "Vision of St Paul." A fragment of this text also appears in MS L and the "Vision" was widely known and very influential in the Middle Ages (Elliott, *The*

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and leads one to wonder if perhaps the English scribe translating the legend could have conflated the two knights.

Apocryphal New Testament 619-644). The people are bound to the earth with fiery bands, fiery adders sit on the people, horrible toads are stinging them through their hearts, and as if this all was not enough, amidst all this, the devils torment them and try to drown them (219-234). When Sir Owayn is grabbed by the devils and would be subjected these horrors, he again calls on Christ who delivers him from these terrors (239).

When he escapes this second terrible field, Sir Owayn is brought into a third field where people like him have managed to brave the first few horrors but have succumbed to this horror. In this field, the people have been pierced through by many nails and have no chance of escape. Furthermore, this field is filled with every kind of torment imaginable. Some people are hung by chains over a fire of pitch and brimstone others have been skewered, with giant hooks of iron, through their eyes, throats, limbs, or even their heads (264-268). Sir Owayn, ever the hero, remembers to call on Christ for deliverance, and he is once more delivered (276).

After surviving the deadly fields (deadly in a spiritual sense), Sir Owayn next encounters a terrifying fiery wheel onto which the devils throw him and spin him round and round. Once again, when he calls on Christ for deliverance, he escapes (282-288). Following the sight of the wheel, he is led to a house full of ghosts weeping and wailing. The edifice is full of boilers and pits full of burning lead, tar, and brimstone (312). The ghosts are imprisoned in these pits and boilers and this is the reason for their great weeping and wailing. Sir Owayn again asks Christ for deliverance, and Christ grants his request. So the demons hurl him out, and Sir Owayn finds himself in a great hall at the end of which is an icy pool of water. The devils cast him into the water, but Sir Owayn again cries out to Christ for deliverance, so they are compelled to lift him from the lethal waters. They then take him to a fiery pit where ghosts fly up and down like smoked fish (359-361). Sir Owayn finds himself nearly overcome by the stench and smoke of the place and cries out for deliverance.

Having overcome all of his previous trials, Sir Owayn is subjected to his final and most difficult trial. The devils drag him along until they come to a very deep pool of water. From this pool of water rises "A strong mist, þat foule stonk: op of þis watere drovȝ/ Of brumston and of oþur wo—: so strong stunch neuere he ne

sei3,/ Þat mid al þe pine of þe world: onneþe he stod þere-nei3" (406-408). As if the foulness of the place were not frightening enough, the only way out of it for Sir Owayn is to cross a narrow bridge across water and that nearly obscured from sight by the smoke billowing up (409). He begins to cross the bridge but quickly discovers that he cannot possibly make it without divine help. As has been his habit in the past, he calls on Christ for help. Christ strengthens him, and he makes it across the bridge despite fiends grasping at him and trying to pull him off the bridge as he crosses (444).

The bridge is Sir Owayn's final trial and afterwards, he experiences the sensory glories of the earthly Paradise Eden which Adam lost: walls that shine like gold and are full of precious gems, walls that smell of spices, and a welcoming party carrying banners, crosses, and candles and singing a song of his victory. He then is shown the walls of heaven, and in comparison, the earthly paradise pales. He is told that if he serves Christ faithfully when he returns to earth, upon his death he can enter heaven (601). Also, because he has overcome the trials of Purgatory, the devils will no longer have any power over him when he returns to earth (607). Sir Owayn then returns to the gate of the Purgatory, and there he finds the prior's procession waiting for him.

The text does not specify how much time elapses from the time that Sir Owayn enters the purgatory to the time when he comes back out; the suggestion is that time seems to elapse for Sir Owayn while he is in purgatory, and he feels as if he travels through the place for a great deal of time. However, in the same way that the children in C.S. Lewis's *Chronicles of Narnia* series find that either no or little time has passed on earth while they were in Narnia fighting great battles and establishing their own kingdom, little time seems to pass on the earth while Sir Owayn is gone as the monks are still there waiting for him when he makes his reappearance.

Although the descriptions of the places in purgatory are very concrete, because they are so vividly described, they take on an unreal, dreamlike quality which exists outside earthly time and space and thereby create the abstract expanse of space that Bakhtin describes as necessary to adventure time. Also, nothing historical takes place during the time that Sir Owayn is in purgatory since purgatory

115

exists outside the limits imposed upon earth. The time that appears to pass "is an extemporal hiatus that appears between two moments of real time" (Bakhtin 87).

"All Souls'"

The setting of "All Souls'," while it also addresses the topic of purgatory and creates a similar extratemporal hiatus, goes yet further and envelops the vision of purgatory within the literary vehicle of the dream. This legend appears between the texts of "All Saints' Day" (and occurs after "All Saints'" in every *SEL* manuscript in which it appears: it appears in fourteen other *SEL* manuscripts) and St Edmund the Confessor. According to Görlach, "All Souls'" appears in twelve other extant manuscripts, apart from MS L. The source of the text has not been determined. Görlach notes that "the possible contribution of the LgA is very difficult to determine" (Görlach 200). Establishing the source is complicated by the fact that "it is certain that as in other homiletic texts several sources have flowed together, some probably vernacular, possibly even oral" (Görlach 200). This particular text discusses the districts of purgatory to which Bakhtin and Dante allude.

Since the central narrative is encased within a dream, this creates a vertical world in which the "temporal logic…consists in the sheer simultaneity of all that occurs (or, "the coexistence of everything in eternity") (Bakhtin 157). The legend begins stating that on this day "A fair siȝht þare-of al-so: þe Aungel þo gan bringue/ Þene Manne of Rome ase he ladde him: ase he lay in metingue" (3-4). As the Pope lies sleeping, an angel gives him a vision of purgatory. The vision is filled with contrasting imagery. The Pope first of all sees many men lying on gold beds, others sitting at a high table feasting, some who have no clothing, and still others who have no food to eat (4-8). In Dantesque fashion, the angel serves as his guide and explains "þat it was purgatorie: and þe Men soulene were" (10).

Following the vivid description of the states of souls in purgatory which are described using earth-bound imagery comes a careful description of the construction of the circles of purgatory:

On is in þe firmament: þare gret brenningue is
Of fuyr þat hath þare is stude: and of þe sonne, i-wis.

116

Þat oþur is in þe Ey a-bouen us here: þare luþere gostes fleoth

Þat tormentiez heom nyȝht and day: and neuere in reste ne beoth.

Þe þridde is an vrþe a-mong us here: þe feorþe in watere is.

Þe fifte is onder vrþe deope: bi-side helle, i-wis. (81-86)

The circles of purgatory are set out as 1) a fiery layer in the firmament, 2) the air above the earth where evil ghosts abide in torment night and day, 3) the earth itself, 4) water, and 5) a circle located deep under the earth next to hell. The narrative next describes how spirits can pass upward through the circles: "Ake þreo þingues heom helpez mest: bi-fore alle oþere, i-wis:/ beden of Men, and almes-dede: singuingue of Masses al-so—/ Þeos þreo þingues beoth best, i-wis: and mest guod huy wollez do— (170-172). With this list of good deeds that people on earth can do for those trapped in purgatory, the narrative begins to open up in such a way as to involve the reader. The text states that, when people yet living on the earth do these things (give alms, sing masses) for those confined to purgatory, the spirits of those currently in purgatory will later aid the souls of those who, while yet alive, prayed for them.

To tantalise and provide anecdotal evidence of the sensational kind for the occurrence of this phenomenon, the MS L author references the story of "A clerk hadd ȝwilene ane wone: bi churche-heyȝe ȝwane he come,/ to segge for alle cristine soulene: þe 'deprofundis' i-lome./ In a churche-ȝerd ones he cam late: þeoues him comen a-boute/ And a-saileden him to robbi : he nuste ȝwat do for doute" (175-178). Because the clerk has shown the souls of the dead kindness in praying for them, "Þe bodies þat weren i-burede þare: his beden ȝolden a-non:
huy comen with wepnen him forto helpe: and sturten forth echon" (179-180). The bodies of the dead souls take on the forms that they had while alive: "plouȝ-Man with his Aker-staf: Archer mid bouwe and knyue" (183) and begin to defend the clerk who prayed the *de profundis* for them against the thieves. After the bodies of the souls have routed the thieves, the clerk happily goes on home (183-184).

From this point forward, the narrative expands yet further to include the listening/reading audience, welcoming and gathering them into the story as two more anecdotes are related of how a man named Stephen who gives alms on behalf of a friend who is in purgatory is saved (193) and of how a man is saved by his

wife's offerings at mass (252). After the anecdotes, the narrative then digresses somewhat to tell the reader who the three types of people are who can bypass purgatory and go straight to heaven. They are young children, martyrs, and pure men.

As with most of the texts in MS L, this one ends with an invocation to Jesus to bring the readers/listeners to heaven like the saint whose life has just been shared. This invocation is a little different from the standard invocation and reads:

> Nou Ihesus, þat us deore bouȝhte: þei we don ofte a-mis,
> On alle cristine soulene haue merci: and bring us to heuene blis,
> And led us to oure riȝhte heritage: for þou bouȝhtest us þar-to;
> Ne leos nouȝht þat þou deore bouȝhtest: þei we sumdel mis-do!
> (377-380)

Instead of invoking the spirits of the saints gone before as do other saints' lives, this text identifies the souls of the living with those of the dead who reside in purgatory through the line "On alle cristine soulene haue merci: and bring us to heuene blis" (378). Those listening to/reading the text would have identified themselves as Christians; that being the case, this line then joins the reader/listener with all the souls in purgatory in their hope for eventually reaching the bliss of heaven.

Like the two texts examined previously, past, present, and future time in "All Souls'" comes together into one single block. The text looks at how souls in time past were able to move from one district of purgatory up to the next. The text also gives instructions for how people living in present time on earth can help those souls that currently are in purgatory. Finally, the text reaches into future time when the reader/listener themselves (unless they belong to one of the elite categories of 1) those die as children, 2) die having lived a pure life, or 3) die a martyr's death) will be in purgatory and longing for the bliss of heaven. Time within this text continually reaches forward in anticipation of the next best thing to come.

In conjunction with the concept of vertical time and its potential applications to *SEL* texts and in particular to texts of MS L, it is also of interest to note how the majority of all of the saints' lives in the manuscript end. As with the ending of "All

Souls'," most of the texts in the manuscript end with a supplication to the saint or to Christ himself to bring the audience to the same "high" or "heavenly" bliss that the saints experienced as a result of holy living and remaining faithful until the (sometimes very grim) ends of their lives. Although it may seem a minute detail, I believe it is of significance that medieval hagiographers specifically include the word "high" in describing the bliss of the saints, and it is, again, a detail that suggests a certain upward or vertical movement in how the lives of the saints should be perceived.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed how Christian concepts of horizontal and vertical time influenced the compilation of MS L and has examined three texts in MS L that show a propensity towards the vertical time described by Bakhtin where past, present, and future time are strung together on a vertical axis where they exist simultaneously. This type of time could be said to exist outside human time and the situations described in the lives examined in this chapter certainly exhibit the otherworldly qualities essential to vertical time. These texts are relatively unusual in MS L in that they are not as earthbound as many of the other texts in the manuscript and describe otherworldly places which humans can only imagine. It is therefore fitting that the type of time into which their narratives best fit should be vertical time.

By including such narratives in MS L alongside narratives with horizontal time concerns, the manuscript's compilers show their interest in the intersection of vertical and horizontal time: of creating a manuscript which becomes a written metaphor for the best known places where earth and heaven intersect: saints' shrines and churches. In particular, in relation to churches and church dedications, these physical places metaphorically take on attributes reflected in the production of medieval manuscripts containing saints' lives. These attributes and how they relate to *SEL* textual selection are further explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

"Naming," "Creating," and "Re-Creating:" Gertrude Stein and the Early *South English Legendary*

Having considered various MS L texts through the framework of Bakhtinian narrative theory, I now turn to a consideration of medieval English church dedications and the hagiographical architectonics of saints' lives using the constructs of modernist literary theory. In particular, I focus on the compositional theories of Gertrude Stein, a twentieth-century modernist, American writer (poet, novelist, and playwright). Stein was very interested in nouns and in particular names, and she also wrote about the process of creating and recreating in writing. In this chapter, I attempt to show how some of her thinking can be applied to medieval church dedications and to the narratives of MS L, in particular to the *vitae* of *Thomas of Canterbury*, *Havelok the Dane*, and *King Horn*.[68]

Stein's 1932 lecture "Poetry and Grammar," one of her *Lectures in America,* discusses Stein's belief that nouns and naming are of the utmost importance in compositions, and Stein describes her belief that people, places, and objects can take on the attributes of the words used to denote them:

> People if you like to believe it can be made by their names. Call
> anybody Paul and they get to be a Paul call anybody Alice and they
> get to be an Alice perhaps yes perhaps no, there is something in

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[68] Interestingly enough, Gertrude Stein, was, among other things, interested in the lives of saints. In 1927, Stein wrote "an Opera to be sung" and titled it *Four Saints in Three Acts*. Although the opera purports to be about four saints, it mentions more saints than four; although it says that it is divided into three acts, the play has four acts. Some of the saints included are of Stein's invention. The saints within the opera include Saint Therese, Saint Matyr, Saint Settlement, Saint Thomasine, Saint Electra, Saint Wilhelmina, Saint Evelyn, Saint Pilar, Saint Hillaire, Saint Bernadine, Saint Ignatius, Saint Paul, Saint William, Saint Gilbert, Saint Settle, Saint Arthur, Saint Selmer, Saint Paul Seize, Saint Cardinal, and Saint Giuseppe. The opera is an abstract work and not necessarily meant to be taken seriously. As Stein writes, "Any one to tease a saint seriously" (Stein, *Selected Operas* 46).

that, but generally speaking, things once they are named the name
does not go on doing anything to them and so why write in nouns.
Nouns are the name of anything and just naming names is alright
when you want to call a roll but is it any good for anything
else. To be sure in many places in Europe as in America they do
like to call rolls. (Stein, *Lectures in America* 210)

Stein further states, "As I say a noun is a name of a thing, and therefore slowly if
you feel what is inside that thing you do not call it by the name by which it is
known" (Stein, *Lectures in America* 210). In certain legends included in MS L, such
as *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn*, the importance of naming people for who they
truly are and "feeling what is inside" them becomes immediately apparent. The
poetry of hagiography and romance requires an emphasis on names that becomes
"part of the 'grammar', or or narrative connectedness" of various accounts (Bliss
196). Jane Bliss also has written upon the importance of names and naming in
romance as well as hagiography and has commented that "A name is a convenient
shorthand for recalling a whole narrative, which is thus embedded in the actual
narrative and sets up resonances with those familiar with it" (Bliss 71). Bliss's
writing on the significance of names in medieval religious narratives echoes Stein's
statement that when one knows the true name of a thing, one does not call it by its
common name. Bliss writes that "Medieval audiences were more likely than we are
to to be familiar with off-stage names in any text" (Bliss 71). This familiarity
enabled them to engage with the true natures of the protagonists of a given narrative
because they were "familiar with a vast store of biblical, exemplary, hagiographic,
legendary, and romance material: intertextual play for writer and audience alike"
(Bliss 75).

　　　　Along with her fascination with giving people and objects their rightful
names, Stein also was very interested in the idea of creating and re-creating through
the act of writing poetry and stated that "Language as a real thing is not imitation
either of sounds or colors or emotions it is an intellectual recreation and there is no
possible doubt about it and it is going to go on being that as long as humanity is
anything" (Stein, *Lectures in America* 238). Stein later explained that the term

"recreation" as used in this sentence can be interpreted in various ways. Firstly, it can be interpreted as the noun "recreation": something that one does for play or fun. Secondly, it can be interpreted (with inserted hyphenation) as "re-creation" (i.e., the act of recreating objects and repurposing them for new uses). In Stein's view, recreation and re-creation should constantly be occurring in literature and art in general as artists seek to create new ways of providing enlightenment and methods of considering "ordinary" human experiences.

It could be argued that the *SEL* compilations show this interest in the relationship between recreation and re-creation. In this chapter, the process of naming, creating, and re-creating in the early *SEL* will firstly be examined in relation to medieval church dedications and will then move to focus upon three *vitae* that show particular interest in naming and renaming. The implications of this naming and renaming will then be considered in relation to storytelling and what some scholars have come to consider as the "affective piety" promoted by the *SEL* narrators and compilers.

Church Dedications and Re-Dedications

I first became interested in church dedications as I sought to localize MS L and thereby discern who the original compilers and audiences of the manuscript might have been. Although that effort to correlate church dedications with scribal dialects and manuscript circulation practices proved untenable, something beneficial did come from that research: an understanding of how church dedication practices at times mirrored the compilation practices of *SEL* scribes. Although not comprehensive, one of the best resources for researching and understanding the ecclesiastical life of individual parishes in England and how they may have shaped the selection process of texts in the *SEL* is Frances Arnold-Forster's extensive work on English church dedications.[69]

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[69] Frances Arnold-Forster bases her research upon the information that was available in 1900. As Nicholas Orme writes, "[Arnold-Forster] knew that many churches had been founded since 1700, and that their dedications should be analysed separately. She understood that some ancient churches had lost their patron saints and had been credited with different, modern ones. She appreciated that forgotten dedications could be discovered in medieval wills and other documents. She conceded that parish feast days were but 'a slender clue' to church patrons and should be used judiciously in this

The process through which parish communities went in deciding which churches should be dedicated to which saints appears somewhat to parallel the selection process that the scribes undertook in deciding which texts to include in their individual *SEL* compilations. A variety of methods were implemented in determining church dedications, but, according to Arnold-Forster's research, throughout the history of the English church, there has been a preference for New Testament saints (e.g., the Virgin Mary and the twelve Apostles). Since New Testament saints were the founders of the Christian church, it is unsurprising that church dedications to them should be multitudinous. Arnold-Forster takes this for granted as well, commenting that "New Testament dedications have, of course, always been in use, though varying strangely in popularity at different periods" (Arnold-Forster 10).

Many English churches were dedicated to the apostles and other New Testament saints. Similarly, many manuscripts of the *SEL* include a large number of New Testament figures and this convention appears to have been adhered to from the first known manuscript of the *SEL* tradition. Within Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108, biblical New Testament characters dominate with the texts of MS L's *sanctorale* including *Sancta Crux* or "History of the Holy Cross," "St Barnabas," "St John the Baptist," "St James the Great," "St Matthew," the "Conversion of St Paul," "St Mary of Egypt," "St Michael," "St Mark," "St Philip," "St Jacob," "St Bartholomew," "St Thomas the Apostle," "St Matthias the Apostle," and "St John the Evangelist"—a veritable cloud of biblical witnesses, as it were.[70]

In the cases of those churches not named after New Testament saints, the patron saints were selected in a variety of ways. No specific secondary dedication practices (secondary to New Testament dedicatory practices) prevailed. Many

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quest" (Orme 56). Arnold-Forster was aware that her work was imperfect and contained mistakes, but she worked with the material that she was able to locate. Because the work is so ponderous (It is comprised of three rather large volumes.) Arnold-Forster's work "still persuades the unwary reader that it provides reliable statistics about medieval church dedications. It does no such thing. It is a list and analysis of church dedications as they were reckoned to be in 1900, with all the alterations that had been made since the 1730s" (Orme 56).

[70] "And therefore we also having so great a cloud of witnesses over our head, laying aside every weight and sin which surrounds us, let us run by patience to the fight proposed to us" (Heb. 12.1).

different factors influenced the naming of a church.[71] But four factors proved particularly influential in church-naming: old associations, French connections, and the preference of the individual or individuals who donated building materials or land.

In cases where missionaries planted and dedicated churches, Arnold-Forster writes that old associations played a significant role in naming the churches that were planted: "What more natural than that of missionaries founding new churches in a strange land should reproduce the dear and honoured names of the country they had left?" (Arnold-Forster 9). Missionaries reinforced their sense of belonging to a larger Christian community and perhaps retained a certain psychological security for themselves by naming their houses of worship after saints they were familiar with or by naming the new church after the one that had sent them out in mission.

Arnold-Forster further notes that another large group of English church dedications is to be accounted for by its connection with French religious houses. Even in the nineteenth century, many English churches could trace their ecclesiastical genealogy back to older monasteries that once bore the names of the saints that they now carry. Many of these English monasteries were renamed by a patron, "the king or other proprietor to some French abbey" and their former names were forgotten. It is through this process of recreating a monastery's name to satisfy its patron that "S. Barbara's, at Ashton-under-Hill in Gloucestershire… owes its name to an Augustinian monastery of 'SS. Martin and Barbara" in Normandy; while another abbey in Normandy has given us the unfamiliar-sounding name of 'S. Wandregisilu' (Arnold-Forster 10).

When they were not being named after old associations, French saints and New Testament saints, English churches often were given their names because of an individual's (s') preference for a particular saint. How many churches were

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[71] Eamon Duffy also comments on the factors that influenced devotion to particular saints: "Many factors affected the pattern of lay devotion to specific saints—geographical or historical accident, such as proximity to a well-known shrine or image, a devotional initiative by an individual, news of striking cures or other favours." (Duffy 165), and pragmatically concludes that "Geographical and historical accident lay behind much devotion to particular saints. Testators in Kent not very surprisingly often left bequests for lights before St Thomas, and most regions of England had similar flourishing devotion to local saints, like St Richard of Chichester in Sussex and the Thames Valley, Thomas Cantilupe in Hereford and the West Midlands, or Etheldreda in East Anglia" (Duffy 166).

named as a result of an individual's preference cannot be precisely counted and such dedications have recurred throughout history. As an example of how this preferential naming took place in English parishes, Arnold-Forster recounts the story of the church of St Martin's at Fenny Stratford in Buckinghamshire: this church is "one of the rare instances of an eighteenth-century dedication to a non-scriptural saint. It was rebuilt in 1724 on the site of a ruined chapel by one Mr. Browne Willis, a famous antiquary". The parish records indicate that "Mr. Willis laid the foundation-stone on S. Martin's Day, and caused the church to be dedicated to S. Martin because his grandfather had died on S. Martin's Day in S. Martin's Lane". This dedication also came with a monetary behest as Mr Willis "bequeathed a certain sum of money for a sermon to be preached annually on S. Martin's Day" (Arnold-Forster 11).

Along with selections of church dedications based upon personal preference, another practice in medieval church dedications which parallels the successive compilations of the *South English Legendaries* is the act of re-consecrating churches. Arnold-Forster explains that, "In the Middle Ages the re-consecration that necessarily followed upon the enlarging or rebuilding of a church gave free scope for a change of dedication". She further comments that "it is to occasions such as these that we owe special groups of churches dedicated to some foreign saint, such as the churches to S. Denis in one district of Lincolnshire (Arnold-Forster 12). Some churches were dedicated not one or two times, but multiple times. For example, the Gloucestershire church of St Martin's appears to have been consecrated three times. Each time, the reconsecration occurred as the church expanded. The earliest parts of the building are of Norman era architecture, and the church was rededicated in the fourteenth century (Arnold-Forster 12). It was once more consecrated when the chancel was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The practice of re-consecration was quite common and mirrors the act of continually reconstructing collections of saints' lives. In considering how medieval parish churches came by their names and the similarities between the processes of choosing patron saints for churches, I estimate that more often than can be determined churches *were* in fact named because of a particular individual or community's affinity for a certain saint.

The practice of church re-dedication may have made the church seem different, giving parishioners a new way into understanding their community church. Similarly, this may have been the effect of divergent *SEL* manuscripts upon their readers/listeners. Each successive production of the *SEL* after MS Laud Misc. 108 could perhaps be regarded as a kind of re-dedication of the collection. People of the Middle Ages did not regard re-dedicated church spaces as more or less holy than they had been under previous names.

These dedications and re-dedications of churches mirror Gertrude Stein's description of the compositional process:

> Everything is the same except composition and as the composition is different and always going to be different everything is not the same. So then I as a contemporary creating the composition in the beginning was groping toward a continuous present, a using everything a beginning again and again and then everything being alike then everything very simply everything was naturally simply different and so I as a contemporary was creating everything being alike was creating everything naturally being naturally simply different, everything being alike. (Stein, *Stein Reader* 500-501)

Like the compositional process that Stein describes, medieval churches frequently were named, later re-named and subsequently reorganized under other names. The dedication and re-dedication ritual closely mirrors the hagiographical writing process. The material being used stays the same but is arranged in ways that makes it seem new. In reality, what really is happening is a series of repurposing the same things over and over again. Since the parishioners were participating in a series of beginnings, it did not feel as if they were reusing the same objects. The passage of time aids in the recreations as well, and as Stein also notes (in the same lecture) regarding time:

> The time in the composition is a thing that is very troublesome. If the time in the composition is very troublesome it is because there

must even if there is no time at all in the composition there must be time in the composition which is in its quality of distribution and equilibration. In the beginning there was the time in the composition that naturally was in the composition but time in the composition comes now and this is what is now troubling every one the time in the composition is now a part of distribution and equilibration. (Stein, *Stein Reader* 502)

From the above it can be seen how the dedications and re-dedications of churches resemble the compositional process. Perhaps medieval churchgoers also regarded the evolving literary spaces that are collections of saints' lives in much the same way: as consecrated and re-consecrated spaces with a newness and vibrancy about them that they were free to revel in and to celebrate. These created and recreated literary spaces which hold descriptions of literal places then became churches and cathedrals of the imagination.[72] The process of naming and re-naming churches also provides an apt metaphor for the naming and renaming that occurs in the legends of *Havelok the Dane*, *King Horn*, and the prologue to the life of *St Thomas of Canterbury*. Such naming, renaming, and thereby recreating meaning in the texts of MS L leads to the same effect as rededicating churches. As Bliss notes, "instead of leading to a fixed truth… many explications of saints' names, which preface legends, offer not one truth but multiple possibilities, the story often going on to show that the saint embodies any or all of these virtues" (Bliss 14).

Havelok the Dane and *King Horn*

Before proceeding to a discussion of the importance of naming and renaming in poems of *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn*, a little background on the poems is appropriate. Of all the texts in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud 108, the legends of *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn* are the most well-known. These texts have been favoured for scholarly research primarily because of their perceived anomalous situation in a collection of saints' lives, and a great deal of debate has

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[72] The concept of churches and cathedrals of the imagination will be expanded upon in Chapter VIII.

surrounded these two texts as scholars have sought to determine the texts' dating and provenance and how and why they came to be included in a *SEL* manuscript.[73]

In the past, the delineation of *Havelok* and *Horn*'s genre as romance has contributed to the perception that MS L lacks chronological organization.[74] However, in 2011, Bell and Couch pointed out that that many times these genres overlap one another and actually should not be separated.[75] While this is true, it should also be noted that, although there are many points of contact between romance and hagiography, that does not mean that *Havelok* and *Horn* cannot be discussed as romances. Nonetheless, it remains the case that what is most helpful in examining the texts in the context of MS L is to look at the book as a whole (Bell 5-6). This process entails special interest in where the two romances overlap with hagiography.

One particular area where romance and hagiography superficially overlap is in the realm of naming. Jane Bliss notes this similarity, remarking that, like romance and epic, "The saint's life or legend typically contains at least one name: that of the protagonist – which may then be used for expletive, invocation, or prayer" (Bliss 7). In romance, "Naming-themes define… that wide and varied genre" (Bliss 88), and "Romance resists total anonymity" with names growing "out of epithets" (Bliss 51). Since naming is such a frequent motif of romance, it is indeed interesting that the final compilers of MS L thought that the two romances with their obvious name-themes belonged in a manuscript predominantly devoted to saints' lives. However, in romance, there are "few names which are *treated* as meaningful" (Bliss 23). Yet, as shall shortly be seen, names carry significance in the narratives of both *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn*, perhaps marking a

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[73] (Allen 99-126; Bradbury 115-42; Kleinman 245-277; Levine 95-104; McIntosh, "The Language of the Extant Versions" 36-49)

[74] (Pearsall, "The Development of Middle English Romance" 11-36;18-19 and Mehl 166-167)

[75] Bell and Couch argue that limiting medieval texts to specific genres diminishes an understanding of the rich context in which the texts were created and compiled. Situating *Havelok* only within the genre of romance without acknowledging that the *vita* also includes characteristics of hagiography does not "take into account the narrative structures, 'social functions,' and readers shared by romance and hagiography". The two editors argue that when *Havelok* is not limited to romance and is instead resituated within its hagiographic context, this resituating "also helps to explain the poem's effusive, emotional narrator". Furthermore, presented "alongside the personal, prayerful narrator of the L *SEL*, the narrator of *Havelok* emerges as an instigator of affective, meditative response and thus aligns the poem with the manuscript's devotional concerns and practices" (Bell and Couch 11).

departure from how names are used in conventional romance and inherently indicating that these romances have more in common with hagiography than with traditional romance.

Furthermore, the physical appearance of the manuscript also suggests that the compilers of MS L believed that the two texts did not disrupt the manuscript's continuity. As noted earlier in the thesis, in his essay in Bell and Couch's collection of essays, A.S.G. Edwards points out that "Both Parts A [One] and B [Two] are decorated throughout by one main flourisher who added decorated initials, thus imposing another degree of visual continuity on the contents of L. This circumstance indicates a more sustained and ambitious attempt to impose a sense of unity on the contents" (Edwards 28). That the flourisher took the time to ensure unity in decoration suggests that he regarded the texts as 1) being of the same type or 2) having a clear connection to the *sanctorale*. They were not simply two popular texts that were only added because they were written in Middle English as is the rest of the *sanctorale*.[76] A further physical suggestion that at least one of the compilers involved in constructing MS L agreed with this analysis derives from the fact that "a fourteenth century rubricator (using red ink) labeled it [*Havelok*] the *Vita* of Havelok, King of England and Denmark" (Fitzgerald 101).

Naming in *Havelok* and *Horn*

Personal names are of great importance in both *Havelok* and *Horn*, and the titles themselves function as epithets for the reader/listener as Havelok is described as "the Dane" and Horn is called "King".[77] At one point near the beginning of the story of *King Horn*, the good king Aylmar tells him, "Horn child qwad þe king/ wel brouke þou þi naming" (215-216). In other words, King Horn, even as a child, is

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[76] A.S.G. Edwards further mentions the possibility that one of MS L's organizing principles may have been the fact that the texts all are written in Middle English: "the collation might have been based on nothing more specific than a shared language (early Middle English) and literary form (verse)" (Edwards 28).

[77] In their introduction to *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, Frederic Madden and Walter Skeat write that the selection of the name "Havelok" is a puzzling one. A certain "Professor Rask declared it to have no meaning in Danish. It bears, however, a remarkable resemblance to the Old English *gavelok*, which appears in Weber's King Alisaundre, 1.1620, and which is the A.S. *gafelue*, Icel, *gaflak*, Welsh *gaflach*, a spear, dart, or javelin. This is an appropriate name for a warrior, and possibly reappears in the instance of Hugh *Kevelock*, earl of Chester" (Madden and Skeat xxxv).

instructed to "bear his name well" or live up to the name that he has been given. Another possible interpretation of these lines is offered by the *TEAMS* editors who state that the words could be translated into modern English something along the lines of "let your fame be spread wide as is the sound of a horn". From the beginnings of the poems, the names of the characters hold a special significance, and particularly in *Horn*, the narrator reveals "a fascination with the name of the hero" (Bliss 89). Through the naming of the protagonists at the poems' beginnings, the audience is let in on the secret of the heroes' true names and identities while the characters surrounding them in the poems remain oblivious. The titles of the poems give the protagonists names that specifically characterize them, allowing the audience to know something of the innate potential of the protagonists' characters.

In addition to the poems' interest in naming, the narratives also reveal an attentiveness to place names and nationhood.[78] While the narrative of *Horn* lacks specificity in regard to place, it *is* "located in a space-time grid of ancestors and geography" (Bliss 76) that is distinctively English. *Havelok* similarly is situated "within a consciously-constructed and foregrounded England" (Couch, "The Magic of Englishness" 223). The details provided concerning Horn's ancestry and Havelok's geographical situation solidly connect the heroes with English sanctity, a fact reinforced by the etymologization of Havelok and Horn's respective pseudonyms which appear in some versions of the narratives.

Many accounts of *Havelok the Dane* also provide him with a new name whereby his identity is cloaked in secrecy for the majority of the poem. He is called "Cuaran," a distinctively English word, and no-one suspects that he is of noble birth.[79] MS L's account omits the false name, calling him Havelok throughout, and

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[78]The significance of place (and speicifically England as a place) and community is further developed in Chapter VIII of this thesis which discusses the intrinsic and extrinsic communities of MS L with some notes on the similarity of *Havelok the Dane* to the legend of "St Kenelm".

[79] "The French version tells us that the name *Coeran*, *Cuaran,* or *Cuheran* is the British word for scullion. This etymology has not hitherto been traced, but it may easily have been true. A glance at Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary shews us that the Gaelic *cearn* (which answers very well to the Old English *hirne*, a corner) has the meaning of a corner, and, secondly, of a kitchen; and that *cearnach* is an adjective meaning *of or belonging to a kitchen*. But we may come even nearer than this; for by adding the diminutive ending – an to the Gaelic *cocaire*, a cook, we see that *Cuheran* may really have conveyed the idea of *scullion* to a British ear, and this probably gave further rise to the story of Havelok's degradation." It is also "possible that *Curan* may be simply the Gaelic *curan*, a brave man, and the Irish *curenta*, brave" (Madden and Skeat xxxiv).

thus lending to the audience's perception that they are in on the secret of Havelok and know his true identity.

Like Havelok, Horn's identity is unknown to the majority of the other characters of the poem for much of the time. Horn goes incognito when he sails to Ireland to offer his services to King Thurston. The importance of one's name is highlighted through the inquiries of Thurston's sons as they seek to know more about Horn. Byrild's first question to Horn is, "What is your name?" He immediately follows this question with another: "What have you come here to do?" (792-795). The verbal disguise that Horn selects for himself reveals that he also is conscious of how much a name can form the reputation of a man. In his reply to Byrild, in answer to the question of what his name is, he chooses a name that reflects a fiery, yet devout nature: "Cuberd he seyde" (796). Horn's choice of the name "Cuberd" or "Cuthbert" implicitly demonstrates the narrator's familiarity with English sanctity (a life of "St Cuthbert" is included in MS L as well). The narrator of *Horn* shows a keen "awareness of *how* a name means" (Bliss 93). In medieval romance, the question of "What is your name?" meant "' 'What are you famous for?'" (Bliss 93). Horn's choice of a name implies English saintliness, making the story of where he hails from intriguing for Thurston's sons as he tells them: "ich hote/ Comen fram þe bote/ Fer fram bi weste/ To chesen mine beste" (796-799). Since he is arriving in Ireland from the west rather than the east, this could suggest to the two sons that Horn has been on pilgrimage or a mission of some type.

Yet, the knight is sufficiently vague about precisely from where he has come, adding an aura of mystery to his persona. The king's two sons seem nonplussed by the mysterious stranger and welcome him with enthusiasm: "Byryld him gan ryde/ And tok hym by þe bridel/ Wel be þou knict here founde (780-783) Byrild then tells Horn that, while he is in Ireland, he can serve as a knight for the king, his father. He then promptly leads "Cudbert" to the hall of the king. Cudbert remains in the service of King Thurston for seven years. In the seventh year, the disguised Horn receives letters from his betrothed, Princess Rymenhild, informing him of her imminent forced marriage to King Modi of Reynes.

It is the spoken word which cloaks Horn in secrecy; but it is the written word, sent by Rymenhild, which causes him to return to his true identity. Horn had not thought of Rymenhild for a long while until "on a day þat he ferde/ To wode for to seche" (971-972). As he is searching for wood, "A page he gan mete" (973). Horn asks the messenger whom he is seeking, and the messenger tells him that, on behalf of Rymenhild "Ich seke fram westnesse/ Horn knyt of estnesse (974-975). He then delivers the startling news that Rymenhild soon will be wed to "Kyng mody of reny/ Þat was hornes enemy" (978-979). Upon hearing his true name on the messenger's lips, Horn understands the urgency of reclaiming his true identity. Horn immediately approaches King Thurston to tell him what the messenger has told him and to reveal his true name and provenance. He tells King Thurston "hys tydinge" how "he was by cnowe" and "Þat reymyld was his owe" (1026-1029). He then asks King Thurston to allow him to leave so that he can return to Westernesse to rescue Rymenhild from King Modi, Horn's enemy (1030-1032). He also asks the king to aid him in rescuing Rymenhld from her impending marriage. As the poem later relates, King Thurston kindly supplies him with an army to accompany him and help him in his quest. After Horn and his army storm the castle of King Aylmar, that king finally allows Horn to marry his beloved Rymenhild. Thenceforward, Horn takes on the true identity that the audience knew that he possessed from the outset of the poem: King Horn.

Within the accounts of *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn* are embedded the sentiments of Gertrude Stein. As she memorably wrote in her 1913 poem "Sacred Emily," "A rose is a rose is a rose is a rose" (222). The hero's name is stated at the beginning of the poem and just like Stein's eternal rose which does not fade away and become mere metaphor, so the names of the heroes do not fade but maintain their essential essences throughout the poems. Because the poet names Havelok "the Dane," Havelok eventually returns to his true name and identity.

Similarly, because the poet names Horn "King Horn," the identity of Horn as a King throughout the poem does not waver in the audience's mind. Within the poem's narrative Horn also takes on the dimension of the king/saint crusading for the sake of righteousness because he appropriates the name "Cudbert" (Cuthbert) during his service to King Thurston of Ireland. In taking on a pseudonym, Horn

makes himself a new man, mirrouring Stein's words mentioned previously: "People if you like to believe it can be made by their names. Call anybody Paul and they get to be a Paul call anybody Alice and they get to be an Alice" (Stein, *Lectures in America* 210). When Horn wants to be thought of as a virtuous knight-saint, he calls himself "Cubert". When it is time for him to return to Rymenhild, he renames himself, telling King Thurston his true name and essentially asking to return to his former kingly identity (1028 & 1031). After listening to King Horn's story, King Thurston graciously permits "Cubert" to become "King Horn" once more, as he quietly responds to the man telling him, "Horn do þine wille" (1041). Prior to this time, King Thurston had known King Horn only as "Cubert," so this scene is the first instance of him calling Horn by his true name. The mental image created is arresting in its immediacy.

Re-Creating Becket's Mother

Names (and re-naming) also are important to the MS L legend of *St Thomas of Canterbury*. The legend of *St Thomas of Canterbury* as found in MS L is intriguing because it is longer than any of the other Becket legends of the *SEL*, and the legend's prologue is the reason for its greater length. The prologue shows the continual human fascination with strange lands and cultures and incorporates an element common in medieval romance: travels and encounters with exotic people. The most exotic person in the prologue of *St Thomas of Canterbury* is Becket's mother. As in the legend of "St Kenelm," history is supplemented with fiction, which is curious because "the story of Thomas Becket is one of the best-known in English history" (Staunton viii). Many lives of St Thomas were written and "three of those who knew Thomas best wrote posthumous biographies, his clerks John of Salisbury, William Fitzstephen and Herbert of Bosham" (Staunton 4). It is thought that Becket's mother was named Matilda "though of his mother nothing authentic is known except that she was a religious woman who brought her children up in the fear of God" (Froude 16), and she may have been of Norman descent as may have been Thomas Becket's father, Gilbert.

It also is known that, by the 1120s, Gilbert was living in London and was a property-owner, living on the rental income from his properties. At the height of

his financial success, he appears to have "bought for himself a fine house on the north side of Cheapside, in the block between Ironmonger Lane and Old Jewry, an area inhabited by important citizens". Gilbert was regarded as a prominent and influential man in London and even "served a term as sheriff of the City (the office of mayor had yet to be created)" (Barlow, "Becket, Thomas"). Despite the fact that all of this information was known of Becket's parentage, instead of presenting the known history of Becket's parents, the compiler of MS L chooses to emphasise the exoticness of a fictional woman he/she presents as Becket's mother – a pleasing fiction which, it should be noted, is not exclusive to L but also appears in the Becket account in the *Legenda Aurea*. [80]

As in the *Legenda Aurea*, MS L's prologue completely recreates Matilda Becket, renaming her Alisaundre--a name reminiscent of the city of Alexandria, Egypt.[81] She also is recreated as a heathen princess, the daughter of an emir. According the account in MS L, she meets Gilbert Becket when her father imprisons him and his compatriots. (Like a good knight, Gilbert had been on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.) Alisaundre falls in love with Gilbert and goes to see him frequently in prison, but he is very wary of her advances, thinking that she might be acting as a double-agent who is being friendly to him only then to report any plans for escape to her father. Therefore, Gilbert is "ful sore a-drad: of þis wommane" (41) and he and his companions escape by cover of night (45-46)

The profile of Alisaundre presented by MS L is in keeping with the traits of the *bele sarrasine* (beautiful Saracen) in romantic convention and also in *chansons de geste*. Gilbert is, therefore, wise to be sceptical of her intentions. Indeed, later *SEL* manuscripts do specifically identify Alisaundre as a Saracen princess: an identification which immediately would have lead the medieval reading or listening mind in the direction of assuming that she might be a *bele Sarrasine*.

In romances and in *chansons de geste*, the *bele Sarrasine* character was a carnivalesque figure. Another character frequently employed for humorous effect

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[80] This fascination with the strange and exotic also is reflected in medieval texts such as *Mandeville's Travels*.

[81] In later *SEL* manuscripts Alisaundre is identified as a Saracen, although in this manuscript she is only identified by the somewhat nondescript term "heathen".

in *chansons de geste* was the pagan giant. Together, as Judith Weiss writes, the two figures could be "counted on to inject humour and undercut dignity in… *chansons de geste*…The giant can be played either way, for horror as much as humour, but he is often an amalgamation of both, terrifyingly huge and hideous, but ludicrously clumsy, naïve and greedy". Similarly, the character of the "*bele Sarrasine* removes dignity from the narratives by a mixture of lechery, strong-mindedness, and even force" (Weiss, "Courteous Warrior" 152).

In the French narratives, "She bewitches the French by her beauty and alternately delights and amazes them by her violence, her abusiveness or, at the very least, her skills and enterprise". Alisaundre does not exhibit any of the aforementioned traits in the account of her interactions with Gilbert Becket. However, the forthright manner in which she approaches him could be interpreted as asymptomatic of the *bele Sarrasine*: "Sexually far from shy, she woos her chosen man, who is often initially unreceptive, in a forthright manner which may make him blush and certainly puts him in an unheroic light by her assumption of a 'male' role". Alisaundre's pursuit of Becket's father shows her taking on a traditionally male role in her overt demonstration of love for Gilbert. Alisaundre also displays a characteristic of the *bele Sarrasine* who appears "in many early *chansons de geste*, where she often throws traditional groupings into disarray by siding with her family's enemy, the Christians" (Weiss, "Courteous Warrior" 152).

Although Alisaundre does side with her family's Christian enemies, she deviates from the *bele Sarrasine* norm by not causing disarray, since she follows the Christians away from her family's lands. Alisaundre further differs from the *bele Sarrasine* model in the fact that she does not undercut the dignity of the account of St Thomas's ancestry. Despite her dissimilarity from the *bele Sarrasine* prototype in these regards, she remains much like two romantic heroines who resemble *bele Sarrasines*: Josiane of *Boeve de Hamtoune* (Bevis of Hampton) and Floripas of *Fierabras*. Both of these women also are strong female characters who pursue and woo their chosen lovers.

In the first part of the *Boeve de Hamtoune*, Josiane engages in rapid-fire romantic ambush tactics. She brings Boeve his horse and, following a battle, brings him food and informs him that she loves him. Boeve (understandably) withdraws,

spurning her badly and telling her he is unworthy of her. The couple subsequently has a very angry exchange. Josiane later regrets her fiery words, sends a messenger to Boeve (whom the knight rejects), and then goes to see Boeve herself anyway after he has retired for the night. The poem relates the scene thus:

> Since he won't come and talk to me, I shall go to him, no matter whom it offends.' Quite without her cloak, she went on her way. Boeve saw her coming and began to snore, pretending to sleep; he had no wish to speak to her. Josiane came and stood before his bed. 'Wake up, my fair, sweet and dear friend' she said, 'I want just one word with you'. 'Lady,' said Boeve, 'let me rest. I've fought fiercely today with my steel sword, and you've poorly rewarded me by calling me base hireling.' The girl heard him and began to weep, her face wet with bright tears. Boeve watched her and pitied her in his heart. (Weiss, *Boeve de Haumtone* 87.750-764)

Boeve eventually relents and accepts Josiane's advances as does Gilbert Becket Alisaundre's advances.

In another *chanson de geste*, *Fierabras*, the heroine also is a *bele Sarrasine*. Like Josiane and Alisaundre, Floripas, the heroine of *Fierabras*, aggressively pursues the man that she loves. Floripas is "a sexy and violent princess with a magic belt, clothes made by fairies and a link to the land of Colchos, the country of Medea the sorceress". This princess does not confront affronts to her personal wishes lightly as is demonstrated through her challenging all those "oppose her wishes with abuse, threats and force, pushing one of them out of a window into the sea" (Weiss, "Courteous Warrior" 157).

When this passionate and violent princess encounters Gui de Bourgogne, she nearly immediately falls in love with him and "offers herself to him with a sexual hunger that makes the warrior blush". Then, "when he refuses her advances, she threatens to hang him and all his companions" (Weiss, "Courteous Warrior" 157). This wild and predictably violent behaviour by Floripas was typical of that expected of the *bele Sarrasine*; from a literary standpoint, therefore, one can better

understand Gilbert Becket's fear and trepidation when he found himself pursued by a beautiful, heathen girl.

In contrast to Josiane and Floripas, Alisaundre functions as a type of redemptive recreation of the *bele Sarrasine*. Like the typical *bele Sarrasine*, she remains a strong-willed character, but she does not commit the violent acts associated with *bele Sarrasines*. She also does not so profoundly rebel against propriety as do they. Upon discovering that Gilbert and his fellows have fled, Alisaundre pursues them and eventually arrives in England where she cannot speak the language, and the people look on her with wonder. MS L records that it is Gilbert Becket alone who knows her language and is able to translate on her behalf once he learns of her arrival (Mills 211).

Like a *bele Sarrasine*, upon her arrival in England, Alisaundre is quite shrewd in bargaining for who/what she wants. Alisaundre volunteers to trade her paganism for marriage to Gilbert Becket, and the text of MS L shows her negotiation as translated by him: "Al-hov þat heo wolde cristine bi-come: for enchaison of him/ ʒif he wolde weddi hire: and for-saken al hire kun (101-102) The Becket prologue records Alisaundre obtaining exactly what she desires without becoming the object of humour that *bele sarrasines* of *chansons de geste* become elsewhere. Alisaundre instead emerges as a person of dignity and the mother of a much-venerated saint.

Two primary recreations take place in the narrative creation of Alisaundre: 1) Becket's mother is recreated in the image of a determined but righteous princess (that is, she wants to become Christian) and 2) the image of the *bele Sarrasine* is recreated and redeemed through Alisaundre.[82] Her forward behaviour is given honour because it was through her actions and pursuit of Gilbert Becket that Thomas Becket came to be conceived. The *SEL* narrator's decision to recreate Matilda as Alisaundre, and to emphasize Alisaundre's foreignness through her lack of the English tongue, also provides a recreational text for the reader's enjoyment.

In this recreation of Matilda as an exotic princess, what Stein calls

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[82] Although Robert Mills does not identify Alisaundre as a form of redemptive *bele Sarrasine*, he similarly identifies her re-naming as being identified with her own redemption or conversion: "Alisaundre now represents a kind of conversion that is total and all-encompassing: she now serves as an ideal role model for Christian mothers and teachers" (Mills 212).

"intellectual recreation" occurs. It could be argued that the audience knows that Thomas Becket's real mother was named Matilda, but just as audiences do when they watch a play, the reader/listener willing indulges, for a time, in the suspension of disbelief and allows himself/herself to enter the theatre of the imagination which is perpetually open to the human mind.[83] What happens with the suspension of disbelief in the exoticness of housewife Matilda Becket is an intellectual recreation of Becket's mother that becomes larger than life and a befitting prologue to a heroic saint's life.

A further re-creation of this legend may also have occurred in relation to the physical text of *St Thomas of Canterbury*: the text's presence in MS L may not indicate its first identity. From the appearance of the text, a case could be made for the legend having circulated separately before being collected for inclusion in MS L. *St Thomas* is the longest legend in MS L, and the pages of the text actually feel thicker than the pages in the rest of the manuscript, suggesting a different source for the parchment of this text. At the end of the legend of *St Thomas* stands a conspicuously blank verso. Elsewhere in MS L, the scribe(s) appear to have sought to conserve writing space (e.g., beginning the legend of "St Lucy" with a one column format and switching to two columns near the end in apparent effort to save parchment space), so this is a significant deviation. If the legend of *St Thomas of Canterbury* did initially circulate as a small booklet in its own right,[84] then its appearance in MS L constitutes a re-creation of the text's identity, resembling the new identity imposed upon Becket's mother in her hagiographical re-naming as Alisaundre.

Naming, Re-Naming, Affective Piety, and Storytelling in *Havelok* and *Horn*

As previously discussed, the titles of *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn* function epithetically, providing the poems' audiences with insight into the protagonists' identities beyond the knowledge held by other characters in the poems. The effect of this initial naming creates an intimacy between audience and poet that continues

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[83] MS L's potential dramatic elements are touched upon in Chapter IV.
[84] It also has been surmised that *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn* may have circulated separately before their inclusion in MS L. Guddat-Figge thought that the romances mistakenly were bound with the earlier hagiographic material (Guddat-Figge 282-284).

throughout the poems. This connection largely is fostered through storytelling tropes (incidentally a characteristic that recurs throughout MS L) and is particularly strengthened by inclusive nature of the poems' endings.[85]

Like the epic and traditionally orally transmitted poem *Beowulf* which begins with the emphatic Anglo-Saxon "Hwaet!" ("Listen!") *Havelok the Dane* begins with the Middle English "Herkneth," and the life of *King Horn* begins with two lines to its audience which asks all who listen to his song of Horn be happy: "Alle beon he blithe/ That to my song lythe!" (1-2). An emphasis upon listening to the storyteller/minstrel occurs in all of the poems and this format is one that is common to oral storytelling. From the very beginning of the tales, the audience is instructed to pay heed to what the storyteller has to impart. As will be further discussed in the following two chapters, the narrators of both legends (and MS L as a whole) show an interest in including all people in their audience. The narrator of *Havelok* begins by "greeting us all, men and women" and later "liberally cursing his tale's villains, and fervently praying for his hero and heroine, the narrator brings himself and his audience intimately and intrusively into the narrative, more so than many narrators in Middle English romances" (Couch 55).

Similarly, *Horn*'s narrator shows an inclusive spirit in addressing "alle" in the first line of the poem – although the *Horn* narrator is not as specific as the *Havelok* narrator in identifying his audience. In medieval literature the purpose that such reflexive storytelling intends to "establish [is] an advisory relation between narrator and audience" (Couch 54). Such a relationship is further reinforced by the prayers enjoined upon the audience at the end of both *Havelok* and *Horn*.

In *Havelok*, the requested prayer is as follows:

> And forþi ich wolde biseken you,
>
> That haven herd the rim nu,
>
> That ilke of you, with gode wille,
>
> Saye a Pater Noster stille

---

[85]Anne Thompson remarks of MS L that "allusions to speaking and hearing abound" (Thompson, *Everyday Saints* 46). More concerning storytelling in the female saints' lives of MS L follows in the next chapter.

> For him that haveth the rym maked,
>
> And ther-fore fele nihtes waked,
>
> That Jesu Crist his soule bringe
>
> Biforn his Fader at his endinge. (2994-3001)

(Since you have heard the rhyme [of Havelok] made new, may each of you cheerfully, say a *pater noster*, for the one who has made the rhyme [the poet], who often stayed up late at night because of it, that Jesus Christ will bring his soul before his Father [God] at his ending.)

Horn's narrator's benediction is similar:

> Make we us glade evre among,
>
> For thus him endeth Hornes song.
>
> Jesus, that is of hevene king,
>
> Yeve us alle His swete blessing.
>
> Amen. (1541-1545)

(Let us be joyful among ourselves, for here ends Horn's song. Jesus who is King of Heaven, give all of us His sweet blessing. Amen.)

The prayer which ends *Havelok* takes the form of an imperative request for the audience to remember the storyteller in their prayers, while *Horn*'s ending takes the form of an exhortation that the audience be joyful and culminates with the narrator, instead of asking for a prayer on his behalf, uttering a prayer for his audience that Jesus might give all of them "His swete blessing".

The engaging language of the *Havelok* and *Horn* poets "invites the responsive reader/hearer of saints' lives into an active, meditative relation with the hero's and heroine's fates and with the condemnation of their enemies" (Couch 57). In particular, in the lay of *Havelok,* the narrator shows a special boldness in including his audience in his text: "The juxtaposition of Ich/you in line three sets up an interdependent relationship between narrator and audience that quickly moves beyond mere formality. In fact, by line thirteen, the narrator is confidently branding the poem 'vre tale'" (Couch 63). Because the narrator so confidently

includes the audience in the narrative, "this 'we' represents a dynamic relationship in the narrative, pushing beyond the generic address that headlines other Middle English romances where the audience is not mentioned again after the initial call to hear the story" (Couch 63).

Perhaps intentionally or perhaps inadvertently, the *Havelok* narrator also engages in a form of basic but potent psychological manipulation of his audience. It is a proven fact that asking someone to do a favor for you ingratiates him or her to you. Benjamin Franklin alludes to this phenomenon in his autobiography, and says that it follows an old maxim he once heard: "He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another than he whom you yourself have obliged" (Franklin 80). *Havelok's* narrator asks a favor of his audience. He requests that they pray for him, and such an act undoubtedly made them feel kindly towards him, since he had expressed his neediness. While the *Horn* narrator also comes across as engaging since he himself prays for his whole audience, he seems slightly more self-sufficient than does the *Havelok* narrator, simply because he does not ask for spiritual help from his audience. The *Horn* narrator sets himself up as more of a teacher or preacher rather than a narrator on the same level as his audience simply because of the way he structures his benediction. Despite the variations in how they word their benedictions, both narrators invite their audiences to participate in the closing prayers.

Couch describes this sweeping audience invitation into the text as affective piety: a type of piety where the hearer/listener is then expected to engaged in some type of act that shows devotion similar to of the heroes and heroines of a story. She further writes that "affective reading and direct audience involvement is called for by the pious formulae and prayers that repeat 'verbatim' through religious and secular texts, producing a 'shared devotional consciousness'" (Couch 57). This shared devotional consciousness in turn prompted shared devotional acts. These acts might include reading sacred texts together and discussing them, pilgrimage, and worshipping together in or near a church.

Conclusion

Gertrude Stein's concepts of "naming," "creating," and "re-creating" provide a helpful foil for discussing church dedications associated with the saints' lives of the *SEL* and in particular for discussing the lives of St Thomas of Canterbury, *Havelok the Dane*, and *King Horn* as found in the early *SEL*. Along with offering a means for discussing church dedication practices and narrative techniques in certain legends of MS L, an understanding of the re-creational practices of MS L also leads to a potential understanding of who the original audience(s) of MS L was intended to be. The qualities of naming, re-naming, creating, re-creating, combined with storytelling tropes all lead to one important effect (among others): they cause people to more effectively identify with the stories included in a manuscript. That so much emphasis was placed upon re-creating and making MS L an accessible book within the context of medieval England suggests a clue regarding the manuscript's readers/listeners: the audience probably was intended to be an inclusive one rather than an exclusive one.

CHAPTER SEVEN

"Gode Men - Wives, Maydnes, and Alle men:" Towards an Inclusive Reading of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108

In the recent past, it has been argued that MS L is a manuscript that especially would have appealed to men of the London merchant class, a reading supported by the ownership-inscription on the flyleaf near the end of the manuscript. However, at the core of MS L lies a group of seven female saints' lives. The majority of the saints included in MS L are male, so it is interesting that at the heart of the manuscript there appears a cluster of female saints' lives. This chapter will discuss the situation of these lives within the manuscript, medieval constructions of female sanctity and how these constructions contrast with male conceptions of sanctity. Particular attention will be devoted to Christina Fitzgerald's argument that MS L presents itself as a manuscript with special interest in masculine, merchant concerns related to the London Drapers' Company and will discuss how the texts of female saints' lives at the heart of MS L may suggest more gender-inclusive rather than male-exclusive interests for the manuscript's compiler(s).

Situation of Female Saints' Lives within the Manuscript

A total of eleven female saints' lives are included in MS L. These lives are "St Faith," "Eleven Thousand Virgins" (St Ursula), "St Katherine," "St Lucy," "St Agnes," "St Bridget," "St Agatha," "St Scholastica," "St Mary of Egypt," "St Mary Magdalen," and "St Cecilia". This chapter will focus upon the women who appear near the centre of MS L, thus excluding "St Agnes," "St Mary of Egypt," "St Mary Magdalen," and "St Cecilia". These female saints' lives appear in Booklets 3 and 4 of MS L (see appendix) and were written in the thirteenth century.

Inspired by Fitzgerald's conjecture that the MS L may have been of interest to the London Drapers' Company in general and to Henry Perveys in particular, I

have centred my research on these particular female saints in MS L in order to investigate what the narrative structures of these legends suggest about potential audiences of MS L and to discuss whether the evidence that persists concerning the communities that venerated these holy women in London suggests a male audience. Where no London evidence is available, I have looked further afield for evidence of their communities in England.

The Female Saints' Lives of MS L and Urban V

Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the criteria for sanctity evolved somewhat. Prior to the thirteenth century, "and the distinction between lay and religious women saints, for example, had little importance after 1300 since both attracted clerical attention through their mystical states" (Vauchez 389). This evolution in the evaluation of sanctity largely came about through the reforms of Urban V who promoted religious learning for the laity and encouraged religious works to be produced in the vernacular. Urban also believed that it was desirable for both the clergy and laity to be well-educated because it would make them more competent in their chosen professions (Vauchez 405).

Prior to Urban's educational reforms, the criteria for sainthood favored those holy men and women who embraced the ideals of asceticism, poverty, and evangelical activities. The saintly ideal was Christ, and those who eventually were canonized typically were motivated by a "desire to follow and imitate Him (*sequela christi*)" (Vauchez 388). In the thirteenth century, sainthood came to be thought of as personified by "a number of concrete gestures and attitudes: renunciation of worldly possessions and adoption of penitential status, demonstated by the wearing of a characteristic robe, among the laity, active charity, and pastoral zeal among the clergy" (Vauchez 392).

With the rise of Urban V, saintly ideals once again changed, due in part to the Pope's emphasis upon the importance of learning. Therefore, "in the fourteenth century, intellectual activity and scholarly culture were taken into account by the Church when it passed judgement on the life of the saints from the regulars" (Vauchez 402). A further shift in identifying sanctity occurred between a.d. 1370-1430 when a phenomenon, identified by André Vauchez as "the mystical invasion,"

(Vauchez 407) ensued. This new version of sanctity embraced the idea that holy men and women could be canonized on the basis of their having received a direct vision from God – similar to that given to the Apostle Paul on the road to Damascus.[86]

The female saints' lives of the feminine cluster of MS L reflect the changing perceptions of sanctity during the time that MS L was compiled (from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century). Some of the legends follow fairly formulaic templates for saints' lives, perhaps reflecting a thirteenth-century lay preference for intellectualism and convention in the relating of saints' lives rather than mere accounts of mystical experiences. Vauchez notes that Clare of Montefalco, for example, "opposed the mystical experience of God, based on humility, penitence, and meditation on the sufferings of Christ, to intellectual knowledge, which she believed to be greatly inferior and full of dangers for the soul" (Vauchez 408). Lives that follow formulae generally begin with statements of the saint's early devoutness, describe the events qualifying them for sainthood, and end with brief invocations asking God to bring the reading/listening audience to the same heavenly bliss that the saint now is experiencing. While the majority of the saints' lives in MS L's feminine group follow conventional narrative patterns, others deviate enough to suggest a straying into mystical territory which is indicative of the "mystical invasion". I will first outline the lives that follow traditional hagiographical narrative templates and discuss the specific attributes that make them conventional and later will discuss the lives that depart somewhat from convention.

Augustine's *City of God*

A frequent template employed in constructing a saint's life was designing a dichotomy to demonstrate the polemics between holy men or women and the

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[86] "And Saul, as yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went to the high priest, And asked of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues: that if he found any men and women of this way, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem. And as he went on his journey, it came to pass that he drew nigh to Damascus; and suddenly a light from heaven shined round about him. And falling on the ground, he heard a voice saying to him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Who said: Who art thou, Lord? And he: I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. It is hard for thee to kick against the goad" (Acts 9.1-5).

earthly powers that wished to persecute them. This conventional template reveals medieval fascination with what St Augustine called Two City theology. Augustine outlined this theology in his *City of God*, and this particular work greatly influenced medieval theological thought. Medieval theologians and philosophers "appealed to Augustine as an authority, and his influence can be seen in the thought of Anselm of Canterbury, Thomas Aquinas and Peter Abelard among others" (Dehsen 16). St Augustine was inspired to write his treatise after the clashes that occurred between the Roman government and Christians, because the rulers felt that Christians were not patriotic enough. The Christians stated that they must serve God above all others, but the government felt that they also owed allegiance to their country.

Two City theology describes two cities in opposition: the heavenly city and the earthly city. St Augustine draws upon scripture for evidence of how the two cities came into being. He ends with a description of the final judgement where the citizens of the City of God will be saved from destruction while the citizens of the City of the World will be doomed to perish. Within the lives of "St Faith," "St Lucy," and "St Agatha" included in MS L, this Two City theology is dramatically portrayed.

"St Faith"

A life of "St Faith" appears in ten manuscripts associated with the *South English Legendary*. The source of "St Faith" has not been established as "the closest equivalent, the three *SaB* lessons, omit some details and agree in others, most notably in the Capras episode" (Görlach 67). As with the sources of her legend in MS L, little actually is known of St Faith, and her shrine in Conques, France, "is one of the most mysterious of all shrines". The life of St Faith is "shrouded in legend, that she existed and was martyred are about the only two secure things we can say about her" (Madigan 334). St Faith's legend as related by MS L immediately identifies her as a holy maid who came of a noble family and was devout even as a child (1-2). During the reign of Diocletian, St Faith is seized and brought before the governor who is impressed by her steadfast faith. Despite his admiration for her dedication to her religion, he still demands that she renounce her

Christian faith. When she refuses to cooperate, the governor subjects her to torture (and eventually death) by placing her on a fiery bed of brass.

Throughout the MS L account of St Faith's life and eventual martyrdom, the character of the saint is contrasted with the character of those persecuting her. Saint Faith is called "þat **holie** Maide: of swiþe heiȝe men heo com" ([emphases mine] 1). MS L's account of St Faith's life also indicates that she was devout from an early age as "Swiþe ȝong in hire childhod: heo turnede to cristindom" (2). From the time that Faith is a very young girl a "**holi** lijf i-nou heo ladde—: þat word sprong wel wide/ Of hire guodnesse and of hire **holi** lijf: a-boute in eche side (3-4). Because the young maiden is so godly, many people have heard of her. All through her legend, St Faith repeatedly is identified as a holy woman devoted to holy living while those opposing her consistently are identified as evil. The legend identifies Diocletian as "A **luþer** Aumperour" (5) reigning at the time of St Faith, and calls one of Diocletian's friends, Maximian, "þe **schrewe** Maximian" (6). The account further states that Maximian "A **luþur** Iustise huy hadden with heom: is name was dacian" (7).

The use triple use of "holie/holi" to describe St Faith combined the tripartite use of words meaning evil ("luþer" and "schrewe") to describe St Faith's oppressors forms an antithetical parenthesis immediately encapsulating the relationship of godly St Faith with worldly authority. This contrast is the basis for the metaphorical pattern that defines the relationship between St Faith, other Christians, and their captors that extends throughout the account of the saint's life.

This metaphorical tension is most vividly evident in the dialogue between St Faith and Dacian when the Justice Dacian first encounters the saint. Dacian enquires of her: "Dameisele…ȝwat art þou? ȝwat þencstþou for-to do?/ Tel me on ȝwam þou bi-lieuest: and ȝwat is þi name, al-so" (37-38). Faith answers him respectfully saying, "Sire… Fey ich hote nouþe,/ And cristine womman ich habbe i-beo: sethþe ich ani guod couþe" (39-40). St Faith further tells Dacian "Mi name nelle ich nouȝt for-sake: no mi cristindom noþur;/ Þou miȝht þretne al þat þou wolt: of me ne worth þe non oþur" (41-42).

From the very beginning of this dialogue, it is evident that St Faith is in effect interrogated by the Justice. Dacian begins the exchange with the hostile

147

questions of "'ȝwat art þou? ȝwat þencstþou for-to do?'" He then follows up these personally intrusive questions with the request that she also tell him her name, a possible attempt to soften the harshness of the questions that he has asked. St Faith's name, naturally, is inherently bound up in her faith in Christ and the power of His death and resurrection. She tells Dacian that she has lived as a Christian and that she will not forsake her name or Christianity no matter how much he may threaten her.

Since his hostile questions coupled with personal interest in her name do not sway St Faith to recant her Christianity, Dacian then tries another tactic: flattery. He speaks kindly and eloquently to St Faith. Dacian appears to warm to her during the interrogation process as he asks her, please, to reconsider her stance, on the grounds that she is beautiful and of good breeding. He then appeals to her emotions and her vanity by telling her that he wants what is best for her and that he wants her to be able to become a noble lady who is respected and high, rather than one that he must doom to death. He tells her that if she will only follow his instructions, she will receive great joy and nobility which is more becoming of her social status. He urges her, on that basis, to change her mind (43-48). In spite of Dacian's persuasive speech, St Faith, remains undeterred in her determination to endure his verbal and physical violence until the end.

Subsequently, St Faith's respectful response to Dacian of "Certes, sire" (49) is followed by her declaration "i-nelle neuere him for-sake: þat so deore me hathþ a-bouȝt" (50); because the Lord has bought her at so dear a cost to Himself, St Faith refuses to forsake Him. Dacian's attempts to reason with Faith are therefore to no avail as she will never abandon the Lord. St Faith tells Dacian that she has vowed to Christ that she will never disown Him (51). Therefore, Dacian can do whatever he likes to her, but it is useless to speak to her about forsaking her Lord as she will not honour Dacian's false gods. St Faith informs Dacian that, "in the psalter it is written that all who do so [honour false gods] are devils, and everyone knows that" (54). St Faith's statement in line 54 that all who choose to worship false gods align themselves with devils reveals her perception of her confrontation with Dacian as being one in which the truly holy find themselves at odds with an Earthly City against which they war, as the Apostle Paul writes, not "against flesh and blood;

148

but against principalities and power, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places" (Eph. 6.12).

In relation to this passage of scripture, it is also of note that the Apostle presents a catalogue of military equipment with which Christians can defend themselves "against the spirits of wickedness in the high places". The Apostle states that the most important item to carry into this battle is the shield of faith: "In all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one" (Eph. 6.16). This verse of scripture is especially interesting in relation to the account of this saint, Faith, whose story is regarded as unreliable and may or may not have lived at the time that her *vita* records. Scripture configures faith as a shield and hagiographical writings transform the attribute into a saint worthy of emulation: a transformation verging upon allegory.

Because of her unswerving faith, the saint eventually is martyred. From a distance, a Christian named Capras watches St Faith's martyrdom. As St Faith is dying, Capras sees a dove descend from heaven and place a golden crown on St Faith's head. Emboldened by this vision of St Faith's heavenly reward for her earthly suffering, Capras ceases hiding from Diocletian's guards and declares his own Christian faith to the governor. Two other Christian brothers, Prime and Falician, come forward and confess their faith as well. All three men are beheaded for their faith and subsequently buried outside the city by Christian men.

The life of "St Faith" possesses a simplicity and includes a black-and-white presentation of events that would have appealed to a medieval audience interested in clearly distinguishing the characters of the holy from those of their oppressors. The legend sets forth a dichotomy: good and evil. As can be seen from the clear designation of St Faith and the believers around her as holy people, and the Roman opposition as evil, the reader has a clear choice: to be "holi" or "luþer" and "and þat may ech Man i-wite" (54).

"St Lucy"

The life of "St Lucy" also was a frequently copied text and appears in seventeen manuscripts associated with the *South English Legendary*. "St Lucy's source appears to be "an unknown epitome of the *Passio*, *BHL* 4992, which was independently shortened in the *SaB* and *YoB*" (Görlach 210). The legend of "St Lucy" as introduced by MS L situates Lucy in Sicily. Again, as in the case of St Faith, the legend emphasizes that St Lucy was devout at an early age. One day, when St Lucy's mother is very ill, Lucy takes her to the tomb of St Agatha to pray. While they are at the tomb, St Agatha heals St Lucy's mother. Due to St Agatha's beneficence, St Lucy's mother becomes a Christian.

Later in her life, St Lucy is brought before the judge Paxasius and ordered to recant her Christian faith. St Lucy refuses, and Paxasius orders that she be sent to a brothel where he intends that her virginity will be defiled. When the guards arrive to take her away, however, they find that it is impossible for them to move her. Conjurers are sent for to help remove her, but they ply their magic in vain. In desperation, Paxasius orders that a fire be kindled where she stands, but even the fire rebels against the evil judge and does not burn St Lucy. The judge then orders that Lucy's throat be cut, but, even though her throat is slit, the saint still retains the ability to proclaim the gospel. As she lies dying from the throat wound, St Lucy takes the sacraments of bread and wine, and, as the last words of the orisons are said, her body gives up the ghost.

Like St Faith, St Lucy is described as a "holie clene" (142) woman, while her tormentors are described with the adjective "luþere" (149). The legend of "St Lucy" thereby conforms to Augustine's *City of God* template where the saint stands in opposition to a figure in secular authority who is bent upon harming the him or her in order to preserve their own earthly power and authority. The theme of a clash between the Two Cities continues in the legend of "St Agatha".

"St Agatha"

The life of "St Agatha" appears in eighteen manuscripts associated with the *South English Legendary*.[87] MS L states that St Agatha was born in Sicily, and she was "Of faire porture… and stable in godes lore" (3). Because of her beauty, the prince of the land seeks to seduce her through giving "quoynte þingus fale: of seluer and of golde,/ Richesse and oþur Ioye i-nouȝ (13-14). St Agatha makes it abundantly clear to him that she is espoused to a far greater Prince, Christ, even going so far as to call the prince by an unpleasant name: "beo stille, þou deueles bouk!" (19) she tells him, "Þe hexte prince þat is ani: In loue ich habbe i-take,/ In mine ȝonghede and euere-more: to holde him for mi make" (20). She then tells the prince of her heavenly lover's character, describing as "Swete and hende and milde" (21). She tells the earthly prince that this heavenly prince has captivated her: "on him is al mi þouȝt" (23). She further states, "Ich am so faste to him i-bounde: þar-of ne bringuest þou me nouȝt" (24). Having been rather humiliatingly insulted by the saint, the prince of the land threatens to torture her for rejecting his advances. When St Agatha continues to defy him, he orders that she be thrown into prison. St Agatha is tortured, but an apostle comes and ministers to her broken body with "boxes fulle of Oygneme[n]z: he brouȝte mani on" (70).

Unable to defeat the saint's faith through torture, the prince then orders St Agatha to be burned at the stake. Just as the fire to burn St Agatha is being kindled, God miraculously intervenes in the situation and "þe eorþe bi-gan to quake" (90). The earthquake was "Ase wide ase þe cite was: and felde a-doun þe dom-halle;/ Twei men þat hire Iuggeden to deþe: a-slawe weren with þe walle" (91-92). The people of the town are terrified by this act of God and beg the prince to let St Agatha go free, telling him "Þis Mayde is guod, and we beth for hire: In grete perile and in drede/ gret pine þov hast i-don: þou ne schal so non-more" (94-95). Instead of listening to the townspeople and setting Agatha free, the prince sends St Agatha back to prison.

When St Agatha arrives back in her cell, she prays and asks God for her life to end. She tells the Lord that He has saved her from many pains: from fire and

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[87] I have previously discussed "St Agatha's" possible liturgical sources in Chapter IV.

from grievous wounds. She reminds the Lord that she has been devout from childhood and asks that He take her to His eternal rest (100-103). The Lord answers her request and "Mid þusse worde bi-fore al þat folk: heo bi-gan to deiȝe" (105), and St Agatha was found dead in her cell in the morning.

According to tradition, one hundred beautiful white-clad children formed a procession to her tomb when she was interred. Many years after St Agatha's death, a miracle occurred relating to her shrine. A fire ravaged the city where she had been martyred, but the fire ceased spreading just before her tomb. This was accepted as a further sign from God of St Agatha's sanctity.

Each of the three previously outlined saints' lives closely follow the conventional City of God template in their narrative constructions. This template finds its roots in the early days of Christianity when the majority of saints were martyrs (Madigan 321). Two additional female saints' lives, "St Bridget of Ireland" and "St Scholastica," also closely follow traditional hagiographical templates: 1) a template prizing poverty and charity above all else (Vauchez 390), and 2) a template highlighting the value of learning (Vauchez 397-407).

"St Bridget of Ireland"

The life of "St Bridget" included in MS L is a short life of the saint and appears in three manuscripts associated with the *South English Legendary*.[88] The legend as presented in MS L narrates little of St Bridget's life as an abbess, instead focusing upon her life as an ordinary woman. The legend tells how St Bridget's mother had a dairy, and her "moder louede hire swiþe wel: þat, þo heo was of elde,/ Al hire chese and al hire milk : heo bi-tok hire to welde" (7-8). St Bridget was very generous to everyone with the products of her mother's dairy, but finally, one day, she has to explain where all of their butter, milk, etc. had gone. St Bridget is full of dread, and "ȝeorne heo bad ore louerd crist: þat he scholde beo hire red,/ he nadde ȝwarof a-countes ȝelde: ase hire moder hadde i-seid" (17-18). Christ hears St Bridget's prayer, and "Þo þe day was i-come: heo nuste ȝware-with hire a-quite,/ For þare nas in þe deierie: nouȝt adel of none ȝwite" (19-20), when St Bridget's

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[88] As with "St Agatha," I previously detailed "St Bridget's" possible liturgical sources in Chapter IV.

mother went to check their supplies, "heo fond ech lome i-heped ful: al a-boue þe brerde,/ Of chese and of botere: and of oþur ȝwijte also" (22-23).

Miracles such as the aforementioned which allowed St Bridget to practice extravagant charity followed the saint throughout her life. When a bishop and all of his men said they wanted to meet with her and share a meal, St Bridget was "naþeles sore heo hire dradde,/ For bote bred and Ale and one kou : non more mete heo nadde" (31-32). Having great faith in God's provision St Bridget nonetheless "bi-gan to milken þis cov: and muche milk of hire heo nam/ Þe lengore þat heo hire Milkede: þe more milk þare cam" (33-35). God so graciously provides for Bridget through this cow that "Þis kov ȝaf so muche Milk: þat þare-mide heo fedde/ Þene bischop and alle is Men þat dai: and muche þonk þarof hadde" (35-36), and St Bridget found herself blessed with plentiful food without end for their meal.

St Bridget also is able to perform miracles solely for her own benefit. MS L's version of the saint's life relates how the saint one day "a-feld wende,/ Forto loki to hire schep" (37-38). While St Bridget was looking after her sheep "so gret rein ore louerd to eorþe sende/ Þat hire cloþes al wete weren" (38-39), and because she is soaked through, St Bridget "a-ȝen hom heo gan gon" (39). When St Bridget arrives home, she looks for a place to hang her wet clothing so that it will dry. She spies a ray of sunlight shining in through a crevice, and "ope þe bem of þe sonne/ hire wete cloþes heo heng forto druyȝe: þat þe stremes a-doun ronne" (41-42). Through this act, St Bridget, like Christ demonstrates a certain power over the weather.[89]

As noted previously in Chapter IV, at another time a poor man asked St Bridget for some water, and "A fat þare stod fol of baþe water: heo [St Bridget] ȝaf it hire blessinge: Þe beste Ale a-liue it bi-cam: he ȝaf it þe Museles drinke" (45-46).[90] Among other miracles, she turned a stone into a lump of salt for a poor woman (47-48), and she healed blind and dumb (56). St Bridget was a favourite among women for her ability to perform domestic miracles, yet she remained relevant to Christian men (and especially monks) as well.

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[89] In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus displays his power to control storms, and His disciples respond, "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him!" (Matt. 8.27)
[90] Again, as previously mentioned in Chapter IV, this is an imitation of a miracle of Christ. Christ's first miracle was turning water into wine at the wedding at Cana (Jn. 2).

Within her lifetime, St Bridget founded a monastery in Ireland that was a double house and served both men and women.[91] St Bridget reportedly asked Conleth who was a hermit jointly to preside over the monastery with her. Because of this act of the monastery's female founder, for centuries, County Kildare of Ireland was governed by a line of abbot-bishops and abbesses, a situation not entirely unlike the prince-bishop rulers who were the bishops of County Durham. The successors of St Bridget and her abbot-bishops continue to this day to be officially recognized by the Roman Catholic Church.

"St Scholastica"

The life of "St Scholastica" appears in sixteen manuscripts associated with the *South English Legendary*. The life of "St Scholastica" that appears in MS L is "possibly the Life drawn from the *Vita* of Benedict, *BHL* 7514, shortened with breviary lessons such as those of the *SaB* or *YoB* in mind" (Görlach 144). Most hagiographical collections give preference to St Scholastica's brother St Benedict but do at least mention her in hagiographical accounts of him.[92] In contrast, many *SEL* collections include both a legend of St Scholastica and one of her brother. It is worthy of note that, while MS L includes a life of St Scholastica, this *SEL* manuscript excludes a life of St Benedict, Scholastica's brother and founder of the male order of Benedictines. While this is not conclusive evidence of MS L's favouring a female audience and indeed perhaps an audience of nuns, St

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[91] Phyllis Jestice notes that St Brigid of Ireland has enjoyed her own cult following since the early Middle Ages. She, St. Patrick, and St Columba are venerated as the three national Christian patron saints of Ireland. It is known that, by the end of the seventh century at least two Latin Lives had been composed about her describing her as the daughter of nobility who chose to become a nun and consecrate her life to God's service. The lives further explain that she became the Mother Superior of a community of nuns. Her spiritual leadership was so well-received that by the seventh century, her sphere of influence extended to men as well as women with a significant double-monastery at Kildare claiming her as its founder (Jestice 140-141).

[92] The *TEAMS* text editors also comment that "The *SEL* is unique among medieval English legendaries in allowing Scholastica an independent existence, that is, in giving her a legend all to herself". Generally, her legend appears within that of her brother's, with, for example, "Other Middle English versions, e.g., in the 1438 *Gilte Legende* and Caxton's *Golden Legend*, follow[ing] Gregory's practice and includ[ing] Scholastica in their lives of Benedict". In MS L, however, "the sixty-four lines of the *SEL* version are found, on their own, in the place appropriate to her feast day, February 10" (Whatley, "St Scholastica").

Scholastica's inclusion and St Benedict's exclusion are interesting nonetheless.[93] The majority of later *SEL* manuscripts include both a life of St Scholastica and a life of St Benedict. In later manuscripts, the two saints are presented as saints in their own right rather than being presented in interdependency as they are in MS L

Because the *SEL* scribes chose to include separate legends of St Scholastica in their manuscripts, they lent "much in the way of psychological and narrative detail without, however, changing the basic form of the story" (Whatley, "St Scholastica"). What takes place in the individual legend of St Scholastica is that she is reshaped as a saint just as significant as her brother was. What is perhaps most notable in the MS L version of St Scholastica "is the focus on her materiality as a 'real' human being" (Whatley, "St Scholastica"). St Scholastica emerges as not just a peripheral figure in her brother's life but, in fact, in the legend dedicated to her, she is presented in a better light than her brother: "Benedict is more rude and disagreeable, Scholastica more appealing, not just because she is old and infirm, but because of the humorous asperity of her remarks" (Whatley, "St Scholastica").

MS L's rendition of the legend of "St Scholastica" recounts how St Benedict and St Scholastica "Þeos tweiӡe holie creatures: eche ӡere hadden ane wone/ to comen to-gadere some Tyme: and tellen of godes sone" (9-10), thus displaying an interest in learning and intellectualism. One year when the brother and sister meet, and St Benedict speaks to St Scholastica all day about God and heavenly things, at the end of the day, St Scholastica still has not heard all that she wants to learn and longs for him to stay and converse longer. St Benedict gruffly tells St Scholastica "beo stille… loke ӡwat þou dest telle,/ Wel þov wost þat ine mai beo: bi niӡte fram mine celle" (27-28). St Scholastica then prays to the Lord and addresses Him as He who is "ful of milce and ore" (31). She then says, "ӡif þi wille it beo: i-heore more of þi lore" (32). If she is to hear more of the stories of godly men and women, then

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[93] A number of later *SEL* manuscripts include both a life of "St Scholastica" and a life of "St Benedict". Among these manuscripts are Oxford, Bodleian Library, "Vernon" MS (S. C. 3938-42); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 43; London, British Museum, MS Cotton Julius D IX; London, British Museum, MS Egerton 2810; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 145; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 17; Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2344; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional C. 38; London, British Museum, MS Egerton 1993; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 605; and Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 431.

the seemingly more-knowledgeable St Benedict needs to stay with her for the evening. So, St Scholastica additionally (and perhaps somewhat mischeviously) requests "Ne lat nouȝt mi broþur to-Niȝt: fram me, louerd, wende,/ Ake soffre us with tales of þe: bringe þis niȝt to ende" (33-34).

MS L's account says that God grants St Scholastica's desire and sends a fierce storm which prevents St Benedict from returning to his monastery and forces him to spend the night at St Scholastica's dwelling. St Benedict, with his emphasis on chastity and upon avoiding the appearance of evil (even with his sister) is at first distressed. Then St Benedict reconciles himself to the reality that he cannot return home, given the storm's ferocity, and the brother and sister share an enjoyable night discussing the things of God until morning.

In the morning, each of them returns to their respective monasteries. St Scholastica was quite elderly at this time of this happening, and, according to MS L and other legendaries, she passes away three days after this night-long conversation. On that third day, St Benedict is sitting in his cell and sees a vision of a white bird flying to heaven. He later said that he believed it was his sister's spirit ascending to heaven. The following day, St Benedict and his monastic brothers take St Scholastica's body from her cell and bury her.

While the life of "St Scholastica" follows a traditional hagiographical template, and mostly seems quite straightforward in its narrative progression, as Whatley notes, the *SEL* account does not lack humour. Furthermore, the content of the legend, while it lends emphasis to the importance of learning, also implicitly encourages a specific act: storytelling. Interestingly enough, the remaining two female saints' lives of MS L's core cluster which have not yet been discussed also demonstrate an interest in storytelling – and are excellent stories in their own right.

"Eleven Thousand Virgins"

The legend of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins" (also known as the life of "St Ursula") proved popular among *SEL* compilers and appears in fourteen manuscripts associated with the *South English Legendary*. Versions of the life of "St Ursula" were relatively numerous and widely circulated in medieval England, and a version of the story also appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*.

The account of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins" included in MS L resembles that of the story found in the *Legenda Aurea*, but "the *SEL* wavers between verbal translation and free paraphrase with extensive rearrangements and some misunderstandings" (Görlach 198).

The "verbal translation and free paraphrase" that Görlach describes are elements of oral storytelling. From the outset, this legend shows a propensity towards storytelling with its first two lines "Ondleuene þousend of virgines: for ore louerd i-martrede were;/ Telle i-chulle of heore martyrdom: and ho heom þar-to gan lere" (1-2). The "Telle i-chulle" of this poem is strongly reminiscent of *Havelok*'s "Herkneth to me" (1) and *Horn*'s "A sang ich schal you singe" (3), suggesting that this hagiographical account and the two romances are closely related. *Havelok*, *Horn*, and the account of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins" are connected both in their narrative structures (in particular in the ways that they begin and end) and also through the fact that all three could be said to be "matter of England" *vitae*.[94] The MS L version of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins shows an exceptional interest in connecting the intitial antagonist (He later is converted to Christianity.), not the protagonist with England, however, and the words "Enguelonde" or "Enguelond" appear eleven times within the space of the tale.

As Görlach says, the MS L version follows reasonably closely the traditional story of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins" relates how "A kyng þare was in Brutayne: sire Maur was is name;/ Ane douȝter he hadde þat hiet Ourse : þat was of noble fame" (1-2). Because Ursula is famous and beautiful, the heathen English king wishes for her to marry his son. The heathen king tells King Maur "ȝif þat he þare-aȝen were: þat þe dede nere i-do,/ him and alle his he wolde destruyȝe : and al his lond al-so" (15-16) . Ursula, a devout Christian, has no desire to marry a heathen man, and receives a vision from an angel telling her to ask for a three-year reprieve prior to the marriage. During that time, she is to gather to herself ten virgins, holy

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[94] "Matter of England [romances are] late medieval romances based in part on the oral folk culture that survived the Norman Conquest" (Herzman, "King Horn").

maids such as herself. Each of these maidens is to recruit an additional thousand virgins who will devote themselves to God (28-42).

When the heathen king's son hears of the vision given to Ursula by the angel, he commits himself to finding eleven thousand virgins for Ursula and consents to be baptized and become a Christian (56-60). After the women are brought to Ursula, her father gives her a large ship, and Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins set sail for three years – Ursula, in effect, has her own floating convent. The winds carry the maidens to Cologne where an angel appears once more to Ursula and prophecies her martyrdom (74-75). From Cologne, Ursula and the virgins proceed to Rome where the Pope meets them with great joy. Ursula and the women reside in Rome for a year and one month and then they set sail once more – this time with the Pope accompanying them (89-94). In the meantime, two princes, Maximian and Arian conspire with the prince of Cologne to murder Ursula and the virgins (99-102). Ursula meets her fiancé, his mother, and his sister in Cologne. While in Cologne, as the angel prophesied, Ursula, all of the virgins, the pope who accompanied them, Ursula's fiancé, and her future mother-in-law and sister-in-law are martyred (135-146).

The MS L account of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins" in some ways functions as a gender-inverted rendition of the prologue to the legend of St Thomas of Canterbury (previously discussed in Chapter VI). Like St Thomas's mother, the would-be husband of Ursula is presented as a heathen – but instead of him being a heathen Saracen or heathen of some other exotic land, he is a heathen Englishman. In the next chapter, I discuss communities in relation to MS L and, in particular, English communities. Within the texts to be discussed, Englishness consistently is presented as a desirable attribute. That emphatically is not the case in the legend of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins". Since the heathen prince's Englishness is stressed to such a great extent (with the repetition of the words "Enguelonde" and "Enguelond," that suggests to me that the scribe of MS L is, once again, as he did in the account of "St Scholastica," interspersing the narrative with his unique variety of humour. His hyperbolic wit suggests that although this is a tragic story, there also is some humour to be found in it (somehow). The humour perhaps can

be found in the over-the-top configurations of reality present in presentations of feminine sanctity.

"St Katherine of Alexandria"

The life of "St Katherine of Alexandria" also was a popular text, appearing in seventeen manuscripts associated with the *South English Legendary*. MS L's legend of "St Katherine" "follows the *LgA* text, *BHL* 1667, with some instances of the usual paraphrase" (Görlach 207). MS L's "St Katherine" relates that she was of noble birth since her father and mother were a king and queen. When the emperor Maximius assembles the nobility at Alexandria to engage in idol worship, St Katherine accuses him of folly and defiantly expresses her opposition to his plans: "Sire," heo seide, "riche Aumperour þou art: swiþe noble and hende,/ Þov scholdest þi wisdom and þi wit: to some guode wende" (15-16). St Katherine here dangerously treads the line between giving pragmatic advice to the Emperor and mocking him. She tells him that he should put his intelligence to better use than he has been in encouraging the people to embrace idol worship. She then completely crosses the line and overtly accuses the Emperor of being foolish when she says, "Þat i segge for þe folie: þat ich i-seo eov do—/ So muche feorrene folk: þov hast i-cleopet þar-to" (17-18).

After insulting the Emperor, St Katherine then engages him in debate, showing her fine, logical mind by presenting an argument comparing the temple in which Maximius plans to accommodate idol worship with the natural temple that God has constructed which declares His glory to the world. St Katherine remarks upon the "Grete Ioie in ouwer heorte: þis temple ȝe makiez i-fo" (19) and proceeds to comment upon the contrast between the two temples: Maximius's temple is "ymaud of lym and ston" (20) and those inanimate objects are the source of his happiness. St Katherine then asks why he does not similarly regard "þe heiȝe temple—: for þer-of wondri ov mai" (21). This high temple, instead of remaining inanimate, is very animated with "þe heie heuene þat geth a-boute: a-bouen eov niȝt and dai" (22). Within the heaven are "sonne and Mone and steorrene al-so: fram þe este to þe weste/ Þat trauaillieth and neuere werie ne beoth" (23-24). Yet, Maximius never has similarly regarded this temple with the gladness and awe with which he

159

reveres his own. St Katherine asks him why this is the case, and Maximius finds himself unable to answer the saint's question.

Despite St Katherine's excellent questions, Maximius continues to carry out the worship despite her objections, ascends to the throne, and condones idol worship during his reign. St Katherine continues to argue against the worship of idols, and her arguments against it are so excellent that he cannot refute her. Maximius himself acknowledges this in the lines "Þe Aumperour stod and ne couþe þar-to: Answerie In none wise;/ Gret wonder him þouȝte of hire fair-hede: and of hire Quoyntise" (31-32). Having failed to answer St Katherine himself, he then summons fifty wise men to reason with St Katherine.

After speaking with St Katherine, even these very wise men, masters of knowledge, find themselves out-performed in reasoning capability by the saint, and they tell Maximius, "Certes, sire…so gret clerk nov nis/ Þat scholde to hire reson ȝiue answere: for heo seith so i-wis" (131-132). The masters then also tell Maximius their conclusion why St Katherine is filled with wisdom: "We seggeth, þe holie gost is with hire: and In hire mouþe,/ Þat we ne conne hire answerie nouȝt: ne we ne dorren þei we couþe" (133-134). Because the Holy Ghost is with St Katherine and fills her mouth with reason, the wise men are convicted of Maximius's error in interrogating St Katherine. They tell him that, as a result of their conversation with St Katherine, "Þare-fore, bote we betere of oure lawe: þane we ȝeot i-seon,/ Alle we seggez with one mouþe: cristine we wollez beon" (135-136). Failing to have the kingdom's wisest men persuade St Katherine of the error of her ways and instead having them declare the error of his ways, the emperor subsequently attempts to bribe St Katherine to change her mind and become an idolater by promising her earthly acclaim and possessions. St Katherine refuses his offers and the angered and aggrieved emperor instead offers her torture and a prison cell.

While St Katherine is imprisoned, the empress and a man named Sir Porphyr (Maximius's best friend) visit her. As a result of their visitation with Katherine, the two convert to Christianity. Further enraged by his wife's and best friend's conversion to Christianity, the emperor intensifies St Katherine's tortures by placing her on wheels, but St Katherine remains firm in resolve to follow Christ and worship Him alone. As he observes her, the emperor is impressed with the saint's

160

steadfastness and asks her to become his wife. St Katherine refuses his proposal of marriage, and soon thereafter, the emperor has her beheaded.

Unlike the saints' lives previously discussed which adhere to a "City of God template," this legend does not immediately declare St Katherine's opposition to be evil. Maximius himself is never directly described as evil (although his minions who are smitten by an angel are described as such [231]) but he is several times said to be full of wrath towards Katherine (129, 221, 238, 250). Although it is clear from the context of the legend that Maximius is evil in opposing St Katherine, because the legend does not firmly denounce Maximius as evil, the life of "St Katherine" here departs from the norm set out by the two other female saints' lives in the first cluster of female saints' lives that appear in MS L.

Like the account of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins," the life of "St Katherine" suggests storytelling and a listening audience. The debate between Katherine and Maximius is entertaining and the ending of this legend, like those of *Havelok* and *Horn* indicate that an audience is actively involved in hearing the narrative. The invocation in the life of "St Katherine" is perhaps the most enthusiastic in MS L: "Ihesu crist, for þe suete loue: of seinte Katerine/ graunti us þe Ioye of heuene: and schilde us fram helle pine./ Amen amen, segge we alle: for is holie tyme" (302-304). No other MS L legend ends with a double "amen," and this particular sentence structure invites the audience to say "amen" along with the narrator. This invitation, again, as in *Havelok* and *Horn*, evokes affective piety.

Affective Piety and Mysticism in "Eleven Thousand Virgins" and "St Katherine"

Fascinatingly enough, the two lives of MS L's feminine cluster that deviate slightly from generic hagiographic templates and include elements of storytelling promoting affective piety, also are the ones that display leanings toward mysticism. In the legend of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins," the narrative could be said to stray into mystical territory with St Ursula's vision of the angel who informs her of her and the virgins' impending doom (74-75). The legend of "St Katherine" enters mystical territory with the account of how Christ Himself is miraculously unified with Katherine as her spouse: "Þo cam ore louerd him-self to hire: and grauntede

hire bone. 'Cum forth,' he seide, 'mi suete leman: mi leue spouse al-so: heuene-ȝat a-ȝein þe I-opened is: þare þou schalt comen to'" (287-289).

Within these legends that incorporate mysticism and storytelling, there is a playfulness that is unexpected in saints' lives – though it does appear at times even in saints' lives that are formulaic in approach (e.g., St Bridget casually hanging her cloak on a sunbeam to dry, the aged St Scholastica requesting [perhaps mischievously] that God not allow her brother to leave her). This quality of liveliness has much in common with romance and the types of re-creation and recreation discussed in the previous chapter. This sense of re-creation is especially prevalent in the core female saints lives of MS L and in how they are constructed. Furthermore, the sense of the mystical and the unreal in accounts of female saints' lives is closely connected with medieval ideas of how female sanctity should look.

Constructing Feminine Sanctity

Early in the history of hagiographical writing, few female saints' lives were included in collections of holy *vitae*. It must be remembered that the "singleness of heart" (Brown, *The Body and Society* 39) associated with saintliness "was a profoundly male virtue: upright men tended to regard women as the causes, *par excellence*, of 'double-hearted' behavior" (Brown, *The Body and Society* 39). This perception of women shifted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the genesis of movements such as the Benguines and other "specifically female modes of piety" (Madigan 321). Prior to this time, female saints often were referred to using the ostentatiously patriarchal term "female men of God" (Madigan 321). Usually, female saints were expected to be virgins, although there were some notable exceptions such as St Mary Magdalene.Both male and female saints, it should be noted, were revered for their chastity, and "Sexual renunciation was a *carrière ouverte aux talents*. As Christians, women and the uneducated could achieve reputations for sexual abstinence as stunning as those achieved by any cultivated male" (Brown, *The Body and Society* 61). Thus, women, like men, could show themselves single-heartedly devoted to God, for "the gift of 'purity of heart' was shown in the body by the ebbing of the sexual drive. But the gift was won only

through a struggle with the heart itself in the slow and intricate untwisting of the private will" (Brown, *The Body and Society* 433).[95]

While both male and female saints were expected to be chaste, female saints were expected to be almost supernaturally chaste: so much so, that they no longer seem like human beings.[96] Undoubtedly, this at least partly derives from the sense that "women's bodies threatened notions of purity and sanctity" (Murray, "'The law of sin that is in my members: The Problem of Male Embodiment" 11). This sense of the surreal bordering on allegory was an intentional aspect of the creation of the lives of female virgin martyrs. While very early hagiographical accounts of female saints emphasized chastity rather than virginity, "by the sixth century, the Christian heroine was almost inevitably a virgin. What is more, she was almost always a pretty, young virgin with a distinguished pedigree" (Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs* 9).

With their highly symbolic characteristics, later accounts of virgin martyrs "embodied the kinds of paradoxes that were central to Christianity". Among these paradoxes are "the virgin birth, the Incarnation, the Eucharist, and the Tree of Life and Death" (Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs* 12). These holy women inverted the world as it was understood. Since they "transcended their gender to become manly, the virgin martyrs evoke the mystery of God made man". In giving their bodies to be broken by their earthly tormentors, the virgins emulate the Eucharist which is broken at Mass. Furthermore, through the "instruments of torture designed to erase identity," these saints "proclaim identity" (Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs* 12).

This paradoxical symbolism in the lives of the virgin martyrs also is reflected in the narrations of the female saints' lives in the two clusters of MS. Further contributing to the metaphorical dimensions of the lives, the majority of the women in the two clusters included in MS L have little grounding in historical reality. St Faith may or may not have existed. Her legend, as previously outlined, describes that she was brought before Dacian and subsequently martyred for her faith in Christ, but the account is thought to be unreliable (Ashley and Sheingorn 33). The account of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins" (St Ursula) also appears to be

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[96] This is not to suggest that nuns were not chaste, only that the portrayals of chastity in many hagiographical accounts take the reverence of chastity to an extreme.

highly fictionalized. Some scholars believe that the story of the eleven thousand virgins who were martyred may even be based upon a scribe's copy error (Shulenberg 11). The legend of "St Katherine" also probably has little historical grounding. As the *TEAMS* editors note, "Like most virgin martyrs, Katherine probably never existed: although her martyrdom is set in the early fourth century, the earliest mention of her dates from the ninth century, and a full account of her passion was not composed until the eleventh century" (Winstead, "St Katherine"). Similarly, little is known of the history of St Lucy other than that she was of Syracuse (Guiley 212). Likewise, with St Agatha, almost nothing is historically certain about the account of her life (Donovan 37). Because the saints' lives are historically inaccurate, their narrations verge on allegory. Then too, there is "certain sameness about the genre, which signals the legends' fictiveness". Both allegory and fiction would have appealed to a lay audience "who were becoming increasingly important as readers and patrons of saints' lives" (Winstead, "St Katherine"). It is to such an audience that MS L most likely would have appealed. The question is, where did this lay audience reside? Additionally, was it a male audience, female, or both?

Veneration of MS L's Female Saints in London

With the passage of time and disasters such as the Great Fire of London, it has become difficult to discern precisely which saints were most venerated and also had churches dedicated to them in medieval London. It is known that St Faith was venerated in England, but, in part due to the loss of records during the Great Fire of 1666, little evidence of her veneration survives today. A consultation of the *Victoria County History*, British History Online, and other similar catalogues reveals little history of her cult in London. Yet, a hint of a community devoted to her remembrance survives in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral. Now a coffee shop for visitors, the crypt was once known as St Faith under St Paul's.[97] Sources indicate that it once served the parish of Castle Baynard Ward, and housed a thriving congregation. The church originally met in the east end of the Cathedral but was

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[97] My source for this is personal experience. I have visited the café.

moved to the west end of St Paul's in 1256 to help accommodate the eastern expansion of the Cathedral. It met on the west side until the Great Fire of London; after that time, records show that the church was merged with the church of St Augustine Watling Street. Other than the dedication of the church of St Faith under St Paul's, no documentation of the veneration of St Faith in the medieval city of London survives.

Even more slender evidence remains for the veneration of St Lucy in London, as there are no surviving medieval churches in London dedicated to her.[98] She, however, had a wide following in the Middle Ages and into the early modern period and appears to have been even more popular on the continent than she was in England. Alban Butler writes that "her festival was kept in England till the change of religion, as a holy day of the second rank, in which no work but tillage or the like was allowed" (Butler 698). From this it can be seen that St Lucy's story was at least widely known and that St Lucy was considered a most important saint in the church.

St Bridget or St Bride certainly was well-known in London, and a medieval church dedicated to her memory still survives on Fleet Street. The church and its graveyard are "late Saxon developments;" recent archeological digs suggest that, before a church was built on the sight, there may have been a "late Roman building" with "painted wall plaster and tessellated pavement" (Milne 101). Previous to the most recent dig, it was believed that St Bride's had been built over a mausoleum. This no longer appears to be the case as the building below the church appears to be "a mansio-like structure" (Milne 101). At the time of King Edward, there was a large settlement in London Westminster, and, as a result, "Fleet Bridge and road, together with the construction of the new abbey [of St Peter] provide[d] the topographical catalysts for the growth of the City's western suburb in the middle of

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[98] Although no churches in London dedicated to St Lucy survive, there were at least a couple of English churches dedicated to her: "S. Lucy's name is to be found in the Sacramentary of S. Gregory the Great, and churches in honour of a S. Lucy were very early built at Rome; but there seems to have been some doubt, even in early times, as to whether they were intended for S. Lucy of Syracuse or for a widowed namesake of hers who was martyred at Rome itself about the same time...On the whole, we are inclined to think that our two English dedications in this name—at Dembleby in Lincolnshire and Upton Magna in Shropshire—were genuinely intended for the Sicilian saint, and without doubt they have come to be so regarded" (Arnold-Forster 115).

the eleventh century" (Milne 101). Because of its situation near Westminster, the Church of St Bride increased in significance.

Both a church dedicated to St Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins and a relic pertaining to their deaths existed in medieval London. As was common in the Middle Ages, the church included a dual dedication; it was dedicated to St Ursula and her Eleven Thousand Virgins as well as to St Mary. Historical records more commonly refer to the church as the Church of St Mary Axe. This short yet descriptive name may have come about because the church housed a relic: the axe used to murder the virgins who accompanied St Ursula, but legend also has it that the name came from a nearby tavern. In the MS L version of the legend, St Ursula is shot to death with arrows. It is unclear how the church would have come to be in possession of the axe, but if it did have such an axe, it appears to have made such an impression upon pilgrims and parishioners that the church itself took on the name of the relic therein (Wheatley 492-493).

Although no records of medieval London churches dedicated to St Scholastica, survive today, her cults enjoyed considerable fame in medieval England. Her fame is evidenced through the appearance of her feast days in the majority of surviving Anglo-Saxon calendars of feast days, and a life of St Scholastica is included in a great number of litanies (Ortenberg 180-181, 184).

A Male London Merchant Audience for MS L?

Christina Fitzgerald has argued that, due to the inclusion of romances such as *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn*, that MS L may have held special appeal for members of the London Drapers' Company. Henry Perveys was a member of this company, and his signature appears inside MS L. The London Drapers' company was known to take "a particular interest in books (for 'small quayers &… other strowis' are 'of no value') record keeping, and bearing witness, and assert the connection of all these interests to public, social identity as a means of being 'opynly knowyn'" (Fitzgerald 90). Fitzgerald bases her argument upon the fact that merchants (and especially ones like Henry Perveys who was an orphan), due to trade and their consequently necessary constant movement, would particularly have identified with *Havelok* and *Horn* whom she identifies as liminal figures within the

manuscript.[99] Fitzgerald further writes that "*Havelok* also is not the sole key to L's meaning in mercantile contexts; rather, the very heterogenous quality of the texts of L may have generated mercantile interest in it" (Fitzgerald 100).

While all of the aforementioned is true, it equally can be argued from the texts of *Havelok* and *Horn* that the language of the two poems is gender inclusive and therefore not limited to male-dominated mercantile guilds. The narrators of both legends show an interest in including all people in their audience. The narrator of *Havelok* begins by "greeting us all, men and women" and later "liberally cursing his tale's villains, and fervently praying for his hero and heroine, the narrator brings himself and his audience intimately and intrusively into the narrative, more so than many narrators in Middle English romances" (Couch 55). Similarly, *Horn*'s narrator shows an inclusive spirit in addressing "alle" in the first line of the poem – although the *Horn* narrator is not as specific as the *Havelok* narrator in identifying his audience.

It is likewise interesting to note that "With the growth of a market economy during the later thirteenth century, women's opportunity to gain some measure of economic autonomy expanded" (Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs* 105). Kay E. Lacey also has located records of women working in various industries (including mercantile work) in London during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Lacey 24-82). Since not only men were merchants in late medieval England (although they certainly were in the majority), it could similarly be argued that the liminal nature of the *Havelok* and *Horn* texts might also have appealed to women merchants. This fact combined with the presence of the female saints' lives of MS L's feminine group, therefore, potentially suggests a different audience for MS L than primarily male merchants. A number of attributes of the female saints' lives included in MS L suggest this alternative audience. The cluster of female saints' lives at the centre of MS L include saints who exude masculine and feminine qualities. Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to note that Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell have

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[99] "While he was not in danger of becoming a truly abject orphan, Henry and his experiences might have been more like the hero of the L *Havelok the Dane* (fols. 204r-219v) and Havelok's experiences if not for the homosocial network of liveried aldermanic guildsmen looking out for one of their own" (Fitzgerald 90).

identified two primary types of saints. First, there is "[the] holder of temporal or ecclesiastical power, missionary to the heathen and fiery preacher of the word, champion of public morality, heroic defender of his virtue – a paradigm reflecting both societal values and church regulations" (Weinstein and Bell 237). Second, there is the saint who engages in "penitential asceticism, private prayer, mystical communion with the Godhead, and charity" (Weinstein and Bell 237). Caroline Bynum delineates the second type as feminine which would by default configure the first type as masculine (Bynum 26). The saints of the MS L female cluster include saints of both the first and second type. Although the inclusion of masculine and feminine types in this female cluster does not conclusively indicate a mixed-gender audience for MS L, it is worth noting that the "representation of saints may reflect and inform social practice" (Riches and Salih 5).

Suggestions that the female saints included in MS L (along with the male saints) did indeed inform social reading practices can be discerned through the following qualities of the legends selected for inclusion. Firstly, the lives of the female saints included in MS L's feminine group are very popular lives that would have been well-known to the laity. Secondly, many of the female saints included in the group were well-known and venerated in London (and in the rest of England) and had churches dedicated to them. Thirdly, the use of the vernacular further emphasizes the sense that these lives "privilege homespun wisdom over bookish learning, and speech-like rhythms over poetic flair" (Morgan 149).

From the combination of the facts above, mixed-gender laypeople appear to have been the intended audience of MS L. The suggestion of a lay audience that remained interested in the lives of virgin martyrs is (as was mentioned previously) reflective of "the sweeping program of lay religious instruction instituted by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215". This program "resulted in a proliferation of religious literature [including lives of virgin martyrs] directed at laypeople" (Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs* 64). The continued interest in the lives of virgin martyrs, however, is not necessarily indicative of a solely female audience. As mentioned previously, many of the lives of virgin martyrs closely tread the line between fiction and allegory and the women would doubtless have been regarded as "Brides of

Christ, to represent the authority and power of the institutional Bride of Christ, the Church" (Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs* 65).

In light of the evidence provided above, it appears as if the original audience of MS L may have been a lay audience. What remains a mystery is the context in which this lay audience would have heard or read the legends of MS L. As the *TEAMS* editors write, "Modern scholars initially assumed that *SEL*, with its calendar arrangement, was designed for use by the parish clergy or friars during church services for ordinary, mixed congregations". In recent times, "this view has been challenged on the grounds that many of the saints celebrated in the collection (e.g., Mary of Egypt) were unlikely to have feast days at the parish level".

Furthermore, some scholars feel that "the *SEL* legends vary too greatly in length to be serviceable in a liturgical setting, and that the manuscripts themselves provide no evidence of such use". Yet, "in some cases, the mise-en-page and convenient size of certain sermon manuscripts suggests that they were laid out so as to facilitate easy reading, appropriate, therefore, for carrying into a pulpit where they could serve, if not as a direct crib, then as a handy prompt" (Fletcher, *Popular Preaching* 12). If the texts of MS L were used as prompts rather than as complete sermons, then the variation in textual length does not matter so greatly.

Additionally, the liturgical use of the legends has been contested on the grounds that "the often earthy, lively style and boisterous content seem closer to literary entertainment and satire than liturgical commemoration" (Whatley, *Saints' Lives*). While this objection on the grounds of style may indeed be applicable to the whole manuscript that MS L evolved to become, it should be remembered that the texts at the core of the manuscript are well-known saints' lives strongly connected with specific geographical places. This core of MS L almost certainly could have been used in a liturgical setting, and I would argue that the 13th century MS L initially was used in such a context. As the manuscript added texts to its nucleus, I believe that the audience also may have changed, although it is now difficult to discern at precisely which stage of the compilation that change occurred. The *TEAMS* editors note that "Annie Samson has proposed… that the likely purpose of the collection was to provide Christian reading matter for the lower nobility and landed gentry, but her arguments have yet to be pursued" (Whatley, *Saints' Lives).*

I believe that Samson may be correct about her proposition in relation to the volume that MS L eventually became in the 15th century, but she may be inaccurate about the manuscript's original intended purpose.

Many times when scholars have sought to determine the origins of *SEL* manuscripts such as MS L, they have attempted to narrow the origin of the manuscript to a single source, and the results have been multivarious. The Introduction clearly demonstrates this as almost every existing monastic order in medieval England has been suggested as a possible candidate for the authorship of the manuscript. Although I disagree in part with Fitzgerald's argument that the textual community of MS L "suggests L's connection to a network of texts and readers larger and more dynamic than previously thought. It puts L into a textual community of real and imagined counsellors and advisees, particularly men, across time and space" (Fitzgerald 112), (I do not believe the community was limited solely to masculine interests.), I agree with her that the network of texts was larger than previously has been assumed. Irrespective of whom MS L was compiled for, the fact remains that the scribe (or the patron who requested the manuscript) appears to have been interested in including texts that were gender-inclusive rather than gender-exclusive. This then may suggest a mixed-gender audience for MS L, regardless of whether that audience gathered in a church or churchyard or around the table of a private owner.

Conclusion

Through considering the lives of the female saints at the core of MS L in combination with other evidence presented in the texts of MS L, possibilities for the original 13th century and later 15th century audience for the manuscript can be conjectured. Although it may continue to remain impossible conclusively to identify MS L's compilers and audiences, the texts of the manuscript provide some clues to the interests of the communities who read the saints' lives of the manuscript. From the two clusters of female saints which appear to have been collated near MS L's genesis, an inclusive audience interested in the popular theological concerns of the day coupled with an interest in practical spirituality comes to the fore. Such audiences may well have initially included laity who

listened to sermons and equally could later have shifted to include the family of a wealthy guild member.

Despite the liminal nature of some of the texts included in MS L, when observed as a "whole book," some characteristics of the manuscript's texts suggest a gender inclusive rather than exclusive community surrounding the manuscript. From the emphasis on England in the life of one of the female saints' lives discussed in this chapter to the popular hagiographical templates used to tell the stories of the holy women, to the inclusive language of the MS L narrator, to the fact that the manuscript eventually came to reside in London in the fifteenth, the majority of the signs point to MS L having been used by a gender-inclusive audience in London (at some point in the manuscript's compilation) rather than a solely male, mercantile one. With that in mind, I will now turn to a discussion of the textual and extra-textual communities of MS L.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Martyrdom, English Saints, and the Formation of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Communities in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108

Shrines and concepts of community remain topics integral to discussing collections of saints' lives. As Kevin Madigan notes, "while medieval Christians did not invent the veneration of the saints, it was utterly central to devotion in the Middle Ages" (Madigan 320). As might then be expected, many of the saints included in MS L had popular English and continental shrines and churches associated with them. The saints included in MS L often take on the attribute of "holy metonymy," and stand "for the communities formed or addressed by their cults" (Sanok 213). Although MS L displays an intrinsic interest in the idea of "communite" by virtue of the saints which it includes who were objects of popular veneration, the actual word "communite" itself never appears in the manuscript. What does frequently appear are the related words "we," "us," "compaygnie," "desciple," and "cristine men". These, and other affiliated words, shape the textual communities of MS L. In particular, the interaction between the internal communities of the texts of martyred saints and the external communities of churches and parishes that formed around the bodies and relics of saints is dialogical: there is a constant dialogue between textual and extra-textual communities. That said, many of the saints which will be considered in this chapter were surrounded by thriving Christian communities while they were yet alive; their martyrdoms only served further to spur the growth of their specific cults.

Intrinsic Communities

The scribes of MS L seem to have been especially interested in martyr saints as thirty-two of the fifty-one named saints included in the manuscript's *sanctorale* are

martyrs.[100] That being said, the majority of saints have been martyrs, and this group of saints has been the most well-known. It was not until the third and fourth centuries that additional categories of saints such as confessors, doctors, and bishops began to be venerated. From the beginning of Christianity, "martyrs were very early on remembered and venerated by Christians precisely because of their refusal to participate in pagan religion" (Madigan 320). The earliest martyrs did not undergo the canonization process as did later saints, but "probably were spontaneously venerated without the felt need for ecclesiastical approval; unprompted veneration was sufficient" (Madigan 326).

Since more than half of the saints' lives recorded in the manuscript relate the stories of martyrs, these selections signal an on-going scribal interest in the lives of martyrs. In addition, the final two saints' lives included in the *sanctorale* (which are added in a later, different hand) are those of "St Blase" and "St Cecilia," both of whom were martyred. This chapter will focus on those legends in MS L's version of the *SEL* that specifically describe or imply the formation of a community of some kind around the relics of the martyr, and where the communities described inside the texts exhibit a propensity to translate directly into external parish community life.

Sancta Crux

The first martyr described in the *sanctorale* of MS L is *Sancta Crux*, the Holy Cross. MS L's *Sancta Crux* stands out within the *South English Legendary,* providing the longest rendition of the legend of the cross wood within the evolution of the *SEL*. While it might come as a surprise to modern readers to think of the Cross as a saint, it was a familiar concept to medieval audiences. Christ and the Cross frequently were conflated as well and, as Barbara Baert writes, "The medieval border between

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[100] The individually named martyr saints in MS L are the "Holy Cross," "St Barnabas," "St John the Baptist," "St James the Apostle," "St Oswald," "St Edward the King," "St Alban," "St Matthias," "St Liger," "St Faith," "11,000 virgins" ("St Ursula"), "St Katherine," "St Lucy," "St Thomas of Canterbury," "St Fabian," "St Sebastian," "St Agnes," "St Vincent," "St Agatha," "St Christopher," "St Edmund the King," "St Laurence," "St Kenelm," "St Mark," "St Jacob," "St Bartholomew," "St Thomas," "St Matthew the Apostle," "St Eustace," "St Hippolytus," "St Blase," and "St Cecilia". Additionally, MS L includes an entry for "All Souls' Day"—the day of commemoration for all martyrs.

the idea of Christ's Cross and Christ himself is wafer-thin". The medieval connection between Christ, the Eucharist, and the cross also was very strong: "Both the Cross and the Host are adored as the body of Christ. There is, however, a fundamental difference: during the Holy Mass the Host is 'really' transformed into the sacrificed body of Christ. The Host is, dogmatically, the body of Christ; the relic of the Cross is not" (Baert 308). Although the cross does not become the body of Christ during the Mass, it "perpetuates the presence of God among men: it saves, heals, even resurrects the dead. It sustains the powers of the crucified Christ *pars pro toto*" (Baert 308). Because the Cross is understood to possess this sustaining power for the Christian, this is why "despite this dogmatic difference, the Host is often kept together with the relic of the Cross or concealed in a crucifix" (Baert 308). In the legend of *Sancta Crux* recounted in MS L, although the Cross does not become Christ's body, it undergoes scourging and beating as does Christ in scripture. The Cross even bleeds, which further underscores its humanity. Of course, though the Cross possesses human characteristics, being an inanimate object, the Cross cannot die. In this respect, it differs from the saints which follow it in the ordering of MS L. Yet, like the saints who live after its time, the Cross suffers greatly, is taken down after the crucifixion, and buried as if it were human. Therefore, while the Cross cannot die a physical death it does "die" a metaphorical death.

After the "death" of the Cross, later in the narrative, a community arises around the cross, and can be seen when the victorious Eraclius processes into the temple bearing the Cross on high. As he does so, he is surrounded by a congregation of believers and Eraclius sings a new song in which he says "And þe swete burþene of godes sone: þat on þe [the Cross] was i-do/ Saue nouþe al þis *compaygnie* [italics mine]: þat hidere i-gadered is/ And here to-day to-gadere i-brouȝt: in þine hereȝyngue i-wis!" (504-506)

From this can be seen the gathering of one of the first "compaygnies" or communities around the Cross, and the text also provides a description of what communities around martyred saints did as it invites listening believers into the narrative saying "Al folk onourede al-so þe croiz: so feor forth so huy miȝten it do/ With offringues and with song: and with oþur melodies al-so" (509-510). The

listening audience is invited to honour the Cross with offerings and songs as did the congregation present with Eraclius. Not only does the text present a textual community around the Cross, it creates a dialogue between the devotional practices of the listening community and the devotional practices described in the text. The Cross also is a special kind of martyr in that its existence helped to form the universal Christian community from the outset of the Christian religion to this day.

"St James"

The life of "St James," as recounted in MS L finds its closest source in "the *SaB* lessons, texts abbreviated from the *Vitae*, *BHL* 6814 and 4087" (Görlach 164). Although a community of disciples existed around St James prior to his death, in MS L, it is after the saint's death that the community venerating him most clearly emerges. In the MS L account of St James's life, there is little mention of the community surrounding St James until after his death. After St James has been martyred, references to his "desciples" frequently occur. Soon after St James's beheading, the text states that "A-non so seint Ieme þe holie man: bi-haueded was þere,/ his desciples him wolden lede a-wei: ac huy ne dorsten for fere./ heore tyme huy a-wayteden wel: ȝwanne none Men þare neiȝ nere,/ And þat bodi wel stilleliche: out of þe countreye bere. (126-129). Having smuggled the saint's corpse out of the country by ship, the disciples then find themselves facing the ire of the Spanish authorities.

As the legend details the disciples' adventures, it does not record their names; but, again, the disciples are identified as those affiliated with St James, when they go to the Spanish Queen to plead their case (140). The Queen refuses to listen to them and calls them traitors; subsequently, the King of Spain orders that each disciple be strongly bound and put into prison (148-151). While the disciples are in prison, an angel releases them from their bonds. The Queen of Spain then subjects the disciples to further trials. The queen sends the disciples allegedly to fetch some oxen for her, but she intends that they will never return from their mission.

On the way to find the cattle, the disciples discover what the queen has known from the outset: a fiery dragon stands between them and the cattle which they are to bring to the queen. As they approach the cattle, "A fuyr Drake þar-opon:

175

a-ȝein heom cominde huy seiȝe" (176). The dragon swiftly approaches them, and as he does so, "Swiþe ferliche he blaste fuyr" (177). Unbeknownst to the disciples, "Mani a man he hadde a-slawe: and al þe contreie of him a-gaste" (178). Despite their fear of the dragon, "Þis **desciples** [emphases mine] mauden þe signe sone: of þe Creoyz heom bi-fore" (179). The MS L account records merely that "Anon hadde þis luþere worm: is pouwer al ilore" (180), but other accounts record that the dragon broke into two pieces when it saw the disciples make the sign of the cross.[101] Although the *SEL* account does not include that grotesque detail, it more graphically depicts how the disciples treat the dragon after the beast has lost its strength: "Þat hit ne miȝhte ane fot forþere passe: þis **desciples** forth wende/ And to-pouneden it al to deþe: and ech lime fram oþur rende" (172-181). MS L's description of the dragon's demise is far more visceral than some accounts with its description of the disciples quite literally hacking the dragon to pieces through cutting off its limbs.

Throughout this passage describing St James's disciples' encounter with the dragon, the men's identity with the community of St James is reiterated through the multiple use of the word "desciples". Within the account of how they battered the dragon to death is the embedded realisation that they belong to the larger community instigated by the Holy Cross. As the men are facing the fearsome dragon, they are able to overcome it because they make the sign of the Cross (178). This sign of the Cross connects the community of the disciples of St James with the larger community of the universal church surrounding the Cross which was discussed previously.

After fighting the dragon, the disciples face the "oxen"-- wild bulls and steers that the queen has sent them to collect, possibly intending for the men to be gored to death. But, when the disciples approach the wild beasts, a miracle occurs: "Þe Bollokes and þe ȝoungue steores: þat weren er so wilde,/ Anon so huy touward heom come: huy woxen tame and milde" (175-176). Rather than wildly rushing at the disciples or running away, the wild bulls and steers miraculously become tame and allow the disciples to select animals from among their number to draw a wagon:

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[101] For example, Caxton's translation of the *Legenda Aurea* records that "they made the sign of the cross and he brake [*sic*] it [the dragon] on [*sic*] two pieces" (Caxton 103).

"Þe beste huy chosen þat huy wolden: and to þe wayne heom ladde;/ And huy drowen þat bodi so mildeliche: þat ech man þarof wonder hadde" (177-178). A further miracle occurs when the disciples say the name of St James to the animals: "Þis **desciples** nomen seint Iemes bodi: and opon þe wayne it leide,/ Þe bestes it drowen forth wel mildeliche: with-oute eche fole breide" (179-180). Fully under the control of the disciples of St James, the beasts gently draw the wagon and bring the body of St James before the Queen. Again, it is the disciples' identification with St James's community that enables them to perform this miracle.

The Queen is very impressed with the miraculous powers of the disciples and becomes a Christian herself. She has the body of St James buried in the palace and later has a large church erected which is lavishly adorned with treasures. This church became a renowned house of canons and was known as a place of pilgrimage. Many miracles were performed at the shrine of the great saint. Among the miracles was the strange happening of St James causing the dead body of a pilgrim to be brought to his shrine, preserving the life of a young pilgrim condemned for theft (the boy was crucified but hung on a cross for thirty-six days, yet did not die), and finally, raising to life a young man of Lyons who had cut and killed himself. In the text of the life of St James, the community around the body of the saint steadily increases. First, the community is limited to the disciples of the apostle. Then it expands to include the queen of Spain. After the queen's conversion, the community expands yet further to include those pilgrims who visit the church dedicated to St James in Spain.

As with the life of the Holy Cross, the community created in the text of the life of St James, extends from the written page into real life. Readers of this life were familiar with shrines and places of pilgrimage and would have recognized that the miracles that were performed by St James near his shrine could just as easily include them, were they to visit the church of St James. Indeed, "by the twelfth century, thousands of pilgrims, many of them French, were travelling to St. James via the five-pronged *camino de Santiago*, the most well-known and still used pilgrimage trail in the West" (Madigan 333).

"St Faith"

The next martyr's life in MS L that demonstrates an interest in community is the life of "St Faith," a legend previously examined in Chapter VII. The interest that this legend shows in community differs somewhat from that shown in the two saints' lives previously discussed in the current chapter. In the two lives prior, Christianity was still viewed as a relatively new phenomenon; by the time of St Faith, Christianity was better known. Since this life takes place longer after the death of Christ, the Christian community within the life also is referenced differently.

In the life of "St James," those who are a part of St James's community and are followers of Christ are known as "desciples". In the life of St Faith, the term for used for community of believers surrounding the saint becomes "cristine men". Because Christianity has already been in existence for a long while when St Faith comes on the scene, from the beginning of the legend, there are references to "cristine men" and their persecution by Dacian, one of Diocletian's lieutenants. St Faith is among those "cristine men" who are seized and tortured, and it is evident that she is considered part of the local Christian community.

All of this takes place because of St Faith's martyrdom, and the initial core community of three additional martyred saints around her shortly after her death appears to have exponentially expanded, as was frequently the case with communities around the Christian martyrs.[102] Like *Sancta Crux*, "St Faith's" community also expands to include the reader/listener as the scribe ends the story of her life with the words, "Nou seinte Fey and hire felawes: ore erinde beode so,/ Þat we moten to þe Ioye come: þare huy beoth inne i-do."

"St Thomas the Apostle"

The legend of St Thomas the Apostle is one of the legends that can probably be attributed to the "*SEL* Poet". The legend as found in *SEL* manuscripts typically begins with "18 introductory lines ultimately from [the Gospel of] John… and

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[102] Tertullian famously observed, "Plures efficimur, quoties metumur a vobis; semen est sanguis Christianorum" (Often translated as "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." A more literal translation is "We multiply whenever we are mown down by you; the blood of Christians is seed".) (Tertullian 152.11-12).

178

[subsequently] closely follows the LgA version" (Görlach 84). As with the earlier discussed legends of *Sancta Crux* and St James, the legend of "St Thomas the Apostle" occurs near the beginning of Christianity's history. That being the case, the idea of a Christian community does not begin to surface until the narration of the legend is well underway. Then the delineation of "desciples" for those who surround Thomas and begin to follow him starts to appear.

The account of "St Thomas" found in MS L states that Thomas was a skilled carpenter who was instructed to build a palace for a king in India. Instead of building the palace, Thomas goes about the land preaching and converting many: "Muche folk he brou3te to cristindom: a-boute into al þat londe;/ Churchene he arerde mani on: and preostes he sette þere" (171-172). When the king who had been away for a time returns and discovers that his palace has not yet been built, he is sorely displeased and throws the saint into prison. In the meantime, the king's brother dies. When friends and family lay his body on the funeral pyre, the man suddenly comes to life again and tells the king:

> "Broþer…" þo he a-ros: "þou dudest ane vuele dede,
>
> Þat seint Thomas þe holie man: into prisone liete lede,
>
> For mid god of heouene he is wel: and þoru3h him ich am nov
>
> To liue ibrou3t ase 3e iseothþ: and i-chulle 3ou tellen hov."
>
> (195-198)

The king's brother attributes the miracle of his restoration to life to the power of St Thomas, who is still in prison. The man then visits St Thomas in prison and begs him to forgive his brother, the king, for treating him so badly. After that, the king also asks St Thomas to pardon him, and he releases the saint from prison. All of the king's subjects, as many as fourteen thousand, also convert to Christianity. Thomas then appoints leaders over each church in India and moves on to preach the gospel in other lands.

In one particular country, he performs so many miracles that the people regard him as a god. However, when Migdonia, the wife of the king of that country, converts to Christianity, the king becomes very angry, and subjects Thomas to

179

torture. Although the king attempts to end Thomas's life in a fiery oven, the saint emerges unharmed (a scriptural allusion to the book of Daniel chapter 3 that also appears in the life of "St Agnes"). Finally, in a fit of rage, a pagan priest kills Thomas with a sword. It is at the point of St Thomas's death and burial that the community venerating the saint begins to form. MS L records that, "Þe *cristine men* [community] weren wroþe i-nouȝh: þo huy hine ded founden" and "Þis holie bodi huy nomen a-non: and to churche it bere,/ And bureden it with gret honour: and with grete nobleye þere" (430 & 433-434).

"St Eustace"

The source of MS L's life of "St Eustace" has not been identified. Görlach notes that there are notable differences between the *Legenda Aurea* and *SEL* accounts in "Eustace's lament," "the description of his occupation," and "the dialogue 280-8 and the martyrdom 298-320 are more detailed". Görlach feels that that these differences make "the *SEL* account more lively and heightens the suspense" (Görlach 201). Differences aside, both the *Legenda Aurea* and *SEL* accounts, by nature of their subject matter, emphasize the importance of community or its lack in the life of St Eustace. Both narratives also predominantly use words with connotations of connectedness before Eustace is bereft of family and his possessions (and gradually become more suggestive of a drift towards solitariness for the saint). In the MS L account, the refrains of "Eustace alone and his wife and two sons" (65) and "oþer solas non: bote my sones & my wif" (100) appear along with additional lines suggesting great loneliness after Eustace is stripped of all that he counts precious in the world: e.g., "icham a wrecche & frendles: beleueth nou alone" (105).

Through phrases emphasizing his desertedness in the world, "Eustace thus emphasizes his exclusion from those kinship structures that previously provided him with social and emotional support: he is without *compainnie* or household and he is bereft of both his children and his wife" (Campbell 126). Not only has Eustace been stripped of the pleasures of home and hearth, his "former engagement in worldly affairs through the relationships that bound him to a wider social environment is here contrasted with his present isolation from those structures"

(Campbell 126). The specific phrases "he wende al one" and "a wrecche & frendles" serve to "underline the distinction between the saint's past life as a head of household surrounded by servants, knights, and kin, and his present circumstances as an isolated and miserable beggar" (Campbell 126).

Yet, Eustace is not deprived of all community, for, as a result of being poor physically and lacking the emotional comforts of his family, he enters into a rich spiritual community consisting of all the saints who have gone before him, and he encounters a deeper communion with God. It is "this removal from worldly kinship eventually leads him to place absolute faith in Christ and seek comfort and consolation in God rather than the transient relationships that he enjoyed in his former life" (Campbell 126). Reunited with his family, Eustace and his children establish a new community founded on their mutual beliefs in God. Shortly before the family is about to be reunited, one of Eustace's sons reverts to using words denoting connections and familial ownership: "'*Ore* fader nam us and ladde us forth: swithe gret deol he made.../ *Mi* fader bar ouer mine youngere brother: and in that othur half him set" (209, 211 [italics mine]). The loving communion of family and the joyousness of reunions in the life of St Eustace are absolutely essential for the communication of spiritual truth to an audience. The textual community around the saint widens to include an extra-textual community of readers who actively engage with the tale by reading it and then (ideally) seeking to emulate the saint's life.

"St Clement"

The legend of "St Clement" included in MS L closely follows the *Legenda Aurea's* model for the saint's life (Görlach 206). As with the preceding legends, community places a central part in the life of "St Clement". Since the legend takes place near Christianity's genesis, St Clement is first described as belonging to early Christian communities. He first hears St Barnabas preach and follows him for a while, but soon St Peter comes to Rome and preaches. After Peter's sermon, St Clement "bi-cam is o desciple: and a-boute with him wende (129-135). Throughout his life, St Clement is a member of the community surrounding St Peter. As with the other martyr saints, it is at his death that he gains prominence and a community forms

181

around his body. After St Clement dies by drowning, a miracle takes place. Every year, starting on the day of St Clement's feast, the sea withdraws and makes way for pilgrims to visit the holy chapel of St Clement which normally remains submerged under the water. The chapel functions as the shrine of St Clement as his body is inside the chapel (511-516). Every year after St Clement's death, for one week of the year, pilgrims come to the saint's shrine to venerate his memory.

The *vita* of "St Clement" also contains an apt metaphor for thinking of the saint or saint's life as a building.[103] The Emperor Trajan has St Clement thrown into the sea, where the saint perishes. After St Clement has died, the sea draws back and reveals a chapel which is the shrine of the saint. According to legend, for many years after St Clement's death, the sea withdrew for one week each year to allow believers pilgrimage to the saint's shrine. From the text of "St Clement," one can draw the extended metaphor that saints, if they were not strictly regarded as buildings, did represent figurative places into which Christians could enter. With literal places, "such as cathedrals or churches, places of pilgrimage, or other geographical, historical and natural places—the physical senses will obviously be an important part of the process of perceiving what we find" (Cook 29). Similarly, in "metaphorical places—our reflections, prayers and meditations—our perceptions will rely more on our memory and imagination" (Cook 29). For the pilgrim to a shrine, "the construction of the place relied on colour, sight, sound and smell, history and the beauty of details" while the pilgrim to a narrative space (which draws upon the physical places in which saints formerly dwelt for inspiration) "will be exploring symbolism and meaning, images and the beauty of the whole" (Cook 29). It should be noted that literal places and literary spaces are not mutually exclusive. The two entities are continually in dialogue with one another, and it is in this way that "literal places can be imagined, and metaphorical places can find their symbols in the literal ('real') world, so the former can help in the exploration of the latter, and vice versa, for both types" (Cook 29).

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[103] The idea of a text being a dwelling (for example, texts such as the saints' lives found in MS L), was not a new one in the Middle Ages. The Ezra Page of the *Codex Amiatinus* suggests the idea of a text or book being a building (Jerome, *Codex Amiatinus* Ezra Page)

The literal places (churches and cathedrals named after the saints) in which saints were venerated frequently take on majestic proportions in the modern mind with imaginations of "the splendid cathedral rising spectacularly above a particular town, dominating the surrounding countryside, and being conspicuously visible for many miles" (Madigan 82). In reality, although cathedral shrines such as those of St Thomas Becket remained important centres of pilgrimage, "the local church in which Christians received religious services would almost always have been an exceptionally modest structure". They were so modest, in fact that "some churches and many chapels consisted of a single rectangular cell". This was the exception as "more common… was the two-chamber structure with nave chancel" (Madigan 82). Rural parish churches especially usually were made with wooden walls and packed earth floors. These very ordinary, everyday places of worship were reflective of the ordinary, everyday saints depicted in the texts of MS L and other *SEL* manuscripts.

Through reading the stories of martyr saints and the communities that surrounded them detailed in the preceding summaries of the lives, audiences were/are able to symbolically participate in their suffering. In the process of reading a saint's life the audience reading/listening to the life "performs its own version of the saints' suffering located in the heart rather than the body and in the act of witness rather than in physical submission" (Campbell 145). Because readers are able to engage with martyrs' lives through listening to the tales of their adventures and preserving their stories through the written word, saints become *topoi*, places through which the audience can enter the presence of God: a slightly different interpretation of *topoi* than that conventionally employed in rhetoric. As Chloe Morgan writes, "The association between the saint and the text as a physical object endowed with spiritual import was well recognized in hagiographical tradition" (Morgan 159). In hagiography, physical boundaries often are blurred and saints and their relics serve as boundary-blurrers of the physical and spiritual as the believer can enter into the spiritual dimension of life by using physical artefacts associated with saints. Metaphorically, the narratives of the lives of saints become buildings into which believers can enter.

As I have mentioned previously, many of the saints included in the *SEL* are well-known and follow prescribed patterns for the construction of saints' lives.

Familiar hagiographical motifs as observed in the lives of the holy formed figurative cathedrals and churches within the minds of the readers/listeners of saints' lives. Like the literal churches and shrines, the literary spaces became places to which Christians could imaginatively return and venerate the saints. Moreover, just as the saints underwent a series of trials to determine their sanctity, so the texts of hagiographical manuscripts underwent a metaphorical series of trials or revisions before they became imaginative spaces for veneration of the saints. As Thomas Heffernan writes, the "saint's life moves from oral through multiple written versions, it moves toward being accepted as canonical, undergoing the while a subtle but sure transformation from witness to tale, to text, to history, and finally sacred history" (Heffernan, *Sacred Biography* 37). After having been accepted as a canonical text similar to the manner in which saints were canonized, "the text achieves iconicity" and this "iconicity of the document is firmly established when biographical record has become part of the community's worship and the text itself is revered as an essential part of the liturgy to accompany the worship of both saint and God" (Heffernan, *Sacred Biography* 37).

Far from being mere accumulations of saints' lives in which of "shape or design there is no trace" (Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English* 105), the texts of the *SEL* function somewhat as "pocket editions" (though one would need a rather large pocket to carry an *SEL* manuscript) of churches and shrines that could be revisited at will without having to undertake extensive pilgrimages to distant places in reality. Still, it should be noted that, while it was possible for those interested in pilgrimage to "invoke a saint from a distance… it was assumed by many medieval pilgrims that most saints had a certain radius of supernatural power; it weakened the further one travelled from center to periphery" (Madigan 331). Given this belief in the necessity of a saint's proximity for maximum efficacy in intercession on the behalf of individuals, it is therefore unsurprising to find that *SEL* texts (and especially MS L) include more English saints than do continental *legenda*. The historical *locus* of the saint was directly relevant to how well they could relate to living communities. That being the case, considering the English saints of MS L and the communities that developed around them outside of the text is key to understanding community inside and outside of MS L.

Extrinsic Communities

From the above discussions of a number of martyrs' lives included in MS L, it can be seen that communities inside texts of saints' lives certainly are vividly presented. But what of the living community of readers outside it mentioned in the repeated invocations of the texts of MS L who served as the impetus for Christian communities in England and therefore lie both inside and outside of MS L? As it happens, MS L is a manuscript with a preponderance of English saints – so much so that "English nationalism" has tended to be prominent in scholarly discussions of the *SEL*. That this should be the case is unsurprising because "the formation and confirmation of Christian community is axiomatic to the hagiographic project as a whole and, in some vernacular Lives, provokes reflection on the processes that contribute to this important textual and extra-textual function" (Campbell 122). Since MS L was written in English, it is to be expected that many of its texts should concern themselves with English saints and their communities.

The shrines of English saints also frequently would include a book of the venerated saint's life. These texts took on an iconicity for the communities surrounding them as the conviction that saints could perform miracles eventually translated to a belief that the texts of saints' lives contained the same efficacy.[104] As Gail Ashton writes, "belief in the various miracles and symbols demonstrating the saint's worth extends to belief in the *vita* itself" (Ashton 2), and as the *vitae* attained the same status as icons, "the saint himself or herself functioned as a sign" that "worked simultaneously on material and spiritual levels" (Morgan 159). The conflation of saint and script was one which had existed from the fourth-century with poets such as Prudentius comparing the blood of the martyrs to the words of texts. In his description of the martyrdom of Hippolytus, "Prudentius uses language employed of writing… *apices*… and *notas*." The idea of the martyr's blood being "the original text of his passion" is a central concept for Prudentius (Roberts 155).

Because communities were dependent upon their representation within a text and also responsible for interpreting the text, "This, in turn, involves a symbiotic relationship between text and community that continually elides what

might be described as the 'textuality' of one's experience of the events described by the text as well as that of the communities it creates". Since the written word shaped the communities around saints, it created a "layering of communities in which the shared experience that forges communal bonds is communicated by a reading process clearly generated by the text as the material object around which the community is formed" (Campbell 135).

English Saints and English Communities

Many of the saints' lives included in MS L had thriving medieval communities surrounding their shrines or relics in England, and, in all probability, that is why they were chosen for inclusion in the manuscript. It should also be remembered that saints' shrines also monetarily benefited parish communities, so although the spiritual and pyschological benefits of promoting a sense of community with saints was present, economical interests certainly were involved as well in the promotion of saints' shrines. For example, in the case of St Faith (who was not an English saint, but the story of the translation her relics serves well to demonstrate the economic aspect of saints' cults), a monk from Conques travelled to Agen with the intention of residing there a number of years, and later spiriting away the relics of the saint. After living in Agen for ten years, he did precisely that, and to this day, Conques is known as the site of the relics of St Faith. The monks of Conques achieved their economic aim as well, for as soon as word reached the ears of pilgrims that the relics of St Faith were in Conques, the pilgrimage route "to Santiago [de Compostela] swung through Conques" (Madigan 335). As a result, "the pilgrims brought Conques the wealth they wished for, and a large church began construction in the eleventh century and was finished in 1120" (Madigan 335). Even English pilgrims gravitated to Santiago de Compostela, despite England having its share of remarkable shrines such as that of St Thomas Becket, St Edmund, and St Cuthbert. As Edwin Mullins writes, "To many English pilgrims, Canterbury was perhaps a bit easy" (Mullins 61). They instead preferred "the rigours of a journey to north-west Spain where Moors, wolves, wars, bandits, disease, and discomfort offered a more torrid test of faith and determination" (Mullins 61).

Considering the evidence of similar medieval English communities surrounding saints' shrines which gained considerable economic benefit from being associated with the saint, the question of whether or not the saints of the *SEL* can be related to any specific English communities which would have sponsored the production of the legendaries has been a frequent one. It is, unfortunately, difficult to connect the *SEL* to specific communities solely upon the basis of dialectal analysis. In addition, as was discussed in Chapter VI, even linking saints' legends with particular church dedications (and hence, communities surrounding the saint) proves a difficult task since many medieval churches were dedicated and rededicated from time to time. Other approaches to establishing links between various religious houses and parish communities have been taken as well. Some recently favoured lines of enquiry have included examining the verse of the *SEL* and researching the influence of sermons upon specific legends.[105] The most effective approach seems to be examining the texts' content for clues to the communities in which the legends might have been copied.

Unfortunately, such an examination still does not always provide solid leads as to the community(ies) who used MS L. Take, for example, the life of "St John the Apostle" included in the manuscript. This life includes an additional anecdote at its end, and the anecdote alludes to St John the Apostle's extrinisic community. The anecdote relates how St Edward (who had a special affinity for St John the Apostle) gave a ring to a poor man who happened to be the Apostle in disguise. The Apostle later returned the ring to St Edward (498-513). Many of the other *SEL* manuscripts also include this anecdote near the end of the legend of St John the Apostle but stop with the anecdote. MS L, however, adds two additional lines after the "Amen" of the invocation, possibly suggesting MS L's (or, at the very least, this text's) extrinsic community. Following the invocation of the legend, the MS L scribe writes "Þulke ring is ȝut at westmynstre: for relik ido,/ As me scheweþ pelegrims : þat ofte comeþ þerto" (518-519). While this cannot be accepted as conclusive evidence of a community in Westminster, London, which used MS L, the addition of these two lines is nonetheless intriguing.

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[105] Catherine Sanok comments upon the various lines of inquiry that historically have been applied to the *SEL* (Sanok 211-232).

It is standard practice for manuscripts of the *SEL* tradition to include lives of various English saints' lives, and the theme of nationalism in the *SEL* has already been a matter for considerable scholarly debate.[106] Within MS L in particular, England (as opposed to Jerusalem or Rome) becomes a point of reference for defining the world and the people in it, whereas the medieval mind conventionally viewed Jerusalem as being at the centre of the world.[107] The perception of Jerusalem lying at the centre of Christendom arose from early pilgrimage practices. From nearly the beginning of the Christian religion, Jerusalem was known as the "earliest and most meritorious of pilgrimage destinations". The draw of Jerusalem was due to the city's "most famous shrine, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the site of Christ's crucifixion, death, and resurrection" (Madigan 331).

In MS L's legends of English saints, although Jerusalem remains important, in this manuscript, the centre of Christendom appears to shift westward with England becoming the hub of the manuscript's attention. In recognition of England's centrality to the saints' lives of the manuscript, Englishness in relation to sanctity is emphasized.[108] Within MS L, the word "Engelonde" occurs a total of ninety-three times with the majority of the occurrences, as might be expected, appearing in accounts of distinctively English saints' lives. The exception to this rule is the life of St Augustine included in the collection. Of course, as a missionary to England, St Augustine did come to be regarded as almost English or at the very least, as being inextricably associated with England. As mentioned previously, the English saints' lives included in MS L are the lives of "St Dunstan," "St Oswald," "St Edward," "St Alban," "St Wulfstan," *St Thomas of Canterbury*, "St Edmund the King," and "St Cuthbert".

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[106] (Jankofsky, "National Charactistics" 81-93; Salih, "Introduction: Saints, Cults and Lives" 1-23)

[107] "In depicting the world, medieval mapmakers tried to show the significance of places as well as their location. They were particularly interested in scenes of memorable religious and historical events. Thus Jerusalem, a provincial city of little importance in the Roman Empire, particularly after its devastation in the first century AD, became a place of great significance as the scene of Christ's execution and resurrection. Gradually it migrated to the centre of medieval maps, not as a geographical fact (though on the surface of spherical earth the centre could be at any point), but as a statement of its spiritual centrality. This was the vision of Dante, who saw Jerusalem as the centre, balanced on the opposite side of the globe by Mount Purgatory, with the earthly Paradise on its summit, out of reach of sinful humanity" (Edson 164-165).

[108] See Chapter IV.

The emphasis on England and the importance of Englishness is signaled at the very beginning of each of these legends with statements that each saint was "of Engelond". A good number of other saints' lives also mention saints' nationalities, so a statement of nationality is not necessarily extraordinary. However, the excited tone of a few of the opening lines of the English saints' lives betrays a special enthusiasm for English-born saints that is lacking in the narration of foreign saints' lives. In the first line of the life of "St Alban," it is declared that "SEint Albon þe holie Man: was here of Enguelonde"; "St Wulfstan's" introduction similarly identifies him as "SEint Wolston, bischop of wyrecestre: was here of engelonde"; and the legend of "St Cuthbert" begins by stating that "SEint Cudbert was i-bore: here in Engelonde". For a medieval English reader/listener, these stories no doubt *were* exciting and provided a delightful pilgrimage of the imagination where one could make stops at various places along the way. Whilst the foreign stops certainly were of interest, the joy in finding (or rather telling of) familiar holy places is obvious. Furthermore, in the medieval world, places associated with saints were regarded as gateways to heaven and to have such places associated with English people of faith solidified England's position in the spiritual landscape of the world.

The seemingly somewhat naïve enthusiasm for the lives having taken place *here* in "Engelond" spills out into the lives in a profusion of descriptions of the physical geography of England, lists of real-life bishops and other clergy, and known historical dialogues recorded nearly verbatim. These tangible details emphasize England's spiritual landscape and thrust it to the forefront of Christendom. The three English saints' lives included in MS L that provide the most enthusiastic attention to geographical and historical detail are "St Kenelm," "St Wulfstan," and *St Thomas of Canterbury*.

"St Kenelm"

The story of "St Kenelm" as recounted in the MS L version of his legend is fictitious. This hagiographical narrative of St Kenelm's life presents him as a young prince whose early demise is plotted by his evil stepsister Quendrith and his stepfather. St Kenelm's child martyrdom follows the hagiographical convention of many saints who lived childhoods of sanctity and then were martyred at an early

189

age. It also exemplifies a well-established template of Anglo-Saxon sanctity, that of the murdered royal infant as martyr: this was much favoured from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, and typically deals with figures for whom there is, at best, slight earlier documentation and whose lives, or rather deaths, are thoroughly reinvented (Wogan-Browne 252).

The historical St Kenelm did not, in fact, die a child-martyr's death; history records that he survived to adulthood. What is of note in the MS L account of St Kenelm is that, although the story told is almost entirely fictitious, this fictional legend of St Kenelm's life is backlit by a cartographical grid that provides a startling accurate portrait of the counties and geographical delineations of England in the Middle Ages. Like the *Lay of Havelok the Dane,* the legend of "St Kenelm" the narrative of *Kenelm* is anchored "in an idealized England" that, through the narrative, "manisfests *a desire for such an England*" (Couch, "The Magic of Englishness" 244). The cartographical accuracy of *Kenelm* is surprising in contrast with the fictions of the saint's life which begin to unfold almost immediately afterward in the verse narrative, but "it is the rhetorical desire for a particular national and linguistic identity that fuels the *fantastical* aspect of… familial-spiritual-political dramas" (Couch, "The Magic of Englishness" 244). The narrative opens with a listing of places in England and in doing so creates "a spiritual topography for the diocese of Worcester" drawing with "particular imaginative force on the narrative potentials of medieval cartography and topography" (Wogan-Browne 251).

The cartographical description of England (which almost certainly derives its inspiration from the opening of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*) begins by describing the physical dimensions and characteristics of England:

> Enguelond was guod and long: and sum-del brod al-so.
> A-bouten eiȝte hondret mile: Engelond long is
> þe South into þe North: and to houndret brod i-wis
> Fram þe Est into þe West: al-so þare-inne beoth
> Manie wateres guode i-nowe: þat men al dai i-seoth. (10-14)

Having described the lay of the land of England, the narrative map provides an extensive list of English shires, rivers, and dioceses which concretely position the saint on the map and through these many physical details of England's topography solidly locates his life and therefore the location of his highest efficacy in intercession to England.

Ideas of place "bookend" this legend as, near the end of the narrative, the importance of place in this saint's life is again emphasized through the dispute that arises between the people of Gloucestershire and the citizens of Worcestershire over who is entitled to the rights of preserving the saint's relics:

> And þe bischopes hadden er i-loked: þat it scholde to winchecumbe
> beo i-bore
> And i-schrined, þare is fader lai: þat a-rerde þat hous bi-fore.
> Þis men nomen up þat holie bodi: þat of gloucestre-schire were,
> And nobleliche toward wynchecumbe: with procession it bere.
> Þat folk of wyricestre-schire: þat woneden þare-bi-side.
> Nomen heom to rede manie: to maken þat bodi a-bide,
> And sworen þat huy it wolden habbe: and noman ne scholde it
> heom bi-reue,
> For in þe schire þare it i-founde was: huy seiden, it scholde bi-leue.
> bi þe watere of pireford: þis two schirene hem mette,
> And conteckeden for þis holie bodi: and faste to-gadere sette.
> (294-303).

The bishop orders that St Kenelm's body be taken to Winchcombe, but it is so precious to both the people of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire due to the saint's affiliations with each place while he was yet alive that each side strives to gain possession of the body. According to the narrative, God favours Gloucestershire and allows them to carry away the body ("ȝif god heom wolde is wille sch[e]wen: are huy wenden fram þat place." [305]).

From the extensive list of place names and the dispute of two counties over the saint's body it can be seen that specifically English places are of great

191

importance in this particular story and in deciding the site of pilgrimage for St Kenelm. The disjuncture between the geographical nonfiction and historical fiction included in "St Kenelm" remains a curious one; yet, to medieval readers this disjuncture almost certainly was not regarded as one deeply incongruous to communicating the truths of a saint's life. What remained essential to the creation of a hagiographic work were details that evoked a desire in the audience to increase their own holiness and draw closer to God. If pleasing fictions aided in this quest, they were acceptable.

"St Wulfstan"

Like the life of "St Kenelm," the life of "St Wulfstan" also is depicted in such a way as to emphasise the saint's local affinities. It should be noted though that "similar commemorations of Wulfstan were not confined to Worcester" (Reames, "South English Legendary" 98). Yet, the emphasis within the text remains upon the saint's Englishness. In the first line of the life of St Wulfstan, it is specified that "SEint Wolston, bischop of wyrecestre: was here of engelonde". St Wulfstan's affiliation with Worcester was a lifelong one as he passed away at the age of eighty in the abbey at Worcester (230). Also, as in St Kenelm's legend, various Kings and church officials who presided during his lifetime are named—King Edward (52), William the Conqueror [identified in MS L as "Þis willam bastard, þat was king"] (95), the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc (115) and the Bishop Gondolf of Rochester (116).

Perhaps the most compelling scene in the legend of St Wulfstan is the one in which he embeds his staff into the tomb of St Edward in defiance of Archbishop Lanfranc. St Wulfstan then is the only one who can dislodge the staff which all who observe presume to be evidence of his holiness (182). There are obvious parallels with Arthurian legend; the decision of hagiographers to portray the encounter between Lanfranc and St Wulfstan in this way elevates St Wulfstan to a type of knightly saint, battling for what truly is right. In this situation, what came to be seen as the right thing was for St Wulfstan to remain bishop and for the non-English William the Conqueror and his supporter Archbishop Lanfranc to cease their opposition to his English power.

Sherry Reames also recently has noted that MS L is more emphatic in its defence of English kingship than are other *SEL* manuscripts and similar Sarum manuscripts which also include a *vita* of "St Wulfstan". Reames notes similarities between the Norman Conquest account which is described in both BL MS Cotton Vespasian E. 9 and MS L. Reames states that she does not believe that the account as described in MS L descended from Vespasian, but she does state that the similarities suggest the "existence of a larger tradition of nationalistic Latin writing about Wulfstan and his era that must have begun soon after the Conquest and survived for more than two centuries, at least in some western parts of England" (Reames, "South English Legendary" 97).

The parallels between the Vespasian manuscript and MS L that Reames notes concern the language (or lack thereof) used to describe the actions of King Harold of England. As Reames writes, "The early *SEL* is more explicit about identifying Harold as the rightful king, and it admits no fault whatever on his part, shifting the blame for the English loss to some traitorous barons who betrayed themselves and the king who trusted them" (Reames, "South English Legendary" 96). In stating this, Reames builds upon Manfred Görlach's earlier assertion that the anti-Norman sentiment characteristic of the early *SEL*'s account of St Wulfstan is an embellishment by the *SEL* scribe. Reames concurs with Görlach's assessment of MS L as a manuscript possessing anti-Norman polemical language and connects the appearance of such language to the larger body of medieval liturgical writing in English on St Wulfstan. That the *SEL* scribe went to the effort to portray the English king and bishop in the most favorable light possible indicates how important the idea of Englishness was becoming.

"St Thomas of Canterbury"

St Thomas of Canterbury is one of the best-known English saints, even to this day, by virtue of his shrine in Canterbury Cathedral. Following the prologue to the legend of *St Thomas of Canterbury*, the verse account of the saint's life proceeds to describe his ascent to Archbishop of Canterbury, the political/religious clashes that took place during his time as an ecclesiastical leader, and finally describes his martyrdom in Canterbury Cathedral. Again, as with the previous saints' lives

discussed, MS L shows special interest in the Englishness of the saint and firmly connects him with a place: Canterbury. Prior to the martyrdom of St Thomas Becket, Canterbury also was linked with a specific English saint: St Dunstan. It was at St Dunstan's Church that King Henry II stopped to do penance after hearing of the murder of Thomas Becket by his knights. Subsequent *SEL* manuscripts title the legend as the *vita* of *St Thomas Becket*, but the MS L legend distinctively titles it the *vita* of *St Thomas of Canterbury*. Through this small but significant detail, St Thomas of Canterbury is associated with a specific English place from the beginning of the story of his life.

It is in his death, however, that St Thomas of Canterbury becomes irrevocably linked with England, and his shrine causes England to become a centre for pilgrimage rivalling Jerusalem. St Thomas of Canterbury is endorsed as a saint by both the English and by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as the MS L scribe writes:

> And ȝwan þov i-heorst of is deþe telle: of Men of Engelonde,
> Þov i-leue me of þis tale: and þe soþe onder-stonde.
> Þe Abbod sone a-morewe: ne fur-ȝat nouȝt seint thomas,
> Ake þe patriacke of Ierusalem: he tolde al hov it was. (2317-2320)

St Thomas of Canterbury's death is of such significance to Jerusalem that messengers ensure that "Þus was i-kud In Ierusalem: þe deth of seint Thomas/ With-Inne þe furste fourtene nyȝt: þat he i-martred was" (2325-2326). By medieval standards, for Jerusalem to be notified within two weeks of St Thomas of Canterbury's death, this was swift communication indeed. The speed of communication concerning Becket's death matched the nearly instantaneous creation of his shrine with pilgrims going to England to venerate him and later communicate to others "In ȝwat manere he was a-slawe: and ȝwuch tyme he was ded:/ Þe pilegrimes tolden al þe soþe: ase þe Monek hadde er i-seid" (2323-2324).

The life of *St Thomas of Canterbury*, however, does not focus so strongly upon the importance of England and English nationhood as do the lives of "St Kenelm" and "St Wulfstan". Within this life, while the extrinsic community of England is important; the larger community of Christendom as it relates to English

194

expressions of Christianity is of greater importance. St Thomas of Canterbury's belief in religion's higher status is reflected in his willingness to clash with the King of England when he believes that the king's commands interfere with the demands of Christianity. As Catherine Sanok writes, "The legend of St Thomas of Canterbury addresses the irreconcilable claims of ecclesiastical and regnal authority – that is, competing definitions of national community as fundamentally religious or political" (Sanok 222). Furthermore, the legend records that St Thomas of Canterbury ultimately chooses English religious community rather than English political community, leading to his death.

St Thomas of Canterbury's decision to choose Christendom over Englishness is perhaps presaged in the fictional prologue to his legend where his eventual-mother asks his eventual-father where he comes from and what he believes. Gilbert responds "Of engelonde ich am, and cristine Man" (34). The woman who would later be his mother joyfully reponds "'Cristine-dom ichulle onder-fonge: for þe loue of þe'" (39). St Thomas of Canterbury's mother does not immediately choose to become part of an English community, but she does choose to become part of the Christian community because of her love for Gilbert. Alisaundre differs from her father who does not consider that Gilbert "hails from two communities, England and Christendom – the first sign of the perspicacity and sympathy that will make her worthy to be his wife and mother to the holy Thomas" (Sanok 215).

English Sources of *St Thomas of Canterbury*

As aforementioned, the life of *St Thomas of Canterbury* includes a combination of fact and fiction in its presentation and shaping of the saint's life.[109] This blending of fiction and nonfiction in MS L, however, suggests the sources of the legend, and the long retelling of the *vita* is indicative of the MS L legend's sources.

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[109] The fictional prologue to *St Thomas of Canterbury* "offers extended echoes of the metaphorics of spiritual knighthood in the *Banna Sanctorum* and so creates a thematic frame for the collection… The formal significance of this thematic frame may point to an important genealogy for the *SEL*'s thinking about community in the cult of Thomas Becket as it figured in coincident and contested frameworks for local, regional, national and international identity" (Sanok 222).

As Sherry Reames writes, "*The Translation of Thomas Becket*, Görlach suggests, following Thiemke, that the *SEL*'s account of this event (which immediately follows the long retelling of the Becket legend) is derived from the appendix to the *Quadrilogus* rather than a liturgical source" (Reames, "South English Legendary" 91). Reames's research suggests that although the appendix to the *Quadrilogus* may have influenced the shaping of the *SEL* account of Becket's life, it was not as instrumental in the legend's formation as Thiemke and Görlach presumed. In her research into the Latin models of the *SEL,* Reames writes, "So far as I can see, however, the Q-Appendix and the *SEL* account have only one significant parallel that is not shared by the large printed editions of the Sarum breviary: they both describe the private exhumation of the saint's body that preceded the public ceremony. Apart from this episode, the *SEL* has less in common with the Q-appendix than with the Sarum lessons commemorating the translation" (Reames 91).

Reames's conclusion from this is that, in the case of the legend of *St Thomas Becket*, the Sarum lessons should be given more attention rather than less. The *SEL* legend of Becket contains many known historical facts of the saint's life (after the prologue), so it stands to reason that the source(s) of the legend probably included these facts as well. Reames finds such sources in certain Sarum lessons:

> Unlike the Q-Appendix, for example, both the printed Sarum lessons and the *SEL* acknowledge Pope Honorius's grant of indulgences to pilgrims who witnessed the translation (Sarum lec. 4; *SEL* 176, 2421-2), list the seven momentous Tuesdays in St Thomas's life (Sarum lec. 5; *SEL* 177, 2457-72), name the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, as a participant in the public ceremony, (Sarum lec. 8; *SEL* 176, 2449), and explain that Henry III was still young to carry the relic-chest to the new shrine (Sarum lec. 8; *SEL* 177, 2455-6). (Reames, "South English Legendary" 91)

Reames notes that one Sarum text in particular very much reflects the historical details that the *SEL* gives in the life of Becket. This text is found in British Library,

Cotton Appendix 23. This manuscript includes a longer account of Becket's life and many details included in the manuscript match the descriptions of the saint's life and death that are given in *SEL* accounts. As Reames writes, some very specific details regarding Becket's death and subsequent exhumation: "the exhumation scene is a good match for the *SEL*'s version, whereas the Q-Appendix gives many extra details and neglects to mention Prior Walter as a participant (*SEL* 176, 2435; Cotton lec. 6)" (Reames, "South English Legendary" 91).

Furthermore, along with the inclusion of similar details regarding the exhumation and translation of Becket, the two texts resemble one another in the political affinities indicated by their content. Indications of political leanings in the account of martyrdom largely are absent from Sarum lessons, but "Both Cotton and the *SEL* also include a passage, unparalleled in both the Q-Appendix and printed Sarum lessons, which dates the translation and gives a politically inflected explanation of the fifty-year delay since Thomas's canonization" (Reames, "South English Legendary" 91). The use of specific historical details described in Cotton as well as the same politically charged explanation appears to suggest that the source for *SEL* texts could have been Cotton. In any case, these passages serve firmly to locate the *SEL* legend in English history.

Along with using historical details to cement Becket's connection with the specific place of Canterbury, England, the *SEL* scribes also employed dialogue which has the effect of conveying the veracity and immediacy of this account of Becket's life. MS L in particular deliberately draws attention to the fact that dialogue is included in the text. From lines 443-1609, in the margins of the manuscript, in red rectangles, a scribe has written the names of the characters involved in the legend. This rubrication also creates the effect of a drama unfolding before the audience's eyes as each character takes a turn speaking. Although there is no evidence that the *vita* of *St Thomas of Canterbury* as included in MS L was ever used as liturgical drama, this small detail may suggest that the idea may have crossed the mind of the scribe who copied the legend.

Certainly, saints' lives and the Bible itself served as forces for the development of liturgical dramas and play cycles, and as English Christian drama came into its own right, liturgical readings and liturgical dramas came to co-exist:

each influencing the other as separate genres. As G. R. Owst writes, "if the sacred liturgy could still be held responsible for the birth of the drama, to the pulpit would be due its native development and popularization" (Owst 479). That the saints' lives of the *SEL* were written in the vernacular of English suggests to me the possibility of a lay audience and that the lives of MS L in particular might have been used as sermon material.

It is well-known that saints' lives were read as part of the liturgies for saints' feast days (Madigan 327), and the growth of popular preaching by friars in England in the late Middle Ages is such that it is logical to assume that the commemorations of saints' days may have been celebrated in the vernacular. The friars also often preached in open air settings such as cemeteries, churchyards, and marketplaces,[110] and Owst conjectures that the movement of liturgical drama from the building of the church itself to locations outside the physical building occurred because the early creators of pageant dramas had observed the open-air preaching of friars and imitated what they already knew. The shift was an easy one for the "scaffaldi of these evangelists [itinerant friars] stood erect already among the crowded lay-folk assembled to hear popular sermons in the cemetery garth, before ever any actors' scafaldus had arrived on the spot" (Owst 478). When liturgical drama made the leap from the church to the outdoors, it did not continue to be performed in Latin, as were previous liturgical plays in England.

For those who question why the early dramas were written in English rather than in the customary Latin of ecclesiastical drama, Owst offers one possible answer: "Our answer is clear: precisely because vernacular preachers were daily proving the efficacy of this kind of speech in sermons on a level with the thought and expression of popular audiences" (Owst 478). Because the friars decided to

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[110] "It was popular preaching, we believe—an activity entirely overlooked by Chambers—that brought about the 'secularization' of the drama. Furthermore, "if the sacred liturgy could still be held responsible for the birth of the drama, to the pulpit would be due its native development and popularization". Also, Vernacular preachers and actors did not confine their activities solely to churchyards: "Market-places and streets at length rang with the accents of both". In fact, evidence suggests that preaching and plays may have occurred simultaneously on occasion: "What holds good of place and manner may yet apply further to time. For there is some evidence to suggest that the normal hours of open-air preaching and of miracle-playing on the simpler scale must frequently have coincided" (Owst 479).

communicate Christian stories and truths in English, they may have provided the germs of ideas essential to the laity taking ownership of those spiritual truths and stories and internalizing them. Internalizing (by memorizing) these various poems and narratives then led to specific communities – often trade guilds – forming around particular narratives and claiming them as their own for performances.

Conclusion

In examining intrinsic and extrinsic communities centred around the lives of saints, it soon becomes difficult to discern which came first: the textual community or the extra-textual community. A consistent dialogue ensues between the written and literal communities with each beginning to take on characteristics of the other. Early *SEL* compilers capitalized upon this tendency and built upon it by incorporating the lives of English saints into *SEL* collections, and in particular into MS L. The written word solidifies and lends an authority to sanctity; through the inclusion of English saints in MS L, the scribe(s) ensured a lasting place for the communities of English saints in the popular memory and the scribe(s) gave English lay members new English churches and cathedrals of the imagination into which they could enter. In the case of the communities which came to surround the narratives of English saints' lives which were written in English, the scribes also contributed to the future of English literature in a small way by reinforcing the validity of English as a language appropriate for the communication of spiritual truths to the laity.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to demonstrate that the organisational principles of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108 are far from being less conscious than later *SEL* manuscripts and that in fact multiple consciousnesses were at work in the production of the manuscript, since it passed through the hands of multiple owners. Reflecting its compilation over three centuries, the manuscript contains a complex array of organisational principles, and the primary principles by which the manuscript's texts are organised are as follows: according to importance in collective Christian memory (i.e., popular selections), in textual groupings highlighting the importance of the Cross and Easter material to the scribes

and owners of the manuscript, according to "horizontal" and "vertical" time, and with an increased emphasis on feminine sanctity shown through the manuscript's inclusion of female saints in collections of saints' lives as signified by the two groupings of female saints in MS L. From this layered organisation of the manuscript emerges a book demonstrating heteroglossia and dialogism of the Bakhtinian variety and a collection committed to including all members of a potential audience rather than a manuscript devoted to readership of a specific gender.

This study showed how MS L resembles other manuscripts of what conventionally has been considered the *SEL* tradition while also appreciating that the manuscript simultaneously exists as a work that branches slightly away from the *SEL* tradition, retaining an individual identity. Part One of the thesis laid a foundation for this consideration with two chapters focusing upon the shape of the book as well as the shape of a manuscript closely related to MS L, Winchester College, MS 33A. Chapter I examined the physical appearance of the book and indicated that the manuscript's appearance and the texts included in it point to diverse owners at different points of the manuscript's history. Since the manuscript has passed through multiple adaptations, the chapter presented the case for

considering the manuscript in its present state as a work of art, existing as an entity somewhat to itself. Chapter II expanded upon the idea of the manuscript as a work of art separate from the central tradition, considered indications that the manuscript exists outside the main *SEL* tradition, and discussed the selection template used by the first scribes of MS L. Winchester College MS 33A contains texts that appear as if they genetically are closely related to those of MS L. The manuscript also places emphasis on the Easter material present in its manuscript with selective positioning of the legend of the Holy Cross similar to that of MS L.

Chapter III elaborated upon the placement of the legend of *Sancta Crux*. It shows how the account's strategic placement highlights Easter material in the manuscript and also comes to function as a "still point" from which the entire manuscript draws its frame of reference. Framed by the Bakhtinian concept of the chronotope, the chapter provided a new approach to discussing *SEL* texts and analysed the legend of *Sancta Crux* in relation to the manuscript as a whole. The discussion centred upon how *Sancta Crux* becomes a very specific type of time-space in the manuscript. This legend then becomes a lens through which the entire manuscript could be considered. What emerged from this discussion was the recognition that, as a work of art, the entire manuscript organically formed around the Cross. This metaphorically promoted *Sancta Crux* to a banner behind which all of the saints' lives of MS L follow.

Chapters IV and V logically followed from Chapter III with expansions on Bakhtinian narrative theory in relation to specific MS L texts. Chapter IV dealt with the Bakhtinian concepts of heteroglossia and dialogism and how they relate to three individual "linguistic threads" (typology, language of the church, and the English language itself) that can be observed throughout MS L. The chapter then discussed how these three registers of language shaped the narrative spaces of MS L while using specific details of actual physical places to create the sometimes abstract, spiritual spaces of the narratives of saints' lives.

Chapter V continued the discussion along Bakhtinian lines with an examination of the inherent difficulty of time in relation to MS L. One of the primary scholarly problems with the manuscript has been the fact that it neglects to follow the liturgical calendar as fully as later *SEL* manuscripts. Chapter V discussed

how MS L does, in fact, follow the liturgical calendar, albeit not as completely as later *SEL* manuscripts. Combining Bakhtin and Auerbach's concepts of vertical time in medieval and chivalric romance, the chapter examined three legends which exhibit tendencies towards vertical time and argued that solely limiting discussions of time in *SEL* manuscripts to liturgical/horizontal time has unnecessarily created the perception that MS L is an exceptionally disorderly manuscript in contrast with later *SEL* manuscripts. Allowing for a combination of horizontal and vertical time in discussing this manuscript helps to dispel such perceptions.

Following Part Two's Bakhtinian framing of various MS L texts, in Part Three, the thesis moved to a consideration of forms of community and inclusivity as observed in MS L. Chapter VI used the modern literary theories of Gertrude Stein to explore "Naming," "Re-Naming," "Creating," and "Re-Creating" firstly in relation to the medieval English practice of church dedications and the *SEL* as a whole and later in relation to three texts of MS L: *Havelok the Dane*, *King Horn*, and *St Thomas of Canterbury*. The ideas of creating and re-creating are inherent in medieval practices of medieval bookmaking, and Stein's perspective on "Naming," "Re-Naming," "Creating," and "Re-Creating" in poetry provided a method of understanding the effect of continually recreating objects both inside and outside a text. In the case of *SEL* texts, the effect is an "affective piety" which attempted to prompt listeners to personal acts of devotion emulating the saints and heroes described. This affective piety prompted by recreation and re-creation appears to have become a reality for a mixed-gender audience.

Chapter VII discussed a possible audience for MS L, drawing upon the textual clues which appear in the two clusters of female saints' lives that appear in MS L and from the occurrence and placement of these lives as well as linguistic evidence provided by legends such as *Havelok the Dane* argued for a scribal compilation intent that was gender-inclusive rather than potentially limited to a male mercantile audience as Christina Fitzgerald has argued in her 2011 essay titled "King Horn, Havelok, and the *South English Legendary*".

Finally, Chapter VIII focused upon forms of community related to MS L with particular interest devoted to the "internal" communities which individual texts indicate surrounded martyred saints in their life and death. In connection with this

topic, the chapter also discussed the motif of the text as building, how this motif appears in the life of the martyr St Clement, and how the accounts of martyred saints in particular created figurative edifices into which the believing community could enter. Also addressed were the "external" communities that surrounded three English saints ("St Kenelm," "St Wulfstan," and *St Thomas of Canterbury*) in their lives as well as in their deaths. Sources for these texts and the ways in which they describe these saints around which flourishing communities and shrines arose were discussed at length, and the chapter concluded that scribes of manuscripts such as MS L, regardless of their intended audience, may have aided in the evolution of English as a language acceptable for producing future dramas and other literary works, a privilege previously reserved for Latin.

This study has sought to provide fresh perspectives of MS L through an examination of the manuscript using an approach similar to Kimberly Bell and Julie Nelson Couch's "whole book" approach which they describe in their 2011 publication *The Texts and Contexts of Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108: The Shaping of English Vernacular Narrative*. In many ways, the approach has been a metonymic one, seeking to understand the bigger picture of the manuscript, its circulation, and compilation through discussions of topics relevant to specific texts in the manuscript. In particular, these have related to time, space, and constructions of sanctity within the *SEL* and specifically in MS L.

This approach combining explorations of time, space, and sanctity has pushed the boundaries of knowledge of MS L in particular in relation to the discussion of MS L's relationship to MS W and in the discussion of Bakhtin/Auerbach's understandings of time in medieval English literature and how their narrative theories of vertical time-spaces particularly relate to MS L. The complexity of medieval thinking about the topic of time undoubtedly influenced the construction of the manuscript and a new perception of ideas about temporality in this manuscript is essential for better grasping its importance to the medieval literary canon.

Space, as understood in the context of MS L, has related to the manuscript itself and the location on the page where the texts unfold. This thesis employed Bakhtinian narrative theories of Heteroglossia and Dialogism and the modernist

literary theories of Gertrude Stein which pertain to Naming, Creating, and Re Creating as tools for better understanding the internal architectonics of the manuscripts as well as shedding light upon the external influences that shaped the selection of texts included in the manuscript. Hagiography is, at its very core, about names and remembrance. Furthermore, realising the constant dialogue that has occurred throughout the history of the church regarding what constitutes sanctity also is of the utmost importance in studying saints' lives; ergo, Bakhtin's theories of heteroglossia (multiple registers of language that people use on a daily basis and which appear in the novel among other genres) and dialogism (the dialogue that occurs amongst the various languages of everyday life) are greatly relevant to hagiographical studies.

Constructions of sanctity within MS L also are particularly interesting with this manuscript's obvious interest in female saints' lives (indicated by the two groups of female saint's lives which appear near the middle of the manuscript), and its focus upon English saints. The constructions of the female saints lives included in MS L are fairly typical of lives devoted to feminine sanctity, but their appearance in MS L coupled with the inclusion of the Romances of *Havelok the Dane* and *King Horn* suggests a more inclusive audience (at least during one stage of the manuscript's existence) for this book than recent scholarship has been willing to grant later *SEL* manuscripts. This inclusivity combined with the inherent excitement apparent in each English saint's life included in the manuscript suggests that the audience for MS L was a gender-inclusive, enthusiastic English-speaking one.

For me, this suggests that MS L was designed at least to some extent for reception by a parish-community (or communities). Scholars increasingly are skeptical of the possibility that the *SEL* was a fraternal production as Beatrice Brown suggested in 1974; yet, while friars may not be responsible for the *SEL* as a tradition, in the case of MS L, it is still a probability that fraternal orders could have produced and used parts of this manuscript for preaching sometime during the three centuries that the manuscript was compiled.

Opportunities for Further Research

Much work remains to be completed on both MS L and its cousin MS W as well as on the *South English Legendary* as a whole. Few literary theoretical approaches to the *South English Legendary* have been applied thus far, and there certainly is room for more literary critical analysis and research. An area of research which is coming to the forefront of medieval history and literary studies that specifically is relevant to the subject of the *South English Legendary* is the interplay of Islam with the saints' lives of the *SEL* and hagiography in general. In his essay "The Early South English Legendary and Difference: Race, Place, and Belief," Robert Mills touches on the English audience's perception of characters in MS L such as St Thomas Becket's mother and how their perceptions of her difference in relation to them because of her race and belief system prior to her Christian conversion are portrayed. Although MS L does not call Alisaundre/Matilda Becket a Saracen/Muslim as do other *SEL* texts, she is identified as a heathen. Since she hailed from a Middle Eastern nation, "heathen" can be understood as Muslim. A curious tension relating to heathens and Muslims undulates throughout saints' lives. On the one hand, hagiographers betray a fascination and awe of them; on the other hand, they exhibit a disdain for their perceivedly pagan ways.

The intrigue with pagans is demonstrated through texts such as *Sancta Crux* (extensively discussed in Chapter II) where the evil king Cosdroe steals a piece of the Cross wood but also creates a magnificent, jewel-studded tower with an early gravity-powered fountain which produces a type of rainfall over the tower. The detailed description of this technological marvel shows the hagiographer's interest in the pagan's technological advances – but, of course, since Cosdroe is a pagan, in the legend of *Sancta Crux*, his knowledge is used only for evil. Complete disdain for Saracens/heathens, however, is exhibited in the *vita* of *King Horn* where Horn and his army soundly defeat the Saracens. In this account there appears no curiosity about the Saracens, and Horn's defeat of them is portrayed as a good thing. This tension in hagiography between disdain for pagans but curiosity about their ways of life, science, and technology deserves to be explored further.

Examining the trope of music as it occurs in saints' lives of the *SEL* also seems as if it could be a fruitful enterprise and is not one that has received a great

deal of attention. In *Sancta Crux*, the people sing as a parish-priest might have hoped his congregation would sing as Eraclius carries the Cross into the temple; in the legend of "St Dunstan," the scribe mentions that the saint once had a vision of heaven and saw the angels singing, and he especially loved the harp and liked to have it played for him to cheer him up; in the legend of *St Thomas Becket*, it is recorded that the saint sang the mass, and the words that he sang are recorded in MS L; as Sir Owayn is passing through St Patrick's Purgatory he meets a group of noblemen who greet him with song. Since a good number of allusions to music in MS L occur in the lives of the saints, exploring the connections between these musical allusions in hagiography and medieval church music in both Latin and the vernacular could prove a valuable interdisciplinary exercise.

Establishing connections between the *SEL* and other medieval works of art such as stained glass and paintings is another area of research that has received little attention. It is essential to remember that the *SEL* texts were not created in a vacuum and therefore reflect the influence of works of art created during the same time. For that reason, an interdisciplinary understanding of other artistic endeavors taking place around the same time as the compilation of MS L and other *SEL* texts is crucial. In their essay "Teaching the *South English Legendaries* at York: Performativity and Interdisciplinarity" Chloe Morgan, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, and Tim Ayers pragmatically demonstrate how they have done this at the University of York. When their students were studying the *SEL* legend of St Katherine, they had them visit York Minster where there is a large, stained glass window depicting a scene from the life of St Katherine. From seeing the dialogue between stained glass and textual artistry, the students (hopefully) arrived at a more complete understanding of the role that the written life of this saint (and others) played in constructing medieval communities.

One final area of research that I would suggest that has already been touched upon by Anne Thompson (in her afterword to Blurton and Wogan-Browne's essay collection on the *South English Legendaries*) is the importance of creating editions of texts from MS L and other *SEL* manuscripts and presenting them alongside other more well-known Middle English texts such as texts from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* to emphasis the importance of *SEL* texts in medieval England. In future, I

hope eventually to participate in helping to create such editions. With the appearance of such editions, hopefully, students' experiences of encountering medieval English literature, and in particular saints' lives, will resemble that of St Scholastica and her brother St Benedict who "Al dai… tolden of godes priuetez: seinte Marie sone/ Of þe Ioye of heuene: hou holi men heore [lif] ladden;/Þare-of al heore Ioye was: þat heo to-gadere hadden" (16-18). St Scholastica's joy in discussing these tales of the lives of saints was so great that, when night fell, she began to weep because her brother would soon leave for his monastic cell, and they would no longer be able to tell of the lives of holy men and women. If we as a scholarly community can provoke a similar reaction in future generations of students and so fire their imaginations where Middle English hagiography and other texts are concerned, our work in the classroom will indeed have been well done. This is not to suggest that we should attempt to make saints of our students but rather that we should inspire them to such a degree that it will be with the greatest reluctance that they close their books for the night and leave behind their studies (as I now must do) in Middle English Literature.

APPENDIX

Title of Text	Rubrication	Scribal Hand	Century	Manuscript/ Booklet Division
1. The Long Life of Christ (fragmentary)		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 1
2. Infancy of Christ		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part1 (A), Booklet 2
3. *Sancta Crux*		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part1 (A), Booklet 3
4. St Dunstan		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part1 (A), Booklet 3
5. St Austin (Augustine)		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part1 (A), Booklet 3
6. St Barnabas		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
7. St John the Baptist		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
8. St James the Great		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
9. St Oswald the King		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
10. St Edward the Elder		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
11. St Francis		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
12. St Alban		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
13. St Wulstan		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
14. St Matthew		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
15. St Liger		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
16. St Faith		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 3
17. Eleven Thousand Virgins		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
18. St Katherine		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
19. St Lucy	Vita sancte Lucie uirginis	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
20. St Thomas of Canterbury	Ici poez oyer coment seint Thomas de Kaunterbures nasqui. e de quev manere gent depere e de Mere	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4

21. St Fabian and St Sebastian	Vita Sancti Sebastiani	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
22. St Agnes	Vita sancte agnetis	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
23. St Vincent	Vita sancti vincentij Martyris	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
24. St Paul	Vita sancti Pauli	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
25. St Bride (Bridget)	Vita sancte Brigide virginis	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
26. St Agatha	Vita sancte Agathe	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
27. St Scholastica		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
28. St Patrick	Purgatorium sancti Patrici abb[at]is	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
29. St Brendan	Vita sancti Brendani, Abbatis de Hybernia	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
30. St Nicholas		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
31. St Julian the Confessor	Vita sancti Iuliani confessoris	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
32. St Julian the Hosteler	Vita sancti Iuliani boni hospitis	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
33. St Mary of Egypt	Vita sancte Marie Egiptiace	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
34. St Christopher	Vita sancti Cristofori	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
35. St Dominic	Vita sancti Dominici confessoris	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
36. St Theophilus		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
37. St George		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
38. St Edmund the King	Vita sancti Eadmundi regis	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
39. St Michael		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
40. St Clement		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
41. St Peter		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
42. St Lawrence		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4

43. St Kenelm	Vita sancti Kenelmi. Regis	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
44. St Gregory	Vita sancti Gregorij	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
45. St Cuthbert	Vita sancti Cuthberti	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
46. St Mark	Vita sancti Marci ewangeliste	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
47. St Philip and St James	Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
48. St Jacob (James the Less)	Vita sancti Iacobi	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
49. St Bartholomew	Vita sancti Bartholomei	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
50. St Thomas the Apostle		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
51. St Matthias		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
52. St Silvester	hic incipit uita sancti Siluestri	Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
53. St Eustace		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
54. St John the Evangelist		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
55. All Saints' Day		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
56. All Souls' Day		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
57. St Edmund the Bishop		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
58. St Martin		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
59. St Leonard		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
60. St Mary Magdalene		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
61. St Hippolytus		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
62. Sayings of St Bernard		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
63. Vision of St Paul		Scribe A (1)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
64. Debate between the Body and the Soul		Scribe B (2)	13th	Part 1 (A), Booklet 4
65. Havelok the Dane		Scribe C (3)	Late 13th	Part 2 (B), Booklet 5

APPENDIX CONTINUED

66. King Horn		Scribe C (3)	Late 13th	Part 2 (B), Booklet 5
67. St Blase		Scribe D (4)	14th	Part 2 (B), Booklet 5
68. St Cecilia		Scribe D (4)	14th	Part 2 (B), Booklet 5
69. St Alexis		Scribe D (4)	14th	Part 2 (B), Booklet 5
70. Somer Soneday		Scribe D (4)	14th	Part 2 (B), Booklet 5
71. Biblical Sentences		Miscellaneous Unidentified	15th	Part 2 (B), Booklet 5
72. On Deceit		Miscellaneous Unidentified	15th	Part 2 (B), Booklet 5
73. Moral Precepts		Miscellaneous Unidentified	15th	Part 2 (B), Booklet 5

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