

The English Manuscripts of Walter Hilton's *Scala perfectionis*:

An Assessment of Reception

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

English

Department of English and Film Studies

University of Alberta

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the reception of the forty full-text English medieval manuscripts of Walter Hilton's *Scala perfectionis* in order better to understand their cultural influence in late medieval England. It presents evidence for and assesses the reception of the manuscripts individually in the first instance, and then bases the main argument on the results arising from this individual assessment. The overall argument is presented first followed by the individual assessments of manuscripts in the form of a catalogue.

This study argues that a thorough assessment of the evidence will not sustain the narrative which has gained a general scholarly consensus that the Carthusians are primarily responsible for the dissemination of full-text English *Scala* manuscripts. The main discussion first presents the evidence for the production and distribution of these manuscripts. Secondly, it evaluates the arguments put forward hitherto for Carthusian involvement in this distribution. And, finally, it proposes that the evidence indicates the involvement of the Austin canons to some degree and weighs the current state of that evidence in a consideration of the possible extent of their engagement in this effort.

The primary conclusions reached are, first, that the Cambridgeshire region is the main centre for the early production and distribution of *Scala perfectionis* manuscripts. Secondly, the Carthusians came late to the work of making and disseminating *Scala* and, partly for this reason and partly because they had no houses in Cambridgeshire, cannot have played the dominant role. Thirdly, despite the earlier scholarly dismissal of the role of Walter Hilton's order, that of the Austin canons, in circulating *Scala*, at least as much evidence exists for their earlier involvement as exists for the later involvement of the Carthusians, and, moreover, there are significant indicators that their efforts may have been dominant. The evidence for the role of the Austin

canons is more difficult to excavate because its medieval traces appear to have been more thoroughly decimated at the dissolution of the monasteries; consequently, the evidence that does exist must be weighed accordingly.

DEDICATION

For Andreyra, Silas, Elyce, Ezekiel, Winnifred, Elia, and any who follow:

you inspired me to finish this work

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A dissertation is not done without support from many quarters. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the contributions of my supervisor and examiners. I have been extraordinarily felicitous in having Professor Stephen Reimer as my supervisor. Without his long-suffering but rigorous attention to my work, especially to the details, it would not have reached its current state. Never was it too much trouble and, always, seemingly, was it his delight. He was unflaggingly sympathetic with the challenges and my particular discouragements while never relaxing the standards. I cannot imagine anyone better suited to my approach to and desires for the work.

My first reader, Professor Sylvia Brown, has contributed more than she may know to my development. Not only did she make insightful remarks at critical points in the process, but also she has had a formative influence on my teaching. Professor David Gay, my second reader, has provided encouragement as the project progressed: his regular confidence in my work has made an important contribution to its completion. At an early period, Professor Michael Fox served as my second reader and his warm and meaningful encouragement during that time is still deeply appreciated. I wish to thank my examiner from the Department of History and Classics, Professor John Kitchen, for taking the time to read my dissertation and to provide a constructive and thought-provoking response in the defence and for his subsequent encouragement. Moreover, it has been my pleasure to have had Professor Rick Bowers to chair all three of my oral graduate examinations in his gracious and efficient manner, and I thank him heartily for reducing the stress of such events in this way.

I am both humbled and encouraged by the detailed and thorough response to my work of my external examiner, Professor Nicholas Watson of Harvard. I thank him for making time in

his busy schedule to attend my defence by way of electronic communication and for his continued willingness to correspond with respect to my research. All this evidences his scholarly generosity.

Beyond these who have supported my work professionally is a host of others who have made various contributions to my development and to the project over the years, ranging from those who contributed for briefer periods and in smaller doses along the way to those who have provided enduring and significant support. I think in particular of family members who patiently encouraged even while making sacrifices on my behalf. I think of friends who showed interest and made heartening comments even when they did not understand my work. I think of many colleagues and of my professors who engaged me intellectually and contributed significantly to my scholarly development. I think in particular here of fellow graduate students who shared more than one course with me or in other ways engaged with me over a longer term. And I think of other professionals who in various ways supported my advance toward completion. To each of you, I extend my heartfelt and enduring gratitude.

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A London, British Library, MS Additional 11748	98
As Oxford, All Souls College, MS 25	108
B Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 100 (SC 1947)	112
B3 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 592 (SC 2365)	117
C Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 6686 (olim Ashburnham-Young; Ashburnham, Addit. MS140)	123
Cc Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS R.5 (James 268)	134
Ch Bakewell, Derbyshire, Chatsworth House Library and Archive	143
D Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.v.5	146
E Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.iv.30	152
F Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.v.40	156
H London, British Library, MS Harley 6579	166
H2 London, British Library, MS Harley 330	173
H3 London, British Library, MS Harley 1022	178
H4 London, British Library, MS Harley 1035	190

H5	London, British Library, MS Harley 2387	194
H6	London, British Library, MS Harley 2397	200
H7	London, British Library, MS Harley 6573	205
Hu	San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM.112 (olim Sir Thomas Brooke)	208
Hu2	San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM.266 (olim Phillipps 2180)	213
J	Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.35 (olim James 202)	217
L	London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 472	220
Ld	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 602 (SC 1499)	228
Ln	London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 362	238
Lt	Warminster, Wiltshire, Longleat House Library and Archives MS 298	240
Lw	Tokyo, Collection of Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya, Takamiya MS 3 (olim Luttrell Wynne) (currently deposited in New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Takamiya Deposit)	242
M	Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS F.4.17 (James 17)	247
N	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 6126	250
P	London, Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 524	253
Pl	New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton 257	257
R	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.285 (SC 12143)	260
Ry	Liverpool, Liverpool University Library, MS Rylands F.4.10	267

(olim Harmsworth)

S	London, British Library, MS Additional 22283 (Simeon)	270
Sr	Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, MS Codex 218	293
	(olim Stonor Park; Eng 8)	
St	Clitheroe, Lancashire, UK, Stonyhurst College, MS A.vi.24	301
T	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.18 (James 354)	304
T2	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.7.47 (James 1375)	313
U	Oxford, University College, MS 28	318
V	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a.1 (Vernon; SC 3938-42)	323
Wo	Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Chapter Library, MS F.172	341
Ws	London, Westminster School, MS 4	346
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Appendix

Two Latin Manuscripts of *Scala* associated with John Dygon of Sheen

Jo	Oxford, St. John's College, MS 77	385
Mo	Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 141 (Lat. 141)	389

TABLE OF MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

Note: The catalogue is in the alphabetical order of the sigla.

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Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.v.55	D	146
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.iv.30	E	152
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.v.40	F	156
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS R.5 (olim James 268)	Cc	134
Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS F.4.17	M	247
Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.35 (olim James 202)	J	217
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.18 (olim James 354)	T	304
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.7.47 (olim James 1375)	T2	313
Clitheroe, Lancashire, UK, Stonyhurst College, MS A.vi.24	St	301
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 6126	N	250
Liverpool, Liverpool University Library, MS Rylands F.4.10 (olim Harmsworth)	Ry	267
London, British Library, MS Additional 11748	A	98

London, British Library, MS Additional 22283 (Simeon)	S	270
London, British Library, MS Harley 330	H2	173
London, British Library, MS Harley 1022	H3	178
London, British Library, MS Harley 1035	H4	190
London, British Library, MS Harley 2387	H5	194
London, British Library, MS Harley 2397	H6	200
London, British Library, MS Harley 6573	H7	205
London, British Library, MS Harley 6579	H	166
London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 362	Ln	238
London, Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 524	P	253
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 472	L	220
London, Westminster School, MS 4	Ws	346
New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton 257	Pl	257
Oxford, All Souls College, MS 25	As	108
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 100 (SC 1947)	B	112
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 592 (SC 2365)	B3	117
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a.1 (Vernon; SC 3938-42)	V	323
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 602 (SC 1499)	Ld	228
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.285 (SC 12143)	R	260
Oxford, University College, MS 28	U	318
Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, MS Codex 218 (olim Stonor Park; Eng 8)	Sr	293
San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM.112	Hu	208

(olim Sir Thomas Brooke)		
San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM.266	Hu2	213
(olim Phillipps 2180)		
Tokyo, Collection of Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya, Takamiya MS 3	Lw	242
(olim Luttrell Wynne)		
(currently deposited in New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Takamiya Deposit)		
Warminster, Wiltshire, Longleat House Library and Archives MS 298	Lt	240
Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Chapter Library, MS F.172	Wo	341

Appendix

Two Latin Manuscripts of *Scala* associated with John Dygon of Sheen

Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 141 (Lat. 141)	Mo	389
Oxford, St. John's College, MS 77	Jo	385

ABBREVIATIONS

- CMLUC *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. 5 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1856-67. *Internet Archive*. Web. Mar. 3, 2016.
- DIMEV Mooney, Linne R., et al, comp. and ed. *The DIMEV: An Open Access, Digital Edition of the Index of Middle English Verse*. Based on the *Index of Middle English Verse (1943) and Its Supplement (1965)*. N.p., n.d. Web. July 5, 2016.
- eLALME Benskin, Michael, et al. *An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. The Authors and the University of Edinburgh, 2013. *eLALME*. Web. June 21, 2016.
- IMEP *The Index of Middle English Prose*. General ed. A. S. G. Edwards. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer / Boydell and Brewer, 2009. Print. When used, this abbreviation is preceded by the last name of the volume's author and followed by the volume number, e.g. Connolly, IMEP XIX.
- IPMEP Lewis, R[obert] E., N. F. Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards. *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*. New York: Garland, 1985. Print.
- Jolliffe Jolliffe, P. S. *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*. Subsidia Mediaevalia II. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974. Print.
- Knowles and Hadcock Knowles, David, and R. Neville Hadcock. *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*. London: Longman's, 1953. Print.

- Lagorio and Sargent Lagorio, Valerie M., and Michael G. Sargent. "XXIII. English Mystical Writings." *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*. General ed. Albert E. Hartung. Vol. 9. New Haven, CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993. 3049-137; 3405-71. Print.
- LALME The abbreviation is used as a general term for the project known as the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. The electronic version, eLALME, is used for citation purposes.
- Lewis and McIntosh Lewis, Robert E., and Angus McIntosh. *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience*. Medium Aevum Monographs, New Ser. XII. Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1982. Print.
- MLGB Ker, N[eil] R[ipley], ed. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*. 2nd ed. Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, No. 3. London: The Royal Historical Society, 1964. Print.
- MLGB3 *MLGB3*. Project Directors: Richard Sharpe and James Willoughby. Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, Bodleian Libraries, U of Oxford, 2015. Web. April 14, 2016.
- MMBL Ker, N[eil] R[ipley], et al. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969-2002. Print.
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford UP, 2004-16. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Web. May 6, 2016.
- SC Madan, Falconer, et al. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*. 7 vols. in 8 (vol. 2 in 2 parts).

Oxford: Clarendon, 1895-1953. Reprinted with corrections in vols. 1 and 7, Munich, 1980. *Oxford LibGuides Summary Catalogue*. Summary Catalogue. Bodleian Libraries, July 6, 2016. Web. July 13, 2016.

Victoria County History This is used as a general term to refer to the various volumes published by the Victoria County History that are cited by article title or author.

VCH *A History of the County of York: Volume 3*. Ed. William Page. London: Victoria County History, 1974. *British History Online*. Web. May 19, 2016.

INTRODUCTION

The English text of Walter Hilton's *Scala perfectionis* was one of the more influential works in fifteenth-century England, as witnessed by the significant number of extant manuscripts.¹ In order adequately to appreciate its cultural influence during this period of change and ferment in English society requires a careful assessment of its reception. This project undertakes that task and offers a new interpretation of the evidence. The scholarly literature currently regards the diffusion of Hilton's seminal work in the late medieval period as primarily the responsibility of the Carthusian order. As James G. Clark implies (404), A. I. Doyle has had a formative influence on this narrative that highlights the importance of the Carthusians, particularly those of the metropolis, in the dissemination of Hilton's *Scala*. Doyle, further, is

¹ There are forty English manuscripts of the essentially complete text extant from the later fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. In addition, there are two fragments and seven extracts for a total of forty-nine English witnesses, besides eighteen Latin manuscripts. This compares, for instance, among widely circulated mystical texts, to forty-five for Rolle's *Form of Living* including incomplete texts as well as fragments and extracts, apart from two Latin manuscripts, as listed by Valerie M. Lagorio and Michael G. Sargent (3420-21). Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, by "counting complete, incomplete, and fragmentary copies, but not extracts circulating separately," list 115 manuscripts for the *Prick of Conscience*, which, on the basis of this tally, they call "the most popular English poem of the Middle Ages" (1 and n. 1). A tally on the same principles, according to Lewis and McIntosh, for Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, lists sixty-five manuscripts in the digital edition of the *Index of Middle English Verse* (Mooney et al.).

dismissive of the role of the Austin canons, Hilton's order, in this circulation (for instance, in "Publication" 113). I concur with Clark's assessment that "the conviction is hardening" that the houses of Austin canons had merely a "circumstantial" role in circulating *Scala* (404). Clark's essay is part of a slowly growing body of work that re-assesses the influence the Austin canons may have had on the literature and culture of late medieval England. In the inception of the current investigation, I did not foresee a new evaluation of the role of the Carthusians in the reception of *Scala* nor a possible place of significance for the Austin canons. That, however, has been the eventual result.

This study argues that a thorough assessment of the evidence will not sustain the narrative that the Carthusians are primarily responsible for the dissemination of full-text English *Scala* manuscripts. It first presents the evidence for the production and distribution of these manuscripts. Secondly, it evaluates the arguments put forward hitherto for Carthusian involvement in this distribution. And, finally, it proposes that the evidence does indeed indicate the involvement of the Austin canons to some degree and weighs the current state of that evidence in a consideration of the possible extent of their engagement in this effort.

The present work is influenced by Ralph Hanna's call in 2001 for manuscript studies to make what he terms the "cultural move" ("Analytical Survey" 250). Making this move entails viewing "medieval books as a cultural phenomenon." It combines the insights of the study of matters such as scribal hands, textual analysis, and the study of dialect to gain an understanding of the people and their activities that are the source of these data. It aims at the "composition of cultural histories" from the basic raw data gleaned from manuscripts ("Analytical Survey" 244, 250, 255). In attempting to incorporate Hanna's "move" in my own work, I have found various of his investigations to provide exemplary guidance. Furthermore, the model for responding to

Hanna's call provided by John J. Thompson in efforts to do what he calls "cultural mapping" has been instructive, though I have developed my own variation of a response to the call ("Middle English Prose *Brut*"; *Geographies of Orthodoxy*).

Attention to the limits of the project was of course essential. The forty surviving full-text English manuscripts of *Scala* from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries represent the extant forms of the text nearest to Hilton's original composition. These are the manuscripts that form the basis of this study. The term "full text" refers to manuscripts containing complete texts of either or both of the two books of *Scala*. The most common variations are *Scale I* standing alone and both books together in one volume; *Scale II* is seldom found alone. The word "full" comprises those texts once complete or nearly so with most of the original contents still extant. Assessing the reception of these early forms of the text nearest to Hilton is an essential first step in understanding its cultural impact and theoretically precedes the evaluation of the reception of adaptations made in compilations of various kinds. These adaptations include individual chapters of *Scala* circulating independently in miscellanies,² other excerpts that stand alone in miscellanies, and excerpts that are part of compilations that gain recognition as separate works in their own right.

Besides holding a theoretical precedence, one may also presume that the audience for the full text will not precisely coincide with that for its appropriation in these compilations, though these audiences may overlap to a greater or lesser degree. The same can be said for Thomas Fyslake's translation of the text into Latin. Indeed, the conflation of the reception of these various incarnations of the text has been a culprit in skewing the narrative in the direction

² See, for instance, R. E. Lewis et al., *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (IPMEP) items 64, 66, 484.

of the Carthusians. And, finally, assessing the reception of the considerably later incarnation in the early print editions of *Scala* is another sort of project altogether. It is important to note as well that one English manuscript of the full text has been excluded: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique / Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België MS 2544-45 is dated 1608 and was made from a print by Abraham Ellis on the Continent (Sargent "Editing" 523); this represents a much later and culturally different Recusant phase of reception and so has not been considered here.

Hanna stresses the importance, in developing textual cultural histories, of close attention to the details of available information about manuscripts published in catalogues and available from other sources such as facsimiles and textual analyses ("Analytical Survey" 251-56). In order to ensure that this project adheres to careful observation of such details, I adapt the manuscript catalogue format to create an instrument that facilitates the assessment of the details of manuscripts that are pertinent to reception. This is the backbone of the project. It is not, then, a catalogue in the traditional sense but an adaptation of cataloguing principles focussed persistently on the basic details of reception.

While the principles of the catalogue will be explained shortly, the term "reception" as used here requires some consideration. This assessment casts the net rather widely in its conception of those who receive the text and their contexts. It thus includes not only those who might have read the text or heard it read but also those who wrote it, those who commissioned its writing, those who made the books that carried it, those who owned these books or added to them, marginally or substantially, their geographical placements, their differing places in time, their dialectal locations or dislocations, their personal and professional circumstances and associations. All of these have a bearing on the influence a text has on its culture, in the process

becoming embedded in and nourished by that culture until it is in its turn moulded anew.

To excavate this cultural reception, I adapt and revise the categories of information expected in catalogues that describe the material book with an eye to discovering and understanding those who received the text. The attempt has been made to select material on the principle of whether or not it does or potentially could inform us about reception. The categories employed in the catalogue entries were developed as informed by this principle, and the selection of material to include under each category was governed by it. Each entry begins with basic information identifying the manuscript, its current location, its date, and the language and extent of the *Scala* text found in it. This is followed by a category in which the manuscript is described, but this is generally abbreviated from what might be expected in traditional catalogues; information is nevertheless given about where more detailed descriptions may be found, if they are available. Anything that might have a bearing on reception is included. Categories for information about bindings and scribes follow, since these can potentially help us localise a manuscript and locate it historically as well as give us other information that is relevant to reception. A category is devoted to Neil R. Ker's determination of the medieval library which held the manuscript; if it is not listed either in the print edition, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, or its online adaptation, *MLGB3*, this information is also recorded because of the importance of this category of information to our understanding of reception. This is followed by a category that records any information about additions to these books that can be construed as owners marks.

The texts in the manuscripts are described next. An account of any texts that accompany *Scala* is given since this can inform us of the interests of scribes, readers, and owners and give us important clues about how and by whom *Scala* may have been employed. For similar reasons,

incipits and explicits and other endings and beginnings are recorded for the *Scala* texts; for instance, whether or not the text of *Scale I* is addressed to a sister or a brother or some other form of address can provide a clue that may be useful, in combination with other indications, of the original recipient. Other textual information or descriptions of additions to the text that may have a bearing on reception are also included here. For instance, information on whether or not *Scale II* has the short ending variation, an important clue for origins, may be included here or in the next category.

This next category is given to a discussion of textual and other affiliations because they may give some indication of relationships among manuscripts, origins, and patterns of circulation. With respect to textual affiliations, the focus is on close textual congeners since these are the most informative about matters related to reception. Textual relationships that are more distant are therefore not often discussed, since they usually tell us little if anything about reception. These discussions are followed by categories for dialect and origins which are important not only for identifying where a manuscript may have originated but also for determining patterns of circulation in cases where manuscripts originating in one part of the country had a later medieval provenance in another. In most cases, the information presented in these individual manuscript entries is then followed by a concluding category giving an analysis and interpretation of the evidence for the reception of that manuscript. Occasionally, other categories of additional information pertinent for reception are included, such as further notes on provenance.

Therefore, in its presentation of manuscripts, this work does not slavishly repeat what was found in catalogues that describe the physical books but rather extracts the information from these and other sources that has the potential to teach us about those who received the text. For

example, though textual relationships among manuscripts would not ordinarily be expected in a catalogue, this project gives attention to them, not as an editor might, but because these can potentially inform us about matters such as origins. And this work modifies the usual principle of cataloguing not to interpret the information presented,³ for instance, by incorporating sometimes extensive sections of analysis and interpretation of reception within the descriptions of the manuscripts themselves.

As already implied, making appropriate distinctions among various categories of information about manuscripts is critical to an accurate assessment of reception. Therefore the attempt is made to keep the content of these categories discrete, although in practice this is not always possible. Information in one category sometimes is also pertinent to another. The effort is made to include enough information in each category to alert readers who are comparing the same category across manuscripts that further information in other categories of a given manuscript's description may be relevant. Of course maintaining a distinction among categories does not mean that analyses and interpretations that are part of the descriptions, whether these occur in a section devoted to interpretation or elsewhere, do not consider various categories of the description as they may bear on one another. Nevertheless, an awareness of the value of distinctions in analysis informs the work.

A brief description of the structure of this study may be of benefit. The individual descriptions of the manuscripts from the perspective of reception include an effort to give a comprehensive presentation of the information that can be gleaned from the literature on each manuscript, rather than focussing simply on catalogues and other bibliographic instruments. Detailed interpretation regarding distinct manuscripts is also incorporated into these individual

³ For Hanna's articulation of this principle, see "Analytical Survey" (252).

descriptions, especially in the section entitled Analysis and Interpretation. The grander narrative, argument, and conclusions are then presented in the discussion that precedes the manuscript entries. On a lesser point, after some consideration of other possibilities, such as organization by chronology, I have retained an alphabetical order of sigla in the arrangement of the manuscript descriptions. This approach has the advantage of facilitating easy reference to the correct description from a reference to a siglum that appears in the discussion anywhere in the work. In addition, it avoids imposing an ordering on the manuscripts that may inadvertently become determinative for the interpretation of the data.

In the current state of the scholarly literature on these *Scala* books, a significant number of manuscripts are represented by published resources describing, presenting, or surveying them to a high contemporary standard. Thus the approach adopted here, of a thorough review and discussion of the published resources on each manuscript, in itself allows for a comprehensive assessment of the current evidence for reception. The project does nonetheless suffer from an unfortunate limitation that may affect the nuances of the evaluation. My personal and family circumstances have most regrettably, to this point, prevented visits to the archives where the manuscripts are held in order to examine the manuscripts directly. The comprehensive review of the literature does, however, have a further advantage which, it is hoped, may be some compensation: this project conveniently gathers in one place the significant published resources on each manuscript and so may also function as a rather extensively annotated bibliography of the literature on *Scala perfectionis* manuscripts. As further compensation, the eleven facsimiles that are available of these forty manuscripts have been consulted, as follows: A, C, Cc, D, F, L, S, Sr, T, T2, and V.⁴

⁴ The bibliographical information for these facsimiles is given in the list of primary

REGIONS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF *SCALA PERFECTIIONIS* MANUSCRIPTS

Before turning to the question of the role of the Carthusians or the involvement of the Austin canons in the production and distribution of *Scala* manuscripts, a new assessment of the evidence for origins and circulation drawn from this entire corpus of forty extant English manuscripts is of critical importance. The dating of these manuscripts plays a significant role: the extant evidence, from the metropolis, for Carthusian involvement has quite definite and accepted dates late in this period of medieval production of *Scala* manuscripts, which ends early in the sixteenth century. If these late dates can be shown to be subsequent to the main production of manuscripts, this undermines a claim of the primacy of the Carthusians in production. What the evidence tells us about origins is similarly significant: if the earliest and most prolific manufacture of these books occurs outside the metropolis in regions that do not have Carthusian houses, the evidence for a major and early role for the Carthusians grows rather thin. A careful investigation of the evidence does indeed undermine in these ways a narrative that the Carthusian order plays a dominant role in the production and promotion of *Scala* manuscripts. We turn then to a consideration of the regions of origin and the dating of these books based on this body of forty extant full-text English manuscripts.

Cambridgeshire

The most significant region for the early production of full manuscripts of the English *Scala perfectionis*, whether of one book or of both, is the Cambridge / Ely area along with Cambridgeshire and its immediate environs in general. As we shall see, there are no Carthusian houses in this region (Knowles and Hadcock). Ten of forty extant manuscripts have associations

sources in the Works Cited.

with this region and three more have possible connections. These Cambridgeshire manuscripts are generally of a date earlier than those produced in London. Three of these ten are early manuscripts, dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century: L, Sr, and Ws. Three are dated to the first half of the century: As, H7, and the last part of R, which is the only segment of this manuscript localised to this area. H is dated around 1450; Ry is placed in the last half of the century; there is a good deal of uncertainty respecting the date of Ld; and M is dated only broadly to the fifteenth century. The majority of the Cambridgeshire and area manuscripts then are earlier than most of those produced in London, as will become apparent.

As noted, besides these ten manuscripts, three more may also be possibly linked to this region. Although the *Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (eLALME) does not localise Ln, one of these three with possible connections, its textual affiliations and A. I. Doyle's analysis⁵ suggest Cambridgeshire or a more northerly location such as Nottinghamshire. It may be from the first half of the fifteenth century. Similarly, J, from the first quarter of the century, is localised just east of the Wash, thus not far from the border of Norfolk with Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire. It may reasonably be included among the Cambridgeshire manuscripts. eLALME does not localise N, but assigns its two hands to Norfolk and Lincolnshire, which is reminiscent of J. Apparently in light of this, Michael G. Sargent includes it with J in his cluster of manuscripts from the East Midlands "centred on . . . Peterborough, Ely and Cambridgehire" ("Numbers" 230-31 and n. 83). Manuscript N is also from the first half of the fifteenth century. Therefore, all three of these latter manuscripts with possible connections to Cambridgeshire and its immediate environs are from the first half of the century and so they are also earlier than most of those produced in London.

⁵ See Origins in the catalogue entry for Ln.

North Norfolk

Though otherwise these regions of production are ordered according to the number of extant manuscripts originating in them, I insert here the manuscripts from northern Norfolk because of their connections to the Cambridgeshire manuscripts and because of their early dating, which is comparable to those in the Cambridgeshire group. H4 and H7, two manuscripts from the first half of the century are localised near Walsingham Priory, of the Austin canons. The second of these is localised in this region only for its second hand which nevertheless writes the vast majority of the text. Its first hand we will remember as being among the Cambridgeshire manuscripts. This manuscript thus provides a link between these Norfolk manuscripts and the former group.

F is a manuscript derived from R; the last part of R we have already met in the Cambridgeshire group; the first part, as we shall see, is from Yorkshire. F thus gives us a further connection between the Cambridgeshire and Norfolk regions of manuscript production. It is localised about ten kilometres northwest of Norwich and thirty-six southeast of Walsingham. Nearer Walsingham is J, at twenty kilometres to the west. We have already considered J as also possibly connected to the Cambridgeshire manuscripts, since, as noted, Sargent includes it in his group of manuscripts centred on Peterborough, Ely, and Cambridgeshire. It is nevertheless further from Ely, at about sixty-five kilometres, than from Walsingham and even further from Peterborough. The localisation of two other manuscripts, H4 and H7, near Walsingham Priory suggests that J may even more appropriately be considered with these two. In addition, J is textually related to them, though not markedly enough to be in a subgroup of close congeners. With these three manuscripts N too is textually affiliated, also in this less pronounced way. Its first hand, which writes *Scala*, is placed by eLALME in Norfolk generally and we have seen that

its second hand is in Lincolnshire. This larger group of manuscripts that are less closely related textually, including H4, H7, J, and N, does however also include an early manuscript from Ely, Sr.⁶ Four of these Norfolk manuscripts are dated either to the first half of the fifteenth century or to the second quarter. J, apparently the earliest, is of the first quarter. Because of their connections to the Cambridgeshire group and their early dating, the manuscripts in this region may be seen as an extension of the early production centring on Cambridge and Ely. As we shall see, the production of manuscripts in the Cambridge and Ely area may be considered prior to that in Norfolk because of Hilton's associations with these two towns.

London

A number of manuscripts migrate from the Cambridgeshire region to London during the course of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century,⁷ and one of these, L, appears to be produced near Cambridge under the commission of certain Londoners. While in due course London becomes home to at least three surviving manuscripts from Cambridgeshire,⁸ only nine of the manuscripts with a London provenance have good evidence for production in London and most of them are later, generally from the last half of the fifteenth century. Of manuscripts produced in London for which the dating is reasonably secure, one of the two earliest is P, which is derived and quite possibly copied from L.⁹ P is from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. B3 is

⁶ For further details, see *Dialect as well as Origins* under the pertinent manuscripts, and also, at times, *Analysis and Interpretation as well as Textual and Other Affiliations*.

⁷ As, H, L, and possibly Ld.

⁸ This migration can be demonstrated for As, H, and L. There has been speculation that Ld also moved to London, but this is not persuasive.

⁹ See *Textual and Other Affiliations* as well as *Origins* under P.

also considered derivative of L and textually related to P.¹⁰ Its dating is less certain and dates have been proposed all through the fifteenth century. Apparent derivation from L indicates a date later than L, which is from the first quarter, and so B3 is probably more or less contemporary with P. H6, whose *Scala* contents include only Book II, appears to be closely related textually to L, P, and B3 and is probably from the third quarter.¹¹ Thus P, B3, and probably H6, produced in London, derive ultimately from a manuscript that has its origins near Cambridge. This derivation from L is the earliest significant evidence we have from the full *Scala* manuscripts of how the English text arrived in London and was then propagated there.

Back to Cambridgeshire

H5 is the earliest extant manuscript produced in London and is dated near the beginning of the fifteenth century. Though we do not have definite information on its antecedents, we do have a few clues, and they also point back to Cambridgeshire. H5 is one of several texts that have a distinctive short ending in *Scale II*. Six of nine manuscripts with the short ending are texts from Cambridgeshire and its environs and five of these have connections to the Ely and Cambridge region.¹² Some of these short-ending Cambridgeshire texts are early.¹³ T, a London

¹⁰ See Textual and Other Affiliations under B3.

¹¹ See Textual and Other Affiliations for H6, B3, and P.

¹² Sargent places As, the only manuscript of these six not associated with the Ely / Cambridge region, in a group of manuscripts he describes as from an "East Midland area"; in describing this area, he identifies Cambridgeshire and the immediately adjacent regions except for his inclusion of Cc from eastern Suffolk. In his analysis, then, As is from Cambridgeshire or its near environs; henceforth I designate this somewhat larger area as the Cambridgeshire region.

¹³ The short-ending Sr and Ws are from the first quarter of the fifteenth century; As and

manuscript with the short ending, is late and so is not useful for determining the origins of the curtailed conclusion. Almost certainly, then, the short ending originated in the environs of Ely.¹⁴ H5 is early, produced soon after Hilton's death, and will therefore be nearly contemporary with the origins of the short ending; this limits its possible exemplars and strongly suggests that it descends from a Cambridgeshire manuscript that is not far removed in time from it.¹⁵

A Network of Relationships Relevant to *Scala* Circulation

Another indication that H5 had its antecedents in Cambridgeshire comes from what we know of the connections of an early owner. Understanding networks of relationship such as that surrounding H5 will be significant in gaining a fuller appreciation of the patterns of circulation and reception of *Scala* manuscripts generally. The network of relationships radiating from the first known owner of H5 is particularly significant in this regard. This network connects known owners of manuscripts in London and, at least as importantly, extends back from London to Cambridgeshire, which, as we have seen, is an important early centre for the making and distribution of *Scala* manuscripts. Indeed the network may include Hilton himself during his Ely and Cambridge years. In addition, the connections extend to Walsingham in Norfolk and Bruisyard in Suffolk which are near localisations of some of our manuscripts. Ultimately, this

H7 are from the first half; H is *circa* 1450 with a base text *circa* 1400; there is no consensus regarding the date of Ld, but it may be as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century.

¹⁴ See Analysis and Interpretation under B for further details in this discussion.

¹⁵ In a discussion that does not consider the origins of the short ending, Doyle also notes that the "probable sources" of H5 are "limited." Writing before the dialectal analysis of LALME that assigns H5 to London, Doyle concludes that it was probably "written somewhere in the South-East Midlands" ("Survey" 1: 257).

network will be significant in assessing possible locations for the production of the notable number of manuscripts with Cambridgeshire origins. Because of its importance, a comprehensive investigation of the network extending back to Hilton's generation and including his older contemporaries will now be considered.

The Bishopsgate anchoress Margery Pensax was the first owner of H5 that can be established beyond reasonable doubt. She was part of a network of book-loving friends in the environs of what is now Threadneedle Street in London. As Mary C. Erler indicates, Pensax probably inherited books from these neighbouring friends through Margery de Nerford's will, who in turn was given, in his will, all the books of the nearby priest William de Bergh not specifically bequeathed to others. When she died in 1417, Margery de Nerford's will specified that "a choice from the books not bequeathed elsewhere" go to the recluse of Bishopsgate. According to Erler, Pensax had been the recluse in 1414 when she was a beneficiary of de Bergh at his death (*Women, Reading* 59). The likelihood is that Pensax was the recluse who was a beneficiary of de Nerford, since it is improbable both that she had died and that de Nerford had acquired, by 1417, an attachment to a new recluse strong enough to motivate her to bequeath books to her. Indeed, as Erler points out, the bequest of H5 by Pensax to Syon, which was founded only in 1415, also indicates that she continued as the Bishopsgate recluse beyond 1414 (*Women, Reading* 59). For that matter, it seems reasonable to suppose that some time elapsed from the date of Syon's foundation until the date Pensax decided to bequeath her copy of *Scala* to the Abbey, taking us at least into 1416. It is probable, then, that Pensax had her copy of *Scala* from the collection of de Bergh through Margery de Nerford.

Scale I in H5 is addressed to a "ghostly brother" rather than the original "ghostly sister" despite its later possession by women, that is by Margery Pensax and the sisters of Syon Abbey.

This address to a "brother" also suggests that the book came from de Bergh's library, and that he may well have been its first owner, especially since it was in the possession of these women not long after it was produced.¹⁶ To strengthen the proposition that de Bergh was an earlier, and probably the first, owner of H5 and to excavate the extent of the significant network of which he was a part, we turn to an investigation of the connections of de Bergh and de Nerford to Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, early centres, as we have seen, of the production of *Scala* manuscripts.

Margery de Nerford had roots in Norfolk¹⁷ and it is possible that de Bergh did as well. The aristocratic de Burgh family, of which "de Bergh" is a variation,¹⁸ had its origins in Norfolk. One of the most prominent early members of this family, Hubert de Burgh, thirteenth-century justiciar of England, had some of his hereditary lands north of Norwich and generally east of Walsingham, where his mother was buried in the church, the priory of which he was a benefactor (West; cf. Parkin 5: 836). Margery de Nerford's father and apparently her grandfather as well were named Sir John de Nerford. A gentleman by this name also bestowed land on the Walsingham priory (Parkin 5: 813, 835, 925).¹⁹ As already noted, Walsingham is near

¹⁶ See the entry for H5, particularly under Analysis and Interpretation.

¹⁷ For further details on these connections of de Nerford, de Bergh, and Pensax, see the entry for H5, below, particularly the section on Analysis and Interpretation.

¹⁸ Parkin uses "de Bergh" as one variation of "de Burgh," for instance in vol. 5, pp. 1216-17.

¹⁹ In the time of Hubert de Burgh, the two families apparently had a connection by marriage according to Parkin: Alice Pouchard, a sister of Hubert's father's wife Joan, married Robert de Nerford (5: 1228). F. J. West's account, however, states that Hubert de Burgh's mother

localisations of *Scala* manuscripts.

The connections of William de Bergh to Cambridgeshire are unequivocal. He was an executor of the will, in which he is styled "*Sire*," of Mary de Saint Pol, Countess of Pembroke, who founded both Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Denny Abbey (Jenkinson 434). Indeed, he is one of two executors who is identified by Hilary Jenkinson as proving the will after the Countess died in 1377 at Denny (432 n. 1). The other is her servant William de la Chambre, listed without title, whom the Countess, in her will, calls "*mon bien ame Willecok*" (Jenkinson 434, 429).²⁰ Clearly, she felt an attachment to Willecok, as the diminutive and the associated adjectives indicate, and, as Erler suggests, this personal attachment probably also obtains for de Bergh and explains why these two supervise the probate of her will (*Women, Reading* 52).

As Jenkinson demonstrates, the evidence indicates that the close associates of the Countess of Pembroke were those who assisted her in her religious life and in the foundations of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Denny Abbey. Moreover, the records reveal only one close friend of her own station in life, the widowed Lady of Clare, Elizabeth de Burgh (428-30). The two women shared aspirations: the Lady Clare founded Clare College, Cambridge, and was also a benefactor of a religious house in this region, Anglesey Priory of the Austin canons (Ward; "Houses of Augustinian Canons: Priory of Anglesey"). According to Jennifer C. Ward, Lady Clare made Anglesey one of her main residences (Ward). Part of the Clare inheritance over which she had lordship was a manor in the locality of what is now Swaffham Bulbeck, about

was named Alice on the authority of Hubert's own statement. This suggests either that Hubert's father was married twice, to another Alice as well as to Joan Pouchard, or that Parkin's account is mistaken.

²⁰ Erler identifies him instead as her chaplain (*Women, Reading* 52).

three kilometres from Anglesey Priory (Wareham and Wright; *PastScape*).

Anglesey Priory was less than ten kilometres from Denny Abbey, if one assumes there was a way to cross the River Cam near Waterbeach, as there is today by bridge at Clayhithe: in 1393, a bequest "for beacons to guide wayfarers through Bottisham fen" was made to Anglesey Priory ("Houses of Augustinian Canons: Priory of Anglesey"; *PastScape*). To this day, the Lug Fen Drove way leads from Lode, the village near Anglesey, to a boat dock on the River Cam. The Countess of Pembroke was often resident at Denny Abbey (Jenkinson 416, 422), as was Lady Clare at Anglesey, and a route across the fen and the River Cam may well have been traversed by the two friends in order to meet one another.

According to the *Victoria County History*, Anglesey had been founded by the de Clares in the early thirteenth century. Soon after this foundation, another patron founded a chantry here, among other endowments, and maintaining chantries became henceforth "the special work of the canons of Anglesey." In 1331, Lady Clare founded an Anglesey chantry "for herself and the souls of the Kings of England" ("Houses of Augustinian Canons: Priory of Anglesey"). As we shall see, the king at this time, Edward III, was her cousin.

Ward notes that, in addition, Lady Clare founded the Franciscan friary at Walsingham and was also a patron of the Austin canons there. She frequently went on pilgrimage, including to Walsingham (Ward). Under her charter, Walsingham paid rent to Anglesey for its Lady Mass. Her heirs continued as patrons of both Anglesey and Walsingham and supervised the various arrangements she had made at these houses ("Houses of Augustinian Canons: Priory of Anglesey"). Here we find a definite connection of the houses of the Austin canons in Cambridgeshire and that at Walsingham and this reminds us of H7 where we have noted dialectal connections to both Ely and Walsingham. This will be important later as well when we consider

the possible locations of production.

Beyond this Augustinian connection, both Lady Clare and the Countess of Pembroke were closely associated with and patrons of the minoresses. These houses are also of significance in considering the early reception of *Scala*, as we shall see in greater detail later. We have already seen how the Countess founded Denny Abbey, a house of minoresses. At her death at the Abbey, she was duly buried there (Jenkinson 430; "Houses of Minoresses: Abbey of Denney").²¹ Likewise, in the latter part of her life, Lady Clare built a house for herself in the precinct of the Minories, the house of the Franciscan minoresses in London, and resided there part of each year. At her death in 1360, she was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of the Minories. Her will left a major bequest to this house (Ward). Moreover, Lady Clare was a patron of Denny and, in 1355, she had papal licence to enter any English house of the minoresses ("Houses of Minoresses: Abbey of Denney"). At this time, these were the Minories and Denny (Knowles and Hadcock).

Arrangements to found Bruisyard Abbey, a third house of minoresses, were begun in 1364 by Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III to survive, shortly after the death of Lady Clare but during the lifetime of the Countess ("House of Minoresses: Abbey of Bruisyard"). Lionel was married to Lady Clare's granddaughter who was also named Elizabeth de Burgh.²² Their daughter Phillipa married Edmund Mortimer, a marriage from which the House of York descended (Ormrod). Ward declares that Lady Clare "remained in close touch with her children and grandchildren, and furthered their interests." She seems also to have

²¹ There are two spellings of Denny; the *Victoria County History* spells "Denney" while I adopt the alternative.

²² Lionel and his wife were thus second cousins once removed.

furthered her own interests by this maternal concern. Jenkinson notes that in 1350, on the same occasion, Lady Clare entertained both the Countess and Lionel (422 n. 5). The shared interest in the minoresses of the two women must have formed at least the backdrop of such an encounter. Lionel later founded Bruisyard with nuns from Denny, which also then became the object of the Countess's benefaction (Jenkinson 420, 422; "Houses of Minoresses: Abbey of Denney"). In effect, then, the next generation of Lady Clare's family carried on her concern for patronage of the English minoresses with the help of her great friend the Countess. Bruisyard is very near the localisation of Cc, the manuscript belonging to Elizabeth Willoughby, nun of nearby Campsey Priory.

Lady Clare was Elizabeth de Burgh, as we have seen. She was the daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and Joan of Acre, who was the daughter of Edward I. Lady Clare was therefore the cousin of Edward III. She married the first son of the Earl of Ulster, John de Burgh, with whom she had one son in 1312, William de Burgh, who succeeded as Earl in his grandfather's stead (Ward). The Irish branch of the de Burgh family descended from the oldest brother of Hubert de Burgh, also named William de Burgh (West). This marital liaison between the de Burghs and the de Clares was not the only marriage contracted between these families. In the thirteenth century, Lady Clare's grandfather, Richard de Clare, had been the ward of Hubert de Burgh. A secret marriage took place between Richard de Clare and Hubert's daughter, though the union was without issue (Altschul; cf. Parkin 5: 1506). Moreover, Lady Clare's husband, John de Burgh, had a sister Matilda who married Earl Gilbert de Clare, Lady Clare's brother (Ward). To take the marital connections among these aristocratic families one step further, Isabel, daughter of the Earl of Pembroke, married an Earl Gilbert de Clare in an earlier generation (Altschul); these were Lady Clare's great-grandparents, and of course the

husband of the Countess of Pembroke had been the Earl of Pembroke in their generation (Jenkinson 404).

In these circles, with these multiple family connections, we should not therefore be surprised that an executor of the Countess's will, apparently on terms of close friendship with her, was named William de Bergh. A further suggestion of the possible origins of the latter William de Bergh, our London priest, friend of Margery Pensax, owner of H5, comes from the other significant manor near Swaffham Bulbeck besides that under the ancestral lordship of the de Clares. It was known by 1400 as Burgh Hall and was held by the Cambridgeshire de Burgh family along with their manor at Burrough Green, about thirteen kilometres to the south-east. Burgh Hall was only about four kilometres from Anglesey Priory and was about eleven from Barnwell Priory, also of the Austin canons; moreover, as we have seen, Denny Abbey was in the vicinity as well (Wareham and Wright; *PastScape*). In addition, there is further evidence of the de Burgh family in this area: an early thirteenth-century prior of Barnwell was named Richard de Burgh ("Houses of Augustinian Canons: Priory of Barnwell"). In the same period, Geoffrey de Burgh was bishop of Ely, a position he gained through the influence of older brother Hubert the justiciar (Karn). Furthermore, Hubert de Burgh held lands in Cambridgeshire (West).²³ And later a contemporary of our William de Bergh named John de Burgh was chancellor of Cambridge

²³ I have not, however, been able to make a direct connection between the Norfolk de Burgh family of Hubert de Burgh and the related Irish family of Elizabeth de Burgh, on one hand, and that of the Cambridgeshire family that held Burgh Hall and Borough Green, on the other. Their tenure of these manors may have predated Hubert de Burgh (Wareham and Wright), but it is nevertheless suggestive that Hubert de Burgh and his brother both either held lands or were resident in Cambridgeshire.

University, author of the *Pupilla oculi*, and later a parish priest. The *Pupilla oculi* was a widely copied manual for use by parish priests in their work of cure of souls (Goering). It should be noted, however, that A. B. Emden considers John de Burgh to have had origins in the diocese of Lincoln. The strong association of branches of the de Burgh family with Cambridgeshire is nonetheless highly suggestive of the origins of the London priest William de Bergh, probable owner of our manuscript H5.

Whether or not William de Bergh had family connections to the de Burghs of Cambridgeshire, however, we do know he sustained his interest in Denny Abbey, the foundation of the Countess, throughout his life. Erler observes that his will makes bequests, including a book, to Denny, requests prayers for the soul of the Countess, and mentions his service to her. He also assisted the Abbey in a property purchase in 1392. De Nerford, as well, remembered Denny in her will, also including a book in her legacy to it. Erler considers that these two must have been in the acquaintance of the nuns of the Minories, who, as we know, were the beneficiaries of Lady Clare (*Women, Reading* 58, 55). There can be no doubt that de Nerford and de Bergh sustained a continuing connection to Denny and to Cambridgeshire and were part of the network of aristocratic relationships²⁴ that earlier had included the Countess of Pembroke and Lady Clare, who had been frequent residents in the Cambridgeshire houses that were in their patronage. This circle may have included a further aristocratic member, de Nerford's grandmother, Lady Alicia de Neville, who, according to Erler presented de Bergh as rector to the Threadneedle Street church of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, of which she had the advowson. Later de Bergh fulfilled the same role for her as he had for the Countess of Pembroke as an executor of

²⁴ The houses of Franciscan minoresses were houses of aristocratic women ("Houses of Minoresses: Abbey of Waterbeach").

her will (*Women, Reading* 52).

Not only did de Bergh, our London priest, have these definite lifetime connections to Cambridgeshire, but his surname also suggests family connections to this region, as well as to Elizabeth de Burgh and Anglesey Priory in close proximity to Burgh Hall. If he as a priest did hail from Cambridgeshire and was educated at the university there, it is possible that he knew Walter Hilton during Hilton's Ely years. Sargent informs us that Hilton was at Ely at least by 1371, by which time he was recorded as a clerk and was probably about twenty-eight years old. He is recorded in Ely again as a "bachelor in laws" in 1375. Sargent considers him "to have maintained some contact with Cambridge into the early 1380s," which would have been his *alma mater* ("Bishops" 159-60). He would thus have been at Cambridge already in the late 1360s.

De Bergh is therefore Hilton's contemporary, probably a bit younger, since de Bergh died in 1414, eighteen years after Hilton, though Hilton was probably in his early fifties at his death, so they may have been near contemporaries. In any case, by 1377 de Bergh was acting as one of the supervising executors in the will of the extensive estate of the Countess of Pembroke which almost certainly would have required him to spend some time in Cambridgeshire, the location of her two foundations and where she died and was buried. By this time, he must have had at least some education beyond the schoolboy level, if he had not already completed it and had gained some considerable experience. It is most unlikely that the Countess would have given the onerous responsibility of a supervising executor of her large estate to a neophyte. As we have already seen, de Bergh was entrusted repeatedly to act in capacities such as this,²⁵ suggesting

²⁵ To the instances already noted, we might add that de Bergh was involved in a property matter respecting the acquisition of a house purchased by Alicia de Neville in which Margery de Nerford then lived (Erlor, *Women, Reading* 53).

that, though a priest, he may also have had some legal training, as did Hilton. As an Austin canon, Hilton would also have been a priest though trained as well in canon law and possibly in civil law besides (Emden). If de Bergh did have legal training and if his education was at Cambridge, as seems likely, as Hilton's was, they would most probably have known each other. Such a scenario would further support the argument for de Bergh's prior ownership of H5, which is probable, but is not entirely established, by the bequest of de Bergh to Margery de Nerford and probably of de Nerford to Margery Pensax, as well as by the address of H5 to a "ghostly brother," though it is later owned by women, as we have seen.

It seems at least as probable if not more so that Margery Pensax would have known Hilton personally, since she was probably the Hawton anchoress during at least the last part of his time at neighbouring Thurgarton Priory. We know that by 1399 she had been granted permission to move from her Hawton cell, and presumably she had already been there before Hilton died in March 1395/6.²⁶ The definite connections of de Bergh and de Nerford to Cambridgeshire, de Bergh, at least, during the period of Hilton's frequenting of Cambridge, as well as the definite connection of Pensax to the environs of Thurgarton during the decade we know Hilton was there make it a realistic possibility that Hilton himself was part of this network of friends that included the Countess of Pembroke, his older contemporary. Whether or not Pensax inherited H5 from her friends, de Nerford and de Bergh, their association with Cambridgeshire together with the almost certain origins of the short-ending text of *Scale II* in

²⁶ For further details, see H5 under Date, Medieval Repository, Dialect, Origins, and Analysis and Interpretation. Hilton died on March 24, 1395/6 according to several Latin manuscripts (Hussey, "Latin and English" 458). For more information on this, see Manuscript Texts under E and T.

this area support the contention that H5 had its exemplar or a very near antecedent from the environs of Cambridge.

This network of relationships has already proved significant in supporting a contention that Pensax's London book, H5, had its roots in Cambridgeshire. We will come back to the network again, for instance, when we assess the circulation of *Scala* manuscripts within London, and from Cambridgeshire east to Norfolk and Suffolk, and south to London. Furthermore, it will allow us to gain a fuller picture of the possible location or locations of *Scala* manuscript production in Cambridgeshire.

London Again

The nearness in time of H5 to the beginnings of the short ending also indicates that, in this early example at least, the short ending migrated to London more or less directly from Cambridgeshire. Some manuscripts which originally had the short ending of *Scale II* were later completed; H is one of these. Some time after the date of H5, H also arrived in London from Cambridgeshire, at the Charterhouse, but, by the time it arrived, a hand from the Cambridgeshire region had completed the text. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, T was copied at Sheen, also with a short ending, but later completed. It would not seem to have been copied from H, which is not closely related textually, and, additionally, it would be hard to explain why T originally had a short ending if the full text was to hand in H. While *Scale II* in T is in the same larger group of two main groups of textual relations as H and H5, Sargent does not consider them close congeners but sees T as standing alone as a witness to its particular textual tradition ("Editing" 522, 525-26, 532). By the time T is copied at Sheen, H5 is at neighbouring Syon Abbey. Nevertheless, the textual distance apparent in *Scale II* between these manuscripts suggests either that, if H5 is in any way an ancestor of T, multiple copies have intervened or,

more probably, that other short-ending texts found their way to London and were copied there.

While we can never know how other short-ending texts may have arrived in London, two texts, H and As, both with a known London provenance, originally had a short ending (which was later completed in H); both have origins in the Cambridgeshire region.²⁷ And one of the two short-ending manuscripts apparently copied in the London area, H5, apparently has Cambridgeshire antecedents. The extant evidence thus indicates that the short ending came to London from the Cambridgeshire region.

Another connection of William de Bergh and Margery de Nerford is important for understanding the reception of *Scala*, this time in London. Erler observes that they both made bequests to the house of Austin canons in their neighbourhood, at Aldgate. Both bequests involved books and, in de Nerford's case, her bequest makes apparent that she knew the prior personally: she gave him "ten pounds 'for commending my soul to God with his devout prayers,' and forgave the debt which he owed her" (57, 171 n. 63). It is easy to assume but more difficult to demonstrate that there may have been some sort of informal connection between the Aldgate canons and the Minories, because the two houses were very near one another.²⁸ In addition to

²⁷ The only Cambridgeshire region short-ending text where links to the Cambridge / Ely area have not been made is As.

²⁸ Doyle does something like this when he concludes that the manuscript belonging to the Minories (H6) and L, as well as the related P, are probably affiliated partly because John Killum, of whose goods L was made, wanted to be buried at the nearby church of the canons ("Survey" 1: 267). Such a tendency may also lie behind the way Erler, aware of the direct connection of de Nerford and de Bergh to Holy Trinity, Aldgate, considers them also to have had connections to the Minories but without citing similar evidence and instead relying on the associations of the

geographical proximity, both owned copies of *Scala*, Hu and H6. Both seem to have been interested in the spiritual care of wealthy laypeople. Moreover, on the basis of his textual collations of *Scale II* manuscripts, S. S. Hussey concluded that H6, the book owned by the Minories, was related to L and P ("Text" 80, 85; cf. Sargent, "Editing" 521-22). Doyle notes that John Killum, from the proceeds of whose estate L, a common-profit book, was made, desired to be buried in Holy Trinity, Aldgate, the church of the Austin canons (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 267; 2: 209). Taking these further connections together also suggests some type of association between the Minories and Holy Trinity Aldgate. The later analyses of Sargent, however, tend to undermine the reliability of Hussey's affiliational subgroups, though Sargent has not done a reassessment of these particular texts ("Editing" 524-27).

Thus it has been difficult to make any very definite connection between the Minories and Holy Trinity, Aldgate. The benefactions of de Bergh and de Nerford do demonstrate at least that some patrons of the Austin canons at Holy Trinity Aldgate were also patrons of the Franciscan minoresses at Denny. And we know that their circle of friends had included the founder of Denny and patron of the minoresses, the Countess of Pembroke, as well as her great friend Lady Clare, patron of both Denny and the Minories. Moreover Lady Clare was also patron of at least two houses of Austin canons, Anglesey and Walsingham. While the bequests of de Nerford and de Bergh to both the minoresses and the Austin canons also do not make a direct connection between Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and the Minories, they do bring to our attention the demonstrated patronage within their network of friends of both the Austin canons and the minoresses. As well, this reminds us that at least during the lifetimes of the Countess of Pembroke and Lady Clare, the older contemporaries of Hilton, there was a connection between the Austin canons at Anglesey

Minories with aristocratic women (*Women, Reading* 55).

and the Franciscan nuns at Denny.

All of this will be pertinent when we come to the question of what the location of production of *Scala* manuscripts might have been in the Cambridge / Ely region. This network of aristocratic friends was associated with houses that had an interest in *Scala*, and, in the case of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, was involved in the production of at least one manuscript, Hu. It is apposite to this discussion that the minoresses were an aristocratic order ("Houses of Minoresses: Abbey of Waterbeach"). The aristocratic status of these friends and the interest in *Scala* of at least some of them may help to explain why in the fifteenth century so many *Scala* manuscripts came to be associated with the wealthy laity.

It is of note in regard to the associations of the Bishopsgate circle to Holy Trinity, Aldgate, that H5 and Hu are close congeners textually and that the first part of *Scala* in Hu is contemporary with H5. The later second scribe of Hu has a Nottinghamshire underlay though apparently writing in London.²⁹ Of course Thurgarton is in Nottinghamshire, near Hawton, where Margery Pensax, owner of H5, had been the anchoress, most probably during Hilton's lifetime. These details in aggregate, together with the possibility of Hilton's being an acquaintance of William de Bergh, benefactor of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and of Margery Pensax, suggest a personal loyalty of these individuals to the work of Hilton and knowledge of how to acquire the text. And these connections also make more credible Doyle's remark that it has "been thought that Hilton himself was at one time a member of the community" at Holy Trinity, Aldgate ("Survey" 1: 268).

We have seen that P, B3, and probably H6, of London manufacture, derive ultimately from L, a manuscript with Cambridgeshire origins. The immediate or near antecedents of H5

²⁹ See Textual and Other Affiliations for both manuscripts and Dialect under Hu.

also appear to originate in this eastern county. As already indicated, Hu is closely related textually to H5 and its first folios are approximately contemporary with it. Moreover, these early folios of Hu may have been copied during the lifetimes of de Bergh and de Nerford as H5 was, almost certainly. These two book-loving friends included Margery Pensax in their circle and they may well have been friends also with the first owner of Hu at Aldgate, of whose house they are benefactors and where de Nerford appears to be on personal terms with the prior: presumably the first folios of Hu were copied for a member or the members of this community of canons as the latter folios were. Hu and H5 are thus not only related textually but are also affiliated through the associations of their early owners with people who may well have known Hilton personally.

A third text closely related textually to H5 and Hu is Wo, and Doyle deems Hu textually prior to it ("Survey" 1: 270).³⁰ The date of the latter folios of Hu is *circa* 1450 while Wo is dated to the 1450s or 1460s. Potentially then Wo descends from the earlier manuscripts in this subgroup of texts. While this subgroup is not not closely related textually to the subgroup stemming from L,³¹ Hu from the former group is closely associated geographically with L, P, and H6 in the latter. That is, as we have seen, John Killum of whose goods L was made desired to be buried in Holy Trinity, Aldgate, a canon of which is responsible for making Hu. Moreover, Hu is roughly contemporary with H6, P, and probably B3.³² Furthermore, David Fyvyan, chaplain to Margery de Nerford and in the network of people associated with H5 is also executor in the will of John Carpenter, chief executor to Richard Whittington, mayor of London; Carpenter, with his

³⁰ See Textual and Other Affiliations under Wo.

³¹ See Textual and Other Affiliations for the manuscripts concerned.

³² See Textual and Other Affiliations under P.

fellow executors, appoints John Colop as an assistant in distributing Whittington's bequests: Colop is an executor for Killum. Thus Fyvyan is an integral part both of the network surrounding H5 and its subgroup of texts and that surrounding L with its subgroup.³³

It is notable as well that both subgroups of texts have associations with wealthy laypeople. John Killum, associated with the latter group stemming from L, is part of a group of wealthy laymen engaged in sponsoring common profit books; Elizabeth Horwode, owner of H6, was the daughter of a London goldsmith and asks for prayer in her book for an erstwhile clerk of the kitchen to Henry V, though she herself became the abbess of the Minories;³⁴ P belonged to an accomplished London organ-maker;³⁵ B3 appears to have been in the hands of a Lyme Regis land-owner, Isabella Edrygge.³⁶ Respecting the former group, we have already explored at length the aristocratic associations of H5 and the connections of this network as well to Hu. Wo, the third text in this group, was apparently made for John Vale, man of affairs for Sir Thomas Cook, draper, and mayor of London.³⁷ The ownership of this last manuscript thus takes us back to the non-aristocratic wealthy laypeople more strongly associated with the subgroup stemming from L.

We have already seen that the Cambridgeshire region is the most important for the early production of *Scala* manuscripts. We do not encounter the Carthusians until much later in the

³³ For a fuller discussion, see Origins as well as Analysis and Interpretation under L and Analysis and Interpretation under H5.

³⁴ See Owners Marks and Origins under H6.

³⁵ See Owners Marks under P.

³⁶ See Owners Marks under B3.

³⁷ See Owners Marks under Wo.

narrative. Two late manuscripts, from the end of the fifteenth century or early in the sixteenth, were made in London or its immediate vicinity by the Carthusians; E was made at the London Charterhouse and T at Sheen. This is the first evidence we have that the Carthusians were involved in producing the full-text English *Scala*. Indeed these are the only two that can be shown with any confidence to have been produced by them. We will return to a full assessment of this evidence and its implications for Carthusian involvement in due time. It is worth noting here, however, that the London Carthusians also had an earlier text from Cambridgeshire (H), as did Syon Abbey, which lay across the Thames from Sheen and was closely associated with it (As).³⁸ Thus all nine extant manuscripts produced in London except P1 either descend or probably descend from Cambridgeshire manuscripts or they are produced by houses that also have acquired a Cambridgeshire manuscript or are closely associated with one that has, in the case of T's production at Sheen with its associations with Syon and the London Charterhouse. We may conclude, however, that London, generally, is nevertheless important for the later production of *Scala*, as attested by the number of later extant manuscripts originating there.

A difference between the two regions of production, however, is that there is less evidence that London is a centre of distribution to other parts of the country. The evidence of seven out of nine surviving manuscripts demonstrates that full-text *Scala* manuscripts produced in the metropolis were made for or owned by its residents: E and T were made for the

³⁸ While there are textual relationships among these four texts with a Carthusian or Syon Abbey provenance, they are not close enough to suggest the Cambridgeshire texts are exemplars or near antecedents for the Carthusian productions, except perhaps in the case of the edited text in H in relationship to the later text of E (Sargent, "Editing" 515-16; see Textual and Other Affiliations under E).

metropolitan Charterhouses; H5, made in London, came into the hands of a London anchoress who bequeathed it to Syon Abbey; H6, Elizabeth Horwode's copy, may have been commissioned by her and was bequeathed to the Minories, her house; P, as noted, came into the hands of a London organ-maker in the late fifteenth century; the book for which John Pery is responsible, Hu, seems to have been a house text of the Aldgate canons; and Wo was made for a prominent Londoner, John Vale. We do not have enough information about P1 to make an assessment. The only full-text English manuscript apparently made in London that migrates elsewhere is B3; by the beginning of the sixteenth century, it finds its home in what is now Dorset, in and around Lyme Regis, Thornecombe, and Dorchester, until ultimately it is deposited in the Bodleian Library in 1662.³⁹ Though London was a significant site for the later production of *Scala* manuscripts, it does not appear to have been the hub for dissemination to other parts of the country, as the narrative that the Carthusians of the metropolis predominate in the production and distribution of *Scala* books requires.

The West Midlands

In terms of the definite evidence from the extant manuscripts, the West Midlands are third in importance for the production of *Scala*. Six indicate origins in this region: B, Ch, Hu2, M, V, and S. V is the earliest surviving manuscript, and was probably produced in the 1390s, so during Hilton's lifetime or very soon after. S is also early, probably from the first decade of the fifteenth century, and B may be early as well. Ch and Hu2 are mid-century, and M has not been dated more narrowly than the fifteenth century. Therefore *Scala* arrived very early in the West Midlands, but Hilton's strong associations with Ely and Thurgarton do not indicate the western region as a point of origin for the text itself. Sargent notes that Hilton was still in the Ely

³⁹ See Owners Marks and Further Notes on Provenance under B3.

consistory court in 1375 but that *Scale I* "was probably written by the mid-1380s at the latest," presumably for an anchoress, and seemingly gained a broad circulation before *Scale II* "was written and began to circulate with it" ("Bishops" 159-60, 162). Since Hilton is unlikely to have written *Scala* before he forsook the court to enter the religious life, the first five years of the 1380s seem the most probable period for the composition of *Scale I*, which stands alone in V. Sargent gives some evidence suggesting that, during this time, Hilton was still in touch with Cambridge ("Bishops" 160). Thus the dating of V probably to Hilton's lifetime demonstrates that *Scala* was gaining a wider audience within several years of its original composition.

We have already encountered M in Cambridgeshire, because its second hand is localised in Ely. The first hand, however, is assigned by eLALME to Warwickshire, yet northeast Midlands elements are noted in its language. This hand suggests a scribe has moved from the northeast Midlands, a further point of origin for *Scala* manuscripts, to Warwickshire, where M seems to have been written. Then it would appear that the manuscript itself moved to the Ely region, where the second hand completed the work. Alternatively, a mature Ely scribe may have moved to Warwickshire where he continued to write in his first dialect. Or, just possibly, he moved to Nottinghamshire if the first scribe of M moved from Warwickshire to the northeast Midlands rather than in the other direction. Doyle proposes that M was made for religious, probably women ("Survey" 1: 267); that M comprises only *Scale II*, the most appropriate of the two texts for religious, supports his assessment. If he is right, then the origins of M indicate that *Scala* scribes and their manuscripts were travelling not only among these regions associated with *Scala* production but also that the movement is among religious houses in these localities.⁴⁰

Included among these West Midlands manuscripts is B, the only extant manuscript

⁴⁰ Also see Dialect, Origins, and Analysis and Interpretation under M.

containing the short-ending text of *Scale II* that appears to have been produced entirely outside of Cambridgeshire or London. We already know that Cambridgeshire is an area of production from which manuscripts move to London and that the origins of the short ending are strongly associated with Ely and Cambridge. This short-ending West Midlands manuscript must have had its antecedents in Cambridgeshire and it indicates that this main early region of production was distributing manuscripts to another part of the country besides London and Norfolk. There has been some disagreement about the date of B, but, since the origins of the short ending are early, none of the dates preclude the antecedents of B arriving in the West Midlands from Cambridgeshire.

The Northeast Midlands

Two manuscripts, Lt and T2, are localised by eLALME near Hilton's Thurgarton Priory of the Austin canons in Nottinghamshire, and, for C, the hand that writes *Scala* is assigned with probability to Nottinghamshire. All three of these manuscripts are dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The second hand of N is also placed in the northeast Midlands, in neighbouring Lincolnshire, but the first hand, that which writes *Scala* in this manuscript, is from Norfolk. This book is from 1400 to 1455. A fifth manuscript assigned more generally to the northeast Midlands by eLALME is St; it is late, probably from the first part of the sixteenth century.⁴¹ In addition, six manuscripts have more tangential ties to this region.

While I have considered Ry, with its eLALME assignment to the Soke of Peterborough, among the Cambridgeshire manuscripts, there are reasons which also connect it to the Thurgarton area, which is perhaps twenty kilometres further from Peterborough than is Cambridge, both centres closely associated with the origins of *Scala*. In the analysis of A. J.

⁴¹ See further *Origins and sometimes Dialect for the manuscripts concerned*.

Bliss, Ry and Lt are textually derivative of T2. There are also striking similarities among the formats of these manuscripts. Moreover, all of them suggest religious origins if not origins among the recluses of the region.⁴²

We recall of course the connections of M to the northeast Midlands. A further manuscript with such ties is Hu: the distinct Nottinghamshire underlay of the language of its second scribe also suggests he hailed from the region near Thurgarton.⁴³ In a somewhat different vein, the eLALME dialectal associations of A with three geographical areas (north Staffordshire, even more northerly elements, and Dorset), in addition to the lack of a thorough analysis of the hand that writes its *Scala* text, does not allow us to place its origins precisely. Nevertheless, its close textual affiliation with the *Scala* text in the probably earlier C as well as its inclusion of excerpts of other texts also found in C, probably from Nottinghamshire, suggest that this recension of the text has associations with Nottinghamshire and potentially with Thurgarton. In addition, Doyle's Midlands characterization of its *Scala* dialect would support this conjecture ("Survey" 2: 119). It is true that eLALME tentatively proposes that a second hand in A, not that of *Scala*, is from north Staffordshire or the border between Cheshire and Derbyshire, with even more northerly elements; while this location is more westerly than Nottinghamshire, it is still suggestive of Midlands origins more generally and may just possibly suggest a migration from Nottinghamshire westward. The later definite fifteenth-century links of A to Dorset and Somerset further suggest a route by which *Scala* may have arrived in the southwest of the country, perhaps somewhat circuitously, from antecedents originating ultimately in an early

⁴² Further details may be found under Dialect, Origins, as well as Analysis and Interpretation for the identified manuscripts.

⁴³ See Dialect as well as Analysis and Interpretation under Hu.

centre of production in the Midlands or Nottinghamshire.⁴⁴

Ln would seem to be from the East Midlands generally; Doyle thinks its language has more northerly elements than the textually close Ws from Ely, which may suggest Nottinghamshire.⁴⁵ And while Cc from Campsey Priory is clearly in a Suffolk dialect, Doyle believes the text has northern connections. In addition, the ownership of Cc by Elizabeth Willoughby and the burial at Campsey of two possibly related Willoughby lords with their connections to the family seat and lands in Lincolnshire may indicate that Cc has northeast Midlands antecedents.⁴⁶ In effect, then, while one more extant manuscript has definite connections to the West Midlands than is the case for Nottinghamshire and the northeast Midlands, the traces in six more manuscripts of northeast Midlands links indicate that this latter region may in fact have been more important than the West Midlands and second in rank for the early production of *Scala* manuscripts.

Yorkshire

A final region associated with the making of books containing *Scala* is northwest Yorkshire and the West Riding, where four extant manuscripts have their origins. The *Scala* text in two of these, H3 and U, is localised within fifteen kilometres of Bolton Priory, a house of Austin canons.⁴⁷ H3 is dated around the turn of the fifteenth century while U is dated about a hundred years later. Ralph Hanna places the two remaining Yorkshire texts, R and D, "in some

⁴⁴ See *A passim*.

⁴⁵ See Origins under Ln.

⁴⁶ See Owners Marks, Dialect, and Analysis and Interpretation for Cc.

⁴⁷ For further discussion, see Dialect, Origins, and Analysis and Interpretation for the two manuscripts.

place such as Wensleydale or Swaledale" ("History of a Book" 64, 86-87). Elsewhere, Hanna describes Wensleydale as "the valley of the River Ure," and concludes that scribes whose dialect he places near Burneston, between Swaledale and Wensleydale, a bit east-northeast of Masham in Wensleydale, are nevertheless not writing in these Yorkshire villages but "in a centre of some type." He proposes Ripon as the centre for the scribes of the particular manuscripts that he is considering (Hanna, "Some North Yorkshire Scribes" 168-69). The villages along Wensleydale range from about thirty-five to fifty kilometres in distance from Bolton Priory.

D is derivative of R and that three scribes write the parts of R which are in almost the same Yorkshire dialect suggests that the book was made in a religious house, especially when we consider the remoteness of this region.⁴⁸ R is contemporary with H3 and D is not much later. As Sargent states, all four of these Yorkshire manuscripts are in a subgroup of closely related texts together with F, which is also derivative of R ("Bishops" 165-67). Three of the manuscripts also have probable associations with priests, whether secular or religious.⁴⁹ That all four of these closely related Yorkshire books were associated with one religious house is a real possibility, and that house may have been Bolton Priory. Alternatively, we might hypothesize a scribal interchange of some sort between Bolton Priory and a centre such as Ripon. To make the connection between the manuscripts of this Yorkshire dialectal group and F explicit, R later travels to the environs of northeast Cambridgeshire, according to Hanna's dialectal analysis, where another booklet is added to the codex, and where we have already met it (*English*

⁴⁸ See Textual and Other Affiliations for both manuscripts as well as Dialect, and Origins, for R.

⁴⁹ See Owners Marks and Origins under R, Origins as well as Analysis and Interpretation under H3, and Manuscript Texts under U.

Manuscripts 176).⁵⁰ As we have also seen, F was derived from R in nearby Norfolk (Hanna, "History" 87). Because of the probable connections with priests and pastoral work of three of these four Yorkshire manuscripts, already noted, there is a strong possibility that this Yorkshire recension of *Scala* was itself associated with priests, whether secular or religious, and with their concern for the cure of souls.

Miscellaneous Manuscripts

Two manuscripts are localised outside these six regions and another has a tentative dialectal analysis that also does not fall within these geographical areas. Cc, from around 1450, was owned by an Augustinian nun at Campsey Priory in Suffolk and eLALME localises its language nearby. It nevertheless does have textual relations with H7 from near Walsingham Priory. H2, dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, is localised at Reading where it seems to have remained for the duration of the century. It is textually related to Cc as well as to the Norfolk manuscripts J and N. The dialectal analysis of Lw by Toshiyuki Takamiya is tentative by his own admission and was done prior to the publication of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (LALME). In the event, eLALME does not assess it. Takamiya assigns it "probably" to east Berkshire and considers it to be from the early fifteenth century ("Walter Hilton's *Of Angels' Song*" 3 n. 1; "Handlist" 422).

Assessment of the Evidence for Circulation

This evidence provides a firm grounding for the contention that the Ely / Cambridge area and Cambridgeshire in general was the main centre for the early production of full *Scala* manuscripts in English. Hilton's association with Ely and Cambridge earlier than with Thurgarton may also indicate that this region was indeed the first place where *Scala* was copied

⁵⁰ See also Dialect under R and Textual and Other Affiliations under F.

with some frequency. If it was not in fact the very first locality, then, because of Hilton's associations with both regions and the significant evidence for production in both areas, it seems reasonable to think of Ely and Cambridge as well as Thurgarton as the two centres from which the initial production of *Scala* emanated.⁵¹

In terms of the direction of distribution of these books, the flow of manuscripts from the Ely / Cambridge region toward London is supported by the most evidence, already presented. We also have quite early evidence of manuscripts migrating to Walsingham and northern Norfolk. Manuscripts appear to be radiating out from Cambridge and Ely to the east and to the south. This area in Cambridgeshire, and particularly Ely, is associated with the short ending of *Scale II*. As we have seen, the short-ending H7 has ties to both Ely and Walsingham. The first hand, from Ely, writes just over eleven folios and the bulk of the book is completed by the hand localised near Walsingham.⁵² That the short ending of *Scale II* is perpetuated in this location also suggests that an earlier book with the short ending had made its way from Ely to Walsingham. Doyle notes that a similar hand completes this defective short ending and concludes that this indicates access to more than one copy of *Scala* ("Survey" 1: 254). Presumably such a conclusion means that, in Doyle's assessment, a similar hand for him here includes a similar dialect as well as that more than one copy was in the area.

In this somewhat remote location in northern Norfolk, the requirement of a locality with more than one copy of *Scala* and more than one scribe using the same dialect indicates that the

⁵¹ In a paragraph commenting on some aspects of circulation, Sargent also refers to "centres of dispersal" in the Cambridge and Ely region, in East Anglia, and in the area surrounding Thurgarton ("Nicholas Love's *Mirror*," section V).

⁵² See Scribes and Dialect under H7.

place of production was the Walsingham Priory, the main house of Austin canons in the region. There are no obvious competitors here for a location for book production at this level.⁵³ The textual connections that we have observed of the early short-ending Sr to most of the Norfolk manuscripts of *Scala* further supports a claim of distribution of books from the environs of Ely to Walsingham. And we have already reviewed Lady Clare's patronage of the Austin canons in both regions and noted that the Anglesey and Walsingham priories were in fact tied financially by her patronage into succeeding generations. This evidence taken together indicates that Walsingham Priory was a location for reproducing *Scala* manuscripts that had their origins in the Ely / Cambridge region.

With respect to further indications of circulation, we have noted evidence for the migration of one manuscript, R, from northwest Yorkshire to the Ely area as well as observed some indication for the travel of *Scala* scribes or their manuscript, M, among three of these regions: the West Midlands, Ely, and the northeast Midlands. We have seen hints that manuscripts may have migrated from Nottinghamshire to London and to Devon and Somerset. We have identified another manuscript, B3, that later appears to have moved from London to Dorset. And we may reasonably assume that manuscripts were moving between the two early centres for making books containing *Scala*, Cambridgeshire and Nottinghamshire.

The available evidence thus demonstrates not only that Cambridgeshire is the main centre for the early production of full *Scala* manuscripts in English but also that it is the primary centre of distribution, with good evidence for early dispersal to London and further evidence for distribution to north Norfolk. We have little direct evidence for how manuscripts might have arrived in the two remaining regions of Yorkshire and the West Midlands. The pattern indicated

⁵³ See Analysis and Interpretation under H7 and Dialect under H4.

in the former regions, however, is indicative. Moreover, we have a few hints that support the Ely / Cambridge origins of these western and northern books.

In this regard, we may well now observe that every one of the six main regions were early recipients of the *Scala* text. Each region has at least one text from as early as the first quarter of the fifteenth century and some have even earlier texts.⁵⁴ Thus dating alone cannot give us information on the patterns of circulation. Nevertheless, other kinds of evidence have already allowed for some assessment of these patterns.

In light of the evidence for the very early arrival of *Scala* in both the West Midlands and Yorkshire, a small clue already noted that supports the proposition that the pattern of Ely / Cambridge origins nevertheless obtains in the western region is the presence in the West

⁵⁴ Sargent, in considering his textual criticism of *Scala*, contends that the earliest form of the English text of *Scale I* spread to the furthest extent of its reach. Thus it conforms "to the 'geographical criterion' of textual criticism: that the earliest form of a text tends to occur at the furthest bounds of the area of circulation" ("Bishops" 163, and also 169-70 and *passim*). In this related point indicating early dispersal, he is not however arguing that the early extant manuscripts necessarily contain the earliest form of the text nor that the earliest form does not occur in later manuscripts, since in fact it does, though quite a few of the manuscripts with the earliest form are early. For instance, he does not here include C, J, H5, L, nor Sr in this list of the manuscripts with the earliest unexpanded form of the text even though these all are also at least as early as the first quarter of the fifteenth century. He is instead claiming that, in consonance with the "geographical criterion," a harmony of textual variants such as is found at the "furthest bounds" of the reach of the medieval manuscripts of *Scale I* is evidence in identifying the earliest version (cf. "Numbers" 231).

Midlands of the short-ending B. Again, the origins of this form of the text seem clearly to be the former locality. A further clue is the evidence we have that full manuscripts of *Scala* move from the West Midlands and Yorkshire back to the Cambridgeshire region. As we have seen, M appears to move from the West Midlands to the Ely area and R from Yorkshire to northeastern Cambridgeshire. Since the Ely / Cambridge region is strongly associated with the composition, in particular of *Scale I* because of Hilton's connections to this region during the period of probable composition, this area, rather than the western and northern regions, is accepted as a place of origin of the text itself. And again, Cambridgeshire is a place of major production of *Scala* books. In the absence of any definite evidence that these books are migrating from Yorkshire and the West Midlands to other parts of the country, speaking of a return to Cambridgeshire from the other two regions is more reasonable than conceiving of the books that move to Cambridgeshire as evidence of further distribution patterns. That is, the return of these books is suggestive of earlier and continuing connections with the place of origin and the main centre of production and distribution.

In this respect, it seems noteworthy as well that Richard Scrope, ultimately archbishop of York, resided in three of the regions most strongly associated with the early production of *Scala*: Ely, the West Midlands, and Yorkshire. As we have seen, Hilton was at Ely at least until 1375, when he is recorded in the Consistory Court Register "as a bachelor in laws" and seems to have been in touch with people in this region into the first years of the 1380s (Sargent, "Bishops" 160). Thus his time as a canon lawyer at Ely apparently overlapped at least briefly with Scrope's appointment in 1375 by Bishop Thomas Arundel as president of the Ely consistory court, where Scrope remained until 1379 (Catto, "Shaping" 101; McNiven).

In 1386, Scrope was provided as bishop to the see of Coventry and Lichfield until he was

translated to York as archbishop in 1398 (McNiven; Catto, "Shaping" 101). It seems impossible that he could not have been aware of such a major and costly religious project as the manufacture of the Vernon manuscript during his years as bishop, probably in his diocese or at least very nearby in the neighbouring diocese of Worcester.⁵⁵ If the locality of production was in his diocese, the work must at the very least have had his tacit approval and it is possible that he had a more direct involvement. The Vernon manuscript contains Hilton's "Qui habitat," "Bonum est," *Scale I*, and *Medled Lyf* immediately preceded by Richard Rolle's *A Commandment of Love to God*, *Form of Perfect Living*, and *Ego dormio*.⁵⁶

Regarding these Rolle texts in V, we may profitably consider the possible connection of the Scrope family to Rolle. Not only did Scrope ultimately become the archbishop of York but also this was his home diocese. He was the third son of the first Baron Scrope of Masham, Henry Scrope. Richard Scrope was presented as rector to Ainderby Steeple in 1368, as his first charge (McNiven). The Scrope family had the advowson of this church from the first half of the fourteenth until the sixteenth century ("Parishes: Ainderby Steeple"). Masham is near Ainderby Steeple. In 1927, Hope Emily Allen records that Ainderby Steeple was the location of the second anchorage of Margaret Kirkby, the disciple of Richard Rolle, who was enclosed here after Archbishop Thoresby's permission for her transfer was given in January 1356/57. She therefore arrived after Rolle died in 1349. Nevertheless, Allen gives a number of reasons for thinking that, besides being Kirkby's patrons, the Scopes may have been patrons also of Rolle, whose family may have lived at Yafforth, less than four kilometres from Ainderby Steeple. She notes, for

⁵⁵ For the medieval boundaries of the diocese, see "Worcester, Introduction."

⁵⁶ For further details on the production of Vernon, see V under Manuscript Description, Scribes, Manuscript Texts, and Dialect.

instance, that they were interested in his works in the fifteenth century. Allen conjectures that Kirkby stayed at Ainderby until the early 1380s and provides evidence suggesting that the Scropes took a "special interest" in her (*Writings* 502-08).

If Allen's terminal date for Kirkby's enclosure at Ainderby is accurate, Richard Scrope would have been rector of the church during her time there.⁵⁷ Further, Hanna cites the will of the early fifteenth-century Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham, that bequeaths what seems to be an autograph of Rolle's "Iudica me Deus" to his neighbour and relative, Henry FitzHugh, Lord of West Tanfield ("Transmission" 321-22).⁵⁸ Allen suggests that the FitzHughs too were patrons of Rolle (*Writings* 504). Bishop Scrope of the see of Coventry and Lichfield cannot have failed to have known of Rolle and his writings during the making of the Vernon manuscript.

This is not to argue specifically that Scrope was personally responsible for bringing *Scala*

⁵⁷ The *Victoria County History* reports, in 1914, a little window with extant evidence "that it once had a shutter opened only from the outside," noting this seems to confirm a surviving "legend" that the church formerly had an anchorite's cell attached ("Parishes: Ainderby Steeple"). This would appear to be the window into the church through which Margaret Kirkby would have observed the sacrament of the altar which, Allen notes, she could not see at her former enclosure and occasioned her move to Ainderby (*Writings* 502). Catto states that Scrope and Kirkby "must have known" one another but without citing the details of evidence apart from Scrope's tenure of the Ainderby church ("Shaping" 101).

⁵⁸ Hanna's description proposes that the manuscript may have been "autograph . . . and yet distinctly incomplete, only a portion of 'Judica A'" ("Transmission" 322). This suggests that he believes Rolle himself may have written more than one version, and this is the reason I use the indefinite pronoun. Allen appears to be of the same view (*Writings* 95).

to the West Midlands or for supervising the inclusion of Rolle and Hilton texts next to one another in the Vernon manuscript.⁵⁹ Hanna has cautioned Jeremy Catto regarding an "institutional bias" that too quickly sees a causal connection between the powerful people and the literary movements of the time, with respect to Catto's argument in "Shaping the Mixed Life: Thomas Arundel's Reformation."⁶⁰ Hanna proposes instead "something one might call

⁵⁹ Catto makes the move of observing potential and actual connections of Rolle and Hilton or their writings with Scrope, similar to but not precisely those I make, and then viewing Scrope as "the obvious channel through whom" their texts coalesced in Vernon and Simeon ("Shaping" 101-03).

⁶⁰ In response to the entire critique, not only this issue, Catto protests that Hanna has misrepresented his argument and has presented a rejoinder that is largely not to the point ("Richard Rolle"). In my view, Catto is right that Hanna has misrepresented Catto's case to some degree and that Hanna makes good points that do not provide an entirely satisfying answer to Catto's argument. Nevertheless, in my judgement, the point Hanna makes about the tendency he sees in Catto toward an "institutional bias" does address a legitimate difficulty in Catto even though it is unfortunately framed in rather exaggerated terms. Hanna's corrective is helpful to the degree that it argues for a more nuanced awareness of the multiple factors at play in times of major historical change. His point in this respect seems to be that literary studies can bring additional factors to bear on such a discussion, if I may risk an attempt at moderating the somewhat inflated rhetoric and distilling the pertinent point. I at least take that latter point. And Catto, for his part, seems to me to be correct in insisting that the powerful officials of the time, particularly Richard Scrope, must have been aware of the literary movements of moment, and must have acted in response to these movements or have chosen not to act, with some sort of

'associationalism.'" In summary, this involves transmission of texts through informal and sometimes indirect associations of the individuals involved with those texts. He cites the connections that would have been fostered among the late medieval English upper classes in institutions such as "clerical *familiae*," the "university," and the "royal service," in which he proposes that "one would always know someone who knew some specified someone else" ("Transmission" 330-31). This concept bears some relation to the networks I propose as a way of understanding the production and distribution of *Scala*, though I am not particularly indebted to Hanna for the idea. It appears to arise naturally enough from a careful and detailed analysis of the evidence.

By some such means, the networks of which Richard Scrope was a part must have fostered the movement of *Scala* to regions with which he was particularly associated. It seems highly probable that he was aware of this movement of the *Scala* text, at least from Ely to the West Midlands, and the possibility that he played his own role appears real enough. Moreover, the direction of Scrope's movement, probably with some associates, from Ely to the see of Coventry and Lichfield at about the time of the making of Vernon at least suggests that the transmission of *Scala* to the West Midlands was directly from Ely and Cambridge.

In conclusion, then, we may say that, on the basis of the extant evidence, the Cambridgeshire region was the main centre for the production and distribution of full-text English *Scala* manuscripts, and probably the first. From here, manuscripts radiated eastward to Norfolk and southward to London. They were possibly also moving directly from the Cambridgeshire region to the West Midlands and to Yorkshire. Furthermore, there was most probably a continuing interchange of manuscripts between Cambridgeshire and Nottinghamshire,

attending results.

two early and neighbouring centres of production and both places where we know Hilton himself resided.

THE INFLATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CARTHUSIANS IN THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF
THE ENGLISH *SCALA*

The narrative that the Carthusians were the main promoters of the English *Scala* dominates the scholarly discussion referring to these manuscripts to such a degree that it has become almost a reflex to look first for evidence of Carthusian connections for *Scala* manuscripts.⁶¹ I have given way to this tendency over the course of this project more than once, and, where the possibility of Carthusian involvement may in fact exist, I have allowed the traces of this tendency to stand in the record of my research, even while modifying my work to allow for other at least equally probable possibilities. Nevertheless, even after giving due weight to the possibilities of Carthusian involvement, the evidence from the extant full-text manuscripts of the English *Scala* simply will not support a major role for them.⁶²

A. I. Doyle's and S. S. Hussey's Arguments

A. I. Doyle's doctoral work from the 1950s has been formative in building the consensus of scholars that the Carthusians played a foremost role in the dissemination of the English *Scala* text. The strong support for this consensus has begun to be nuanced more recently, however, by

⁶¹ Examples of those citing or adopting this account include Catto, "Shaping," (106-07); Clark (404); Clark and Dorward (16, 33-34); Gillespie, "Dial M" (242, 248, but cf. 263); Hanna, "Augustinian Canons" (30), and with this cf. Hanna, "History" (89); Keiser (37, 44-45); Windeatt (211).

⁶² It should be noted that this project is limited to the full-text English *Scala* manuscripts, and the implications of this conclusion for the role of the Carthusians in the distribution of other vernacular works requires further investigation.

Vincent Gillespie, who has advanced a proposal that Syon Abbey, closely connected to the Carthusians, may have had more of a hand in it than has hitherto been appreciated ("Hilton at Syon"). In 1989, Doyle summarizes his contention regarding the Carthusian distribution of *Scala* as follows:

There is a want of positive evidence that Hilton's own order, the Austin canons (whose houses were autonomous like the Benedictines', subject to only occasional provincial chapters), did much towards the early diffusion of his writings, but the exceptionally cohesive organisation of the Carthusians played a major role in the transmission and conflation of the *Scala* in the fifteenth century, commending it also probably to the Brigittines and the devout laity of the court and metropolis. Although the Latin *Scala* was the work of a Carmelite friar, Thomas Fyslake, whose order was very active in contemplative spiritual counsel as well as other fields in this period, and which like all the mendicants had a provincial and international organisation rivalling the Carthusians', the latter are again the most conspicuous in its circulation, extending beyond Britain. ("Publication" 113-14)

Here Doyle makes separate and specific claims for the English *Scala* first, as distinct from the Latin. In his note supporting the first sentence quoted, Doyle cites his 1953 doctoral "Survey . . . of Theological Writings in English," not Latin, and specifically the section on "Walter Hilton's *Scala*" (1: 243-75). This, he states, is "subject to more recent findings by" Hussey in 1964 ("Text") and Sargent in 1983 ("Walter Hilton's *Scala*"). His claims for the Latin text may have stronger substantiation, but the evidence for the Carthusian dissemination of the original English is surprisingly weak in light of the favour this account has gained.

From this summary and from the pride of place and emphasis Doyle gives the point in his

"Survey," as well as its logical strength, we may deduce that the "exceptionally cohesive organisation of the Carthusians" is the main tenet in the development of his argument ("Survey" 1: 261; "Publication" 113).⁶³ When Doyle speaks in this context of the "conflation of the *Scale*," he appears to be referring specifically to the corrected and edited version of H, eventually owned by the London Charterhouse, which he attributes to the Carthusians in his "Survey," and to the related conflated text of E, produced by them. In this secondary point then, he assesses H as follows: "I am inclined, however, by the linguistic and textual affinities to place the main editing, and therefore the exemplars, in London (xv ex.)" ("Survey" 1: 261, 264).

Doyle implies that As is possibly one of these exemplars used in editing H, to take up Doyle's secondary point first. Manuscript H seems to be closely related textually to As⁶⁴ which, as we have seen, apparently has origins in the Cambridgeshire region and is dated to the first half of the fifteenth century. The base text of H, dialectally also from this same region, is dated by Sargent to about 1400. In his discussion of the textual affinities of H, Doyle considers As to be the "nearest text . . . at one stage" of editing and speculates that, at this stage, "there may have been a direct relationship" ("Survey" 1: 260). Implicitly, this contention is primarily behind his claim of "textual affinities" of H with London manuscripts. Manuscript As was apparently owned in the early to mid-sixteenth century by a Syon nun,⁶⁵ the abbey of which was near the Sheen Charterhouse, facilitating the exchange and sharing of books that occurred. But the

⁶³ The argument for significant Carthusian involvement with *Scala* is mainly comprised of Doyle's discussion of As, E, H, H5, H6, L, P, T, and the lost *Scala* manuscripts of the Syon brethren ("Survey" 1: 256-68).

⁶⁴ See Textual and Other Affiliations for H.

⁶⁵ See Medieval Repository under As.

probable Cambridgeshire origin of both these early manuscripts does not support Doyle's implicit hypothesis of the textual affinity of H with an extant exemplar available to the metropolitan Carthusians in their supposed editing of H. And As may well have still been in Cambridgeshire during the editing of H and may have served there as an exemplar, if this is indeed the relationship between As and H.

The only extant full English texts of *Scala* owned by the metropolitan Carthusians besides H were E and T, both of which are later than the editing of H according to the most recent analyses and so these cannot have been the exemplars which Doyle believes to have existed. T does not appear to be a particularly close congener in any event, and if there is a textual dependency of some kind between H and E, which seems to be a text parallel to the edited H, then E is dependent on H and not the other way around.⁶⁶ Besides As, Syon owned H5 at least by the second quarter of the fifteenth century, but it is not closely related textually to H, and we have seen that its origins also seem to point to Cambridgeshire. The catalogue of the Syon brethren indicates that they owned other *Scala* manuscripts that are no longer extant, but these can tell us nothing about textual affinities and little about origins (Doyle "Survey" 1: 258-59, 265-66; Gillespie, "Hilton at Syon" 36-37; 49-50).

When Doyle did his primary work on the English *Scala* manuscripts in the 1950s, the major compilation of linguistic evidence for manuscript origins that we now have in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* was not available to him. If we take this more recent work seriously and particularly the dialectal analysis of the hands in H, all of its editing took place in the Cambridgeshire region, so neither do its linguistic associations point to the London Charterhouse, as Doyle also claims, as we have noted above. He is aware that various hands in

⁶⁶ See Textual and Other Affiliations as well as Analysis and Interpretation for H.

H are not London English but are what he calls "Midland" ("Survey" 1: 260). Whether or not he thinks that one or more of the hands was also writing a London dialect or that the main editor was writing a "Midland" dialect but nevertheless writing in London is not clear. The reason that he refers to linguistic associations with London is thus left ambiguous. Doyle makes the point as well that one of the later additions in H, a table of headings, agrees closely with Ld⁶⁷ ("Survey" 1: 261). eLALME localises this latter manuscript again to Cambridgeshire, eighteen kilometres north of Cambridge.

In harmony with Doyle's assessment of H, Hussey states that "H may well have been a kind of 'working copy' at the London Charterhouse, although several unaltered Northern forms in its language suggest that it was written elsewhere. But the only really important hand of the several which worked on H is" the main correcting hand ("Text" 87). Later, he adds that he chose H as the base text for his edition in part because it was "perhaps considered of particular merit by the scribes of the London Charterhouse who worked on it" ("Text" 91-92). Hussey thus considers this main editing hand to be a hand from the London Charterhouse. He identifies this hand as "that which completed the last few lines of Book II, made insertions between the lines, in the margins and at the foot of the page, and altered the text over erasures. (Apart from a very few entries in the text, the other hands seem to have confined themselves to supplying chapter headings to a text originally without them)" ("Text" 87). But this main correcting hand, which eLALME designates Hand E, is there localised to the northeastern part of Northamptonshire,

⁶⁷ Doyle, and later Gillespie ("Hilton at Syon" 47-48), think that Ld may have a Syon provenance, but, in light of the LALME project, which assigns it to Cambridgeshire, and other difficulties with that suggestion, continuing to make the claim begins to appear untenable. See Ld, particularly under Manuscript Date, Scribes, Dialect, and Analysis and Interpretation.

about twenty-three kilometres southwest of Peterborough and sixty to sixty-five approximately west of Ely. That is, it is from the Cambridgeshire region, as are Hands A to D, which eLALME assigns to Ely or the very south of Lincolnshire.⁶⁸

Doyle and Hussey did this work on H long before the LALME research was published in 1986. In light of that later research, however, to posit that H and two manuscripts with markedly similar textual features, As and Ld, are all dialectally from Cambridgeshire but that nevertheless the main correcting hand is from the London Charterhouse, even though it is also localised to the Cambridgeshire region, is untenable. The item in H that does associate it with the London Charterhouse is its inscription of ownership, which must have been written at the Charterhouse. Doyle himself considers this inscription to be one of the final emendations ("Survey" 1: 261). In summary, Hussey appears to repeat Doyle's earlier point about H more boldly but without further substantiation. The cumulative weight of the evidence strongly indicates that all of the editing of H occurred in the Cambridgeshire region and that the Charterhouse acquired the manuscript later, possibly as late as the early sixteenth century. The only addition that can definitely be ascribed to the Charterhouse is the ownership inscription.⁶⁹

At first glance, a conclusion Hussey draws in his work on his edition of *Scale II* appears to carry some weight, however, in establishing Carthusian origins for H. He contends that the original text of *Scale II* in H was more similar to H5, an early London manuscript, "than any other extant manuscript." He further sees H5 as closely related to the remaining text of Ws and to As in part of its text. He then proposes a theory of descent that attempts to account for the problems still encountered by efforts to see H, H5, Ws, and As as closely related in *Scale II*

⁶⁸ See Dialect under H.

⁶⁹ See Analysis and Interpretation under H.

("Text" 87-88). H5 and As are eventually owned by Syon Abbey and this provenance seems to support a theory of copying and dissemination by the Carthusians, who at some point acquired H. But Ws is another manuscript with dialectal origins in Ely. And, as we have seen, As and H5 also both point back to Cambridgeshire, as does H in its original and later hands.

Even more telling, however, is Sargent's later textual work on *Scale II*. He concluded that Hussey's methodology was flawed and so did a wholly new collation of thirteen of the manuscripts of *Scale II* that included all the manuscripts concerned here. This demonstrated that H is not closely related in Book II to As, H5, or Ws, or to any other manuscript, for that matter, apart from fitting within a larger affiliational group of eleven manuscripts that does include the three considered here. Moreover, he found that H5 and Ws are close congeners ("Editing" 521-26). This latter discovery further confirms my earlier suggestion that H5 may have had its exemplar or very near antecedent from Cambridgeshire, since Ws is another short-ending text of *Scale II* from Ely. Therefore, the later Syon provenance of H5 and As do not provide textual support for a theory that H was edited at the London Charterhouses. The theory of Carthusian dissemination of the English *Scala* is therefore not supported by Hussey's work, despite Doyle's citation of it to that end. The contention begins to appear to be flawed.

To return to the main tenet of Doyle's argument, he also proposes an "exceptionally cohesive organisation of the Carthusians" ("Publication" 113). He proposes this to account for the movement of H from a more northerly region to London, of which he is aware because of his attention to what he calls the "Midland English," in his view, of at least some of the hands. He states, "In view of the known habits of the Carthusians, we may attribute to them the requisite migration of the manuscript, but we cannot be sure precisely when the work of alteration was done; whether in one or more Charter-houses (London and a Northern one) or partially

elsewhere" ("Survey" 1: 261). He inclines, however, as we have already seen, to a theory of "the main editing" occurring in London, on "linguistic and textual" grounds. If there had been Carthusian houses in the Cambridgeshire region, invocation of a "cohesive" Carthusian "organisation" would of course be a strong and telling, if not a conclusive, point. But the pertinent map of Knowles and Hadcock demonstrates that there are no Carthusian houses anywhere near this area. Neither the production nor the editing of H, therefore, is likely to be Carthusian.

On a related point, Doyle then hypothesizes (by his own account) regarding the possible involvement of Syon Abbey in the production of *Scala* manuscripts. He notes copies which they owned, according to entries in the catalogue of the brethren. None of these entries can be definitely identified with any extant manuscripts. He does observe, however, that the contents given for entry M.26 closely correspond to the contents of L, though not in order. Doyle simply juxtaposes these two manuscripts in the context of speculation about Syon's involvement in textual production and an assumption that L was produced in London. He does not draw specific conclusions about the relationship of L and M.26 ("Survey" 1: 259, 265-66).

Is Syon Abbey Producing *Scala* Manuscripts?

In 2002, Vincent Gillespie, growing increasingly sceptical of the role of the Carthusians in the dissemination of devotional materials to the laity, took up Doyle's observations about Syon Abbey and developed them into an argument for the dissemination of Hilton materials by the Brigittine Syon brethren instead ("Hilton at Syon"; cf. "The Haunted Text"). His case rests on the crucial tenet of possible connections between entry M.26 from the Syon brethren's catalogue and L. He characterizes M.26 as "a book of the utmost importance for the circulation and transmission of Hilton's works." Later, he again assesses it as "hugely important" ("Hilton at

Syon" 36, 44).

His first point regarding M.26 that bears on the circulation of *Scala* is a repetition of Doyle's observation of the correspondence of contents between M.26 and L ("Hilton at Syon" 38). His record of the entry at M.26 shows that indeed its five texts also all appear in L, though in a different order. In addition, L adds "On Benedictus," then perhaps thought to be Hilton's, an ascription now doubted.⁷⁰ To introduce his second point relevant to circulation, Gillespie reviews some of the history of the common-profit books, noting in particular that, in John Killum's will, John Colop is identified as his servant and an executor of his will "charged with distributing the residue of his property in alms." L, of course, is made of the goods of John Killum who died in 1416. In 1441, we find Colop (possibly a relative of Richard Colop the stationer and later recipient of L)⁷¹ entrusted with the property left by Robert Hollond at his death in 1436, from whose goods another common-profit book was made. John Colop is also recorded as the donor of a further common-profit book, Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.vi.31.⁷² In 1446, he appears as a founding member of the Chapel and Guild of the Nine Orders of Angels, which had eventual ties to neighbouring Syon Abbey ("Hilton at Syon" 35-41).

Gillespie then concludes in part as follows:

It may be pure coincidence that one of the founders of this guild close to Syon

⁷⁰ See Manuscript Texts under L.

⁷¹ See also Owners Marks under L.

⁷² M. R. James states that, in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.vi.31, "Iohn Collop is the name in line 1" of "the same inscription" that appears in L, where the name "Jon killum" appears instead (*Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* 648).

was the executor of two men whose goods were used to make "common-profit" books, one of which closely shadows the contents of a now-lost Syon volume.

But it may also suggest that Colop knew Syon to be a rich and reliable source of authentic and authoritative texts, and that volumes like Lambeth 472 [L] and its cognates may trace their textual roots back to the house. ("Hilton at Syon" 41)

Then, citing personal connections between residents of Syon on one hand and well-born Londoners and clergy on the other, Gillespie proposes the emergence of Syon "as a convincing (perhaps *the* most convincing) metropolitan centre" for networks among which books such as the common-profit books circulated ("Hilton at Syon" 42).

The assumption in this argument is that Syon can be taken to be the point from which such book circulation proceeds. The narrative that the circulation of the English *Scala* emanates from the Carthusian-Brigittine axis in the metropolis has apparently become so deeply embedded among scholars⁷³ that such readers may not notice a gap in the argument: Gillespie has not demonstrated that English *Scala* books are in fact emanating from Syon into the community rather than from the community into Syon as a terminal repository. That is, Gillespie makes the assumption that, if one begins to entertain doubts about the Carthusian involvement in the circulation of devotional works beyond these houses, one may still assume that the Brigittine pole of the axis operated to distribute such books if one only demonstrates that these sorts of books were owned by Syon. In other words, the premise that books emanate from this axis is presumed to be so well established that further evidence, beyond mere ownership, that books

⁷³ We have already seen that important scholars in the field, not only Doyle, Hussey, and Sargent, but also Catto, Clark and Dorward, Gillespie, Hanna, and Keiser adopt or cite this narrative.

such as this were copied there or were distributed from the house is not required.

The evidence indicates that full-text *Scala* books gravitated toward Syon, but I am not aware of evidence that definitely supports the production and dissemination of copies from Syon moving out of the house and into the hands of the laity. We have seen that As and H5 originated outside of the sisters' house at Syon but ultimately found their way inside, in the case of H5 by bequest.⁷⁴ These are the only extant English manuscripts that can definitely be given a Syon provenance.⁷⁵ According to Gillespie, the catalogue of the Syon brethren contains two surviving entries for English *Scala* manuscripts, M.24 and M.97. M.24 was given by Thomas Fishbourn, first Confessor-General of the house, at least by 1428 and contained Latin texts besides the English *Scala*. M.97 was also donated, possibly by "the priest Thomas Lay who died in April 1477." Two entries for English *Scala* books are erased but can be recovered with ultra-violet light. One of these, M.26, has already been identified as having a correspondence to L. The other is a bare entry without details except that it was "*in anglicis*" ("Hilton at Syon" 49-50). Doyle points out that this might in fact have been either H5 or As ("Survey" 1: 259). This entry tells us nothing about origins or circulation.

Of these five, or perhaps six, copies with a Syon provenance, at least four were produced

⁷⁴ As Gillespie also notes, H5 may have been in the library of the brethren rather than the sisters ("Hilton at Syon" 48).

⁷⁵ I have already noted that the suggestion that Ld is from Syon is without real foundation. Gillespie also associates Ld with Syon, but without additional evidence to support this provenance. Syon nuns also owned at least one and possibly two extant *Scala* prints ("Hilton at Syon" 45-48). These are not part of the current study and do not bear on a consideration of the early manuscript distribution of our text.

outside the house and in time found a home in Syon, As, H5, M.24, and M.97. The first two appear to have Cambridgeshire origins or antecedents. At least three of these were donated or bequeathed, suggesting they were not sought out for acquisition by Syon residents, for instance in an effort to acquire exemplars. Again, none of these four were copied in Syon. M.26, a fifth book, is nevertheless assumed by Gillespie to indicate movement in the other direction because its contents have a correspondence with L, which has connections to John Colop, who has apparent associations with Syon.

In fact, L has apparent origins in the environs of Cambridge, not London. eLALME localises it about eighteen kilometres north of the town, along with Ld, which has the same dialect and possibly the same main hand. Indeed, there is a possibility that Ld also was a Hilton anthology at an earlier stage.⁷⁶ Moreover, Lagorio and Sargent date L to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. This manuscript was made of the proceeds of the estate of John Killum, who died in 1416. Syon was founded in 1415.⁷⁷ The probability is high that L was made soon after Killum's death when Syon was still in its infancy and could not be expected "to be a rich and reliable source of authentic and authoritative texts," as Gillespie proposes ("Hilton at Syon" 41). Doyle does propose that the date for L could be "as late as 1440," but he does this under the influence of the dates in that decade when John Colop is associated with the production of further common-profit books ("Survey" 1: 266). Colop was obviously a much younger man when he is named as a servant in the will of John Killum and given the apparently minor role of distributing alms. Rather than viewing Colop, the young servant of Killum, as the one in charge

⁷⁶ See Analysis and Interpretation under Ld.

⁷⁷ The date of founding is often cited; see, for instance, Gillespie ("Hilton at Syon" 10) and Sargent ("Transmission" 228).

of making L, it seems more reasonable to think that, by the 1440s, he had improved his station in life and was carrying on the legacy of an older predecessor in the enterprise of producing common-profit books.

Moreover, P is a London copy of L and it is not difficult to believe that other copies, such as M.26, were made in London of this Cambridge anthology of Hilton texts among those who might be interested in such a collection. Colop is not definitely associated with the Chapel and Guild of the Nine Orders of Angels near Syon until 1446, thirty years after he must have known about Killum's desire that a common-profit book be made from the proceeds of his estate. It seems far more probable that Colop introduced Syon to this anthology than the other way around, as Gillespie assumes. After all, this Hilton collection originates near Cambridge, not Syon Abbey or the metropolitan Charterhouses.

The evidence thus indicates that three of the Syon manuscripts of the English *Scala* have Cambridgeshire origins or antecedents and that Cambridgeshire is the main source of *Scala* manuscripts for both Syon and the metropolitan Carthusians. This is not to argue that an abbey with as many books as Syon owned and a demonstrated interest in the cure of souls, an interest Gillespie also illuminates in this article on "Hilton at Syon," was not involved in copying and disseminating books, for it was, at least after the advent of print (Gillespie, "Dial M" 254). It is instead simply to point out that definite evidence that this is the case for English *Scala* manuscripts has not been presented and that, for *Scala* books at least, the existing evidence indicates that Syon is the recipient of books with origins elsewhere. Indeed, this lack of evidence for *Scala* distribution from Syon is not entirely surprising when one considers that Syon's catalogue had "1465 shelfmarks and well over ten times that many constituent works" (Gillespie, "Dial M" 265). As Gillespie also notes, its Hilton texts do not comprise a significant part of such

a large collection. And dangers abound "in deducing the activities of an Order or a House from the evidence of its library holdings," particularly when the books are donated ("Dial M" 264, 267). The evidence for an interest in distributing *Scala* manuscripts from Syon is scant.

Michael G. Sargent's Argument

We have considered Doyle's citation of Hussey's work in advancing his claims for the importance of the Carthusians in the distribution of the English *Scala*. Besides Hussey, Doyle also cites Sargent's article "Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*: The London Manuscript Group Reconsidered" as refining his conclusions. In this 1983 article, Sargent modifies and develops claims he had made in 1976 in his "The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings." In the first published of these, Sargent declares that "Carthusian copies of the *Scale of Perfection* abound" (235). In support of this, he cites now outdated textual collations by Helen Gardner and S. S. Hussey. He also names two of the English manuscripts, T and H, observing that T was copied at Sheen and implies that the London Carthusians worked on H, as Doyle and Hussey argue. He then lists nine Latin manuscripts that have various sorts of connections to both English and Continental Carthusians (235-36).

In "Walter Hilton's *Scale*," Sargent states that nine of the extant English manuscripts have "some probability" of association with the London and Sheen Charterhouse and Syon Abbey. He adds that "several more appear to be peripherally related to them" (189). His list of the nine includes the Rosenbach copy of the 1494 Wynkyn de Worde print, which has been excluded from the present study as belonging to the the later print phase of circulation. The list comprises as well Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 2544-45, which is a seventeenth-century copy made on the Continent by Abraham Ellis from a print, which has also been excluded here because of its non-manuscript origins and late date, characteristic of the later Recusant phase of transmission.

The remaining seven are the now familiar As, E, H, H5, Ld, T, as well as the less familiar and less certainly Carthusian or Brigittine Ch. Sargent then again lists the nine Latin manuscripts with various levels of Carthusian connections, out of the fifteen he then knew to be extant (189-90).

The article goes on to review the various stages of the textual analysis done on these manuscripts to that point, some of which is by now quite outdated, as already noted, as well as his own work on the textual editing of James Grenehalgh of Sheen. He also considers the common-profit books as they may relate to *Scala* circulation in addition to the provenance of a few early prints. Along the way, he notes various sorts of textual and other relationships among these manuscripts but without clearly identifying the weight he gives to different sorts of textual relationships in attempting to assess their actual connections. Finally, he issues "a few notes of caution" before concluding as follows: "Yet the evidence remains of a remarkable, and remarkably cohesive, group of MSS" ("Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 208). His article generally is reminiscent of Doyle's conclusions "that this whole undertaking of compilation" that he observes, particularly in H and E, "was due to the metropolitan Carthusians, with the collaboration of other owners of texts" (Survey" 1: 264).

These two articles by Sargent are cited repeatedly in support of Carthusian involvement in the distribution of *Scala* manuscripts.⁷⁸ The two main tenets in his case are, first, the striking number of *Scala* manuscripts that can be associated in some way with the Carthusians or Brigittines and, second, the variety of textual relationships, based on somewhat outdated research, that seem to obtain among these manuscripts. Sargent himself is aware of the weakness

⁷⁸ See, for instance, the list of scholars adopting or citing the narrative that the Carthusians are the main promoters of *Scala*, given above.

of these two tenets. His final caveats include a caution "that the house to which a book belonged is not necessarily where it originated" and another "that non-textual relationships between MSS do not prove textual ones, or vice versa" ("Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 208).

The basic difficulty in his case is the conflation of various kinds of evidence. Thus, primarily, evidence for origins is conflated with evidence for later provenance. Secondly, a variety of evidence for textual relationships is conflated without distinction in weighing its value for assessing connections among manuscripts. There is a further tendency to conflate evidence for the circulation of English manuscripts with that for Latin manuscripts. Sargent also labours under the assumption that the basic text of both books of H was written by one scribe in northern England "while the annotators wrote in dialects closer to that of the city of London" ("Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 198).

This assessment, as we have already seen, does not coincide with the later analysis of eLALME, according to which all hands analyzed are from the Cambridgeshire region. Their analysis does not make it explicit that every annotating hand has been distinguished and analyzed, so there is a possibility that a few editing hands were not identified and assessed and that one or two of these could be London hands. Nevertheless, three hands making additions are identified and all are assigned to the same region. Moreover, if Hussey's assessment of the hands is correct (and Sargent, aware of his work, does not challenge it), then the main correcting hand is also the hand that completes Book II, identified by eLALME as Hand E, which is localised in the Cambridgeshire region. Even if a few minor changes were later made by London hands, the main work would still have been done in Cambridgeshire and its environs.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ At least by 2008 if not earlier, Sargent accepts the geographical placement of the hands in H made by LALME. At that time, after a brief review of *Scala* manuscripts that includes

To return to Sargent's first main tenet that recalls the remarkable number of English *Scala* manuscripts with non-textual Carthusian connections, one comes to very different conclusions if evidence for origins is distinguished from evidence for later provenance or association. When the distinction is observed, only E and T originate at the metropolitan Charterhouses. By now it scarcely bears repeating that the rest of the manuscripts Sargent lists appear to have origins or near antecedents in Cambridgeshire, except for Ch, which is dialectally associated with the West Midlands. Sargent canvasses L as well in his survey; this common-profit book pertinent to the circulation of *Scala* also points dialectally to Cambridge.

With respect to Sargent's second main premise, the textual relationships among manuscripts with some Carthusian associations, the present analysis attempts consistently to give the most weight to textual relationships that have been demonstrated to be direct or so close as to be of significance for an assessment of dissemination while minimizing the importance in this respect of more distant relationships. This assessment attempts also to take full account of the most recent textual analyses available. As a result, only two textual relationships among the

conclusions from textual analysis as well as remarks on production, presentation, and localisation of manuscripts from various regions, he states that *Scala* and *Piers Plowman* both "originally went into circulation from provincial centers of dissemination, and a large part of their transmission took place before, and outside of, the centralization of scribal activity in London in the first quarter of the fifteenth century--although part of the circulation of both texts was drawn into the orbit of the city" ("Numbers" 230-34). His view is that the provincial "centres of dissemination" were multiple ("Bishops" 170). To my knowledge, he does not comment on the implications of all of this for his earlier conclusions that the London Carthusians predominate in the circulation of *Scala*.

manuscripts Sargent surveys have been identified as significant for circulation, both of which have already been discussed, that between As and one stage of H as well as that between H and E. Because As and H are both Cambridgeshire manuscripts and because the revisions in H appear to have been completed in that region, this textual relationship tends to confirm the Cambridgeshire origins of these books. E was of course made at the London Charterhouse, which by that time may have acquired H, so this relationship merely provides further support that H was eventually owned by the London Carthusians.

Some observations may also be made regarding the apparent Carthusian connections of Latin *Scala* manuscripts. Sargent points to quite early evidence that London Carthusians produced two copies of Fishlake's Latin translation of *Scala* and that a Syon brother produced one.⁸⁰ Otherwise, he also conflates evidence for origins and for later provenance or association in this list of nine Latin manuscripts. Moreover, listing this reception history alongside that of the English *Scala*, versions which nevertheless are aimed at distinct audiences, tends to muddle the account. Despite all this, the higher proportion of Latin manuscripts with connections of some kind to the Carthusians, both English and Continental, when compared to the proportion of such English books, is more than suggestive of greater Carthusian involvement with the Latin text.⁸¹

Another caution Sargent raises in his conclusion is relevant to the present discussion: "that the orthography of a MS may indicate the dialect in which its scribe first learned to write,

⁸⁰ I have evinced some of this in the appendix.

⁸¹ The tendency to conflate the English and Latin versions also seems to underlie claims made by some of the authors listed earlier who cite or adopt the narrative of Carthusian circulation of *Scala*.

or in which its exemplar was written" ("Walter Hilton's *Scala*" 208). That is, not all of the English *Scala* manuscripts assigned linguistically to the Cambridgeshire region were of necessity written there. I have therefore attempted also to take into account other indicators of origin where possible. Furthermore, even if one manuscript were demonstrated to be produced in London and if it should nevertheless display a Cambridgeshire dialect, the preponderance of evidence for Cambridgeshire origins for London manuscripts is not easily overturned. In the face of such an hypothesis of a disparity in one case between dialect and origins, the weight of evidence would still support the contention that the extant record indicates that London manuscripts, generally, originated in Cambridgeshire or were copied in London from manuscripts with Cambridgeshire origins or antecedents.

Unfortunately, some of the scholars whom we have already noted who cite Sargent have not always been as aware as he is of the potential pitfalls of the case he makes, and this greater daring of those who rely on Sargent has contributed to the solidifying of a consensus in favour of the Carthusians as primarily responsible for the dissemination of *Scala*. Sargent, for his part advises caution, for example, as we have noted, in concluding too much from evidence for provenance, manuscript relationships, or orthography independently of other factors. Doyle, too, is characteristically circumspect, frequently couching his proposals in various disclaimers and an awareness of the need for further assessment, both in his "Survey" and elsewhere. Despite Doyle's drawing some conclusions, in the 1950s, that were not entirely warranted regarding Carthusian responsibility for the English *Scala*, which he indeed surrounded with suitable caution, his early perspicacity in the "Survey" with respect to an astonishing number of other observations is remarkable; one would be remiss to fail to notice it in any critique.

We may summarize the Carthusian involvement with the full-text English *Scala* as

follows: only two of the extant manuscripts can be shown with any confidence to have been produced by them, E and T, and they are both late. T can be dated more precisely, and it was almost certainly written in the last decade of the fifteenth century. It is possible that E is from as late as the early sixteenth century.⁸² Thus, from what the extant manuscripts tell us, the Carthusians came to the full-text English *Scala* late. Moreover, we have no evidence of the full English text produced by them being distributed to other locations, as we do for the Ely manuscripts. Both of their extant texts seem to have been intended to remain in the house which produced them. Sargent discusses the extensive annotations of the Sheen Carthusian James Grenehalgh in a few *Scala* texts in this late period, one of them Latin and one a print (Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 201-04; "Transmission" 235-36; cf. "James Grenehalgh"). Yet this cannot be extrapolated into a contention that the Carthusian order in England as a whole was so inclined over the entire fifteenth century. Grenehalgh indeed seems to have been somewhat of an oddity within the order and, as Sargent explains, apparently under its censure for the latter part of his life ("Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 201). One consequently wonders whether his interest in the English *Scala* had something to do with his interest in the Syon nun, Johanna Sewell, for whom some of this work was done. At least eighty years before this, the distribution of *Scala* was already wide and very well established. On the basis of the current evidence, to put the Carthusians in the forefront of the movement is to put the cart before the horse. To shift the metaphor, most of the horses and nearly all the carts were past and the parade nearly over before the Carthusians arrived.

This then leaves us with a pressing question: if the Carthusians are not promoting the distribution of the full-text English *Scala*, who is? Other significant forces appear to be behind

⁸² See Analysis and Interpretation under H.

this movement. Who and what are they? Attempting to give an account of this apart from the Carthusians, on whom the narrative has relied unduly hitherto, becomes the next task of research into the fifteenth-century reception of *Scala*. A full answer to this question is beyond the scope of the current project; nevertheless, some evidence has emerged from it that points us in new directions.

DO THE AUSTIN CANONS NEVERTHELESS PLAY A ROLE?

We have observed Doyle's view of the lack of definite evidence for a significant role for the Austin canons in the early dissemination of *Scala*. Doyle also declares about our period that "the monastic order for which proportionately the most explicit evidence survives of book production by its members is the Carthusian." He adds that at this time the Carthusians were expanding while other orders were not and that the Carthusians "had the strongest traditions in favor of book production" ("Book Production" 13). Sargent, however, among his other cautions, aptly reminds us as well "that a predominant textual group among surviving MSS may not argue for a predominant textual group in actual transmission, much less for critical authority." And, at the beginning of the same work with these concluding cautions, in reference to the "perceptions" of textual critics, he acknowledges that "it is possible that the pre-eminence of these houses reflects more about the late mediaeval ownership and post-Reformation preservation of books than about the actual transmission of texts" ("Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 208, 189). The bookish Carthusian traditions and the opportunities for preserving their books afforded them during the Recusant phase will mean that evidence for their involvement with books will probably be the most abundant and the easiest to find, but that does not of necessity mean they are the only ones with serious interest in such projects. And, while Sargent's caution also applies to the current assessment that proposes the dominance of Cambridgeshire, taking into account as much as possible the evidence unearthed by more recent research is still critical in arriving at a more accurate narrative of the circulation of *Scala* manuscripts.

To uncover evidence for the involvement of other orders in these efforts, such as those of the Austin canons, for which some evidence exists but which seems more spotty and more

difficult to excavate, may require the development of research techniques that allow us to observe the coalescing of several categories of data in patterns that evidence such involvement. At the same time as we observe such a coalescing of data in patterns, we must give constant attention to limiting the conflation of categories. And such techniques need to be tested. In several ways, the present project is an initial foray into such techniques but no claim is made that they are fully developed at this stage.

Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and the Minorities

In 2000, Hanna proposed that scholars studying late Middle English literature have "concentrated far too narrowly on the activities" of the Carthusians. In his account, they followed the lead of Doyle's dissertation, suggesting that Sargent "has perhaps been most assiduous" in this effort ("Augustinian Canons" 27, 37 n. 2). In raising the matter, he implies that this concentration may have eclipsed the role of other orders and, together with a few other early voices, he calls specifically for the "reassessment" of the role of the Austin canons, "that order with the most houses in England." He calls for a gathering of evidence for how they might have engaged with vernacular literature, an engagement he deems considerable ("Augustinian Canons" 27). While my project might be read as a response to this call of Hanna, I in fact discovered it only late in my project, after having already been persuaded by recurring indications of the involvement of the Austin canons in the production and circulation of *Scala* to begin to investigate further their efforts in the fifteenth century. In beginning that investigation, Hanna's appeal came almost immediately to the fore.

A point Hanna makes in his evincing of evidence indicating the involvement of the Austin canons with vernacular books was one of the indicators that had already led me to this investigation: Hu and Cc are both Augustinian books. With apparently unintended irony, Hanna

prefaces his comment on these books and the preeminent Augustinian author in England, Walter Hilton, by repeating, once more, as an established point, that "Michael Sargent has demonstrated how his *Scala perfectionis* was transmitted under Carthusian auspices" ("Augustinian Canons" 30).

Hu was produced at the initiative of and probably owned by an Austin canon of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, John Pery.⁸³ Cc was owned by Elizabeth Willoughby, an Augustinian nun of Campsey Priory. Because this region of Suffolk is thick with Augustinian houses, because of the significant financial resources of both Campsey and the nearby Augustinian house of canons at Butley, and since the dialect is localised in this region, Cc is most probably an Augustinian production. It may in fact have been produced at Campsey itself.⁸⁴ Indeed, the Austin canons and nuns comprise the only other orders of which I am aware for which there is clear evidence for production of the full text of one or both books of the English *Scala*, and, with two manuscripts, there is as much, and it is about fifty years earlier than the evidence for Carthusian involvement.

John Killum desired to be buried in the church belonging to the Augustinian Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate (Doyle "Survey" 1: 267), and we have seen how he also intended that the production of L be supported by his estate and that those later possessing the book pray for his soul. The conjunction of these dying wishes of Killum with the known production of a copy of *Scala* by the house where he intended to be buried suggest that this Augustinian house also had

⁸³ See especially Scribes, Medieval Repository, Owners Marks, Manuscript Texts, Origins, as well as Analysis and Interpretation under Hu.

⁸⁴ See Scribes, Medieval Repository, Owners Marks, Dialect, Origins, as well as Analysis and Interpretation under Cc.

something to do with the production of L. In fact, the first twelve folios of *Scala* in Hu were written at about the time of Killum's death. Moreover, Doyle informs us that another manuscript from this house, British Library Additional MS 10053, contains a further Hilton text, *Eight Chapters on Perfection* ("Survey" 1: 267). This latter manuscript was once bound with Hu, so that in this form it contained two texts that are also in L, the Hilton anthology. It is not certain that Additional MS 10053 was originally intended to be bound with Hu, but it is significant that John Pery's name appears in both of these now separated volumes.⁸⁵ And we have seen that part of the contents of L was copied at least once, in P, in London; its contents also included *Eight Chapters on Perfection* and *Scala*. Doyle, in addition, observes that this house, as a house of Austin canons, had more opportunity for interaction with the laity than the enclosed Carthusians and records an instance of "a knight and his lady" who lived "on intimate terms with them" and who owned a book that contained the *Eight Chapters* and an excerpt from *Scala* ("Survey" 1: 268).⁸⁶

A further manuscript that contains texts also in L is H6, owned and possibly commissioned by Elizabeth Horwode, abbess of the Minories, just around the corner from Holy Trinity, Aldgate (*Pastscape*). It contains *Scale II*, *Medled Lyf*, and "Bonum est," all Hilton texts. Horwode was the daughter of a London goldsmith, which is reminiscent of the wealthy laity also associated with L and P. For that matter, in the current state of textual collation, it seems that L,

⁸⁵ See Hu, *passim*.

⁸⁶ The matter of the reception for manuscripts containing *Scala* excerpts and other sorts of compilations including material from *Scala* is another large investigation which I am not in a position currently to assess, though it has been suggested that the Carthusians may have been involved in the latter compilations.

P, and H6 are closely related on that count as well.⁸⁷ Since it seems possible that Horwode commissioned her copy of *Scala*, this is an indication of another order that may have been involved in the production of the full-text English *Scala*, the only other such indication of which I am now aware.

The Franciscan nuns at the Minories were part of an order that was almost exclusively drawn from the aristocracy, gentry, or wealthy mercantile families ("Houses of Minoresses: Abbey of Waterbeach"; Boffey 388-89). They are therefore connected to lay networks similar to those Doyle suggests are associating with Holy Trinity, Aldgate. And they clearly have a similar interest in Hilton's works; these two houses are not simply collectors of his texts, as may have been the case at Syon Abbey, but their residents are producers and procurers of the texts. The apparent relationships of the books of both these houses with books belonging to wealthy laypeople suggest parallel concerns about lay spirituality. Furthermore, Julia Boffey brings forward evidence indicating that it was assumed that some nuns at the Minories were literate (388-89). As Doyle points out, Denny Abbey, also of Franciscan nuns, is another house with a reputation for being better-educated, and he suggests houses such as this may have themselves been involved in book production ("Book Production" 15). In this regard, it seems significant that every house of the Franciscan nuns of the three surviving into this period was near a dialectal localisation of at least one *Scala* manuscript and all three were near significant Augustinian houses. Denny Abbey was near both Barnwell and Anglesey Priors of the Austin canons, between Cambridge and Ely (*Pastscape*), and this region has many localisations for *Scala* manuscripts, as we have seen. Bruisyard Abbey, the remaining house of minoresses and the smallest, was near the Augustinian Campsey and Butley Priors (*Pastscape*; Knowles and

⁸⁷ See H6, *passim*.

Hadcock), and so, as already noted, near the localisation of Cc, Elizabeth Willoughby's book.⁸⁸

In our review of the circulation of *Scala* to and within London, we have already seen that the subgroup of texts of which H5 is a part, including Hu of the Aldgate canons, and the network of relationships connected with these books are linked through David Fyvyan to the network surrounding L and its subgroup of texts. We have also reviewed the evidence that both of these networks of people have connections to the Austin canons at Aldgate, the network surrounding H5 through Margery de Nerford and William de Bergh and that associated with L through John Killum. Dorothy Jones inspected John Killum's will and reports that "[m]ost of his legatees are resident in the eastern counties . . ." (xii). This supports the dialectal associations of L with Cambridgeshire. And we have seen the connections of William de Bergh and Margery de Nerford, associated with H5, to Cambridgeshire. Moreover, H5 is a very early text with antecedents probably in Cambridgeshire and origins predating the foundation of Syon Abbey in 1415, its later home. This buttresses a proposal that the direction of circulation emanated from these early circles associated with *Scala* toward the Carthusians and Syon Abbey rather than the other way around, as has hitherto been proposed by scholars.

The extended networks of relationships associated with these two subgroups of texts and with the Austin canons of Aldgate as well as the connections of these texts to Cambridgeshire are suggestive. These late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century networks of people, some of whom were contemporaries and perhaps acquaintances of Hilton, and the subgroups of *Scala* texts associated with them and with the Austin canons and the minoresses indicate that these two orders will reward further investigation. These orders evidence an interest in *Scala* that predates that for the Carthusians and will be an appropriate field of research in excavating the early

⁸⁸ See Dialect and Origins under Cc.

circulation of our book.

Configurations of Potential Production Sites

in Other Regions of Origin

In light of these indicators pointing in the direction of the Austin canons and, to a lesser degree, of the minoresses, it may be useful to make some suggestions regarding how a strategy of assessing patterns of evidence in more than one category could function to confirm or invalidate the initial indications. To that end, some discussion of how the project developed is in order. As I was becoming aware of an increasing number of signs pointing in the direction of the Austin canons, I noticed that there were a significant number of Augustinian houses in parts of East Anglia, the site of some production of *Scala* books. Cc, from Campsey in Suffolk, in particular, drew my attention. The rather astonishing number of Augustinian houses in the regions near Campsey Priory seemed noteworthy.

At about this time, I noticed as well that one of the *Scala* manuscripts was localised quite near the Augustinian Bolton Priory in Yorkshire. Some investigation led to the realization that Bolton was a probable site for the production of the manuscript, partly because of the paucity of other religious houses or other possible sites for book production in this quite remote area and partly because of its size. This discovery led to the investigation of such possible sites for manuscript production in the environs of other localisations for *Scala* manuscripts. A suggestive though not a conclusive pattern pointing to the Austin canons began to emerge. All of this was prior to discovering Hanna's call for investigating their role in the production and dissemination of vernacular literature.

Again and again, significant Augustinian priories were found to have been located near *Scala* localisations, in Yorkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, the West Midlands, Nottinghamshire,

Cambridgeshire, London, and even Berkshire. Notably, this pattern occurs in each of the six main regions associated with the production of full-text English *Scala* manuscripts. In some of these cases, the Augustinian priory near a localisation seems to be the most probable proposal for the production of a manuscript simply because of the lack of other religious houses or other possible sites of production, such as a cathedral church, in the region. This is the case at Bolton in Yorkshire, with two nearby localisations, Little Walsingham in Norfolk, also with two, and Thurgarton, with a further two. In addition, Thurgarton features a possible destination in the nearby Hawton anchorhold, early residence of Margery Pensax, owner of H5,⁸⁹ of the sort of manuscripts found repeatedly in this region, those apparently made for recluses, Lt, T2, and Ry.⁹⁰ The first two of these are localised near Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire and the third in the Soke of Peterborough. This is particularly remarkable since *Scale I* appears to have been addressed to an anchoress in the first instance and because of the earlier residence of Hilton himself at Thurgarton Priory.

Evidence of Book Ownership and Production in Pories near *Scala* Localisations

Even though the religious houses involved are all significant by the standards of the Austin canons, when dealing with an order represented by as many houses as belonged to them, finding localisations near important pories may simply be happenstance, perhaps even in remote regions. Teresa Webber and Andrew G. Watson consider that the number of their houses ranged from 200 to 250 (xxii). If we were in addition, therefore, to find evidence of book production in these pories, the hypothesis would gain some credibility. As already intimated,

⁸⁹ See Dialect, Origins, and Analysis and Interpretation under H5.

⁹⁰ See especially Analysis and Interpretation for the manuscripts concerned.

this is not easily done when so much has been lost of the books and records of the canons. Webber and Watson note in this respect that the large and important house at Merton has 230 titles listed in the *Registrum Anglie*, the seventh-longest record, following houses such as Bury St. Edmunds. In addition to this, the number of print and manuscript books extant from Merton is twenty-nine, the remains of "what must have been a substantial library." The Leicester Abbey catalogue, which seems comprehensive, records more than 1000 volumes owned by these canons, with less than twenty currently surviving (xxvii; Webber 30). Despite this dearth of surviving evidence, we find indications of book production or evidence of libraries in all of these significant priories that have localisations of *Scala* manuscripts near them. In the face of the demonstrable scarcity of evidence for the books once held by these houses, such a pattern carries greater weight.

Thurgarton Priory may have had about thirty canons in its first period and there apparently were "at least seventeen canons in 1536" (Knowles and Hadcock). It seems to have had a library of some significance. Teresa Webber, with the assistance of Doyle in identification, has determined that the extant fragment of a book list refers to the books of this house. Nearly fifty entries remain, of which more than twenty have a devotional aspect (27 and n. 12). Webber and Watson suggest that this is nevertheless probably not a record of the main library at Thurgarton because so many of the items are booklets. Three items on the list refer to works of Hilton: a Latin book, which is probably Fishlake's Latin translation of *Scala*; an epistle, which may be that in Latin to Adam Horsley; and a booklet of sayings by Hilton and others. The *Registrum Anglie* identifies four items at Thurgarton (414-26; MLGB3; cf. Webber 28). Only four Thurgarton books, however, are extant. One is the codex containing the fragmentary book list. Another, independently identified as belonging to Thurgarton, has contents corresponding to

those given for an entry in the Thurgarton list (MLGB3; Webber and Watson 415, 419). While we do not have direct evidence of scribal activity here, this is the house of the writer of *Scala* and it seems entirely possible that Lt and T2 were made at the priory for nearby recluses. In addition, we have already reviewed other manuscripts that are not localised by eLALME to a specific point on the map but are either assigned dialectally to this region or have other ties to it.

Bolton Priory in western Yorkshire had an income similar to that of Thurgarton at the Dissolution; it appears to have had about fifteen canons (Knowles and Hadcock). Again four books are extant (MLGB3). Contemporary listings of its books do not appear to survive, but, if Thurgarton is any indication of the potential library of a community of this size and means, there could have been a good-sized collection here. On other grounds, Ralph Hanna and David Lawton also propose that a "considerable library" existed at Bolton. They argue that it was the site of composition of *The Siege of Jerusalem* for the Cliffords, earls of neighbouring Skipton. To summarize some salient features of a more extensive discussion, one of the surviving Bolton books is a copy of *The Siege*. In addition, a source text for *The Siege* also survives from Bolton and is textually closer to it than other extant copies Hanna and Lawton inspected. Further, they place the poet's dialect near Bolton. They conclude, in addition, that the poet had access to a Latin translation of Josephus's *The Jewish War*. The evidence from *The Siege* that "learned historical source texts" were employed in its composition lead Hanna and Lawton to posit a library of some significance at Bolton (xl-iv; cf. Hanna, "Augustinian Canons" 32; MLGB3).

Again, as at Thurgarton, we have an author associated with a good library in an Augustinian house with two nearby localisations for *Scala* manuscripts, U and H3. Moreover, Bolton Priory is the nearest male religious house in this somewhat remote region for the hands that write the textually related *Scala* in both these manuscripts. The probability of scribal

activity at Bolton that was responsible for these books seems high.⁹¹ Moreover, it is not beyond possibility that R and D, closely related textually to U and H3, were also written at Bolton: as we have seen, the hands in R suggest that it was written in a religious house and, while R and D are placed dialectally in an area that was more distant than U and H3, they are still within range of Bolton.

Identifying a plausible location for the production of *Scala* manuscripts in Cambridgeshire is a more complex matter. The task is made more manageable since, as the *Victoria County History* remarks, Cambridgeshire did not have very many religious houses ("Religious Houses: Introduction"; cf. Knowles and Hadcock). The Ely / Cambridge region has the highest concentration of localisations for *Scala* manuscripts; important male religious houses in this area were Barnwell and Anglesey of the Austin canons and the Benedictine cathedral priory in Ely. There were also significant friaries of all four of the main orders in Cambridge and these were closely associated with the University. A small priory of Austin canons was at Spinney, and this became a Benedictine cell dependent on the Cathedral Priory in Ely in 1449, but it was not large enough to be significant in book production (Knowles and Hadcock). We have already observed the importance of Denny Abbey of the Franciscan nuns, which was in the same area as the two houses of Austin canons.

We have also identified the association of Anglesey Priory with Lady Clare and Denny Abbey with her friend, the Countess of Pembroke, observing the connection of the latter to William de Bergh and London networks associated with H5 and with Holy Trinity, Aldgate. As London has an apparent association between the Austin canons at Holy Trinity and the

⁹¹ See Textual and Other Affiliations, Dialect, Origins, and Analysis and Interpretation under H3 and U.

Franciscan nuns at the Minories, Cambridgeshire also has a house of Austin canons at Anglesey associated with the Franciscan nuns at Denny. These houses are interconnected by the networks surrounding William de Bergh. Later in the century, in the 1460s, a friendship also developed between the prior of Barnwell, John Whaddon, and Denny Abbey such that he was "admitted . . . to the confraternity of the house . . . on account of 'much loving kindness frequently shown to our convent'" ("Houses of Minoresses: Abbey of Denney"). Moreover, with respect to the larger network, we know that at least one Austin canon of Holy Trinity was involved in the production of a *Scala* manuscript.

These networks of relationships make the houses of the Austin canons of significant interest in an investigation of possible locations for the production of *Scala* manuscripts in Cambridgeshire. And we have already noted Hilton's associations with this region and that he was a contemporary of William de Bergh and may have known him. In addition, we have observed that the particular focus of the canons at Anglesey Priory was the maintaining of chantries. They did also own books although our record of them is not extensive. Ker lists only one (MLGB3). Webber and Watson also identify a list of books apparently borrowed from their library by canons of the house. This involves twenty-two texts, but these are not necessarily all distinct manuscripts (3-4).

Barnwell Priory is a more promising location for production of *Scala* manuscripts. It was the most important house of Austin canons in Cambridgeshire, larger and with more means than Anglesey. According to the *Victoria County History*, the kings of England periodically took lodging here and the diocesan synod met at Barnwell, not at Ely, twice a year. In addition, other diocesan work was conducted at the priory. Provincial Augustinian chapters were held at Barnwell as well, and it was connected to the University, being the "centre for students of the

Order at Cambridge" ("Houses of Augustinian Canons: Priory of Barnwell"). Because of Hilton's responsibilities at the Ely consistory court and his studies at the University (Emden), it seems probable that he found himself at Barnwell from time to time. It would not be surprising if Hilton's ultimate choice of the Augustinian order was connected to his experience there.

William de Bergh, as well, must have known of Barnwell.

The *Victoria County History* indicates that Barnwell had a scriptorium under the charge of the precentor, who also had custody of the library. Indeed, "[t]he only manual work done by the canons regular was probably writing . . ." ("Houses of Augustinian Canons: Priory of Barnwell"). Eight books survive from Barnwell and Leland records seven titles, one of which survives (MLGB3; Webber and Watson 5-7). Despite this scanty record, according to Webber and Watson the Barnwell *Liber memorandum* from late in the thirteenth century tells us that Lawrence, a chaplain to three priors, "copied many books for the house." In addition, this manuscript describes in detail the role of the precentor in "the care, use and production of books within the house" (5-6). Though the *Liber memorandum* does not tell us much about the contents of the library, this is a priory that took the production and preservation of books with the utmost seriousness. That *Scala* manuscripts were copied here is a definite possibility.

Another possible location in this region was the Benedictine cathedral priory in Ely. The house was certainly wealthy and large enough, with about forty-seven monks during Hilton's lifetime (Knowles and Hadcock; "Houses of Benedictine Monks: Abbey and Cathedral Priory of Ely"). According to the *Victoria County History*, "there appears to have been a separate *scriptorium*" and it seems to have had a significant library. In the twelfth century, Bishop Niel had designated specific tithes and rents for "the making of books." Forty-two books from this priory survive but it is not apparent whether any of these other than those giving the local history

were made at Ely. The rolls of the librarian that are extant do not tell us much about the books, and "of the internal life of the convent we know nothing" during its last century, which includes much of the fifteenth when *Scala* books were being produced ("Houses of Benedictine Monks: Abbey and Cathedral Priory of Ely"; MLGB3). But the dialectal placement of some *Scala* manuscripts in Ely is nonetheless suggestive.

Other possibilities for the manufacture of *Scala* manuscripts include the friaries in Cambridge. Thirty-six books survive from the Austin friary, but none of them seem to be in the vernacular and most are now retained by the Vatican. Thomas Fyslake was the Carmelite friar from Cambridge who translated *Scala* into Latin, but Ker does not record any extant books from this friary (MLGB3). We know that Hilton borrowed a book, from which he translated his *Eight Chapters on Perfection*, from a Franciscan friar from Aragon named Lluís de Fontibus who read at Cambridge (Emden). Ker assigns twenty-five extant books to the Franciscan friary in Cambridge, as well eighteen to the Cambridge Dominicans, which again seem to be Latin books in both cases (MLGB3). A further possibility is the number of "individual secular clerks and laymen" producing books in this period that Doyle states were "centered in the universities and other towns" and so surely in Cambridge ("Book Production" 1). It is also worth noting that two books from Denny Abbey are extant, both of them in English and one of which, the *Northern Homily Cycle*, was composed by an Augustinian (MLGB3; Heffernan, "Authorship").

Of these various possibilities, the networks associated with William de Bergh are suggestive of Barnwell, as are the associations Hanna makes between vernacular literature and the Austin canons ("Augustinian Canons"). Placement of a number of *Scala* manuscripts in Ely itself is suggestive of the cathedral priory though the lack of any other evidence for Benedictine production of *Scala* manuscripts argues against this. Less probably, the collaboration between

the diocese of Ely and Barnwell Priory, as well as Hilton's studies at the University with its connections to Barnwell in addition to his work in the Ely consistory court may suggest a collaboration also in the production of *Scala* books. The association of the diocese with the priory also make it possible that scribes who learned to write in Ely and wrote an Ely dialect may ultimately have written books at Barnwell. Alternatively, *Scala* books may have been written independently in both Barnwell and Ely as well as in Cambridge itself.

A fifth main region for the making of *Scala* books, northern Norfolk, also has two localisations of *Scala* manuscripts near enough to the Augustinian Walsingham Priory to suggest the books were made there. These are H4 and H7, and J is also within easy range. The correction of the latter part of H7 suggests that more than one copy of *Scala* was accessible; in this remote region, this strongly suggests Walsingham and alternatives do not as easily present themselves as they do in Cambridgeshire.⁹² Ker lists three extant manuscripts for Walsingham and Leland gives two more titles (MLGB3; Webber and Watson 426-27). I am not aware of other evidence of book production at this priory.

Suffolk has one localisation for a *Scala* manuscript, Cc near Campsey Priory. It was owned by a nun of Campsey, where Ker places four more extant manuscripts, one of which is also in English and one in French (MLGB3). Nearby Butley Priory, another significant house of the Austin canons, has two print books extant, one of which was provided by a canon of the house. The *Registrum Anglie* reported four titles (MLGB3). A further feature of the localisation of Cc is its proximity to Bruisyard Abbey of the Franciscan nuns,⁹³ the only other house of this

⁹² For H7, see under Manuscript Texts, Dialect, Origins, and Analysis and Interpretation. See also Dialect, Origins, and Analysis and Interpretation under H4.

⁹³ See Dialect and Origins under Cc.

order in England besides Denny and the Minories. In every case, a house of Franciscan nuns is near an Augustinian house or houses. Moreover, Bruisyard, through its founder, Lionel of Antwerp, son of Edward III, is part of the networks of relationships surrounding Lady Clare and the Countess of Pembroke with their connections to the priest William de Bergh in London and to the Minories.

The West Midlands, a sixth main region for producing *Scala* books also has an important house of Austin canons near two *Scala* localisations, those of Ch and Hu2. Kenilworth Abbey is the largest Augustinian house in the West Midlands and the fifteenth-largest in the nation according to its 1535 income, of £538, out of nearly 200 incomes listed. In this period, it "had the second highest income of any monastery in Warwickshire." Kenilworth was a house for about twenty-six canons (Knowles and Hadcock; *Pastscape*). Two of the five extant manuscripts from this Abbey were produced in the house itself by one of its canons. Sixty titles were reported in the *Registrum Anglie* (MLGB3). The accessibility of more than one manuscript of *Scala* necessary to the correction of the West Midlands B is also suggestive of Kenilworth, a house sufficiently large to be likely to have more than one copy.⁹⁴

In addition, it is worth observing that Kenilworth is near enough to the localisations for V and S to be a possible site for their manufacture, especially when one considers not only the determinations of the LALME project but also the fairly extensive discussion of the matter in the literature. The abbey was about fifty-two kilometres east of the eLALME localisation and five kilometres west of Stoneleigh, another site proposed by scholars. Certainly a larger religious house such as this is a more plausible location for the production of the costly V and S than the smaller Cistercian houses of Bordesley and Stoneleigh which have been the favoured contenders

⁹⁴ See Manuscript Texts, Origins, and Analysis and Interpretation under B.

for the locality. According to Knowles and Hadcock, both of these have considerably fewer resources than Kenilworth. In my view, the smaller incomes of the two Cistercian houses would have made the production of V and S prohibitive for them.⁹⁵ Moreover, V features two main texts that are both authored by Austin canons, *Scala* and the *Northern Homily Cycle*.⁹⁶

Of course, Kenilworth is near other possible sites for book production that have been discussed at length in the literature on V and S, and the proposal of Kenilworth as the location where V and S were made is by no means conclusive. Since it is nevertheless one of the largest Augustinian houses and since it also has definite evidence of a good library and of book production together with nearby *Scala* localisations, it is at least worthy of consideration. Moreover, the scribe of the Vernon "Index" also wrote records for the cartulary of Stoneleigh, very near Kenilworth, as well as manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience* associated with Lichfield. Kenilworth is actually slightly nearer to the eLALME localisation of the Vernon "Index" hand, about fourteen kilometres southwest of Stourport-on-Severn in Worcestershire than is Lichfield.⁹⁷ To my knowledge, the proposal that *Scala* manuscripts may have been copied at Kenilworth Abbey and that this is a plausible location for the manufacture of V and S has never been made, possibly under the influence of Doyle's dismissal of the Augustinian houses as possible sites for the dissemination of Hilton's work.

⁹⁵ For a review of the literature on these matters and further details, see V, *passim*, and S under Dialect, Further Notes on Provenance, and Analysis and Interpretation.

⁹⁶ For the inclusion of these two texts in V, see Guddat-Figge (272, 274). For the argument that the *Northern Homily Cycle* is an Augustinian text, see Heffernan, "Authorship"; cf. Hanna ("Augustinian Canons" 28) and Pattwell (381).

⁹⁷ For the hand of the Vernon "Index," see Scribes and Dialect under V.

The evidence assembled thus far does not conclusively demonstrate that the Austin canons are the main producers of the full-text English *Scala* manuscripts. Nevertheless, the pattern of Augustinian houses of some note near localisations of extant *Scala* manuscripts in every one of the six main regions of production as well as in Suffolk is more than a little suggestive. Indeed, the localisations in four of the more remote areas, near Bolton in Yorkshire, Thurgarton in Lincolnshire, Walsingham in Norfolk, and Campsey in Suffolk, indicate that in these localities the Augustinians are the most probable candidates for the making of the *Scala* books concerned. In addition, we know that a canon of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, produced at least one extant manuscript. That this pattern also obtains in the West Midlands and in Cambridgeshire considerably strengthens the proposal that Barnwell and Kenilworth may be involved as well, beyond what could be possible without this pattern, even despite quite a number of localisations near Barnwell. Buttressing the general proposal of Augustinian involvement in production further are the networks of relationships that we have seen associated with Holy Trinity, Aldgate; the Minories; Bishopsgate; William de Bergh; Hilton at Ely and Thurgarton; Denny; Anglesey; Barnwell; Walsingham; and Bruisyard. These networks run parallel to the configuration of Augustinian houses in Cambridgeshire, London, Norfolk, and Suffolk. At the very least, all this suggests that further work on the activities of the Austin canons in these regions is likely to be productive.

Two further fields for significant research to excavate the circulation and reception of the English *Scala* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries immediately present themselves. First, the text was excerpted and used in compilations of various sorts. Some of these excerpts are found in miscellanies such as the Thornton manuscript, where distinct texts of various kinds are bound together. Others manifest themselves in English compilations such as *Of Actyf Lyfe and*

Contemplatyf Declaration and *Via ad contemplationem*, which seem to be conceived as texts in their own right (Lagorio and Sargent 3132-33). In many cases, of course, these compilations will have catered to a different audience than the full-text English *Scala* and appropriated it to differing contexts; study of these issues could further nuance our understanding of its influence. A second extensive field of research is the reception of the various early prints, beginning with that of Wynkyn de Worde in 1494, put to press apparently under the auspices of Margaret de Beaufort, intrepid and enterprising mother of Henry VII. And, as a final note, the possibilities of the current catalogue are not yet exhausted. Further comparison and exploration of categories across the spectrum of manuscripts could well yield additional insights into patterns of reception.

CONCLUSION

The research presented in the foregoing discussion of the forty extant full-text English *Scala perfectionis* manuscripts, based on the greater detail of the catalogue that follows, provides strong evidence that the Cambridgeshire region was the main early centre of production of these medieval books. Moreover, it demonstrates that this region was also a hub of distribution of these books radiating eastward to Norfolk, southward to London, and almost certainly toward the northwest to Thurgarton and Nottinghamshire. It seems reasonable to conclude that these books probably also migrated directly from Cambridgeshire to the two other main regions of medieval production, the West Midlands and the West Riding, generally, of Yorkshire. The metropolis apparently only became a main centre of production later in the fifteenth century, if the extant manuscripts accurately reflect the medieval situation. Furthermore, we have little evidence that London was a centre of distribution for these books to other parts of the country, contrary to what might have been expected.

This evidence for production and distribution overturns the earlier narrative, which had gained the consensus of scholars, that the metropolitan Carthusians with their brethren in other parts of the country were mainly responsible for the dissemination of the English *Scala*. In addition, it demonstrates that the Carthusians outside the metropolis were also not primarily involved: there were no Carthusian houses in the Cambridgeshire region, nor in East Anglia for that matter (Knowles and Hadcock). Sixteen manuscripts are localised in these two regions and another as well possibly originated here, for a total of seventeen. To this may be added two manuscripts from the West Riding of Yorkshire which do not yet appear in this tally⁹⁸ and which

⁹⁸ Of the four Yorkshire manuscripts, R was included in the tally for Cambridgeshire because of a later addition to the codex from the latter region; the first hands in R as well as that

are also localised far from any Carthusian house (Knowles and Hadcock). This brings the total, at nineteen, to very nearly half of the extant manuscripts which, by their origins alone, are outside of the range of the fifteenth-century Carthusians.

The results, further, of this project undermine in other ways besides geography the basis on which the claim for the primacy of the Carthusians in the diffusion of these books had been founded. Most importantly in this respect, the two codices that can be shown to have been made by them were produced too late in the medieval period of the manufacture of *Scala* manuscripts to contribute to evidence for their wide distribution that had by then occurred throughout England. In light of these results, a detailed analysis of the earlier arguments advanced for the narrative of Carthusian dominance now shows that they can no longer be sustained.

And finally, despite A. I. Doyle's earlier dismissal of the Austin canons as contributors to the medieval dispersal of *Scala*, the present research demonstrates that these Augustinians are indeed involved and marshals evidence that they may have played the dominant role. In mapping, on the basis of the evidence of the extant manuscripts, the main regions for the medieval production of *Scala*, it provides a new cultural map for the reception and influence of this text that was so important in the development of the religious sensibilities of late medieval England. In this way, and by foregrounding the role of the Austin canons instead of the Carthusians in promoting this significant text, it contributes to a new cultural narrative that is beginning to gain some ground also as the result of other recent research into this order. In that account, the numerous but hitherto often neglected Austin canons are indeed active agents in addressing the cultural and religious concerns of fifteenth-century England. In view of all of

in manuscript D are possibly within range of Mount Grace Priory of the Carthusians, depending on where in Wensleydale or Swaledale they originate.

this, further investigation of their role in the fifteenth-century reception of the most influential text of their foremost writer, Walter Hilton and his *Scala perfectionis*, is most certainly indicated.

Introduction to the Catalogue

The principles of the catalogue have already been discussed in the introduction to the dissertation. In summary, categories have been developed with an eye to excavating reception of the forty full-text English manuscripts of *Scala perfectionis*. Selection of information to include within these categories is governed by the same principle. The usual categories readers will find for each manuscript, in order of presentation, are as follows:

Siglum

ARCHIVE LOCATION

ARCHIVE

SHELF-MARK

MANUSCRIPT DATE

CONTENTS

LANGUAGE

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

BINDING

SCRIBES

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY

OWNERS MARKS

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS

DIALECT

ORIGINS

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Occasionally, other categories are added near the end of entries, and a category such as Origins may not always be included when, for instance, there is no further information to add to what has been reported elsewhere in the manuscript entry. The manuscript entries are organized according to the alphabetical order of sigla, in part to allow references to sigla anywhere in the document to serve as a guide to the location of the manuscript entry.

It may be useful to make some suggestions for using the catalogue. Each entry may profitably be read independently as a comprehensive review of the current evidence for the reception of that particular manuscript. Most often, this also includes an assessment of this evidence. In addition, cross-references to other manuscript entries are provided when the evidence for reception of these other manuscripts may add to the understanding of the manuscript under consideration in individual entries.

Another possible approach to the catalogue is to read categories independently across manuscript entries. Thus one might compare Owners Marks or Dialect, for example, for every manuscript across the entire corpus or for groups of manuscripts. To facilitate this sort of consultation of the catalogue, an attempt has been made to refer readers to additional information given elsewhere in an entry that may augment the information presented in a particular category. A further possibility would be to compare entire entries for groups of manuscripts. For instance, one could consider all the entries for manuscripts from the Yorkshire region, as identified in the preceding discussion. It is hoped that, in these and other ways, this catalogue will contribute to further insights into the late medieval reception of Walter Hilton's *Scala perfectionis*.

Notes on Editorial Procedures

In terms of citation procedures, each manuscript entry is treated as a distinct item. Those sections within each entry that are devoted to describing the manuscript and its texts may draw heavily on sources; to reduce cluttering these sections with the details of citation, a simplified system of acknowledging sources has been developed. Each entry is given a Select Bibliography which lists, by author and title, the main sources which describe the manuscript and occasionally some further bibliographical information. Full bibliographical details are in the Works Cited. If these sources are a catalogue or similar reference work in which the manuscript is treated under categories within a few pages in its own entry and the location of the entry as well as the information in it is easily discovered, page numbers are not listed in the Select Bibliography.⁹⁹ Otherwise, the page numbers where the manuscript is described within a listed work are identified in parentheses after its title. The works listed in this bibliography are then cited in an abbreviated way: either the author's last name alone is used throughout the entry without further reference to page numbers or an abbreviation is listed in parentheses after the title, which is then used in that entry but not elsewhere in the catalogue unless the abbreviation is given again in another Select Bibliography. Thus, if Falconer Madan's *Summary Catalogue* is listed in the bibliography with an abbreviation (SC), then "SC" is used in that entry to refer to Madan.

If three or more sources in the Select Bibliography agree without contradiction by the other sources listed on concrete aspects of the manuscript, such as its size and the texts in the manuscript, the names of the sources are not repeated again within the text. At times, if two sources listed in the bibliography appear authoritative, such as Ralph Hanna and A. I. Doyle,

⁹⁹ Similar reference works cited throughout the catalogue, such as eLALME or Knowles and Hadcock, are also so treated.

agreement between them is taken to establish the description given and their names are not repeated in the text. If only one source is relied on for an item of descriptive information, the name is cited in-text, no matter how authoritative the source. So, an entry describing a manuscript as having vellum leaves without the in-text citation of a source means that three works in the bibliography or two authoritative ones agree without contradiction by the others listed. If an entry states that the book has "vellum leaves" (Hanna), without further qualification, this means Hanna from the entry's bibliography is the only source listed that makes this claim, but does so without contradiction. Literature not in the Select Bibliography is also discussed in the entries and these sources are cited according to the full MLA citation methods.

An exception to this simplified method is made respecting the dating of manuscripts. Because it has become impossible transparently to reconcile with these minimalist principles of citation the choices I have needed to make in describing dating, I have listed the dates given by Lagorio and Sargent and cited them in every case. I then either summarize the assessment of other sources in relation to Lagorio or Sargent or, if their date is in basic harmony with the others given, I generally accept their date without comment. For example, older catalogues often give a broad dating, such as "fifteenth century." If, in such a case, Lagorio and Sargent also give the same broad dating, or if they narrow it within the broader period, their date is typically listed without remark.

Regarding a further point in citing Lagorio and Sargent's work, their references to the recto and verso sides of leaves as "a" and "b" in foliation are silently changed to "r" and "v," for the sake of consistency throughout the catalogue as well as to allow the use of "a," "b," and "c" to refer to columns on a page. The same change is silently made to other sources that may use that method. In the few cases in which I have discovered only one or even no catalogue

describing a manuscript, I have silently adopted Lagorio and Sargent's identification of the language of the *Scala* text and whether one or both books are included.

I have adopted the ultimate form of the sigla developed for these manuscripts over many years by Rosemary Dorward, A. J. Bliss, S. S. Hussey, and Michael G. Sargent, in the course of their editing of *Scala*. Moreover, I generally adopt Sargent's nomenclature for the manuscripts ("Editing" 532-34).

With respect to transcriptions, abbreviations have been silently expanded in all cases. This includes removing italics indicating expansions in transcriptions in some catalogues and other sources, when I employ such transcriptions in presenting the text in manuscripts. This is partly the result of having used a database to construct the catalogue in the first instance and the technical difficulty involved in indicating such abbreviations in the text editor. In recording the beginnings and endings of texts, I have adopted the practice of IMEP and some other catalogues in referring to the first and last words of the text itself as "incipit" and "explicit." These sources tended to separate other sorts of beginnings and endings into other categories. I consistently entitle these additions to the *Scala* text "Headings" and "Endings," except that I attempt to use the title "Rubric" when I have evidence that red lettering was used in a heading or ending. Conversely, I change the title to "Heading" or "Ending" if it is apparent that the term "rubric" is used loosely in a source. In this way, when used as headings, "Incipit" and "Explicit" always refer to the beginnings and and endings of the *Scala* text itself, as in IMEP, or to the usual chapter headings when tables of contents are being described. This method resulted in occasional instances where a Latin ending added to a *Scala* text including the word "explicit" is nevertheless given the title "Ending" in my record.

In listing the number of folios in a codex, flyleaves are generally ignored, whether

medieval or modern: it has proved impossible to give a consistent account of them over the whole of the *Scala* manuscripts, since the methods for describing these vary so widely in the catalogues. While I have tried to identify the binding of all manuscripts, my main interest has been medieval bindings and what they may tell us about early provenance and reception. Consequently, references to modern bindings are brief.

The same is true for post-medieval provenance. Though I have attempted to list the most basic facts of modern provenance and to give a reference for further information, I have kept these remarks brief, even cursory. I have generally paid more attention to details of provenance in the last two-thirds of the sixteenth century, especially if these can shed light on the medieval locations of the book.

Repeated reference is made to the editorial work of Dorward and Bliss in describing textual affinities among *Scala* manuscripts. This work is unpublished but it has been presented and assessed by Michael G. Sargent, to whose custody it has been entrusted,¹⁰⁰ in his article "Editing Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*: The Case for a Rhizomorphic Historical Edition." I have not slavishly indicated in my phrasing of my reference to this work that it is conveniently cited in Sargent's article, but have generally simply identified Dorward or Bliss or both and then cited Sargent's article without explanation.

Finally, in identifying locations of medieval English religious houses and establishments, and their distances from localisations for manuscripts in eLALME, I have made use of *PastScape* map references for these medieval locales if they were not within easily identifiable modern towns. I have also used *PastScape* for locating medieval houses and locations in

¹⁰⁰ The status of these archives is explained by Sargent; Dorward was Helen Gardner's student as Rosemary Birts ("Editing" 513 and n. 12, 515 and n. 18).

London. I have used *Google Maps* for determining distances, which I have usually couched in approximate terms to accommodate differences between modern and medieval routes and to acknowledge the approximate nature of eLALME localisations. Distances between historical locations in London can sometimes be determined with greater precision.

Catalogue of Full Manuscripts of the English *Scala perfectionis*

Siglum: A

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Additional 11748

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). Other catalogues are not more precise, but A. I. Doyle states that an early custodian of the book, William Caraunt, died in 1476 at about eighty years of age. The book had apparently already been in the hands of at least two owners prior to Caraunt's custody, though possibly Caraunt was custodian during the lifetime of the last of these two ("Survey" 2: 118-20). Presumably, Caraunt gained custody before his last decade, and, once one makes allowance for at least one prior owner, this suggests the book belongs to the first half or very early second half of the fifteenth century. Brown gives an unqualified and also ambiguous dating of the second half of the fifteenth century either for something additional to *Scala* on folio 138v or for *Scala* itself. On the other hand, Farnham states that the decorated initial beginning the text of *Scale I* on folio 3r is "typical of c. 1400."

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves (BL). 146 folios (facsimile). Binding: 204 x 147 x 35 mm. Folios in quires 1 and 13-15: 186 x 130 mm; quires 2-12: 193 x 130 mm (Towl; Farnham gives 195 x 135 mm for the whole book). Text space and lines to a page vary (Towl).

Scales I and II comprise ff. 3r to 138v. From Doyle's account of the first hand as well as

Farnham's description of the decoration, the manuscript was produced by a highly competent scribe and has good quality though not highly ornate decoration. There is no very satisfactory published description of this manuscript, though Brown gives a full account of the prose, only.¹⁰¹ The unpublished 1951 B.Litt. thesis of Rosemary Birts [Dorward] has a "full description," in the assessment of eLALME, but this is not readily available.

BINDING: Modern British Library binding.

SCRIBES: Farnham identifies three scribes or hands and this is confirmed by Doyle's account and seemingly also by eLALME. The first hand writes all of *Scala* in what Doyle characterizes as "an excellent hand" by a "well-trained" scribe. Farnham calls this hand "Anglicana Formata." The second hand, which is "cursive," writes the texts following *Scala*, beginning on folio 138v until 144r (gleaned from Doyle; Farnham; Brown; cf. eLALME). The final item is written by a third hand that Doyle considers to be later, proposing the end of the fifteenth century (Doyle; Farnham; cf. Brown, eLALME). Farnham again calls this hand "Anglicana Formata."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Shaftesbury, Dorset, Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Edward, of Benedictine nuns; "evidence from ex libris inscription or note of gift"; provenance is doubtful (Ker, MLGB and MLGB3). The evidence Ker uses is a Latin note indicating that this book, of which William Caraut then had custody, was to go to Shaftesbury Abbey. Doyle clarifies that we do not have definite evidence that the manuscript ever went to the Abbey, but suspects that the last item may have been written there.

OWNERS MARKS: On folio 138v, after *Scala*, is a Latin inscription in the same hand as

¹⁰¹ This manuscript is among the British Library acquisitions from 1836-1840 which is still awaiting a complete modern description.

the scribe who writes *Scala*: "Iste liber constat Willelmo fmyth facerdoti cuius anime propicietur ihesus. Quem post obitum suum."¹⁰² Doyle interprets the next words as being filled into a blank space by a "later different hand" and the facsimile reveals this to be accurate. These words are as follows: "Johannes horder emebat," indicating the purchase of the book by John Horder. In Doyle's assessment, the same hand that wrote these last three words inscribes as follows "at the front": "Hunc librum et librum vocatum gracia dei qui est in custodia Willelme Carente habeant abbatissa et conventus Shafton in succursum Anime Johannis horder"¹⁰³ ("Survey" 2: 118-19). The facsimile is quite dark at this place; the hand does appear to be the same from what is visible.

Doyle believes a clerk named William Smyth was probably the first owner and identifies two benefice-holders by this name in the area and period indicated by the name of William Carent or Caraunt. Scholars agree that this Caraunt is the gentleman who lived from about 1395 to 1476 and was often MP for Dorset and Somerset. He owned a collection of books of which some notable items survive (Cole and Turville-Petre 22; Doyle; Edwards, "Manuscripts and Readers," section: The Middle English Reader; cf. "Carent, William (d. 1476)"). According to the latter article in *The History of Parliament*, Caraunt was related by marriage to John Beaufort, duke of Somerset. His brother Nicholas was dean of Wells and Queen Margaret's secretary. William Caraunt was involved administratively with three religious houses, probably including as steward of Shaftesbury Abbey. And there are indications that he was devoted in his religion

¹⁰² This book belongs to William Smyth, priest, for whose soul may Jesus atone, after his death.

¹⁰³ This book and the book called *Gracia dei*, which are in the custody of William Carent, the abess and convent of Shafton may have, in succour of the soul of John Horder.

("Carent, William (d. 1476)").

Doyle's interpretation of the hands and these inscriptions in the manuscript is that the first owner, probably Smyth, perhaps of northern derivation, may have commissioned a trained Midland scribe to copy *Scala* from a good copy such as the textually related C, and the former may then have copied other northern texts in his own hand, not disguising the northern origins as did Hand A ("Survey" 2: 119). This view is somewhat dependent on Doyle's interpretation that manuscript C is northern and it gives weight to the northern elements in the hand of A's second scribe. Doyle's view of the northern origins of C is somewhat complicated by eLALME's assessment of its first booklet as non-northern combined with a view that the booklets in C stood independently for some time (see C). It is true that eLALME places the booklet of C that contains *Scala* probably in Nottinghamshire and potentially in the northern part. Nevertheless, eLALME tentatively places the northern elements of the second hand in A as far north but somewhat further west, possibly north Staffordshire or the border of Derbyshire and Cheshire with even more northerly elements intermingled in the language.

That an original clerical owner named William Smyth commissioned a scribe to copy *Scala* for him is a sound interpretation of the findings that a trained scribal hand also wrote the inscription of ownership, not for a scribe but for a priest. Doyle's view that *Scale I* in A is related to that in C has also been borne out by later textual analysis (see below). The name "J. Ames" appears in the top right margin on folio 3r. Folio 2r names H. Bohn in an 1840 purchase (Farnham; MLGB3; Towl; facsimile).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The first main text in the volume is *Scala*, followed by a fifteen-line Latin poem in a different hand that Brown and Towl identify as "The Vision of St. John on

the Sorrows of the Virgin." The sources suggest that the same hand continues with the "Oleum effusum" of Rolle, in English, followed by an English translation of a chapter from the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi*, circulating as an independent item known as "The Rule of the Life of Our Lady" (IPMEP 22). The hand of the Latin piece and that of the next two texts is indeed similar but not necessarily identical. The facsimile shows that the Latin leans slightly backwards but the ascenders in "Oleum" and the following text lean slightly forward and there seem to be other small differences. A third hand writes the last item, a poem about the Vernicle, or the instruments or symbols of the crucifixion, in English, known as "Arma Christi" (DIMEV 4083). The facsimile shows that the last two pages of this poem are badly darkened (details of text list reconstructed from Brown; Doyle; Farnham; Towl and checked against the facsimile).

Towl's description does not give text and folio numbers but, according to her collation compared with the foliation of texts in the facsimile, the texts after *Scala* stand in a separate quire, except that the fifteen-line Latin poem fills up the last page of *Scala* and spills over onto the first page of the final quire of eight leaves, which is otherwise blank: Rolle's "Oleum effusum" begins on the recto of the following leaf. Both sides of the first leaf of this final quire were thus originally blank, and this suggests an independent booklet.

In light of this initial leaf potentially being blank originally and because the English pieces additional to *Scala* stand separately in their own quire, it may be significant that none of the ownership inscriptions described above appear in this final quire. This together with Towl's collation suggests that *Scala* may once have been independent. The complicating factor is that the Latin poem bridging the final leaf of *Scala* and the first leaf of the final quire of the manuscript may be in the same hand as the next two English items in the last quire. If this is so, and it need not be, it indicates that the person who began the final quire also had access to the

Scala manuscript, perhaps, as Doyle suggests, as the owner.

Towl indicates that the final quire is the same size as the first leaf as well as the final quire and added leaf of the *Scala* section, but that quires 2-12, the rest of *Scala*, are slightly taller. The *Scala* text proper does not begin until folio 3r which suggests that *Scala* was originally begun on the second folio of its first gathering. Moreover, apparently when the original eleven quires could not accommodate the entire text of both books of *Scala*, a further slightly smaller quire of four plus a leaf were added at the end and another leaf of this size was added at the beginning. A final similarly sized quire of eight seems then to have been added from the same stock.

Since the quires of the *Scala* text and the final quire may all have been owned by the same person, it is difficult to determine whether *Scala* was ever intended to stand alone. The marks of ownership suggest but do not prove that it was treated as an independent book and that the final quire is an afterthought. The blank original initial folio in the last quire supports this assessment. Perhaps William Smyth commissioned a scribe to write *Scala* for him and then retained an additional quire of the same stock as the smaller leaves which he later used to add texts to his *Scala* quires. Alternatively, the retained additional quire may have been sold with the *Scala* quires and so a later owner may have added the final quire. These scenarios would explain how the hand that writes a Latin poem that spans the final leaf of *Scala* and the first leaf of what is now the last quire could also have begun the English items in a quire that was once independent from the *Scala* text.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 3r-59r: *Scale I*. Incipit: "In þe name of our dere lord ihesu crift stand stedfastli in þe callyng which he hath called þe into his seruiþe and hald þe payd þer in trauayling busili wyth al þy

myztus of þi foule bi grace of ihesu criſt forto fulfille in ſothfaſtneſſe of good lyuyng þe ſtat þat þu haſt take þe to in likneſſe and in ſemyng. . . ." Explicit: "Alſo þeſe wordus þat i write [fol. 59r] to þe þey long nozt alle to a man which hath actiſ lyf but to þe or to anoþur which hath þe ſtat of liſ contemplatiſ. þe grace of our lord Iheſu Criſt be with þe and kep þe Amen." Ending: "Explicit liber primus Magiſtri Walteri Hilton decretæ inceptoris De uita contemplatiua."

2. ff. 59r-138v: *Scale II*. Heading: "Incipit liber secundus unde prius." White space follows. "þat a man is þe ymage of god after þe foule and nozt after þe body." Incipit: "For as miche as þu coueytiſt gretli and aþkeſt for charite for to her mor of an ymage þe which i haue bifor time in parte deſcryued to þe þer for i wil gladli with drede falle to þi deſir. . . ." Explicit: ". . . ffor a foule þat is clene ſtired bi grace to oys of þis worching may ſe more in an hour of ſuch goſtli mater þan miȝt be write in a gret bok laudetur dominus Iheſus christus amen." Rubric: "Explicit liber Magiſtri Walteri hilton de vita contemplatiua."

Notes: I transcribe from the facsimile and consult Brown in places where he has published transcriptions. Doyle reports "Latin marginal notes" in *Scala* and this is confirmed by the facsimile; Latin notes support the proposal that this is a priest's text. Similarly, the omission of the *Scale I* address to either a sister or a brother or both and the substitution instead of the phrases, "In þe name of our dere lord ihesu crist," as well as the revision of the rest of the sentence to fit the syntax this initial substitution requires are in harmony with a secular text. John P. H. Clark and Rosemary Dorward observe that A gives the title *De vita contemplativa* to Hilton's text rather than the more common *Scala perfectionis* (19).

Doyle remarks that Hope Emily Allen, in her *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, does not notice Rolle's "Oleum effusum" in this manuscript ("Survey" 2: 119). Cataloguers are still in

general not aware of it with the exception of Brown. Those who miss it in their lists include IPMEP, Lagorio and Sargent, and eLALME even though they analyze the hand of the precise folios involved: 140r-42r. And, surprisingly, Ralph Hanna misses it despite careful efforts to attempt a "full listing," though he is cautious in believing he has succeeded, in his noteworthy *English Manuscripts* (xx n. 6). Allen apparently casts a long shadow.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: According to Michael G. Sargent and those he cites as preceding him, Rosemary Dorward and A. J. Bliss, this manuscript is part of a subgroup of textually related *Scale I* manuscripts: A, C, L, and the derivatives of L, P and B3. Of these, A and C are the closest congeners ("Editing" 514, 516-20). A and C of course both contain *Scale I*, but A also has excerpts from two other texts that occur in C: *Meditationes vitae Christi* and "The Vision of St. John on the Sorrows of the Virgin." In the latter case, however, the A excerpt is Latin rather than the English of C. Brown seems to consider Love's *Mirror* as the source of the *Meditationes* excerpt in A, which is the version given in C, but this is less clear in IPMEP. With respect to *Scale II* manuscripts, Hussey discovered that A, M, Pl, and R, are textually affiliated in their agreement in what apparently are scribal mistakes. See C for further details.

DIALECT: eLALME does not analyze the hand of the *Scala* text, but Doyle categorizes it simply as "Midland." eLALME does not localise the second hand but tentatively proposes north Staffordshire or the border of Cheshire and Derbyshire, indicating as well that with this dialect the text mingles even more northerly features. The third hand, however, is localised by eLALME to Dorset, in the very near environs of Shaftesbury. (LP number: 5340; Grid: 386 122.) In its analysis, eLALME cites the Latin text from the first folio of the manuscript that bequeaths A to Shaftesbury Abbey and lists no other manuscript under LP number 5340, so this

inscription from A may determine its localisation. Doyle had earlier surmised that the third hand could have originated at Shaftesbury Abbey since the nuns there were most probably literate in English.

ORIGINS: The dialectal associations of the manuscript with three different geographical areas do not allow us to be precise. What can be stated with a high degree of probability is that a priest commissioned this *Scala* text. Moreover, the private ownership by a priest of the volume, its later purchase, and its custody in lay hands are more consistent with a secular than a religious provenance, since one may presume a religious house would retain volumes in the hands of its members for the use of other religious when the primary user no longer needed it. Considering its associations with C, which is dialectally affiliated with the county of Hilton's priory, and its apparently Midland dialect in *Scala*, one might conjecture that the copying occurred somewhere in the Midlands and travelled with William Smyth to a benefice in Somerset or Dorset or alternatively came south with a subsequent owner, perhaps John Horder. Further linguistic analysis of Hand A is likely to be productive.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: A is sometimes listed among *Scala* manuscripts owned by women (e.g. by Mary C. Erler, "Devotional Literature" 519-20; Anne Marie Dutton 171 n. 89). Of course this is appropriate in light of the intended bequeathal of the book to the abbess and convent of Shaftesbury. But it also needs to be said that the origins of this book are probably secular and not religious. And if the original owner was a priest, it is quite possible that he used it as a resource for instructing the laity, since such a use for the closely affiliated C is implied by aspects of its context for and presentation of *Scale I*. (See Analysis and Interpretation under C for suggestions on how a priest might use *Scala*.)

It seems possible that this particular recension of *Scale I* was associated with instructing

the laity, either in the hands of priests such as the possible owners of A and C or in the hands of the laity, such as the closely related L. In such circles, the text may have been considered useful in this respect and so copied to that end. In any event, A does pass into the hands of at least one and possibly two laymen before probably passing into the hands of religious. William Caraunt, the layman we know had custody of A, was the sort of man likely to read *Scala* for his own instruction.

Another important point to be made respecting A and the related C is that the early provenance of A defines one path by which *Scala* migrated into the southwest of England. Whether or not the midland dialect of *Scala* in A is associated with Nottinghamshire, and so potentially with Hilton in Thurgarton, the text of *Scale I* most closely affiliated to A, that in C, probably is so associated. Since C is quite possibly earlier than A, this indicates that this version of the text has its roots near one of the original sources of *Scala* and travels either from Nottinghamshire directly to Dorset and Somerset or else through some other part of the midlands and then south or southwest. (Hilton probably wrote versions of *Scala* in both the Ely / Cambridge area and Thurgarton; cf. Sargent, "Bishops" 168.)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Peter Brown, IMEP V; A. I. Doyle, "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and Early 16th Centuries" 1: 251 and 2: 118-20; Rebecca Farnham, "London, British Library, Additional 11748"; [London, British Library, MS Additional 11748], *Britain's Literary Heritage: British Literary Manuscripts from the British Library, London* (facsimile); Elizabeth May Towl, "An Edition of Marian Devotional Texts" 252. The nineteenth-century British Museum *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts* has a brief entry. The British Library *Explore Archives and Manuscripts* website has revised the older version, though the entry is still cursory (BL).

Siglum: As

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Oxford

ARCHIVE: All Souls College

SHELF-MARK: MS 25

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-50 (Lagorio and Sargent)

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves. 134 or 135 folios. Watson gives the size as 227 x 170 mm, with a text space of 180-90 x 115-20 mm, in one column of 32-34 lines.

Scales I and II comprise ff. 1r to 134r. Ogilvie-Thomson records the final folio as 135r (IMEP VIII), agreeing with Coxe against Watson, *All Souls Catalogue*, and Lagorio and Sargent. Watson gives the fullest description.

BINDING: Watson: "Sewn on five bands between pasteboards covered with 17th-century blind-tooled calf, rebacked."

SCRIBES: The sole scribe writes Anglicana, uses baseline punctuation, and an "a" with one compartment (Watson).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Syon, Middlesex, Bridgettine Abbey of Saint Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saint Bridget; "evidence from an inscription of ownership by an individual member of a religious house"; the provenance is doubtful (Ker). Watson gives the inscription, on folio 134r, as "<Rose Pac>het professyd in Syon," noting that ultra-violet light reveals the missing letters (cf. Ogilvie-Thomson). Watson provides a citation attesting to a Syon nun by this name in the early to mid-sixteenth century.

OWNERS MARKS: Besides the medieval provenance given above, in the seventeenth century, this was owned by Narcissus Luttrell. Watson adds that fol. iiv bears his stamp and an inscribed date, "1693," as well as a note by Luttrell about Hilton and his text. Watson records that the following is near the top of fol. 1r, in Luttrell's hand: "Videre est apud Tho: James, in catalogo suo librorum manuscriptorum academiae Cantab. et Ox. Claruit circa annum Domini 1430."¹⁰⁴ Further information on Luttrell and how manuscripts he owned came to All Souls, Oxford, is in Watson pp. 36, 52, and ODNB. Watson also notes identification marks by All Souls library.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The two books of *Scala* appear to be the only texts.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-55r: *Scale I*. Heading: "This tretys ys called Scala Perfeccionis. The first chapitle spekeþ that þe Inner Hauyng of man. shuld be like to the vtter." Incipit: "Gostly broþer in ihesu crist. I preie the þat in the callyng Wyche oure lord hath called the to his seruice þou hold þee apaied and stonde stedefastly þereynne traueylyng besely wiþ alle þy miȝtis of þyn soule be grace of ihesu forto fulfyllen in sothfastnesse of good leuyng þe state. . . ." Explicit: ". . . longen nouȝt to a man wyche haþ actyf lif but to þe or to anoþer whiche haþ þe stat of lif contemplatyf be [*sic*] þe grace of oure lord ihesu be wiþ þe Amen." Ending: "Explicit liber primus."

2. ff. 55v-134r: *Scale II*. Heading: "Capitulum primum. That a man is seyde þe ymage of god after his soule and nouȝt after the bodye." Incipit: "For als mochel as þou coueitest gretly and

¹⁰⁴ See Thomas James, in his catalogue of manuscripts of the libraries of Cambridge and Oxford colleges. Appeared about A.D. 1430.

askist it for charite forto heren more of an ymage þe whiche y haue before þese tymes in partie discriede to þe þerfore y wile gladly wiþ drede falle to þy desire and helpyng þe grace of oure lord ihesu crist in whom i fully truste. . . ." Explicit: ". . . gostly rownyngis þis is þe voys of ihesu þis is þe abbaye of þe holi gost þat is founded in a place þat is cleped þe conscience."

Ending: "Explicit scala perfeccionis."

Notes: I have followed Ogilvie-Thomson in spelling and the wording: the advantage of her entries is that they are longer. I have followed Watson in capitalization and punctuation, where available, since these are ignored in Ogilvie-Thomson. On f. 133v, Watson notices word definitions in a hand from around the turn of the sixteenth century.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Sargent associates As with Cc, Ed, F, H, H7, L, Ld, Ry, and St, on the basis of a group of manuscripts geographically similar and including the textual expansions of *Scale I* ("Numbers" 231). Hussey associates *Scale II* in As with H5, Ws, and Ld based on their inclusion of the words "þis is þe voys of ihesu" in the ending and with H because it also "originally ended with *Iesu*" ("Text of *Scale II*" 81). He also connects H and Ch with As because these three show signs of a twenty-eight chapter division of *Scale I* rather than ninety-two or ninety-three and notes these three all have Carthusian connections ("Audience" 119). (Watson gives specific information on chapter markings in this copy.)

Gardner observes that this is one of "[o]nly two manuscripts" that contain "the Christocentric additions but not the passage on the Holy Name," the other being H5. Each of these is associated with specific women religious of Syon Abbey ("Text" 17-18). Because As has an unusual ending to *Scale II* that refers to "þe abbaye of þe holi gost," Gardner suggests that in its exemplar *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* must have followed *Scale II*, though a manuscript such as this has not been found ("Text" 16 and n. 1). It is however suggestive of the sort of audience

which *Scala* might have been reaching, as it is also in V and S, which do have *The Abbey* in close proximity to *Scale I*. (For further details of Gardner's assessment, see T.)

Felicity Riddy gives a list of religious women who owned extant manuscripts of Hilton texts. Four of the women she lists are associated with *Scala* specifically: a Shaftesbury Benedictine abbess (A), Rose Pachet, Syon (As), Elizabeth Wylby, Campsey Augustinian nun (Cc), and Elizabeth Horwode, London Franciscan abbess (H6). In addition, Dame Jhon Sewell of Syon is associated with Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation, Inc. H491, a Wynkyn de Worde 1494 print of *Scala* ("Women talking" 119 n. 14; I have augmented the information Riddy gives from Ker, MLGB; cf. Erler, "Devotional Literature" 519-20). As Anne Marie Dutton remarks, it should be noted that the inscription of Rose Pachet in As is not necessarily an owner's mark; nevertheless Pachet would have had access to the book (54). See also H5 for another woman, Margery Pensax, who owned *Scala*.

DIALECT: eLALME does not assess As. Sargent places it in a group of manuscripts from "the East Midland area of Ely, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, northern Essex, Norfolk and eastern Suffolk" ("Numbers" 231). The eastern Suffolk manuscript is Cc. The two full-text Norfolk manuscripts he lists, F and the last part of H7, are from the northern part, though the first part of H7 is from Ely (see Dialect under the pertinent manuscripts). The inclusion of As among manuscripts predominated by a group from Cambridgeshire and the Soke of Peterborough indicates Cambridgeshire or its immediate environs as the origin of As.

ORIGINS: See Dialect.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, IMEP VIII; Andrew G. Watson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscript of All Souls College, Oxford*. Watson's description is very full; Coxe also gives a brief account in *Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in*

collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur, Vol. 2.

Siglum: B

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Oxford

ARCHIVE: Bodleian Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Bodley 100

OTHER IDENTIFIER: SC 1947

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1475-1500 (Lagorio and Sargent). SC states this is mid-fourteenth century, which is clearly in error in light of the date of composition of *Scala*, but A. I. Doyle does date it to early in the fifteenth and later Michael G. Sargent agrees (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 254; Sargent, "Bishops" 169).

CONTENTS: *Scales I* and *II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves (SC). 173 leaves (SC). 222 x 162 mm (8 3/4 x 6 3/8 inches; SC), written in two columns.

Scales I and *II* comprise ff. 1r to 172v (Lagorio and Sargent). The codex contains border illumination and decorated initials occur in both books of *Scala* (Sargent, "Bishops" 169; SC); SC characterizes the decoration as "distinctive" but Doyle remarks that B is "[v]ery plainly written" ("Survey" 1: 254). I am not aware of a modern and full description of B.

BINDING: "In a medieval wrapper" (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 254).

SCRIBES: There is no full description, but SC comments that a different hand completes the last sentences of Book II.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither in MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: SC states that there is a "a cryptic note or name on fol. 172v." The book was given to the Bodleian in 1605 by the bishop of Exeter, William Cotton (SC).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The manuscript contains only both books of *Scala*.

Scala Text:

1. ff. (1r-70v?): *Scale I*. Incipit: "Gostly sester in Ihesu Crist, y praye thee that in the callynge. . . ." Explicit: Not available. Book I is in 93 chapters.

2. ff. 71r-(72v?): Table of Contents for *Scale II*.

ff. 73r-172v: *Scale II*. Incipit: "For as moche as thow coueytest gretly and axest hit for charite. . . ." Explicit: ". . . myghte ben writen in a gret bok." Book II is in 44 chapters.

The textual account follows SC. On folios iiv and iiir, medieval flyleaves, "are some theological notes in Latin, an English proverb, and a French prayer"; folio iiiv contains "some Latin notes of papal indulgences" and so forth (SC). Doyle identified the proverb as a four-line West Midlands version of DIMEV 1835: "He is wys þat is woed /
He is riche þat naþ no good /
He is blynd þat can y see /
Wel is hym þat nere may þee" (f. iiv; Doyle, "Survey" 1: 254 n. 26; DIMEV). DIMEV characterizes the verse as "[o]n the Evils of the Time." In this manuscript, it is preceded by the following guide to interpretation: "þys prouerbe is soþ in euery syde ho so goostly vnderstondeþ" (DIMEV).

Even at this early date, the two books of *Scala* were intentionally written in one volume, since, as Sargent points out, the transition to Book II occurs in the middle of the tenth quire

("Bishops" 169). The text of *Scale II* had a shorter ending at one point which was completed later by another hand that Doyle considers to be "contemporary." Because of this and because of references to a different chapter numbering in the margins, Doyle concludes that, at some early point, at least one other copy of *Scale II* was accessible ("Survey" 1: 254).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Neither *Scale I* nor *Scale II* are in a subgroup of closely related texts, according to the collations now in the hands of Sargent ("Editing" 514, 516, 518, 521-22, 526). Doyle thought he had discerned a textual relationship between B and Ld ("Survey" 1: 254), and later S. S. Hussey concurred with respect to *Scale II*, including Hu2 with them in a textual subgroup ("Text" 85). Sargent has done further analysis and concluded that, while there are some similarities textually between B and Ld in *Scale II*, as well as other likenesses in general, such as not including the Charity and Holy Name passages but using the address to a "Ghostly sister" in *Scale I*, these two are not remarkably close textually in *Scale II*. He does observe, however, that both these early manuscripts combine the "unemended" version of *Scale I* as well as a "textually similar" version of *Scale II* in an apparently intentional combination of *Scale I* and *II* in one volume: both books of *Scala* in B are in the same larger affiliational groups of their respective texts as is Ld. Hussey has characterized this version of *Scale II* as "unexpanded" ("Editing" 514, 516, 518, 521-22, 525-26; "Bishops" 169 and n. 44). In addition, one might note that B, Ch, and Hu2, all apparently West Midlands texts, are also in the same larger affiliational group in *Scale II*, Ch and Hu2 possibly forming a subgroup (Sargent, "Editing" 521-22, 526; see Ch and Hu2).

DIALECT: Not assessed by eLALME. Doyle provides some evidence of West Midland language in the text as well as the fifteenth-century marginalia, including the verse quoted above ("Survey" 1: 254 n. 26).

ORIGINS: The evidence of the language and of the correction of the text suggests this was produced in a West Midlands religious house or perhaps a cathedral church, the library of which held more than one copy of *Scala*. If the original copying did not occur in a place such as this, then at least at some early stage the manuscript was in this sort of location for a period of time.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Doyle thinks B was owned by a cleric, basing his evaluation on the annotations ("Survey" 1: 254). When one considers where one might find more than one copy of *Scala* in the West Midlands, to satisfy the requirements for the additions made to B, one is reminded of Ch and Hu2, possibly closely related texts, both localised near Kenilworth Priory, a substantial house of Austin canons. Two localisations near this priory indicate that Kenilworth would be likely to hold two or more copies of *Scala* and Austin canons are clerics, appropriate to Doyle's assessment.

Doyle does not say where *Scale II* in B originally ended. SC, however, records the explicit of Book II in this fashion: "'myghte ben writen in a gret bok', carrying the text some sentences further than in no. 1499, but with a change of hand." "No. 1499" is Ld, a short-ending text of *Scale II* discussed by Helen Gardner and S. S. Hussey (Gardner, "Text" 16; Hussey, "Text" 81). The description in SC indicates that B originally ended at the same place as the other short-ending texts. Doyle compares B to H7, another manuscript he says originally had a short ending to *Scale II* and then immediately goes on to compare B to Ld; in Ld, he writes, "the end of the second book is in the defective state," using the definite article to refer back to B and Ld that he has just described as having the originally defective ending remedied ("Survey" 1: 254). All of this indicates that B and H7 are two more texts that originally ended as those discussed by Gardner and Hussey: neither notices these two, even though they do discuss H and T which

likewise have an originally short-ending text completed by a later hand. To my knowledge, Sargent only refers back to Gardner's discussion in passing without adding texts to her list ("Organic" 219). I am not in a position to assess the significance of this issue for editing the texts, but it bears on questions of origin.

Gardner identified five originally short-ending texts of Book II (As, H, H5, Ld, T) and Hussey added one to this list (Ws). If these two noted by Doyle are parallel to these, as is the somewhat anomalous Sr, which I have identified, this totals nine manuscripts with an originally curtailed ending. There are twenty-two essentially complete English manuscripts of *Scale II* extant¹⁰⁵ so that about two-fifths of the surviving manuscripts originally had the short ending. Of the nine with the abbreviated conclusion, six are East Midland texts and five are associated by at least part of the text with Ely or the Ely / Cambridge region.¹⁰⁶ Two are from London or Surrey and B seems to be from the West Midlands. In particular, *Scala* in Sr, which may point back to an early version of *Scale II* with the short ending, has an Ely hand. Thus, this short ending to *Scale II* almost certainly originated in the environs of Ely and must have been a widely copied variation for two-fifths of surviving texts to bear the marks of it. (For further discussion see Sr

¹⁰⁵ This includes Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique / Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België MS 2544-45, dated 1608, which is excluded from this catalogue on the basis of its late date; it excludes B3, in this catalogue, which Lagorio and Sargent say is incomplete at the end: this is apparently more than an abbreviated ending (see B3).

¹⁰⁶ One of these five texts associated with Ely, Ld, is not technically localised in Ely but near Willingham, in Ely's environs. In another of these five, H7, the hand that writes the *Scale II* ending is localised to Gateley in the region of Little Walsingham Priory, but the first hand in the book is considered to be Ely.

and T.)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Falconer Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* Vol. 2, Part 1 (SC). There is also a brief entry (733) in Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, vol. 3.

Siglum: B3

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Oxford

ARCHIVE: Bodleian Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Bodley 592

OTHER IDENTIFIER: SC 2365

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-25 (Lagorio and Sargent). Doyle considers it of the mid- to late-fifteenth century ("Survey" 1: 269), but SC proposes the first half.

CONTENTS: *Scales I* and *II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves (SC). 188 folios (SC). 216 x 159 mm (8 1/2 x 6 1/4 inches; SC).

Scales I and *II* comprise ff. 1r to 185r; the text is "incomplete at end" (Lagorio and Sargent). I have however found no information on how much text is missing, though it must be of significance: when Michael G. Sargent tallies the list of "originally complete medieval manuscripts" of *Scala* in English, he numbers B3 among the texts containing a complete *Scale I* alone. He nevertheless does list the texts with the usual short ending of *Scale II* among the complete *Scale II* texts ("Bishops" 162). On the other hand, both S. S. Hussey and Sargent use

B3 in their collations of *Scale II* ("Editing" 521-22, 525). Apparently, so much of Book II in B3 is missing as to consider it incomplete and not simply missing a dozen or so lines as in the short-ending text, and yet enough remains to make it useful for collation. SC states that capitals are illuminated. Doyle calls it a "fine plain copy" (Survey" 1: 269). I am not aware of a detailed current description of B3.

BINDING: No information.

SCRIBES: Doyle calls the script a "text-hand" which he thinks has "metropolitan associations" (Survey" 1: 269 n. 43).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither in MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: On folio ivr, SC notes "a copy of an agreement by Isabella Edrygge of Lyme Regis, 1515, 'per me fratrem Thomam Sutton Glastonie cellerium forinsicum.'"¹⁰⁷ In recording the same inscription, Doyle adds another separate inscription prior to it: "in rotulo ballivi hock anno domini Ricardi Beer Abbatis xxiiijo"¹⁰⁸ ("Survey" 1: 269 n. 43). Presumably, the former quotation is the heading of the copy of the agreement and the latter its ending. If so, the heading appears to refer to the location of the original agreement in the terriers of Glastonbury Abbey. The agreement by Edrygge is copied in this manuscript by the monk of Glastonbury, Thomas Sutton, or, perhaps, he authorizes or records the original and the

¹⁰⁷ by me, Brother Thomas Sutton of Glastonbury, *cellerium forinsicum*. "Cellerium forinsicum" seems to be the designation of his position in the monastery, but this is presumably an obscure term since even the British Library does not translate the phrase "cellerarius forinsicus" when applied to Sutton, though they give the English terms for other positions described in the context (BL, Egerton MSS 3034 and 3035).

¹⁰⁸ in the bailiff's roll this twenty-third year of Lord Richard Beer, Abbot.

authorization is copied here. The record in B3 thus appears to be Edrygge's copy of her agreement in her own book as recorded by the official of the Abbey.

According to British Library records, Thomas Sutton was appointed by Abbot Richard Beer to compile the terriers of the estates and manors of Glastonbury Abbey in Devon and Somerset beginning in 1514, a year (or two) before he records the agreement for Isabella Edrygge. He is apparently in charge of the project since he is assisted by the "steward of the Abbey," an auditor, a clerk, and a bailiff. The terriers run until 1520. The first of these is now British Library, Egerton MS 3034 written from 1514 until 1517; another is British Library, Egerton MS 3134 written from 1514 to 1516. For related terriers, see BL Harley MS 3961 and Society of Antiquaries of London MS 653 (BL, Egerton MSS 3034 and 3134).¹⁰⁹

The British Library account indicates that the twenty-second year of Richard Beer's abbacy is 1515 (BL, Egerton MS 3034). In that case, the date of 1515 given in the SC is in conflict with the inscription recorded by Doyle, which is dated the twenty-third year of Abbot Richard Beer, that is, 1516. In any event, the date of Edrygge's agreement fits within the date ranges for both terriers noted above. Presumably, the record in B3 is an agreement by Edrygge regarding some of the lands of Glastonbury, perhaps a rental agreement, also duly recorded in the bailiff's roll. MS 3134 includes records for the manor of Uplyme in the county of Devon. It appears that Edrygge is a laywoman who owned B3. An inspection of the actual agreement and an attempt to find its original, perhaps in one of these two terriers, might shed further light on the state of affairs.

¹⁰⁹ Doyle identifies Egerton MS 3034 as a terrier of Glastonbury, its compilation by Sutton as ordered by the abbot, and its dates, but without further comment ("Survey," 1: 269 n. 43).

In 1660, Joseph Maynard, "fellow of Exeter college, Oxford," purchased B3 in Dorchester and donated it to the Bodleian in 1662 (SC).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: This manuscript contains only both books of *Scala*. The book seems to have a title, since SC puts the following in quotation marks but without further explanation: "The book that is clepid Scala perfeccionis."

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-(79v?): *Scale I*. Incipit: "Goostli suster in Ihesu Crist, I prairie thee that in the callynge. . . ." Explicit: Not available. Book I is in 92 chapters with a table of contents preceding.

2. ff. 80r-185r: *Scale II*. Incipit: Not available. Explicit: Not available. Book II is in 46 chapters with a table of contents preceding. Respecting the incomplete *Scale II* in B3, since 46 chapters is the extent of Book II, perhaps SC is giving the tally from the table or else only part of Chapter 46 is missing.

The textual account follows SC.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: For *Scale I*, the analyses of Dorward and of Bliss deem B3 and P to be derivative of L which together are in a group of texts with A and C (Sargent, "Editing" 514, 516, 518). Respecting *Scale II*, Sargent comments that, while P is a descendant of L, B3 is a "close congener" but L is "not necessarily" the "original." Hussey also saw H6 as closely related to these three (Sargent, "Editing" 521-22, 524; Hussey, "Text" 85).

DIALECT: Not assessed by eLALME. Sargent states that it is "written in Central Midlands Standard dialect" ("Numbers" 232).

ORIGINS: Doyle considers B3 to have originated in the metropolis on the basis of the style of the script. He notes further that Glastonbury Abbey owned a house in London and was in constant communication with that city and suggests that this may have been the route by which the manuscript travelled to "Dorset or Somerset" ("Survey" 1: 269 and n. 43). The close textual associations of B3 with the London manuscripts, L and P, as well as with H6, another text from the metropolis, tends to confirm Doyle's suggestion of London origins. In addition, it is suggestive that A, also textually related, though probably not originating in London, nevertheless at one point was in the care of a Member of Parliament for Dorset and Somerset, William Caraunt, who would regularly have been in the capital.

FURTHER NOTES ON PROVENANCE: In a sixteenth-century Latin inscription on folio vr, Thomas Bragg of Thornecombe acknowledges a debt. A letter, also of the sixteenth century, from a resident of Lyme Regis, Nicholas Webber, is copied onto folio 185v. On folio iiii is the name "John Deare" dated 1583; on folio 186v, in an early seventeenth-century hand, is another name, "John Peache" (SC). Thus, B3 seems to have circulated in what is now Dorset, in and around Lyme Regis, Thornecombe, and Dorchester, from at least the early sixteenth century until 1662, when it was given to the Bodleian by Joseph Maynard.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Without further inspection of the manuscript, it is premature to conclude, as Catherine Innes-Parker does on the basis of Doyle's record of it in his "Survey," cited above, that B3 belonged to Glastonbury Abbey, which she does in support of her point that vernacular books with associations with women could also belong to monasteries (261). Indeed, B3 seems to have belonged to a woman of some means. Three of its textually related manuscripts, A, C, and H6, appear to have had associations with aristocrats. It is true that H6 was in the hands of the Minorities in London, yet the connections of that house with lay

aristocratic women who were at times lay residents in its precinct should be kept in mind (Boffey 389; see H6). Such aristocratic women may well have been reading it.

For that matter, every one of the manuscripts textually associated with B3, as listed above, has associations with lay aristocrats or with other lay people of means. In this regard, we might also note that Abbess Elizabeth Horwode, an owner of H6, was the daughter of a goldsmith of London. We appear to have here a group of texts strongly associated with wealthy lay people. All of this also suggests another route, besides that suggested by Doyle, by which B3 may have travelled from London to Lyme Regis in Dorset. As we have seen under origins, the textually related A was in the custody of a Member of Parliament for Dorset and Somerset. London would have been no stranger to him, and others in his circles may also have had frequent contact with the capital. It seems reasonable to propose that a manuscript in a textual group strongly associated with wealthy lay people may have migrated by way of such an individual into the hands of Isabella Edrygge, if she did not make the journey herself.

On the other hand, the textual relationship of this manuscript to L, with its dialectal associations with Cambridge, suggests another possible origin for B3. If Sargent is correct, that it is written in Central Midlands Standard, this is suggestive of Huntingdonshire and the area immediately west of contemporary Cambridgeshire.¹¹⁰ One might suppose the book was derived from L in this region before L arrived in London. That L was apparently commissioned by Londoners, however, weakens such a suggestion, since it would not then have remained for any length of time in the Cambridgeshire region. Perhaps B3 is not derivative but a close congener from the same general area as the dialect of L. Alternatively, the scribe of B3 may be copying

¹¹⁰ Simon Horobin associates Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, and Northamptonshire particularly with Central Midlands Standard (*Studying* 40).

the dialect of L in London. Though B3 may well be a London book, its dialect apparently points back to the region near Cambridgeshire, if Sargent's view of the language is correct.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: British Library, *Explore Archives and Manuscripts* (BL); Falconer Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* Vol. 2, Part 1 (SC).

Siglum: C

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Cambridge

ARCHIVE: Cambridge University Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Additional 6686

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Ashburnham-Young; Ashburnham, Addit. MS 140.

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-25 (Lagorio and Sargent)

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 183 folios. Two different sizes are recorded in the catalogues and other descriptions. Towl reconciles this apparent conflict by explaining that the leaves are 272 x 202 mm while the dimensions of the binding are 290 x 216 mm. This is, as Sargent explains, "a composite volume." Towl records the consequent variations in text space: 206 x 133 mm on pages 1-234, two columns 62 mm wide at 36 lines per column; 218 x 142 mm on pages 235-361, two columns 65 mm wide at 40-41 lines per column; 254 x 178 mm on page 362, one column of 48 lines; 220 x 172 mm on pages 363-64, one column of 41 lines. The manuscript is paginated in a modern hand, numbers 194 and 195 being repeated (Towl and others). This explains why a manuscript with 183 folios apparently has only 364

pages.

Scale I comprises pp. 275-361. Perry and Towl identify three booklets or sections in the manuscript. (While Towl does not use the term in her manuscript description, she discusses booklets in her introduction and refers to C in this regard, pp. 35-37.) In this interpretation, *Scale I* begins a new and final booklet. In support of a view that C is three booklets, I note that that page 234 is blank (facsimile): this is the last page of the first booklet. In addition, page 274 is blank apart from a brief inscription and some bleed-through (facsimile): this is the last page of the second booklet and the page preceding *Scale I*. In addition, Sargent observes that the first page of *Scale I* is worn, suggesting an originally independent existence of this booklet. Moreover, Perry describes "darkening on the opening sides" of both of the last two booklets. Together with Sargent's observation, this indicates that booklet three stood on its own for some time before being bound with the others. Doyle had earlier suggested that booklet three may at first have been separate, implied by his assessment that one hand writes it and by the "monogram or mark" on all of its leaves ("Survey" 2: 122; see Owners' Marks).

To all of this might be added Towl's observation that the three booklets are decorated to varying degrees but that within each booklet, the decorations are at a consistent level. The first booklet, she continues, containing Love's *Mirror*, has the highest level of decoration. Towl describes *Scale I* as containing blue and red two-line initials marking chapter openings and other minor decorative touches. The ordering of the texts in the manuscript may also suggest independent booklets: the contents in booklet one would normally stand together and form a natural unit; booklet three begins with *Scale I* and includes an appended shorter work; the first two texts of booklet two have natural affinities with one another and this booklet might be considered as a miscellany for an aristocratic layperson (see below). From these several points,

it would appear that the original booklets were not produced to be bound together in one codex but were instead brought together at some later date, perhaps for convenience. With respect to the regard in which the *Mirror* was held in relation to *Scala*, I conclude that nothing can be surmised from the differences in decoration because these booklets do not appear to have been bound together for some time.

The manuscript has repeatedly been quite fully described, particularly by Perry, Ringrose, Sargent, and Towl. Towl's description is careful and the most detailed.

BINDING: Modern calf binding.

SCRIBES: There are five or six hands. According to Sargent, all write an early-fifteenth-century Anglicana. Perry and Towl nuance the features of the hands further, Towl giving minutely detailed descriptions. Perry regards hands E and F of LALME and Towl to be the same, and Sargent also does not indicate a further hand for the last text, thus distinguishing only five. Perry adds the hand that writes a short Latin poem at the end of *Scale I* as his sixth, but this poem is regarded as an addition to the text proper by Ringrose.

Hand A writes the first booklet; hands B, C, and D write the second; in the third booklet, hand E writes *Scale I* and hand F writes "Lay Folks' Catechism" (gleaned from eLALME, Towl, and Perry; I follow eLALME in the designation of hands). The facsimile indicates to me that there is in fact a distinction between hands E and F and that Perry is correct in stating that the Latin poem at the end of *Scale I* is indeed in a further hand.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: Sargent observes "three escutcheons in the lower border of p. 190," noting that they are blank but that one "seems to have been scored in drypoint." He suggests correspondence of the scoring with "the arms of the Bruce family." The facsimile confirms the

presence of the blank escutcheons but the scoring is not visible in this medium. I note that these escutcheons are in the first booklet. On page 36 (booklet one), states Ringrose, someone has scribbled "Dan Adam (?) reyde her." The name appears clearly on the facsimile, but the bottom of some letters have been cropped in the manuscript; thus, the word "Reyde," in particular, is not as certain. This inscription of course does not necessarily indicate ownership. Ringrose also mentions an erased name "partly readable under ultra-violet light" on page 274: "'Tho[mas] (?)Myrlay his . . .].'" The inscription is also somewhat legible on the facsimile and the transcription Ringrose gives seems correct. This is at the end of booklet two. Towl dates the hand that writes "Dan Adam" to "approximately the late fifteenth century" and that inscribing "Thomas Myrlay" as sixteenth-century.

Marks possibly reflecting medieval ownership in the third booklet are indeterminate monograms at the foot of every page. The letters are not transparently decipherable and the descriptions render them variously: "'20 h' the main elements," "Ihc or hr," "'IHC,'" "'s' and 'b' or 'h.'" (Doyle, "Survey" 2: 122; Ringrose; Perry; Sargent). The number "20" appears with this monogram (Ringrose; Towl). The facsimile reveals that in fact all of these interpretations of the monogram are possible. As Doyle implies, this unique feature of booklet three suggests an earlier independent existence. Binski and Zutshi give a concise statement of the later provenance, which includes C. W. Williams Wynn, Lord Ashburnham, Henry Yates Thompson, and Arthur William Young. Young gave the book to Cambridge University Library in 1933. Ringrose adds some details.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The first booklet, pages 1-234, contains Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*; as already noted, page 234 is blank.

The second booklet, pages 235-74, comprises *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*; "The Vision of St. John on the Sorrows of the Virgin"; three religious poems, including the "Short Charter of Christ"; John Lydgate's "The Kings of England Sithen William the Conqueror." Hand D writes Lydgate alone. The hand of this section, as evidenced by the facsimile, is distinctive, beginning at the top of page 272 and ending on page 273. Sargent and Towl take note of a Latin prayer to a guardian angel between *Contemplations* and "Vision." As noted, Lydgate ends on page 273, and, as explained under Manuscript Description, page 274 was not used to copy manuscript texts.

The third booklet, pages 275-364, contains *Scale I* and John Gaytryge's "Lay Folks' Catechism." RCHM, Perry, Ringrose, and Sargent also take note of twenty-eight lines of Latin hexameter dealing with some of the sacraments, after *Scale I*. The collation makes it apparent that "Lay Folks' Catechism" begins in the same quire as *Scale I* and that this text was not a separate item sewn in later.

Scala Text:

1. pp. 275-78: *Scale I* Table of Contents. Incipit: "Þat þe inward hauyng of man ſchuld be like to þe vtter i." There are 91 chapter headings. Explicit: "Her inne is told þe cauſe whi þis writyng is made. and how ſche ſchal haue hir in þe redyng þat it was made vnto lxxxxi."

pp. 278-361: *Scale I*. Rubric: "Capitulum i. How þe inward hauyng of man ſchuld be lyke to þe vtter." Incipit: "Goftly ſyfter in ihesu criſt I preye þe þat in þe kallyng. . . ." Explicit: ". . . ſtate of life contemplatif/ þe grace of oure lord Iheſu criſt be with þe and with hym þat writes þis boke. Amen."

Notes: I transcribe from the facsimile and consult Towl and Ringrose (Draft description) where they provide transcriptions. Ringrose observes a discrepancy between the chapter

numbering in the table of contents and that in the text (Draft description). There is little marginalia.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: According to Sargent, C was considered by Rosemary Dorward to be the best copy of a small group of English texts closely affiliated textually with Thomas Fishlake's Latin translation. Since Fishlake is contemporary with and an acquaintance of Hilton, he is assumed to have chosen a copy of the English text close to the final authorial version. Thus A. J. Bliss later chose C as the basis of his proposed critical edition, even though Bliss also determined that L is closer to Fishlake's Latin. The proposal is under review by Sargent in his continuing of Bliss's work for an Early English Text Society edition ("Editing" 515, 517-20). The small group of textually affiliated English manuscripts of *Scale I* identified by Dorward and confirmed by Bliss are C, A, and L, plus the derivatives of L, P and B3. Bliss however also determined that L and its derivatives are a hybrid of the group represented by C and A and another larger group (Sargent, "Editing" 514-17; cf. Sargent, "Organic and Cybernetic Metaphors" 219, 226-28). In her grouping of texts, Helen Gardner lists C along with V and S and others as texts containing the Holy Name passage "but not the Christo-centric additions" ("Text" 17-18). These three are all early manuscripts.

DIALECT: eLALME: Hand A (booklet one) LP number: 9340; Grid: 453 234; Northamptonshire. Hand B (booklet two) LP number: 508; Grid: 506 362; Lincolnshire. Hand C (booklet two) "too short to assess with certainty." Hand D (booklet two): "indeterminate." Hand E (booklet three): "probably Notts, but an odd, suspiciously regular and somewhat artificial language." Hand F (booklet three): "a good text, probably N Notts language. Nottinghamshire."

eLALME gives Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Additional 6578 the same LP number and grid reference as Hand A. This is localised about twelve kilometres south-east of

Banbury, near the border of Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire.

ORIGINS: The localisation of the hands in booklet three are significant for the origins of this *Scale I* text, since this booklet was probably originally independent of the others for some time. Both of these are assigned by eLALME, with probability, to Nottinghamshire, which is where Hilton's Thurgarton priory was also located, while the other booklets are localised in two different counties. Owners' marks in this third booklet shed no further light on the origins of the booklet. That both hands here appear to be localisable to the same county while the hands in the other booklets are localisable to different counties is further evidence that this booklet was once independent.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Doyle concludes that C is "a Northern monastic volume" ("Survey" 1: 251). His assertion that this is monastic is grounded in the mention of Nicholas Love as a monk of Mount Grace in the explicit of *Mirror* as well as an inscription on a page of this same text: "Dan Adam Reyd Here" (Doyle's transcription). He understands the latter to be "a note of reading or a direction for rubrication." He apparently wishes to augment the claim that the manuscript is monastic by reference to the Latin verse at the end of *Scale I* that deals with "the administration of the sacraments of extreme unction and baptism" and the observation of the small hand and "long lines" of "Lay Folks' Catechism" which he deems "hardly fitted for public recitation" ("Survey" 2: 122).

The early Doyle's assessment is that the book is in two parts, the last being our booklet three, and concludes that the language of both is "Northern" ("Survey" 2: 122). As noted above, eLALME has come to a different conclusion, at least about Hand A in the first booklet. On the basis of an interpretation of the manuscript as originally three independent booklets, one may begin to question whether the whole manuscript can be designated monastic on the basis of a

reference to a monk's reading and an unsurprising reference to Love as a monk in the first booklet. Moreover, one wonders whether reference to administration of sacraments and a small hand in the third carries much weight with respect to the origins of the booklet containing Love's *Mirror* if the latter booklet is understood as an independent text with no earlier reference to monks.

Verses on extreme unction and baptism, in particular, seem better suited to the book of a secular priest, who might more often in the usual course of his duties encounter newborns and be called upon to minister to the dying. Moreover, these lines appear to be added later: Perry describes them as "crammed in the space beneath the end of" *Scale I* in what he characterizes later as "a very compressed and uncalligraphic script." The facsimile indicates that the hand is distinct from that preceding and that following this item. Ringrose and Perry both note that the hand is different from that of *Scale I*. One may grant that reading the "Lay Folks' Catechism" in a pulpit from a text in a small hand would be cumbersome, but, as Sue Powell points out, this text does in fact have the secular priest in mind in particular in the first instance (67-68). A secular would find this text useful in other ways in addition to public recitation, for instance as a guide in preaching emphases. And *Scala*, with its many brief expositions of biblical texts as well as its convenient table of contents and marking of chapter openings in this manuscript to aid in finding such texts, would make this booklet a valuable reference work for a priest charged with Sunday preaching. *Scala* manuscripts at least sometimes distinguish the Latin biblical text which is always given before its English translation and exposition: this can be with red underlining or a larger more formal hand. In describing the manuscript as a whole, Perry states that Latin is "underlined with red ink." The facsimile shows that the Latin in *Scala* is underlined and so, presumably, in red; thus this manuscript is conveniently organized for a preacher looking for

expositions of various texts to aid in sermon preparation.

Powell goes on to argue that "Lay Folks' Catechism" was later appropriated to other uses. It went through an "evolution" from the time it appeared in Archbishop Thoresby's York register in 1357 to guide the preaching of his priests until a version of it was printed as part of a larger compendium that included a work "specifically directed at the responsible layman, aware of his duty to his family and household." This printed book addresses itself to both clerical and lay needs (83-84). Towl in fact proposes that the boundary between lay and "professional religious" readers of a text is otherwise also quite permeable in late medieval England (24-31). Thus, though the evolution of "Lay Folks' Catechism" into a text available to the laity that Powell traces is limited to its printed version, the permeability of boundaries between lay, religious, and clerical audiences seems to have earlier roots, as the history of *Scala* itself suggests. Therefore, also considering the third booklet of C as potentially in the hands of the laity in the first instance is not beyond the realm of possibility.

With respect to the ownership of the the first booklet, perhaps the almost blank escutcheons should be given some weight. Perry suggests that these "hint" at an "armigerous owner" and Sargent goes as far as to suggest the Bruce family. The higher level of decoration noted by Towl in this booklet may point specifically at a lay aristocratic owner. Moreover, as Lagorio and Sargent remind us, Love has crafted his translation of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* specifically to counter-act Lollardy, with its emphasis, among other things, on vernacular Bible reading (3104-05). That is, not unusually, this manuscript also includes the Latin memorandum of Archbishop Arundel's approbation of the *Mirror* for public circulation, partly to confute heretics or Lollards (RCHM; Sargent; see also Lagorio and Sargent 3105). This serves to underline that the laity has official authorization to read this text despite the generally forbidden

lay reading of the Bible in the vernacular, an authorizing and forbidding that are two parts of the official response to Lollardy.¹¹¹ To find such a book in lay aristocratic hands would thus be entirely within the expected order of things; to find a comment on the reading of a religious in such an aristocratic text would not be inexplicable or entirely unexpected: for instance, a religious might be the guest or relative of an aristocrat, or, as Doyle suggests, such an inscription might have entered the manuscript as part of its construction.

Regarding the second booklet, Lagorio and Sargent characterize its main text, *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, as "addressed primarily to lay readers" and observe that its "similarities" to Hilton's *Medled Lyf* have been discussed (3086). Towl argues that the subsequent text, "The Vision of St. John on the Sorrows of the Virgin," has verbal parallels with *Contemplations* and notes that, in another manuscript, the explicit of the *Contemplations* comes after "The Vision," and so is treated in that instance as an integral part of it (68). She notices further that "The Vision" was copied by or for monastics as well as by a layman, giving specific examples of both (28). Finally, the last text in this booklet, Lydgate's "Kings of England," envisions persuading an aristocratic audience to support a Lancastrian monarchy. The natural home for the compilation in this second booklet is indeed in the house of someone like the worldly lord that Hilton addresses in *Medled Lyf*.

Since the first two booklets both seem to fit most naturally with lay aristocratic ownership, one must consider how the third booklet came to be bound with them and whether this booklet too could originally have been in the hands of a lay person. One scenario that suggests itself is that these various booklets could have been prepared for lay members of aristocratic families which eventually were united by marriage and that these booklets thus came

¹¹¹ On the forbidding of Bible reading, see Nicholas Watson, "Censorship" 828 n. 15.

to be in one library. For *Scala* to be bound with *Mirror* in such a case would have seemed appropriate since Love wrote of Hilton in *Mirror* with approval, as Lagorio and Sargent remind us (3105). If booklet three was not originally prepared for a secular priest, then the most natural alternative owner of "Lay Folks' Catechism" would be a lay person rather than a monastic, since it outlines the basics that are to be taught to all and sundry, even to children (cf. Powell 67).

The Latin verse about extreme unction and baptism in booklet three crammed in after *Scale I*, apparently by a later hand, suggests a later addition to the manuscript by a secular priest. Perhaps, after having first been the possession of a devout lay woman, the booklet was passed down to a clerical member of her aristocratic family, who then added the Latin verse. That the *Scale I* text in this manuscript is affiliated textually with L, in a common profit book, may also suggest lay connections for C. However any particular detail may be, all this taken together makes lay aristocratic origins for C a real possibility. Its origins are early in the history of *Scala*, probably in the same county as Hilton's Thurgarton priory. If the very early V and S from the West Midlands should have lay aristocratic connections and origins (see V, particularly under Audience and Historical Occasion), then the appropriation of *Scale I* as a lay aristocratic text may not be anomalous but part of a wider and very early phenomenon.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Binski and Zutshi, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts*; [Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 6686], *Britain's Literary Heritage: British Literary Manuscripts from Cambridge University Library* (facsimile); Ryan Perry, "Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 6686"; Jayne Ringrose, Draft description; Ringrose, *Summary Catalogue of the Additional Medieval Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library*; Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Ashburnham* (RCHM; 107); Michael G. Sargent, Introduction, *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of*

Jesus Christ, pp. lxxiv-lxxvi; Elizabeth May Towl, "An Edition of Marian Devotional Texts," pp. 157-170. References in this entry to Ringrose without additional qualifier are to her published *Summary Catalogue*.

Siglum: Cc

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Cambridge

ARCHIVE: Corpus Christi College

SHELF-MARK: MS R.5

OTHER IDENTIFIER: James 268. Evelyn Underhill mistakenly records this as MS 368 (xlviii).

MANUSCRIPT DATE: *Circa* 1450 (Lagorio and Sargent). Rand gives 1419 as the *terminus a quo*.

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves (James and *Parker*; references to James without qualifier in this entry are to Montague Rhodes James; references to Rand without qualifier are to her catalogue entry). 169 folios. 265 x 180 mm or 10 3/5 x 7 inches (James and *Parker*). The text is in one column of 32-35 lines.

Scale I comprises ff. 10r to 54r; *Scale II*: ff. 98r to 169v. James, *Parker* (based on James), and Rand all give detailed descriptions. On. f. iiiiv is a notice of indulgence granting three years of pardon to everyone saying the prayer that is given in Latin, as often as one says it, by "pope Clement þe fourth. atte þe requeſte of ſeynt Lowys kyng of ffrance." There are doodles as well as Stanley's manuscript number on f. ivr and pen trials on f. iv (r and v).

BINDING: No printed information. This would appear to be modern from the online digital facsimile (*Parker*), which seems to show two modern paper flyleaves followed by two vellum (apparently medieval) flyleaves at the beginning. At the end are two more paper flyleaves.

SCRIBES: Rand reports that one scribe, using the initials "I. S.," writes the entire book. A. I. Doyle states that this scribe manifests "the idiosyncrasies of a practised non-professional" and muses that he may have been one of the Campsey chaplains ("Survey" 2: 124). The hand is Anglicana.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Campsey, Suffolk, Priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of Augustinian nuns; "evidence from an inscription of ownership by an individual member of a religious house" (Ker, MLGB).

OWNERS MARKS: On the bottom of the verso of the last folio, A. I. Doyle discerns the following words: "M[emorand]d[um] that I Elizabeth Wylby Nonne of Campessey Gyffe thys boke . . ." ("Survey" 2: 123). The online facsimile shows that the bottom of the leaf is cut away; the top of a further letter is still visible just above the cut edge, suggesting, along with the absence of the recipient, that Elizabeth Wylby wrote more than remains. In this regard, Doyle cites a similar memorandum that appeared in an untraced incunabula of *The Chastising of God's Children and the Treatise of Love* in which the Campsey nun "Eliz. Willowby" gives the book "to Dame Caterine Symonde" instructing that the recipient is not to sell it or otherwise alienate it from Campsey but rather give it to a fellow Campsey nun ("Survey" 2: 123; cf. David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read* 125, who also cites sources of information on the memorandum).

Three words in her inscription are no longer legible: "nonne of campessey." In 2009, Rand observes that this phrase is hardly discernible "even with ultra-violet light," but that Doyle

gives this reading after his inspection of the manuscript, apparently in 1948. Doyle records another occurrence of the name, this time as "Elisabeth Wyllughby" but Rand notes the last name is now barely legible, seemingly as a result of "the last rebinding of the MS in 1952" (Doyle, "Survey" 2: 123; Rand). Doyle found both Elizabeth Willoughby and Caterine Symonde on the record as belonging to Campsey Priory in 1514 and again in 1526 ("Survey" 2: 124; see Bell, *What Nuns Read* 123, 125-26 for further information). Of interest with respect to all this, eLALME cites a note regarding Cc, apparently in the unpublished 1951 Oxford B. Litt. thesis of Rosemary Birts (later Dorward): "Mr. A.I. Doyle believes this manuscript to have been given by one nun of Campsey to another, probably *ca.* 1490-1520."

Michael Hicks writes that Sir Christopher Willoughby, who died in 1499, adopted the style of Lord Willoughby of Eresby (near Spilsby in Lincolnshire) despite being alienated from the associated estate. The Willoughby family also historically owned lands in Suffolk and Yorkshire as well as other counties. Sir Christopher's 1498 will indicates that he resided in Suffolk and was an active participant in its society (Hicks). Doyle states that both Sir Christopher and his father were "buried at Campsey." The son included the nuns and chantry priests of Campsey in his will, though he does not name Elizabeth Willoughby. In relation to the family connection to Yorkshire, Doyle observes that Cc is closely related textually to Northern manuscripts ("Survey" 2: 124). I am not aware of a more direct connection being made between the Willoughby lords buried at Campsey and Elizabeth.

Rand states this was donated to Corpus Christi College by Archbishop Matthew Parker (37). She notes that the College took custody of Parker's gift of his library in 1575 and that most of his collection was acquired from south-east England (xix-xxi). Parker rescued books "dispersed at the dissolution of the monasteries" ("About Matthew Parker and The Parker

Library"). It seems possible then that Parker acquired Cc at the dissolution of Campsey Priory in Suffolk. Even if it passed through an intermediary, however, the link back to Campsey would only have been a matter of decades at most.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: At the top of f. 1r is a notice: "Liber contemplationum Walteri Hilton" in what Rand characterizes as a sixteenth-century hand. This heading is followed, not by *Scala*, but by an anonymous treatise aimed at encouraging an audience that is "symple" and prone to despair. IPMEP apparently does not list this piece and Rand proposes that it may be unique. Jolliffe also lists this as appearing only in Cc (K.13). The text is given a neat but fairly plain presentation: only the first initial is given three lines and is done in blue and red ink; otherwise there is red underlining at regular intervals as well as red vertical lines dividing the text. From what can be discerned on the free online digital facsimile, there may be attempts to redden some letters following these vertical dividing lines. A number of folios contain marginalia.

Scale I follows, beginning at the top of f. 10r after approximately nine lines are left blank at the bottom of f. 9v. In this manuscript, *Scale I* is divided from *Scale II* by an intervening text: *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, which Rand characterizes as an abridged Middle English version of German mystic Heinrich Suso's Latin *Horologium sapientiae*. Again, the decoration is limited to a two-line red and blue initial at the English incipit and the rest of the text is presented plainly with a neat aspect. This time, however, rubrication is employed throughout and there is also recourse to red underlining. There is a small amount of marginalia, including two or three catchphrases to guide in putting together the quires.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 10r-52v: *Scale I*. Rubric: "That ye inder beyng of a man ſhuld be lyke to vutward apperaunce." Incipit: "Gostly syftir in ihesu cryft I prey the that in callyng that owre lord hath callyd the to his ſeruice you hold the payed and ſtonde ſtetefaſtly therinne truelyng beſily with alle the mythys of thyn soule . . ." Explicit: ". . . but to ye or to anotheſr whych hath ſtate of lyf contemplatif The grace of oure lord ihesu cryft be with the now and euer Amen." Final Rubric: "Here endith the fryft boke of maiſter Walter hyltoun. Sit nomen domini benedictum in ſecula ſeculorum. Amen. I. S."

ff. 52v-54r: The table of contents in 93 chapters for *Scale I*. Heading: "Here begynnyth the table of chapetris of the fyrft boke of mayſter watyr hylton yat his wrytyn here byforn." Ending: "Here endith ye table of ye boke before."

2. ff. 98r-99r: *Scale II*. The table of contents in 48 chapters, which fills all three pages. Heading: "Here begynnyth the table of the secounde boke of maiſter Watyr hylton. Sit laus deo patri ſummo." Incipit: "That a man is ſeid the ymage of god aftir ye ſoule and not aftir ye body." Explicit: ". . . how ihesus as man abovyn alle creaturys and as god aftyr yat the ſoule may ſen hym here."

ff. 99v-169v: Incipit: "For as mykel as you coveityſt gretly and aſkyd it pour charite for to heryn more of an ymage the whiche I have beforn tymes in parte diſcryed to the: therefore I wole gladly with drede fallyn to thyn deſier." Explicit: "ffor a ſoule that is ſteryd be grace to vſyn this werkyng may ſen more in an oure of ſwiche goſtly materys thanne myth ben in a gret bok."

Final Rubric: "Deo gracias. I. S. Explicit liber secundus M. Walteri Hyltoun."

Notes on *Scale I*: This begins with a three-line capital in blue and red at the top of the

page. The left-hand margin contains a border from top to bottom in red penwork. Chapter headings are rubricated and marked by two-line red and blue initials. Red underlining occurs with frequency as does the use of vertical red markers dividing the text which are often followed by a reddening of the following capital letter and which may be intended as paraphs. Many pages have borders in red penwork in the left-hand margin. Occasionally, a chapter beginning with the initial "I" will have a capital in blue and red of ten or eleven lines. The rubricated chapter number often is written in the margin or extends into it, as occasionally does the chapter heading.

There are catchphrases to guide quiring, sometimes partly effaced (which appear on the verso of folios in the bottom right margin). Other marginalia occurs very occasionally and the pages appear tidy. The table of contents is written in black ink with initial letters reddened. Chapter numbers are written in red arabic numerals in the outer margin. Shorter lines frequently have red penwork filling the remaining space. The table of contents ends three-fifths of the way down on f. 54r: its ending is separated with a red line from the heading of the table of contents for *Seven Points*, which fills the remainder of the page in a fashion similar to the table for *Scale I*. The text of *Seven Points* then begins at the top of the verso.

Notes on *Scale II*: The table of contents giving the chapter headings is presented in a fashion similar to that for Book I, except that the chapter numbers are always written in the right-hand margin and without the abbreviated initial "Capitulo." Within the body of the text, in addition to giving the chapter number in red at the initial beginning that chapter, each page is also given a chapter number, centred in the top margin, which is either the number of the chapter the text of which fills the page or the number of that which begins on that page. This practice was begun for the text of the *Seven Points* but does not occur earlier in the manuscript.

Scale II chapter headings are not repeated within the body of the text. Chapter divisions are indicated by two-line initials in blue and red and, as already suggested, the chapter number in red arabic numerals, preceded by the rubricated abbreviation for "Capitulo." The rubrication is occasionally missed for these chapter numbers. They are usually written in the margin but sometimes in the empty space at the end of the last sentence of the preceding chapter. Thus, the two-line initials are at the beginning of a new line. They are typically accompanied by red penwork in the margin but this does not extend from the top to the bottom of the page as it sometimes does in *Scale I*. Again, an initial capital "I" is extended to about ten lines.

Red underlining occurs throughout as do the red textual divisions described for *Scale I*. Red penwork sometimes fills the partial line remaining at chapter endings. As elsewhere in the manuscript, there are catchphrases to guide in quiring. Only a small amount of marginalia occurs. Again, this text is neatly presented. At the end, another, less tidy, hand repeats the last part of the final rubric, as follows: "Explicit liber secundus M. Walteri Hyltoun." Then, in Latin: "Nunc scripsi totum pro christo da mihi potum Nunc finem feci da mihi quod merui." (I am indebted to Rand for deciphering the abbreviations and sometimes almost illegible writing that James calls "scribbles.") This is followed by the inscription of Elizabeth Wylby in yet another hand, as discussed above.

Note on transcription: I have compared my transcription of the online digital facsimile of the manuscript (*Parker*) to Rand, where Rand gives the text, and, where possible, also to James and the *Parker* online catalogue. Rand observes that the scribe makes þ and y distinct "only occasionally" and then "inconsistently": I render these all as "y," in part because the free online digital facsimile is not high resolution and so presents limitations in transcription. Where I am in doubt, I follow Rand. (Junior scholars will find the cost of the subscription to the high-resolution

iteration prohibitive.)

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: This is one of a group of *Scala* texts that Felicity Riddy and Anne Marie Dutton identify as being owned by women religious: A, As, Cc, (maybe H5?), H6, and the print Rosenbach (see entry for As for details). On the basis of his collation, A. J. Bliss groups Cc with H2, J, N, the incomplete H4 and H7, the Ed fragments, and part of Sr. With these, on the basis of her earlier collation, Rosemary Dorward includes As, H, T, and W to form a larger undifferentiated group of manuscripts (conveniently cited in Sargent, "Editing" 515-16, 520). According to Sargent, this is one of two unusual clusters of three manuscripts each that contain both books in which the textual affiliations of *Scale I* and *Scale II* in the same manuscript are correlated; Cc is closely related to H7 and Sr in both books ("Numbers" 231 and n. 86).

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 8390; Grid: 638 265; Suffolk. Doyle characterizes the language as East Anglian ("Survey" 2: 123).

ORIGINS: The linguistic analysis localises the dialect to an area near Kelsale, about fifteen kilometres northeast of Campsey Ash Priory; the latter was just southeast of Wickham Market. This supports other evidence for Cc's place of origin, discussed under Owners Marks. Campsey Priory was a significant Augustinian house for twenty-one women with a 1535 income of over £182. A substantial house of Austin canons, Butley Priory (the site now known as Butley Abbey), with a 1535 income of over £318, was about eleven kilometres to the southeast. Butley was about eighteen kilometres south of Kelsale. Though there were six other houses of Austin canons within about twenty-five kilometres of Campsey, none had as large an income as Butley, nor Campsey, for that matter. Moreover, of any order in the area, Butley appears to have been the house with the most resources. Indeed, apart from the Cistercian Abbey at Sibton with a

1535 income of over £250, no other house in the area seems to have had larger resources than Campsey.

Sibton Abbey along with the Premonstratensian house at Leiston are nearest to the localisation near Kelsale, each about seven kilometres away. Other religious houses in the vicinity are a Benedictine priory at Snape, about nine kilometres south of Kelsale; a large Dominican friary as well as a Carmelite and a Franciscan house in Ipswich, about thirty-five kilometres southwest of Kelsale; an Austin friary in Orford; and a Dominican in Dunwich. A Minoreess abbey was at Bruisyard, about nine kilometres from Kelsale and thirteen from Campsey, and there were two small priories, Benedictine and Cluniac, about twenty kilometres north and northwest of Kelsale but further from Campsey (drawn from Knowles and Hadcock; *Pastscape*).

FURTHER NOTES ON PROVENANCE: Doyle mentions a loose vellum slip kept in the book that lists several names, including "Dominus Umfridus Dacy Dominus Willelmus Parr (?) dominus Ric Raclyff milites." Doyle considers this a memento list and speculates that the chaplains at Campsey may have created it ("Survey" 2: 123-24).

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: The gift-giving of Elizabeth Willoughby suggests a pattern of circulating books within the convent but not beyond. In addition, this is one of the manuscripts that is addressed to a "ghostly sister." Moreover, the assumed audience of the first treatise could well include nuns. The skilful though non-professional nature of the writing suggests the book was made not by a professional scribe but by one of the residents of Campsey, possibly a chantry priest or chaplain, as Doyle proposes, or perhaps even one of the sisters. Thus it is probable that Cc was made at Campsey for the Augustinian nuns, or alternatively at Butley, both Augustinian houses with enough resources to make books. Though there are other religious

houses in the area, that Cc is in the hands of an Augustinian canoness and the Augustinian origins of *Scala* make an Augustinian house in this vicinity the most probable site of production.

That the dialect of Cc is localisable near Campsey Priory though the text seems to have northern connections also tends to support Campsey origins. The connections of the Willoughby family with Campsey, with their seat and extensive estates in Lincolnshire, and with further holdings in Yorkshire, suggest a route by which a possible northern exemplar for Cc may have found its way to Suffolk. The proximity of Lincolnshire to Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire is suggestive.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: [Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS R.5], *Parker Library on the Web* (facsimile); Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (James); *Parker Library on the Web*, online catalogue (*Parker*); Rand, IMEP XX. James Nasmith gives a brief account of the manuscript and its texts which is repeated by James and forms the basis for his fuller account; William Stanley identifies the manuscript as both books of the "Contemplations of Maister Walter Hylton," noting the indulgence at the beginning but no other texts; Thomas James simply lists this as the English "*Liber contemplationis*" of Walter Hilton, with no further information. (Note: *Parker Library on the Web* provides a low resolution digital facsimile of the manuscript online; a high resolution digital facsimile with greater functionality is available for a subscription fee.)

Siglum: Ch

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Bakewell, Derbyshire

ARCHIVE: Chatsworth House Library and Archive

SHELF-MARK: None

MANUSCRIPT DATE: *Circa* 1450 (Lagorio and Sargent).

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves (Farnham). Farnham says there are 91 unfoliated leaves but Lagorio and Sargent list 92. 235 x 140 mm (binding 235 x 145 mm) and a text space of 160 x 90 mm with 29 lines in a single column (Farnham).

Scales I and II comprise ff. 1r to 92v (Lagorio and Sargent). The initial of *Scale I* is a seven-line decoration. That of *Scale II* is four lines. Otherwise, there are infrequent two-line initials dividing the text and there is underlining in red (Farnham). The only published descriptions are Farnham and the information in eLALME.

BINDING: Medieval binding. No information is available on the binding origin.

SCRIBES: eLALME states that the manuscript is in one hand. Farnham gives a detailed description of the hand, characterizing it as "Anglicana Formata" and noting that the Latin is in "Textura." Presumably, the biblical quotations in the text are "the Latin" to which Farnham refers; these are often in distinguished script in *Scala*.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: Farnham identifies none. The Cavendish family, now of Chatsworth, appear to have gained possession in 1748 from the Boyle family, whose head was Earl of Burlington (Farnham).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: According to Michael G. Sargent, *Scale II* is incomplete in Ch, comprising only about a fifth of the text ("Editing" 526). The manuscript appears to contain

nothing but *Scala*.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-61v: *Scale I*. Incipit: "Gostly suster in ihesu crist i preie þe þat. . . ." Explicit: ". . . of oure lorde ihesu criste be wiþ þe. Amen." Rubric: "Explicit speculum contemplacionis."

2. ff. 62r-91v (92v according to Lagorio and Sargent): *Scale II*. Incipit: "For as mykel as þe. . . ." Explicit: ". . . þe trewe liȝt is þe perfictione of ihesu."

The transcription is Farnham's.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: S. S. Hussey associates Ch with H and As because they all show indications of a division into twenty-eight chapters in Book I ("Audience" 119; see As). *Scale II* in Ch may be textually related to that in Hu2, but there is not enough overlapping text in these two incomplete texts to be conclusive (Sargent, "Editing" 526). Also see T.

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 65; Grid: 423 276; Warwickshire. The localisation is twelve kilometres west of Coventry and about fifteen kilometres north-northwest of Warwick. It is only about eight kilometres northwest of the large Augustinian abbey at Kenilworth. It is forty-five to fifty kilometres east of the localisation of V, but in the general area for V described by other analysts.

ORIGINS: Possibly the Carthusian priory at Coventry. Compare Dialect with Analysis and Interpretation.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Sargent states that James Grenehalgh made some "personal annotations" in Ch and, in one instance, compared it in his annotations of the Rosenbach print by Wynkyn de Worde to which he had access. Sargent thinks he did not employ

it otherwise in his textual comparisons of *Scala* ("Grenehalgh" 349-50). Since the localisation of Ch is in Grenehalgh's home diocese of Lichfield and Coventry and since he also lived at the Carthusian house at Coventry after his residency at Sheen, one may reasonably suppose that, though the codex may have remained in the Coventry area, he had occasional access to Ch even while resident at Sheen or before. Occasional access is all that is required by Grenehalgh's use of it that Sargent describes. Possibly the book was produced by and belonged to the Carthusian priory of Coventry. But also see Hu2 and T.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Farnham, "Chatsworth, Chatsworth House, Duke of Devonshire MS." Farnham only claims to catalogue and encode the information. Perhaps for that reason, I have found her sometimes silently derivative: there may be others behind some of her entries. On a blog on the Chatsworth House web-site, Wilfred Jack Rhoden describes his research which aims at giving an account of the Chatsworth collections, supported by a collaboration between Chatsworth House and the University of Sheffield.

Siglum: D

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Cambridge

ARCHIVE: Cambridge University Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Dd.v.55

MANUSCRIPT DATE: *Circa* 1400 (Lagorio and Sargent). Hanna finds this not datable more precisely than to a half century and locates it in the first half of the fifteenth. In a more recent publication, however, he explains that the "anonymous textura" of the scribe in this manuscript "resists narrow dating." He nevertheless concludes on a careful evaluation of R, D, and F, that D was copied from R in north-west Yorkshire before R made its way to Norfolk or its

immediate environs and was used as the exemplar for F by three Norfolk scribes ("History of a Book" 86-87). Hanna dates F in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, which means D must be earlier if this scenario is correct (see entry for F).

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 93 folios remaining. One quire of eight leaves plus a leaf added to this quire is lost. Hanna reports that the foliation counts the lost quire. The facsimile reveals that the last folio is numbered "102." The missing folios are noted as well in the top margin at the point of the loss in the manuscript. Some of the final folios after the missing quire are also numbered in the bottom right margin according to the actual folios remaining, including the last. Hanna records the size as 220 x 145 mm with a text space of 142 x 87 mm written at 28 lines per page. Lewis and McIntosh give the dimensions as 210 x 140 mm.

Scale I comprises ff. 1r to 80v. Hanna gives the fullest description.

BINDING: Hanna notes that while the binding is modern, it retains flyleaves with Latin philosophical writing that Hanna characterizes as academic Anglicana which he dates to the turn of the thirteenth century. Cf. CMLUC.

SCRIBES: Hanna describes the hand as "awkward textura" and A. I. Doyle as "uneven" ("Survey" 2:116) while CMLUC characterizes it as "large and good." The facsimile demonstrates that these are all fair descriptions: the hand is uneven but large enough to be very legible.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: Hanna observes the name "M. Gooley" on f. 102v "in yellowish ink." This is in "the same hand that wrote a list of parts of the body on fol. 102[r]," which Hanna

dates to the last half of the fifteenth century. These inscriptions in yellowish ink that Hanna reports do not appear in the facsimile. CMLUC indicates that marginalia in this volume are "in pale yellow ink" but gives the dating as sixteenth century.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Hanna identifies seven items; Connolly six. In order these are *Scale I*; an acephalous *The Commandment* by Rolle; "Of Proper Will" questionably attributed to Hilton (IPMEP 551); Hilton's "Of Angels' Song" (IPMEP 146); "Of Deadly and Venial Sin" (IPMEP 149) wrongly attributed to Hilton; a twenty-eight line extract from *Prick of Conscience* (Connolly, focussing on prose, ignores this); and various quotations including from Bonaventure, Bernard, and Rolle. The facsimile confirms this account. The Rolle quotations are from *The Commandment* and *Emendatio vitae*. At the bottom of the last folio of text, Connolly notices some "erased" words that she deciphers: "Here endys þe tretys of Walter Hylton." Doyle characterizes these words as "a faded colophon," not "erased" ("Survey" 2: 116). These words are not legible in the facsimile.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-3v: Table of Contents for *Scale I*. Incipit: "Capitulum I þat þe Inner Hauyng of man fulde be lyke to þe vtter." Explicit: "Capitulum lxxxiiij Here it is telled þe cause qwy þis boke was made and how ſcho ſal hafe hir in þe redeyng þat it is made to."

ff. 3v-80v: *Scale I*. Heading: "Capitulum I þat þe inner hafeyng of man fuld be lyk to þe vttyr." Incipit: "GAſtli ſiſter in ihesu criſte I pray þe þat in þe calling qwilke oure lorde has called þe to hys ſeruys þat þow halde þee payed and [f. 4] ſtande ſtedfaſtly þerin traualande beſeli wiþ alle þe myȝttes of þi ſaule. be þe grace of ihesu criſte for to fulfille in sothe faſtnes of gode lyfyng. . . ." Explicit: ". . . And if þou do þus ofte beſyly þou ſal be þe grace of ihesu wythin a ſchorte tyme

ſtoppe mykyl of þe ſprynge of pride and mekyl abate þe vayne delyte þar of þat þow ſal. . . ."

(The last two words here are a catchphrase.)

Notes: I transcribe from the facsimile and consult Connolly's transcription. In this manuscript, the text is without heading or title. CMLUC indicates that the chapter headings of seventy-nine and eighty-seven are missing in the text but that the text of these chapters is intact. The textual chapter numbering ends at eighty-eight but this heading corresponds to ninety in the table. The chapter numbers are marked in the text, often at the break as well as in the top right margin of the recto folio. Chapter breaks have larger initials throughout in *Scale I*: these are mostly two or three lines in height except for the letter "thorn," which is consistently larger. Biblical texts are underlined and seem to be rubricated, since they appear darker on the facsimile.

Marginalia occurs throughout in more than one hand. For example, abbreviations for "*nota bene*" are in two distinct hands which seem different than the hands of the other remarks; topical notes are mostly in one hand and corrections may be in a further hand. The notes involve a few corrections but the "*nota bene*" and topical remarks predominate. The topical comments often identify the names of saints or biblical characters that are cited in the adjacent text.

The texts following *Scale I* are plainer: there is no underlining or apparent rubrication; only new textual beginnings are marked by larger initials. These texts also exhibit little marginalia on the facsimile, but it is possible that the yellowish ink that Hanna notes at one point in this section, which is not apparent on the facsimile, also does not appear here.

Scale I is incomplete in D because the last leaves were part of the eight-folio quire and the additional leaf that is missing. These lost leaves also explain the acephalous *The Commandment*. To get a sense of how much text is involved, one might compare it with Thomas H. Bestul's edition of *The Scale of Perfection* (Hilton), based on London, Lambeth Palace MS

472 (L). The chapter numbering varies, however, in *Scale I* manuscripts, usually from ninety-two to ninety-three, so identifying the chapter number in L (eighty-nine of ninety-two) in which the text breaks off in D is not necessarily a precise marker. The amount of missing text in Bestul's edition is about eighty lines.

Connolly remarks that chapter headings in the text of *Scale I* are rubricated. She does not mention rubrication for the other texts in D. On the other hand, in describing the decoration of the manuscript as a whole, Hanna's comments on rubrication are as follows: "A few headings in red," and "Latin lemmata in red." He does note that *Scale I* begins with "an eight-line red and blue lombard with red foliate flourishing" and that there is "a three-line example for the first chapter." The facsimile confirms these sizes. Hanna adds that other lombards in the manuscript are blue and only two lines. Together, all this suggests that whatever rubricated chapter headings exist in the manuscript occur in *Scale I*, the longer text, and that the larger opening initials plus its rubrication and table of contents draw attention to it.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Helen Gardner in 1936 and Doyle in 1953 noticed that R, D, and F are textually related in that their manuscripts seem originally to have contained collections of tracts ordered the same way (Gardner, "Text" 18; Doyle 1: 253; 2: 116). Later research by Michael G. Sargent and Ralph Hanna has clarified that D and F are close affiliates textually and contain an identical sequence of texts. The apparent losses in D suggest that the correspondence between D and F was originally more extensive. In addition, F and R also have significant correspondences in the sequence of texts. Losses in R suggest that the sequence of texts in D and F also originally existed in R; three texts from this sequence are extant in R. There is agreement that D and F are derivative; Sargent thinks that seeing the textually closely related R as their direct source is possible but not established (Hanna, *English*

Manuscripts, 25, 29-30, 174-76; Sargent, "Bishops" 166; "Editing" 514; cf. Doyle, "Survey" 1: 253).

N. F. Blake discusses spiritual works that comprise what he terms "the tradition" and suggests texts in this tradition "are often preserved together in individual manuscripts" ("Middle English Prose" 450). In a variation of this concept, Hanna proposes that in the wake of V, a sort of canon formed of what he calls, perhaps metaphorically, "The Viable Modern Tradition," in which groups of mostly contemplative texts in this tradition tend to appear together. As part of a random list of manuscripts displaying this tendency, Hanna includes this group of R, D, and F (IMEP XII, xv-xvi and n. 15). In his treatment of the instability of compilations, John Thompson also points to clusters of mystical texts in manuscripts and takes R, D, and F as an example ("Textual Instability" 181-82).

Gardner observes that D is a representative of the shortest form of the text, and Sargent considers the textual affiliational group of which D is a part to represent "the unemended text" (Gardner, "Text" 18; Sargent, "Editing" 519). Sargent following Dorward includes H3 and U with D, F, and R as a subgroup of texts displaying this "unemended text" ("Editing" 514, 518). See also F and R.

DIALECT: Northern. eLALME: "Language possibly of NW Yorks" (cf. Sargent, "Bishops" 165; Doyle, "Survey" 2: 116).

ORIGINS: Hanna's assessment of the language places D's dialect in a place "quite proximate" to that of R, which he places "in some place such as Wensleydale or Swaledale" ("History of a Book" 64, 86-87).

FURTHER NOTES ON PROVENANCE: On one of the medieval flyleaves, CMLUC notes an inscription: "Gregory Clarke, Aul. Cath. Alumn. Anno Domini 1705" but this may have

little significance for provenance. This inscription is not entirely legible on the facsimile.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: [Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.v.55], *Britain's Literary Heritage: British Literary Manuscripts from Cambridge University Library* (facsimile); CMLUC vol. 1; Margaret Connolly, IMEP XIX; Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*; Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience* (150-51).

Siglum: E

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Cambridge

ARCHIVE: Cambridge University Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Ee.iv.30

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1450-1500 (Lagorio and Sargent)

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves. 137 folios (Binski and Zutshi).

Binski and Zutshi note that these leaves are foliated 1-135, 137-38. No information on collation is available and the *Scale II* text ends on f. 135, so I cannot determine whether the foliation reflects a loss from the original manuscript. 267 x 187 mm, with a text space of 185 x 124 mm in one column of about 31 lines (Binski and Zutshi).

Scales I and II comprise ff. 1r to 135r. Binski and Zutshi's plate of f. 4r and in-text photograph of f. 66r as well as their description of decoration indicates that this is an attractive volume written in a clear, pleasing, and somewhat formal hand. The decorations include "[b]urnished gold initials" of six lines introducing both Books I and II. These are accompanied

by border decorations that include gold disks and extend the full height of the text on f. 4r and about four-fifths of its height on f. 66r (Binski and Zutshi). The sources do not comment on rubrication, though Binski and Zutshi's plate manifests it. From the foliation Connolly gives, it appears that folio 3v does not contain *Scala* text. (CMLUC states that the table of contents is on ff. 1-4, while Connolly says it is on ff. 1r-3r. From the plate of f. 4r in Binski and Zutshi, it is plain that the main heading of the text of *Scale I* proper begins at its top.) Binski and Zutshi give the best description of the physical manuscript while Connolly gives the fullest account of the texts.

BINDING: Modern (Binski and Zutshi).

SCRIBES: Little information. Binski and Zutshi characterize the hand as "Gothic bookhand (textualis)."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: London, Charterhouse of the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; "evidence from an ex libris inscription or note of gift" (MLGB).

OWNERS MARKS: In the bottom margin of the recto of ff. 4-62, the following is spelled out a letter per page: "LIBER DOMUS SALUTACIONIS MATRIS DEI ORDINIS CARTUSIENSIS PROPE LONDON" (Binski and Zutshi; cf. MLGB3). A. I. Doyle observes that this appears to be written "in the same script as the text," a script that is characteristic of Carthusian scribes near the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Partly on this basis, he suggests that the manuscript seems to have been made about that time for the London Charterhouse and probably within it ("Survey" 1: 264 and n. 40).

An inscription in a sixteenth-century hand is found on f. 138v: "Thys ys Mayster Asshes boke of Peter Housse; and wittenes her of ys John Sutton and John Bregge." A note is added: "Per me Johannem Sutton servientem Georgii Colte armigeri manentem apud Bury Sancti

Edmundi in com. Suff." Where the catalogues disagree in this transcription, I follow Binski and Zutshi. They propose that the owner is "Ds. Asshe, fellow-commoner [of Peterhouse] in 1548." This last inscription and note locate the manuscript in Cambridge and possibly Suffolk in the mid-sixteenth century. Under provenance, Binski and Zutshi also record the name of John Moore who died in 1714 and state that King George I donated the book to the Library in 1715.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The manuscript contains only both books of *Scala*.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-3r: *Scale I* Table of Contents. No further information available.

ff. 4r-62v: *Scale I*. Rubric: "HEre begynneþ þe firſte party of þe boke þat is cleped *Scala perfectionis* compiled be a ful deuoute man þat was called Mayſter Water Hilton to an Ancreffe. That þe ynnere hauinge of mannes ſoule be lyke to the vtter. *Capitulum primum*." Incipit: "Goſtly juſtir in ihesu criſte I preye the þat in þe callynge whiche oure lorde haþ called þe to his ſeruce þou holde þe paied and ſtonde ſtedfaſtly þerinne trauelyng beſeli wiþ alle þi myztes of þi ſoule be grace of ihesu criſte for to fulfille in ſopfaſtnes of good lyuyng þe ſtate which þou haſte takyne þe to in lyknes and in ſemyng." Explicit: Not available.

2. ff. 63r-65v: *Scale II* Table of Contents. No further information available.

ff. 66r-135r: *Scale II*. Rubric: "HEre begynneþ þe ſecund party of the foreſeide boke. This chapetir ſcheweþ þat a man is ſeide the ymage of god aftir the ſowle and not aftir þe body. *Capitulum primum*." Incipit: "FOre as myche as þow coueitſt gretli and aþkiſt it pur charite for to here more of an ymage þe whiche I haue before tymes in party deſcried to þee: þerfore I wole gladly wiþ drede falle to þi deſire. and helpynge þe grace of owre lorde ihesu criſt in whom I fulli

truft I ſchal open to þe a litel more of þis ymage." Explicit: ". . . for a soule þat is clene stirid bi grace to þe use of þis wirking may see more in an howr of suche gostli matere þen myzt be writen in a grete boke." Ending: "Deo infinitas gracia explicit libellus magri walteri hilton canonici de thurgarton qui obiit anno domini millesimo ccc nonagesimo quinto decimo kalendas aprilis circa soli occasium."¹¹²

Notes: The rubrics and incipits for *Scale I* and *II* are my transcriptions from the plate and photograph of the pertinent pages in Binski and Zutshi. Otherwise I follow Connolly. S. S. Hussey states that this is the only manuscript that gives an actual numerical date for Hilton's death, though a number say it occurred on the "vigil of the feast of the Annunciation" ("Latin and English" 458 and n. 8).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Helen Gardner notes that the scribe of E rather than another hand ascribes *Scala* to Hilton. She classes it with H, L, T, and U as containing the longest version of Book I ("Text" 17). Hussey finds that E is part of a group of English texts that most often agrees with the Latin Book II. The others are B3, H6, L, P. The Latin text is early and is a good translation based on a good manuscript ("Latin and English" 466, 456, 464). On the other hand, Hussey counts "one hundred and fifty unique readings" in Book II of E and sees signs of conflation ("Text" 86). Book I appears to be even more textually corrupt and conflated. The corrected text of H, also from the London Charterhouse, has the same

¹¹² "God's infinite grace. Here ends the book of Master Walter Hilton, canon of Thurgarton, who died A.D. 1395, the twenty-third of March, around sunset." Despite this date in this manuscript, S. S. Hussey explains that several of the Latin manuscripts give the date as the vigil of the Feast of the Annunciation, that is on March 24, 1395/6, but that E is the only manuscript that "gives the actual date" ("Latin and English" 458 and n. 8).

readings as E (Sargent, "Editing" 516).

Paul J. Patterson observes that the London Charterhouse records indicate that the monks owned a third copy of *Scala* besides E and H; this was in the hands of John Murray in the eighteenth century but its current status is unknown ("Preaching with Hands" 140). See T for associations of E with Grenehalgh as well as discussion of other Carthusian *Scala* texts.

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 6450; Grid: 505 175; Middlesex.

ORIGINS: The dialect places this just west of Syon and Sheen.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Binski and Zutshi, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts*; CMLUC; Connolly, IMEP XIX; MLGB3.

Siglum: F

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Cambridge

ARCHIVE: Cambridge University Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Ff.v.40

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). Hanna narrows this to the second quarter.

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 130 folios, but CMLUC records 129, which conflicts with the other catalogues; Lewis and McIntosh state that the first 16 folios, out of an original 146, are lost, while Hanna indicates the loss is the first two quires; his collation demonstrates that the quires are mostly in eights. The facsimile reveals that the number "129" in the bottom right margin of the last folio is crossed out and the number "130" stands in the top

right margin. The number "146" still stands beside the crossed-out "129" in the bottom right margin. Hanna gives the size as 223 x 150 mm with a text space of 162-68 x 100-10 mm, written at 30 lines per page; Lewis and McIntosh add that this is in one column.

Scale I comprises ff. 33r to 88v, with extracts on ff. 114r to 116r (Lagorio and Sargent). Hanna identifies three booklets: folios 1-32; 33-70; 71-130. He observes that, though the first two quires are lost, *Medled Lyf* begins with a "three-line blue lombard with red flourishing and sprays," with comparable two-line lombards marking chapters and other divisions. Though the colours are not visible in the facsimile, the pattern Hanna describes appears to obtain, more or less, throughout the first two manuscript texts, though the second is presented more plainly. Hanna gives the best description of the physical book while Connolly gives a full account of the prose texts, but not the small amount of poetry. See notes to the section on the *Scala* text for further information.

Note: In his earlier (1987) description of F, Hanna enumerates the folios beginning with "17" rather than "1," "to account for two lost quires at the head" ("Middle English *Vitae Patrum*" 432). His later catalogue agrees with Connolly and CMLUC in beginning at "1." Both numerations appear in the facsimile.

BINDING: Probably modern, since Hanna provides no information and his method is to ignore post-1700 bindings. Other catalogues are also silent.

SCRIBES: Hanna identifies three scribes, the hand of the first of which he describes as "anglicana formata," writing folios 1r-70v; the second as "secretary," writing folios 71r-72r line 12; the third as "anglicana with secretary *a*," writing folios 72r line 12 to 130v. eLALME does not distinguish between hands one and three.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: Apparently, there are none.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The manuscript contains the following order of texts: Hilton's *Medled Lyf* (acephelaous); Rolle's *Emendatio vitae*; *Scale I*; Rolle's *The Commandment*; "Proper Will," questionably attributed to Hilton (IPMEP 551); Hilton's "Of Angel's Song"; "Of Deadly and Venial Sin," questionably attributed to Walter Hilton (IPMEP 149); twenty-eight line extract from *The Prick of Conscience*; various English quotations including from Bonaventure, Bernard, and Rolle: the Rolle quotations are from *The Commandment* and *Emendatio vitae*; Rolle's *Form of Living*; Chapter 70 of Hilton's *Scale I*, circulating separately (IPMEP 64); Chapter 91 of Hilton's *Scale I*, circulating separately (IPMEP 66); "On the Name of Jesus," extract from Rolle's *Form of Living* (IPMEP 339) and paraphrases from *Oleum effusum*; "Sentences from Gregory," questionably attributed to Rolle; Chapter 82 of Hilton's *Scale I*, circulating separately (IPMEP 484); a form of death-bed confession translated from Anselm, questionably attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 573); extract from Catherine of Siena, questionably attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 409); "Of the Ten Commandments," part of John Gaytryge's *Sermon* ("Lay Folks' Catechism") (IPMEP 13); "Points Best Pleasing to God" on the nine virtues, questionably attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 847); Latin notes; "A Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows of Doomsday," questionably attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 480); *Epistill of Saynt Johann þe Ermyte*, questionably attributed to Hilton (IPMEP 274); "Sayings of the Fathers," questionably attributed to Hilton (IPMEP 546); Latin notes. This last sequence of texts beginning at the extract from *The Prick of Conscience* also appears in R in this order, according to Hanna's account.

Note: The list of texts is reconstructed from the catalogues in the Select Bibliography as well as IPMEP. The facsimile appears to confirm this account.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 33r-35r: Table of Contents for *Scale I*. Incipit: "Þat þe Inner hauyng of man schulde be lyk to þe vtter. 1." Explicit: "Here it is telled þe cauße. qwy þis bok was made. and how scho schal haue her in þe redyng þat it is mad to 93." CMLUC states that 93 chapter headings are listed but that chapter headings 79 and 87 do not appear in the body of the text, though the text itself is complete.

ff. 35r-88v: *Scale I*. Heading: "partye 1 Þat þe ynner hauyng of man schulde be like to þe vtter. Capitulum I." Incipit: Gostely syfter in ihesu crift y pray þe þat in þe callynge qweche oure lord hath called þe to hys seruice þat þow holde þe payde and stond stedefastly þeryn. trauailende befely with alle þin myghtes of þin soule be þe grace of ihesu crifte for to fulfille in sothfastnesse of good leuyng þe state. . . ." Explicit: ". . . þei longe nouth alle to a man þat hath actife life: but to þe or to anoþer þat hath stafe of lif contemplatife. þe grace of oure lord ihesu crift be wiþ þe. amen."

Notes: I transcribe from the facsimile and consult Connolly where she has published transcriptions. *Scale I* begins with a four-line initial at the beginning of the table of contents. Hanna states that the table of contents to *Scale I* uses alternating paraps of red and blue. In the facsimile, a two-line initial then begins the text itself with a border that extends for half the page. Chapters in *Scale I* are marked by two- or three-line initials. Some of these initials are larger, especially the letter "I." Lighter text in the facsimile suggests the rubrication of chapter headings. Chapters are numbered in the margins or within the text. Quite a few initials include borders extending from them.

Scale I and *Medled Lyf* are similarly decorated. *Medled Lyf* begins with a three-line initial with a border extending across the top of the page and two-thirds of the way down in the

left margin. Breaks in this text are also marked with larger initials. On the other hand, the text that intervenes between *Medled Lyf* and *Scale I* is more plainly presented. The same is true for the texts that follow *Scale I*. Here, larger initials mark beginnings of texts and, perhaps in a few places, other breaks. There is little marginalia in the book as a whole, except on folios 104 and 105; this is thus not within the *Scale I* text.

A. I. Doyle notes that the feminine name is omitted at the beginning of the *Form of Living* and speculates that this may indicate male readers ("Survey" 2: 116). On the other hand, this is one of the texts of *Scale I* that is addressed to a "ghostly sister." To complicate things further, *Medled Lyf* is here addressed to a "broþer and syster" according to Connolly, though in other manuscripts it can be addressed to a "brother" alone (see IPMEP 147). The facsimile confirms the address to a "broþer and syster" in *Medled Lyf*.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: On the basis of a thorough analysis, Ralph Hanna concludes that the "evidence is categorical" for identifying R as the "surviving exemplar" of F. In particular, he points to the discontinuous production of R in various hands which is replicated in F by "protracted continuous copying" of materials in the same order. He suggests that the similarity in size between these two books (as well as D) indicates that not only the text but also the format of R is being copied ("History of a Book" 85-86). This definite conclusion about R being the exemplar of F is a revision on the basis of further examination of Hanna's earlier conclusion in which he deduced that "R is presumably the archetype behind" F and D ("Middle English *Vitae Patrum*" 433).

Hanna observes that Booklet 1 of F, *Medled Lyf* and *Emendatio Vitae*, is copied from a source other than R by the scribe of the first sixty-one chapters of *Scale I*. Because F, copied from R, is in a Norfolk dialect and since Booklet 4 of R is in an East Anglian dialect, as opposed

to the north-west Yorkshire dialect of the rest of R, Hanna proposes that the first booklets of R were transported to the Norfolk area, where they were used as the exemplar for F and the fourth booklet of R, by the East Anglian scribe, was bound with the Yorkshire booklets to create the extant codex ("History of a Book" 86-87; *English Manuscripts*).

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 4663; Grid: 618 315; Norfolk.

ORIGINS: The dialect is localised about ten kilometres northwest of Norwich. The *Victoria County History* of Norfolk lists two small priories that are within six kilometres of this localisation: Mountjoy Priory of the Austin canons and the Benedictine Priory of St. Faith, Horsham (monks). In addition, there is the large though not distinguished Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Norwich (monks) and its cell St. Leonard's (monks) as well as the Benedictine Carrow Priory (nuns) associated with Julian of Norwich. Norwich was also home to Austin, Carmelite, Dominican, and Franciscan friaries as well as two houses of the lesser orders (*History of the County of Norfolk*).

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: IPMEP lists one other manuscript besides D and F in which "Proper Will" (IPMEP 551) occurs. It lists four besides D and F in which Hilton's "Of Angels' Song" (IPMEP 146) appears. According to IPMEP, the other manuscript with "Proper Will" does not contain "Of Angels' Song," so the tally involves five manuscripts besides D and F. These texts thus seem to be of limited manuscript circulation, as Hanna suggests.

Hanna reports that four extant copies of these two texts "are from London or the immediate area, and the three later examples all show signs of production or ownership by Carthusian monks." These London copies are dated in the last half of the fifteenth century or in the early sixteenth before the middle of the third decade, that is, later than F. One of these is in

an early London print by Henry Pepwell in 1521.¹¹³ Hanna adds that the manuscript containing the other copy of "Proper Will" is earliest of these four London texts, is copied in its own quire by its own scribe, but is bound with other quires in which a significant number of leaves contain writing in an Ely dialect. Hanna infers from this that a quire originally associated with the R booklets, which have migrated to East Anglia or its environs, are the source of a sequence of texts containing "Proper Will" in D and F but now missing in R.¹¹⁴ He proposes that this quire may have come into the hands of someone with connections to London's book trade and its contents have thus found their way to London from somewhere on the borders of East Anglia near Ely, the apparent geographical origin also of the added Booklet 4 in R ("History of a Book" 86-89; *English Manuscripts*). Thus the missing booklet in R may be the origin of these copies of "Proper Will" and "Of Angels' Song" that are connected with London.

The other manuscript that Hanna discusses that contains the copy of "Proper Will" outside of the copies in D and F is Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.vi.31. eLALME assigns the various parts of this manuscript which it does analyze to Ely, to an area just south of Cambridge near the border of Cambridgeshire with Hertfordshire or with Essex, and to northeast Leicestershire near the border with Lincolnshire. This latter assignment is the language of "Proper Will" in this manuscript. The area is very near Staunton in the Vale, which lies about

¹¹³ Hanna does not identify the remaining manuscripts, both containing "Of Angels' Song," but some digging reveals that they are the Thornton manuscript, from Yorkshire, and British Library, MS Additional 27592, which Toshiyuki Takamiya assigns dialectally, provisionally, to West Yorkshire ("Walter Hilton's *Of Angels' Song*" 3 and n. 1; IPMEP).

¹¹⁴ The texts involved are Rolle's *The Commandment*; "Proper Will"; Hilton's "Of Angel's Song"; "Of Deadly and Venial Sin." See Manuscript Texts; cf. D and R.

two kilometres west of the northeastern tip of Leistershire which in turn lies on the border with Lincolnshire. The localisation of T2, an early text of *Scale I*, is near Staunton in the Vale, which in turn is within sixteen kilometres of Thurgarton Priory. Staunton in the Vale is also only about eight kilometres from the former Hawton anchorage, the earlier reclusory of Margery Pensax, owner of H5. Moreover, it is about eleven kilometres south of Staythorpe, the localisation for Lt, another early text of *Scale I* in a manuscript similar to T2 (see H5, Lt, T2).

Though uncertain, the ascription of "Proper Will" to Hilton and the assignment of its language in CUL MS Ff.vi.31 to this area associated with Hilton manuscripts is suggestive of another possible source of this copy which is here separate from "Of Angels' Song" as well as independent of the extant texts in R.¹¹⁵ We should also observe that CUL MS Ff.vi.31 is a London common-profit book, which appears to be Hanna's reason for associating it with London rather than with its dialectal assignment. Moreover, it is an example of a common-profit book that has dialectal origins for the remaining leaves assessed by eLALME in the environs of Cambridge and Ely which is also generally the dialectal assignment for L, another London common-profit book (see L).

Hanna does not associate this copy of "Proper Will" with the Carthusians but he does do so with the books containing "Of Angels' Song" that he associates with London. I note again that these copies are independent of "Proper Will" as it in turn is independent. These three copies are in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 576 (*Summary Catalogue* 27630), a 1521 Henry Pepwell print (STC 20972), and our manuscript Lw ("History of a Book" 89 and n. 19). Hanna is not explicit about his reasons for making Carthusian connections for these books, but in

¹¹⁵ For a list of texts in CUL MS Ff.vi.31, see CMLUC vol. 2 (533-34) or Hodgson, Introduction, *Dionise Hid Diuinite* (xiii-xiv), who gives a fuller listing.

discussing them, he refers readers to Toshiyuki Takamiya's research ("Walter Hilton's *Of Angels' Song*"; "A Hilton Manuscript"). Takamiya makes a dialectal assignment of Lw to Berkshire and of Bodley 576 to "near London," noting that this assessment is provisional. The Pepwell was printed in London and Takamiya considers it textually very close to Bodley 576 in "Of Angels' Song," but he observes that the two are not close enough to suggest copying of one from the other ("Walter Hilton's *Of Angels' Song*" 3 n. 1, 4-6). Takamiya does attempt to make Carthusian connections for Lw, but in light of further research, his assessment invites review (see Lw). If Hanna should be relying on Toshiyuki Takamiya's assessment that his manuscript containing "Of Angels' Song," our Lw, has Carthusian associations, one might pause before reaching conclusions.

Lw contains only *Scale I* and *II* in addition to "Of Angels' Song" (see Lw). Bodley 576 and the Pepwell print contain partly overlapping selections from the *Cloud* corpus in addition to "Of Angels' Song": the two other selections in both are "Epistle of Prayer" and "A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits" (Madan, vol. 5, 312; Richard of St. Victor). CUL Ff.vi.31, without "Of Angels' Song," also has three selections from the *Cloud* corpus, all of which are in the print and two of which are those already named as also in Bodley 576 (Hodgson, Introduction xiii-xiv). All these books have texts in addition to those from the *Cloud* corpus and "Of Angels' Song." Further, the print has the Middle English *Benjamin* and Bodley 576 has the *Cloud* itself and the *Book of Privy Counselling*. This overlapping of *Cloud* texts appears to be one reason Hanna associates the latter three books.

Some issues remain to be addressed: Of the four texts in the proposed missing quire of R, only one copy "Of Angels' Song" was clearly made in London, in the print; that text was also available in F from the same general area as R and with connections to R; the number of *Scala*

texts apparently migrating from the Ely and Cambridge environs to London, including to the Carthusian / Syon network, not to mention the CUL Ff.vi.31 common-profit book, suggests regular book traffic between these locales and a route for transmission from this area for "Of Angels' Song" among *Cloud* texts but independent of "Proper Will," as "Proper Will" itself seems to have done; further clarification of the dialects of some of these books may be productive (eLALME seems also not to have assessed Bodley 576). That is, since CUL Ff.vi.31 seems to have been made in the environs of Cambridge and Ely, "Proper Will" in it could have had its origins in the missing booklet in R, before or after it became separated from the other booklets, or in F or some other source. The same thing could obtain for "Of Angels' Song." In other words, evidence has not been presented that indicates that the association of these texts from R and F with some items from the *Cloud* corpus first occurred in the London area and there is evidence to suggest it did first occur in Cambridgeshire. One also wonders whether the Carthusians, who have no houses in the Ely and Cambridge area (Knowles and Hadcock; cf. H), are too easily invoked even when the group commissioning common-profit books from Ely and Cambridge is clearly involved. Also see D, Lw, and R.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: [Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.v.40], *Britain's Literary Heritage: British Literary Manuscripts from Cambridge University Library* (facsimile); CMLUC; Connolly, IMEP XIX; Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*; Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience* (151-52).

Siglum: H

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Harley 6579

MANUSCRIPT DATE: *Circa* 1450 (Lagorio and Sargent; cf. BL). Sargent later dates the base text, apart from the additions and corrections, to *circa* 1400 ("Numbers" 232).

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. I have no definite information on the number of leaves. *Scale I* and *II* appear to be the only texts, suggesting that there are at least 143 leaves (cf. the wording in eLALME). The *Catalogue* mentions blank leaves, presumably flyleaves, containing verses added later "respecting the book," apparently referring to *Scala*. The dimensions given by BL for the leaves they exhibit are 206 x 130-41 mm. These pages are written in one column, at a varied number of lines per page between about 27 and 33, but no information is available for the text space.

Scales I and *II* comprise ff. 2r to 143v (Lagorio and Sargent). Despite the repeated use of H by editors of the *Scala* text, I am not aware of a good description of the manuscript. The details that are published are scattered in various places. S. S. Hussey chose H as his base text for a proposed edition of *Scale II* that he was preparing for the Early English Text Society prior to his death ("Publications"; Hussey, "Text" 91; and "Editing" 102). Michael G. Sargent has revised Hussey's work and to some degree his methodology; Sargent has completed his work on the forthcoming EETS edition, in which he has proposed that he will present "facing-page editions" of the two main forms of the *Scale II* text ("Editing" 531; "Publications"). Presumably

H will continue to figure prominently in this edition that draws on Hussey's work and which will hopefully also provide a full description of the manuscript ("Editing" 527; 531-32).

Though BL does not give a complete description, it displays sixteen images in an online exhibition. These are focussed mostly on demonstrating the plainness of presentation in this manuscript and the process of correction. Indeed, the pages shown indicate a text written in one colour of ink with very few coloured initial letters, and these also quite plain. A later hand has added some red paraph marks to indicate the division apparently of major sections. Instead of underlining Latin biblical quotations in red, which is more usual, the underlining of these texts is in the same colour as the text. These biblical texts are also not distinguished by a more formal or larger hand. On these pages, the corrections and additions are made in a different hand than the base text.

BINDING: No information.

SCRIBES: eLALME analyses five hands, A to E. Of these, Hands A and C write the original base text with the other hands apparently mostly adding corrections, additions, and completions. Hand A writes "ff. 2r to 63r line 13, except for ff. 28-29"; Hand C writes "ff. 63r line 14" to 140v "except for f. 127."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: London, Charterhouse of the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; "evidence from an ex libris inscription or note of gift" (Ker, MLGB and MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: The inscription at the foot of folio 1r is as follows: "liber domus matris dei Ordinis Cartusien' prope london" (MLGB3).¹¹⁶ Evelyn Underhill gives this inscription as appearing on folio 2r (xlvi).

¹¹⁶ The book of the House of the Mother of God of the Carthusian order, near London.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: As indicated above under Manuscript Description, apparently H comprises only both books of *Scala*. No satisfactory account of the text is available, but I piece together some details from various sources.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 2r-63r: *Scale I*. Incipit: Not available in a direct transcription, but, because the incipit to *Scale I* is important for understanding reception, I transcribe Underhill's somewhat modernized version:¹¹⁷ "Ghostly sister in Jhesu Christ, I pray thee that in the calling which our Lord hath called thee to His service, thou hold thee paid and stand steadfastly therein; travailling busily with all the mights of thy soul by grace of Jhesu Christ . . ." (Hilton 1). Explicit: Not available.

2. ff. 63r-143v: *Scale II*: Incipit: Not available. Explicit: Not available.

Notes: BL does not display the pertinent images for opening and closing pages in its online exhibit. I assemble the foliations for the two books from eLALME, Lagorio and Sargent, and Sargent ("Bishops" 164-65). In the latter place, Sargent states that *Scale I* was originally the only text and that *Scale II* was added later in a different hand. From this and the description of the pertinent hands in eLALME, noted under Scribes, I conclude that the transition to Book II occurs from line 13 to line 14 on folio 63r.

Doyle thinks the address to the "Ghostly sister" may have been added "over an erasure" ("Survey" 1: 260). A later hand has added a note on Hilton at the beginning: "Magister Walterus Hiltoun, Canonicus de Thurgartoun, qui fuit homo venerabilis scientin et vitae sanctitate, composuit hunc librum plenum catholica doctrina et edificatione."¹¹⁸ At the head of the first

¹¹⁷ Underhill's base text is H.

¹¹⁸ Master Walter Hilton, Canon of Thurgarton, who was a venerable, learned man of holy

chapter is the following later addition: "This tretys is called Scala perfectionis." Tables of contents have been added in another hand or hands at the end of the book (*Catalogue*; Doyle, "Survey" 1: 260-61; Sargent, "Bishops" 164).

According to the literature and the online BL exhibition, the text has been much corrected. In Hussey's assessment, it "may well have been a kind of 'working copy' at the London Charterhouse" ("Text" 87). Hussey's choice of H as his base text for his proposed edition is not the only use of this text by editors: Underhill had used it as the "basis" of her somewhat modernized edition and her text compared with the Wynkyn de Worde print subsequently became the basis of further modernizations (xlv; Hussey, "Text" 76). Subsequently, Clark and Dorward chose it as their base text for their translation of Book II, choosing C as the basis for Book I (56). They note that modern editors have given this text particular attention because, as a result of the corrections and additions, it so clearly displays the most obvious variations in Book I (54). Hussey chose it as the basis of an edition of Book II also because the uncorrected base text in H is early and because the Carthusians seem to have held it in regard ("Text" 91).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Doyle considered H and As to be close congeners textually at one stage of development ("Survey" 1: 260-61). This is borne out for *Scale I* by the collations of Dorward, who assessed the uncorrected text as part of a subgroup with As and St and who also saw H and As to be related in what she saw as the first stage of revision. Dorward's conclusion was not contradicted by Bliss though he added several other texts to the subgroup: "H, Ch, St, Lw, and E for the entire text," and As, L, P, B3, T, and the 1494 Wynkyn de Worde print for various parts of the text. Manuscript As is related until the first part

life, composed this book full of catholic doctrine and edification.

of Chapter 81 (see Sargent, "Editing" 515-16; 518). The collations of Sargent have demonstrated that *Scale II* in H is not part of a subgroup apart from falling within one of the larger groupings of the two main forms of the text ("Editing" 526; cf 522). H is also one of a group of texts with an originally short ending in Book II, but here it has been completed in another hand (Gardner, "Text" 16; Hussey, "Text" 81). See T for further discussion of the short ending.

DIALECT: eLALME does not localise Hands A to D but considers them to indicate "origins in Ely or extreme S Lincolnshire." Hand E: LP number: 752; Grid: 501 288; Northamptonshire. This localisation is about 16 kilometres east of Corby in the northeast part of Northamptonshire. That is, it is about 23 kilometres southwest of Peterborough and 60 to 65 kilometres approximately west of Ely. In other words, it is near the general area described for the origins of the other hands.

Hand E writes from folio 141r to the end (eLALME), which Hussey describes as "the last few lines" ("Text" 87), suggesting that either Lagorio and Sargent are mistaken in citing folio 143v as the last page or eLALME is in error. The BL online exhibition does not display the pertinent folios. In fact, the final lines are the completion in a different hand of an originally short-ending Book II, according to the description of Helen Gardner ("Text" 16), as well as Hussey ("Text" 81). In T, a book almost twice the size, which also has the text added later, this takes up sixteen lines (see Scribes under T); this suggests the text would take about thirty-five to forty lines in H, or just over a page. Hussey adds that this hand is responsible for most of the corrections, while the other hands besides A and C limit themselves primarily to adding "chapter headings" ("Text" 87). These other hands adding headings apparently also add some passages, according to the analysis of eLALME.

ORIGINS: That the textually related As also seems to originate in the East Midlands may

be significant in establishing the non-Carthusian origins of H, including the revisions, in the dialectal area described above.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: On the basis of "linguistic and textual affinities," Doyle inclines to think that the "main editing" of H took place in the London Charterhouse, though he adds other Charterhouses may have been involved ("Survey" 1: 261). As we have seen, Hussey thinks of H as a "working copy" in the London Charterhouse, and Clark and Dorward make similar comments (Clark and Dorward 16, 54). If, by using the term "working copy," they are following Doyle's inclination to think that the editing took place in London, this must be called in question by eLALME's placing of all of the hands, including the revising hands, in Ely and the areas west and north. A similar assumption that the revisions took place in the London Charterhouse may underly other discussions of H. For instance, H can enter into considerations of the importance the Carthusians placed on *Scala*.

But if H was written by scribes in the area described by eLALME, neither its base text nor the revisions have a Carthusian origin, though H does have a later Carthusian provenance: the map of Knowles and Hadcock demonstrates that there are no Carthusian houses anywhere near this area. In fact, if we take the localisation of the correcting hand at face value, then the original short ending of *Scale II* was completed and the corrections made somewhere southwest of Peterborough, not London, as Doyle implies. The conclusion that the Carthusians have a major investment in this text rests on the Carthusian inscription of ownership. To my knowledge, we do not know exactly when the book came into the possession of the London Charterhouse. Doyle states that the ownership inscription was one of the later additions ("Survey" 1: 261). A careful analysis of the hand of this inscription might shed some light on the issue, though the limited amount of writing may defeat any definite conclusions.

The curious fact that Grenehalgh at the Sheen Charterhouse did not consult H in his extensive annotations to *Scala* texts when it would seem to have been available to him in the neighbouring Carthusian establishment, where we know he did have access to E, might suggest that it may not yet have been in London even as late as his time at Sheen, which ended in 1508 (Sargent, "Grenehalgh" 358; "Transmission" 229). The analysis of Bliss indicates that E, from the London Charterhouse, and the corrected text of H are parallel (Sargent, "Editing" 516). H, however, is early and E, according to Doyle, could be as late as the early sixteenth century, accommodating an early sixteenth-century arrival of H in London even if E is in some way dependent on the expanded text in H (see entry for E).

Nonetheless, Sargent has shown that James Grenehalgh consulted E in his annotation of *Scala* texts ("Grenehalgh" 345-47). In the event that E is directly dependent on H, then H must have been in London before Grenehalgh did his annotations around the turn of the century. On the other hand, that E is thus dependent has not been conclusively demonstrated as far as I am aware. T, a Sheen book dated to the last decade or so of the fifteenth century, is also related textually to H but does not seem to be a particularly close congener.

One might suggest, somewhat implausibly, that all the London revisers of H happened to originate in the area described by eLALME. Nevertheless, the origins of the closely related As in the East Midlands also argue against this proposal. H is probably a non-Carthusian text from the Ely or Peterborough area that came into their hands at some point, perhaps late, and may then have been used as an exemplar for a book such as E. But the available evidence to support a claim that the Carthusians employed it extensively is not strong.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: British Library, *Online Gallery* (BL); *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. III (*Catalogue*).

Signum: H2

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Harley 330

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). eLALME and BL narrow this to the first half of the fifteenth.

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: Scale I: English; Scale II: Latin

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves. 129 folios: BL states that there are 132 but then clarifies that folios 130 and 131 are original blank flyleaves and that folio 132 is an original pastedown. Their description also suggests that there are four stubs of leaves originally blank following folio 129 and one similar stub following folio 130. 235 x 160 mm with a text space of 160 x 105 mm, written "in two columns" (BL).

Lagorio and Sargent list ff. 1r to 51r for the *Scale I* English folios and ff. 55r to 126r for the Latin *Scale II*. The book appears to be moderately decorated: BL observes rubrication and blue and red initials of both smaller and larger sizes as well as red and blue paraphs. BL states that the collation is "mostly of 8." As already noted, the English *Scale I* ends on folio 51r and the Latin *Scale II* begins on folio 55r. If collation in eights obtains throughout *Scale I*, then *Scale I* ends and *Scale II* begins in the same quire. This would indicate that the Latin Book II was not independent at some earlier point and then bound with the English Book I later.

That the book was constructed as a unit is also suggested by A. I. Doyle's surmising that the Latin version of Book II was added either because the English was "unobtainable" or the

Latin of the second part was "preferred" ("Survey" 1: 252). A majority of Latin text added to an English text at the beginning in a codex that is an integral unit would support Doyle's conclusion that it was "no doubt made for clerical readers" ("Survey" 1: 252). It could also suggest a monastic origin.

BINDING: 1951 British Museum binding (BL).

SCRIBES: The English *Scale I* is in one hand (eLALME). BL states this is "by two scribes," so presumably the Latin is written in a different hand than the English. BL characterizes the script as "Gothic."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Reading, Benedictine Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary; "evidence from an ex libris inscription or note of gift" (Ker, MLGB and MLGB3). This is based on the Latin inscription stating that William Wargrave gave the book to Reading Abbey (MLGB3; see below).

OWNERS MARKS: On the verso of the front medieval pastedown is the name "Willelmus Wargrave." On folio 52r is a Latin inscription: "Hic est liber monasterij Beate marie Radingie ex dono Willelmi Wargrave dicti monasterij monachi. Anno domini millesimo cccc^o lxxxxv^o pretium libri vj.s. et viij.d."¹¹⁹ This *ex libris* occurs again on folio 131r.

Notes: the transcription is Watson's, except that I silence his expansions. Doyle remarks that Wargrave also restored a lost manuscript to Reading Abbey in 1490 and later procured a print book for them ("Survey" 2: 121). John Robert Liddell lists another print book that Wargrave gave to Reading in 1498 (54).¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ This is the book of the monastery of the Blessed Mary of Reading by gift of William Wargrave monk of the said monastery. A.D. 1495. Price of the book six shillings eight pence.

¹²⁰ Doyle mistakenly cites Liddell as stating that the book was given to Wargrave

On folio 1r is a note of gift stating that William Robynson owns the book by the gift of Thomas Vachell in 1542. This identification of ownership is repeated on folio 131r. Thomas Vachell of Coley Park had the supervision of the Reading Abbey estates after 1540.

Apart from some uncertainty about how the book passed from Robynson to Edward Tynes who owned it in the sixteenth century, BL defines a fairly direct line of modern provenance from the Tynes family to the d'Ewes family to the Harley family to the British Museum (cf. Wright).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The English *Scale I* begins the codex followed by excerpts from Latin fathers, then *Scale II* in Latin and, lastly, Rolle's "Oleum effusum," apparently also the Latin version. Thus, the texts after *Scale I* all seem to be Latin. BL indicates that the medieval pastedowns "are fragments from a 13th-century copy of Justinian's Digest."

Notes: I rely mostly on the Harleian *Catalogue* for this account, with additional information from Doyle and BL. None of these sources state which texts are English and which Latin, except for Doyle's comments on the Latin and English parts of *Scala*. The *Catalogue* states that the manuscript is partly English and partly Latin; it then describes *Scale I* in English and the rest in Latin, from which I conclude that only *Scale I* is in English. S. S. Hussey states that this is one of the manuscripts that gives the date of Hilton's death as occurring on "the vigil of the feast of the Annunciation" ("Latin and English" 458).

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-51r: *Scale I*. No incipit or explicit is available. The *Catalogue* states that the ending is imperfect.

("Survey" 2: 121).

2. ff. 55r-126r: *Scale II*. No incipit or explicit is available. The *Catalogue* states that this is in forty-seven chapters in four definite parts.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Among full texts of *Scale I*, according to Sargent, A. J. Bliss found Cc, H2, J, and N to be closely related textually ("Editing" 516, 518, 520). (See Cc for more details.)

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 6770; Grid: 472 172; Berkshire. The grid coordinates are for Reading. eLALME does rely partly on the note of ownership of Reading Abbey for this localisation. On the other hand, eLALME localises quite a number of manuscripts to Berkshire and one other with the same grid reference for Reading: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.882. MS C.882 has a note of ownership associated with Earley, Berkshire, a little southeast of Reading. This manuscript, however, is assigned a different LP number than H2 (eLALME). I note that Wargrave, the possible origin of William Wargrave, is a little northeast of Reading. Whether or not the dialect in H2 is associated with the origins of William Wargrave, this serves as a reminder that linguistic profiles from the same general area may yet be slightly different. In any event, in light of the number of manuscripts available for comparison, the eLALME dialectal assignment is probably quite accurate and the early Doyle's suggestion that the dialect of H2 is "good Midland" may need revision ("Survey" 2: 120).

ORIGINS: Though this is associated with Reading Abbey by the end of the fifteenth century, it seems to have had a life of at least fifty years prior to that if the dating is accurate. Apparently, it had not travelled far from its origins in that time, but its later monastic provenance does not necessarily imply a monastic origin.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Because of the substantial amount of Latin in

this book that is an integral unit, H2 would seem to have originated either as a cleric's book or as that of a male religious. While a religious origin is possible, it seems the less probable of these two options. Knowles and Hadcock list only two small Benedictine priories in Berkshire that were near enough to Reading possibly to match a dialectal localisation there, Hurley and Wallingford. Chertsey Abbey in Surrey was more substantial but may be too far away to fit the dialectal profile. Abingdon Abbey was in Berkshire and substantial, but it was as far away as Chertsey, in the north, near Oxford. There were no Cistercian houses of any substance nearby. There was a house of Austin canons of some substance about twenty kilometres to the northeast at Bisham. Apart from a Franciscan friary in Reading for about thirteen friars, no other religious houses are near enough to be a possible locale for the production of H2 (Knowles and Hadcock).

That H2 was given to Reading Abbey in 1495 suggests it was not produced there. The priories of Hurley and Wallingford seem too small to be candidates for book production. The house of Austin canons at Bisham is a fascinating possibility since it is of Hilton's order. As well, the Reading Friary is a possible source of the book.

Nevertheless, that the book is privately owned by Wargrave and because he can give the price of it, suggests he bought the book to give to the Abbey. The record of his demonstrated interest in procuring books to build its library survives. If he bought the book, it seems more probable that it was already in private hands and that he bought it from an elderly local priest or his estate rather than purchasing it from a community with continuing use for it. Moreover, Bisham Priory is at some distance geographically and dialectally which leaves only the Friary as a possible communal source for the book. In the end, Doyle's proposal of a clerical origin seems most probable, though not conclusive.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* (BL);

A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, vol. I (*Catalogue*); Andrew G. Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (entries [A271], p. 133, and [B185], p. 300); Cyril Ernest Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* (131, 283, 288, 333, 335, 348, 378). I also consulted Doyle's "Survey" (1: 252; 2: 120-21), and John Robert Liddell, "Some Notes on the Library of Reading Abbey" (51). Bernard's *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum*, volume II, also lists this among d'Ewes manuscripts on page 388 under 10045 and the d'Ewes number 185. Cf. Watson's record of d'Ewes numbers.

Siglum: H3

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Harley 1022

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). Helen Gardner considers it "late fourteenth century" ("Text" 21). Hanna dates it to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth. His dating of the paper stock that is interspersed among the vellum in the book may influence his conclusion: he considers the paper to be from between 1375 and 1405. In a slightly earlier chapter, he states that the paper could "imply copying in the last twenty years of the fourteenth century" ("History of a Book" 80). This suggests H3 may be one of the earliest manuscripts of *Scale I*. A. I. Doyle similarly dates one hand to the turn of the century and thinks the manuscript as a whole is from the beginning of the fifteenth (1: 252; 2: 117). Ryan Perry believes the scribe Doyle dates earlier also writes marginalia to the work of the later scribe and concludes that both scribes could possibly be dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth.

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum and paper leaves; Hanna believes the present codex initially comprised "three or four originally separate (although linked) books." The first, third, and fourth of these are vellum. The second is comprised of three paper booklets: the first of these has an outer vellum bifolium with two inner paper quires added to a final quire with vellum "inner and outer bifolia" and an added vellum leaf. The second booklet has three paper quires within vellum inner and outer bifolia, with the last vellum leaf missing. The third booklet is only paper (Hanna). 99 folios. In foliation, numbers 15 and 16 are repeated so that the last folio number is 97. 215 x 145-50 mm, according to Hanna (approximately). Leaf size seems to vary: Perry and Towl give approximate numbers that vary a little from Hanna's. The text space also varies throughout, as does the number of lines per page, which according to Hanna, can be as much as forty-three or as little as twenty-eight. Hanna indicates as well that some sections but not all are in double columns.

In his analysis, these variations in text space and presentation correspond to the different original books in the codex. One of these originally separate manuscripts he divides further into three booklets. His description indicates that within these distinct manuscripts or books the text space is fairly consistent. (See Manuscript Texts for an account of the divisions.)

Scale I comprises ff. 16r to 46v (Lagorio and Sargent). Perry observes that the book "is soiled throughout through hard handling." Both Hanna and Perry give detailed descriptions, Perry presenting more textual information and Hanna giving a thorough and authoritative analysis of its physical features.

BINDING: "[B]rown Harleian collection binding" (Towl).

SCRIBES: Two hands, both of which Hanna describes as writing *anglicana*. Perry considers Hand A, which he thinks may be earlier, to be a "cursive *Anglicana*" while B is "*Anglicana Formata*; a calligraphic hand." He thinks it more probable that Hand B copied commercially than that A did. Hand B writes folios 16r* to 73v while, according to Perry, A writes the rest (I follow Perry in indicating the second iterations of 15 and 16 with an asterisk). Hanna and eLALME do not comment on the identity of the hand that writes what Hanna considers the fourth manuscript but agree with Perry otherwise.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: There are no convincing owners marks. On folio 15v*, on the last originally blank page in the first manuscript are various pen trials. The same hand, dated to the last half of the fifteenth century, refers to "Damsonen Selfeld" and signs "Thomas Clerkson minus" (Hanna). On another of the last folios in this initial manuscript someone writes, "I Robert godefraith of morles<worth>," as Hanna transcribes it, indicating erasure with the brackets and suggesting Molesworth near Huntingdon in Cambridgeshire as a possible location. Cyril Ernest Wright reads this as Robert Goldsmith "of 'Marleburgh.'" (167). On the last page of the book as it now stands, folio 97v, are what appear to be further pen trials involving the names of "mychael frost" and "Iohn perkyns" (Hanna; Towl). Hanna dates this hand to the end of the fifteenth century. None of the descriptions mention any such names or pen trials in the second manuscript that contains *Scala*. According to Wright, H3 was in the hands of Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester (1635-99); Robert Harley bought Stillingfleet's manuscripts in 1707 (316).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Hanna as well as Perry divide the present codex into four main

parts which, as already noted, Hanna says were once separate. Perry uses somewhat different terminology than Hanna. I take Hanna's lead in referring to these four parts as manuscripts. The first manuscript, folios 1 to 16 and 15*, is mainly various Latin excerpts plus two exempla in English. Hanna states that most of the Latin, which also has many exempla, is taken from the *Vitae patrum*. He characterizes this book as a "theological notebook." The last two folios of this section are blank apart matter added later such as the names already mentioned. As well, folios 2v-3r are blank. Perry adds that this section "begins imperfectly."

Manuscript two extends from folio 16* to 73. It contains Hilton's *Scale I* in what Hanna considers its first booklet. Booklet two contains Rolle's *Form of Living* and two short prayers to the Virgin Mary in verse. The final booklet of this manuscript has Rolle's English "Oleum effusum"; "The Rule of the Life of Our Lady" (IPMEP 22); a seven-stanza song on the Trinity; and *The Lay Folks' Catechism* (IPMEP 71). Hanna remarks that the *Catechism* includes "the Latin note about John Thoresby and the making of the catechism."

From the Harleian *Catalogue* description, this note would appear to be as follows:
 "Trans-sumpta erat ista Predicacio a Lingua Latina in nostram maternam Linguam de Mandato Domni Johannis de Thoresby Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, per venerabilem et discretum virum Johannem de Taysteke Monachum Monasterij B. Marie Ebor. Anno Domini 1357."¹²¹ Sue Powell clarifies that though MS Harley 1022 is frequently cited as referring to Iohannem de Taystek here, the correct transcription is "Gaystek" (69 n. 9). Apparently the *Catalogue* compiler misread the manuscript and became the source of the confusion. Powell in this instance deems

¹²¹ This sermon was translated from the Latin language into our mother tongue by the command of Master John of Thoresby, Archbishop of York, by the discreet and venerable man John of Taystek, monk of the monastery of the Blessed Mary of York A.D. 1357.

Gaystek a variation of Gaytryge, as does the DIMEV, under Harley 1022 (number 671). Perry notices some brief Latin pieces in the space after the *Catechism* on the last page. The first of these deals with pastoral duties. Hanna considers this second manuscript to be "a single, if discontinuous, production on the basis of the page preparation."

Manuscript three contains Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin minor* in English (IPMEP 4), a prayer in English with a mystical stance (IPMEP 851), three points of humility (IPMEP 757), and a note in Latin on Malachi the prophet. Hanna believes all of the pieces apart from *Benjamin minor* to have been added later on originally blank space on the last folio and a half of this manuscript.

Manuscript four has a tract in Latin on the Pater noster. Hanna states that the ending is missing, though its quire, of eight, is complete. This indicates that a quire has been lost.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 16r*-16v*: *Scale I* Table of Contents up to chapter 71. Hanna thinks this may not be by Hand B which copies the rest of *Scale I*. Two leaves are missing after folio 16*, which explains why the chapter headings end at 71.

ff. 17r-46v: *Scale I*. Incipit: "and afterward he is visete and tane in fro alle erthle and fleschele affectiones. . . ." Explicit: Not available. Because of the missing leaves, the text begins several lines into chapter eight.

Notes: I draw this description of texts mainly from Hanna and from Perry, with reference to IPMEP, Towl, Jolliffe, the Harleian *Catalogue*, as well as DIMEV for the verse.

According to Hanna's description, the decorations in *Scala* are more complete than they are in the remainder of the second manuscript of this collection: in the latter part, spaces left for decorations are often unfilled. He notes that divisions in *Scala* are clearly marked. Hanna and

Perry agree in describing various forms of marking and annotation throughout H3. These include much underlining in red of headings, of important topics, or of phrases, including what Hanna calls "Biblical lemmata" in *Scala*, by which I take it he refers to the biblical texts in Latin followed by an English translation that characterize Hilton's text. The Latin portions of these texts appear in a larger more formal script in various other *Scala* manuscripts.

In addition to red underlining, Perry observes that "notae" and "maniculae" are employed along with added topical headings, often in boxes. Boxes also enclose notae and Perry also remarks on the artistry of the maniculae in manuscript two. Clearly someone has made serious efforts to make H3 easily accessible as a reference work.

Below the song on the Trinity on folio 65v and just before the folio that begins *Lay Folks' Catechism*, Perry records an inscription: "yt is ordain by ye constytucons provyncyall yat euere curet yat kepyng has of crystyn mans sawles schall schew emong (?) þer paryschyns ye faythe of haly kyrk yat es ferty say xiiij articles. . . ." This of course indicates pastoral concerns, particularly coming immediately prior to the *Catechism*.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: According to Rosemary Dorward's analysis, H3 is part of a textually affiliated sub-group of the unemended text that also includes D, R, F, and U (Sargent, "Editing" 514, 518). As Sargent points out, four of these are localisable to northwest Yorkshire or to the West Riding. The other, F, descends, probably directly, from R ("Bishops" 165-67; also see under F). Gardner discovered long ago that H3 does not contain the Holy Name passage ("Text" 18). Doyle remarks that the scribe of H4 was aware of the Holy Name passage but did not include it though he left space for it, presumably because he did not have access to a copy ("Survey" 1: 252-53). In considering an issue Ralph Hanna raises ("History of a Book" 84), one might speculate that the scribe of H3 also knew of the Holy Name

passage but, rather than leaving space, instead compensated by adding Rolle's "Oleum effusum" to his manuscript, which is another piece on the Holy Name. In addition, Rolle's *Form of Living*, also in this manuscript, immediately following *Scale I*, contains another passage praising the Holy Name (Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse* 18).

DIALECT: eLALME: Hand A is LP number: 115; Grid: 428 412; Yorkshire, West Riding. Hand B is LP number: 4; Grid: 404 443; Yorkshire, West Riding. This latter localisation is within three kilometres to the northwest of Keighley, about thirteen kilometres southwest of Bolton Priory, and about twenty or twenty-five kilometres southwest of the localisation of U. Hand B writes *Scale I*. Hand A is localised about fifty kilometres to the southeast of Hand B, approximately thirty kilometres south of Leeds, beyond Wakefield.

ORIGINS: That the textually related but later U is localised about twenty kilometres away from the scribe of *Scala* in H3 and that both are thirteen or fourteen kilometres from Bolton Priory is suggestive. Moreover, U could also be conceived as a "preacher's book."

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Perry states that Carleton Brown concluded the book belonged to Franciscan friars because of the use of the term "provincyall" used on folio 65v (see under Manuscript Texts above). Doyle doubts Brown's conclusions (2: 117-18). Perry then goes on to claim that Doyle nevertheless considered "that mendicant or monastic ownership/production was likely." Similarly, Sue Powell, relying on Doyle's "Survey," assigns H3 to the regular rather than the secular clergy (74 n. 27). But this is to misread Doyle, a misunderstanding that could arise if one were to refer only to his notes in the second volume. In volume one, Doyle states his conclusion plainly: Harley 1022 is "certainly clerical and possibly religious" (1: 252). In his notes, he is cognizant that particularly mendicants may have pastoral concerns and, despite misgivings about Brown's assessment, is "inclined, however, to think" that

such religious "may" have been at the origins of H3 (2: 118).

The text in this manuscript that most strongly suggests a religious and particularly a contemplative reader is Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin minor*. This work is a difficult allegory of the spiritual path leading to the beatific vision. It allegorizes the family members of the biblical patriarch Jacob and concludes with a significant discussion of the rise of contemplation, its relation to reason, and the death of reason in the beatific vision which is the goal of the contemplative life described. The long and intensive practice of discipline and the virtues is stressed and that the sight of God is not gained without them (see *A Tretyse of þe Stodye of Wysdome þat Men Clepyn Beniamyn*).

In this period, the seclusion of a monastery, a nunnery, an anchorage, or a hermitage was usually seen as prerequisite to such intensive spiritual discipline and so not an option generally available to the laity. Like some other writings of the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, including the *Cloud* itself, the concepts in this work and their practice are not easily accessible to the laity in general, not even in their English presentation in this manuscript. Since manuscript three which contains this work primarily, with some brief contemplative additions, apparently once stood alone, one might suggest this part of H3 was originally prepared for a contemplative. The problem with this notion is that the hand that writes this book also writes the first manuscript, with its various exempla, which is clearly serviceable to a preacher. A more plausible suggestion would be preparation for a cleric with serious contemplative interest as well as pastoral duties.

The main difficulty with assigning this book to friars who would be expected to have pastoral concerns is that there are no friaries in the part of Yorkshire to which H3 is localised, according to the map of Knowles and Hadcock (attachment to back flyleaf). The Trinitarian

Friars of Knaresborough were about forty kilometres from the localisation of *Scale I* (Hand B), but, as Knowles and Hadcock explain, these were not mendicants and were rather comparable to "regular canons" (180). Thus, the nearest friary is at Pontefract, about fifty-five kilometres away.

Moreover, while the term "provincial" when used as a noun typically refers at this time to the head of a "provincial religious order," as an adjective it can as easily be associated with bishops ("provincial"). Furthermore, the terms "curate" and "parishens," also used in the inscription on folio 65v, clearly refer to secular priests and their parishioners in this period ("curate"; "parishen"). Indeed, two of the quotations used in the *Oxford English Dictionary* to support this sense are drawn from the *Lay Folks' Catechism*.

Powell wishes to counteract the tendency to assume a book containing *The Lay Folks' Catechism* belonged to a secular priest. While the presence of the *Catechism* is not conclusive evidence in itself of secular ownership, it needs to be said that secular clerics are the most likely to possess it. Of the *Catechism* manuscripts for which Powell is able to venture an assessment of ownership, five were in the hands of secular clerics; one is assigned to an abbot; one to a "clerical tutor or school teacher"; one to a monk and possibly two; two were in private hands (one of these in Robert Thornton's); and two "were used in preaching, though whether by priests or monks cannot be said" (73, 74 and n. 27). As already observed, Powell also assigns MS Harley 1022 to the regular clergy, a conclusion I question.

Powell observes that the manuscript owned by the Abbot of Rievaulx was pastoral in content and apparently used in preaching to the monks (74). There is thus only one copy of the *Catechism* that can be definitely assigned to a monk who seems not to have been a preacher. On the other hand, five and potentially seven were in the hands of seculars and one was owned by a tutor or teacher. One and presumably two were owned by the laity. Only one is used for

preaching to monks. This is clearly a text that is used primarily in educating the laity.

Other evidence in the manuscript itself also supports secular clerical ownership. In passing, one might note the omission of the name of Margaret Kirkby, Rolle's disciple, from the address of Rolle's *Form of Living*, as noticed by S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson (Introduction, *Rolle* xli). This omission together with the male names in the manuscript could suggest a male reader, as Catherine Innes-Parker implies (248). More significantly and as already indicated, great care has been taken to make this book accessible as a reference work, by way of underlining, marking, and notations of various kinds. Moreover, it is well-used. That is, it has the marks of a preacher's book. In addition to the note about a curate's duties to his parishioners preceding the *Catechism*, Perry remarks that the first brief Latin item following it again focuses on "pastoral responsibilities."

As well, besides the *Catechism*, other texts in this codex are plainly serviceable in parish work. Nicole R. Rice discusses one of the English exempla that according to Perry and Hanna occurs in the first section among the Latin excerpts and exempla. She concludes that this story foregrounds the need of confession and the special powers and "insight" of a priest in the cure of lay souls and remarks that it might easily be used in a sermon to that end (147). Hanna similarly comments that the tract on the Pater noster is a septenary tract that outlines "the responsibilities of the Christian life as a series of sevens." He views its inclusion as "suggestive of production by or for a priest" ("History of a Book" 79, 80 and n. 8). And that is to say nothing of *Scala* itself which also has utility in the work of a pastor.

None of this completely rules out ownership by a prior or an abbot for pastoral use among his monks. The localisation however of Hand B in particular again indicates this is not the most probable provenance. Besides Bolton Priory about thirteen kilometres distant, the only other

male religious house near enough to be something of a possibility was Kirkstall Abbey, about twenty-five kilometres away (see Knowles and Hadcock). There were two small and poor female religious houses near enough to be possibilities, at Esholt and Arthington, but their poverty and the contents of H3, including its Latin, rule these out as serious contenders (cf. under entry U).

Hand A is localised about fourteen kilometres to the northwest of one of the smaller of the moderately sized Benedictine priories, Monk Bretton, near Barnsley. There was also a very small cell of Austin canons at Woodkirk about sixteen kilometres to the north of the localisation. This cell was about thirteen kilometres south of Leeds and dependent on Nostell Priory, "one of the larger houses" of Austin canons. The priory was about twenty kilometres northeast of the localisation of Hand A and was located southeast of Wakefield, a bit northwest of Nostell. At Pontefract, about twenty-five kilometres northeast of the localisation, was a moderately sized Cluniac priory and a Dominican friary of comparable size. Kirklees--famous as the fictional site of the death of Robin Hood--was a small, poor house of Cistercian nuns approximately eighteen kilometres northwest. (I rely on Knowles and Hadcock for information on these houses and on *Pastscape* for the precise locations of houses not in surviving towns.)

The house at Kirklees again cannot be seriously considered, for the same reasons as Esholt and Arthington. The priors in nearest proximity to the localisations and most likely to be in play would be those of Bolton, Nostell, and Monk Bretton. (Woodkirk is too small.) One possibility for the origins of H3 would be that the manuscript written by Hand B was prepared for the Austin prior of Bolton and those of Hand A for the Austin prior of Nostell and then later these three or four books of the Austin canons were somehow brought together, though this latter notion seems somewhat improbable. It would be even harder to explain how books of the

Benedictine Monk Bretton prior could come to be bound with one belonging to the Augustinian Bolton prior. And if one were to propose that the books by Hand A were prepared for the even more distant Cluniac prior of Pontefract or a Pontefract friar, one would encounter the same difficulty in explaining how the Hand B manuscript containing *Scale I* came to be united with it.

It is most probable that H3 was prepared for a secular priest or a regular cleric with parish responsibilities, especially in light of the primary use of *Lay Folks' Catechism* in educating the laity as well as the inscription immediately prior to *Catechism* on folio 65v referring to the work of a curate in his parish. This is particularly the case for the second manuscript of H3 by Hand B, containing *Scale I* at its beginning with the *Catechism* at its end. The proximity of Hand B's localisation to Bolton Priory and the similar proximity to Bolton of the localisation of U, another possible preacher's book, suggest the Austin canons, Hilton's order, may have had something to do with preparing these books for secular priests or for some of their own number who served parishes. That another even more substantial house than Bolton of Austin Canons, Nostell Priory, was within range of the localisation of Hand A augments this possibility.

However that may be, explaining how the related books of secular priests or regular clerics in the West Riding come to be bound together is not as daunting as attempting to entertain the union of a Benedictine prior's book with that of an Austin prior. And the almost certainly larger number of secular priests and Austin canons with clerical duties near these localisations in the West Riding compared to an Austin prior at Bolton and another at Nostell increases the probabilities that the parts of H3 were prepared for a secular cleric or Austin canons serving a parish.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I (*Catalogue*); Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*; Ryan

Perry, "London, British Library, MS Harley 1022"; Elizabeth May Towl, "An Edition of Marian Devotional Texts" (254). Phyllis Hodgson also has a brief description in the introduction to *Deonise Hid Diuinite* (xi).

Siglum: H4

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Harley 1035

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). The online British Library catalogues (BL), eLALME, and H. E. Allen (*Writings* 133) narrow this to the first half.

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves. 170 folios (BL). 230 x 150 mm with a text space of 160 x 105 mm in two columns (BL). The first folio, of which there is an online image, is written in 29 lines (BL-IM). At the beginning are two fifteenth-century parchment flyleaves reused from another manuscript (BL-AM).

Scale I comprises ff. 137r to 169v (Lagorio and Sargent). The best descriptions currently available are those in the BL online catalogues.

BINDING: 1968 British Museum binding (BL).

SCRIBES: The Harleian *Catalogue* states that this is written in diverse hands; according to eLALME, the English in the manuscript, which is *Scale I*, is "in one hand." BL-AM describes the script as "Gothic cursive."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: On folio 169v, the last page of *Scale I*, a sixteenth-century hand has written, "Richard London of ?Frewton yoeman doe owe unto Roberte London of the same towne and countye sengillman the some of. . ." (eLALME). BL transcribes the name of the town as "Newton (?)," but determining which if any Newton this might be is difficult. I take "sengillman" to indicate a private individual without rank or office as compared to the rank of yeoman indicated for Richard. If this inscription is indicative of ownership, it suggests that this book was at this time in the hands of laymen of the middle classes; the inscription at least indicates that *Scala* was accessible to people of this rank in the sixteenth century. The book was later owned by Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester (1635-99), and then by his son; Robert Harley purchased it in 1707 (Wright 316; BL).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The manuscript contains two Latin texts with the English *Scale I* at the end. First is Ludolph of Saxony's *Meditationes vitae Iesu Christi*, an expansion of the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi* (BL; *Catalogue*; cf. Lagorio and Sargent 3108-09). This is followed by Richard Rolle's Latin *Job* or *Exposicio ix leccionum mortuorum*, which is his "commentary on the nine readings from the book of Job which occur in the Office of the Dead" (Allen, *Writings* 130, 133; cf. BL).

Scala Text:

1. ff. 137r-69v: *Scale I*. Incipit (BL-AM): "Gostly systyr in Jhesu cryst. . . ." Explicit: Not available. Sargent notes that the text is incomplete but does not elaborate ("Editing" 516).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Helen Gardner identified H4 as a text containing neither the Holy Name passage nor what she called "the Christo-centric additions" ("Text" 18). A. I. Doyle clarifies that the scribe apparently was aware of the Holy Name passage

and left blank space for it. He considers it textually and dialectally related to J, which has the passage ("Survey" 1: 252-53). In Dorward's collation, she does not place H4 in a small subgroup but thinks it stands alone in a larger group, while Bliss places it in a somewhat smaller group including also Cc, H2, H7, J, N, and Sr (cited in Sargent, "Editing" 515-16, 518). This latter grouping sustains Doyle's conclusion that J and H4 are textually related.

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 4571; Grid: 596 329; Norfolk. Doyle calls it East Anglian ("Survey" 1: 252). This localisation is about six kilometres east of the site of Hempton Priory, a small house of Austin canons. About nine kilometres to the north is the site of the much larger Walsingham Priory, also of Austin canons. Another priory of Augustinian canons was at Coxford, between the two already named in size, and about thirteen kilometres to the west. A tiny Cluniac house, formerly belonging to the Austin canons as well, was about twelve kilometres to the southwest. There was a Franciscan friary in Little Walsingham, but there were only three friars there at the Dissolution. These appear to be the nearest religious houses to the localisation and the Augustinian house at Walsingham is certainly the largest with the most resources, with an income of £391 in 1535 (drawn from Knowles and Hadcock; *Pastscape*). The localisation of J is about thirty kilometres to the northwest.

ORIGINS: Doyle's assessment is that, like H3, H4 is "certainly clerical and possibly religious" (1: 252). Of course, the Austin canons at Walsingham and Hempton are religious clerics and fit Doyle's characterization exactly.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: A fascinating alternative is raised by the presence of Henry Scogan's manor at Great Raynham about ten kilometres southwest of the localisation (Parkin 141-42; Gray; see as well *Pastscape* under East Rudham Old Hall). The manor was also about six kilometres southwest of Hempton Priory. This Henry Scogan was "almost certainly"

the poet, author of the *Moral Balade*, to whom Chaucer addressed his "Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan" (Gray; Chaucer 655).

David Burnley proposes a connection between dialectal "relict forms in the textual tradition of the *Moral Balade*" and H4 (36). Citing Blomefield and Parkin, Burnley says Henry Scogan "was a *capellanus* who became lord of a cluster of manors" in this locale (31), but I have failed to discover Henry Scogan's identification as *capellanus* in the pages cited; rather Henry's older brother John, from whom he inherited the lordship, is designated "clerk" and "capellane" (Parkin 141). If it could be shown that Henry was a clerk, proposing his involvement in the origins of H4 would be tantalizing and would fit exactly with Doyle's assessment, although his death in 1407 may be a bit early for the dating of H4. John, his brother, died in 1391 (Parkin 141), which rules out his involvement.

Doyle does not explain why he concludes H4 is clerical, but the presence of the Latin works with pastoral utility may be the reason. If so, the same works would be of interest to a literary gentry family serious about their religion such as the Scogans seem to be, with John a clerk and Henry a poet. And apparently this is not the last generation of Scogans with such interests. Another John Scogan, probable descendant of this family, poet during the reign of Edward IV, "was A.M. at Oxford," entertained at court, and wrote *Ad Proceres Curiae* (Parkin 142). His life would fit well with the date of H4. It is not beyond possibility that H4 has lay origins in the Scogan family. The reference to a yeoman in the inscription on folio 169v indicates later non-aristocratic lay access to the manuscript and tends to support lay affiliations. And an origin in the Augustinian house of Walsingham would not rule out later lay ownership or even in the first instance a lay individual commissioning the Austin canons to write the book.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* (BL-

IM); British Library, *Explore Archives and Manuscripts* (BL-AM; BL alone indicates the agreement of both British Library catalogues); *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I (*Catalogue*).

Siglum: H5

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Harley 2387

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-25 (Lagorio and Sargent). The inscription identifying Margery Pensax with reference to her time as a recluse at the church of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate indicates that the book dates from early in the century. A. I. Doyle as well as Ralph Hanna date her time as the St. Botolph's recluse from 1399 until 1413-17 (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 252; Hanna, "John Dygon" 136; cf. Erler, *Women, Reading* 59, 169 n. 51). Presumably this book that she bequeathed to Syon was in her hands while at St. Botolph's and came to Syon soon after its foundation in 1415.

CONTENTS: *Scales I* and *II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves (BL). 130 folios (BL). 210 x 145 mm with a text space of 155 x 90 mm (BL). The BL images of folios 1r and 54r reveal that the first folio is written in one column of 29 lines while the fifty-fourth is one column of 31 lines. Particularly on folio 1r extra space is taken for rubricated lines at the top.

Scales I and *II* comprise ff. 1r to 129v (Lagorio and Sargent). The opening folios of both books, shown in the BL images, are beautifully decorated, and, according to BL, so is the rest of

the volume, including large decorated initials, red and blue paraphs, and rubrication. There is no complete description of the manuscript that meets contemporary standards.

BINDING: 1964 British Museum binding.

SCRIBES: No definite information, though eLALME does not distinguish hands despite analyses drawn both from sixteen folios at the beginning and another twenty-five or so at the end. BL describes the script as "Gothic cursive"; it is very similar to what others have described as Anglicana in other manuscripts.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Syon, Middlesex, Bridgettine Abbey of Saint Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saint Bridget; "evidence from an ex libris inscription or note of gift" (Ker, MLGB). The inscription is shown in a BL image and reads as follows: "Iſtum librum legauit domina Margeria Penſax dudum incluſa apud Byshoppiſgate monaſterio ſancti Saluatoris de Syon iuxta Shene" (f. 130v).¹²² (I consult the transcriptions in MLGB3, eLALME, Underhill xlvi, and Doyle, "Survey" 1: 257 n. 29, for the expansion of the Latin abbreviations.)

OWNERS MARKS: See above. Clearly both Margery Pensax and Syon owned this book.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Contains only both books of *Scala*.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-(53v?): *Scale I*. Rubric: "Here bygynyth þe boke þat is I clepyde ſcala perfeccionis and it haþ twey partyes." Incipit: "Goſtly broþer in Iheſu criſt/ I preye þe þat in þe callynge whicheoure lorde haþ callid þe to his ſeruyſe. þou holde þe payed and ſtonde ſtedfaſtly þerinne.

¹²² Margery Pensax, lately enclosed near Bishopsgate bequeathed this book to the monastery of St. Saviour of Syon near Sheen.

traueylynge biȝily with alle þe myȝtys of þy soule be grace of Ihesu criȝt for to fulfyllen in
ȝopfaȝtnes of good lyuyng. þe ȝtate whiche þou haȝt take þe too. in lyknes and in ȝemyngne."

Explicit: Not available.

2. ff. 54r-129v: *Scale II*. Heading (rubricated): "Incipit ȝecunda pars." Incipit: "For as muȝe as
þow coueytiȝt gretly. and aȝkiȝt hit for charite. for to here more of an ymage þe whiche I. haue be
fore tymes in partye diȝcryed to þe: þerfor I wil gladly with drede falle to þi deȝyre. and helpyng
þe grace of oure lorde Ihesu criȝt in whom I. fully truȝte: I. ȝchal opyn to þe a lytyl more of þis
ymage." Explicit: "This is the voyce of Jhesu. Deo gracias."

This represents the shorter ending of Book II. I transcribe from the BL images apart from
the final explicit, for which I rely on Underhill (xlvii).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: According to Michael G. Sargent, Rosemary
Dorward textually associated *Scale I* in H5 with E, Hu, and Wo. She also saw H5 as representing
the first stage in expanding the text, along with As, T, the Wynkyn de Worde print, and the
corrections to H. This stage of expansions she could not reject "as non-authorial on textual
grounds alone." A. J. Bliss sustained the textual associations of H5, Hu, and Wo in *Scale I*, but
not that of E. He also associated parts of the text with Sr and the Wynkyn de Worde print
(Sargent, "Editing" 514-16, 518). In this regard, Doyle notes that both H5 and Wo bear the
address to a "Ghostly brother" ("Unrecognized Piece of *Piers*" 431-32). With respect to *Scale II*,
S. S. Hussey made the closest textual association between H5 and Ws, with H also in this
subgroup ("Text" 80, 81-82, 85, 88; cf. Sargent, "Editing" 521-22, 526). Hussey also observes
that As, H5, Ld, Ws, and the uncorrected H have the short ending of *Scale II*, as did T before a
later hand added the omitted words ("Text" 81). He echoes Helen Gardner's earlier discovery,

except that she seems not to have been aware of Ws. She classes H5 with As as having "Christo-centric additions" but omitting the Holy Name passage and notes both are affiliated with Syon ("Text" 16-18). H5 is one of two main texts against which Evelyn Underhill corrected her edition based on H (xlv, xlvii, xlix-l). For further discussion, see T and As; the latter entry also lists other women owners of *Scala*.

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 6380; Grid: 543 177; London. Hanna notes the *Linguistic Atlas* assignment of this to London but then observes that nevertheless "Pensax had been an anchoress at Hawton (Notts.) and only came to Bishopsgate after receiving permission to change her cell in 1399" ("John Dygon" 136). Mary C. Erler adds that the granting of permission is recorded in Archbishop Richard Scrope's register (*Women, Reading* 169 n. 51). eLALME does cite the inscription of Pensax's bequest in its assignment of H5 to London. Despite the questions all this may raise, that Pensax came from Nottinghamshire does not mean that she brought the book with her from there.

ORIGINS: Hanna's statement above that Pensax came to London from Nottinghamshire lends particular force to Doyle's remark that she was an "adult" during "Hilton's later years" and "was perhaps acquainted with the original recipients of the two books." He also thinks that, because of the date, her relationship with the original owner of H5 specifically was probably more or less direct. In his view, this limits the "probable sources" ("Survey" 1: 257-58; cf. Erler, "Devotional Literature" 518-19). Indeed, Hanna offers that Pensax "sounds suspiciously like the kind of person who might have been Hilton's original addressee" ("John Dygon" 136). Hawton cannot be more than ten kilometres away in a direct line from Hilton's priory of Thurgarton (ignoring for the moment the need to cross the River Trent; cf. Erler, "Devotional Literature" 519). It is only eight kilometres from Staunton in the Vale, near the localisation of T2. Of

course, H5 is not the autograph copy: it is addressed to a "Ghostly brother." Nevertheless, there is a significant probability that Margery Pensax knew personally both Hilton and the original recipient of *Scala*.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: According to Mary C. Erler, a benefactor of Margery Pensax in 1414 was William de Bergh, bookish curate of St. Christopher-le-Stocks on what is now Threadneedle Street. His will also names his book-loving neighbour and benefactor of his church, Margery de Nerford, with roots in Norfolk. To her, after giving specified books to others, he bequeathed "all my books and the contents of my chamber." Margery de Nerford died in 1417 and bequeathed "a choice from the books not bequeathed elsewhere" to the recluse of Bishopsgate, who Erler, along with others, suggests was probably still Margery Pensax and who possibly received the *Scala* text in this way (*Women, Reading* 49, 53-54, 57-59).

Indeed, even though de Nerford does not name the Bishopsgate recluse in her will, it seems improbable that between the death of de Bergh in 1414 and her own in 1417 de Nerford would have developed a relationship with a subsequent recluse of such depth as to cause her to bequeath a choice of her books. The anchorage was only an eight-minute walk from the Church of St. Christopher-le-Stocks. It would appear that we have here a circle of three bookish neighbourhood friends with similar reading interests who remember each other in their wills.

Though, as Erler indicates, Margery de Nerford appears to be orthodox, another beneficiary of her will was Joan, wife in her second marriage of Sir John Oldcastle, a Lollard knight. In addition, de Nerford and her servant endowed "a cell at the London Charterhouse," a house with which de Bergh may also have been involved (*Women, Reading* 54-55, 59, 64). These various benefactions suggest connections with implications for *Scala*. In particular, that H5 originally belonged to de Bergh is quite possible: he bequeathed the residue of his books to

de Nerford who in turn gave the Bishopsgate recluse a choice of books. If so, this could explain why H5 is addressed to a "ghostly brother" though our records show it to be in the hands of women. Erler's account shows that de Nerford had books written for her (*Women, Reading* 60). Conceivably, de Bergh also had the *Scala* text written for him.

If de Bergh owned H5, this is an instance of a *Scala* text in the hands of an apparently well-educated secular priest who thus may have been using it to educate the laity. Whatever the particulars were, the life of Margery Pensax represents a nexus opening up a bookish network of relationships that includes the Hawton anchorage in close proximity to Thurgarton priory during Hilton's years there as well as the London Charterhouse, and later Syon Abbey, and thus, through both these houses, the Sheen Charterhouse. Potentially, the network included Hilton himself in its earlier phase before the foundations of Syon and Sheen. These interconnections suggest one avenue by which *Scala* may have travelled from Thurgarton to the London and Sheen Carthusians and to Syon Abbey, although this would require dialectal evidence for confirmation, that is, a *Scala* text in the hands of one of these houses with dialectal connections to Nottinghamshire. As Hanna points out, John Dygon, the fifth recluse of Sheen, later is a co-donor of books with a subsequent anchoress of Bishopsgate, Joanna Greenwood ("John Dygon" 135-36; cf. 127, 130). Thus, beyond the ongoing relations of the three religious houses, also this network connection to Bishopsgate is being sustained into the next generation.

Hanna gives Dygon's date of birth as 1384 ("John Dygon" 128); since Doyle remarks that Margery Pensax was an adult in Hilton's last years (noted above), this makes Dygon a younger contemporary of Pensax. Though, as Hanna's account reveals, Dygon did not enter the Sheen reclusory until 1435, he was a rector in a London parish at least by 1429 and perhaps earlier, serving lastly at St. Andrew Holborn from 1433-35 ("John Dygon" 128-29). This parish church

was a thirty-minute walk from the Bishopsgate anchorage. We do not know exactly when Margery Pensax died, but she may have lived well into the second decade of the fifteenth century (see Erler, *Women, Reading* 169-70 n. 51). It is not impossible that Dygon, who also was interested in *Scala*, knew two of the Bishopsgate anchoresses, Greenwood and Pensax (see entries for Jo and Mo in the appendix).

Erler also discusses someone who provides a connection between this network and the circle involved in the production of L: de Nerford's chaplain, David Fyvyan (*Women, Reading* 63-64; see Origins under L for further commentary).

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* (BL); *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. II.

Siglum: H6

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Harley 2397

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1475-1500 (Lagorio and Sargent). A. I. Doyle thinks that Abbess Elizabeth Horwode's gift of this book to her abbey occurred in the reign of Edward IV, thus probably sometime in the 1460s or 1470s. He proposes that she may have commissioned it ("Survey" 1: 267). Though David N. Bell points out that we cannot be "precise" about Horwode's time as abbess, Doyle states that "[s]he was abbess in 1468/9" and therefore puts her term in this position sometime between dates identified with the lives of two other abbesses: 1455/56 to 1481. Doyle adds that the manuscript is not likely much to predate the mid-fifteenth century (Bell 149; Doyle, "Survey" 2: 213-14).

CONTENTS: *Scale II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves. 94 folios with four medieval flyleaves at the beginning and end (BL; Ogilvie-Thomson). 215 x 150 mm with a text space of 140 x 100 mm except for the flyleaves which have a text space of 160 x 110 mm (BL). BL dates these flyleaves that contain fragmentary Latin liturgical pieces and musical notation to the fourteenth century.

Scale II comprises ff. 1r to 72v. Lynn Staley characterizes this as a manuscript "meant to guide readers" by way of "red markers" and "red summaries in the margins" of *Medled Lyf* (106-07 n. 81). Though no individually comprehensive descriptions exist, BL and Ogilvie-Thomson taken together give a reasonably good account.

BINDING: British Museum or British Library binding.

SCRIBES: No information apart from the generic BL description of the hand as "Gothic cursive."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: London, Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Francis, without Aldgate, of Franciscan nuns; "evidence from an ex libris inscription or note of gift" (Ker, MLGB and MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: On folio 94v is the following inscription: "Dame Elyzabeth Horwode Abbas of the Menoresse off London to her gostle Comfforthe bow3th thys boke hyt to Remyne to the vse off þe systerris of þe sayde place to pray for þe yeuer and ffor þe sowles off hyr ffader and her moder Thomas horwode and beatryxe and the sowle off mayster Robertus Alderton." Below this is the following: "thys bok longyth to þe abbesiy." I follow Ogilvie-Thomson in transcription but several exist, for instance, MLGB3, Bell (149), Erler, *Women*,

Reading (27). Horwode's abbey is that named by Ker (above).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Apart from the fragmentary Latin writing on the flyleaves mentioned above, there are three English Hilton texts, in the following order: *Scale II*, *Medled Lyf*, and "Bonum est." Ogilvie-Thomson notes that "Bonum est" in this manuscript is "unusually" independent of Hilton's companion piece "Qui habitat." These are his contemplative commentaries on Psalms 90 and 91, according to the numeration of the Vulgate.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-72v: *Scale II*. Heading: "þe secunde part of þe Reformyng of Mannys Soule; drawyn of Maijster Watir Hiltone Hermyte." Incipit: "For as moche as þou coueytist gretly, and aþkist it for Charite. . . ." Explicit: Not available. The transcription is from the *Catalogue*, which alone gives this information.

Note: Scholars sometimes note the title given H6, *The Reforming of Man's Soul*, as distinct from the more usual *Scala perfectionis* (e.g. Clark and Dorward 19; Gardner, "Text" 14; Hussey, "Text" 79).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: On the basis of the items included in the manuscripts and the proximity of early owners to the abbey of the London Franciscan minoresses, Doyle concludes that H6, L and P were probably affiliated ("Survey" 1: 267). The later collations by S. S. Hussey of *Scale II* manuscripts confirm this evaluation and add B3 to the group ("Text" 80, 85; cf. Sargent, "Editing" 521-22). H6 is one of two manuscripts containing the full *Scale II* alone; the other is M. In addition, H6 is among the manuscripts owned by religious women (see As; cf. Erler, "Devotional Literature" 519-20 and n. 120).

DIALECT: Not assessed by eLALME.

ORIGINS: Despite the lack of an assessment of dialect, we may conclude that this book probably originated in London, as Doyle suggests ("Survey" 1: 267). He has identified Horwode's father as a goldsmith of London as well as noting that the Robert Alderton whom Horwode names was at one point "Clerk of the Kitchen to Henry V" ("Survey" 2: 213). This taken together with its association with L and P indicates that the writing of the book and Horwode's purchase of it are most likely to have occurred in London.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Nicole R. Rice, in discussing the presence of *Medled Lyf* in H6 and two other manuscripts "probably" owned by religious, concludes that "despite the work's emphatic focus on the lay reader and explicit recommendation against entering religious life, the *Mixed Life* frequently returned to readers who might make use of its guidance in their efforts to practice contemplation in monastic communities" (141). This conclusion, respecting H6 specifically, appears to rest on an assumption that owners invariably use devotional books exclusively for their own spiritual benefit. It ignores other uses a religious community or an individual religious might make of such a text.

The juxtaposing of *Medled Lyf* with *Scale II* particularly should raise questions. *Scale II* is the more advanced of the two contemplative books even according to Hilton, who indicates in his opening that he is adding "more" to what he had written earlier. Before concluding that *Medled Lyf* in this book was used to advance contemplation for the London Minoreesses, one must consider its binding with Hilton's most mature text on the contemplative life. What does this purport for its use?

Julia Boffey, instead of assuming *Medled Lyf* in H6 is employed to advance the contemplative life of religious, sees in it a further indication of a community of devout aristocratic lay women associated with the house, a circle that extends to Margaret Beaufort. As

the king's mother, she is eventually instrumental in getting *Scala*, including *Medled Lyf* in some cases, into print. As Boffey notes, some of these women were "lay residents in the houses within the precinct" of the Minories (389). She argues that lines distinguishing between religious and lay readers should not be drawn too rigidly in these metropolitan circles (392 and *passim*). Thus a collection such as H6 might very plausibly have been used both by religious and by the laity associated with the house. The lay associations of the textually related L and P further supports a readership envisioned in this way.

This is not to suggest that the religious women of the Minories would never resort to *Medled Lyf* and thus to draw the lines rigidly once more. Indeed, one use of such a text in a religious house might be for novices who are uncertain of their vocation. Reading *Scale II* in conjunction with *Medled Lyf* might conceivably be an exercise recommended to those testing their vocation. Horwode herself might be imagined to have used the book in such a way; nothing we currently know of the book's history prevents us from speculating that she may have purchased the book before entering the Minories as a way to test her own vocation.

A similar assumption that a devotional text is used exclusively for the benefit of its owner is also made at times with respect to *Scala*. It may be assumed, for example, that when a monk or a secular priest owns this text, it is for his own personal spiritual development. Especially when a *Scala* text in such hands is bound with texts that envision the benefit of the laity, one must consider whether the religious or clerical owner in fact also intended to use the book to benefit a lay audience. See L and P.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* (BL); *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. II (*Catalogue*); S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, Introduction, "*Mixed Life*" (xv). David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read* (149), also

gives an account.

Siglum: H7

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Harley 6573

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). eLALME and BL place it in the first half.

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves. 114 folios (BL). 245 x 165 mm with a text space of 185 x 120 mm (BL). The BL image of ff. 41v-42r shows the text in one column of 30 lines.

Scales I and II comprise ff. 1r to 114v (Lagorio and Sargent). While the BL online catalogue gives the basic physical details, I have not found a comprehensive current description.

BINDING: British Museum or Library binding (BL).

SCRIBES: eLALME describes two hands, the first writing from folio 1r to the top of 12r. The second begins at this point. The analysis continues to folio 29r line 5.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: I have no information on medieval owners marks. In the sixteenth century, it was in the hands of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. The identification is apparently made by way of red chalk markings typical of Parker (BL; cf. Wright 268).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The codex contains only both books of *Scala*.

Scala Text:

1. ff. ??: *Scale I*. Incipit: "Gostly Brother or Suster . . ." (Underhill xlvi). Explicit: No information.

2. ff. ?-114v: *Scale II*. Incipit and Explicit: No information.

Notes: Underhill states that eight leaves of the text are missing (xlvi). There is a table of contents, apparently of both books; the first book is given 91 chapters (*Catalogue*). It is not titled *Scale of Perfection* but has a heading to the table of contents as follows: "This is a tretes drawyne of two lynes actyfe and contemplatyfe, and the werkis of hem, deuifed in two parties" (*Catalogue*; clearly "lynes" is a mistaken transcription of "lyues"). A. I. Doyle states that the ending of the second book was "originally defective" but that the conclusion was "supplied by a similar contemporary hand (showing once again the accessibility of more than one exemplar)" ("Survey" 1: 254).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Gardner notes three manuscripts that have the shortest form of *Scale I* and also contain *Scale II*: Cc, H7, and Ld ("Text" 18). Doyle considers the H7 text of *Scale I* affiliated to Cc ("Survey" 1: 254). The collations of Rosemary Dorward sustain Doyle's assessment and she considers them close enough congeners to be a subgroup (Sargent, "Editing" 515, 518). Hussey finds that *Scale II* in H7 is not closely associated with the other texts with which he groups it in one of his two main divisions of manuscripts ("Text" 85-86; cf. Sargent, "Editing" 521-22).

DIALECT: eLALME: Hand A (the first) LP number: 49; Grid: 539 305; Ely. Hand B LP number: 634; Grid: 597 323; Norfolk. This is near Gateley, southeast of Fakenham. Doyle

characterizes H7 as East Anglian ("Survey" 1: 254).

ORIGINS: The textual affiliations with Cc with probable origins in Suffolk support Doyle's description of H7 as East Anglian (see Cc). It is suggestive that the localisation of H4, which is affiliated textually in a larger group with *Scale I* in H7, is about six or seven kilometres north of the localisation of Hand B in H7. (For this latter textual affiliation, see Sargent, "Editing" 515, 518, and Gardner, "Text" 18; see H4 for further possibilities for the origins of H7.)

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Doyle's assessment that the evidence indicates scribes that had access to more than one exemplar points at Little Walsingham Priory in this somewhat remote area of Hand B in north Norfolk: it is about fifteen kilometres north of the localisation. Walsingham is the house with the most resources in the vicinity, with a 1535 income of over £391. The shrine at Walsingham was a famous pilgrimage site, which considerably augmented its wealth, and the number of pilgrims and wealth increased in the latter fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when Kings Henry VI, VII, and VIII set the example. There was also a small Franciscan friary at Walsingham and a Benedictine monastery with approximately a quarter of the income seven kilometres to the northwest, but about twenty from the localisation of H7. A quite substantial Cluniac house was about twenty-one kilometres to the southwest (drawn from Knowles and Hadcock; *Pastscape*). Especially in this area with two more Augustinian houses nearby, Walsingham is the site most likely to have more than one copy of the Augustinian *Scala*. H7 is also a text that makes a link to Ely for *Scala* manuscripts from this area: perhaps the book was begun at Ely by Hand A and finished at Walsingham. (Also see B.)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* (BL);

A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, vol. III (*Catalogue*).

Siglum: Hu

ARCHIVE LOCATION: San Marino

ARCHIVE: Huntington Library

SHELF-MARK: MS HM.112

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Sir Thomas Brooke

MANUSCRIPT DATE: *Circa* 1450 (Lagorio and Sargent). Dutschke dates the first twelve folios to the beginning of the fifteenth century and the remainder to sometime in the middle.

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves (Dutschke). 78 folios (Dutschke). 190 x 130 mm. The first twelve folios (one quire) have a text space of 134 x 85 mm in which the table of contents is written at 30-31 lines and the text at 32-36 lines in one column. The remaining folios have a text space of 147 x 85 mm (Dutschke).

Scale I comprises ff. 4r to 78v (Lagorio and Sargent). Hu was originally the second section of a larger codex: the first section is currently London, British Library, Additional 10052; the third section is London, British Library, Additional 10053. By Dutschke's account, it seems to have been divided in the eighteenth or early-nineteenth century. She observes that the signatures of the folios in what was the original codex "represent an effort to unite separate materials." She also notes that the later hand that writes in Hu also writes at least the first eighty-three folios in what was the third section. Dutschke gives a comprehensive description and

Hanna writes an earlier account of the text.

BINDING: Nineteenth-century Charles Herig binding (Dutschke).

SCRIBES: Hand A writes the first quire of twelve in what Dutschke describes as *anglicana* with the biblical quotations in "a bastard *anglicana*." She again calls the script of Hand B *anglicana* but indicates that biblical quotations and headings are in *textura*. Dutschke states that this latter hand, which writes the remainder of Hu, is associated with John Pery, whose name appears in those parts of the text. The same artist that did the decorations for Hand B also went back and finished the decorations for the first quire and it is also Dutschke's understanding that, because the size of the final quires matches that of the first, this probably represents an intentional completion of unfinished work.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in MLGB but listed in MLGB3: London, Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate; "evidence from an inscription of ownership by an individual member of a religious house (which may not, however, be evidence for institutional ownership)."

OWNERS MARKS: MLGB3 indicates that John Pery's name appears in all three of the present-day volumes (cf. Dutschke). In what is now BL Additional 10053, a Latin inscription where Hand B ends states that Pery had the book made and identifies him as a canon of Holy Trinity (Dutschke). Also see the colophon recorded under Manuscript Texts.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Hu in its current state includes only *Scale I*, though in the complete volume it was preceded by the *Speculum religiosorum* of Walter, canon of Holy Trinity, and succeeded with a miscellany including the *Speculum ecclesie* of Edmund Rich and Hilton's *Eight Chapters on Perfection*; these were nevertheless not necessarily originally intended to be

bound together (Dutschke; also see above under Manuscript Description).

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-3v: Table of Contents. Heading: "Here begynnyþ of þe book þat is kalled scala perfectionis. Capitulum primum."¹²³ Incipit: "þat þe innere hauyng of a man sculde be lyke to þe utter. . . ." The table is in 93 chapters.

2. ff. 4r-78v: *Scale I*. Heading: "Here begynnyþ þe firste partye of þe boke þat is clepyde scala perfectionis, that is as muche for to say in englysche as þe ladder of perfectioun. Capitulum I." Incipit: "Gostly broþer in Ihesu crist I praye þe þat in þe kallyng whiche our lord hath callyd þe to his seruyse. . . ." Explicit: ". . . but to þe or to another wyche hase stat of lyfe contemplatyf þe grace of oure lorde ihesu cryst be with þe Amen." Ending: "Explicit liber de vita activa et contemplativa qui vocatur scala perfectionis quod I. pery."¹²⁴

Notes: The transcriptions are Dutschke's, who provides the headings and endings and information on the table, though Hanna gives a fuller textual incipit and explicit; I rely on Hanna for additional information. A number of hands correct and revise the text, apparently also Pery's (Dutschke). Dutschke remarks on a nineteenth-century essay on the *Ladder of Perfection* written by its owner, George Offor, on the modern flyleaves.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Doyle considers Hu textually prior to Wo ("Survey" 1: 270). Bliss places it in a subgroup with Wo and H5 (Sargent, "Editing" 516, 518).

DIALECT: eLALME: Hand A LP number: 5790; Grid: 533 167; Surrey. Hand B,

¹²³ In Dutschke's transcription, the word "of" is indeed in the clause: " Here begynnyþ of þe book."

¹²⁴ Here ends the book of the active and contemplative life called Scala perfectionis. By I. Pery.

associated with John Pery, is not localised but is described as possibly a "Surrey scribe," though with a "strong Notts underlay."

ORIGINS: Because of the inscription regarding John Pery's responsibility for at least part of the book and because of the inclusion in the original volume of a work by a Holy Trinity canon, this would seem to have been produced at or near the Holy Trinity Augustinian priory. The address to a "Ghostly brother" also points in this direction.

FURTHER NOTES ON PROVENANCE: Richard Hart, the last prior of Llanthony priory gave his collection from Llanthony to his nephew, John Theyer, the antiquary, whose heir owned the volume of which Hu was then a part, according to Dutschke, who continues her detailed account of provenance to the present. Presumably this is Llanthony II of the Augustinian canons near Gloucester, but whether it actually was in this collection removed from its origins in London is not clear. London's Holy Trinity also survived to the Dissolution, though it had by then been somewhat reduced in size (Knowles and Hadcock).

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Doyle comments on the interests of the Austin canons in the mixed life that are evident in texts, including Hilton's *Eight Chapters on Perfection*, in the companion manuscript, BL Additional 10053. He notes that the layman John Killum, whose estate contributed to the production of L, "was to be buried in the priory Church of the Holy Trinity" ("Survey" 1: 267-68). There is a small hint of the Austin canons' interest in such lay readers in Hu in the translating of the fairly transparent Latin title, "Scala perfectionis," into English: it seems unlikely that canons, who knew Latin, would need it translated. This priory was very near the Minorities who had a similar interest in lay readers (see entry for H6).

In light of the Nottinghamshire "underlay" of the second scribe and his association with John Pery who takes responsibility for at least part of BL Additional 10053 and of Hu, Doyle's

remark on earlier speculation that Hilton was at one point a member of Holy Trinity, Aldgate is suggestive ("Survey" 1: 268). John Pery of Hilton's order is associated with a scribe who apparently hails from Nottinghamshire, Hilton's later residence, and produces a book containing at least two Hilton texts *Scala* and *Eight Chapters on Perfection*. This indicates another path by which *Scala* may have arrived in London, this time with dialectal confirmation, whether or not Hilton ever lived at this London priory (cf. entry for H5).

Though Doyle does not comment on textual relations between Hu and H5, revealed by later research, he does suggest that the Austin canons may have ministered to Margery Pensax, whose cell was nearby, and thinks this and Hilton's possible residence at Holy Trinity, Aldgate, may have something to do with the "antecedents" of H5, Pensax's book ("Survey" 1: 268). Pensax's cell was just a six-minute walk from the Austin priory (*Pastscape*). The early Doyle is unaware of the origins of Pensax in Nottinghamshire ("Survey" 1: 258). Nonetheless, he still uncannily discerns connections supported by further research. What we have, then, is a book from Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and one owned by nearby Margery Pensax that both point back to Nottinghamshire, one in its dialect and one biographically during Hilton's lifetime. Indeed the first part of Hu was also written within a few years of Hilton's death. And textual research indicates that these two books are related.

According to Alan J. Fletcher, M. B. Parkes proposes that Hand B is written by Stephen Doddesham, a Carthusian scribe from Sheen, but A. I. Doyle disagrees, though agreeing "that the hand is 'Doddesham-like'" ("Suggested Place" 10-11). The few biographical details Fletcher gives here of Doddesham, which point to Somerset, do not, I note, match the eLALME characterization of this hand as having a Nottinghamshire dialectal "underlay," which thus supports Doyle's assessment. Fletcher thinks however that Doddesham may have contributed to

the formation of this hand and that possibly we have here a scribe of the London Charterhouse who was commissioned by Pery ("Suggested Place" 11). In any event, the London Charterhouse, a half-hour walk of two and a half kilometres, is certainly more negotiable than the nineteen-kilometre distance to Sheen. The eventual affiliations of H5 with Syon and its possible connections to the London Charterhouse suggest a further expansion of the network indicated in the entry for H5 that encompasses Thurgarton, Syon, the London Charterhouse, and the life of Margery Pensax that also includes Holy Trinity, Aldgate and potentially the nearby and similarly orientated Minories. In particular, Hu suggests that, in this network, the Austin canons and the Carthusians are collaborating in the dissemination of Hilton.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. W. Dutschke et al., *Guide to Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, vol. I; Ralph Hanna, IMEP I; there is a brief entry in Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (51).

Siglum: Hu2

ARCHIVE LOCATION: San Marino

ARCHIVE: Huntington Library

SHELF-MARK: MS HM.266

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Phillipps 2180

MANUSCRIPT DATE: *Circa* 1450 (Lagorio and Sargent).

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves (Dutschke). 84 extant folios. 219 x

150 mm with a text space of 148 x 100 mm at 29 lines in one column (Dutschke; Farnham).

Fragmented and mis-arranged *Scales I* and *II* comprise ff. 1a to 86b (Lagorio and Sargent). Hanna explains further that the manuscript came "completely unbound" at some past juncture and was rebound in remarkable "disorder" ("Archaeology" 99 and *passim*). Both Hanna and Dutschke seek to reconstruct the original manuscript, Hanna giving a very full account in an article devoted to it. They propose that the original manuscript contained between 159 and 161 leaves (Hanna, "Archaeology" 100, 102 and *passim*). Dutschke gives a comprehensive description of the manuscript.

BINDING: Eighteenth-century binding (Dutschke). An early limp vellum binding forms flyleaves.

SCRIBES: The manuscript is in one hand, which Dutschke describes as writing a "mixed, predominantly anglicana script with some secretary forms," the biblical quotations in "textura." Dutschke believes the hand belongs to "John Clerk, monk of Hinton Charterhouse." But see *Analysis and Interpretation* for further discussion.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: No medieval marks are described. Dutschke and de Ricci give accounts of provenance since the nineteenth century.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: After thorough analysis, Hanna concludes that Hu2 is the relicts of a once "complete or nearly complete text" about half extant ("Archaeology" 99, 102). Dutschke, aware of Hanna, nevertheless basis her statement that this is "an apparently deliberate abridgement" on only a brief statement that "the chapters do not always coincide with those in the Underhill edition"; perhaps she is not cognizant of the irregularity of chapter division in

Scala manuscripts. Because of the disordered state of the folios, giving a simple statement of the folio on which each book begins and that on which it ends is not possible. Hanna gives a complete list of incipits and explicits for each surviving portion of the original manuscript, cross-referencing these to Evelyn Underhill's edition. I confine myself to citing only incipits and explicits for the first and last surviving portions of each book of *Scala*, drawn from Hanna ("Archaeology" 101-02).

Scala Text:

1. *Scale I*. The first extant portion of *Scale I* begins on folio 13r in the current foliation, and corresponds to a place near the end of Chapter 33 in Hilton in the Underhill edition (75). Incipit: ". . . þaw3 þe þink þiself reccheles and negligent as þou were in grete. . . ." Explicit: ". . . but to þe or to anoþer man or womman which holdiþ þe state of life contemplatif The grace of oure lord iesu criste be wiþ þe Amen." Ending: "Here eendyth þe first parte." The explicit and ending are on folio 30r.

2. *Scale II*. Heading: "Here byginnyþ þe secunde parte." Incipit: "For as myche as þou coueitys gretely and askis it for charite forto here more of an ymage þe which I haue bifore tymes. . . ." Explicit: ". . . maistres forto teche it and often tymes þur3 here gostly presence. . . ." The heading and incipit are on folio 30r. The last extant portion of *Scale II* ends in this explicit on folio 10v and corresponds to a place near the beginning of Chapter 46 in Hilton in the Underhill edition (460). This is in fact in the last chapter of *Scale II*.

Notes: As will be apparent, no sense of the surviving amount of text in each book can be gained from the folio ranges given here, because of the disordered and fragmented state of the manuscript. Michael G. Sargent states that about two-thirds survives of the text of *Scale II*

("Editing" 526). The ending of *Scale I* and the beginning of *Scale II* are the usual. Dutschke observes the references for biblical quotations are given in the margins. This seems unusual in *Scala*. Later hands have written marginalia throughout (Dutschke).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Sargent reports that of the tenth of the text of *Scale II* shared by the incomplete manuscripts Hu2 and Ch, there is agreement "in forty-six unique variant readings" but concludes that the surviving textual evidence is insufficient to designate these a subgroup ("Editing" 526). His account of Bliss's collation of *Scale I* indicates that Ch and Hu2 share the same larger group of twelve manuscripts (518).

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 4683; Grid: 428 257; Warwickshire. The localisation is about twenty kilometres south of the site of the large Augustinian abbey in Kenilworth.

ORIGINS: See Dialect and Analysis and Interpretation.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: The localisation of Ch is about eight kilometres northwest of Kenilworth. While the close textual relationship of *Scale II* in the ten percent of extant portions of Hu2 and Ch that overlap may not be enough to establish them as a textual subgroup, this taken together with their common dialectal localisation in close proximity to Kenilworth strengthens the possibility that they are close congeners. Together, these two pieces of evidence also raise questions about Dutschke's identification of John Clerk, a Somerset Carthusian, as the scribe of Hu2, unless of course he also had a Warwickshire history. The Augustinian associations of *Scala* taken with the proximity of both these localisations to a large Augustinian abbey suggest Kenilworth as a place of origin.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. W. Dutschke et al., *Guide to Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, vol. I; Farnham, "San Marino, CA., Huntington Library, HM 266"; Ralph Hanna, IMEP I; there is a brief entry in Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of*

Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada (1: 65).

Siglum: J

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Cambridge

ARCHIVE: St. John's College

SHELF-MARK: MS G.35

OTHER IDENTIFIER: James 202

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-25 (Lagorio and Sargent)

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 40? folios. 241 x 175 mm (9 1/2 x 6 7/8 inches), written at 40 lines per page.

Scale I comprises ff. 1r to 40v (Lagorio and Sargent). James notes this is well-written.

BINDING: James records a vellum wrapper but no further information.

SCRIBES: No information.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: The cover has the following faint inscription: "*Liber dompni Johannis long . . .*" with some apparently English "scribbles" near the top. James, in his list of owners, considers this man a Pre-Reformation owner (xvi). He also records an inscription on a flyleaf in the following form: "Mr Harys (?) (xvi)." I presume "xvi" refers to a sixteenth-century hand. The manuscript is noted as donated by "T. C. S." which, as James explains in his introduction, represents the signature of Thomas Comes Southampton, Earl of Southampton (viii).

J is therefore part of a notable joint gift of manuscripts, discussed by James, entrusted to St. John's in 1635, by this earl and the Countess (apparently his mother). In turn, these manuscripts had been part of the Puritan divine William Crashaw's collection, from whom they had been purchased in about 1615 by Earl Thomas's father, the former Earl, Henry Wriothesley, "friend and patron of Shakespeare" (vi-viii). It is notable for my larger investigation that a copy of *Scala* was thus in the hands of a Puritan divine in the late sixteenth century within living memory of the Reformation. From the designation of the earlier owner as "dompni," it appears this manuscript was in the hands of the clergy both in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The manuscript contains only *Scale I*.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-40v: *Scale I*. Title: (added later) "The Booke of a contemplative life." This appears to be followed by a table of contents before the text. Textual incipit: "Gostely (sister? erasure) in ihesu cryst I praye the þat in þe calling qwich oure lord hath cald the to hise seruyse. . . ."

Explicit: ". . . qwich hath stat of lyf contemplatyf. Be grace of oure lord Jhesus cryst be with þe. Amen."

Notes: For what I take to be a notice of a table of contents, James's note is simply "Capitula (103)" followed by "f. 1" at line's end. This could conceivably also be only a record of the number of chapters in the text itself. "(103)" is puzzling, since normally there are 92 or 93 chapter divisions in *Scale I*. B. Morgan Cowie, however, had earlier stated that this is in 93 chapters. Cowie also gives a transcription of the incipit which I ignore since it clearly modernizes spelling and diction. Of interest, however, is his supplying of the erased word as "brother." Nevertheless, on an inspection of the text for her edition, Underhill concludes that

"the feminine pronouns prove that it belongs to the 'Sister Group.'" Both James and Cowie record the following final words in the manuscript: "fforma sit hec uite quam scripsi nunc sine lite."¹²⁵ Neither Cowie nor James identify this text as Hilton's *Scala*, referring to it rather as a book on the "Contemplative Life." James adds some notes about topics covered. Three years later in 1916, Hope Emily Allen identifies it ("Middle English Translations" 168). By 1923, Underhill is consulting it in preparing her somewhat modernized but important text.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Michael G. Sargent places J in one of two groupings of "East Midland manuscripts": J's cluster is centred on Peterborough, Ely, and Cambridgeshire and also includes H4, Hu, N, and Ry. Sargent notes that Hu is from "Surrey, with a Nottinghamshire underlay." These all feature the unexpanded text of *Scale I* which Sargent, on the basis of his careful textual analysis, considers its earliest form ("Numbers" 230-31 and n. 83).

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 4252; Grid: 574 333; Norfolk. The localisation is just east of the Wash.

ORIGINS: See Dialect.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: "The Contemplative Life," Medieval Manuscripts page, Library Website of St. John's College, Cambridge; [B.] Morgan Cowie, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Scarce Books in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge*; Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge*; Evelyn Underhill, Introduction xlv-l. James's account of J is not as detailed as some of his others and Cowie is cursory, so I am not as confident of the description of the manuscript and text in this entry. I rely primarily on James in my account.

¹²⁵ This is indisputably a Form of life that I now write.

Siglum: L

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: Lambeth Palace Library

SHELF-MARK: MS 472

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-25 (Lagorio and Sargent). Helen Gardner concludes that it was written "in the early years of the fifteenth century" because of its connections to the estate of John Killum who died in 1416 ("Text" 20). A. I. Doyle proposes that the date could be "as late as 1440," but he does this under the influence of the dates in that decade when John Colop is associated with the production of other books such as L, known as common-profit books. Colop was also an executor of the will of John Killum, of the proceeds of whose estate L was produced ("Survey" 1: 266; 2: 209). The reason for the nomenclature of "common-profit books" will become apparent below.

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 262 folios. 220 x 145 mm (Ogilvie-Thomson) written at 27 lines per page (Lambeth). Lambeth gives the dimensions as 8 x 5.75 inches, which is 203 x 146 mm. The microfilm facsimile reveals that the *Scala* text is written at 26 lines per page.

Scales I and II comprise ff. 1r to 192v (Lagorio and Sargent). The descriptions agree that this manuscript is "carefully executed," in Ogilvie-Thomson's phrase. The facsimile bears this out.

BINDING: Calf binding, according to Lambeth, which adds a price of 1s. 6d. in its

description.

SCRIBES: eLALME describes a "Main hand" without noting others or identifying the pages written by this hand. It notes that the hand is "possibly" the same as the "main hand" of Ld. Lambeth says it is "a fine clear hand." The hand of *Scala* appears from the facsimile to be the same in both books; presumably this is the main hand analyzed by eLALME.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB or MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: On folio 260r, the following inscription appears at the top, with the remainder of the page left blank: "This booke was maad of þe goodis of Jon killum for a comyne profite/ That þat perfoone þat haþ þis booke committed to him of þe perfoone þat haþ power to committe it: haue þe vfe þerof þe teerme of his lijf: praiyng for þe soule of þe same ion/ And þat he þat haþ þe forfeid vfe of commiſſioun whanne he occupieþ it not: leene it for a tyme to ſum oþer perfoone/ Also þat perfoone to whom it was committid for þe teerme of lijf: vndir þe forfeid condicions delyuere it to a noþer perfoone þe teerme of his lijf/ And ſo be it delyuerid and committid fro perfoone to perfoone man or womman as longe as þe booke endureþ/" James states that, in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.vi.31, "Iohn Collop is the name in line 1" of "the same inscription" that appears in L, where the name "Jon killum" appears. This inscription in L is "underlined in red" (James). Barry Windeatt gives the inscription from CUL MS Ff.vi.31 in full (209).

A memorandum in another hand in L states, on the second-last flyleaf, numbered folio 261v: "Memorandum þat þis boke be deliuered to Richard Colop Parchemanere of Londoun after my diſceſſe. And in caas he die or I: þen I wol it be take to ſom deuowte perſone to haue it vnder þe forme and condicion wretyn in þe ende of þis book heere to fore" This is signed "Mordoun." A paraph follows the signature. A further hand writes the following underneath: "Per me

dominum Johannem Graunt. In nomine domini nostri Ihesu cristi. God graunt grace omnibus nobis. 1493."

Some further writing follows but it is not legible on the facsimile.

Note: I have followed Ogilvie-Thomson's record and adjusted it according to what appears in the facsimile. I rely on Ogilvie-Thomson for expansion of Latin contractions in the last inscription.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: This is a Hilton anthology, including one work, the last, perhaps thought to be his at the time but now questioned. *Scala* is followed by *Medled Lyf, Eight Chapters on Perfection*, "Qui habitat," "Bonum est," and "On Benedictus." Lagorio and Sargent also note debate about the ascription of "Bonum est" to Hilton (3079-80). There is no reference to Hilton's name in the manuscript (Ogilvie-Thomson).

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-4r: Table of Contents of Book I. Heading: "Here bigynneþ þe book þat is clepid ꝑcala perfeccionis: and it haþ twey parties/ Wherof hir ꝑueth þe table of þe firſt partie" Incipit: "That þe inward hauynge of man ſchulde be like to the vttere." In the margin next to this "in[cipit?] C 1" appears. The table is given in 92 chapters. Explicit: "Here inne [fol. 4r] is told þe cauſe whi þis wrytynges is maad and how ſche ſchal haue hire in þe redynge þat it was maad vnto." In the margin beside this "92" appears. Ending: "Thus eendeþ þe table and here bigynneþ þe firſt partie."

ff. 4r-83r: *Scale I*. Heading: "That þe innere hauynge ſchulde be like to þe vttere." In the margin beside this appears "in[cipit?] C 1." Incipit: "GOoꝝtli ſufter in ihesu criſt y praye þee þat in þe callynge whiche oure lord haþ callyd þee to his ſeruyſe: þu holde þee paied and ſtond ſtedefaſtli

þere inne. trauailynge bifili wiþ alle þyne myztes of þy foule. . . ." Explicit: "but to þee or to anoþer whiche haþ þe ftaat of liyf contemplatif/ þe grace of oure lord ihesu criſt be wiþ the A. M. E. N." Ending: "Here endeþ þe firſte partye/ and aftir sueth þe table of þe ſecund party/."

2. ff. 83r-86r: Table of Contents of Book II. Incipit: "This chapitle ſcheweþ þat man ys ſeid þe ymage of god aftir þe foule and not aftir þe bodi" In the margin beside this, indicating the chapter, the number "1" appears. The table is given in 46 chapters. Explicit: Hou bi þe filf lizt of grace þe bliſſid angelis kynde mai be ſeen. and hou ihesu as man aboue alle creaturis and as god aftir þat þe foule mai ſeen hym here/" Ending: "Thus endeþ þe table and after ſueþ þe ſecunde partie of þe book/"

ff. 86r-192v: *Scale II*. Heading: "This chapitle ſcheweþ þat a man is ſeid þe image of god aftir þe foule and not aftir þe bodi/" Incipit: FOr as moche as þou coueiteſt greteli and aſkeſt it pur charite for to heere more of an Image þe whiche y haue bifore tymes in partie diſcried to þee. . . ." Explicit: "for a foule þat is clene ſtired bi grace to ooþe of þis wirkyngre: mai ſeen more in an hour of ſiche gooſteli matier þan myzt be writen in a grete book."

Notes: I transcribe from the facsimile; I have consulted James, Lambeth, Pickering and O'Mara, and Wallner in places where they have transcriptions available. Ogilvie-Thomson remarks that three hands have corrected the text; the main corrector is the same hand as writes the inscription on "common profit" on folio 260r. These corrections often involve erased marginal notes accompanied by marks within the text that indicated where a correction was to be inserted; the erased marginal corrections now stand written over erasures within the text, as Ogilvie-Thomson explains.

These latter corrections involving erasures do not seem to be visible on the facsimile,

though some marginal corrections do appear that were not inserted into the text and have not been erased but that use the method of indicating needed corrections that Ogilvie-Thomson describes. In these places, the point of insertion is marked in the text. In one case, the insertion is written in the bottom margin of folio 28r and is two and a half lines long; the length would appear to be the reason that the erasure procedure that Ogilvie-Thomson explains was not followed in this instance. The hand of this longer addition is similar to that of the common-profit inscription. Not all of the marginal notes are corrections: there are other sorts of remarks, including glosses on the text.

The Latin biblical texts in *Scala* are generally underlined and the biblical reference is given in the margin, in both books. Chapters are marked by a number in the margin throughout.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Wendy Scase states that other common-profit books bear "identical inscriptions" to that on folio 260r "with the exception that the name of the donor differs." She lists the following: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.6.31; London, MS Harley 993; London, British Library, MS Harley 2336; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 25. Scase discusses the social network and cultural milieu in which these five books were produced ("Reginald Pecock"; for the list see 261). Michael G. Sargent also summarizes some of this information ("Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 206).

First A. I. Doyle and then Vincent Gillespie and Michael G. Sargent note the correspondence of contents between L and M.26, a book that is not extant but that once appeared in the catalogue of books of Syon Abbey; the entry for M.26 has been erased but its contents can be recovered with ultra-violet light (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 259, 265-66; Gillespie, "Hilton at Syon" 35-38, 50; Sargent, "Numbers" 233-34; "Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 205). Gillespie's record of the

entry at M.26 shows that its five texts also all appear in L, though in a different order. In addition to these five, L also contains "On Benedictus."

Dorward considers *Scale I* in P and B3 as derivative of that in L; Bliss sees these three as textually affiliated with A and C for large portions of the text and puts these five in a distinct textual group (Sargent, "Editing" (514-18). Though L and Ld do not appear to be related textually, eLALME classifies them as using the same dialect and perhaps sharing the main hand. See Ld, T; for discussion of another common-profit book, CUL MS Ff.6.31, see F.

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 672; Grid: 542 271; Cambridgeshire. eLALME notes that the language is the same as Ld. The localisation is near Willingham eighteen kilometres north of Cambridge, which is twenty-three kilometres southwest of Ely.

ORIGINS: John Killum has been identified as a "grocer of London" where Richard Colop was a parchmenter (Ogilvie-Thomson). Ogilvie-Thomson also suggests metropolitan identities for the other names but they have not been connected to one another nor to L.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Dorothy Jones inspected John Killum's will and reports that "[m]ost of his legatees are resident in the eastern counties . . ." (xii). This suggests a way of reconciling the Cambridgeshire localisation with Killum's associations with London.

In her discussion of the network associated with H5, the book of the recluse Margery Pensax, Mary C. Erler concludes that an executor of John Killum named John Sudbury knew a chaplain of Margery de Nerford, David Fyvyan. De Nerford was a neighbour and probably a benefactor of Pensax. Fyvyan was apparently part of the network of relationships surrounding H5 in other ways, including being a neighbour of de Nerford, Pensax, and another priest,

¹²⁶ Doyle had earlier also discussed the common-profit books and these individuals, including a review of the literature at that date ("Survey" 2: 208-14).

William de Bergh. John Colop, who is associated with producing some common-profit books, was also, with Sudbury, an executor for Killum, and Colop was involved in settling Sudbury's estate. Sudbury had given a book to John Carpenter, town clerk of London, for whom Fyvyan served as an executor; in partial payment for this service, Sudbury's book was bequeathed by Carpenter to Fyvyan and Sudbury's previous ownership is identified in the bequest. On this basis, Erler concludes that Fyvyan and Sudbury knew each other (*Women, Reading* 59, 63-64, 173 n. 77). The acquaintance of de Nerford's chaplain Fyvyan with Sudbury thus makes a connection between the network associated with producing L and the important network associated with H5. (For a fuller discussion of the latter network, see Analysis and Interpretation under H5.)

Scase records that Carpenter, as chief executor of the will of the mayor of London, Richard Whittington, along with the other executors, appointed Colop as an assistant in executing Whittington's bequests. Carpenter, like Colop, was involved in enterprises for making books available to those who might not otherwise be able to access them ("Reginald Pecock" 267-68). Carpenter's relationship both to Colop and to Sudbury, Killum's executors, as well as to his own executor Fyvyan strengthens the likelihood that Fyvyan and Sudbury knew one another; in addition, it makes the probability that Fyvyan also knew Colop high. It would appear that Fyvyan is part both of the network surrounding H5 and that surrounding L.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: The London connections of L are in tension with its dialectal assessment. The connections of John Killum to the eastern counties, however, are in support of the dialectal placement. Gardner places L in a group of manuscripts with the longest form of *Scale I*, including both what she terms the "Christo-centric passages" and the Holy Name passage; she believes L was copied from an exemplar "in which the additions were not a part of

the text but appeared as marginal notes, since in two places it inserts an addition at a different point in the sentence from where it usually appears" ("Text" 25). If Gardner's conclusion that L was copied from an exemplar with the interpolations in the margin is correct, this would indicate that a scriptorium in Cambridgeshire had access to more than one copy of *Scala*. Barnwell Priory of the Austin canons is near the localisation of L; it had the resources to hold more than one copy of *Scala* and a scriptorium, making it a potential candidate for the site of production ("Houses of Augustinian Canons: Priory of Barnwell").

Since the textually related A and C, C with East Midlands connections and A possibly so, are probably priests' books, one might see support from their textual connection to L, P, and B3, books of the laity, for priests being involved in the transmission of *Scala* into lay hands. We might also with profit consider the role of the Austin canons of Aldgate in this respect, especially in light of Margery de Nerford's and William de Bergh's associations both with these canons and with David Fyvyan who, as we have seen, had connections to the network surrounding L. Regarding the relationship of de Nerford and de Bergh, friends of Margery Pensax, to the Aldgate canons, Erler observes that they both made bequests to this house in their neighbourhood. Both bequests involved books and, in de Nerford's case, her bequest makes apparent that she knew the prior personally: she gave him "ten pounds 'for commending my soul to God with his devout prayers,' and forgave the debt which he owed her" (57, 171 n. 63). An Aldgate canon was involved in the production of a *Scala* manuscript, Hu, a text related to H5, Margery Pensax's book (which see). Moreover, John Killum himself had associations with the Austin canons of Aldgate since he desired to be buried in their priory church (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 267; 2: 209).

NOTE: Thomas H. Bestul's edition of *Scala* is based on L (7). This is currently the only

complete late modern edition of *Scala* that publishes the Middle English text, as we continue to await the Early English Text Society edition. Evelyn Underhill also "examined" L for her semi-modernized edition, among the ten manuscripts consulted (xlv-l).

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*; Lambeth Palace Library, *Database of Manuscripts and Archives* (Lambeth); [London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 472], *The Mediaeval Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace Library* (facsimile); S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, Introduction, "*Mixed Life*" (xii-xiv); O. S. Pickering and V. M. O'Mara, IMEP XIII; Björn Wallner, ed., *An Exposition of Qui habitat and Bonum est in English* (xviii-xx; Wallner relies on James).

Siglum: Ld

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Oxford

ARCHIVE: Bodleian Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Laud Misc. 602

OTHER IDENTIFIER: SC 1499

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). A. I. Doyle assigns it to the end of the fifteenth ("Survey" 1: 254); later Michael G. Sargent disagrees and puts it at the beginning ("Bishops" 169). Pächt and Alexander: middle of the fifteenth. Ogilvie-Thomson seems to be following Doyle in placing this at the end of the fifteenth. QC prints that it is from the beginning of the fifteenth century; the date is then struck and a handwritten note dates it to the middle of the century. In an addendum, QC observes that "[t]he front pastedown is part of a bifolium of a Register of writs" which it dates to the end of the thirteenth century (p. 573). QC

adds that the initial flyleaf comprises the end of "letters patent for Syon Abbey," which it dates to October 26, 1462, citing page 216 of the *Calendar Patent Rolls Edward IV* for 1461-67. Biblical commentary in English on the book of Second Peter, also dated to end of the thirteenth century, is on the final flyleaf (573). Doyle concurs that the letters patent are fifteenth-century and refer to an unspecified abbess and her convent, noting that they are dated October twenty-sixth in the second year of an unspecified king's reign. He has, however, investigated the patent rolls and found none precisely matching this in Ld dated October twenty-sixth; he has found one, nonetheless, granted to Syon Abbey on October twentieth in the second year of Henry VI, that "does seem" otherwise to match ("Survey" 1: 255 n. 27).

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves (QC). 75 folios (QC). The dimensions are not available, but the leaves would need to be large to accommodate both books of *Scala* in 75 folios. It is written in two columns (QC). Gillespie states that "the quire signatures begin with quire 19 and continue to quire 24" and concludes that it was once part of a larger codex from which it has been separated ("Hilton at Syon" 48).

Scales I and II comprise ff. 1r to 74v (Lagorio and Sargent). QC describes it as well-written. Sargent states that the "champed illuminated initial" for *Scale I* is two lines while that for *Scale II* is four lines in "red and blue penwork" ("Bishops" 169). I am not aware of a detailed current description of this manuscript.

BINDING: The "stamped leather" binding on boards is from the end of the fifteenth century (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 255 n. 27; Pächt and Alexander; see further under date, above.) If this dating is accurate, then the separation of the larger codex that Gillespie posits may have

occurred at this time (see Manuscript Description).

SCRIBES: Doyle considers this to be written by three collaborating hands, in a late script and Ogilvie-Thomson agrees, or adopts Doyle (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 255 n. 27). Linne R. Mooney and Lister M. Matheson explain that the same professional hand, Raynes, begins and ends the document while "three less experienced scribes" intervene (366-67 and n. 58). According to Sargent, however, one hand writes the whole book ("Bishops" 169). At the end is an inscription that Doyle transcribes as follows: "Raynes: Jhesu est amor meus"¹²⁷ ("Survey" 1: 255 n. 27; cf. QC).

The identity of this Raynes has drawn comment: for instance, Doyle found a Syon priest and book donor named William Reyndes who died in 1483 as well as a cleric, Thomas Raynes, bookish "fellow of New College and Winchester [Oxford], 1454-62, and vicar of Basingstoke, (1474-99)" ("Survey" 1: 255 n. 27). Sargent, following Doyle, accepts the name of Raynes as possibly indicating Syon ("Bishops" 169 n. 45; cf. Hussey, "Text" 81). In a somewhat different vein, Mooney and Matheson conclude that Raynes is the supervisor of less experienced scribes in a joint effort. They evince Ld as further evidence for this sort of relationship among scribes working together in their argument for the "multiple-copy production" of *Brut* manuscripts by a team of this sort, though they do not comment on whether they consider *Scala* subject to multiple copying (366-67 and n. 58).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: According to QC, this belonged to Robert Hedrington in 1577.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The manuscript contains only both books of *Scala*. Sargent

¹²⁷ Raynes: Jesu is my beloved.

points out that the division between the two books falls in the middle of the fourth quire, out of seven ("Bishops" 169).

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1ra-(2rb?): Heading: "Here begynneþ þe vij partie of þys boke maad of rycharde hampole heremyte to an ankeresse." A table of contents for *Scale I* follows, in 93 chapters.

ff. 2rb-31rb: *Scale I*. Heading: "þat þe ynnere hauyngis of mannys sowle schulde be lyke þe vtter capitulum primum." Incipit: "Gostly syster in ihesu crist y praie þee þat in þe clepyng in to whyche oure lorde haþ clepyd þee to his seruyse þou holde þe apaid and stond stedefastly þerynne trauallyng bisily with all þy myztis of þy soule by grace of ihesu crist for to fulfyllen in soþfastnesse of goude leuyng þe state whych þou has take. . . ." Explicit: ". . . þei longen nott aloone to a man whych haþ actyf lyf but to þe or to anoþer whych haþ staat of lyf contemplatyf the grace of oure lord ihesu cryst be with þe amen." Ending: "Here endiþ þe first partie of þe vij partie of þis booke maad of richard hampole heremite to an ankeresse. And begynneþ þe secunde."

2. ff. 31va-32va: Table of Contents for *Scale II*, in 46 chapters.

ff. 32vb-74vb: *Scale II*. Heading: "þat a man is þe ymage of god after þe soule and not after þe bodie capitulum j." Incipit: "For as mucche as þou coueitiste gretly and axist for charite for to hyre more of an ymage þe which y haue byfor tymes in partie descryuyd to þe þerfore Y wole gladly with drede fall to þi desyre and helpyng þe grace of oure lorde ihesu cryst in home y fully trist y schal open to þe a litil more of þis ymage. . . ." Explicit: ". . . and to be halfe deaf to noyse of worldly jangelynge þat schuld wiseli perceyue þese swete gostli rownyngis þis is þe voice of ihesu."

Notes: The transcription and account is Ogilvie-Thomson's, apart from my consulting of QC and Sargent for a few words missing at the beginnings of entries ("Bishops" 169). Sargent declares the ascription to Rolle "unique" ("Bishops" 169).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Sargent concludes that the Ld text is not in an affiliational subgroup in either book ("Editing" 514, 516, 518, 521-22, 525-26). Doyle saw a relationship between Ld and B ("Survey" 1: 254); S. S. Hussey added Hu2 to these to form a textual subgroup ("Text" 85); but Sargent has since refined and nuanced this view ("Editing" 521-22, 525-26; see B for a fuller discussion). Ld is one of the manuscripts in which *Scale II* has a short ending (see B, Sr, and T for a full discussion). eLALME proposes that the main hand in L and Ld may be the same.

DIALECT: eLALME states that the "[I]anguage" of the "main hand" is the same as L, if not the hand itself. This is LP number: 672; Grid: 542 271; Cambridgeshire. The localisation is near Willingham eighteen kilometres north of Cambridge, which is twenty-three kilometres southwest of Ely. Doyle also gives this a "Midland provenance, though with some Northern elements" (Survey" 1: 254).

ORIGINS: See Analysis and Interpretation below.

FURTHER NOTES ON PROVENANCE: The *Summary Catalogue* entry refers to "part of a convent's deed, in Latin," which it describes as "in the binding." E. W. B. Nicholson, who became the Bodleian Librarian in 1882, has added a note to this entry that includes the following: "?Barking. . . . E. W. B. N." This speculation about a Barking Abbey provenance is an alternative to that regarding a Syon provenance.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: The unusual ascription of *Scala* to Rolle presents a puzzle for the origins of Ld. On the one hand, the ascription to Hilton was well-known in the

circles of Syon, Sheen, and the London Charterhouse. According to an inscription in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. theol. e.26, John Feriby, monk of Sheen, wrote this Latin copy for the monastery (MLGB3): the Bodleian Library notes that this was "recorded in 1440" (Bodleian Library). Hussey states that all Latin manuscripts of *Scala* ascribe it to Hilton apart from Oxford, St. John's College MS 77, which ascribes its Latin *Scala* excerpts to Rolle ("Latin and English" 458; see Jo in appendix). T was a later Sheen book with an ascription to Hilton (see there). E, with a similar ascription, belonged to the London Charterhouse (see E). James Grenehalgh, who writes the ascription to Hilton in T, was a good friend of Joanna Sewell, nun of Syon (see T). Thus, the ascription to Hilton was known at Sheen, apparently before 1440. The ascription to Rolle in Ld appears scribal, appearing not only at the beginning but also in the transition between the two books (on this cf. Sargent "Bishops" 169). All of this argues against production of Ld at Sheen or Syon by a scribe of the house who presumably would not have to guess at the author.

On the other hand, though Sargent declares this ascription to Rolle "unique," presumably in the English manuscripts, Oxford, St. John's MS 77 (Jo) which ascribes its Latin *Scala* excerpts to Rolle, was written primarily by John Dygon, recluse of Sheen, though possibly, if the dating is accurate, before he was at Sheen, where he entered the reclusory in 1535 (Hanna, "John Dygon" 129; Jones 145). Dygon writes the ascription to Rolle (see Jo in the appendix). To complicate matters even further, Dygon apparently owned and was involved in writing the Latin *Scale I* in Oxford, Magdalen College MS 141, which is ascribed to Hilton (see Mo in the appendix).

However that may be, the dialectal assignment of Ld to north of Cambridge also argues against Syon or Sheen origins. According to the eLALME entry, the main hand is analyzed. Mooney and Matheson identify Raynes positively as the main or supervising scribe of Ld.

Mooney specializes in analyzing scribal hands and one hopes that the hand of the Raynes inscription was checked against the main hand of the text, which, according to Mooney and Matheson's account, would be the last hand (366-67 and n. 58). According to the catalogue descriptions as well as Doyle's, the Raynes inscription appears at the end of the text on folio 74v: if the hand of Raynes and that of the main scribe are thus juxtaposed, one would expect it to be apparent whether or not the hands are the same. From Mooney and Matheson's description of scribal hands in manuscripts with a supervisory scribe, one might thus conclude that the main hand is that of Raynes. If Raynes is the scribe writing the main hand in a Cambridgeshire dialect as a supervisor of others, the location of this joint effort is probably not Sheen but the environs of Cambridge or Ely. If the main hand of L is also that of the main hand of Ld, as seems possible, and since L also has more than one hand, this suggests, in the scenario for Ld proposed by Mooney and Matheson, that multiple copies of *Scala* were being produced by a team supervised by a scribe named Raynes. Indeed, a team producing manuscripts is the sort of enterprise to which an executor might have turned in implementing John Killum's direction in his will to produce L (see L).

A further suggestive detail of Ld is that it purports to be the seventh part of a once larger book. This too is reminiscent of L, a six-part anthology of Hilton's works, if its two-part *Scala* is counted as one work, as it is in Ld. Since L does not mention Hilton, this leaves open the possibility that its scribes also thought they were transcribing Rolle.

The difficulty with this narrative is that Mooney's conclusions have not been without challenge in some of her other work, both in the methodology leading to the conclusions as well as in the identification of scribes.¹²⁸ It does seem possible that the amount of text involved in the

¹²⁸ See, for example, Lawrence Warner.

inscription in which Raynes states that *Jhesu* is his *amor* is insufficient to draw final conclusions about the identity of this hand and that of the last part of the text. If Matheson and Mooney have been overly hasty in naming the main scribe of Ld, however, this still does not affect the localisation of the manuscript to Cambridgeshire by eLALME, since it does not depend on the name of the scribe. On the other hand, if Mooney and Matheson's identification of a team of scribes writing Ld is incorrect, this would call into question a narrative of a team of scribes involved in multiple copy production of *Scala* manuscripts. Even if a team was not involved, however, the possibility remains that a scribe was involved in writing more than one *Scala* manuscript near Cambridge.

It is possible that the main hand writing Ld, noted by eLALME, was actually writing in London even though the scribe concerned wrote a Cambridgeshire dialect. The number of *Scala* manuscripts emanating from the environs of Ely and Cambridge, however, indicates that this would be the area in which to look for a scribe or scribes producing more than one copy of *Scala*, if such an enterprise did indeed exist. To test the theory that this sort of effort could be occurring in the Cambridge area under Raynes requires a careful inspection of all the hands in L and Ld and their dialect, as well as inspecting the manuscript for further evidence that Raynes is in fact the main hand described by eLALME in both L and Ld and is in a supervisory role. If all the hands are from the environs of Cambridge, then it would be almost certain that a joint effort took place there and not in London.

A complication to the theory is the ascription to Rolle in Ld. It is puzzling that someone copying *Scala* near Ely or Cambridge would not know that it was Hilton's, but then we have seen this sort of puzzle already at Sheen. If L and Ld share a common hand and not only a common dialect, this becomes more problematic in light of L's being a compendium of works by Hilton.

Another complication is that L and Ld are copied from different textual traditions in both books (Sargent, "Editing" 518, 522). Presumably, a scribe supervising a team making more than one copy would use the same exemplar, unless of course they were producing texts in a venue that held more than one *Scala* manuscript.

In the end, the evidence that Raynes was associated with Syon is scant and the dialect puts the scribe in Cambridgeshire. Resolving the issues rests on further analyses of L and Ld. Furthermore, even a later Syon provenance for Ld is tentative at best. The late fifteenth-century binding of the book may have occurred in a women's convent. The evidence of the letters patent referring to an abbess and convent are suggestive. The flyleaf, apparently thirteenth-century, with a commentary on Second Peter in English rather than Latin may possibly also point to a women's house: this is certainly not a necessary conclusion in the fifteenth century but it may be more possible when it is as early as the thirteenth. None of this is conclusive, however, and may tell us more about the waste parchment used by the binder than whether or not it was bound in a women's house. Even if it were bound in a women's house, the identity of that house would be in some doubt, as the speculations about Barking and Sheen suggest. QC's citation of the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, noted above, is a disappointing lead. The description in the *Calendar* on the page cited is for October the 26th, 1462, which is in the second year of the reign of Edward IV, and so at first glance seems to fit the fragment in Ld, and it is for Syon. But it does not describe "convent rights in rectories, chantries, hospitals, *etc.*, *etc.*, in their patronage and possession," as Doyle's description of this fragment requires ("Survey" 1: 255 n. 27). Instead, it describes rights of way for Syon and its workers on the king's lands (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls* 216). Doyle notes that there are "several" entries "coincidentally dated 26 Oct." that do not match the fragment. The description that he says "does seem to" match is nevertheless dated October 20th,

though it is in the second year of the reign of Henry VI. This appears more promising but, in view of the disparity in date, one may be pardoned for questioning whether the right entry in the *Patent Rolls* has yet been discovered. At this point, the entire argument for a Syon provenance hangs on a match between the wording in the binding fragment that "does seem" to fit an entry in the *Patent Rolls* which nonetheless has the wrong date. Any definite statements about the origins and early provenance of Ld must await further research.

In the process, one might consider another possibility, a house of some substance and an interest in *Scala* that also has upper aristocratic connections as Syon does: the Aldgate minoresses (Boffey 389; see H6). This house, in addition, was in the vicinity of those behind the production of L, made of the proceeds of the estate of John Killum who desired to be buried in the nearby priory church of the Austin canons of Aldgate (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 267; 2: 209; see L). One of these Aldgate canons also owned a *Scala* text, Hu (which see). The textual associations of the *Scala* owned by the Minories, H6, bear out the connection to L. Further, Denny Abbey, another of only three houses of minoresses in England at this time, which also owned books, is about twelve kilometres east of the localisation for L and Ld (Boffey 389-90; Knowles and Hadcock; *Pastscape*).

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: H[entry] O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues, II, Laudian Manuscripts* (QC); Falconer Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* Vol. 2, Part 1 (SC); Ogilvie-Thomson, IMEP XVI. There is also a brief entry (1013) in Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, vol. 3 (87).

Siglum: Ln

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Lansdowne 362

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). Michael G. Sargent later narrows this to the first half of the fifteenth century ("Bishops" 168). A. I. Doyle proposes the beginning of the fifteenth century ("Survey" 1: 250).

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves (Lansdowne *Catalogue*). No information available on number of folios or size, except that the Lansdowne *Catalogue* designates this a "4to" volume. *Scale I* comprises ff. 2r to 75v (Lagorio and Sargent). I have not found a current catalogue that describes Ln.

BINDING: No information.

SCRIBES: Doyle thinks the scribe may have been a clerk and describes the text as "neatly written" ("Survey" 1: 250 and n. 18).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: No information.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: According to the Lansdowne *Catalogue* description, *Scale I* is the main text. Otherwise the *Catalogue* only notes a fragment of an "old French metrical romance" entitled "*Milles and Amys*" on two folios following *Scale I*.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 2r-75v: *Scale I*. Incipit: "Gostly brother or sister in Jhu crist i praye ye that in the callyng" . . . (Lansdowne *Catalogue*). Explicit: not available. Ending: "Explicit prima pars libri qui dicitur Speculum contemplacionis. Walterus Hilton canonicus" (Sargent, "Bishops" 169).

Note: Doyle observes that this Latin clause indicates the scribe knew of Book II. He considers it possible that *Scale II* "once followed here" ("Survey" 1: 250 and n. 18).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Sargent states that this is one of a "closely affiliated pair of manuscripts of the unexpanded form of *Scale I*." The other is Ws ("Bishops" 168). Of these two, Ln is derivative according to Dorward's analysis (Sargent, "Editing" 514). Though unexpanded, both Ln and Ws have the passage on the "Holy Name" as well as that on "Charity"; they also have the same Latin formula for introducing the title, indicating a second part, though they disagree on the title (Sargent, "Bishops" 169; cf. Doyle under Manuscript Texts).

DIALECT: Not analyzed by eLALME.

ORIGINS: According to Sargent, the dialect of Ws is localised by LALME to Ely. Moreover, he dates Ws to "the first quarter of the fifteenth century" ("Bishops" 168). Since Ln appears to be the derivative member of a pair of manuscripts closely affiliated textually and because Sargent's dating of it allows for it to be later, one may conjecture that Ln also originates somewhere near Ely or in the East Midlands. Doyle does consider Ln to be in a Midland dialect and thinks it has more northern elements than Ws ("Survey" 1: 250-51). That Ln is from the East Midlands, however, is a partially informed conjecture.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum*

Signum: Lt

ARCHIVE LOCATION: near Warminster, Wiltshire

ARCHIVE: Longleat House Library and Archives

SHELF-MARK: MS 298

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). RCHM is in agreement.

Michael G. Sargent later revises this to the first quarter.

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves (Sargent). Sargent and eLALME state that *Scale I* is the only text, which would then indicate approximately 68 folios. 180 x 120 mm at 29 lines per page (Sargent).

Scale I comprises ff. 1r to 68r (Lagorio and Sargent). Apparently, no complete description exists.

BINDING: It has an original vellum wrapper (Sargent).

SCRIBES: The manuscript is in one hand (eLALME).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: No information.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: According to Sargent, there is no title or ascription of author. He states that this is a manuscript "addressed to the writer's 'Ghostly sister.'" RCHM indicates there are 89 chapters.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-68r: *Scale I*. Heading?: "That the inner having of a man schuld be lyke unto the outer."

Incipit: "Gentle sister in Jhesu Christ, pray that in the callynge" Explicit: ". . . Has the sta . . . contemplatif. Ye grace of our Lord . . . Criste be withe you. Amen."

The transcription is from RCHM.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Sargent puts Lt in an "affiliational group" with T2 and Ry. A. J. Bliss treats Lt and Ry as textually derivative of T2 (Sargent, "Editing" 516, 518).

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 247; Grid 475 354; Nottinghamshire. This is at Staythorpe about ten kilometres northeast of Thurgarton priory. It would be about three kilometres in a direct line across the River Trent to the cell of Margery Pensax at Hawton on the south side. Further, taking the same route directly across the river, it is about eleven kilometres south to the localisation for T2 near Staunton in the Vale; T2 is a very similar manuscript physically according to Sargent: the size, lines per page, parchment leaves, and vellum wrapper are all identical, though the hands are different. Since Sargent also says T2 is earlier, one wonders whether Lt was copied from it, both the text and the format. Even if the text was not copied directly from T2, the format appears to have been. Whoever made Lt seems to have been aware of T2.

ORIGINS: See Dialect as well as Analysis and Interpretation.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: The connections between T2 and Lt, their form of address to a "Ghostly sister," and the close proximity of the dialectal localisation of both of these manuscripts to the anchorage at Hawton suggest that this cell is connected to the production of these manuscripts in some way. For example, T2 may well have been addressed to

a religious novice and appears to have been written shortly after Margery Pensax, an owner of *Scala*, moved from Hawton to the Bishopsgate anchorage in London. Could we suppose that T2 was prepared for a new occupant of the Hawton cell? Ralph Hanna thinks that Pensax "sounds suspiciously like the kind of person who might have been Hilton's original addressee" ("John Dygon" 136). Was T2 prepared for her successor and was Lt then modeled upon it, perhaps for a female friend of the anchoresses, religious or lay? See T2 and H5.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael G. Sargent, "Bishops, Patrons, Mystics and Manuscripts: Walter Hilton, Nicholas Love and the Arundel and Holland Connections" (167-68). There does not appear to be a current and complete catalogue description, though Kate Harris states she is working on one for the Longleat medieval manuscripts (77). There is a brief entry in Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, "Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Bath" (RCHM; 189).

Siglum: Lw

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Tokyo (currently on deposit in New Haven at Yale University)

ARCHIVE: Collection of Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya (currently in the Takamiya Deposit in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library)

SHELF-MARK: Takamiya MS 3 (Beinecke)

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Luttrell Wynne

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). Early fifteenth century (Beinecke; Takamiya, "Handlist").

CONTENTS: *Scales I* and *II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves (Takamiya). 174 folios (Takamiya). 173 x 132 mm with a text space of 130 x 90 mm, in one column of "about 30 lines" (Takamiya).

Takamiya also gives the dimensions as 172 x 146 mm ("Handlist").

Scales I and *II* comprise ff. 1r to 169v (Lagorio and Sargent). Takamiya states that the explicit of Book II is on folio 169r, but his plate of folios 169-70 demonstrates that it is actually on the verso of folio 169; the manuscript is complete, its last folio blank. The codex came to scholarly attention in 1959 (Takamiya). Takamiya gives a full description.

BINDING: Fifteenth-century binding from England, "white tawed leather, now stained, over wooden boards" (Takamiya; Takamiya "Handlist").

SCRIBES: One scribe who writes "a good but variable English secretary hand with some *anglicana* features" (Takamiya).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: There apparently are no medieval names in the manuscript. On a flyleaf, John Price, eighteenth-century Bodley librarian, signs a note stating that Luttrell Wynne gave him the book in 1765; it was probably once the property of Narcissus Luttrell (Takamiya; Hussey, "Text" 82). Takamiya gives further details of the modern provenance (cf. "Handlist").

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The codex contains both books of *Scala* and Hilton's *Of Angels' Song*; there are three-line initials as well as red underlining of the Latin biblical quotations; various hands have corrected and added to the text (Takamiya). The corrections are not influenced by Fishlake's Latin translation, as is sometimes the case (Hussey, "Latin and English" 466). Including *Of Angels' Song* may have been an afterthought, even though it is not in a separate booklet: Takamiya states that the collation is in twelves apart from a bifolium added in

the middle of the last quire to add a missed passage (ff. 161-62), with two single leaves and a further bifolium added at the end (Takamiya). This means that *Of Angels' Song* begins on the last leaf of the last gathering of twelve, on folio 170r.

Either the scribe miscalculated his text, if including *Of Angels' Song* was intended, or else allowed ample space with about a leaf to spare. The latter seems more probable. According to Takamiya's foliation, tables and texts follow one another without interruption in Lw; at the end of *Scale II*, however, the text ends about a third of the way down the page and its ending explicit is set off to the right-hand side with a space of a line or two intervening between it and the end of the text. The rest of the page is blank, suggesting this was the intended end of the book. *Of Angels' Song* begins on the recto of the next leaf, at the top, providing the option of separating *Of Angels' Song* later, which in the event was not done.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-3r: Table of Contents for *Scale I*. Ending: "Explicuit capitula primum libri."

ff. 3r-68v: *Scale I*. Incipit: "Gostely sustyr in Iesu cryst. . . ." Explicit: Not available. Ending: "Explicit primus liber magestri Walteri Hylton."

2. ff. 68v-71r: Table of Contents for *Scale II*. Ending: "Explicuit capitula secundi libri M. Walter Hylton."

ff. 71r--169v: *Scale II*. Incipit: "For as mych as þou coueytys greetly. . . ." Explicit: Takamiya does not transcribe the explicit of the text, but his plate of this folio shows this to be the normal longer ending; the reduction in size for printing has unfortunately made the writing too small for detailed transcription. Ending: "Explicit liber secundus magistri Walteri hilton quondam Canonici de thurgarton et hic liber vocatur scala perfectionis anglice the ladder of perfection."

The transcription is from Takamiya in conjunction with Takamiya ("Luttrell Wynne") which corrects a mistake in the former.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: According to A. J. Bliss's analysis, *Scale I* in Lw is related to H, Ch, St, and E for the whole text and also in parts of the text to London manuscripts such as L, T, and As; Sargent has determined that *Scale II* in Lw forms a textual subgroup with the 1494 Wynkyn de Worde print and the 1608 manuscript copied from a print which descends from de Worde's but was printed after Julian Notary's in 1507, by the recusant Abraham Ellis ("Editing" 516, 523, 526; "Bishops" 163 n. 16).

DIALECT: Not analysed by eLALME. Takamiya proposes probable origins in East Berkshire; in his article editing "Of Angels' Song," he had done a dialectal analysis of that text in this manuscript and assigned it simply to Berkshire but notes that this is "provisional" (Takamiya; Takamiya, "Handlist"; Takamiya, "Walter Hiltons' *Of Angels' Song* 3 n. 1, 4-5; Beinecke).

ORIGINS: See Dialect.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: The textual corrections in Lw suggest Carthusian provenance to Takamiya. He also notices textual affinities of Lw with As from Syon, H from the London Charterhouse, and T, from Sheen, as well as with the 1494 print. He further notes S. S. Hussey's discovery of the close textual relationship between the print and Lw in *Scale II* ("Walter Hilton's *Of Angels' Song*" 7 n. 2). In general, A. J. Bliss's analysis of *Scale I* supports the textual affinities Takamiya discerned, though Lw is not related to T and As for the entire text. In addition, Bliss did not note subgroups of close congeners in a group of twelve manuscripts in which he lists Lw, apart from the derivative relationship of P and B3 from L. While Bliss does not seem as attuned in his collations to small subgroups as Dorward, this nevertheless tends to

weaken any textual connection of Lw to Carthusian texts.

In the current state of the textual analysis of *Scala*, the only textual relationship for Lw that is strong enough to suggest textual descent is that with the 1494 print in *Scale II*, but, as Sargent shows, the earlier Lw cannot be the source of the print ("Editing" 523-24). It is possible that the origin of the print has connections to the Sheen and Syon circle: certainly James Grenehalgh of Sheen annotated the copy now in the hands of the Rosenbach Foundation and it also contains a monogram by a Syon nun (see T). But more is needed to demonstrate a Carthusian connection for Lw.

The corrections in Lw, described also by Sargent, are reminiscent of those in H (Sargent, "Editing" 523). But it has not been established that the corrections in H were done in the London Charterhouse (see H). Other religious houses may well have been capable of and interested in this sort of attention to a text. Moreover, the annotations of James Grenehalgh described by Sargent seem to be work of a different order ("James Grenehalgh" *passim*). A thorough dialectal analysis would be most helpful in assessing the origins of Lw. A comparison of the corrections and additions in Lw to other texts could go some distance in establishing early provenance.

For instance, the assignment of Lw "probably" to east Berkshire invites a textual comparison of its corrections with H2, the dialect of which indicates a Berkshire origin, in the environs of Reading Abbey, which eventually owned it, and which certainly had the resources to correct a text (see H2; on the size of Reading Abbey, see Knowles and Hadcock). A dialectal comparison of Lw with H2, which has been analyzed by eLALME, might also prove fruitful in establishing the dialect of the original text in Lw. For that matter, *Scale II* in Lw, the 1494 print, and H2 are listed by Hussey in the same main division of texts. On the other hand, similar work with some of the London texts could be productive. If the origins of Lw could be more firmly

established, it may be helpful in assessing the sources of the Wynkyn de Worde print and the manuscript behind it.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Takamiya Deposit," *Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library* (Beinecke); Toshiyuki Takamiya, "A Handlist of Western Medieval Manuscripts in the Takamiya Collection"; Takamiya, "A Hilton Manuscript Once in the Possession of Luttrell Wynne" (Takamiya; description 85-90); Takamiya, "Luttrell Wynne MS. of Walter Hilton"; Takamiya, "Walter Hilton's *Of Angels' Song*" (4-5).

Siglum: M

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Cambridge

ARCHIVE: Magdalene College

SHELF-MARK: MS F.4.17

OTHER IDENTIFIER: James 17

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent)

CONTENTS: *Scale II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 118 folios. 239 x 152 mm (9 2/5 x 6 inches) written at 28 lines per page.

Scale II comprises 117 folios, pp. 1 to 234. James's record indicates that the manuscript is paginated: he states the explicit of *Scale II* is on p. 234, which agrees with Lagorio and Sargent, who list this as comprising 117 folios. On the last folio, a sixteenth century hand has added a further passage. The initial flyleaf contains notes on Hilton's works and their manuscripts.

BINDING: No information.

SCRIBES: James says there are two, "the second the best."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: James includes a List of Donors, Owners, and Provenances of the Manuscripts, but M is not listed.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Besides the small additions already noted, *Scale II* is the only text in the manuscript.

Scala Text: *Scale II*.

1. pp. 1-8 or 9: A table of contents in 49 chapters. Heading: "Here begynne the titles of the Chapitles folewyng in the book of reformyng of manes soule. Wheche book a religious man made holy in leuyng. heylyche visited connyng of clergie and taught of the holy goost fulliy gostleche felyng. Wheche man was named maister Walter Hylton comensour of degrees and Chanon of Thurgurtown."

pp. 9-234: The text. Heading: "This book þat folweth may skilfully be cleped the scole of perfection. For whoso wole rede besily and vnderstonde spedfully. . . ." Chapter Heading: "How man ys made þe ymage of god after his soule and not after his body. Cap. i." Incipit: "For as moche as many men for ful knowyng desire to here of this gloriouse ymage. . . ." Explicit: ". . . maye see more in an houre of swilke gosteli mater than myȝte be writyn in a grete booke. Expl. hic finis."

Notes: Though there are 49 chapter headings in the table of contents, the last chapter heading in the text is numbered 46. Michael G. Sargent offers a slightly different transcription of the heading for the table of contents: "folewyng" as "folwyng," "fulliy" as "fulhy," "Walter"

as Watier," "Hylton" as "Hyltoun," "degrees" as "decrees," and "Thurgurtown" as "Thurgarton" ("Editing" 510 n. 3). The second, third, and fourth of these would appear to be differences in deciphering the writing. Sargent observes that this ascription is one of two, possibly from distinct traditions, that indicate that Hilton was an *inceptor* or a *commensor* of a degree. He held a bachelor of civil law so the degree of which he was *commensor* may have been a master of canon law ("Editing" 510).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: S. S. Hussey groups this with four manuscripts of *Scale II*, the text of which he finds "demonstrably inferior" and coherent in their deficiencies: A, M, Pl, R ("Editing" 105). Sargent notes that this is one subgroup of two in what Hussey designates the expanded form of *Scale II* ("Editing" 521). This is one of only two manuscripts that contain the English *Scale II* alone: the other is H6; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 584 contains only the Latin *Scale II*.

DIALECT: eLALME does not assign an LP number nor grid reference, but considers the language of Hand A "apparently mixed, with Warwickshire and NE Midland components," assigning it in the end to Warwickshire. Hand B, which apparently writes from page 151 to 234, it assigns to Ely.

ORIGINS: A. I. Doyle believes this to have been "made for western religious, very likely nuns," but provides no justification ("Survey" 1: 267). He writes of course before the LALME project and so does not remark on the Ely associations of the second hand.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: This manuscript provides a tie between the West Midlands area associated with several *Scala* manuscripts, and the environs of Ely, associated with so many others. Indeed, the northeast Midland components of Hand A observed by eLALME also potentially connect it to the vicinity of Nottinghamshire and Thurgarton and the

origins of other manuscripts. The first hand suggests a scribe has moved between the northeast Midlands and Warwickshire while Hand B implies either the movement of the manuscript from origins in the West Midlands, or possibly the northeast Midlands, to Ely, or the arrival of a scribe from Ely in one of the other two areas. In any event, M indicates travel by scribes who write *Scala* or others interested in it among three of its main points of origin. If Doyle is right in his assessment that this is a religious text, these individuals may be travelling among religious houses in these areas.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rebecca Farnham, "Cambridge, Magdalene College, 17," who depends on Montague Rhodes James and the LALME project; Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the College Library of Magdalene College Cambridge*, apparently is alone in describing the manuscript upon a direct examination: Gustav Haenel gives a bare listing of the manuscripts in the Old (or College) Library of Magdalene College (as distinct from the Pepys Library) in 1830 but M does not appear among them (782-83). James states he has discovered no other printed listing of these manuscripts, and, apart from Farnham's recent description of M derived from James, I have been no more successful. I consequently rely on James for my description of the manuscript and its text.

Siglum: N

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Edinburgh

ARCHIVE: National Library of Scotland

SHELF-MARK: MS 6126

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-55 (Lagorio and Sargent). eLALME, MMBL, and the *Catalogue* essentially concur.

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves (*Catalogue*). 62 folios (*Catalogue*). 250 x 165 mm (*Catalogue*).

Scale I comprises ff. 1r to 62v (Lagorio and Sargent); but Jolliffe states that an atelous item on grace occupies folios 61r-62v (I.29), with which eLALME and the *Catalogue* agree. The basic description in the *Catalogue* is the only one of which I am aware, apart from the bare listing in MMBL.

BINDING: According to the *Catalogue*, the binding is modern with John Borthwick's bookplate, "of Borthwick and Crookston."

SCRIBES: eLALME: Hand A writes folios 1r-60v, the *Scala* text; Hand B writes folios 61r-62v, a "tract on grace."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: The *Catalogue* states that this manuscript is one of two purchased by the "family of Borthwick of Crookston" in 1960 (103).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Currently, the manuscript contains an atelous *Scale I* as well as the piece on grace which is also missing the ending and which the *Catalogue* titles "De Gracia Dei" (*Catalogue*; Jolliffe I.29). In the *Catalogue*'s account, the last four leaves were cut from the final quire of *Scala* and the two leaves of Jolliffe I.29 "inserted at the end." Thus, *Scale I* may once have stood alone in N and may have been complete, though the amount of text missing indicates that more leaves than the four cut from the final quire would have been needed to contain the entire text: Bestul's edition is about the same size as N and prints the text extant in N

in ninety-three pages compared to one-hundred-and-twenty in N, or one-hundred-and-fifteen if one allows five pages for the Table of Contents; the missing text occupies nearly ten pages in Bestul which therefore probably contains more text than eight pages in N could comprise (Hilton). This raises the possibility that *Scale I* in N was at one time bound with other texts. The *Catalogue* also notes that the chapter divisions in N "do not always correspond to those in Evelyn Underhill's edition," but I observe that this is not a characteristic unique to N.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-60v: *Scale I*. Incipit: "Gostely suster in Jhesu Crist I praye the. . . ." Explicit: Not available. A Table of Contents precedes the text, possibly from folios 1r-3r (*Catalogue*; eLALME). *Scale I* ends near the end of Chapter 82, at line 2364 in the Bestul edition, with the words ". . . thou shalt wanten the tastyng and . . ." (*Catalogue*; Hilton).

The transcription is from the *Catalogue*. I piece together the foliation from eLALME, Jolliffe (I.29), Lagorio and Sargent, and the *Catalogue*.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: N does not appear to be part of any small textually related subgroup. Bliss puts it in a larger group with Cc, H2, H4, H7, J, and Sr (Sargent, "Editing" 516, 518).

DIALECT: eLALME analyses the manuscript but does not give a localisation or LP number. Hand A is placed in Norfolk while Hand B is in Lincolnshire.

ORIGINS: The dialectal analysis is the only evidence available.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: National Library of Scotland, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired Since 1925* (*Catalogue*). There is a brief listing of only the most basic information in Ker, MMBL, vol. 2 (528).

Siglum: P

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: Inner Temple Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Petyt 524

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1425-50 (Lagorio and Sargent)

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 149 folios (Davies). 292 x 206 mm (11 1/2 x 8 1/8 inches).

Scales I and II comprise ff. 11v to 147v. By all accounts, this is a handsome, well-preserved, and beautifully decorated manuscript. Davies notes in particular "a good hand, well-formed, in good black ink, on good parchment." He describes decorations that circle the first folio of the text of Book I (f. 14r) as well as of Book II (f. 73r). Davies gives the most complete description.

BINDING: Inner Temple binding. Reimer remarks that the opening flyleaf was apparently once a wrapper (181).

SCRIBES: Reimer describes the hand of the Lydgate *Troy Book* fragment on the opening flyleaf as "a very readable, relatively formal Anglicana of the mid-fifteenth century" (181).

From his description, this is clearly not part of the original text. No information is available on the hands in the original manuscript apart from the comments that it is well-written.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither in MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: A late-fifteenth-century inscription on the "last page" is rendered by Michael G. Sargent: "THIS IS HENRI LANGEFORDES BOOKE ORGANEMAKER OF

LVNDOONE AND WARDEN OF THE SAME SIENES." Sargent states that Langford "lived in or near the 'Minories', the London street which took its name from the convent of Franciscan nuns without Aldgate" ("Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 206). The residence of Langford is confirmed by A. I. Doyle ("Survey" 2: 213). If the date of the manuscript is accurate, Langford may well not be the original owner. Despite its shelfmark, the book did not belong to William Petyt (Reimer 181). Stephen Gardiner, sixteenth-century bishop of Winchester signs folio 148r (Davies).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The manuscript contains the Lydgate fragment mentioned above, the last twelve lines of *Medled Lyf, Eight Chapters on Perfection*, and both books of *Scala* (MMBL; cf. Ogilvie-Thomson, Introduction, "*Mixed Life*" xxi). These are followed on the verso of the final folio by two Latin verses and ten in English after which are "four lines of numerals and Greek letters" (Davies). Davies thinks the numerals and Greek letters may be a "cypher" and Sargent also calls the inscription given above a "cipher," which he says is on the last page, though he does not describe it further. Neither Davies nor RCHM notice *Medled Lyf*, though they both note at least one missing leaf. Sargent, however, believes a "complete" copy was once in this book derived from L ("Nicholas Love's *Mirror*"). References, mostly biblical, are in the margins as well as a few other notes; these all appear to be fifteenth century (Davies).

Scala Text:

1. ff. 11v-(13v?): Table of Contents. Heading: "Here begynneth the boke that is cleped *Scala Perfeccionis* and it hath two parties whereof heere sueth the table of the first partie." This is in 91 chapters.

ff. 14r-(71r?): *Scale I*. Heading: "Hereinne is tolde the cause whi thise writynges is made and hou she shal have her in the redyng that it was made unto." Incipit and explicit not available.

2. ff. 71v-(72v?): Table of Contents. Heading: "Here endeth the first partie and after sueth the table of the second partie." This is in 46 chapters.

ff. 73r-147v: *Scale II*. Heading: "Thus endeth the table and after sueth the second partie of the boke." Incipit unavailable. Explicit: ". . . may seen moore in an houre of such goostli matier than myght be writen in a greet boke. deo gracias."

Notes: The transcription is from Davies, the only one available. Even apart from the telltale opening address for *Scale I*, which Davies does not report, P appears to be a volume directed to a "Ghostly sister," since the feminine pronouns are used in the heading, despite an early owner being male. What seems to have happened is that instead of maintaining the form of direct address and attempting to change the gender of the addressee and all the subsequent pronouns in the text, which often leads to mistakes in other copies, the book is made congenial to both female and male readers by acknowledging its having been written for a woman in the first instance and putting the direct address at one remove, thus allowing the gender references in the text to remain intact.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Sargent considers P an "apparent descendent" of L (Numbers" 234); Doyle suggests "the same source" lies behind them ("Survey" 1: 267); Ogilvie-Thomson states that the lines of *Medled Lyf* in P are "verbally almost identical" to the same lines in L (Introduction, "*Mixed Life*" xxi). This relationship is sustained by the collations of Dorward and Bliss: with respect to *Scale I*, they saw P and B3 as deriving from L and these three were textually close to C and A; with respect to *Scale II*, Hussey considered P, L, and B3 to be close to H6 (Sargent, "Editing" 514-16, 518, 521-22; Hussey, "Text" 85). H6, L, and P all have geographical connections to the area near the Minorities, as does Hu. If the time-

frame is broadly construed, H6, Hu, and P, were all produced sometime during the mid-fifteenth century.

DIALECT: Not in eLALME.

ORIGINS: Even though there is no dialectal analysis, the London associations of P, and its connections to H6 and L, also with London association, suggest that it was produced in London. Even if the dialectal analysis of L and its textual associations with A and C raise questions about the locale in which it was actually written, that Londoners back L financially indicates it was in London hands, and that P was derived from it in that locale.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: That H6 and P, besides the other relationships noted above, are also, like L, Hilton anthologies and that they do not contain any texts that are not also in L is suggestive. L is prior in time, and, even if it is not the direct exemplar of either H6 or P, the conjunction of texts in these manuscripts and their apparent geographical proximity indicate that L is being used as a model from which ideas for Hilton anthologies are being drawn. That H6 appears to be modeled on a manuscript in lay hands strengthens the case for the lay use of H6, even if it is in a convent and is also used by the nuns. See H6 and L.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Conway Davies, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple*, vol. 1: 324-25; Stephen Reimer, "A Fragment of Lydgate's *Troy Book* in the Inner Temple Library"; Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Leeds, the Bridgewater Trust, Reading Corporation, the Inner Temple, etc.* (RCHM; 234); Ker, MMBL (1: 88); DIMEV takes note of the Lydgate in P under 3995.

Siglum: Pl

ARCHIVE LOCATION: New York

ARCHIVE: Columbia University Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Plimpton 257

MANUSCRIPT DATE: *Circa* 1450 (Lagorio and Sargent). *Digital Scriptorium* credits K. L. Scott with dating the manuscript to 1450-75.

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves (de Ricci). 250 folios; *Digital Scriptorium* lists 241 and de Ricci 242; nevertheless the images on *Digital Scriptorium* demonstrate that *Scala* begins on folio 1 and the image for the ending of *Scale II* is labelled "f. 250v." Bliss, after careful analysis, considers there to be 250 folios (159); this agrees with Lagorio and Sargent. 170 x 110 mm; Bliss says the text space is "irregular" and the variation in lines per page ranges from 21 to 27 (158).

Scales I and II comprise ff. 1r to 250v (Lagorio and Sargent). Bliss has demonstrated conclusively that MSS Plimpton 257 and 271 were once bound as one volume; he believes further that additional leaves from the original codex are missing from the beginning of Pl. A. I. Doyle considers it "amateur workmanship" ("Survey" 1: 250); the *Digital Scriptorium* images indicate the justice of this assessment. Nevertheless, these images also display basic rubrication and decorated initials in plain red.

BINDING: Nineteenth-century blind-tooled Russia leather binding.

SCRIBES: Bliss describes two scribes in detail: the first writes folios 1-226; the second 227-50. The second also writes all of MS Plimpton 271. Bliss discusses debate as well about a

possible third scribe that he finds difficult to discern (159). *Digital Scriptorium* displays the folios where the hand changes at a quire break.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither in MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: A name, possibly a signature, apparently that of Henry Kay, appears on folio 129v, as displayed by *Digital Scriptorium*. The top of the name is cropped. *Digital Scriptorium* and de Ricci give the modern provenance.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The manuscript in its current state contains only both books of *Scala*. It was once followed immediately by *Medled Lyf*, now in MS Plimpton 271, as Bliss has shown. He also believes that Rolle's *Ego Dormio* may have preceded the *Scala* text, based on the number of pages he thinks are missing as well as its correspondences with S and V (162).

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-?: *Scale I*. Rubric: "Þat þe Innere hauyng of a man be like to þe uttere. Capitulo primo." Incipit: "Goofly broþer or ſiſter in ihesu criſt I pray þe þat in þe callyng whiche our lord hath called þe to hys ſeruyſe þou holde þe payd and ſtonde ſtedfaſtly þerynne trauaylyng beſely wiþ alle þi myztes of þi ſoule. . . ." Explicit: Not available.

2. ff. ?-250v: *Scale II*. Incipit: Not available. Explicit: "ffor a ſoule þat is clene ſtiredede bi grace to þis worchyng. may ſee more in an houre of ſuch gooftely matere þanne miȝte be written in a grete booke."

Notes: Transcribed from the *Digital Scriptorium* images. After the explicit for *Scale II* is a Latin inscription in faded ink and a different hand that I have found hard to decipher, especially from an image.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: It has been agreed since Doyle's "Survey" that P1 is closely related to *Scale I* in V and S. The textual analyses of Dorward and Bliss have borne this out (Sargent, "Editing" 514, 516, 518). In addition, Bliss pointed out that the introduction to *Medled Lyf* in V and S is found also in MS Plimpton 271, and it is unique to these three. In addition, S and P1 both lack the table of contents. In S, moreover, *Ego Dormio*, *Scala*, and *Medled Lyf* follow one another as Bliss proposes they once did in P1, except that *Scale II* is included with Book I in P1, before *Medled Lyf* (157, 162).

To all this, Michael G. Sargent adds that none of these three texts of *Scale I* have a title or bear the name of an author, all are addressed to both a brother and a sister, and all include the Holy Name passage but not that known as "Charity." Despite P1 being much later, he proposes descent from a common exemplar, as Doyle had suspected on the basis of less evidence, though adding matching rubrics to the list, nearly seventy years prior ("Bishops" 164; Doyle, "Survey" 1: 250). Hussey has determined that *Scale II* in P1 is related textually to A, M, and R (Text" 85; cf. Sargent, "Editing" 521-22).

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 5620; Grid: 499 169; Surrey. This is on the southeastern edge of Windsor Great Park.

ORIGINS: See below.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Though P1, S, and V appear to have a good deal in common, P1 is distant in time and dialect from the other two in the West Midlands, creating difficulties for determining origins for P1 apart from further information. Particularly problematic is bridging the gaps to a common exemplar for manuscripts apparently so far removed from one another both geographically and historically.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. J. Bliss, "Two Hilton Manuscripts in Columbia

University Library"; Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (de Ricci; 2: 1799-1800); *Digital Scriptorium*.

Siglum: R

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Oxford

ARCHIVE: Bodleian Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Rawlinson C.285

OTHER IDENTIFIER: SC 12143

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1394 (Lagorio and Sargent; cf. QC). In Hanna's analysis, the manuscript comprises four booklets, each with a different main hand, the first two of which write near the end of the fourteenth century or the turn of the next. This would be his date for *Scale I*. The third booklet is dated to the turn or the beginning of the fifteenth century. *Scale II*, the last hand in the last booklet, Hanna thinks could be as late as the first half of the fifteenth century.

See further details below.

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 118 folios. 220 x 160 mm (Hanna).

According to Hanna the text space in the various booklets varies as follows: Booklet 1, main hand, 185-90 x 125-30 mm, written at 32-38 lines per page; Booklet 2, main hand, 175-80 x 120-25, written at 28 or 29 lines per page; Booklet 3, the first item by the hand of Booklet 2 in similar form, the second hand, 180 x 125 at 37 or 38 lines; Booklet 4, 180-85 x 115-25 at 38-40 lines.

Scale I comprises ff. 1r to 38v; *Scale II*, 74r to 118v (Lagorio and Sargent). There is some difficulty in pinpointing the ending folio of *Scale I*. See further discussion under

Manuscript Texts. From Hanna's description, the decoration in this manuscript appears to me to be functional rather than aesthetic, involving red initials, red paraphs, and red-slashed capitals. On the other hand, this plain appearance may only be a consequence of the work of a non-professional scribe, at least in the first three booklets. (The plates in Hanna's "The History of a Book" show the less professional work of the earlier scribes.) In *Scale I*, the headings are underlined in red; in *Scale II*, one finds them in "textura" or underlined in red or both (Hanna). On the first page of each of Hanna's "booklets," a later artist has added more decorative work, including gold leaf and penwork depicting flora and fauna (Hanna); Pächt and Alexander date these additions to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Hanna gives a full description while QC lists the incipits and explicits not in Hanna.

BINDING: The binding is medieval in what Pächt and Alexander describe as "white leather on boards with chemise." As part of a full description, Hanna observes a "brown leather chemise"; seemingly only that for the top board survives. The details are not localising.

SCRIBES: Hanna describes four hands, two of which eLALME treats as one. eLALME also does not discuss the folios of *Scale II* nor identify its hand. In Hanna's analysis, the first writes folios 1r-39r (Booklet 1); the second, 40r-63v (Booklet 2) as well as 64r-68v (in Booklet 3); the third, folios 68v-73v (the rest of Booklet 3); the fourth, 74r-118v (Booklet 4). Hanna characterizes the script of the first three as "anglicana" and the last as "bastard anglicana." Other hands make additions to the "originally blank" final page of each of the first three booklets (Hanna). The first hand writes all of *Scale I*, and the last, all of *Scale II*.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: On what remains of a medieval flyleaf (verso of fol. i), is the following: "<O>biit dominus Iohannes Marchal," with the letter "O" apparently missing (Hanna's

transcription, *English Manuscripts*). As Hanna reminds us, his title indicates that the death noted here is that of a priest. In his view, this priest was probably associated with the book in some way later in the fifteenth century, since his name appears on a flyleaf that is part of the medieval binding ("History of a Book" 87). Pächt and Alexander also observe the name "Pole" on a pastedown. QC includes the following note: "Olim inter libros Fr. Pole, 1394."¹²⁹ If this is a transcription and not an interpretation by QC, such an early date would suggest it does not refer to R as once among Pole's books: the latter part of the codex was not written until after this date and so the binding must have occurred later than the end of the fourteenth century.

QC also notes that this copy of Rolle's *Form* is "addressed to a nun named Cecil." Vincent Gillespie remarks that the change "from the original Margaret [Kirkby] to Cicely" suggests "that it (or its exemplar) was made for a religious, or a devout laywoman." He thus thinks the relationship, which he considers one of ownership, of Marchal to R to be later ("Vernacular Books" 163). Claire Elizabeth McIlroy, citing Gillespie, states that here the name "Margaret" has been scratched out and "Cicely" has been "written over" it (51, 184). This may be an overstatement since Gillespie apparently countenances an exemplar from which the name "Cicely" may have been copied instead of "Margaret," which is more usual in this place, as McIlroy is aware. She thinks that Cicely may be the devout Duchess of York, mother of Edward IV and Richard III (51, 184).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: As it now stands, R contains three main texts: *Scale I* (Booklet 1), Rolle's *Form of Living* (Booklet 2), and *Scale II* (Booklet 4), each of which is the first and main text of its respective booklet, in Hanna's assessment. If we accept his view that R is made

¹²⁹ Formerly among the books of Fr. Pole, 1394.

of booklets, these three booklets were not necessarily originally envisioned as part of one book, particularly not the last, which appears to be later, and, according to Hanna, is in a quite different dialect. On the other hand, because the second scribe writes in both Booklets 2 and 3, in a possible continuation of miscellaneous shorter texts following *Form*, one could imagine they might have been seen as a unity, though the seemingly once blank or partly blank final page of Booklet 2 could suggest otherwise (cf. Hanna, "The History of a Book" 80).

According to Hanna, the following sequence of texts that immediately follows *Scale I* mirrors a sequence in F, in the same order: a twenty-eight line extract from *The Prick of Conscience*; various English quotations including from Bonaventure, Bernard, and Rolle: the Rolle quotations are from *The Commandment* and *Emendatio Vitae*; Rolle's *Form of Living*; Chapter 70 of Hilton's *Scale I*, circulating separately (IPMEP 64); Chapter 91 of Hilton's *Scale I*, circulating separately (IPMEP 66); "On the Name of Jesus," extract from Rolle's *Form of Living* (IPMEP 339) and paraphrases from *Oleum effusum*; "Sentences from Gregory," questionably attributed to Rolle; Chapter 82 of Hilton's *Scale I*, circulating separately (IPMEP 484); a form of death-bed confession translated from Anselm, questionably attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 573); extract from Catherine of Siena, questionably attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 409); "Of the Ten Commandments," part of John Gaytryge's *Sermon* ("Lay Folks' Catechism") (IPMEP 13); "Points Best Pleasing to God" on the nine virtues, questionably attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 847); Latin notes; "A Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows of Doomsday," questionably attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 480); *Epistill of Saynt Johann þe Ermyte*, questionably attributed to Hilton (IPMEP 274); "Sayings of the Fathers," questionably attributed to Hilton (IPMEP 546); Latin notes. This is then followed by *Scale II* in Booklet 4.

Note: The sequence of texts mirroring those in F is reconstructed from the catalogues in

the Select Bibliography for F as well as IPMEP. It tallies with Hanna's list for R in *English Manuscripts* as well as with the list in QC.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-39r: *Scale I*. Incipit: "Gastly syster in Jhu Crist, I pray the that in the callynge qwylke our Lord has cald the to his seruys. . . ." Explicit: ". . . or for thyng to him, If he did it agayns conscience he fyneth. Bot þis syne indip fone be forgyfene of god who so cryfe hertly eftir gods mercy." The text is preceded by an acephalous Table of Contents beginning at Chapter 49.

2. ff. 74r-118v: *Scale II*. Incipit: "For as mekil as thou coueytist gretly. . . ." Explicit: ". . . gostly mater than miȝt be writen in a greet book." Ending: "Explicit hic finis."

Notes: The transcriptions are from QC, apart from the explicit for *Scale I* which I transcribe from Hanna's Plate 7 in "The History of a Book" (65). Lagorio and Sargent put the end of *Scale I* on folio 38v, but the noted Plate 7 in Hanna's chapter demonstrates that the text immediately preceding the *Prick of Conscience* excerpt ends on folio 39r, two lines before the fragment of *The Prick of Conscience* (cf. Lewis and McIntosh). Hanna considers this preceding text to be *Scale I* ("History of a Book" 64); he also identifies folio 39r as the final page of *Scale I* in his *English Manuscripts*.

This may at first seem to be simply a mistake by Lagorio and Sargent, but other information may give us pause. The ending of the piece preceding the *Prick of Conscience* extract is not the normal ending of *Scale I*. QC states that a large section of *Scale I* is missing, from Chapter 82 on. At this point, even after considerable searching in the text of *Scale I*, in the editions of Underhill and Bestul (Hilton), I have not found the passage at the top of folio 39r within it, neither in Chapter 82 nor elsewhere. Unfortunately, I do not have access to the text in

R preceding that on Hanna's Plate 7, so I have not been able to go further back to text that is identifiable within *Scale I* in order to determine what has happened.

After its comment on the missing ending of *Scale I*, QC adds the following statement: "A fragment on venial sin follows on fol. 39, which does not appear to be contained in Julian Notary's edition of the book, printed in 1507." This does not describe the segment from the *Prick of Conscience*, which is a somber reflection on the Day of Judgement. It is however an apt description of the text immediately preceding. And, for that matter, this preceding text would seem to be "Of Deadly and Venial Sin," questionably attributed to Walter Hilton (IPMEP 149), which immediately precedes the *Prick of Conscience* in this sequence in F. Since the incipit of IPMEP 149 does not appear on folio 39r, definite identification awaits further investigation.

The state of the ending of *Scale I* in R thus requires some clarification. Hanna's collation indicates that the last quire of Booklet 1 in its current state is a bifolium. He also thinks that a quire has been lost at the end of Booklet 1. His record of IPMEP 149 in F indicates it occupies folios 96v-97v (p. 29). If Hanna's interpretation that a quire is missing in R is correct, this suggests that IPMEP 149 occupies folios 38r-39r in R, a book similar in size to F, and that the missing quire precedes and does not succeed this final bifolium. In that case, *Scale I* breaks off at folio 37v, and, if QC is correct, it does so in Chapter 82, and Hanna's missing quire explains the loss of text in *Scale I*. But this reconstruction awaits confirmation by an inspection of the manuscript, which could reveal a different actual state of affairs that might have implications for our interpretation of the relationships among R, D, and F (which see).

With respect to Book II of *Scala*, QC explains that only half of folio 87 remains and that "several leaves" are missing near the end, "between ff. 116-117, extending from about the middle of chap. xli. to the beginning of chap. xlv." But this final loss does not tally with Hanna's

collation, which indicates that the last quire of Book II is of six, without the last leaf, which final five consecutive intact leaves are foliated 114-118.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Rosemary Dorward considered R, D, and F to be close congeners textually for *Scale I*, of which she saw D and F as the "more derivative members"; with these she grouped H3 and U in a small textual subgroup (Sargent, "Editing" 514, 518). Regarding *Scale II*, S. S. Hussey placed A, M, and Pl in a subgroup with R, though in Michael G. Sargent's account, this requires confirmation ("Editing" 521-22, 525). Also see D and F.

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 22; no grid reference; northern Middle English. This refers only to the first three booklets, which eLALME considers dialectally very nearly the same. Hanna narrows the locale to northwest Yorkshire. The last hand, on the basis of his own analysis, he assigns to "probably southwest of the Wash, perhaps the Ely-Norfolk border."

ORIGINS: Three scribes writing almost the same dialect in northwest Yorkshire suggests origins in a religious house, even though these booklets also bear marks of being priests' books.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*; Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience* (157); William D. MacRay, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae partis quintae fasciculus secundus* (QC). There is also a brief entry (1237) in Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, vol. 3 (106).

Siglum: Ry

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Liverpool

ARCHIVE: Liverpool University Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Rylands F.4.10

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Harmsworth

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1450-1500 (Lagorio and Sargent)

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves. MMBL describes the parchment as "thick." 100 folios. 273 x 190 mm (MMBL; Hodgson makes it 6 mm taller); the text space is 190 x 130 mm written at 37 lines per page in one column (MMBL).

Scale I comprises ff. 54r to 100v; Lagorio and Sargent disagree with MMBL and Hodgson stating this begins on 53r. The manuscript is handsomely decorated, but no notice is taken of any distinctive decorations in *Scala*. MMBL is the best description.

BINDING: The medieval binding is fully described by MMBL; Ker there states in a note that A. I. Doyle tells him "three of the stamps [on Ry], cinquefoil, rosette, and lion, are also on the binding of a Lydgate, Fall of Princes, belonging to Mr. R. H. Taylor."¹³⁰ Doyle dates the binding to the end of the fifteenth century ("Survey" 2: 124).

SCRIBES: eLALME states this is in one hand, which MMBL describes as "Textura." Doyle says it is "somewhat uneven" ("Survey" 2: 124).

¹³⁰ This is now Princeton, Princeton University Library, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Taylor MS 2 (Princeton University Library 44-45).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: Someone writes in a sixteenth-century hand on folio 23r: "Thomas Barker is my name"; on folio 89v, in a hand of the same century, is written, "Deuonshire debebat"; Ry belonged to Sir Leicester Harmsworth (MMBL).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The manuscript contains, in the following order, *The Chastising of God's Children*, a treatise on prayer (IPMEP 548; Jolliffe M.11), an incomplete and defective *Pistle of Preier of the Cloud corpus*, and *Scale I*. Michael G. Sargent determines that Ry consists of two booklets: *Scale I* stands alone in its own booklet ("Bishops" 168). This conclusion coincides with the MMBL collation.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 54r-v: Table of Contents. Incipit: ". . . certayne but trouble the stringis of them that be in deuocion' c. xxix. . . ." Explicit: Not available. The table begins imperfectly and is in 90 chapters.

ff. 55r-100v: *Scale I*. Incipit: "Gostely brothir or systir in ihesu criste. I praye the þat. . . ." Explicit: ". . . it shall teche the alle that the. . . ." It ends imperfectly; in Thomas H. Bestul's edition of L, this is line 2574, in the middle of chapter 90 (Hilton 131).

Note: The transcription is from MMBL.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: The collations of Dorward and Bliss indicate that Lt, Ry, T2 are related textually; in Bliss's analysis, Lt and Ry are derivative of T2 (Sargent, "Editing" 514-16, 518).

DIALECT: eLALME: No LP number is given but the language is described as from the Soke of Peterborough.

ORIGINS: See below.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Sargent observes that the physical format of T2 and Lt is strikingly similar. He also thinks that this recension probably emanates from the environs of Thurgarton priory and considers it "possible" that these manuscripts "represent a later, partially expanded issue from Thurgarton" ("Bishops" 168). That *Scala* in Ry is contained in one booklet and that it has an imperfect beginning and ending indicate that it could well once have been independent. If so, while Ry is about a centimetre wider and taller than the other two and has about eight more lines per page, we may consider it a comparable manuscript originally.

Nonetheless, weight must be given to the indication that both parts of Ry are in one hand. If that is an accurate assessment of the hand, then the scribe of Ry is writing contemplative texts that are an advance on *Scale I*. That is, the *Cloud* author's works can be challenging, and, according to Lagorio and Sargent, *Chastising* draws largely on Jan van Ruusbroec and Heinrich Suso: about a third of it is from Geert Groote's Latin translation of Ruusbroec's *Spiritual Espousals* (3131). A scribe may or may not be making the choice of texts, but there is apparently a connection of some sort between the two parts of Ry, even if that is only that a scribe who has access to serious contemplative literature writes both parts. And one may conclude from this that *Scala* and *Chastising* travelled in the same circles. In this regard, it is noteworthy that Elizabeth Willoughby of Campsey also owned both *Scala* and *Chastising* (see Cc).

At the same time, it is not impossible to imagine that both parts were originally bound together. Doyle, for instance, considering Ry as whole, proposes a "religious origin" on the basis of contents ("Survey"1: 251). And to take these ideas a step further, whether or not one or both of T2 and Lt were originally for the Hawton anchoress, near Thurgarton, both parts of a book such as Ry would be a most congenial furnishing within an anchorhold, whether occupied by a

male or female recluse, and I note that Ry is gender neutral. While its localisation is further afield from Thurgarton than T2 and Lt, it is within the orbit of two centres of dissemination of *Scala*, Thurgarton as well as Ely and Cambridge. It is reasonable to assume the origins of Ry are among the religious of this area, and perhaps among the recluses.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hodgson, Introduction; Ker, MMBL (3: 309-10).

Siglum: S

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: British Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Additional 22283

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Simeon

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-25 (Lagorio and Sargent). N. F. Blake states that Vernon "almost certainly predates Simeon by a few years" ("Vernon" 45). That would suggest the first decade of the fifteenth century. The hands of scribes A and C are described by A. I. Doyle as indicating the early fifteenth century ("Codicology" 7).

CONTENTS: *Scale I* in 93 chapters, though the last one is given the number 92.

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 172 folios. 585 x 390 mm (23 x 15 1/2 inches) with a text space of 455/480 x 285/290 mm. This means that though the leaves are about the same width as those in V, they are 41 mm (1 1/2 inches) taller.

Scale I comprises ff. 151va to 160vb according to the modern foliation of 172 surviving leaves. The medieval foliation begins at clxxviii. It follows the pattern of V in numerating in red on the verso of the folio in the top left-hand corner. The corners of the last three folios are cut or

torn out, so the final extant medieval folio number is cclxxv. A modern hand has added the medieval numbering on the patch in the usual place and the last number in the medieval foliation is ccclxxix. In addition, the extant leaves have been foliated by a modern hand in Arabic numerals on the recto in the top right-hand corner. This modern foliation ignores missing leaves, of which there are obviously 177 at the beginning and a number throughout. Modern paper leaves have been added at the beginning and the end and in some places within the codex. There may have been 382 leaves originally as compared to 422 or 426 for V. (For number of folios, see, for instance, Doyle, "Codicology" 1; Hanna, *English Manuscripts* 76, 156.) I use the modern foliation in references.

Though much more of the manuscript is missing than is the case with V, the extant portions have many parallels with V. For instance, in many cases the same texts exist in the same order. S has not received the same level of scholarly scrutiny that V has attracted, but much of the scholarship on V also refers to a greater or lesser degree to S. Given my primary interest in *Scala*, I will give my main attention to the prose section at the end of S and refer interested readers to sources with fuller information on other aspects.

The most complete current descriptions are those on the British Library website, that in the online *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*, and that of Gisela Guddat-Figge. The British Library website includes descriptions of S in the following online catalogues: *Explore Archives and Manuscripts*, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, and *Digitized Manuscripts*. *Explore Archives and Manuscripts* includes, as an added resource, the now superseded manuscript description from the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*. In addition, the Library has produced a high definition digital facsimile of the entire manuscript in collaboration with the University of Birmingham, and made it freely available online. An

indispensable article in understanding the relations of the texts in V and S and the texts in S itself is Kari Sajavaara's "The Relationship of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts."

For a discussion of costs of production see the entry for V.

BINDING: This is a modern binding (British Library, *Illuminated MSS*).

SCRIBES: Three scribes are responsible for the extant parts of S, designated A, B, and C, or 1, 2, and 3. The second scribe (B) of S is also the second scribe (B) of V. Scribe A is responsible for ff. 1ra-61vc; 118va-31va (line 18); 152rb (line 29)-72vb; Scribe B for ff. 62ra-118rb; 135ra-152rb (line 29); Scribe C for ff. 131va (line 19)-34rc (f. 134v is blank). Hanna points out that Scribe A picks up for Scribe B "mid-sentence" on folio 152rb (*English Manuscripts 76*). Guddat-Figge argues that a fourth scribe may have been involved in writing the last part of the manuscript beginning where Scribe B leaves off on folio 152rb and continuing until the end (145 and n. 2). All the prose of the first prose section in S is the work of Scribe B and he ends his work in this part of the manuscript with prose. Scribe A then resumes with verse. Scribe B renews his work in the final section of the manuscript with prose, his last contribution.

Scribe B writes a neat and remarkably consistent hand that Doyle describes as "plain upright rounded semi-cursive (Anglicana)" and which he finds reminiscent of hands of the mid-fourteenth century up to the third quarter. He finds the hands of A and C more angular and early-fifteenth-century ("Codicology" 6). All hands are designated "Gothic cursive (Anglicana formata)" by the British Library catalogues.

Taken together, this suggests that Scribe B may have been elderly by the early fifteenth century. To my mind, his hand is deteriorating in its final passage. This may have had an impact on the state of the final prose section of S. The rubrication is not completed here and Sajavaara thinks the last work, *A Talking of the Love of God*, was never completed since the stub of what

would be folio 173 is "ruled but blank" (433; cf. 435). The deteriorating script and mid-sentence termination of the work of Scribe B suggests ill health or worse may have overtaken him. If, as the senior scribe, he also had the main responsibility for the scribal work of S as he certainly did for V--and, as Hanna notes, Scribe A finishes more than once for Scribe B (*English Manuscripts* 76-77)--Scribe B's incapacity may be the reason S was never completed. If the identity of Scribe B could be determined, this could tell us much about the origins and perhaps the audience and historical occasion of S.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: No conclusive medieval owners marks have been noted. See Further Notes on Provenance. The British Library online catalogues state that the Museum purchased the manuscript from Sir John Simeon in 1858 (*Explore Archives; Digitised Manuscripts*).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The fullest accounts of texts are in the catalogues already mentioned. With respect to the cataloguing of the prose works in S, none of the catalogues distinguish all of the texts now accepted as distinct in resources such as the DIMEV and the IPMEP. With regard to the prose, the *Manuscripts of the West Midlands* appears mostly to follow the British Library catalogues, and even in this respect there are some flaws. None of the catalogues I have listed above identifies all significant texts in the final prose section, missing for example *Ego Dormio*, *Medled Lyf*, and *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*. Other scholars are aware of these texts in Simeon; for instance a careful reading of Hanna in *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle* will reveal these texts in S, but it involves cross-referencing with his entry for V. Moreover, to my knowledge, in other respects as well no catalogue presents full information on the prose works in S. In consequence, I provide a detailed

catalogue of the final prose section. I take note of variations in rubrication and presentation with a view to assessing their implications for the reception of these texts.

There are two main sections of prose in S. The earlier, folios 92ra-118rb, is shorter and is mostly taken up with one work, *The Book of Vices and Virtues* (IPMEP 668), which ends imperfectly on folio 115vb. Five shorter items follow, the first of which is incomplete (listed in the catalogues mentioned and Sajavaara 436). These six items are not in V (Sajavaara 435). As in the later prose section, this is all ruled for two columns. The last half column on folio 118rb is left blank to allow the verse to begin on a three-column page. There is another prose piece in S on folio 61va-61vc, the last piece Scribe A writes in his first stint in the extant folios:

"Meditation of the Five Wounds" (IPMEP 109). This is written on a page ruled for three columns. The general rule, often cited, that in S prose is written in two columns and verse in three, is thus not slavishly followed here nor in the final prose section where verse occasionally is written in two columns.

The last piece of poetry in S ends two-thirds of the way down the third column of folio 134rc. Folio 134v bears the medieval foliation numeral cccxxxv, but is blank, though ruled in three columns, for poetry. A modern blank paper leaf is then inserted. Folio 135v bears the medieval numeral cccxxxvii. According to this foliation, two leaves are missing at this point. From folio 135 to the end, the pages are ruled in two columns.

1. ff. 135ra-146vb: *Stimulus Amoris* or *Prickyngge of Love* (IPMEP 46) begins a new folio, at the top of the first column. It is a translation and abridgement of the Franciscan James of Milan's Latin. Lagorio and Sargent note the manuscripts that attribute the translation to Hilton (3080). Rubric: "Incipit tractatus cuius titulus dicitur stimulus amoris. Hou a mon schal haue Cristes

passion in mynde." Incipit: "Al for wondred of vreself. ouzt us forte be. 3if we biþouzt us inwardli. of þe grete vnmesurable loue. þat God to us haþ schewed. And of þe grete vnkuynnesse þat we don him aþeyn. for his gode dede. ffor 3if vr lord loveþ vs so muche. þat to vre kuynde so knuttet wolde be þat neuer wolde from us twinne. . . ." Explicit: "And so mote vr tretis ende in louinge of god. so þat alle bleffede spiritus mote louen vr lord in þe bliffe of heuene amen. Here endeþ þe tretis. þat is cald prikke of loue. I.maad bi a ffrere menour Bonaventure. þat was a cardinal in þe court of Rome."

Notes: Chapter headings are set off with decorated initials and rubrication. There is no table of contents. The last chapter is numbered 38, but there seems to be some difficulty with chapter numbering. In addition, this is an incomplete copy: eleven chapter headings are missing, from 18 to 28. (Other catalogues have not noted the incompleteness.) Occasionally, near the beginning, decorated initials are followed by blank spaces but these do not result in interrupting chapter numeration. A blank modern paper leaf is inserted between folios 141 and 142, where two leaves appear to be missing: the medieval foliation skips from cccxliii to cccxlvii at this point.

2. f. 146vb: "Nine Points Best Pleasing to God" (IPMEP 410). Rubric: "A tretis hou god apeered to an holi mon." Incipit: "Hit was an holi mon. and bifouzte God. to seende him grace. suche virtues forte vse; þat weore best. to lyf. and to soule. þenne apeered ur lord Jesu Godes sone to him. and seide. 3if þin herte to me. and þyn almes to þe pore mon. for þe loue of me. and hit schal lyke me better. þen þau3 þou 3eue al þe gold of þis world. aftur þi day." Explicit: "Tel to me al þi wille. and leue þat I.am almihti; al godnes to fulfille; and hit schal lyke me better; þen þou preyed my moder. and al þe halewes of heuene. to preye for þe. Loue me with al þin herte.

to haue my bliſſe; and hit ſchal lyke me better. þen þou made a piler reching vp to heuene.
 ſtikyng ful of rafours al þi bodi to renden on."

3. ff. 146vb-147ra: "Unkind Man" (DIMEV 6110). Incipit: "Unkynde mon. ʒif kepe to me. / And
 se what pyne. I.suffre for þe / Synful mon. on þe I.crie. Al only for þi loue I.dye. . . ." Explicit:
 "I. ʒiue þe my bodi. wiþ woundes fore, and þerto I.wol ʒiue þe more. / Oueral þis. ʒit I.wis, In
 eorþe mi grace. In heuene my blis."

Notes: The British Library catalogues and *Manuscripts of the West Midlands* do not distinguish this from "Nine Points" in S. The verse is signaled with a decorated initial but not with rubrication. The lines of the poem are made to fit the two-column ruling of these leaves by writing one couplet per line. There are fifteen rhyming couplets.

4. ff. 147ra-147va: Richard Rolle, *The Commandment* (IPMEP 660). Rubric: "Here is a tretis.
 þat techeþ to loue god wiþ al þin herte." Incipit: "ÞE Comaundement of God is. þat we loue vr
 lord in al vr herte. In al vre foule. In al vre herte þorwout. In al vr herte; þat is. In al vre
 vndurſtondyng wiþouten erring. In al vre foule; þat is. In al vre wille; wiþouten aʒeyn seyʒing. In
 al vre þouʒt. þat is; þat we þenke on him. wiþouten forʒetyng, In þis manere; is verrey loue. and
 trewe." Explicit: "Loue hit more. þen þi lyf; and roote hit in þi muynde, Loue Jhesu. in al þin
 herte; for he made þe. and bouʒte þe ful deore, ʒif þin herte to him; for hit is his dette. Forþi
 loue Jhesu. wiþ al þin herte. wiþ al þi foule; wiþ al þi þouʒt amen."

Note: There are no chapter divisions. There are small one-line decorated initials breaking the text but other divisions are not marked.

5. ff. 147va-150va: Richard Rolle, *Form of (Perfect) Living* (IPMEP 351). Rubric: "Her biginneþ þe fourme of parfyt liuinge. þe whuche holi richard þe hermit of hampulle wrot to a reclufe þat was I.cleped margrete." Incipit: "[I]N euerich synful mon. or wommon. þat is bounden in dedly synne; beoþ þreo wrecchednes. þe whuche bringeþ hem; to deþ of helle. ÞE Furste is defaute; of goftliche strengþe, þat þei ben so feynte. wiþ Inne in heore heortes; þat þei mowe not ſtonden azeynes þe fondynges of þe deuel, Ne þei mowe not lifte heore wil. to wilnen þe loue of god; and folwen þeraftur" Explicit: "Lo nou mergrete. I. haue nou ſchortliche seid þe; þe fourme of louyng. and hou þou maizt comen to perfeccion. and to louen him; þat þou haſt taken þe to, 3if hit doþ þe good and profyt; þonke god. and preye for me, þe grace of vr lord god; beo wiþ þe. and kepe þe. worþili to him. amen."

Notes: There are no chapter divisions. *Form* includes DIMEV 3290 (f. 149ra) and 6482 (f. 149rb). In the latter, the verse is marked by a decorated initial and two poetic lines are written per line to accommodate the two-column ruling used for this mostly prose work.

Major sections are marked by larger decorated initials and in a few cases part of a line of blank space.

6. ff. 150va-151va: Richard Rolle, *Ego Dormio* (IPMEP 160). Incipit: "ÞOu þat deſyreſt loue. hold þyn Eren and here of loue; in þe ſong of loue, I.fynde I.written þat i ſette. at my biginnyng of my writing, I ſlepe; and myn herte wakeþ, muche loue he ſcheweþ; þat neuer is weore of loue. But euere. ſittyng. ſtondyng. going, or eny oþer dede doing; is euer of loue þenkyng. and ofte ſibes þerof dremyng," Explicit: "Leeue me weore to dye. þen al þis world to welde, And haue hit in maistrie. þaugh I. ſchulde neuer elde, Whon woltou on me rewe Iheſu þat I. miȝte beo wiþ þe. to loke on þe. and to loue þe. mi ſetel ordeyne redi. and ſette þou me þerinne, For

þenne ſchul we neuer twynne. Of loue þen ſchul we syng. þorw ſiȝt of þi ſchynynge. In heuene wiþouten endynge. Amen. AMEN. Explicit quoddam notabile Ricardi heremite."

Notes: *Ego* is marked off with an eight-line gold-decorated initial but not with rubrication. There are no chapter divisions. *Ego* here includes four sections of verse: DIMEV 357 (f. 150vb) is marked by a six-line gold-decorated initial, but the poetic lines are run together in the manner of prose; DIMEV 3617 (f. 151ra-b) is again written in the manner of prose, but the verse is marked by a six-line gold-decorated initial at the beginning and a smaller initial at the end; DIMEV 2286 (f. 151rb) is three lines of verse run into the prose; DIMEV 3651 (f. 151rb-151va), the last lines of *Ego*, is marked at its beginning by a five-line gold initial and is written in the form of prose. The verse sections are of varying lengths. These are the last verses in S.

Major sections and verse are marked by larger decorated initials and in two cases part of a line of blank space.

7. ff. 151va-160vb: Walter Hilton, *Scala perfectionis* or *Scale of Perfection* (IPMEP 255).

Rubric: "þat þe Innore hauyng of mon beo lyk to þe vttere. Capitulo primo." Incipit: "GOſtli Broþer. or ſufter in Iheſu criſt, I. preye þe þat in þe callyng. wȝuche vre lord haþ called þe to his ſeruiſe; þou hold þe payȝed. and ſtond ſtudefaſtliche þerin. Trauayling biſiliche wiþ al þe mihtes of þi foule. bi grace of Iheſu criſt. Forte folfille in ſoþfaſtnes of good lyuyng; þe ſtate whuch þou haſt i. take in likneſſe and in ſemyng." Explicit: "Alfo þiſe wordes þat I. write take hem not to ſchortly. ouþer for lakkyng of engliſch or wantyng of reſon. I. prey þe amende hit only þer nede ys. þei longe not alle to a mon wȝuch haþ actiſ lyf. but to þe or to a noþer wȝuch haþ ſtat of lyf contemplatyf. þe grace of vre lord Iheſu criſt be wiþ þe. Amen."

Notes on *Scala*: There is no table of contents, as there is in V, and the text begins on the

seventeenth line of the first column of folio 151v, immediately after Ego Dormio, instead of at the beginning of the verso of the leaf that begins with the table of contents, as we see in V. Rubrication of the chapter heading and a gold-decorated initial of seven lines marks off the beginning of *Scala*, as well as a decoration in the right margin of the column. The column in which *Scala* begins is framed with a decorated border on three sides. Borders do not appear in the remainder of *Scala*.

Chapter headings are rubricated throughout and almost always also marked with a decorated initial: I noticed one exception. Care is taken to fill in any blank space with decoration. I noticed only two exceptions where a minor amount of white space was left. The heading for chapter sixteen is missing and there is no rubrication, but a decorated capital does mark it. There is no blank space.

The text is identified in Latin as a tract of Master Walter Hilton by a different hand in the margin next to the decorated initial that begins *Scala*. Chapter headings and numeration display some idiosyncracies. Chapter twenty-one is designated *capitulum primo*. The numeration for the fiftieth chapter is written out in full instead of in Roman numerals, at the very top of the first column on folio 156v. A chapter heading numbered "lxxxvii" is inserted that does not appear in Thomas H. Bestul's edition (based on L) at that chapter number but does appear so numbered in Evelyn Underhill's, in a slightly altered textual position. The numeration for chapter eighty-nine is written out in full instead of in Roman numerals. Instead of numbering the last chapter as "xciii," the number "xcii" from the penultimate chapter is repeated. So at first flush this version could be mistakenly taken to have ninety-two chapters and to follow the pattern of texts with ninety-two chapters when in fact it has ninety-three headings.

The Latin quotations from the Vulgate within *Scala* are written in a larger and more

formal hand. The translations that inevitably ensue revert to the usual hand. There are some signs of haste, such as some messy spots and words spilling over into the margin--but more probably these are skipped words being added later by the scribe.

Marginalia

An arrow in the margin at the end of chapter thirty-six points to an explanation of a biblical text that states that the Ascension is advantageous for Christ's disciples in that it allows the Holy Spirit to descend at Pentecost. This text and its explanation are then interpreted to mean that, if Christ should withdraw the more sensual contemplative experiences, this should be understood as being to the spiritual advantage of the contemplative (f. 154vb).

There is a somewhat sloppy catchphrase at the bottom of folio 156v. A correction in a different hand appears at the bottom of the second column, near the end of chapter sixty-four. The correction adds the phrase "þei hate þe perþon." This restores the reading found in the editions of Bestul and Underhill. This indicates that a reader had access to another copy of Scala that provided the correction.

Some indecipherable marginalia occurs at the beginning of chapter seventy-five, perhaps to mark the passage (f. 159rb). An arrow points at a passage near the end of chapter eighty-two that precisely distinguishes between deadly and venial sin in the use of the senses and the imagination, presumably placed there by a reader plagued by scrupulosity (f. 159vb).

An arrow points at the final words of the text, which indicate that not everything in the book is for those in active life but some things pertain specifically to contemplatives. This clarification is in the context of instruction for readers to use the text as it best pertains to their own lives and as they can receive it from time to time "and not all at once." The final words of

Scala are then followed immediately by *Medled Lyf* (f.160vb).

8. ff. 160vb-162vb: Walter Hilton, *Medled Lyf* (IPMEP 147). Rubric: "HEre begynneþ a luytel Boke þat was writen to a worldly lord to teche hym hou he ſchuld haue hym in his ſtate in ordeynyng loue to god & to his euen criſtene." This three-line rubric that is also signaled by a decorated initial is followed by another decorated initial marking a table of contents listing twenty-eight chapters, though a description is not given for chapter twenty-eight, the exception in the table. (Hanna, IMEP XII lists twenty-eight chapters for *Medled Lyf* in V.) A quarter of a line of white space follows the rubric. The chapter numbers are rubricated. Incipit: "þe grace & þe goodnes of vr lord Iheſu þat he haþ ſchewed to þe in wiþdrawyng of þin hert from loue & likyng of worldly vanite. & vſe of fleſchly synnes & in turnyng of þi wylle enterly to his ſeruiſe & his pleaunce. bryngþ in to myn herte muche mater to loue hym in hys merci. and alſo hit ſtureþ me gretly forto ſtrengþe þe in þi goode purpos. . . ." Explicit: "þow ſchalt wilfully breke of whon tyme aþkeþ. 3e ſumtyme whon þou haþt moſt deuocion & were loþeſt for to leue hit. as whon hit paſſeþ reſonable tyme. or elles 3if hit turne to eni diſeſe of þin euencriſtene, But 3if þou do ſo; elles doſt þou not wiſliche as me þinkeþ. a worldly mon or a wommon þat feleþ not perauenture deuocion. . . ."

Notes: Though *Scala* has no table of contents in S, *Medled Lyf* does, as it also does in V. The incipit is marked by a gold-decorated intial of fourteen (or ten?) lines, the tail of which then joins the border and extends to the bottom of the page. A decorated border marks three sides of column "b" on folio 160v which contain the table of contents and the incipit. This border extends to frame the top and bottom of column "a" as well. Borders do not occur in the rest of *Medled Lyf*. Chapter headings are consistently marked with decorated initials and rubrication.

Care is taken to fill blank spaces with decoration. I noticed two minor exceptions.

Medled Lyf breaks off mid-sentence fifteen lines into Chapter xxvii. According to the medieval foliation, two leaves are missing at this point. Here a blank modern paper leaf is inserted.

9. ff. 163ra-164vb: *The Mirror of St. Edmund* (IPMEP 706). Incipit: ". . . waxen þeoſe ſeuene braunches. vnbuxumneſſe aʒeyn god & aʒeyn ſouerayn. þat is to ſiggen. leuen þat is commaundet. or don þat is defendet. þe ſecunde is auauntynge. whon a mon auaunteþ hym. of good þat he haþ of anoþer or of an vuel þat he haþ of hymſelf. þe þridde is ypocriſie. whon mon makeþ hym hauen good þat he haueþ nouʒt & hudeþ þe wikkedneſſe þat he haþ." Explicit: "And þerfore hit bihoueþ nede þat he of whom alle þinges ben. be beforen alle þinges & no þinge beforen hym. and ʒif no þinge were beforen hym; þen comeþ he not of anoþer þenne hedde he neuer bigynnyng ffor whi: þing þat is not. may not ʒiuen beoing to hym ſelf for to ben. and þerfore. . . ."

Notes: Both the beginning and end of this are missing. According to the medieval foliation, one leaf is missing at the end.

Initials precede blank spaces in the text, which seem to be spaces left for chapter rubrics that were never completed. Folio 163vb has notable borders similar to the initial page of *Medled Lyf*. This contains discussions of the Creed and the Pater Noster. Each of the seven petitions of the Pater Noster is given first in Latin and then in English before the following petition is given in the same form. The Pater Noster begins with a five-line gold-decorated initial and then each Latin petition begins with a slightly oversize one-line gold initial. The English petitions are preceded by one-line gold paraphs. This creates a cluster of gold decorations that draws the eye

to the Pater Noster.

A similar cluster of decorated initials and paraphs draws the eye to a precise explanation of each of the seven Latin petitions further down the column. Similar decorations dot the discussion of the Creed. Such gold initials are common in the prose of S but the extant pages of *The Mirror of St. Edmund* seem particularly studded with them. And the gold border marking the column of the Pater Noster with its two clusters of decorated initials and paraphs seems calculated to attract attention. Near the bottom of the last extant column is marginalia asking a question of the passage.

There is no rubrication in this text, but spaces are left blank after decorated initials that seem to introduce new sections. These often involve more than one line and sometimes sentences are written around these blanks, with a few per line leaving the rest blank, as if to leave room for rubrication. Compare the entry for *The Charter of the Abbey* below.

10. ff. 165ra-165va: *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (IPMEP 39). Incipit: ". . . oueral þat non ouer muchel ne ouer luytel: ete ne drynke. SOberneſſe Redeþ at the bord þe lyf of holy ffadres and techþ hem what lyf þei hadden in eorþe forto take good enfaumple to god as þei duden; and þus þorw such meede to wynne as þei haue. Pite is Pitaunceer þat doþ þe goode al þat heo may wiþ al hyr myzt. And merci hyr fufter ys aumener þat 3iueþ [a later hand has marred the last three letters] to alle & nouzt con holden to hyr self." Explicit: "doþ aftur þe counfeil of þe goode lady dyſcrecion. and 3iveþ ow to deuocion wiþ hertelyche preyere; in hope of godes help. and of his socoures And 3e schul be dilyuered þorw þe merci and þe grace of almizti god. and he vs hyt graunt þorw þe befechyng of hys deore moder Marye AMEN."

Notes: The beginning is missing. *Abbey* occupies one and a half folios in V; here it is a

half folio plus a half column. If there was rubrication in this text, none survives. Spaces are left blank after decorated initials that seem to introduce new sections, but these only involve part of a line, though sometime more than half of it. Compare the entry for *The Charter of the Abbey* below.

11. ff. 165va-168ra: *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (IPMEP 590). Rubric?: "ÞUs endeþ þe abbeye of þe holy goft; þat sette is in Conciencie in w3uch ben foundet; alle goode vertues and alle foule vices ben dreuen out and þus begynneþ þe Charite (there may be a faint tilde over Charite which would make it Charitre) of þe same abbeye of þe holygoft" Incipit: "Here ys a boke þat spekeþ of a place þat ys cleped þe Abbey of þe holigoft þe w3uch ſchulde be founded in clene Conciencie In w3uch abbey as þe boke telleþ; dwelleþ Nine and twenti goftlyche ladies among w3uch Charite is abbeſſe. wysdam prioreſſe. mekeneſſe ſubprioreſſe. þer is alſo pouert and clanneſſe. . . ." Explicit: ". . . þat is to ſeye; goode vertues in vre ſoules. þat we mou come to þat ioie and to þat blyſſe; þat ihesu criſt bouht vs to wiþ hys precious blood To þat ioie & blyſſe brynge vs he þat for loue of monnes ſoule dyꝛede on þe roode tre. Amen ffor Charite."

Notes: The British Library *Explore Archives and Manuscripts* catalogue notes that a "leaf is missing after f. 167"; a stub corroborates this, but the medieval foliation does not miss a number, indicating that this flaw existed from the beginning. In addition, though the stub is ruled, it does not appear to have had writing on it. Moreover, the text splits the word "prioreſſe" between folio 167vb and folio 168ra: the letters "pri" are on the first and "oreſſe" on the next folio, confirming that the stub does not indicate missing text.

Spaces are often left blank after decorated initials that seem to introduce new sections,

and several times these involve most of a line. On the other hand, sometimes these spaces in this text contain rubrics, though a number of these involve more than a line. (Compare *The Mirror of St. Edmund* above.) The beginning of *The Charter* is marked by a nine-line decorated initial with a blank space of a third of a line after the "AMEN" of *The Abbey*. The introductory words which we might expect to be rubricated are in black ink.

12. ff. 168ra-170vb: *The Spirit of Guy* (IPMEP 229). Rubric: "Here Begynneþ A Good tretis þat men clepeþ spiritu[s] Gwydonis." Incipit: "FOr as muche as seint Auſtin seiþ to Peter in þe bok of beleue. þat is a miracle what hei þing oþur vncoſtumable þing so comeþ ouer monnes ffaculte to þe ſtrengþing of vr feiþ. ffor whi: al þinges þat beoþ writen; beoþ writen to vr teching. þat we mouwe haue hope þorwe ſuffraunce and confort of writinges." Explicit: ". . . þe pope ſent þidere And fond not þe foreſeide ſpirit. ffor whi: men trouwen wel þat he is now in heuene To whuche heuene bring vs godes ſone þat liueþ and regneþ wiþ þe ffader & wiþ þe holygoſt. Amen."

Notes: There is a rubric beginning this text but it fills only about half the space allowed for it: the rest, involving three lines, is left blank. This is exceptional in the prose section of S. There is no table of contents and no further rubrication follows in the body of the text, though decorated initials are often accompanied by blank space, and these can involve most of a line. IPMEP does not take note of this text in S.

13. f. 170vb: "A Form of Confession" (IPMEP 309). Rubric: "Here is a good confeſſion. þat techeþ mon to ſaluacion How þat mon ſchal ſchriue hym here, And teche hym riȝt wel þe manere," Incipit: "I knowleche me gulti and zelde me to god almihti and to hys bleſſed Moder ſeint Marie & to al þe holy cumpanye of heuene an to þe my goſtliche ffader here in godes ſtude.

Of alle þe sunnes þat I. haue greuoufliche sunged inne ffrom þe tyme þat I. was bore; in to þis day. as in word. in werk. in wille. in þouʒt. in ſpeche. in delytyng and in dede doinge." Explicit: "Alſo I. cri god merci þat I. haue not worſchuped ffader & moder as I. ſchulde do wiþ goode prayers & almes dedes not byddyng¹³¹ for hem as I. ſchulde do I. cri god merci."

Notes: This is a fragment: it occupies a full folio in V but here four lines less than a column. The British Library *Explore Archives and Manuscripts* catalogue notes there is a leaf missing after folio 170. As noted above, at this point a modern hand has added the medieval foliation on the patch of the torn folio, and it skips a number here to reflect the missing folio.

About half the space allowed for the rubric is blank, and the white space involves five lines. Moreover, in this column, which is all that remains of the "Form of Confession," there are six more blank spaces involving part of a line, in one case most of it. One of these spaces is partly filled with a rubric.

14. ff. 171ra-172vb: *A Talking of the Love of God* (IPMEP 749). Incipit: ". . . my peſe in myn owne gultes. as his hedde be þe gult. mony tyme and ofte; wiþ ſturyng of my concience & preching of wiſe. wiþ hard wrake þat I. ſauʒ of oþur mennes synnes. wiþ biheſt of blis & vnimete mede þat holy writ vs byhat; ʒif we leten synne wiþ ʒiftes of grace bodilice & goſtliche anentes worldliche wele to don al my wille." Explicit: "A; Iheſu swetyng. were ys eny wepyng. where ys welle of teres to lauen on my leores. þat I. neuer bi day. ſtunte nor be nihte. nou I. ſeo þi feire lymes ſo reuþly I. dihte. þe blood of þi wondes ſpynges ſo breme. and ſtremeþ on þi

¹³¹ The first four letters are somewhat obscured: British Library transcribes "byggyng" but the last letter drops below the line while the middle letters do not and the last letter is formed differently.

white skyn. so reuþe to sene þi moder lokeþ þeron þat virgine clene; hyr serwe sitte þe sarre þen þin as ich wene. al now þei setten. . . ."

Notes: This is incomplete at the beginning and the end. It occupies about four folios in V. There is no rubrication in what remains of this work in S. On folio 171v are four blank spaces attending larger decorated initials but these are no more than a third of a line. On folio 172ra, a space of half a line attending a decorated initial is filled with decoration. IPMEP takes note of this in V but not in S. Hanna, *English Manuscripts* identifies this *Talking* with that in V (77).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Compare Part IV of Vernon which also contains the above texts in the same order, except for adding Hilton's "Qui habitat" and "Bonum est" after *Ego Dormio* and before *Scala*.

DIALECT: eLALME does not assign this an LP number nor a grid reference. It considers the language that of north Worcestershire and "essentially the same as that of the *Prick of Conscience* in Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng. poetr. [sic] a.1," the Vernon manuscript. They have analyzed Hand B which writes the *Prick of Conscience* in Simeon and refer to the analysis of Lewis and McIntosh, which unsurprisingly also assigns this to north Worcestershire. The LP number for this hand in V is 7630; Grid: 389 270; Worcestershire. This localisation is about halfway between Bromsgrove and Stourport-on-Severn near Elmley Lovett in north-central Worcestershire. It is about nine kilometres east of Stourport-on-Severn. Of course, the same hand writes the *Prick of Conscience* in both manuscripts and Hands A and C in Simeon have not been assessed. Analyzing these other hands might yield further insights for origins. See V.

ORIGINS: As noted under V, Kari Sajavaara cites Nita Scudder Baugh to the effect that V and S were "written in the same scriptorium" (432; cf. Baugh 42, 45). See there for further discussion.

FURTHER NOTES ON PROVENANCE: An alleged inscription on folio 91v that is now almost invisible, "scarcely legible even under ultra-violet light," according to Doyle, has drawn some attention. Doyle credits Hope Emily Allen with its discovery. The words were "subjected in 1932 to a chemical reagent to revive them" and "three members of the staff of the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum then concurred in reading "Joan boun." Doyle thus discusses the possibility that this was Joan Bohun and whether she owned the book. She was the daughter of the Earl of Arundel and wife of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton. Moreover, she was Archbishop Arundel's sister and one of her daughters married Henry Bolingbroke; consequently she was the grandmother of Henry V. By Doyle's account, both Joan Bohun and another of her daughters, married to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, are associated with collections of books. The latter bequeathed many books "to her daughter, a London Minoress" ("Survey" 2: 162-63; "Codicology" 21-22). Doyle states his ultimate conclusion thus: "She is certainly the sort of person for whom Simeon could have been completed or to whom it could have belonged, but the name (if such it is) is not well placed as a mark of ownership" ("Codicology" 22) He also notes that the Countess died in 1419 and was buried in Essex, so, if she ever possessed Simeon, it must have been soon after it was made (Survey" 2: 163-64). Though it is tempting to associate Simeon with the great family, the existing evidence hardly allows us to go beyond conjecture.¹³²

Another name is clearly legible at the bottom of the last extant column: "Awdri

¹³² The literature discusses the books of these women, for instance in Hanna ("Provenances"). While this is interesting, the connection Allen tried to draw between Simeon and the Bohuns has proved in the end too tenuous to allow an investigation of their books to advance the present assessment of the reception of *Scala*.

Norwood." As observed under V, a book belonging to the Cistercian John Northwood of Bordesley Abbey is related textually to V and S. Nita Scudder Baugh points out that Northwood and Norwood are essentially the same name and favours a theory that John Northwood was of the family of Northwoods from Coventry (18, 23). From this and because Northwood's miscellany and Simeon are affiliated, Kari Sajavaara speculates that Audrey Norwood may have belonged to the same family. She considers the hand "not much later" (439). The British Library, however, deems it to be from the "2nd half of the 16th century" (*Explore Archives; Digitised Manuscripts*). Gisela Guddat-Figge is aware of Baugh and Sajavaara and makes a similar suggestion regarding the connection of Northwood's miscellany and Simeon, in her discussion of Vernon; she proposes that Audrey Norwood's access to Simeon tends to support a connection between S and the miscellany (276-77).

Probably the most significant inscription in S is a memorandum under the first column and spilling over to the second column on folio 38r. It seems to record the commission of a priest Thomas Heneley for a scribe named John Scryveyn¹³³ to copy a section of the *Speculum vitae* of William of Nassyngton: "Memorandum quod Johannes Scryveyn scribet domino Thome Heneley tres quaternos vel quatuor & tria folia Et incipit ad ista verba in isto columine Opur

¹³³ That Scryveyn may well be a non-inherited professional surname is often noted.

Doyle's assessment is that, at this time, in a place as small as Lichfield inheriting the name is less probable than in London. He has identified a hand associated with a John Scryveyn of Lichfield in a number of documents that may in fact be the hand of Scryveyn himself. He also presents some evidence that there was probably only one person using this professional surname in the Lichfield area at this particular time. The hand that writes the memorandum in S is not the hand that Doyle believes may be Scryveyn's (Introduction 14).

dignite or benefys."¹³⁴ There is consensus that a parallel inscription in Vernon on folio 239v that identifies the same words in *Speculum vitae* but does not name Scryveyn or Heneley refers to the same transaction and that this conjunction means the manuscripts were in the same place when these inscriptions were made and thus in production. In 1936, Allen published a letter in the *Times Literary Supplement* that identifies these inscriptions and proffers suggestions for the identities of the two men ("Manuscripts"). Doyle later takes up the investigation, adding details to the account of these two individuals and to the analysis of what the memorandum implies and ultimately concluding that a commission to write only part of the *Speculum vitae* that begins mid-sentence must mean that this partial copy would be used to finish an uncompleted copy ("Survey" 2: 164-66; Introduction 13-14; "Codicology" 12-15). He also notes a similar further inscription about additional copying from Simeon at the bottom of folio 121v which is now "only partly legible even under ultra-violet light" ("Codicology" 13). Evidently, Simeon was being used as an exemplar in making further copies of texts.

Recently, Simon Horobin has added to the earlier research in the attempt to identify John Scryveyn of Lichfield: he has discovered ten more documents that are associated with Scryveyn besides those identified earlier. The Scryveyn documents associate him with Lichfield¹³⁵ as well

¹³⁴ Memorandum that John Scryveyn write Domino Thomas Heneley three quires of eight, or four, and three leaves. And begin at these words in this column Oþur dignite or benefys. The English words begin the second column on folio 38r. For help in expanding the Latin abbreviations and deciphering the faded and sometimes a bit hastily cursive script, I rely on Simon Horobin's transcription ("Scribes" 29).

¹³⁵ For instance, Doyle states that the hand in deeds associated with Scryveyn of Lichfield identified by Allen "resembles (though is distinguishable from) one of two hands in Oxford,

as with John Ondeby, a canon of Lichfield Cathedral. Moreover, in 1411, Ondeby made Scryveyn his attorney ("Scribes" 32-33). On the basis of this identification and evidence of the sort of endeavours and associations in which Scryveyn was involved "as a freelance scrivener carrying out legal work in the Lichfield area," Horobin makes a good case for the origins of Vernon and Simeon in an enterprise associated with Lichfield Cathedral. This includes, in particular, discussion of the associations of Scribe A in Vernon ("Scribes" 32 and *passim*).

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: The favourite proposal for the identity of Thomas Heneley is another canon of Lichfield, Thomas Hanley, who also held multiple other benefices, apparently, as Doyle observes, a beneficiary of royal or noble patrons ("Codicology" 14). Hanley does not seem to have been particularly conscientious in fulfilling his duties. Horobin explains that early in 1401, Canon John Outeby of the Cathedral Church of Lichfield,

 Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A. 389." He thinks the hand of the deeds may be Scryveyn's. He also notes that one of the two Rawlinson hands is "in two copies of the *Cursor Mundi* and two of the *Prick of Conscience*," which are written by the scribe known as the "Lichfield Master" ("Codicology" 14-15 and n. 24; Introduction 14). Doyle does not make a positive identification of the *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts but, from his references, I conclude they are London, British Library, MS Harley 1205 and Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS English 50. The latter is part of the Lichfield subgroup and the former the possible exemplar of that subgroup, discussed under Scribes in V. Rawlinson A.389 is discussed under Other Associated Texts in V. Horobin indicates that the Lichfield Master writes three manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience* ("Scribes" 30 n. 9). Two of those he identifies are those already named but he does not explain why he includes London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 57, which is part of the Lichfield subgroup but is not assigned to this scribe by Lewis and McIntosh, under no. MV 45.

St. Chad, writes a summons for Hanley to appear in Chancery if he cannot resolve a dispute with a clerk by Easter. Horobin adds that Hanley was also the dean of the royal free chapel at Tettenhall near Lichfield: here he was subjected to "an unprecedented three royal inquiries" because of neglect of spiritual and charitable responsibilities, ultimately resulting in the direct intervention of Henry IV in 1411 pressuring Hanley to do his duty. Hanley's response is to resign, as Horobin points out, and he is ultimately able to secure a replacement benefice that he may enjoy "in absentia." Oudeby is twice part of the commission that investigates the situation involving Hanley at Tettenhall, in 1399 and in 1411 ("Scribes" 34-35; cf. Doyle "Codicology" 14). Doyle remarks, "The contents of the *Speculum Vitae* and particularly the words quoted in S would therefore have had more than a little relevance to him" (Introduction 13).

Indeed, the passage to which the memorandum points is a discussion of three forms of hypocrisy, apparently graded, with the last, maybe the worst, being the subtle form. The memorandum points directly at this subtle form, which involves those who seek ecclesiastical honours, benefices, or other offices by appearing humble and worthy of high office. The discussion of this vice in the poem is plain and far less subtle than Doyle's oblique remark: when such a person gains the prize, he soon puts "his venym out," revealing his reptilian nature. The poem then bluntly recalls the teaching of Jesus about false prophets, wolves in sheep's clothing, who may be known by their fruit. One wonders why a priest such as Hanley, regularly under royal and judicial review for neglect of duty, would point at this passage and commission it to be written for him, unless of course his hypocrisy is even more subtle and devious than the worst envisioned by the *Speculum*. But, even then, to what end commission this piece, unless perhaps it is part of an insincere penance and further brazen duplicity to gain an office which may be enjoyed without the burden of duty? And why would he commission Scryveyn who clearly has

the confidence of one of those prosecuting the cases against him?

Perhaps the memorandum has been misconstrued. The Latin may be understood to mean that Scryveyn is to write the passage for or to Heneley in the sense that it will be presented to Henley as a rebuke of his hypocritical behaviour. Someone such as the prosecuting Ondeby may be commissioning a scribe, John Scryveyn, who in time became his attorney, to copy the section to be used against Heneley in the prosecution. The dates of the investigations at Tettenhall, particularly the earlier, fit well with the proposed date for the production of Simeon. Alternatively, one may conjecture that the right candidate for Heneley in S has not yet been identified, but the perfect match between the life of John Hanley and the rebuke of this passage tells in favour of another correct identification by Allen and Doyle.

NOTE: For a related discussion of manuscript texts, associated texts, dialect, manuscript origins, audience, and historical occasion, see entry for V.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*; British Library, *Digitized Manuscripts*; British Library, *Explore Archives and Manuscripts*; Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances*; [London, British Library, MS Additional 22283], *Digitized Manuscripts* (facsimile); *Manuscripts of the West Midlands: A Catalogue of Vernacular Manuscript Books of the English West Midlands, c. 1300 - c. 1475*.

Siglum: Sr

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Philadelphia

ARCHIVE: University of Pennsylvania Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Codex 218

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Stonor Park; Eng 8

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-25 (Lagorio and Sargent)

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves. 159 folios. 387 x 256 mm with a text space of 281 x 181 mm; the boards are 398 x 256 mm (Penn; cf. Zacour and Hirsch). It is written in two columns. The lines per column vary from about 41 to 45 (Penn; cf. Lewis and McIntosh with a similar range).

Scales I and II comprise ff. 1r to 77v. The codex is missing the initial quire and perhaps more than one at the end (Penn). HMC considers the loss of the first quire to be at least as early as the first half of the sixteenth century on the basis of dating the replacement quire signature, "A1," on folio 1 to that period. The facsimile demonstrates that decoration is unfinished with blanks for initials, though there is rubrication through to the end of the penultimate work. Chapter and book numbers are given in the top right of the rectos of folios, apart from those in the last item, but the chapters are not numbered at their beginnings in the text nor in the margin. The best resource is Penn; it includes a high definition online facsimile.

BINDING: The binding is medieval. Penn describes it as "[l]ate 15th-century calf, by the Virgin and Child binder, possibly active in Winchester" (also Lewis and McIntosh).

SCRIBES: The first hand writes from the beginning to folio 146v, the second from 147r to the end. There is a distinct break between hands: the script on folio 146v ends partway down the first column and the new hand begins at the top of 147r. The new hand commences a new item. There are also some differences of presentation in this new section, such as the lack of rubrication. Nevertheless, despite these distinctions, the collation given by Penn does not allow

for a quire break here, so this new section is not a booklet prepared by a second scribe, that was originally separate. Penn characterizes both hands as writing "early 15th-century Anglicana."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither in MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: There do not appear to be marks of ownership earlier than the seventeenth century; modern provenance is in Zacour and Hirsch, Penn, OPENN, and Maggs, with some information in HMC.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The contents are in the following order: both books of *Scala*, *Prickyng of Love* with its translation here ascribed to Hilton, *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, and *Prick of Conscience*. In this manuscript, which numbers the first works consecutively, *Scale II* is treated as a distinct item, so that the two books of *Scala*, *Prickyng of Love*, and *Contemplations* count as four items, despite modern tendencies to treat *Scala* as one book of two parts; for example, regularly the incipit of Book I is given with the explicit of Book II, as Penn does even in this instance. Book I of *Scala* is acephelous and *Prick of Conscience* is atelous. There is debate about whether Hilton translated *Prickyng*, though it seems more than possible (Lagorio and Sargent 3080-81).

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1ra-28ra: *Scale I*. Incipit: ". . . hym and louyn hym and zeuen hym hoolly þe worþhip without feynyng/ ffor oure lord aþkeþ be his prophete þus. . . ." Explicit: "Alfo þat I haue wretyn to þe þei longyn not alle to a man þat haþ actyf lyf: but to þe or to anoþer whiche haþ ſtate of lyf contemplatyf/ þe grace of oure lord ihesu be with þe. Amen." Rubric: "Explicit primus liber///"
2. ff. 28ra-b: Prologue. Heading: "QVi timetis domini pusilli et magni laudate eum." Incipit:

"þat is. 3e þat dredyn god boþe ʃmale and grete þankeþ hym. Be grete arn vndirʃtondyn ʃoulyſ þat arn parfitynge in grace. or elles parfityn in þe loue of god. . . ." Explicit: ". . . mekyn hem vndyr þe ʃacramentis and þe lawes of holy chirche: mad ʃaaf þorw þe prayer and þe trouthe of hir goʃtly modyr þat is holy chirche:/"

ff. 28rb-29va: Table of Contents. Incipit: "ÞAt man is seyde þe ymage of god aftyr his ʃoule and nought aftyr his body." Explicit: "46. how be þe ʃelue lyght of grace þe bliʃſed angelis kynde may be ʃeen and how ihesu as man abouyn alle creaturis and as god aftyr þat þe ʃoule may ʃeen hym here."

ff. 29va-77vb: *Scale II*. Rubric: "ÞAt man is ʃeyd þe ymage of god aftyr his ʃoule and not aftyr his body. I.capitulum." Incipit: "FOR als mekyl as þou coueitift gretly and aʃkiʃt it pur charite for to heryn more of an ymage þe whiche I haue before tymys. . . ." Explicit: "þis is þe voys of ihesu of þe whiche dauid seiþ þus. Vox domini preparantis ʃeruos et reuelabit condenʃa et in templo eius omnis dicent gloriam. Ad quam nos perducatur qui sine fine viuit et regnat Amen:/"

Notes: The transcription is my own, from the online facsimile. *Scale I* begins near the end of Chapter 20 in Thomas H. Bestul's version (Hilton 53). The ending of *Scale II* is a variation on the usual short ending in the several manuscripts where this occurs. Helen Gardner is not aware of Sr and so does not discuss it in her remarks on this issue. S. S. Hussey adds a further manuscript with the short ending to the list discussed by Gardner, but he also does not comment on Sr in his discussion of the matter ("Text" 81). Michael G. Sargent summarizes these findings by Gardner and Hussey on the short ending and, to my knowledge, does not add further short-ending texts or discussion ("Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 191; "Organic" 219).

As Gardner points out, the usual short ending is "bis is ꝑe voys of ihesu" ("Text" 16). This scribe adds the passage from Psalm 28:9 in the Vulgate and the bridge to it that normally stands here in the longer versions of *Scale II*. In L, which has the longer ending, only the first half of verse 9 appears, ending at the word "*condensa*" (Hilton, Bestul ed. 261); Underhill's edition, based on H, also only gives the first half of verse 9 as does Gardner's full quotation of the longer ending (Hilton 464; Gardner, "Text" 16). The Stonor scribe finishes the verse, however, which ends on the word "*gloriam*."

This word gives the scribe or a predecessor the opportunity to create another ending for the book, which now reads, "and in his temple all say glory, to which may he bring us who lives and reigns without end, Amen." It is not easy to explain how this variation of the short ending of *Scale II* came about. The usual curtailed ending is early: it appears in H5 which is from the early fifteenth century. If the recension with the short ending predates Sr and descends from an exemplar that concluded where the usual extant short text ends, then it would seem that the scribe who created the Sr ending had access to both the long and short versions of the text, because there is nothing in the preceding text of *Scale II* that could help predict a quotation of Psalm 28:9. Moreover the bridge from the word "ihesu" to the verse is a verbatim quotation of the form of the text in L. If, however, the scribe had access to the longer version, it is difficult to understand why the text was not finished. If, on the other hand, only the long version was accessible, one is in a quandary to explain why Sr ends at about the same place as the end of the usual shorter text.

Perhaps what we have in these two versions of the short ending is the trace of an early exemplar that ended near the end of or just beyond the biblical quotation because of a lost last

leaf. To end a text on the words *reuelabit condensa* or "He schal schewe thikke"¹³⁶ is most unsatisfactory and dense. Ending a few phrases earlier after the words, "þe voys of ihesu" is much more satisfactory. That would have been one straightforward choice a scribe had in encountering such an ending. Another would have been to do what the Sr scribe does.

Indeed, there is a third version of this short ending noticed by Gardner. She in fact first suggests that the loss of a final leaf caused the short ending, observing at the same time that As ends as follows: "þis is þe voys of ihesus. þis is þe abbaye of þe holigost þat is founded in a place þat is clepid þe conscience." Gardner suggests that this variation resulted from an exemplar where the short ending of *Scale II* was followed by *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* though acknowledging such a manuscript has not been found ("Text" 16). The ending of As is apt in its context, however, and it seems possible that someone familiar with *The Abbey* simply created a more satisfactory ending, as perhaps happened with Sr in another form.

Gardner contends that, since the words "þis is þe voys of ihesu" fall mid-sentence in the long version, the short ending was a subtraction rather than the long ending an addition. Her argument is not conclusive, because what follows the words "þis is þe voys of ihesu" begins an addition to the idea that precedes and could easily have been added later. Her point is strengthened however by the evidence in Sr: the mutilated text apparently did not end at the words "þis is þe voys of ihesu"; it seems to have ended so unsatisfactorily as to propagate more than one attempt to end with Jesus in a temple of glory rather than in dense thickets.

A further notable feature of Sr is its prologue. After the brief definition of the spiritually great, recorded in the transcription above, this addition to *Scala* discusses the spiritually small,

¹³⁶ Hilton translates the first half of verse 9 thus: "The voys of oure Lord Jhesu greithynge hartis, and He schal schewe thikke" (Bestul ed. 261)

those with small knowledge of and feeling for God, children of the church still in their minority who continue to be nourished by the milk of the sacraments. For these the church nevertheless tenderly cares and prays. The writer gives assurance that such simple souls who find themselves somewhat alien from the fervent devotion of the spiritually great will be kept safe by the prayers of the church if they fully trust God's mercy and submit to the sacraments and laws of the church. Between the two books of *Scala* is a remarkable place to put such an assurance.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Sr does not appear to be a particularly close congener of other manuscripts in either *Scale I* or *Scale II*. Dorward does place *Scale I* in Sr in a subgroup with H2 and J, noting however that the agreement of Sr with the others was only occasional. Bliss places different parts of the Sr *Scale I* in distinct groups (Sargent, "Editing" 515-16, 518, 522). Sargent characterizes *Scale II* in Sr as "unexpanded" ("Numbers" 233).

DIALECT: eLALME: Hand A, that of *Scala*, LP number: 559; Grid: 541 282; Ely. Hand B, that of the *Prick of Conscience*, LP number: 551; Grid: 535 317; Lincolnshire. The latter is about thirty kilometres northeast of Peterborough near Holbeach St. Johns; it is about fifty-five kilometres north-northwest of Ely.

ORIGINS: Little external information is available apart from its localisation to Ely, but see Analysis and Interpretation.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: Because of its apparent independence textually and since it appears to be from Ely, an early centre of distribution of *Scala* as well as an early residence of Hilton, one wonders whether this is a witness to an early form of the text, particularly of *Scale II*, that is otherwise extinct. This suspicion is somewhat strengthened by the unusual form of its short conclusion, which is a witness to an ending that apparently predates the more usual variant, which we have seen is early. The quite early dating of Sr lends further

support to this conjecture. It is of course possible that Sr is a bit later than another of the short-ending manuscripts such as H5, though the date of H5 and the dates of none of the others categorically require this. And Sr may have other anomalies that were alterations of the text occurring later than after an abruptly ending manuscript which is the original of this shorter form of *Scale II*. It may yet be a witness to an otherwise unavailable early form of *Scale II*.

Despite A. I. Doyle's suggestion that Sr was "designed for communal religious reading ("Survey" 1: 252), the contents of this apparently unitary compendium of texts suggest it was intended for a lay audience. In such a scenario, its size indicates family or household reading in an aristocratic home.¹³⁷ According to Lagorio and Sargent, *Contemplations of the Love and Dread of God* is "addressed primarily to lay readers." It teaches how to live a good life rather than making the perfection cultivated in contemplation its goal (3086). *The Prickyng of Love* contains nine chapters that set out "affective meditations" in the Franciscan tradition and includes teaching on the mixed life (Lagorio and Sargent 3081).

The Prologue to *Scale II* in this manuscript is clearly sympathetic to the somewhat daunting nature for a lay individual of the contemplative teaching in *Scale II* and provides reassurances of spiritual safety in the church and its sacraments in the face of potential discouragement a lay reader may face in the book. This complements the ending of *Scale I* which immediately precedes the prologue. There lay readers may be encouraged by Hilton's advice not to worry about aspects of the text they find less than helpful coupled with the suggestion that his words "longyn not alle to a man þat haþ actyf lyf." Lay readers are free to read this to mean that they may choose what is to their benefit, even though admittedly there are contemplative considerations in the text, and leave to contemplatives to glean from the more

¹³⁷ See V under Audience for further discussion.

advanced facets.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lewis and McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience* (124-25); Maggs Brothers, *Manuscripts of Asia, Africa, and Europe* (Maggs; 45); "OPENN: Ms. Codex 218 Four English Devotional Works" (OPENN); *Penn in Hand: Selected Manuscripts* (Penn); [Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, MS Codex 218], *Penn in Hand: Selected Manuscripts* (facsimile); Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, "A Manuscript in the Library of the Right Honourable Lord Camoy" (RCHM; 33); Norman P. Zacour and Rudolph Hirsch, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800* (50; listed under "Eng. 8").

Siglum: St

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Clitheroe, Lancashire, UK

ARCHIVE: Stonyhurst College

SHELF-MARK: MS A.vi.24

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Sixteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). RCHM considers it written in the fifteenth century. MMBL puts it in the first half of the sixteenth, while A. I. Doyle appears to waver between the two dates ("Survey" 1: 252 and n. 22).

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Paper leaves. 133 (RCHM) or 135 (MMBL) folios. 198 x 132 mm with a text space of 127 x 84 mm at 18 lines per page in one column in the first six quires, 21 lines in the next two, and 23 in the last two (MMBL).

While Lagorio and Sargent state that *Scale I* comprises ff. 1r to 135v, MMBL records the

explicit on folio 133v and states that the last two folios are blank. According to MMBL, this is a plain manuscript with basic decoration in red; headings, including the numbers, are omitted after chapter ten. A notable feature is that the Latin is in red, by which I presume MMBL means the Latin biblical quotations that pepper *Scala*. Especially in the absence of chapter headings, this would highlight the biblical citations, making Hilton's remarks on specific passages eminently identifiable for anyone wishing to use *Scala* as a biblical reference work or commentary. MMBL gives a good basic description.

BINDING: Nineteenth-century binding.

SCRIBES: MMBL proposes this may be in one hand, using what it calls "secretary."

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: The name "S. George" appears on the first folio. MMBL states this is a reference to the Jesuit St. George "residence" in Worcester.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The book contains only *Scale I*.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-6v: Table of Contents. Incipit: "Off the ynnere beyng of man how it shulde be lyke vnto the vtter Capitulum i." Explicit: "that it was made to." The table is in 92 chapters. Folio 14r-v contains a repeat of the first 19 chapter headings, according to MMBL, in the same hand but with verbal alterations. Because the last words of folio 1v overlap with the first words of folio 2r, apparently folio 2r had been begun before folio 1v was completed, leading MMBL to consider folio 14 to be the original folio 1. The words ending folio 14v are a match for those beginning folio 2r. The first quire is in fourteen (MMBL). It thus appears that the first sheet of this quire was reversed after its first half had been written and the original last half was then used as folio 1

and the original first half became folio 14.

ff. 7r-13v; 15r-133v: *Scale I*. Incipit: "O Gostely syster in Ihesu criste I pray the that in the callyng which our Lorde callyd hath the to His service thou holde the payed. . . ." Explicit: ". . . state of lif contemplatif. The grace of oure lord Ihesu crist be with the Amen Deo Gracias."

Note: The transcription is from MMBL, except that I complete the textual incipit from RCHM.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: St does not appear to have close textual congeners: Bliss puts it independently in a group of twelve others (Sargent, "Editing" 516, 518). A. I. Doyle associates St with Lt as both "plain copies . . . of the same type" ("Survey" 1:252). Bliss, however, does not find St textually related to Lt.

DIALECT: eLALME does not localise St, commenting, however, that the dialect is "clearly NE Midland" but "probably mixed."

ORIGINS: See below.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: A dialectal characterisation of the northeast Midlands of course reminds us of Hilton's residence in Nottinghamshire. MMBL does not note any ascription or title in this manuscript. Another untitled, unscribed plain copy of *Scale I* alone and not part of a miscellany in the northeast Midlands reminds us of the affiliational group of Lt, Ry, and T2, texts that probably belonged to religious. The highlighting of biblical quotations making *Scale I* a potential reference work suggests the pastoral concerns of a religious cleric such as an Austin canon, a Nottinghamshire member of Hilton's order. The address to a "Ghostly syster" of course does not fit a religious cleric. Nonetheless, while the form of address in *Scala* is a hint at original owners, without further indications of female readership, it is not sufficient evidence in and of itself to rule out a cleric. Moreover, the address to a "sister" in T2 and Lt

indicate a recension with this form in this area. See Lt, Ry, and T2.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ker, MMBL (4: 403); Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, "The Manuscripts in the Library of Stonyhurst College" (RCHM; 146).

Siglum: T

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Cambridge

ARCHIVE: Trinity College

SHELF-MARK: MS B.15.18

OTHER IDENTIFIER: James 354

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1475-1500 (Lagorio and Sargent). The date given by James Grenehalgh in the colophon is 1499 and Robinson concludes that the main scribe, Robert Benet, did his work not long before.

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves (James). 120 folios numbered i-iv and 1-116. The collation of James accords with this total number of folios. The size is 274 x 195 mm (10 7/8 x 7 3/4 inches), with a text space according to Robinson of 174 x 120 mm, in one column of 36-38 lines.

Scales I and II comprise ff. iir to 115r (Lagorio and Sargent). James says the table of contents begins on f. 1, but Mooney's account concurs with Lagorio and Sargent.

BINDING: James notes the binding contains a bit of a fourteenth-century theological manuscript.

SCRIBES: The main scribe Robert Benet, who writes an Anglicana hand, had been

procurator of the Sheen Charterhouse; according to Robinson, he was later prior of Beauvale in Nottinghamshire and died in 1518. Robinson's plates demonstrate that James Grenehalgh, also of Sheen, writes the last sixteen lines and a Latin colophon identifying Benet and himself that ends with the date 1499 and the monogram of Grenehalgh, "IAG." I concur with James that the manuscript is neatly written. The scribe makes some corrections of his own.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Sheen, Charterhouse of Jesus of Bethlehem; "evidence from an inscription of ownership by an individual member of a religious house" (Ker, MLGB and MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: Besides Grenehalgh, who identifies himself in the colophon and annotates the book throughout, the name "Henry Brereton" appears on folio 115v twice, first in a cursive hand. Robinson dates this inscription to the end of the sixteenth century. It also seems possible that Benet as procurator wrote this book for himself in the first instance. George Willmer donated the book to Trinity College. James, in his preface, lists Willmer, who died in 1626, as the third major donor of manuscripts to Trinity. James adds that many of the thirty-nine Willmer manuscripts were from Canterbury.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The only texts are *Scale I* and *II*, annotated "in the hand of James Grenehalgh (professed 1495)" (Ker, MLGB; cf. Robinson).

Scala Text:

1. ff. iir-ivr: Table of Contents for *Scale I* (see Manuscript Description for foliation details).
 Rubric: "Here folowith þe chapitowres of þe firſte boke of walter hilton þe which is callid Scala perfeccionis þat is to ſey þe ladder of perfeccion." Incipit: "That þe ynnere hauyng of mannys ſoule ſhuld be like to þe vtter. Capitulum primum." Explicit: "The cauſe whi þis boke was made.

and how ſche ſhulde haue her in redynge þer of þat it was made to. Capitulum lxxxiiij." Rubric: Her enden the chapitours of þe firſt boke."

ff. ivv-48v: *Scale I*. Rubric: "Here begynnyth þe firſt boke That þe ynner havyng of mannys ſowle ſhulde be like to þe vttir. Capitulum primum." Incipit: "[fol. 1r] GOſtli ſuſtir in ihesu criſt I pray þe þat in þe callyng which oure lorde hath callid þe to his ſeruice þu hold þe paide and ſtond ſtedfaſtli þerin traueilyng biſily with all þe myghtis of þi ſowle bi grace of ihesu criſt for to fulfill in ſothfaſtnes of good lyving þe ſtate which þu haſt take in likneſſe and in ſemyng. . . ." Explicit: "Alſo þeſe wordes þat I write to þe. þei longen not all to a man which hath actife life but to þe or to a noþer which hath þe ſtate of contemplatife life. The grace of oure lorde ihesu criſt be with þe now and euer AmeN." Rubric: "Explicit liber primus." Note: The initial rubric of the *Scale I* text itself is two-thirds of the way down the page on folio ivv, a page that is otherwise blank.

2. ff. 48v-50v: Table of Contents for *Scale II*. Rubric: "Incipit tabula libri ſecundi." Incipit: "That a man is þe ymage of god aftir þe ſoule and not aftir the body." Explicit: "How bi þe ſame light of grace þe bleſſed aungels kinde may be ſeen. and how ihesu is god and man aboue all creatures aftir þat þe ſoule may ſee hym here. Capitulum xlvj." Rubric: "Here enden þe chapitours of þe ſecunde booke." Note: The table is partially numbered in a later hand except for the last last three chapter headings beginning at the top of folio 50v where the ſcribal hand rubricates chapter numbers within the text. A marginal correction to the last chapter heading is written in a later hand.

ff. 50v-115r: *Scale II*. Rubric: "Þat a man is þe ymage of god aftir þe ſoule and not aftir þe body. Capitulum primum." Incipit: FOr aſmyche as þou coueitift gretly and aſkiſt it for charite forto

here more of þat ymage þe whiche y haue before tymes in partie deſcried to þe. . . ." Explicit:
 "And thei ben called now gracyouſe felynges. And I do but touche hem a litell for wyſſyng of the
 foule. ffor a foule þat is clene ſtired by grace to the vſe of thys werkyng: may ſee moore in an
 howre of ſuche ghoſtly mater: þan myght be wretyn in a greyte boke." Colophon: "et ſic finitur
 liber Venerabilis Walteri Hylton ſummi contemplatiui Cuius ffoeliciſſimus obitus fuit in Vigilia
 Intemerate Aſſumptionis Intemerate Virginis Dei Genetricis Sancte Marie Anno domini M. CCC.
 lxxxxv. Scriptus quidem eſt hoc opus Per Benet quondam Procuratorem in Carthufia De Schene
 ſuper Tamifiam Quod Grenehalgh Eiuſdem Domus profeſſus Indigna manu ſua In ffeſto
 Relliquiarum feria 6a. ſero. 1499. IAG" ("Intemerate" does occur twice, as transcribed).¹³⁸

Notes: I transcribe from the digital facsimile and consult Mooney where she has published transcriptions. I rely on Mooney with respect to expansion of Latin abbreviations, where I also consult Robinson and MLGB3. The first scribe ends his work on folio 114v. James observes that on folio 116r a Latin proverb is written with its Middle English translation in a sixteenth-century hand, as follows: "In modio rendi non est vola plena ſciendi. In A buſſhell of Trowynge ys not one handfull of Knowynge." A Latin inscription of six lines follows at the top

¹³⁸ "And this completes the book of the Venerable Walter Hylton, high contemplative, whose felicitous death occurred on the Vigil of the Immaculate Assumption of the Immaculate Virgin Mother of God Saint Mary A.D. 1395. This work is written by Benet erstwhile Procurator of the Carthusian house at Sheen upon Thames. To which Grenehalgh, professed at the same house, put his unworthy hand on the Feast of Relics holiday, late on the 6th. 1499. IAG." Despite the record in this manuscript, S. S. Hussey explains that several of the Latin manuscripts give the date as the vigil of the Feast of the Annunciation, that is on March 24, 1395/6 and that Grenehalgh is here clearly mistaken ("Latin and English" 458).

of folio 116v. See Further Notes on Provenance below.

The text of *Scale I* begins with an eight-line initial in blue, black, and red as well as red pen-work that extends the full length of the borders at the top and left. The table begins with a three-line blue and red initial with some red pen-work. Chapter headings are indicated by three-line blue initials with red pen-work and rubricated and numbered headings. Latin biblical quotations are underlined in red and the biblical reference is usually given in the margin and also underlined in red. The first page of *Scale I* has red paraphs and thereafter red and blue paraphs alternate. Capital letters are regularly reddened, although, in the initial folios, the ink used for this has faded and yellowed. The decoration is complete and this is a handsome, well-executed volume. Robinson notices various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hands throughout in the margins, besides that of Grenehalgh, correcting, glossing, or adding notes. This would appear to be a fair assessment. Some corrections are also inserted within the text. On the initial folio of the table for Book I, a stylized "I" followed by a stylized "S" appear in the bottom margin. These would seem to be the initials of Johanna Sewell.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Paul J. Patterson states that two other copies of *Scala* besides T were held at Sheen, the Latin text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. theol. e. 26 and a Wyndyn de Worde print, now Rosenbach Foundation, Inc. H491 (142).

In 1927, Hope Emily Allen cited Margaret Deanesly as the discoverer, in 1915, of the monograms of Joanna Sewell of Syon and James Grenehalgh of Sheen in a "black-letter *Scale of Perfection*" (Rosenbach print) as well as in Rolle manuscripts (*Writings* 50, 216-17, 321). Allen notes that some manuscripts have their combined monogram and identifies T as containing writing by Grenehalgh (*Writings* 216-17). Since then further manuscripts and books have been discovered with these monograms or annotations by Grenehalgh or both.

Such manuscripts containing *Scala* are Ch, T, and London, British Library, MS Harley 6576 (Latin *Scala* text), besides the print Rosenbach *Scale*. Manuscripts with other contents and monograms or notes by Grenehalgh or Sewell are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 137; Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 35 (containing Rolle); Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 221; Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 396; London, BL MS Additional MS 24461 (containing Rolle); London, BL MS Additional 37790 (Amherst); London, BL MS Harley 2373; London, BL MS Royal 5 A.v; London, BL MS Royal 8 A.vii; London, BL printed book IA.55141; Oxford, Bodleian MS Additional A.44; Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 262 (Allen, *Writings* 215-17; Colledge 60; MLGB 178 n. 6; Sargent, "Transmission" 234 n. 3; cf. MLGB3, search on Grenehalgh).

Michael G. Sargent describes Grenehalgh as having his origins in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, probably in the village of Grenehalgh in Lancashire ("Transmission" 229, 237). He was professed at Sheen in 1495, according to Eric Colledge, while Sewell was professed at Syon in 1499 and died in 1532 (60). By 1508 Grenehalgh had returned to his home diocese, to Coventry and its house of Saint Anne, dying in 1529/1530 in the Kingston-upon-Hull Charterhouse (Sargent, "Transmission" 229). Sargent interprets a comment in Grenehalgh's colophon to the Rosenbach print, H491, to mean Grenehalgh believed Hilton's origins lay in the same region as his own ("Transmission" 237). Colledge remarks that Grenehalgh and Sewell between them copied or possessed "texts of almost all the important mystical writings circulating in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century, including *The Cloud of Unknowing*, *The Scale of Perfection*, the *Incendium Amoris*, and many others" (61). It is of interest that V and S, early manuscripts, originate linguistically in an area near Coventry and that some propose connections to Lichfield for them. Both these manuscripts thus have connections to

Grenehalgh's home diocese and contain Rolle and Hilton, authors in whom Grenehalgh had a significant interest, engaging for instance at length with *Scala*.

That is, Sargent has shown that Grenehalgh compared and annotated London, British Library, MS Harley 6576, a Latin *Scala*, and the Rosenbach print as well as T and the Rosenbach. In addition, he compared E and, in at least one instance, Ch ("Grenehalgh" 330, 345-47, 349-50). Moreover, Sargent's analysis indicates that Grenehalgh also compared the Rosenbach with a text like L or the derivative P or B3; L and P would have been available to him in London. By contrast, Grenehalgh does not use H even though it was available to him at the London Charterhouse ("Grenehalgh" 350-52, 358; "Editing" 514, 518, 522).

Helen Gardner grouped T with E, H, L, and U because they have the longest version of the *Scale I* text, with both the Holy Name passage and the Christo-centric passages. At the same time, she observed that As, H, H5, Ld, and T have the shorter ending of Book II (missing at their first writing about 158 words); in H and T a later hand (Grenehalgh in T) has added the omitted lines ("Text" 16-17). Although Gardner does not remark on it, her record of texts with shortened *Scale II* endings does not coincide with her grouping of manuscripts on the basis of *Scale I*: of short-ending *Scale II* manuscripts, H and T also have the longest form of Book I, but As and H5 do not have the Holy Name passage and Ld is missing that plus the Christo-centric expansions.¹³⁹

Gardner had earlier pointed out that As and H5 belonged to Syon Abbey while T belonged to Sheen and H to the London Charterhouse, three interconnected houses ("Walter Hilton" 133-34). While these four Carthusian / Bridgettine books all have the shorter ending of Book II, Gardner focussed her assessment on Book I and suggested that the Christo-centric

¹³⁹ Sargent also notes this issue in passing, labelling it a "contradiction" ("Walter Hilton's *Scale*" 191).

expansions "emanated from either Syon or Sheen." This proposal is partly based on her conclusion that T, H, L and possibly E with the longest form of the text plus As and H5, the only two manuscripts with the Christo-centric additions but without the Holy Name passage, have London affiliations ("Text" 26-28; cf. 17). She also sees that the corrections made to H closely parallel T and on another basis makes a somewhat tenuous connection between Grenehalgh and H ("Text" 19); Sargent's later textual analysis indicates that Grenehalgh did not at any rate compare H to T (see above).

Sargent's assessment, based on S. S. Hussey, suggests that the textual relations of Book I and those of Book II are somewhat independent of one another and further that the short-ending manuscripts of Book II seem not all to be closely related on textual grounds though they do all fall within one of two larger groupings ("Transmission" 235; cf. "Editing" 522 fig. 9).¹⁴⁰ The independent textual histories of Books I and II may help explain why Gardner's grouping of the longest-text version of Book I does not coincide with her account of the manuscripts with a short-ending Book II.

Since Gardner's work, more *Scala* manuscripts have been discovered. Further, Sargent describes how sophisticated textual collations have been conducted. These developments have revised Gardner's account of the expansions, and the emphasis on Christo-centric additions and the Holy Name passage has receded. Instead, Rosemary Dorward discerned in Book I a two-stage expansion, at a minimum. The first stage is represented by the expanded H plus

¹⁴⁰ While Sargent does cite S. S. Hussey's conclusions to the effect that Books I and II have independent textual histories, he also expresses some hesitation about those conclusions and proposes that they call for continuing analysis ("Organic" 228-29; "Editing" 521, but cf. *passim*).

manuscripts As, H5, T, and the Rosenbach print. The representatives of the second are B3, E, L, P, U, and occasionally Wo. P and B3 are derivative of L ("Editing"; for Dorward's two-stage expansion, see 515).

Though the account of the relationships has changed, Gardner's sense that As, H, H5, and T are textually related in Book I is sustained, as well as her perception of a textual relation among E, L, and U in Book I. While more manuscripts with expanded texts of *Scale I* have been discovered, Sargent remarks that manuscripts with expansions tend to originate in an area centred approximately on Ely and Cambridge as well as another area including London and its immediate environs to the west, northwest, and southwest ("Numbers" 231). This area is centred on Sheen and Syon. Ely and Cambridge in addition to Sheen and Syon are known centres for the fifteenth-century dissemination of *Scala*. Sargent's assessment confirms Gardner's sense of the London area as a locus of expansions to the text. Nevertheless, according to Sargent, some of the manuscripts Gardner assumed originated in London were probably produced elsewhere ("Numbers" 231), eroding somewhat the idea of a Carthusian or Bridgettine source for the expansions. With respect to Book II, however, Sargent concludes that T is probably not part of a closely related subgroup and is rather an independent witness of its textual tradition ("Editing" 526, 532). Despite these modifications to Gardner's earlier analysis, that the textually-related *Scale I* of As, H, H5, and T corresponds in these manuscripts to a short-ending *Scale II* and that these all have a Carthusian or Bridgettine provenance (though not always such an origin) is still significant. (See As for more on this discussion.)

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 5750; Grid: 514 167; Surrey.

ORIGINS: Robert Benet wrote this manuscript, most probably at the Sheen Charterhouse. The dialect localises it just south of Sheen.

FURTHER NOTES ON PROVENANCE: James notes a Latin inscription on the last page dated 24 March 1595 that identifies the Church of St. Giles near the Gate of St. Giles in Norwich; the date corresponds to the dating of the inscription of "Henry Brereton" (see Owners Marks above). If this manuscript was in Norwich at the end of the sixteenth century but if it was also eventually among Willmer's Canterbury books, it could not have been in Canterbury more than about a quarter of a century, since Willmer died in 1626.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: [Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.18], *The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* (facsimile); Montague Rhodes James, *James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* (James); Linne R. Mooney, IMEP XI; P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*. References to James in this entry are to the online version of his catalogue: *James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*. In his preface, James lists three other appearances of Trinity College manuscripts in earlier catalogues: two manuscript entries in Thomas James's *Ecloga Oxonio–Cantabrigiensis*, a bare listing in Bernard's *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, and Dr. Schenkl's *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica*, which contains minimal entries in the case of "mediaeval authors."

Siglum: T2

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Cambridge

ARCHIVE: Trinity College

SHELF-MARK: MS O.7.47

OTHER IDENTIFIER: James 1375

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). Early fifteenth century (Sargent, "Bishops" 167).

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 95 folios. 184 x 117.5 mm (7 1/4 x 4 5/8 inches) (James). Written at 29 lines per page.

Scale I comprises ff. 1r to 77v. Ff. 83v-86v are blank apart from a brief inscription in a later hand involving John Allman on f. 84r and an added title for the work that follows on f. 86v.

BINDING: Original vellum wrapper (Sargent). The digital images of the covers in the facsimile look suspiciously as if they are made of inexpensive modern pasteboard. Sargent may rather be referring to the sheet the leaf of which precedes folio one, which, from its dilapidated condition, does look as if it could be an original wrapper.

SCRIBES: Mooney thinks one scribe writes the whole manuscript. The hand is somewhat careless. Sargent believes the scribe of the final piece is different from that of the first two. The two hands are very similar but it may be possible to distinguish them.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: Mooney records that formerly blank folio 84r has a "note of ownership" of a nature that indicates to her that John Allman "Possibly owned" the codex at the end of the fifteenth century or in the sixteenth. The James Catalogue states it was donated to Trinity College in 1738 by Roger Gale.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Mooney identifies three texts in the following order: *Scale I*; a five-folio piece instructing "the female religious novice" (Jolliffe H.26; O.38); and "Tractatus Quomodo Temptationes sunt Evadendae" (Jolliffe K.4) occupying the last nine folios. Jolliffe

lists no other instance of the former text and only one other for the latter.¹⁴¹ Mooney concludes that *Scale I* is run together with the instructions to the novice separated only by a "large red initial." James indeed is uncertain whether these are two distinct works though Sargent also distinguishes them. It should be noted that, while Mooney's assessment is probable, some features of the text might support a different account: *Scale I* ends at the bottom of folio 77v in an almost full line of text and the next text begins immediately, but at the top of the next page with a red initial. The page break could suggest a new text. In addition, the pattern of alternating red and blue two-line initials that had earlier been established for chapter breaks is broken here with the repetition of a red initial, this time three lines, rather than the expected blue. As Mooney states, someone has written the title to the third piece on the once blank folio 86v: this final work originally had no title.

Scala Text: Scale I.

1. ff. 1r-4r: Table of Contents for *Scale I*. Rubric: "Capitula libri subfequentis." Incipit: "Þat þe innere hauyng of man shulde be like vnto þe vtre capitulum primum. . . ." Explicit: "Here is tolde þe cauße whi þis boke was made and sho shal haue hyr in þe reding þat it was made to. Capitulum XCI."

ff. 4r-77v: *Scale I*. Incipit: "GOftly sifter in ihesu crißt I preye ye þat in þe calling whilk oure lorde has called þe to his seruice þou holde þe payed and stande ftedfastly þerin traueiland beþily with all þe mightes of þi saule be grace of ihesu crißte for to fulfille in sothfastnes of gode liuing þe fstate whilke. . . ." Explicit: "Also þiße wordes þat I write to þe þei longe noght alle to a man whilke has actife life but to þe or til anothinge þat has þe fstate of life contemplatife. þe grace of oure lorde ihesu crißte be with þe Amen."

¹⁴¹ Neither text seems to be in IPMEP.

Notes: I transcribe from the digital facsimile and consult Mooney in places where she has published transcriptions. The original manuscript had no title but Mooney observes that this has been added later on folio 1r. The facsimile reveals that this is not in fact the folio numbered "1" but that which precedes it. As already noted, one suspects from its dilapidated appearance that this may be the front of the original vellum wrapper to which Sargent refers.

This is a plainly presented text, although basic decorations have been included. The table begins with a three-line blue and red initial as does the text itself. Chapter headings are rubricated and the initial letter of the text is a coloured two-line initial. These initial letters are red at first and then blue initials begin to be interspersed until ultimately a pattern is established where the red and blue initials are alternated. The Latin biblical quotations begin with a one-line red capital initial and the remainder of the quotation is underlined in red. Reddening of initial letters of many sentences occurs throughout. In the text, the chapters are numbered from I to XCIII, but the chapter heading in the table of contents for XCI corresponds to XCIII in the text.

The marginalia in the text mostly consists of indicators drawing attention to passages of significance for the annotator. There is considerable use of *nota* and *nota bene* abbreviations. Some of these are framed, as are some other topical indicators. Graphic devices also occasionally appear, such as a fist with a pointing finger and another stylized mark that seems to serve the same purpose.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Sargent states that T2 is the earliest of a group of three textually affiliated manuscripts that all have origins in the southeast Midlands: Lt, Ry, and T2. Of these, Lt and T2 have dialectal profiles "localizable to within 10 miles of Thurgarton Priory." As Sargent also observes, these two are both from the first quarter of the fifteenth century and include an address to a "Ghostly sister." He further notes a similar format:

both parchment manuscripts "with original vellum wrappers" are about the same size with a text space of twenty-nine lines, though the size of the hands differs. All three manuscripts carry what Sargent considers an early form of the text and do not include *Scale II*. He points out that none originally have a title nor an ascription to an author. By way of speculation, he offers that these three may present a "partially expanded" form of the text originally disseminated from the Cambridge / Ely area and now coming from Thurgarton.

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 183; Grid: 481 344; Nottinghamshire. Sargent describes this as "south-eastern Nottinghamshire, near Staunton in the Vale, on the border with Lincolnshire and Leicestershire." He adds that this is "within less than 10 miles of Thurgarton Priory."

ORIGINS: Apparently within ten miles of Thurgarton Priory (Sargent).

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: James's collation compared with the foliation of the manuscript texts indicates that the last work is written in its own quire, originally a gathering of ten but now missing the last leaf. Together with the once blank folios, this suggests the manuscript may originally have ended with folio 86. Since the final text ends incompletely, lacking about "7 sentences and a final couplet" according to Mooney, and since the final leaf is missing, the final quire may once have contained the entire piece. Sargent believes the hand in this last quire varies from that in the earlier two pieces. In addition, the presentation varies somewhat: the breaks in the text here include the use of white space and some of the later initials include red pen-work, something that only occurs at the very beginning of the table and of the text of *Scale I*. Sargent also remarks that the piece that follows *Scale I*, which is here addressed to a "Gostly sister," "is specifically addressed to a woman religious" with the opening words, "*Audi filia*," while the last piece in the quire we are considering is addressed to both men and

women. The incipit of the text immediately after *Scale I* is as follows: "ÞE prophete seys þus vnto a mayden þat shuld leve vnder þe rewle of holy religyone. Here doghter and se and bowe þin ere to me. . . ." (The Latin words do not appear and it would seem that Sargent has translated "Here doghter" back into Latin.)

It is therefore tempting to think that adding the final quire was an afterthought, especially if, as Mooney observes, *Scale I* and the text following are written as if they were one text; this is then followed by empty leaves. Because the first eighty-six folios may be a distinct earlier form of the manuscript and since the second piece in the codex is particularly addressed to a female religious and is included, perhaps integrally, with a form of the *Scale I* text addressed to a "Ghostly sister," one may conjecture that the first eighty-six folios were originally written for a female religious novice near Thurgarton Priory. Also see Lt and Ry (cf. St).

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: [Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.7.47], *The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* (facsimile); Montague Rhodes James, *The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* (James); Linne R. Mooney, IMEP XI; Michael G. Sargent, "Bishops, Patrons, Mystics and Manuscripts: Walter Hilton, Nicholas Love and the Arundel and Holland Connections" (167-68). References to James in this entry are to the online version of his catalogue: *The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*. In his preface, James lists three other appearances of Trinity College manuscripts in earlier catalogues, with respect to which, see T.

Siglum: U

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Oxford

ARCHIVE: University College (University College manuscripts are kept in the Bodleian.)

SHELF-MARK: MS 28

MANUSCRIPT DATE: S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson places this in the mid-fifteenth century. Lagorio and Sargent give 1475-1525, and in 2014 Sargent continues to date this "from the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century."

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Paper leaves (Coxe). 125 folios. Coxe states this is in quarto written in two columns. The writing ends in the second column on folio 125v (Ogilvie-Thomson).

Scale I comprises ff. 1r to 48r. Ogilvie-Thomson notes the manuscript is damaged by water and rubbing, and so sometimes not readable. Sargent states that it contains three sections, the first of which contains *Scale I*.

BINDING: No information.

SCRIBES: Sargent discerns two hands.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: No information on medieval owners. It was donated in 1681 by George Plaxton of South Hales, Staffordshire.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS:

The text begins with *Scale I* followed by twenty-three Middle English sermons, as listed by Ogilvie-Thomson. The sermon collection is loosely constructed on the liturgical year with other sermons interspersed. Thus, unsurprisingly, the series begins with three Advent sermons. These are followed by one on the ten commandments, two on the Paternoster, and one on

baptism. Then four Lenten sermons are succeeded by one for Preparation Day and one for Easter, followed by one each for the Rogation Days and for the Feast of Dedication. Next is a sermon on Matthew 25.21, "Enter the joy of thy Lord," then two funeral sermons, followed by one for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. The collection is concluded by a series on the sacraments, baptism, confirmation, orders. At this point, a sermon on the eucharist is promised but the rubric is followed by a blank. The last sermon is incomplete at the beginning but what remains addresses three of the deadly sins. Ogilvie-Thomson proposes that this last sermon was that on penitence and part of the incomplete series of seven on the seven sacraments envisioned by the text. In addition to the acephalous sermon, there are places where the writing ends mid-text leaving the rest of a column or folio blank.

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-3ra: Table of Contents for *Scale I* with 93 English chapter headings.

ff. 3ra-48ra: *Scale I*. Heading: "Tractatus magistri walteri de arte bene viuendi þat þe inwarde hafyng of man suld be like to þe utter capitulo i." Incipit: "Gastely syster in ihesu crist j pray þe in þe callyng qwilk our lord has called þe to hys seruice þou hald þe paide and stand stedfastly þerin trauayland besily with al þe myghtes of þi saul be þe grace of ihesu crist for to fulfil in suthfastnes of gud lifyng þe state qwilk þou has taken in liknes and in semyng. . . ." Explicit: ". . . þes wordes þat j haue writen to þe þai lang nocht al to a man qwilk has actif lif bot to þe or to an other qwilk has state of lyf contemplatif þe grace of our lord ihesu crist be with þe amen."

Notes: I rely on Ogilvie-Thomson's full accounting of incipits and explicits in my summary and transcription, in the latter of which I also consult with Coxe and Sargent where possible.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Gardner notes that U is one of seven

manuscripts with what she terms the "longer text of Book I," five of which come from London, including four from the Sheen and London Charterhouses and Syon, which are associated houses. Besides U, these are As, E, H, H5, L, and T, and Gardner proposes that one of these three religious houses was the source of this group ("Walter Hilton" 134).

Later she groups five of these as "type A" manuscripts (excluding H5 and As) on the basis that they contain "the longest form of the text" including both "the Christo-centric passages and the passage on the Holy Name." She notes that the first printed editions follow the textual tradition of type A and that H was not originally part of this group since the additional passages were added by a later hand ("Text" 17). (For a fuller discussion of this, see T.)

Sargent reports that Gardner's "student Rosemary Birts (later Dorward)" designates D, F, H3, R, and U as a subgroup of a larger group that also includes B, Ld, Ln, Pl, S, V, and Ws on the basis of her textual collations. Later, A. J. Bliss affiliates B, D, F, H3, H9, Ld, Ln, Lt, Pl, R, Ry, S, T2, Th, U, V, and Ws on the basis of further collation (Dorward and Bliss conveniently cited in Sargent, "Editing" 513-16). The textual affinities Dorward had discerned among D, F, H3, R, and U thus survive in Bliss's collation, though he adds others to the group. Recently, Sargent has confirmed the textual affiliations within this subgroup (165-67).

DIALECT: eLALME: LP number: 358; Grid: 422 452; Yorkshire, West Riding. This analysis applies to the first and main hand, which writes until folio 118r, and so to all of *Scale I*.

ORIGINS: Sargent states that the dialect localisation is "approximately 5 km west of Harrowgate, in the southern part of the West Riding of Yorkshire." It is probably closer to thirteen or fourteen kilometres west of Harrogate, near Fewston. What may be of greater significance is that this is about fourteen kilometres east of Bolton Priory, a notable house of Austin canons with, according to the *Victory County History of York* (VCH), an income in 1325

of £444 17s. 4 3/4d. In the same period, there were "fifteen canons and two *conversi*" in addition to the prior as well as servants and dependents for an estimated household of about 200. In 1540, at its surrender, there were fourteen canons and a prior at Bolton ("Houses of Austin Canons: Priory of Bolton").

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: VCH also indicates that there was a small and poor Cistercian nunnery, with some disciplinary problems, at Esholt near Yeadon, about twenty kilometres south of the dialect localisation ("Houses of Cistercians Nuns: Priory of Esholt"). Another small and poor house of Cluniac nuns, Arthington Priory near Weardley, was located about twenty kilometres to the southeast ("Houses of Cluniac Nuns: Priory of Arthington").

The Trinitarian Friary of Knaresborough was also about twenty kilometres distant, east of Harrogate. It was a moderately sized house: according to VCH, the deed of surrender was signed by a minister and nine priests in 1538. In that year, "[t]he commissioners found the clear annual value of the house to be £93 12s. 6d." For a time, the friars had the advowson of the church at Fewston, and, in March 1532/3 and earlier, its income. The indications however are that they were not notable for their learning; for instance, one of the priests signed the deed of surrender with a mark ("Friaries: The Trinitarian Friars of Knaresborough"). Knowles and Hadcock explain that the Trinitarians were not mendicants despite frequently being called friars. They followed the rule of St. Augustine and were comparable to "regular canons" (180).

The wealthy Cistercian abbey of Fountains was about twenty-five kilometres to the northeast of the dialect localisation and its lesser though still substantial daughter house at Kirkstall was about the same distance to the south ("Houses of Cistercian Monks: Fountains"; "Houses of Cistercian Monks: Kirkstall"). There was a small collegiate church at Kirkby Overblow, about nineteen kilometres distant, with a provost and four chaplains, but the chaplains

had other responsibilities as well at Alnwick Castle and York, so this does not seem a probable site for the production of manuscripts (Knowles and Hadcock 332). These are the nearest religious houses to the dialect localisation according to the maps of Knowles and Hadcock.

In this case, Bolton Priory (of Austin canons, as noted above) is the house in closest proximity to the localisation of the dialect of U. If U is connected to a house of Austin canons, Hilton's order, this would augment the role played by the Austin canons in the fifteenth-century influence of *Scala*. The collection in U appears to contain sermons that could be used as an aid to parish priests or canons serving a parish. Alan J. Fletcher describes what seems to be a comparable collection of sermons as the possession of John Jeffys, fifteenth-century parish priest in Sandford St. Martin, Oxfordshire, which sermons he would have used in fulfilling his preaching duties ("Unity" 103). See also Other Associated Texts. For further discussion of such books see D, F, H3, and R.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur*, vol. 1; S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, IMEP VIII; Michael G. Sargent, "Bishops, Patrons, Mystics and Manuscripts" (167). H. L. Spencer discusses this sermon collection in her 1982 doctoral thesis, "English Vernacular Sunday Preaching" (133-36).

Siglum: V

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Oxford

ARCHIVE: Bodleian Library

SHELF-MARK: MS Eng. poet. a.1

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Vernon; SC 3938-42

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1375-1400 (Lagorio and Sargent). SC gives the date as "after

1382," citing "a poem on the earthquake of 1382" that appears in the last section of the manuscript (789, 791). A. I. Doyle refers to an allusion "to the treatment of a Carmelite friar in 1384, on folio 408vb." More tentatively, he suggests "after 28 February 1388/9" or after 1391 (Introduction 11). Thomas J. Heffernan is more definite: "after 1389" (75). Gisela Guddat-Figge: *circa* 1390 (269). N. F. Blake states that Vernon "almost certainly predates Simeon by a few years" ("Vernon" 45).

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum leaves. 350 folios extant.¹⁴² 544 x 393 mm (21 1/2 x 15 1/2 inches). Hanna gives the text space as about 412-20 x 284-94 mm (*English Manuscripts*). This means that though the leaves are about the same width as those in S, they are 41 mm (1 1/2 inches) shorter. For comments on the differing column formatting within the volume, see under Manuscript Texts.

Scale I comprises ff. 343r to 355v (Lagorio and Sargent). S. S. Hussey gives a more accurate foliation for *Scale I*: ff. 343r. to 353r. He notes that Hilton's *Mixed Life* comprises ff. 353v. to 355v. ("Implications" 62). The method of foliation in most of the manuscript differs from the typical modern method: red Roman numerals mark the verso of the folio in the top left-hand corner. Serjeantson gives a clear explanation of this difficulty (223). This leads to differences in how scholars refer to the Vernon folio numbers. I have used the modern method of referring to the recto and verso of each leaf. V has an Index or Table of Contents at the

¹⁴² I take Doyle (1) and Hanna, *English Manuscripts*, as authoritative (cf. Doyle "Codicology" 2). I note, however, that there was disagreement about the number of leaves among earlier accounts.

beginning and a translation of a work by Aelred of Rievaulx, the leaves of which were added later without foliation; the Aelred work was paginated at a later date with letters; the folios of this first quire are now customarily given in Roman numerals.

In the Index, Vernon is entitled *Salus anime* or "Sowlehele." The manuscript is described in many sources. Two early descriptions are J. O. Halliwell and SC. The fullest accounts are in A. I. Doyle's introduction to the *Facsimile* as well as his revision of it in "Codicology, Palaeography, and Provenance." A version of the latter essay is also included in Wendy Scase's digital *Facsimile Edition of the Vernon Manuscript*, which, in addition to Doyle's work, provides further introductory material on artists and language as well as an eminently accessible approach to the entire text of the facsimile; this also can be searched. Good descriptions of contents are quite readily available in Serjeantson and Guddat-Figge. This is the largest manuscript in the Bodleian library. Doyle says it "now weighs 48 3/4 pounds" (Introduction 1).

BINDING: Hanna says the boards are fifteenth century (*English Manuscripts*); Doyle, less certain, says they "are possibly medieval" (Introduction 1). Some of the tanned calf that earlier covered these boards is still visible, but they were covered with red leather in the nineteenth century (ibid. Hanna and Doyle).

SCRIBES: Scholars agree that the manuscript proper is in the hand of one scribe. This scribe is also responsible for part of the Simeon manuscript (S) and is usually designated Hand B, as the second that appears in V. A different scribe has prepared an Index and copied an English version of Aelred's "Informacio." Hanna notes that this scribe has "also copied (c. 1392) legal records for . . . Stoneleigh (in Western Warwickshire), now preserved as the Stoneleigh cartulary, Lord Leigh's deposit at Stratford-upon-Avon, The Shakespeare Birthplace Library." He identifies this hand with a hand writing parts of copies of *The Prick of Conscience*, in Wells-

next-the-sea, Norfolk, Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester MS 668 and in Oxford, Trinity College MS 16B (*English Manuscripts*).

Lewis and McIntosh describe these manuscripts and their hands, under MV 23 (54-55) and MV 89 (121-22). They consider them part of a group of manuscripts of *The Prick of Conscience* that they term "the Lichfield subgroup," comprising seven copies. According to their record of the portions written by each hand, in both these manuscripts the hand of the Vernon Index writes the beginning and ending and otherwise alternates primarily with a second hand, though the second hand is not the same in both books. Lewis and McIntosh propose that this Lichfield subgroup potentially descends from an "ultimate exemplar" which may have been London, British Library, Harley MS 1205 and which is not listed in the subgroup proper. They add that the hand in this Harley 1205 is also the hand in one of the Lichfield subgroup, Manchester, John Rylands University Library MS English 50.

Lewis and McIntosh designate four of the seven copies in the Lichfield subgroup as displaying a Lichfield dialect and the Rylands MS English 50 is designated south-east Staffordshire, which is the area of Lichfield. Since the language of the hand of the possible "ultimate exemplar," Harley 1205, is assigned to Lichfield and since this hand is the same as that in the Rylands manuscript, this means five of the seven manuscripts in the subgroup are placed dialectally in or near Lichfield in addition to the possible "ultimate exemplar." The two manuscripts in which the Vernon Index hand writes are in this group of five, and both main hands in both those books are assigned to Lichfield. The hands of the remaining two manuscripts in the subgroup write Central Midlands and south Shropshire language, according to Lewis and McIntosh, and I observe that this is not inconsistent with scribes who may have been working in the Lichfield and Coventry area. Lewis and McIntosh date the "exemplar" to the end

of the fourteenth century and those in the subgroup are dated from the end of the fourteenth until the first quarter of the fifteenth.¹⁴³ But see further under Dialect. Compare the Raynes scribe in Ld and the discussion of "multiple-copy production" of manuscripts, under Scribes as well as Analysis and Interpretation.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: The last folio of the codex, 413v, which is partially missing, contains a family record of Walter Vernon's marriage to Mary Littleton and the birth of children of this marriage. These records were written after 1583 and apparently before October 1587. Other records containing partial names follow; then nine given names are listed in a different hand, but it is not clear how these are related to the Vernons: damage to the leaf complicates our knowledge of the bearers of these names.

A descendant of this family in the next generation, Colonel Edward Vernon, donated the manuscript to the Bodleian in about 1677. Doyle is of the view that the names of "Thomas Brooke ye senior" on folio 413v (seventeenth-century hand) and of "Mary Harpour" on folio 53rb may be connected by kinship or friendship to the Vernons. (Information in this section gleaned from Doyle, Introduction 11, and "Codicology" 23; Guddat-Figge 276; SC.)

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Guddat-Figge states that the manuscript "can be divided into five rather unequal sections" and identifies the divisions. Her part 4 contains the Scale. She describes this part as consisting of "devotional items in prose" (275). This division does not

¹⁴³ Drawn from Lewis and McIntosh under nos. MV 23 (pp. 54-55); MV 45 (78-79); MV 54 (87-88); MV 57 (90-91); MV 68 (101-02); MV 88 (120-21); MV 89 (121-22), and MV 31 (63-64).

include the first eight folios which were added later and contain the index to the manuscript as well as the "Informacio" by Aelred of Rievaulx addressed to his sister. Blake reiterates this five-fold division and categorizes the parts on the basis of genre as follows: "I legendary material; II prayers and devotional material; III general didactic material; IV devotional [sic] material of a more mystical nature; and V short devotional lyrics" ("Vernon" 47). He then proceeds to a fuller description of each division. Scholars seem to agree that forethought was involved in the organization of Vernon and that the selection of texts for the various divisions involved at least some deliberation. One indication of this is the preponderance of prose in Part IV and poetry elsewhere. Doyle's analysis of the manuscript structure, table of contents, and a note on folio 398v, however, leads him to conclude that Part V is an afterthought ("Codicology" 3, 5-6).

I will limit my discussion of manuscript texts to Part IV which contains *Scala* and refer interested readers to the sources that have a more complete descriptions of the entire contents, such as Serjeantson, Guddat-Figge, and Doyle. Hanna gives a complete description of the texts in Part IV, including full incipits and explicits (IMEP XII 4-8). Blake describes the texts in Part IV as beginning and continuing primarily in prose, though there is poetry such as the A-text of *Piers Plowman* and verse versions of Judas and Pilate from the *South England Legendary*. The prose and poetry in Part IV is written in two columns per page rather than the three columns of the verse sections earlier in the manuscript. According to Blake, the texts in Part IV are more sophisticated in style and content than the earlier fairly simple poetry. Though the intellectual demands of the prose are greater, they yet do not advance a particularly challenging approach to contemplation, as mystical texts go, but they do invite deeper engagement in the Christian life than earlier divisions of the Vernon ("Vernon" 55-56; cf. Doyle, "Shaping" 2, 3). Hussey adds that Part IV "contains almost all" the prose of V ("Implications" 61).

Blake notes that many of the texts included here are taken from the fourteenth-century English mystics and some texts are recent as compared to texts in earlier parts ("Vernon" 55). Doyle proposes that *Scala* as well as *Medled Lyf* "may have been copied" into the Vernon "before or not long after [Hilton's] death in 1396" ("Shaping" 6).¹⁴⁴ In fact, the general consensus is that the Vernon recension of *Piers Plowman* belongs in the 1380s while Scale I is probably not composed earlier than this same decade. That is, this part of Vernon contains works composed only shortly before the writing of the manuscript. Thus Evelyn Underhill concludes that the Vernon and Simeon version of Scale I is "probably one of the earliest extant copies" (xlviiii).

Hussey lists the texts of Part IV in the order of the manuscript: *Stimulus Amoris* or *Prickyng of Love*; "Nine Points Best Pleasing to God"; "Unkind Man"; Rolle's *A Commandment of Love to God*; Rolle's *Form of Perfect Living*; his *Ego dormio*; Hilton's "Qui habitat" followed by his "Bonum est"; Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, Book I; Hilton's *Mixed Life*; a prose *Mirror of St. Edmund*; *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*; *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*; "The Spirit of Guy"; "A Form of Confession"; "A Talking of the Love of God"; *Roule of Reclous* which is a recension of the *Ancrene Riwe*; "The Pains of Sin and the Joys of Heaven"; "The Life of Adam and Eve"; the A-text of *Piers Plowman*; *Joseph of Arimathea*; "Judas and Pilate" from *The South English Legendary* ("Implications" 61-62). The main prose section of S (see entry) contains the texts from *Stimulus Amoris* to "A Talking of the Love of God" in the same order, except for Hilton's "Qui habitat" and "Bonum est."

Scala Text:

1. f. 343ra-rb: Table of Contents for *Scale I*. Nineteen lines are left blank in column b on folio

¹⁴⁴ According to S. S. Hussey, several Latin manuscripts give the date of Hilton's death as March 24, 1395/6 ("Latin and English" 458).

343r and the text proper begins within the band border at the top of folio 343va.

ff. 343va-353va: *Scale I*. Incipit: "Gostly Brother or suster in Jhesu crijt" ¶ "I preye þe þat in þe callyng. W3uche ure Lord haþ called þe to his seruice. . . ." Explicit: ". . . w3uch haþ actyf lyf. but to þe or to anoþer which haþ statt of lyf contemplatyf. þe grace of ure lord Jhesu crijt be wiþ þe. A.M E N."

Notes: The transcription is mine from the *Scase Facsimile*. Serjeantson records that *Scala* is entitled "Þat þe Inner hauyng of man be lyk to þe vttur hauyng," in both the Index and the manuscript proper. I observe in the *Facsimile* that this heading in the manuscript actually occurs at the bottom of folio 343rb and the text itself begins in column a at the top of the next page. Serjeantson also records chapter headings for *Scala* in the Index (248-50; 259 n. 363).

When the poetry ends in Part III, a column and a half out of three columns is left blank. This is followed by a blank page on folio 318v. *Stimulus Amoris* then begins with a table of contents on folio 319r, and the page is now divided into two columns rather than three. The next prose pieces have no table of contents until *Scala*, which does. "Bonum est," the text prior to *Scala*, ends in the middle of the twelfth line from the bottom of folio 342vb. At the bottom of folio 342vb is a catchphrase signaling *Scala perfectionis*: "þat þe iner hauyng," which is the beginning of the first chapter title in the table of contents. This table of contents then begins at the top of folio 343ra with an initial of twenty-eight lines that continues in a bar and band extension nearly to the bottom bottom edge of the folio. This initial incorporates gold leaf. The text of *Scala* itself is introduced with a band border on a new page, after the ending of the table of contents.

After *Scala*, *Medled Lyf* begins three-quarters of the way down folio 353va with a clear rubric describing the text. This is followed by a table of contents. The next item, *The Mirror of*

St. Edmund, begins near the top of folio 356rb, also with a table of contents. The remaining prose texts have no tables of contents and are not always as clearly marked as the earlier texts. It should be noted, however, that folio 402 is missing, which apparently included the end of *Piers Plowman* and the beginning of *Joseph of Arimathea*. *Scala perfectionis* is particularly clearly set apart at its beginning, and the beginnings of *Medled Lyf* and *The Mirror of St. Edmund* are both plainly marked with a few lines of rubrication. (Observations are from the Scase *Facsimile*.)

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: The relationship of the Vernon manuscript to the Simeon is often discussed, notably in Kari Sajavaara's article "The Relationship of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts"; Doyle's "The Shaping of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts," and his Introduction to the *Facsimile*. Doyle comments on the parallel though not identical nature of the two manuscripts and, on the basis of his evaluation, suggests that "what we now have as S was separately conceived as a slightly cheaper stable-partner of V" ("Shaping" 10-11; cf. Doyle, Introduction 1). Because of their close textual affinities, how much Simeon might depend on Vernon or whether both manuscripts might rely on a common exemplar or exemplars frequently draws comment.

The Vernon manuscript is frequently compared with London, British Library Additional MS 37787, a Latin and English miscellany. The English pieces have been edited by Nita Scudder Baugh in *A Worcestershire Miscellany Compiled by John Northwood c. 1400*. Fifteen of the twenty English texts in this manuscript are also in Vernon; two of these simply vary the same piece, leaving fourteen distinct texts (Baugh 37). Its dialect and dating are close to that of V. Baugh observes that "all the short lyrical pieces" shared by the Additional manuscript and V are found in the same "brief section in Vernon." She also documents that "[i]n all but one of the fourteen pieces, and that the commonest Mary poem in Middle English, the two MSS. preserve

the same textual tradition" (39). Baugh gives comparative textual details for a number of the pieces common to the Vernon and Additional 37787 (39-62). This Additional religious miscellany was compiled either by or for John Northwood, a Cistercian religious of Bordesley Abbey (Baugh 35-37). Hussey notes that one of its English texts, that which opens Additional 37787, is in Part IV of Vernon: "A Form of Confession" ("Implications" 62, 64). Kari Sajavaara cites Baugh's work in arguing that V and S share with Additional 37787 a common ancestor in their stemma (437). In the fifteenth century, Additional 37787 was in the hands of a member of the Throckmorton family; a Throckmorton is also listed as supporting Bordesley financially (Baugh 15-16, 31). A poem to the trinity that occurs twice in the Additional manuscript is also found in both V and the Thornton manuscript (Baugh 60).

A. J. Bliss sees a connection between Vernon and Simeon on the one hand and New York, Columbia University Library MSS Plimpton 257 and 271 on the other. He demonstrates that Plimpton MSS 257 and 271 were originally part of the same volume. Plimpton MS 257 now contains *Scale I* and *II* and no other texts. Plimpton MS 271 contains Hilton's *Mixed Life* alone. *Mixed Life* follows *Scale I* in Vernon and Simeon, though in Plimpton *Scale II* intervenes. Ten leaves of the original volume appear to be missing. Bliss gives some support for a conjecture that these ten leaves might have contained Rolle's *Ego dormio*, which immediately precedes *Scala* in Simeon and also precedes it in V, though here Hilton's "Qui habitat" and "Bonum est" intervene ("Two Hilton Manuscripts" 157, 161-62, and *passim*).

On the basis of a collation of *Scale I*, Bliss states that the texts of Simeon and Vernon and Plimpton 257 are closely related. Plimpton MS 257 and Simeon both do not contain the table of chapter-headings that are in Vernon. In addition, *Mixed Life* is preceded in all three manuscripts and in these manuscripts alone by an almost identical introduction. In this preamble, Simeon and

Plimpton are closer textually to one another than to Vernon. This and the missing table in both Simeon and Plimpton 257 seem to support Bliss's conjecture that the missing text in the ten lost leaves at the beginning of Plimpton 257 may have contained *Ego dormio*, which would be "about the right length to fill ten folios of MS. 257" ("Two Hilton Manuscripts" 157, 161-62).

In terms of further connections among manuscripts, Hussey observes that Lambeth Palace MS 472 (L) contains *Scale I* and *II* as well as *Mixed Life*, "Qui habitat," and "Bonum est," as does V. L's recension of *Mixed Life* "is the shorter version also in V and Plimpton 271." All three of these shorter "Hilton texts have been emended in places to agree with V which might suggest that V enjoyed some prestige at an early date" ("Implications" 65).

Moreover, Hussey continues, Bodleian MS Rawlinson A.389; Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys MS 2125; Cambridge University Library MS Dd.5.64; and Longleat MS 29 all have all three of the Rolle texts in V. Longleat MS 29 also includes *Mixed Life* (Hussey, "Implications" 65). Further, Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Genevieve 3390 and Westminster School 3 both have two of the Rolle texts in V. Westminster School 3 "also has the Mirror of St Edmund." ("Implications" 65).

Hussey concludes nevertheless that the Rolle recensions in these other anthologies, except for S, do not have close textual affinities to the texts in V, apart from those in Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Genevieve 3390 and *Ego dormio* in Westminster School 3. He suggests that the appearance of the same Rolle texts in several manuscripts is rather the result of the wide copying of Rolle generally ("Implications" 65). One wonders whether it may also indicate the consolidation of a group of Rolle texts that travelled together in manuscripts possibly catering for a lay audience keen to develop its spirituality. Could something like this also be taking shape with respect to Hilton texts?

On the other hand, Doyle states that the run-together *Form of Living* and *Ego dormio* in Bodleian MS Rawlinson A.389 and Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Genevieve 3390 are "closely related" and this run-together version is otherwise found only in V and S ("Shaping" 7; cf. Cumming 863 and Doyle, Introduction 14). Doyle further suggests that there are connections to Yorkshire for both Bodleian MS Rawlinson A.389 and Cambridge University Library MS Dd.5.64, which together form the two main authorities for the epistles of Rolle. He also informs us that "Rawlinson A.389 was at Lichfield Cathedral from at least 1470 to 1627, and most of its contents appear likely to have been written in that locality" near the very end of the fourteenth century ("Shaping" 8), about the time V is being made.

To note two other manuscripts, British Library MS Harley 875 contains a version of *Piers Plowman* closely related to that in V. And Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2498 has a work on sin along with the *Roule of Reclous* that immediately follows the *Roule* in V (Hussey, "Implications" 64).

DIALECT: eLALME: Main Hand [B] LP Number: 7630; Grid: 389 270; Worcestershire. Hand of the Index LP number: 7670; Grid: 378 262; Worcestershire. The main hand is localised about halfway between Bromsgrove and Stourport-on-Severn near Elmley Lovett in north-central Worcestershire. This is about nine kilometres east of Stourport-on-Severn. The hand of the Index [A] is localised about fourteen kilometres southwest of Stourport-on-Severn and about fifteen kilometres northwest of Worcester.

eLALME analyzes only selections of V and refers readers to Lewis and McIntosh's analysis of *Prick of Conscience* in V and S, which they assign to North Worcestershire under numbers MV 40 and MV 70 (72, 104). Other dialectal analyses of V include Mary S. Serjeantson who, in 1937, proposed that the dialect of the Index of V belonged "to the South

Shropshire-South Staffordshire area." Professor Samuel Moore had suggested to her that the dialect of the Index might be a better indication of where V originated than the dialect of the manuscript proper. Serjeantson also discusses a broader possible area for the dialect that includes Cheshire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire (222, 226).

Doyle cites Serjeantson and then the Edinburgh Middle English Dialect project (the progenitor of the LALME), which puts V "in north Worcestershire" on the basis of greater resources. He then notes that Kari Sajavaara expands this to include Warwickshire, presumably the western part (Introduction 11). Bordesley Abbey was in north-east Worcestershire. Sajavaara's conclusions are based on her analysis of the *Castle of Love* text in V. She observes that the dialect of V and S is comparable to that of British Library Additional MS 37787 (438-39).

ORIGINS: Kari Sajavaara cites Nita Scudder Baugh to the effect that V and S were "written in the same scriptorium" (432; cf. Baugh 42, 45). Sajavaara later regards this as established fact (437). Though Baugh is cautious in her consideration of whether V may have Cistercian origins, she does note two of its features that point in that direction. To this Sajavaara adds that Aelred's "Informacio" added later in the first eight folios also suggests a Cistercian origin. On this basis she concludes that a scriptorium in a north Worcestershire or a Warwickshire Cistercian house is not improbably the origin of V (439; cf. Baugh). Guddat-Figge cites this assessment favourably (276-77).

Doyle adds to the Cistercian features of V noted by Baugh and Sajavaara, observing that the "Miracles of Our Lady," which are associated with the Cistercians, are decorated with monks dressed in white or grey, characteristic colours of the order. He also notes that the gift of books to Bordesley Abbey of the Cistercians by Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, included

"sources of some English versions (e. g. Joseph of Arimathea) in V" (Introduction 14-15). Of this bequest, Baugh states: "The books were to remain at the abbey" (34).

Turville-Petre argues that the diocese of Worcester saw an "intense interest in religious writings in English" *circa* 1400 as well as "an intensification of lay piety." He cites with favour the proposal that Cistercians produced V and S (42, 43). N. F. Blake concludes that V was probably written in a monastery, or at least a religious house ("Vernon" 58).

There has thus been considerable discussion of where the scriptorium responsible for such a major project as the joint production of V and S may have been; Bordesley Abbey has been a favoured proposal. The estimated cost of the production of these two manuscripts may shed some light on this matter. Doyle estimates that the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts would together have cost about £100 to £150 to produce ("Codicology" 18-19). This would have comprised the entire 1535 income for the Cistercian Stoneleigh Abbey (Doyle, Introduction 14-15; Knowles and Hadcock). In that year, the net income of Bordesley Abbey, the mother house of Stoneleigh, was "over £388" (Doyle, Introduction 14; Knowles and Hadcock). Doyle, citing N. S. Baugh as well as Knowles and Hadcock, states that Bordesley was "sixth in net income" among Cistercian houses in 1535 (Introduction 14; Baugh 32). The cost of production of these two manuscripts would therefore have been up to two-fifths of the 1535 income of Bordesley. In Doyle's account, the income of Bordesley was considerably less at the time the manuscript was manufactured because of financial and discipline difficulties (Introduction 14-15). It would thus seem that bearing the cost of production by itself would have been a burden, probably an impossible one, for Bordesley.

After considering Bordesley as a possible production site, Doyle does observe that if the scribes were drawn from the religious, their house would have maintained them, "with some

rewards" and so defrayed some of the cost of the writing though other expenses, for materials and artwork for instance, are also included in Doyle's calculations. In making this observation, his assumption apparently is that the religious writing the manuscript are members of a house producing it. Aware of the financial burden producing these manuscripts would have represented for Stoneleigh or Bordesley, Doyle also suggests that wealthy individuals or a group of them may have paid for some aspects of manufacture (Introduction 15). More recently, Doyle acknowledges that "the costs of production would have been a heavy commitment on the moderate annual incomes" of the Cistercian religious houses and some nunneries he mentions in this region. He suggests it is more probable that a member of the nobility would have the accessible wealth needed ("Codicology" 18-19).

FURTHER NOTES ON PROVENANCE: Doyle says that "Gruffith Smyth," whose name appears upside down¹⁴⁵ on folio 343va, might have been "a Shrewsbury man whose will was registered at Lichfield in 1557." He also adds that two clerics by this name were in Lincoln and Oxford in the first half of the seventeenth century before the book was donated to the Bodleian but that they are not connected to the Vernon family or locale (Introduction 11).

NOTES ON AUDIENCE: Doyle observes that in general one may presume that religious works in the vernacular were intended for nuns or other religious women in England and Europe in the late medieval period. On the other hand, he notes that some evidence in V and S would not support this conclusion and pieces such as "How to Hear Mass," suggest a specifically lay audience. The *Facsimile* reveals that this item refers within the text to "lewed men," which would seem to have been the intended audience of the original composition, at the least. Another possible audience he canvasses are lay brothers in male religious houses, but though there is

¹⁴⁵ That the name is upside down is my observation from the Scase *Facsimile*.

evidence of vernacular collections of religious works for lay brothers in monasteries on the Continent, particularly among the Carthusians, Doyle knows of no such collections in England (Introduction 14).

N. F. Blake also vacillates between an audience of religious women and a secular audience, though he seems to favour women religious as the intended recipients. He ultimately notes the question of "why two such large manuscripts as Vernon and Simeon should have been prepared at this time" and remains undecided ("Vernon" 58-59).

Thorlac Turville-Petre argues for a rise both in Lollardy and orthodox lay piety in Worcestershire largely on the basis of the range of religious writing on both sides being produced here around 1400 and also on the evidence that men connected with the Earl of Warwick were investing in pious manuscripts. At the same time, local gentry increased their support for their parish churches. Among these pious landed families were the Throckmortons, some of whom joined with church officials in efforts to root out Lollardy in Worcestershire. Turville-Petre draws attention to "instructions for daily devotions, perhaps owned by a Throckmorton or one of their circle." The recommended practices included devotional reading at the table and vernacular edification of the layman's wife. On the basis of a blank shield in V, Turville-Petre suggests that this expensive manuscript may have been produced for such "armigerous owners" as part of a response to Lollardy (see especially pp. 42-44).

S. S. Hussey observes that texts in V such as the *Scale of Perfection* are addressed not to a female recluse as they seem to have been originally but to a "Ghostly Broþer or suster," though he notes that this innovation does not originate in V. He notices aspects of *Scala* that seem incongruous with the life of an anchoress and finds in chapter 2 of *Scale I* the origins of *Mixed Life*. Moreover the "relygyoun of the herte" explained in the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* expounds

a spirituality accessible to lay people. The "sheer popularity" of Rolle's writings suggests to Hussey that lay people are attracted to them ("Implications" 68-69). Hussey similarly discerns references to the mixed life in *The Prickyng of Love*. He concludes that while Part IV of Vernon acknowledges "the superiority of the contemplative life," it nevertheless returns again and again to the mixed life and appears to cater for a lay spirituality that is gaining in importance as the fourteenth century draws to a close ("Implications" 72-74).

Respecting reception history, I note that Doyle points out that "the word 'pope'" as well as references to St. Thomas of Canterbury "were methodically cancelled . . ." ("Codicology" 22). There are other alterations that appear to be the result of Protestant condemnation of Roman Catholic ideas or symbols (*ibid.*). While, as Doyle also notes, this was standard practice for medieval service books in England after the Reformation, it also suggests that this manuscript continues to be used by Protestants.

NOTES ON HISTORICAL OCCASION: Thomas J. Heffernan reviews the historical context that occasioned V. He contends that the last decades of the fourteenth century saw a proliferation of copying of orthodox vernacular religious texts that lasted well into the fifteenth century. He proposes, with due cautions, that this may be a response of orthodoxy to what it saw as the threatening growth of Lollard texts including the copying of the Wycliffite Bible. The wealth, stable environment, access to texts, and amount of time required to produce a manuscript as massive as V are in contrast to the sometimes dramatic religious, political, and economic uncertainties of the times. Heffernan sees V as a weighty symbol of the orthodox response to the turmoil. In response to the growing appetite for vernacular religion, V provides a sumptuous orthodox feast of approved texts. He suggests V intervenes in a contest where two sides vie for the loyalties of a volatile population in which an academic such as John Wyclif can influence an

increasing following at all levels of society (75-80).

Heffernan notes a potential counterargument that the manufacture of V indicates that the turmoil in London had not reached the West Midlands which are thus stable enough for such a project. He does not find this argument compelling because nothing comparable to V is produced "in times when orthodoxy went unchallenged" (79). To this we might add Turville-Petre's point that Lollardy is a potent force in Worcestershire at the time and elicits notable efforts to root it out. Moreover, scribes from this area were active in copying Lollard sermons (43).

FURTHER NOTES ON ORIGINS: Baugh states that the Cistercian Bordesley Abbey dates from the early years of the order in England. It is near Redditch, not far from the Worcestershire-Warwickshire border. It owned enough land to be financially stable and at times prospering; much of this land was in Warwickshire. The fourteenth century was economically difficult for religious houses, including Bordesley. For Bordesley specifically, causes included heavy taxation during the Hundred Years' War, depopulation during the Black Death and the resulting labour shortage, a breakdown of discipline, and a "cattle plague." As a consequence, it became "land-poor." It would nevertheless have had a scriptorium above the chapter house (24-32). Doyle reports that Bordesley was still feeling fiscal constraints in 1380 (Introduction 15).

It is Baugh's view that Bordesley, "sixth in size among Cistercian houses," would most probably have been involved in book production, as an enterprise well-suited to the Cistercian order (34). On another point, she shows that the compiler of V is not as willing to modify texts as is often asserted (50).

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. I. Doyle, Introduction; Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (269-79); Ralph Hanna, *The English*

Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue; Hanna, IMEP XII; Falconer Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* Vol. 2, Part 2 (SC); [Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a.1], *A Facsimile Edition of the Vernon Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Eng. Poet. A. 1 (Facsimile)*; Mary S. Serjeantson, "The Index of the Vernon Manuscript." There is also a description focussed on the *Prick of Conscience* in Lewis and McIntosh (103-04).

Siglum: Wo

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Worcester

ARCHIVE: Worcester Cathedral Chapter Library

SHELF-MARK: MS F.172

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1450-75 (Lagorio and Sargent). The date of 1447 at the end of a work in the manuscript, though probably copied from a source, together with the known date of death, 1468, of the the first owner, for whom it was produced, limit its production to these two decades (Doyle, "Unrecognized"; Hanna).

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Paper leaves. 210 folios. 285 x 205 mm. Hanna lists the text space as 185-90 x 125 mm written at 40 lines per page. Leaves are missing both at the beginning and the end: according to William H. Hulme, a medieval foliation begins at XVII while the modern begins at 4, indicating a loss of sixteen initial leaves (67; cf. Hanna). The last folio is numbered 213 in the modern sequence (Hanna). A. I. Doyle believes there were once more than 290 leaves ("Unrecognized"); Hanna states that marginal notes referring to later folios

indicate the loss of a minimum of seven final gatherings.

Scale I comprises ff. 72v to 116r. Hulme remarks on the profuse use of "red and blue script" that distinguishes the Psalter from the other texts (67). Hanna presents a detailed description as does Thomson.

BINDING: A seventeenth-century binding (Hanna; Thomson).

SCRIBES: The scribe of the whole of *Wo* is the "Hammond scribe." Linne R. Mooney conveniently lists the manuscripts identified as being written by this scribe ("A New Manuscript" 113-14). Doyle gives a detailed description of the hand ("Unrecognized" 429-30). A "display script" is used for headings, though it is the same hand as the text, which there writes "a mixed *anglicana/secretary*" (Hanna). The book's table of contents is in a late hand (Hulme 68).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither in *MLGB* nor *MLGB3*).

OWNERS MARKS: Hanna states that the "name and device" of John Vale, man of affairs for Sir Thomas Cook, draper and mayor of London, appear at the top of folio 168v (cf. Thomson); in his assessment, the book was made for Vale, who owned other books by the Hammond scribe (cf. Mooney, "John Shirley's Heirs" 190 and n. 19; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 108-09). Doyle refers to a monogram which he has not fully identified that appears on folio 169v, but, from a comparison of the descriptions of Doyle and Hanna, this would seem to refer to the identical mark on the same folio: Doyle has apparently made a mistake in giving the folio number, since Thomson agrees with Hanna. By the early eighteenth century it was in Worcester and was donated to the Cathedral Library by Dr. William Thomas (Hanna).

Sutton and Visser-Fuchs describe John Vale as a native of Bury St. Edmunds, where and in the environs of which Thomas Cook also "owned substantial property." Vale was the son of a dyer and, as "a leading draper of London," Cook was also involved in the Suffolk cloth trade.

Sutton and Visser-Fuchs note that Vale apparently received a first-rate education in Bury, where he acquired skill in writing. He seems to have been a lover of books and became a copier of texts in his own right; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs indicate that he had a relationship with the Hammond scribe, the nature of which they have not determined. They also propose that the Hammond scribe was the London stationer John Multon or at least a scribe who worked for Multon. One of the texts Vale copied in his memoranda book, London, British Library, Additional MS 48031A, was John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, the exemplar for which he may have acquired from his Bury connections (103-17).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Hanna lists twenty items (Hulme twenty-one), including two sections from the Wycliffite Bible, the book of *Acts* and the *Psalter*, as well as a Middle English translation of Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* or *The Mending of Life*. It also contains a discussion of priestly responsibilities and translations of ecclesiastical statutes and constitutions. Those texts immediately preceding *Scala* are "The Twelve Degrees of Meekness" said to be Bernard of Clairvaux's; five exempla dealing primarily with the results of penitence; the Wycliffite book of *Acts* with its prologue; those immediately succeeding, "How To Pray the Jesus Psalter," "defaced"; "The Six Masters on Tribulation"; "Massis and Diriges That the Holy Pope Seynt Gregory Saide," "defaced" (Hanna). The prologue to the *Psalter* draws both from Rolle and the Lollards (Doyle "Unrecognized").

Scala Text:

1. ff. 72v-116r: *Scale I*. Heading: "That the inner havyng of a man Shuld be like to the vtter." Incipit: "Gostly brother in Ihesu Crist, I prairie the that in þe callyng whiche our lord hath callid the to his seruice thou hold the paied and stond stidefastly theron travailyng busily with al the

myghtes of thi soule bi grace of ihesu crist for to fulfil in sothfastnes of good livyng. . . ."

Explicit: ". . . to the or to another whiche hath state of contemplatief the grace of our lord ihesus crist be with the amen."

The transcription of the heading and the incipit to the words "callid the to" is Hulme's, of which he says he retains the reading of the manuscript apart from punctuation and capitalization of the initials of sentences (71-72 and n. 1). The remainder, missing in Hulme, is from Edden, who does not have the heading. She agrees with Hulme in the overlapping words apart from capitalization.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: According to Dorward and to Bliss, Wo is textually related to H5 and Hu. Dorward includes E here in what for her is a subgroup of wider affiliations; Bliss sees relationships of the three for part of the text also with Sr and the 1494 Wynkyn de Worde print (Sargent, "Editing" 514-16, 518). Doyle had earlier discerned an affiliation among H5, Hu, and Wo, and also speculated about connections to L, which in the event Dorward does include in a larger affiliational group with Wo, though Bliss does not (Doyle, "Survey" 1: 270; Sargent, "Editing" 518).

DIALECT: Not assessed by eLALME. In Hanna's analysis, this is a London dialect with some "Central Midland Standard" as well as "a few prominent Essexisms (bien, thiese)."

ORIGINS: Doyle concludes, on the basis both of the hand and the "diocesan statutes" included, that Wo originates in London (Unrecognized"). The textual associations with H5 and Hu bear this out as does Hanna's assessment of dialect. There can be little doubt this book was written in London.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: The connections with H5, the book of Margery Pensax, and Hu, that of the Austin canon John Pery of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, link Wo to the

whole network of relationships the first two books open up (see H5 and Hu). The contents of Wo suggest someone interested in the affairs of the church, perhaps even as a preacher, but who nevertheless seems at least sympathetic to Lollard ideas. *Scala* in such a context suggests it was seen as a reformist text and apparently could be used by reformists on a continuum from orthodox to those at least sympathetic to the radical ideas of Lollardy. Mary C. Erler discusses such more nuanced and sympathetic approaches to Lollardy and points out that the apparently orthodox Margery de Nerford bequeathed a book to a somewhat distant relative, Joan, by that time married to Sir John Oldcastle, the Lollard knight, as well as a choice of books to the anchoress Margery Pensax. She further speculates that Margery de Nerford may have owned a Wycliffite *Psalter*, and remarks that Margery's friend, William de Bergh, bequeathed a book to Holy Trinity, Aldgate, later John Pery's house (*Women, Reading* 51, 57, 59-61). Pery takes responsibility for producing Hu (which see).

Perhaps we should not be surprised at the inclusion of Wycliffite texts by someone with possible links to a network of such diverse relationships. We do not know how early the text in the codex that more overtly promotes papal teaching was defaced, but one wonders from the contents whether the book was eventually used in promoting a more radical version of reform sympathetic to Lollardy and whether indeed, more radically still, it could have been used for that sort of preaching by a layperson. The highlighting of passages in the *Psalter* in red and blue script do suggest an aid in finding passages for communal or public reading. Indeed, Thomson reports the incipit of the Psalter proper as follows: "Here bigynneth the psautier the whiche is comunely used to be rad in holichirche service. . . ." Doyle remarks on the unusual translating of the ecclesiastical statutes and priestly texts into the vernacular in a manner so literal as to be nearly unintelligible without consulting the original. One might consider whether this would

support envisioning *Wo* as used by a layperson to argue for more radical reform (Doyle, "Unrecognized"). Doyle in fact proposes that words concluding the prologue to the *Psalter* might well be "appropriated to the whole manuscript": "if this book be wele undurstande: it is profitable both to ghostly governours and bodily lords and justices, and comunes also" (Doyle, "Unrecognized").

Even without definite knowledge of the first owner at this early point in his career, Doyle speculates about lay use in "a city church, chapel, or guild" ("Unrecognized"). Even earlier, in his "Survey," he had suggested, on the basis of contents, that it was written "for an ecclesiastic of the London diocese" (1: 270). In light of the later analysis by Nicholas Watson of the effects of Arundel's Constitutions on lay reading of the Bible, one suspects that a lay use such as that proposed by Doyle is not realistic for this period after the Constitutions ("Censorship and Cultural Change" *passim*). Doyle does not comment in these places on the Wycliffite texts included in *Wo* apart from noting the Lollard provenance of part of the prologue. It is by no means easy to reconcile the various faces worn by the contents of this codex.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. I. Doyle, "An Unrecognized Piece of *Piers the Ploughman's Creed* and Other Work by Its Scribe" (430-32); Valerie Edden, IMEP XV; Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*; William H. Hulme, "A Valuable Middle English Manuscript"; R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*.

Siglum: Ws

ARCHIVE LOCATION: London

ARCHIVE: Westminster School

SHELF-MARK: MS 4

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Lagorio and Sargent identify this as Westminster School 3, possibly following IPMEP, which also so lists it (IPMEP 255). Elizabeth Towl clarifies that this listing is in error: neither she nor "Ker, nor Hanna, nor Aarts, nor Moss" have described *Scala* in MS 3 (169-70).

MANUSCRIPT DATE: 1400-50 (Lagorio and Sargent). Michael G. Sargent later revises this to "the first quarter of the fifteenth century" ("Bishops" 168).

CONTENTS: *Scales I and II*

LANGUAGE: English

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves (MMBL). 92 folios (MMBL). 202 x 137 mm with a text space of 163 x 102 mm, in two columns of 31-37 lines (MMBL).

Scales I and II comprise ff. 1r to 91v (Lagorio and Sargent). MMBL indicates that the initial page of text in each book has a four-line initial with ornamentation "running the height of the page." Otherwise the initials are three lines. The last folio is blank and an offset of a decorated initial is found on its verso, evidence that *Ws* once was bound in a more substantial codex (MMBL). Apparently, MMBL is the only good description.

BINDING: Eighteenth century binding (MMBL).

SCRIBES: MMBL describes the script as "good anglicana"; Sargent states it is in one hand ("Numbers" 232).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: On folio 91v, sixteenth-century hands have written three inscriptions: "Nouerint vniuersi per presentes me Ihone farryn de",¹⁴⁶ "Ihon stonbanckes of

¹⁴⁶ Be it known to all by these presents that I John Farryn of.

fylgrave"; "Master Frauncis Tyrryngham" (MMBL). MMBL remarks that Tyrringham and Filgrave are related locations in northern Buckinghamshire. They are in fact two kilometres apart in a bend of the River Great Ouse about fourteen kilometres north-northeast of Milton Keynes. MMBL observes a seventeenth-century note of reminder on folio 1r referring to Messrs. Kenneston and "Breues?," apparently located between Fetter and Shoe Lanes in London.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The two books of *Scala* are the only texts. Larger script is used for chapter headings and biblical quotations (MMBL).

Scala Text:

1. ff. 1r-2v. Table of Contents for *Scale I*.

ff. 2v-49r: *Scale I*. Heading: "Incipit liber qui dicitur scala perfeccionis." It is not entirely clear on which folio this heading occurs. Incipit: "Gostli [blank] in ihesu crist. . . ." Explicit: Not available. Ending: "Explicit prima pars libri qui dicitur scala perfeccionis" (Sargent, "Bishops" 168). The text is in 93 chapters (MMBL).

2. ff. 49v-50v: Table of Contents for *Scale II*. The table ends "with a catchword" at Chapter 37, so two leaves may be missing (MMBL).

ff. 51r-91v: *Scale II*. Heading: "Incipit secunda pars libri qui vocatur scala perfeccionis" (Sargent, "Bishops" 168). Incipit: Not available. Explicit: ". . . þis is þe voys of ihesu. Deo gracias. Explicit secunda pars huius operis." The text is in 46 chapters (MMBL).

Notes: The transcriptions are from MMBL unless otherwise noted. Book I is written in six quires, the first five of eight and the last of ten. It ends on the recto of the second-last leaf of the quire of ten (49r). Sargent records that the table of contents for book II begins immediately

on the last leaf of this quire and ends there unfinished ("Bishops" 168). The text of Book II begins on the first leaf of the next quire, the seventh. In Book II, MMBL notes that text is missing from near the beginning of chapter 20 "come to þat grace and þat reformyng" (f. 66v) until the middle of chapter 30 "hem her trespas" (f. 67r; Hilton, Bestul ed., p. 172 line 1000 to p. 207 line 1997). This falls at a quire break between eights and MMBL considers that a gathering of perhaps eight is missing. Ws is the short-ending text of *Scale II* that S. S. Hussey added to Helen Gardner's list (Hussey, "Text" 81; cf. Gardner, "Text" 16). See B for further discussion.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Ws and Ln are textually close in *Scale I* (Sargent, "Editing" 518). The formula for introducing the title, repeated here in Ws, is also used in Ln (see Ln). Ws and H5 are a textual subgroup in *Scale II*. As well, Sargent places Ws in a group of early-fifteenth century manuscripts that contain both books in one hand; the others are B, L, B2, and Sr; of these, Ws and B have the unexpanded forms of both books ("Numbers" 232). The unexpanded text in Book I suggests uncorrupted descent from an early version: according to the analysis of Dorward, at least the last stage of expansions are probably not authorial (Sargent, "Editing" 515). Sr may have a similar ancestry. In other words, a scribe's intentionally uniting Books I and II was an early development, perhaps very early, if Ws, B, and Sr descend from early versions already intentionally combining them. Nevertheless, the two books might even then be considered distinct texts, as they are in Sr (see there). At the same time, the two books seem, in the current state of investigation, to have somewhat independent textual histories, though Sargent points out the need for continuing analysis of this conclusion ("Organic" 228-29; "Editing" 521 but cf. *passim*), and both continue to appear independently, especially Book I.

DIALECT: eLALME does not give Ws an LP number but assigns its language to Ely. A.

I. Doyle also considers Ws to be Midland ("Survey" 1: 250-51).

ORIGINS: Not much is known apart from the dialectal information.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. R. Ker, MMBL (1: 425).

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Appendix

Two Latin Manuscripts of *Scala* Associated with John Dygon of Sheen**Siglum: Jo**

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Oxford

ARCHIVE: St. John's College

SHELF-MARK: MS 77

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Fifteenth century (Lagorio and Sargent). Hanna narrows this to *circa* 1425 or the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

CONTENTS: Two extracts of Scale II from chapters 4 and 9.

LANGUAGE: Latin.¹⁴⁷

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Vellum; quires folded with the flesh side outside (Hanna). 135 folios. Hanna notes that the numbering ends on 134, which seems to agree with Coxe who states there are 134 folios. Hanna gives the size as 285 x 190 mm, with a text space of 188-90 x 128 mm, in 31-39 "long lines." Hanna gives a detailed description.

The Hilton extracts are on ff. 97v-100v.

BINDING: Modern. One of "two medieval vellum flyleaves" has a table of contents from the fifteenth century (Hanna).

SCRIBES: Two scribes write Anglicana. There is frequently a "secretary 'a.'" The second scribe writes "a neat anglicana bookhand" from folio 133r to the end as well as both sides of folio 12. The rest is by John Dygon. The hands of the second scribe and Dygon also occur together in the same manuscript in Magdalen College MS lat. 93. Moreover, this scribe appears

¹⁴⁷ Sargent mistakenly lists this as an English extract in "Editing Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*," though he is clearly aware it is Latin (533; cf. "Transmission" 235-36).

in a third manuscript of Dygon: Magdalen College MS lat. 79 (Hanna, *Catalogue of St. John's* and "Magdalen College lat. 93" 147-48).

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Oxford, Exeter College; "evidence from an ex libris inscription or note of gift" (Ker, MLGB). Hanna gives this inscription in full, which states in the hand of John Dygon that the book is given to Exeter by Dygon and Joan, anchoress of St. Botolph's church outside Bishopsgate, London. Hanna doubts, however, that it "ever saw the inside of Exeter College" ("John Dygon, Fifth Recluse" 127).

OWNERS MARKS: See above. John Dygon was a lawyer trained at Oxford who occupied the Carthusian reclusory in Sheen in 1435. In addition to our manuscript at St. John's, eighteen of his books are extant in Magdalen College, Oxford. He annotates Jo throughout. Thomas Walker gave the book to St. John's in 1620 (Hanna; Hanna, "Producing Magdalen College MS lat. 93" 142; Hanna, "John Dygon, Fifth Recluse" 127-31).

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: Coxe lists 22 items, which Hanna expands to 35. This is a Latin miscellany selected from various authors, among whom Augustine and Chrysostom predominate. Others include pseudo-Augustine, pseudo-Chrysostom, Hieronymous, and Venturinus. The two longest selections in Hanna's accounting occupy eighteen folios each: pseudo-Chrysostom (ff. 70r-88r) and John Chrysostom (ff. 113r-131r). In addition, there is a section that focuses on mystical authors, including Hilton. In addition, folios 13v-17r contain pieces connected with the mystics, selections from *Speculum spiritualium* and Hugh of St. Victor. And folio 133 includes the ending to the *Speculum spiritualium* on both its sides (Hanna, *Catalogue of St. John's*; "Magdalen College MS lat. 93" 147 n. 24).

The main mystical section begins with a representation of William Flete's *Tractatus de*

remediis contra temptationes (ff. 88r-91v); followed by an excerpt from the *Scala Claustralium* of Guigo I of the Grande Chartreuse (ff. 91v-94v),¹⁴⁸ Rolle's "Mulierem fortem" (ff. 94v-96r); an exposition of the Pater noster (ff. 96r-97v); the two excerpts from *Scale II* (ff. 97v-100v); and a selection from Hugh of St. Victor's *Commentarium in Hierarchiam Celestam Sancti Dionysii* (ff. 100v-05v; this last text identification is Hanna's). Next Hanna notes an unidentified single paragraph, after which the miscellany returns to John Chrysostom. Hanna reports that most of folio 107v and all of folios 108r-12v are blank.

Scala Text: extracts from *Scale II*

1. ff. 97v-98v: first Hilton excerpt from Book II chapter 9 of Fishlake's Latin. Heading: "Incipit bonum notabile secundum Ricardum hampol heremitam quod temptationes spirituales multum prosunt anime peccatrici." Incipit: "Sicut tenebre eius ita et lumen eius hoc est dicere Sicut lux cognicionis." Explicit: "non potest in sensacione aliter reformari."

2. ff. 98v-100v: second Hilton excerpt from Book II chapter 4 of Fishlake's Latin. Heading: "Aliud notabile dictum per eundem Ricardum de cautelis diaboli contra timidam conscienciam."

¹⁴⁸ Lagorio and Sargent attribute *Scala Claustralium* to Guigo II, ninth prior of the Grande Chartreuse (3069, 3113, 3134). Hanna's attribution to Guigo I is called *Scala paradisi* but Lagorio and Sargent say this is the same as *Scala Claustralium* (3113). Coxe calls this piece *Scala Claustralium* and Hanna's transcribed heading includes those words. Hanna cites *Patrologia Latina* 40: 997-1001: this work is entitled *Scala paradisi, liber unus* in this place which also lists uncertain attributions to Bernard of Clairvaux and the Carthusian Guigo V. The initial paragraph of chapter one again uses the term "*Scala Claustralium*." I conclude the two titles are alternatives for the same work but that there is some uncertainty about authorship.

Incipit: "Paue tu qui timide es consciencie quia spiritus immundi solliciti sunt." Explicit: "Quia licet impediatur te in vno tempore in alio promouebit." Ending: "Expliciunt duo notabilia dicta secundum Ricardum hampole."

Notes: I have followed Hanna and Allen when there is a disagreement among my three transcriptions of the source, except once in the second incipit where Allen does not provide the word and I think there is a typographical error in Hanna, where he has "inumundi" but Coxe has "immundi." Despite the manuscript ascription to Rolle, Allen noted Horstmann's doubt and identified these excerpts as from Fishlake's Latin *Scale II*, citing folio references to BL Harley MS 6576 (352).

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: As noted above, Jo, Magdalen College MS lat. 93, and Magdalen College MS lat. 79 are connected through their associations with John Dygon and the second scribe of Jo. According to E. A. Jones, John Dygon is also an owner and scribe of Mo ("Chapter from Richard Rolle" 145; cf. entry for Mo). Sargent proposes that Jo is related to Latin *Scala* manuscripts Bn, Ma, Up2, and Ut through Carthusian and textual associations ("Transmission" 235-36). Finally, Hanna notes that Bodleian MS Lat. th. d.27, another Sheen manuscript, contains the three texts at the end of Jo in the same order.

DIALECT: Not applicable.

ORIGINS: Jo has a Carthusian provenance and is specifically associated with the Sheen reclusory.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur*, vol. 2; Ralph Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St John's College Oxford*; Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole (351-52)*.

Signum: Mo

ARCHIVE LOCATION: Oxford

ARCHIVE: Magdalen College

SHELF-MARK: MS 141

OTHER IDENTIFIER: Magdalen College Lat. 141

MANUSCRIPT DATE: Lagorio and Sargent do not date this. Fifteenth century (Coxe).

The first thirty-nine folios are dated 1433 (Watson). A letter copied in the manuscript bears the date October 27, 1411 (Coxe).

CONTENTS: *Scale I*

LANGUAGE: Latin

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION: Parchment leaves. 104 or 105 folios. Watson gives the size as 423 x 295 mm, written in two columns of 43-44 lines in the first 39 folios, with a text space of 270-80 x 95 (I assume this means per column). Coxe states that there are only 104 folios.

Scale I comprises ff. 89r to 105v (Lagorio and Sargent). Watson mainly describes the dated folios, which are 1-39.

BINDING: No information.

SCRIBES: Coxe gives the scribe's ending of the first work, by Petrarch, which Watson notes is on fol. 39r: this ending identifies the work and then states: ". . . liber secundus explicit feliciter per manus. J. F. anno Domini millesimo cccc. xxxiiij." Watson says that various other undated hands complete the volume. E. A. Jones identifies "John Dygon, occupant of the Sheen reclusory from 1435," as the scribe of the last part, though not of item 8 below ("Chapter from

Richard Rolle" 145). This would make him the scribe or a scribe of *Scala*.

MEDIEVAL REPOSITORY: Not listed in Ker (neither MLGB nor MLGB3).

OWNERS MARKS: Jones states that John Dygon owned Mo ("Chapter from Richard Rolle" 145). Watson notes the name of "Iacobus Biss" on folio 49, commenting that there are two who bear this name at Magdalen at the end of the sixteenth century, according to J. Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses, early series* (1891-2). He also observes notes "in the hand of Andrew Holes" throughout.

MANUSCRIPT TEXTS: The Latin *Scale I* is the last text in this Latin miscellany. The miscellany begins with a work by Petrarch entitled "De vita solitaria." This occupies the first thirty-nine folios described by Watson. Coxe lists ten texts. Besides Petrarch and Hilton, these are 2) an epistle of the Carthusian Stephen of Siena to Thomas Antony of Siena dwelling on the life of St. Catherine of Siena; 3) letter dated 27 October 1411 to Thomas Antony from Bartholomew of Ravenna on the above matter; 4) the lament of the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus, at his passion; 5) the treatise called *Speculum Peccatoris*, perhaps by St. Augustine; 6) tractate against despair; 7) tractate on recluses (comparing the cenobitic and eremitic vocations); 8) brief compilation on various temptations and their remedies: a concluding note states: "Citantur Hampole ad reclusam nomine Margaretam, Bernardus, alii que patres";¹⁴⁹ 9) tractate on eight forms of devotional prayer called Donatus.

Scala Text: *Scale I*

Coxe's item for *Scale I* is as follows: "Liber, qui dicitur, Scala perfectionis, sive de vita activa et contemplativa, auctore Waltero Hylton, ad anachoretam. fol. 89. Incip. praef. 'Dilecta soror in

¹⁴⁹ Quotations from Hampole to the recluse named Margaret, Bernard, and other fathers.

Christo Jhesu rogo te ut contenta sis vocacione.' Incip. lib. 'Activa vita consistit in caritate externis ostensa in bonis operibus.' Desin. 'Gracia Domini nostri Jhesu Christi tecum sit et cum illo qui edidit hunc librum.' In calce, 'Explicit libellus primus magistri Walteri Hylton.'"

Notes: My English list is based on but does not slavishly translate Coxe's Latin.

Livarius Oliger clarifies that item 7 consists of four distinct pieces, a Rule for male recluses, a "*Quaestio*" of St. Thomas Aquinas on the solitary life, an anonymous "*Quaestio*" whether a monk can become a hermit, and a final, anonymous, "*Quaestio*" of the solitary life. Oliger identifies the *Scala* of the manuscript as Fishlake's Latin (38-39). Bella Millett et al. explain that these four works were "originally independent texts" (98).

Jones identifies item 8 as Part II of the *Speculum Spiritualium*, which in several versions includes in its last chapter three excerpts, quoted, exceptionally, in English, from Rolle's *Form of Living*. This chapter is omitted from Mo, but Jones also remarks that the *Speculum* as a whole includes selections from both Rolle and Hilton: Hilton's Latin works are cited but so also are both books of Fishlake's Latin *Scala*. In addition, item 9, the *Donatus Deuocionis*, derives in large part from *Speculum* ("Chapter from Richard Rolle" 141-42, 145, 147; cf. Oliger 39). It is not surprising then that the note to item 8 appears to refer to Margaret Kirkby, Rolle's protegee, nor that the Latin *Scale I* concludes the *Speculum* (which as a whole has benefited from Hilton) and the derivative *Donatus*.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS: Jones states that John Dygon also owned Jo and Hanna records his role as a scribe in it ("Chapter from Richard Rolle" 147; Hanna, *Descriptive Catalogue of St. John's College*, and "Producing Magdalen College MS lat. 93" 147-48). Magdalen College MS lat. 93 and Magdalen College MS lat. 79 are also connected to Mo through their association with John Dygon (for details, see entry for Jo in appendix). This means

that Dygon is a scribe in a minimum of two extant manuscripts that copy at least parts of both *Scala* and *Speculum spiritualium* which takes selections from *Scala*; and in Mo Dygon is copying *Scala* itself.

Note: The four once separate pieces in item 7 above are placed together both in Mo and London, BL Cotton MS Julius A.ix, ff. 2r-22v (Millett et al. 98; Oliger 40).

DIALECT: Not applicable.

ORIGINS: Through its association with Dygon, Mo has a Carthusian provenance. Moreover, regarding the associations of the text of the manuscript, Jones states that the compilation of *Speculum spiritualium* is "almost certainly by a Carthusian" (140). He is aware of H. E. Allen's description of the *Speculum* in which she observes "three copies [of *Speculum*] in the original index" of the catalogue of the brothers of Syon where one of the copies is described as being compiled by Henry, a Carthusian monk of Sheen. All three copies in this first index are under his name but the name of Adam the Carthusian is also given. A fourth copy was added to the collection later and this appears under Adam's name alone (405; cf. Jones 139 and n. 4; cf. Oliger 39). Furthermore, Coxe names a third Carthusian, Stephen of Siena, in his list of texts for Mo.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur*, vol. 2; Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts C. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, vol. 1. A new catalogue of Magdalen College, Oxford, manuscripts is being prepared by Ralph Hanna (Hanna, "Producing Magdalen College MS lat. 93" 142; "Oxford Libraries").