Studies in pre-Reformation Carthusian vernacular manuscripts: the cases of Dom William Mede and Dom Stephen Dodesham of Sheen.

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Abstract

In the field of manuscript studies, the identification of individual scribes and the reconstruction of their lives and work through examination of manuscript material has recently undergone revival. This thesis contributes to that field by presenting two biobibliographical case-studies of two fifteenth-century scribes and Carthusian monks, William Mede and Stephen Dodesham of Sheen. It sets out to demonstrate the value of an integrated biographical and comparative approach in the examination of the making and circumstances of making of manuscript books. This is demonstrated by building scribal biographies based on the integration of evidence from documentary record and the analysis of the material manuscript output of Mede and Dodesham. Dodesham, as the more prolific of the two, has been more fully investigated in recent scholarship. New documentary evidence, however, has necessitated a fresh appraisal of his life and the contexts of his copying, contexts which I argue are strongly educational. I show that Mede's life and work as a Carthusian reader, copyist, and perhaps writer, is therefore worth further scholarly investigation.

Chapter one considers the current state of the field of historical biography and, more specifically, scribal biography. It assesses the usefulness of integrating biographical and codicological approaches in the study of manuscripts and provides a definition of codicology in its broader sense (as a means of writing biobibliographical histories). As not all aspects of codicology are considered here, I also identify those aspects of codicological enquiry I have chosen to apply to the manuscripts of Mede and Dodesham. The case is made for the usefulness of codicological methods as a means of interpreting historical material.

As the main focal points of this study are the lives and work of two Carthusian scribes, chapter two provides context on the Carthusian life, incorporating an evaluation of recent work on Carthusian textual culture, a brief summary of the Order's history, its administrative structure, Carthusian spirituality, its participation in the intellectual culture of the late medieval period, how it responded to changing patterns in devotion, and its members' attitudes and approaches to the acts of reading, writing and copying. This background is essential in contextualising the scribal activity of Mede and Dodesham and will be referred to in the following chapters.

Chapters three and four are dedicated to the case studies examining the lives and work of William Mede and Stephen Dodesham of Sheen. Chapter three, containing the case study of William Mede, includes analysis of his Anglicana and other idiosyncratic features of his hand; full descriptions of each of the six manuscripts so far attributed to him; and study of his language and punctuation practices, which vary, I argue, depending upon for what sorts of audience Mede is writing or copying. A detailed study of

the *Speculum devotorum* demonstrates this adaptive scribal behaviour in action and also investigates the possibility that Mede may have been the author of the text. The above are all discussed in relation to the making and circumstances of making of Mede's manuscripts. The conclusion to the chapter offers a summary of Mede's life and work and makes the case for the importance of further investigation of this Carthusian scribe.

Chapter four, the case study of Stephen Dodesham, includes a reappraisal in light of new evidence of his early scribal career, including his ordination at Sheen charterhouse, potential connections with the prominent Dodesham family of Somerset and connections with middle-class, professional families in London and around the south-western counties of England. This new evidence has made it possible to more firmly place the contexts of Dodesham's manuscript copying. Much of chapter four is dedicated to analysing his language, and providing brief descriptions of those manuscripts so far attributed to him; the above all discussed in relation to the making and circumstances of making of Dodesham's manuscripts. The conclusion offers a summary of Dodesham's life and work and makes the case for the importance of further investigation as of particular interest in the areas of developing literacy and education.

In chapter five, I bring both case studies together, assess the usefulness of the biographical approach in the context of this particular study, and evaluate its successes and limitations as a framework for combined biographical and codicological investigation.

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Abbreviations

AC	Analecta Cartusiana.
CRO	Cheshire Record Office
DNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
Institut	Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg.
MLGB	Medieval Libraries of Great Britain.
TNA	The National Archives

Chapter One

Introduction

Methodology and objectives

In the field of manuscript studies, the identification of individual scribes and the reconstruction of their lives and work through examination of their surviving manuscript material has undergone something of a revival, and, at present, is a field which is strong and alive with debate. This thesis offers a modest contribution to the field of scribal biography, presenting two biobibliographical case-studies of two fifteenth-century Carthusian scribes: William Mede and Stephen Dodesham of Sheen. It sets out to demonstrate the value of an integrated biographical and comparative approach in the examination of the making and circumstances of making of manuscript books. This will be demonstrated by building scribal biographies based on the integration of evidence from documentary record and the analysis of the material manuscript output of Mede and Dodesham.

The theoretical orientations of this thesis have their origin in the codicological approaches advanced by A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes.[1] In discussing the place of codicological analysis within the remit of manuscript studies more generally, Doyle defines it thus:

> The more manuscripts of the same texts one examines in comparative study the more one is challenged to understand why they differ or accord in certain physical respects. And to ask, can such physical details tell us more about the makers and circumstances of making? This is one aspect of what has come to be called codicology, more narrowly the archaeology of the book, not only the processes and materials of its making but also the cultural and historical circumstances.[2]

This is codicology as it has come to be known in its broader sense. It may be argued that codicology is not only confined to the study of the physical form of the book, to a set of rigorous descriptive bibliographical practices. Rather, it may also serve as an inclusive and interdisciplinary way of practising

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[1] A. I. Doyle, *A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and early Sixteenth Centuries with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy Therein* (University of Cambridge: unpublished doctoral thesis, 1953). M. B. Parkes, *A study of certain kinds of script used in England in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the origins of the Tudor Secretary hand* (University of Oxford: unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1958). The sort of 'all-round' treatment of manuscripts advanced by Doyle and Parkes (that is comparative, interdisciplinary, and, where possible, quantitative study of manuscript contents related to their historical contexts) is not new. Doyle reminds us that such approaches were presumed by the best earlier scholars. Doyle, 'Recent Directions in Medieval Manuscript Study' in D. Pearsall (ed.) *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000): 2.

[2] Doyle, 'Recent Directions in Medieval Manuscript Study', 7.

social historiography. The codicologist, in examination of physical aspects of any given manuscript book, seeks not only to describe and bring together biographical, palaeographical, codicological, art-historical and philological material found within, but to interpret that material within wider, socio-cultural contexts. In this study, the socio-cultural context under examination is the local literary Carthusian culture inhabited by Mede and Dodesham. I have also necessarily limited the scope of codicological enquiry to analysis of scribal hands, language, punctuation practice and the aspects of the physical forms of each individual manuscript which are found to yield biographical detail or provide relevant clues as to its the making and circumstances of making (quiring, for instance, is only considered when found to shed light on for whom or why a given manuscript was made). The material yielded by the analysis of the output of Mede and Dodesham will be placed in the context of these current theoretical orientations of manuscript studies, now emerging more broadly in the practice of book history.

The roles of Mede and Dodesham as scribes were identified and described, notably, by A. I. Doyle.[3] Dodesham's manuscript output, as a prolific Carthusian copyist, was the subject of a study by Doyle in which the surviving evidence of Dodesham's work was described and contexts for their production were proposed. Since Doyle's identification and description of manuscripts, work has been undertaken on Dodesham's language, notably by Brendan Biggs.[4] Biggs' account, however, was focused on an attempt to reconstruct the authorial language of the *Imitatio Christi*, and did not place his discussion in the context of Dodesham's scribal career or in wider developments of the history of English. Doyle's work on Dodesham has led to further identifications of the scribe's hand in other manuscripts; new evidence has since emerged which has rendered Doyle's account incomplete and necessitates a re-assessment of Dodesham's long and prolific scribal career.

William Mede's output has been comparatively neglected, although a list of manuscripts in which his hand appears has been provided by Doyle, and isolated corners of his career have been discussed by Anselm J. Gribbin[5] and Wendy Scase.[6] A full assessment of Mede's career, including the analysis of his

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[3] A. I. Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', in P. Robinson and R. Zim (eds.) *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997): 94-115. See also M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

[4] B. J. H. Biggs, 'The Language of the Scribes of the First English Translation of the *Imitatio Christi*', *Leeds Studies in English*, N.S. 26 (1995): 79-111, and Biggs (ed.), *The Imitation of Christ: The First English Translation of the Imitato Christi*, Early English Text Society, 309 (Oxford: University Press, 1997).

[5] A. J. Gribbin, '"Tribularer si nescirem misericordia tuas": Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', in J. Luxford (ed.) *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*, Medieval Church Studies, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008): 73-106.

[6] W. Scase, 'Reginald Pecock', in M. C. Seymour (ed.) *Authors of the Middle Ages: 8, English Writers of the Late Middle Ages*, Variorum (1996): 71-129.

language, full descriptions of manuscript output, and punctuation practices, has never been previously attempted.

Before introducing these scribes and their work in detail, it will be helpful to provide a survey of the current state of the field of historical biography and scribal biography in particular, to provide a definition of codicology as it is currently practised, and to make the case for its usefulness as a means of gathering and contextualising historical data.

The biographical approach

The identification of scribes as having copied more than one text enabled palaeographers and codicologists, for the first time, to detect the enlarged networks of identifiable agents involved in the production and circulation of books.[7] When a scribe's hand can be detected in multiple copies of texts, it may be possible to reconstruct his working life: his relationships with other scribes, his patrons, readers, occasionally authors. In consequence, the researcher may, given sufficient data, be able to assess the scribe's participation in and impact upon the textual culture of the period in which he worked. If the name of the scribe can be distinguished, it becomes possible in principle to add further biographical detail.

The identification of individual scribes and their attribution to surviving manuscript witnesses is an area of manuscript studies that has always attracted attention, particularly since Doyle and Parkes' 1978 work on the scribes of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which provided evidence, for the first time, that individual scribes' hands could be shown as having worked on multiple manuscripts.[8] This breakthrough made it possible for other scholars to employ the methodologies of Doyle and Parkes and follow suit, spurred on by the calls from Angus McIntosh in 1974 for an inventory of scribal hands and aided by the description of types of scribal behaviour as outlined in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediæval English*.[9] As a result of

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[7] A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, 'The production of copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio amantis* in the early fifteenth century', in V. J. Scattergood and Andrew G. Watson (eds.) *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker* (London: Scolar Press, 1978): 163-210.

[8] A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century', 163-210.

[9] Angus McIntosh,'Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen,* 75 (1974): 602-24. Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and M. Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediæval English,* 4 vols (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen Press, 1986) 1: 12-23.

the work on scribes like Henry Mere,[10] John Shirley,[11] Richard Frampton,[12] William Ebesham,[13] Geoffrey Spirleng,[14] Doyle and Parkes' Scribe D,[15] Doyle's work on religious scribes, particularly those Carthusian

[10] For work on Henry Mere, see: M. B. Parkes, 'A Fifteenth-Century Scribe: Henry Mere', in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991): 249-56; and J. Saltmarsh, 'The Founder's Statutes of King's College, Cambridge', in J. Conway Davies (ed.) *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957): 337-60.

[11] For work on John Shirley, see: Margaret Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); A. I. Doyle, 'More Light on John Shirley', *Medium Aevum,* 30 (1961): 93-101; A. S. G. Edwards, 'John Shirley and the Emulation of Courtly Culture', in E. Mullaly and J. Thompson (eds.), *The Court and Cultural Diversity* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997): 309-17; Cheryl Greenberg, 'John Shirley and the English Book Trade', *The Library,* 6th series, 4 (1982): 369-80; Jeremy Griffiths, 'A Newly Identified Manuscript Inscribed by John Shirley', *The Library,* 6th series, 14:2 (1992): 83-93; Ralph Hanna III, 'John Shirley and British Library, MS Additional 16165', *Studies in Bibliography* 49, (1996): 95-105; Seth Lerer, 'British Library MS Harley 78 and The Manuscripts of John Shirley', *Notes and Queries,* 235, n.s., 37 (1990): 400-402.

[12] For work on Richard Frampton, see: M. B. Parkes, 'Richard Frampton: a commercial scribe c. 1390-c.1420', in Takami Matsuda, Richard Linenthal, and John Scahill (eds.), *The Medieval Book and A Modern Collector: Essays in Honour of Toshiyuki Takamiya* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004): 113-24.

[13] For work on Willam Ebesham, see: A. I. Doyle, 'The Work of a Late Fifteenth-century Scribe, William Ebesham', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* 39 (1957): 298-325.

[14] For Geoffrey Spirleng, see: Richard Beadle, 'Geoffrey Spirleng (*c.* 1426-*c.* 1494): a Scribe of the *Canterbury Tales* in his Time', in P. R. Robinson and R. Zim (eds.), *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997): 116-146.

[15] For discussion of the manuscripts attributed to Doyle and Parkes' Scribe D, see: J. J. Smith, 'The Trinity Gower D-Scribe and his Work on Two Early *Canterbury Tales* Manuscripts', in J. J. Smith (ed.), *The English of Chaucer and his Contemporaries: Essays by M. L. Samuels and J. J. Smith* (Aberdeen: University Press, 1988): 51-69.

scribes who copied more than one text,[16] and the work of Mooney,[17] Hanna,[18] G. R. Keiser[19] and others,[20] the knowledge of the working practices of scribes and, consequently, our knowledge of textual cultures in the late medieval period has advanced greatly. The identification of individual scribes and their work is a field which is, at present, particularly strong and alive with debate: particularly surrounding Mooney's disputed identification of Doyle and Parkes' Scribe B with Adam Pynkhurst and the (seemingly) ever-increasing corpus of manuscripts attributed to him.[21] Questions of the level of subjectivity inherent in

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[16] For Dodesham: A. I. Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 94-115.
For Mede: A. I. Doyle, 'Publication by members of the religious orders', in J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989): 163-81.
For Darker: A. I. Doyle, 'William Darker: the work of an English Carthusian scribe', in C. Baswell (ed.), *Medieval manuscripts, their makers and users: a special issue of Viator in honor of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011): 199-211.

[17] Linne R. Mooney, 'A New Scribe of Chaucer and Gower', *Journal of the Early Book Society,* 7 (2004): 131-40; Linne R. Mooney, 'John Shirley's Heirs: The Scribes of Manuscript Literary Miscellanies Produced in London in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century', *Yearbook of English Studies,* Special Number 33, *Medieval and Early Modern Literary Miscellanies,* (ed.) Phillipa Hardman (2003): 182-98; Linne R. Mooney, 'Professional Scribes?: Identifying English Scribes Who Had a Hand in More Than One Manuscript', in Derek Pearsall (ed.) *New Directions in Medieval Manuscript Studies* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000): 131-41; Linne R. Mooney, 'Scribes and Booklets of Trinity College, Cambridge, MSS R.3.19 and R.3.21', in Alistair Minnis (ed.) *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2001): 241-66; Linne R. Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and their Scribes', in Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (eds.) *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011): 192-211; Linne R. Mooney and Daniel Mosser, 'The Hooked-g Scribe and Takamiya Manuscripts', in *The Medieval Book and A Modern Collector* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004): 179-196; and Linne R. Mooney, 'A New Manuscript by the Hammond Scribe Discovered by Jeremy Griffiths', in A. S. G. Edwards, Ralph Hanna III and V. A. Gillespie (eds.), *The English Medieval Book: Essays in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London: British Library, 2000): 113-23.

[18] Ralph Hanna III, 'The Scribe of Huntington HM 114', *Studies in Bibliography,* 42 (1989): 120-133.

[19] G. R. Keiser, 'Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe', *Studies in Bibliography,* 32 (1979): 158-79.

[20] Peter J. Lucas, 'A Fifteenth-century Copyist at Work under Authorial Scrutiny: an Incident from John Capgrave's Scriptorium', *Studies in Bibliography,* 34 (1981): 66-95; Peter J. Lucas, 'John Capgrave, O.S.A. (1393-1464), Scribe and "Publisher"', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society,* 5 (1969): 1-35; Lister M. Matheson and Linne R. Mooney, 'The Beryn Scribe and his Texts: Evidence for the Mass Production of Manuscripts in Fifteenth-Century England', *The Library*, 7th series, 4 (2003): 347-70; Daniel W. Mosser, 'The Scribe of Takamiya 32 (formerly the "Delamere Chaucer") and Cambridge University Library Gg.1.34 (part III)', *Journal of the Early Book Society,* 7 (2004): 121-130; Stephen Partridge, 'A Newly-Identified Manuscript by the Scribe of the New College *Canterbury Tales,*' *English Manuscript Studies,* 6 (1997): 229-36; David Rundle, 'English Books and the Continent' in Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (eds.), *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011): 276-291, discusses relationships between scribes and books in England and on the Continent; M. C. Seymour,'A Fifteenth Century East Anglian Scribe,' *Medium Aevum,* 37 (1968): 166-73; M. C. Seymour, 'The Scribe of Huntington Library MS. HM 114,' *Medium Aevum,* 43 (1974): 139-43.

[21] For the identification of Doyle and Parkes' Scribe B with Adam Pynkhurst, see Linne R. Mooney, 'Chaucer's Scribe', *Speculum*, 81 (2006): 97-138. For a summary of the evidence against Pynkhurst as Scribe B, see Jane Roberts, 'On Giving Scribe B a Name and a Clutch of London Manuscripts from c.

palaeographical methodologies have also arisen within the debate,[22] as have questions of the reliability of employing orthographical preferences when attempting to identify scribes as diagnostic criteria.[23] No-one, however, has questioned the value of studying identifiable scribes as windows into the periods in which they lived and worked.

Biography, as practised by the social historian, has enjoyed something of a revival.[24]
As a method of practising history it has had a chequered past. Oscillating between favour and disfavour, it was the victim of the decline of empiricist models of history and the rise of the movements stemming from the *annales* school. In response to this need to contextualise, the need to explain and relate historical events to a wider context and temporal continuum, in the 1950s, the *annales* movement gained momentum, and historical biography was side-lined from the practice of history. The *annales* movement was (and is) sociological at its core. 'History', as Fustel de Coulanges wrote, 'is the science of human societies.'[25] Therefore, *annales'* main concepts and concerns were, and remain, comparative study and quantitative analysis of data from a date-range long enough to provide an overview of continuity and change at a societal, rather than personal, level. As the *annales* movement spread, history became less about the stories of great men and their politics and moved towards larger scale, longer-term, macro-focused studies of societies as the sum of their parts. History did indeed become the science of human societies. In traditional *annales* historiography, the role of the individual human was for a long time eclipsed; individual activity was reduced to a footnote or a statistic.

Recently, however, some social historians have attempted to rehabilitate the individual and reassess their value in contributing to forms of history as practised by the social historian. Scholars such as M. T.

1400', *Medium Ævum*, 80 (2011): 247-270. For a summary of those doubting Mooney's attribution, see Roberts, 265-66, n. 24. For an up-to-date list of manuscripts attributed to Scribe B/Pynkhurst, see Linne Mooney, Simon Horobin, and Estelle Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes* <http://www.medievalscribes
.com>, ISBN 978-0-9557876-6-9, [accessed 04/06/2013].

[22] Alan J. Fletcher, 'The Criteria for Scribal Attribution: Dublin, Trinity College, MS 244, Some Early Copies of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, and the Canon of Adam Pynkhurst Manuscripts', *Review of English Studies,* 58 (2007): 597-632.
Simon Horobin, 'The Criteria for Scribal Attribution: Dublin, Trinity College MS 244 Reconsidered', *The Review of English Studies,* 60 (2009): 371-381.
Alan J. Fletcher, 'What did Adam Pynkhurst (Not) Write?: A Reply to Dr Horobin', *Review of English Studies*, 61 (2010): 690-710.

[23] Jane Roberts, 'On Giving Scribe B a Name', 260-62.

[24] Of course, I include the practise of codicology in its broader sense within the remit of social historiography.

[25] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester: University Press: 1954): 25.

Clanchy[26] and Jacques Le Goff,[27] writing on Peter Abelard and Saint Louis and Saint Francis of Assisi respectively, have argued convincingly that it is perfectly possible to write social histories through biography. As Le Goff wrote in his biography of Louis IX:

> What object crystallizes the whole of its environment and the areas dissected by the historian in the field of historical knowledge more and better than an actual character? [The individual] participates simultaneously in the economic, the social, the political, the religious, and the cultural; he acted in all of these domains, while thinking of them in a way that the historian must analyse and explain – even if the search for complete knowledge of the individual in question remains a 'utopian quest''.[28]

In studying the lives and work of particular, named scribes, practitioners of codicology in its broader sense, defined above by Doyle, might be regarded as writing biobibliographical histories and are thereby similarly rehabilitating the individual. However, though such studies of named scribes as those referenced above may contextualise and relate their findings to wider cultural developments, they rarely approach the scope of true *annales* style histories. This may be in part due to the availability of manuscript evidence.

For the biographical method, though useful, is not unproblematic. Problems of documentation arise when those individuals the researcher might study are not figures like Saint Louis or Saint Francis of Assisi or Peter Abelard, whose contemporaries and near-contemporaries recorded their experiences of those charismatic personalities; Peter Abelard, of course, went one step further and composed his own autobiography. This thesis is not a study of great men, but of individuals belonging to the Carthusian Order, an order which holds fast to its ancient traditions, its reverent silence and its members' anonymity. Information is therefore comparatively sparse. We do not have a Sire Jean de Joinville to relate anecdotes of our monks. Instead there are tantalising clues here and there, gleaned from bishops' registers, government documents, institutional documents, local parish church records, the Carthusian Order's yearly *chartae*, edited by Hogg, Sargent and Clark,[29] letters between correspondents, and of course the manuscript books themselves: the works of the monks' own hands, which in a way bring us closer to them than even Joinville could bring us to Saint Louis.

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[26] M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: a medieval life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).
[27] Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, (trans.) Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).
[28] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, xxiii.
[29] For an overview of the edited chartae, see J. Hogg, 'Everyday Life in an English Charterhouse', in Luxford (ed.), *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008): 43-44.

Biography, when linked so strongly to manuscript evidence, also suffers from reliance on the correct identification of scribal hands. In writing a biobibliographical history, the researcher reconstructs scribal cultures through the lives of named copyists by balancing documentary and contemporary, anecdotal evidence with rigorous codicological analysis. This codicological analysis is dependent upon the presence of a scribe's hand in a particular manuscript. Often those manuscripts are unsigned. As mentioned above, the identification of scribal hands has been an area which has lately come under scrutiny, and with good reason. For if the methods of identification used are flawed then those biographies based upon a misidentification must be redrawn. In consequence, quite a different picture may result, which will affect the understanding of the cultures in which those scribes lived and worked.

The result of this comparatively sparse level of documentation is that the scope of those researchers seeking to write codicological histories based on scribal biography is reduced in comparison to those historians writing biography in the true socio-historical *annales* style. There are relatively few named late-medieval English scribes who may be attributed to a large enough, surviving body of work. Therefore, such studies of scribes, named and unnamed, necessarily focus on the output of one particular individual or a cluster of scribes working in close proximity or within similar literary cultures. Rather than surveying a cross-section of an entire scribal culture, the reconstruction of a particular culture in which a late-medieval English scribe plied his or her trade instead involves the interpretation of a series of snapshots of lives strung together by manuscript books.

This is not to say that biobibliographical studies of scribes could not be undertaken on an *annales* scale. As discussed above, the false problems that sidelined biography from the practice of history have been reconsidered. Therefore, the use of an individual as a 'crystallizing' focal point through which a researcher may draw conclusions about the society in which that individual lived is a valid historiographical approach, and is, it is argued here, relevant to the interests of codicologists studying the lives and works of scribes. The problem lies in the quantity of work done on individual scribal hands. Not enough work has been undertaken in this area to enable quantitative, comparative analysis of continuity and change within the often overlapping scribal cultures of late medieval England. The area of scribal biography, however, has of late received more attention, with projects such as *The Late Medieval English Scribes* looking to redress the imbalance.[30] We are a long way, however, from realising McIntosh's vision of a broad inventory of scribal hands. For in order to see the whole, one must first have at least the outline of the sum of its parts. This thesis is a modest contribution to the field of scribal biography, that may, despite its focus on the local relevance and context of the copying of two named Carthusian scribes, help

[30] *Late Medieval English Scribes* <http://www.medievalscribes.com> [accessed 04/06/2013].

add a few more useful details to the incomplete, overall picture of late-medieval scribal and literary activity in England.

Codicology and book history

Scribes are primarily evidenced, of course, by the manuscripts they produced, or the texts they copied: codices, charters, account-books, letters, recipes, etc. These surviving artefacts are all material witnesses to the literary culture of a bygone era. Manuscript books, the subject of this thesis, are a special sort of source. Each example is handmade and unique. Depending on the purpose and grade of decoration, assembling a manuscript could be an expensive and time-consuming enterprise. Moreover, the inherent uniqueness of manuscript books reflects the collective individualities of their creators and users and the society of the time, and therefore proves a useful lens through which researchers may focus their research in attempt to write social histories of particular textual cultures. This is the domain of the emerging discipline of book history, from which the study of manuscripts has in the past been excluded. Alexandra Gillespie has made the case for manuscript study to be considered within the 'book history canon', and with good reason, for codicologists have been practising forms of book history at least since the pioneering work of Doyle in the 1950s, if not before.[31] This thesis can be seen as a contribution to this tradition of book history.

Recent work in book history – as broadly defined – has demonstrated that it is important to bring several different disciplinary perspectives to bear on the study of the book. Examples in (comparatively) recent scholarship show how disciplines traditionally distinct – such as palaeography and philology – can be productively brought together under the remit of codicology.

Thus for instance Parkes' work on script hierarchies, including the development of Anglicana and Secretary script families, explained the development of medieval hands in the context of growing literacy in the vernacular and the resulting increase in demand for books, thus linking the traditional concerns of palaeographical analysis and the narratives developed by historical linguists.[32] By describing data drawn from rigorous palaeographical and codicological analysis and explaining it in relation to a wider, cultural context in the manner of the social historian, Parkes was practising codicology in the broader sense. Smith has gone on to argue that the prerequisites for linguistic change – systemic regulation, variation and constraint and extralinguistic pressures – all act on the written

[31] Alexandra Gillespie, 'The History of the Book', *New Medieval Literatures*, 9, (2007): 260-268.
[32] M. B. Parkes, *A study of certain kinds of script used in England in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* (1958); and Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500* (Oxford: University Press, 1969).

mode of Middle English.[33] When considering the evolution of script hierarchies as described by Parkes in 1979,[34] Smith explains the phenomenon in terms of systemic pressures: a compromise between the speed and ease of the physical act of writing and the maintenance of legibility (thus invoking the balance between the principles of 'least effort' and the preservation of communicative efficiency); variation in the form of stylistic variation akin to formal and informal linguistic registers between and within script types, and contact from foreign scripts such as Secretary, all of which interacted with the driving force for the evolution of Parkes' late medieval script hierarchies: growing literacy in the vernacular and the resulting increase in demand for books.[35]

The linking of palaeography and philology can also be useful for the examination of the written language equivalent to suprasegmentals, viz. punctuation. Parkes' *Pause and Effect*, the only scholarly, book-length work of the twentieth century devoted to a systematic analysis of western punctuation practice, brings together palaeographical and philological perspectives.[36] Employing examples drawn from vernacular and classical texts, Parkes shows how the needs of both readers and writers from each period and country discussed developed into the present day marks we use today. Parkes argued that the only way to understand punctuation usage was to study it historically as it had been used and that the 'usability of manuscripts' was of prime concern when studying them.[37] Punctuation, therefore, is to be examined as an aid in the clear communication of meaning, and as the purpose of writing is a means of communicating with other human beings, what was written down had to be clear in order to be understood. Punctuation, Parkes argues, also evolved and changed in correspondence to changes in the needs of readers and developed in tandem with increasing levels of literacy. In other words, form is constrained by function; the formal marks of punctuation can only be accounted for if seen from a wider linguistic perspective. Codicology has also, it may be argued, to engage with changing orthographic practices.

The development of the standardisation of written English can also be related to wider social context, and is especially relevant to the period covered in this study, c.1400-c.1500. The end point of the period covered by *LALME*, 1350-1450, was chosen because the sixteenth century marked the gradual erosion of dialectal variation recorded in the written mode, replaced by colourless usage and then, eventually, forms based on the type IV incipient Chancery 'Standard' first described by Samuels in 1963.[38] Due to the high

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[33] Smith, *An Historical Study of English*, 56-63, 63-77.
[34] Parkes, *English Cursive Bookhands*, xiii-xxv.
[35] Smith, *An Historical Study of English*, 60.
[36] M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An introduction to the history of punctuation in the west* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
[37] Parkes, *Pause and Effect,* 2.
[38] M. L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', *English Studies*, 44: 1-6 (1963): 88-90. Michael Benskin, 'Chancery Standard', in C. Kay, C. Hough and I. Wotherspoon (eds.), *New Perspectives on English Historical Linguistics: Selected Papers from 12 ICEHL, Glasgow, 21-26 August*

level of orthographic variation, before the process of selection of Type IV Chancery 'Standard' forms, colourless usage provided the most effective means for a scribe to maximise their communicative efficiency. Further than considering purely systemic, linguistic concerns, choosing the most widely recognised word-forms and therefore maximising communicative efficiency was essential in widening readership: the more readers who could clearly understand a text, the greater the likelihood of those readers passing it on to others. The widening of readership and increasing levels of literacy was a crucial factor in the development of vernacular literature, and therefore of great concern to those studying manuscripts. It would therefore seem useful to consider the language of Mede and Dodesham in order to gauge how far these linguistic developments affected – or were constrained by – their copying practices and those for whom they copied.

The disciplines of palaeography and historical linguistics are therefore complementary. They overlap and interact in contextualising scribal activity in terms of wider developments in the history of English and the development of manuscript culture; as Parkes once said (priv. comm., to J. J. Smith), 'the biggest mistake a palaeographer makes is to forget the nature of the text being copied', and this emphasis on the functional constraints on the formal characteristics of text, both palaeographical and linguistic, are crucial for this thesis. Work by scholars such as: Richard Beadle,[39] Richard Hamer,[40] Simon Horobin,[41] M. L. Samuels,[42] J. J. Smith,[43] and Jacob Thaisen[44] support the argument for examining scribal culture from both palaeographic and historical linguistic perspectives. The analysis of script varieties and linguistic data in context is therefore amenable to the practice of codicology.

The writing of social histories of any scope requires an integrated approach. In each of the above disciplines, whether palaeography, codicology, or historical linguistics, contemporary practice requires

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2002 Vol. II: Lexis and Transmission (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004): 1-40.

[39] Richard Beadle, 'Middle English Texts and their Transmission, 1350-1500: Some Geographical Criteria', in M. Laing and K. Williamson (eds.), *Speaking in Our Tongues: Proceedings of a Colloquium on Medieval Dialectology and Related Disciplines* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994): 69-91.

[40] Richard F. S. Hamer, 'Spellings of the fifteenth-century scribe Ricardus Franciscus,' in E. G. Stanley and D. Gray (eds.), *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds: A Festschrift for Eric Dobson* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983): 63-73.

[41] Simon Horobin and Linne R. Mooney, 'A *Piers Plowman* Manuscript by the Hengwrt / Ellesmere Scribe and its Implications for London Standard English', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 26 (2004): 65-112.

[42] M. L. Samuels, 'The Scribe of the Hengwrt and Ellesmere Manuscripts of *The Canterbury Tales*, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer,* 5 (1983): 49-65; repr. in *The English of Chaucer and his Contemporaries: Essays by M. L. Samuels and J. J. Smith*, 38-50.

[43] J. J. Smith, 'The Trinity Gower D-Scribe', 51-69.

[44] Jacob Thaisen, 'The Trinity Gower D Scribe's Two *Canterbury Tales* Manuscripts Revisited', in Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (eds.), *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England* (York: York Medieval Press, 2008): 41-60.

not only the description of data drawn from rigorous textual analysis, but also the interpretation of that data in relation to a wider, cultural context. In doing so, such studies are lifted out of the realm of pure bibliography or philology and into the realm of social historiography. These hitherto separate subject areas have also been found to be complementary when brought together under the remit of codicology, enabling researches to form a fuller picture of medieval scribal cultures and to explain why scribes acted in particular ways. As a means of writing social histories, it is argued that the practice of broader-focused codicology may serve as a useful means of writing social histories, and, more particularly relevant to this study, may also provide a greater level of biographical detail.

The structure of this thesis

I will undertake this study by describing the manuscripts of Mede and Dodesham in detail and simultaneously providing an interpretation on what the physical material might represent in terms of the life and work of the scribe and hence on a socio-cultural level. Palaeographical aspects, codicological aspects, aspects of decoration, and provenance, will be filtered through the lens of codicology in its broader sense, as defined above.

The discussion 'characters', i. e. case-studies, will be placed at the core of the investigation. Two scribes from Sheen charterhouse – William Mede and Stephen Dodesham, colleagues and contemporaries – have been chosen to be representative of developments in Carthusian manuscript culture, reading practices and developments in the history of English in fifteenth century England. Chapter two will survey the current state of Carthusian studies, providing a brief summary of the history of the Order, commentary on its administrative structure, Carthusian spirituality, their participation in the intellectual culture of the late medieval period, how they responded to changing patterns in devotion and their attitudes and approaches to the acts of reading, writing and copying. This background is essential for understanding and contextualising the lives and works of Mede and Dodesham. Chapters three and four are dedicated to the life and work of Dom William Mede and Dom Stephen Dodesham respectively, and will correlate biographical data with manuscript descriptions and linguistic data. These data will be subjected to discussion through the sociological, functionalist lens of codicology, raising issues to be pursued in a more discursive way in chapter five. Chapter five, therefore, brings both case studies together, and in addition, offers a summary of the thesis and some suggestions for future work.

Chapter Two

Carthusian studies

Scholarly work on the *provincia Angliae* has always been somewhat sporadic and thin on the ground in comparison to the level of energy and commitment displayed in continental Europe, where the Carthusian Order seems always to have been a field worth exploring. The disparity is glaring when we consider the website <http://www.cartusiana.org>, launched in 2007 by Tom Gaens and Frans Hendrickx, formed to serve as a knowledge network in which Belgian and Dutch researchers from the diverse disciplines comprising Carthusian studies may participate. Its goals, outlined by Gaens and Hendrickx on their site, are to search for, acquire and store all Carthusian archival documents, acquired from their own resources, donations or bequests, including historical artefacts, documents, manuscripts, books, papers, publications, AV materials and digital information relating to the history and spirituality of the Carthusian Order in the Netherlands and its relations with administrative and ecclesiastical authorities.[45] It aims also to support and encourage scholarly studies and publications, conferences, seminars, symposia and participation in external, national or international scholarly research projects and meetings as well as supporting an active web platform and a programme of public services to provide advice and training to individuals and associations, to promote publications and organise exhibition projects. They have recently published online the Rooklooster register, an important document for the study of Carthusian libraries, and they maintain close links with various interdisciplinary research associations across the continent, including the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and France. This is a new, exciting and forward-looking project centred entirely around Carthusian studies. Perhaps tellingly, even deservedly, scholars from English-speaking scholarly communities rarely feature, although attempts have been made to redress this imbalance, which will be discussed below.

For a long time, the study of the English Carthusians – indeed, the Carthusian Order as a whole – was an area subject to almost entire neglect. If the Carthusians were at all considered, it was usually to recount the tale of the martyrdom of priors John Houghton, Augustine Webster and Robert Lawrence at Tyburn on 4th May, 1535.[46] The most recent retellings of that unfortunate tale are featured in the 1899 publication of Dom Lawrence Hendriks of St Hugh's charterhouse, Parkminster, and the 1925 account of W. H. St John Hope in *History of the London Charterhouse*.[47] There were, however, a few useful exceptions in the

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[45] Frans Hendrickx and Tom Gaens, *Cartusiana. Geschiedenis van de kartuizerorde in de Nederlande*, <www.cartusiana.org> [accessed 25/05/2013].
[46] Maurice Chauncy, *The Passion and Martyrdom of the Holy English Carthusian Fathers: A Short Narrative*, G.W.S. Curtis (ed.) (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935).
[47] Dom Lawrence Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse: its monks and its martyrs, with a short account of the English Carthusians after the dissolution* (London: K. Paul, Trench & co., 1889); W. H. St John

early publications of *Victoria County History* edited by William Page, beginning in 1906 with surveys of each of the individual English charterhouses.[48]

In was in 1930 that the first, and to date only, general historical survey of the pre-Reformation English Carthusians was published: E. Margaret Thompson's useful and still widely cited *The Carthusian Order in England*.[49] It published for the first time many contemporary documents such as library loans and the meticulously kept accounts of Dom Philip Underwood. Dom David Knowles, in *The Monastic Order in England* and later in *The Religious Orders in England,* included a valuable and concise contribution on the influence of the Carthusian Order on the spiritual culture of late medieval England, discussing the Order's interaction with lay patrons and emphasising their participation in the English mystical tradition.[50] Until Rowntree's 1981 unpublished doctoral dissertation,[51] Thompson's work remained the sole historical survey on the late medieval English Carthusians.

Thompson laid the groundwork for historians and church scholars to exploit the abundant and available documentation. The responsibility for taking English Carthusian research in new directions, however, fell to palaeographers and bibliographers, the impetus of their research based on the libraries of the Order, their books, their role in textual production and circulation amongst other religious and lay patrons. N. R. Ker in the first edition of *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* published lists of surviving manuscripts of Carthusian provenance and assigned them to the houses to which they belonged or in which they were produced.[52] Eric Colledge discussed in detail the circulation of the writings of Jan van Ruusbroec and the strong links between English and Continental communities.[53] In his 1953 doctoral thesis on the role of the clergy in the origins and circulation of theological writings in the late medieval period, A. I. Doyle began to put the pieces together, revealing the part the Carthusian Order played – particularly concerning the circulation of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Life of Jesus Christ* and Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*.[54] Having built on the work of N. R. Ker, with the aid of surviving Carthusian book lists,

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Hope, *The history of the London Charterhouse from its foundation until the suppression of the monastery* (London: Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, 1925).

[48] See notes 165-173 below.

[49] E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, Church Historical Society, new series, 3 (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930).

[50] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1963): 375-91. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England,* 3 vols (Cambridge: University Press, 1948-1959) vols 2 and 3.

[51] C. B. Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England: With Special Reference to the Order's Relations with Secular Society* (University of York: unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1981).

[52] Ker, *MLGB,* (1987).

[53] Eric Colledge, 'The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God', *English Studies*, 33 (1952): 49-66.

[54] A. I. Doyle, *A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English* (1953); 'Book Production by the Monastic Orders in England (c. 1375-1530): Assessing the Evidence', 1-21; 'Publication by Members of the Religious Orders', 109-123; 'The Study of Nicholas Love's *Mirror,*

loans, identifiable scribes and manuscripts of Carthusian provenance, Doyle has reconstructed what little we know of Carthusian libraries (since, unlike other Orders, no Carthusian library catalogues survive – a unique but frustrating situation) and has considerably augmented the lists published originally by Thompson and Ker.[55] Doyle has also identified the hands of Carthusian scribes and has sketched biographies of Dom Stephen Dodesham and Dom William Darker of Sheen charterhouse, reconstructing their lives and scribal careers through their surviving manuscript output.[56]

The fields of palaeography and codicology were integral in paving the way for further study and alerting the wider English-speaking scholarly community to the potential of studying in depth the Carthusian Order, though their focus was still comparatively narrow. Carthusian studies needed something to bring together the various aspects encompassing the Order's long history. In the 1970s, Professor James Hogg founded the *Analecta Cartusiana* series. Initially devoted to monograph publications, it has recently reached its fortieth anniversary and has since evolved into a multi-lingual, international journal dedicated to preserving and making available the work of the Order and those who study it. The wealth of material recorded within the volumes of *Analecta Cartusiana* – numbering over three hundred at present – led to the organisation of more than sixty international conferences dedicated to the study of the Carthusian Order, the conference proceedings published by Professor Hogg in *Kartäusermystik und –mystiker* volumes.[57] *Analecta Cartusiana* has recently acquired a blog, at present run by Pierre-Aelred Henel, assistant to the editors of Analecta, to promote its publications and conferences. Like the series itself, the blog is multi-lingual and international in scope.[58]

Analecta Cartusiana provided a platform scholars could use to publish academic work related to the Order, and English-speaking scholars writing on the affairs of the neglected *provincia Angliae* began to feature. In the past, it has featured work of diverse scholars whose interests are not always exclusively Carthusian, but who have made important contributions to the field. Michael Sargent has worked on late medieval Carthusian textual transmission, especially those of a mystical or devotional character. He was central to the organisation of the international *De Cella in Saeculum* conference with Vincent Gillespie

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Retrospect and Prospect', in Shoichi Oguro, Richard Beadle, and Michael G. Sargent (eds), *Nicholas Love at Waseda* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997): 163-74; 'Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey', *The Library,* 5th ser., 11 (1956): 115-8.

[55] Doyle, *Libraries of the Carthusians* (2002).

[56] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 94-115, and 'William Darker: the work of an English Carthusian Scribe', 199-211.

[57] Pierre-Aelred Henel, Charles Spurgeon (et al.), *AnalectaCartusiana*, <http://analectacartusiana.blogspot.co.uk/2011/07/2011-80th-birthday-celebration-of-james.html> [accessed 25/05/2013].

[58] ibid. <http://analectacartusiana.blogspot.co.uk/> [accessed 25/05/2013].

and Rosemary Ann Lees, and that of *Nicholas Love at Waseda*.[59] Sargent has edited a critical and a reading text of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (an update of Elizabeth Salter's 1974 critical edition for *Analecta Cartusiana*),[60] and has contributed a comprehensive and useful biography of the troubled James Grenehalgh.[61] In conjunction with Professor Hogg, Sargent also participated in the *Analecta Cartusiana* project to publish the surviving Carthusian *chartae*. This project has now largely been taken on by the Rev. Dr. John Clark, a church scholar who has also made contributions to the series on mysticism and monastic contemplative theology alongside his work to make available unpublished material from the *chartae*.[62]

There is also Roger Lovatt, a literature scholar with interests in medieval book-collections and libraries and religious life and literature, especially in relation to the mystical tradition in England and on the continent. He has worked extensively on Carthusian textual transmission in his excellent study of the *Imitatio Christi* and in his persuasive account of contemporary late medieval Carthusian spirituality reconstructed through the surviving record of the library of John Blacman, retreatant at London and *clericus redditus* of Witham charterhouse.[63] More recently, the subject of Carthusian reading habits and monastic culture has been comprehensively surveyed through the lens of British Library, MS Additional 37049 in Jessica Brantley's *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England*.[64]

The Order's liturgy has been treated by R. W. Pfaff and Brother Anselm Joseph Gribbin. Gribbin serves as editor of the *provincia Angliae* division of one of *Analecta Cartusiana*'s latest initiatives, the *Monasticon Cartusiense*, described by Julian Luxford as 'a generously illustrated gazetteer of all ancient and modern charterhouses throughout Europe.'[65] Gribbin also writes on affairs of the late medieval

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[59] Michael G. Sargent (ed.), *De cella in saeculum*, (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, c.1989), and Shoichi Oguro, Richard Beadle, and Michael G. Sargent (eds.), *Nicholas Love at Waseda* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997).
[60] Nicholas Love, *Myrrour of the blessed lyf of Jesus Christ*, (ed.) Elizabeth Salter, AC, vol. 10, (Salzburg: Institut Für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1974). Nicholas Love, *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Critical Edition Based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686* (ed.) Michael Sargent, (Garland Publishing: New York, 1992), and Nicholas Love, *The mirror of the blessed life of Jesus Christ: a reading text,* (ed.) Michael Sargent (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004).
[61] Michael G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, 2 vols., AC, 85:2 (Salzburg : Institut, 1984).
[62] For an overview of the edited *Chartae* published in AC, see Appendix 4 of J. Hogg, 'Life in an English Charterhouse', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 43-44.
[63] Roger Lovatt, 'The library of John Blacman and contemporary Carthusian spirituality', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43 (1992): 195-230; 'The Imitation of Christ in Late Medieval England' (1968): 97-121.
[64] Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University Press, 2008).
[65] Luxford, *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 6.

English Carthusians of Sheen by analysing their interaction with one of the wealthiest and most powerful prelates in Christendom, Cardinal Henry Beaufort.[66] Dennis D. Martin in *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform* considers the Order from within a contemporary spiritual viewpoint – seeking to recover the essence of Carthusian spirituality within the context of the *devotio moderna*, Christian Humanism and the late medieval movement of reformed monasticism, whose work could fall under the umbrella of *Annales* 'History of Ideas'.[67] In *Carthusian Spirituality*, Martin also translates the writings of two little-known thirteenth century Carthusians, Hugh of Balma and Guigo de Ponte.[68] Recently, Martin has written on the subject of Carthusians as advocates of women visionaries in the context of monastic reform,[69] and his forthcoming publication treats the expansive and ambitious topic of late medieval Carthusian monastic writers who covered everything from the spirituality and practice of agriculture, law, and grain merchandising to mystical theology and the development of the Rosary.

The appearance of doctoral dissertations served as a marker of increased, more general interest. Supplementing the work of Thompson and the Victoria County History profiles are four very useful but unpublished PhD theses. C. B. Rowntree's impressive *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England*,[70] then W. N. M. Beckett's *Sheen Charterhouse from its foundation to its dissolution*,[71] and finally A. R. Wines' *The London Charterhouse in the Late Middle Ages: An Institutional History*.[72] Brian Vander Veen supplies valuable commentary on literary activity at the lesser known Beauvale charterhouse and its interactions with laypeople and patrons.[73] C. B. Rowntree's thesis provides ordination and death dates for a large number of English Carthusians as well as invaluable information pertaining to the English Carthusians' relationships with lay patrons. Though completed before the programme of editing the *chartae* had begun, Rowntree's thesis is a treasure trove of biographical detail that remains useful and easily accessible, having recently been digitised by the University of York. The level of biographical detail may be increased further when used in conjunction with Professor Virginia

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[66] Anselm J. Gribbin, '"Tribularer si nescirem misericordia tuas": Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 73-106.
[67] Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth century Carthusian reform: the world of Nicholas Kempf*, in Studies in the History of Christian Thought, XLIX (E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1992).
[68] Martin (ed. trans.), *Carthusian Spirituality: The Writings of Hugh of Balma and Guigo de Ponte*, in The Classics of Western Spirituality, 88 (Paulist Press: New Jersey, 1997).
[69] Martin, 'Carthusians as Advocates of Women Visionary Reformers', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 127-154.
[70] C. B. Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England: With Special Reference to the Order's Relations with Secular Society* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York, 1981).
[71] *W. N. M. Beckett*, *Sheen Charterhouse from its Foundation to its Dissolution* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1992).
[72] *A. R. Wines, The London Charterhouse in the Later Middle Ages: An Institutional History* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1998).
[73] Brian C. Vander Veen, *The 'Vitae' of Bodleian Library, MS Douce 114* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2007).

Davis' innovative project *Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages*, a fully searchable electronic database on CD-ROM providing information directly from ecclesiastical registers.[74]

The marker of a field finally having arrived, however – the scholarly *compilatio* – is found in Julian M. Luxford's *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*. With contributions from fourteen scholars from diverse research backgrounds (including James Hogg, A. I. Doyle, Michael Sargent, Dennis D. Martin, Anselm Joseph Gribbin and Jessica Brantley), topics range from history and church history, literature and bibliography, the politics of patronage, art-history and archaeology.[75] Its focus lies mainly on the *provincia Angliae*, but that is not the main focus of the volume, and certain articles attempt to bridge the gap with continental Europe.

Interest in the Carthusian Order is not solely confined to the academic community. A sure sign of a field having gained wider recognition is that whispers of the Carthusian Order have crept into the mainstream. Two popular introductions best exemplify this: Nancy Klein Maguire's description of life in St Hugh's charterhouse, Parkminster, reconstructed from interviews given by ex-novices,[76] and Robin Bruce Lockhart's account of his own experience at St Hugh's as a lay guest.[77] There has even been an award-winning film documentary on the lives of the monks of La Grande Chartreuse.[78] A sign of the times, perhaps, is that St Hugh's charterhouse has also commissioned a website providing information on the monastery's structure, its community, the life and the liturgy, including a bookshop with the large part of the inventory comprised of books written by Carthusians.[79] Things are looking up for academic study of the Order. The field is by no means untrodden, but there are areas which remain to be investigated.

The Carthusian Order

Formation and structure

In a time of great tumult for the Church of Rome, in the wake of the Great Schism of 1054 that shook Rome to its core and irrevocably split the eastern and western churches and in the era of sweeping Gregorian Reform aimed at reclaiming the central and moral authority of Rome after a century of clerical

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[74] Virginia Davis, *Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages: A Register of Clergy Ordained in the Diocese of London Based on Episcopal Ordination Lists,1361-1539* (London: University of London Centre for Metropolitan History, 2000).
[75] Julian M. Luxford (ed.), *Studies in Carthusian monasticism in the late Middle Ages* (2008).
[76] Nancy Klein Maguire, *An Infinity of Little Hours: Five Young Men and Their Trial of Faith in the Western World's Most Austere Monastic Order* (Public Affairs: United States of America, 2007).
[77] Robin Bruce Lockhart, *Halfway to Heaven: The Hidden Life of the Carthusians* (London: Darnton, Longman and Todd, 1999).
[78] *Die Große Stille*. Dir. Philip Gröning. X-Filme, 2005. Film.
Into Great Silence. Dir. Philip Gröning. Zeitgeist Films, 2005. Film.
[79] St. Hugh's Charterhouse (2005) <http://www.parkminster.org.uk> [accessed 25/05/2013].

abuse and corruption, Saint Bruno of Cologne, a famous teacher and Chancellor of the diocese of Rheims, who had witnessed such abuse and corruption first-hand, took a vow to renounce all secular concerns and with his companions sought a life of contemplative solitude far from the worldly troubles of Rome and Rheims.[80] With the help of St Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, St Bruno and his companions were settled in the rugged wilderness of the Chartreuse mountains, near Grenoble. That first settlement became La Grande Chartreuse, the mother house of the Order. The Latin form *cartusia* gave the Order its name. Devoted to humility, simplicity, self-denial and silence, the Carthusian Order was founded by Saint Bruno of Cologne in 1084.

At his death, St Bruno had not formally set down in writing the rules and customs of the Order. This was left to a successor, the fifth prior of La Grande Chartreuse, Guigo I. The *Consuetudines* (*Constitutions* or *Customs*) were set down by Guigo c. 1127. They represented the earliest form of what the Carthusians would consider a Rule and formed the basis for the *Statutes*.[81] The Carthusian *Statutes* combine elements of eremitic and coenobitic life. Therefore, the members of the Order are members of a community of hermits, living together in solitude in cells with in the grounds of their charterhouse.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the structure of the Order was much as it had been since its foundation and remains so today. La Grande Chartreuse acted as mother house of the Order and the Prior of La Grande Chartreuse, the 'Reverend Father Prior', served as head of the Order.[82] All other priors were equal in rank, and until the French Revolution,[83] they convened annually at La Grande Chartreuse for the General Chapter. During the meeting of the General Chapter, the concerns of ensuring observance was upheld in each of its satellites were addressed as well as the recording of obituaries, the appointment of visitors, the confirmation of the elections of priors, the transference of members between houses, any injunctions made against a house or member of the Order, and any questions asked with their answers supplied.

Subordinate to La Grande Chartreuse, each charterhouse was headed by a prior and populated by professed choir monks and lay brothers: the *conversi* (lay monks) and *donati* (labourers). In the late medieval period, the prior of a charterhouse could also admit to his community a number of *redditi*. The

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[80]Fr. André Ravier, *Saint Bruno the Carthusian* (trans.) Bruno Becker (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1995): ch. 1-5 <http://transfiguration.chartreux.org/Bruno/Prologue_sn.htm> [accessed 25/05/2013].
[81] For the evolution of the *Statutes* see J. Hogg, *The evolution of the Carthusian Statutes from the Consuetudines Guigonis to the Tertia Compilatio*, AC, 99:1 (Salzburg: Institut, 1989).
[82] Secretary to the Prior of La Grande Chartreuse was the 'father scribe'; in the context of this thesis, 'scribe' does not denote 'father scribe'.
[83] J. Hogg, 'Life in an English Charterhouse in the Fifteenth Century: Discipline and Daily Affairs', *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 21, n.10.

redditi, and clerk *redditi* according to James Hogg, were 'a form of second-class members of the monastic choir, who followed a less severe regime', and unlike the fully professed choir monks, were allowed to retain property.[84] The prior was elected by the members of the community and his appointment was ratified by the General Chapter. Once his election had been confirmed, the prior was henceforth responsible for the overall functioning of the community on a spiritual and administrative level. The prior also wielded the authority to impose tasks on community members, these tasks undertaken for the love of god and the good of the community as a whole. The prior of a charterhouse was subject only to the authority of the prior of La Grande Chartreuse and to any Visitors charged with the task of inspecting his house. The position of Visitor or Co-Visitor was one only a prior could hold, and they were appointed by the General Chapter. The purpose of the Visitor and Co-Visitor was to ensure discipline and liturgical uniformity were maintained in their province, and that laxity, where present, was reported to the General Chapter and weeded out.

Other solemnly professed monks might be appointed to certain obediences according to their experience and ability. Aside from the office of prior, other senior positions included those of vicar, procurator, novice-master and sacrist. The vicar was effectively second-in-command of any given house and fulfilled the function of prior, if the prior was absent or unable to perform his duties. The procurator was responsible for the day-to-day running of the charterhouse, held authority over the lay brothers and any hired servants and was responsible for acquiring goods and keeping and rendering accounts. The sacrist had the important job of ensuring the monks kept strictly to their liturgical time,[85] was responsible for the care of any sacred objects required for services and was responsible for the upkeep of the church.[86] He possessed a measure of authority over any servants and was permitted to enlist their help and the help of others within the community if required. The fifth senior officer, the novice master, was responsible for the welfare and education of those who sought to become solemnly professed monks. The novice master's role involved examining and testing potential candidates and he was permitted to visit the cells of those in his care. He instructed his charges on the customs of the Order, acted as their spiritual director, advised on any problems they might have experienced, directed their studies and any manual work, and endeavoured to foster the spirit of prayer essential in the formation of a Carthusian.[87]

The Carthusian monk lives most of his day in the hermitage: he meditates, prays the Liturgy of the Hours on his own, eats his meals, studies and writes, works in his garden or at some manual trade or at

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[84] Hogg, 'Everyday Life in an English Charterhouse', 26.
[85] Nancy Klein Maguire, *An Infinity of Little Hours*, 43.
[86] For a summary of the duties of the Carthusian sacrist, see Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 113.
[87] *Statutes*, bk. 1, ch. 9, 'The Novice Master' <http://www.chartreux.org/en/texts/statutes-book-1.php#c9> [accessed 24/02/2013].

whichever task his prior has assigned him. It is a hard life; a difficult and ascetic life. Their schedule of work and prayer is gruelling, a typical modern day beginning before midnight and ending before eight p. m.[88] In the 1400s, Denis of Rijkel is said to have adopted a particularly taxing schedule, devoting eight hours of his day to prayer, allowing only three hours for sleep, and the rest to study and writing.[89] The Order recognises this, and today has several stages through which aspiring candidates must progress in order to test their dedication and willingness to endure what can be a difficult way of life.[90] Today's aspirants must wait a period of at least two to three years before making any real commitment to the Carthusian vocation. The late medieval novitiate was considerably shorter, only a year long, which gave potential aspirants and novices less time to test their resolve and suitability for the life,[91] an arrangement which ultimately proved fatal for the vocations of certain individuals, among them Andrew Boorde of the London charterhouse, Carthusian-turned-physician-and-spy, who claimed to have been admitted under-age and turned to Thomas Cromwell in the hope that Henry VIII's chief minister would provide him an exit.[92]

As far as possible, the monks had no contact with the outside world, and little even with their brethren. Their lives were devoted to their cells, within which was contained all that was needed to fulfil their vocation. Due to the nature of their vocation, and their dedication to solitude and cell, the Carthusians, therefore, never engaged in any work of a missionary nature. Neither did they venture out into the world to preach sermons or evangelize, and they did not undertake pastoral work; at least not of the conventional sort. Over and above their life of intercessory prayer, which they undertook on behalf of the whole Church and the human race, they also preached the word of god in quite another way.

The bookish Carthusians

From the earliest days of the Order, Carthusians began to acquire a reputation for bookishness. The correspondence between the early priors of La Grande Chartreuse and other church figures such as Peter the Venerable, reveals a thriving intellectual culture and systems of textual exchange centred mainly

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[88] For a timetable of a typical Carthusian workday, cf. <http://www.chartreux.org/en/monks/carthusian-day.php> [accessed 24/02/2013].
[89] Edmund Gurdon, 'Denys the Carthusian', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908) <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04734a.htm> [accessed 09/03/2013].
[90] The Carthusian Order, *The Carthusian Vocation* (2007) <http://transfiguration.chartreux.org/vocation.htm> [accessed 04/08/2011].
[91] Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 412.
[92] TNA, SP1/84, f.87^{r}. Andrew Boorde to John Batmanson, Prior of Hinton: 'I am nott able to byd þ^{e} rugorosyte off yo^{r} relygyon', and London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra E. IV. 54: 'I can nor neu(er) cowld ~~be~~ lyue solytary & I among(es) yow intrusyd in a close ayre myȝth neu(er) haue my helth . also I was receuyd among(es) yow vnd(er) age contrary to y(ou)^{r} statut(es)'.

around the acquiring and copying of books. In the postscript of a letter to his friend, Raoul-le-Verd, St. Bruno, the founder of the Order, made a request:

> This letter is not as succinct as it ordinarily ought to be, but that is because I do not have the joy of your presence. As a result, I desired to prolong our conversation at least in writing, and thus have the pleasure of your company.
> So, brother, stay in good health. Accept my ardent wish, that you will take my words very much to heart.
> Bruno.
> P. S. Would you send us the *Life of St. Remigius*? It is impossible to obtain here. Farewell.[93]

Contemporary evidence of Carthusian interest in books and learning is also found in the correspondence between Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, and Guigo I, fifth prior of La Grande Chartreuse, in which Peter requests the Carthusians send a copy of the Letters of St. Jerome because a large part of their manuscript, while in the care of one of their 'obediences', was eaten by a bear:[94]

> I sent the lives of SS Nazianem and Chrysostom, as you asked. I also sent the little book or letter of the blessed Ambrose against Symmachus ... The treatise of St. Hilary on the Psalms I did not send because I found the same corruption in our book as in yours. But if you want it anyway, ask again and I will send it. As you know, we do not have Prosper against Cassian, but we have sent to St. Jean d'Angely in Aquitaine for it, and we will send it if it becomes necessary. And please send us the larger volume of the holy father Augustine, which almost at the beginning contains his letters to St. Jerome, and those of St. Jerome to him. For a large part of ours when it was in one of our obediences was accidentally eaten by a bear.

The means by which the monks of the early chartreux acquired their books were not very different to those of their late medieval colleagues, as the list of books delivered to Hinton from London charterhouse by the scribe John Whetham attests.[95]

The development of the centralised administrative structure of the Order facilitated the process of acquiring books. Copies of the *chartae* and the annual ordinances from the General Chapter were to be

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[93] *Letter of Saint Bruno to his friend Raoul-le-Verd* <http://www.chartreux.org/en/textes/bruno-raoul-le-verd.php> [accessed 24/02/2013].
[94] Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 1 (ed.) Giles Constable (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1967): 47, Letter 22; trans. Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, 49-50.
[95] Doyle, *Libraries of the Carthusians*, 622-624.

made available at every house without exception. As it was most easily accessed, these documents went first to London charterhouse, where they were copied and then sent along to other English communities where the process was repeated until each house possessed a copy and were thus better equipped to conform to the wishes of the General Chapter. Members of the Order were also eligible for transfer to any house of the Order at the discretion of their prior and the General Chapter.

Such movement explains the rapid exchange of new texts between English charterhouses and those on the continent. Roger Lovatt's account of the transmission of the *Imitatio Christi* argues that Book I, the earliest part of the text, in Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 93, copied in 1438 by John Dygon, recluse of Sheen, was from an exemplar of Carthusian origin imported from the continent.[96] This was not one-way traffic, for Doyle provides the example of Utrecht, University Library, MS 173, a Utrecht manuscript containing the *Speculum christiani*, a compendium of English origin, which was available to a Bruges scribe in 1437 and is also found in other Low Countries copies.[97] Monks transferred not only within their own province but to and from others. Doyle cites the example of John Verypt, of Brabant, professed at Beauvale charterhouse, Nottingham, who was the 'occasion of the gift of St. Bonaventure's *Opuscula* (part 2, Strassburg, 1495) to Beauvale by A. Ruwe, a London stationer from Frankfurt, a printed book surviving in Cambridge, Trinity Hall, F*.vii.29'.[98] Books, from the earliest days of the Order until the eve of the Reformation, passed freely between charterhouses and provinces.

Such exchanges were important for the Carthusians, as books were fundamental components in their way of life. They were not merely repositories of information. To a Carthusian, books were his most intimate companions in solitude, objects of veneration and a means towards atonement, attaining truth and a greater union with God. Aside from the church and the cells of the monks themselves, the library was one of the most important buildings of any charterhouse. From the earliest days of the Order, they kept them well-stocked, as Guibert of Nogent observed in 1104: 'Though they live in utmost poverty, they have built up a very rich library.'[99] In his *Consuetudines*, Guigo I set out an inventory of the tools to be made available to the monks for bookmaking, thus cementing the early importance of the activity as a component of the Carthusian vocation.[100]

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[96] Lovatt, 'The "Imitation of Christ" in Late Medieval England', 97-121. Brendan Biggs argues that the *Imitatio* may not have been brought to England from the Low Countries, but from a German or Austrian Charterhouse. Biggs (ed.) *The Imitation of Christ*, xliv.
[97] A. I. Doyle, 'A Text Attributed to Ruusbroec Circulating in England', 157.
[98] Further examples of such activity from the *chartae* are quoted in Doyle, ibid. n. 23 and in Eric Colledge, 'The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God', 55-56.
[99] Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, 49, incl. n. 77.
[100] ibid. 47, incl. n. 71.

There was, of course, a practical side to their propensity for book-making. During his novitiate, a monk received doctrinal instruction, and the lay brothers were also required to be educated in either Christian doctrine or the *Statutes*.[101] The General Chapter upheld and rigorously enforced the requirement for suitable books for the needs of communities to be made available in each community. The prior of the new foundation at Sheen was censured in the *Chartae* for 1420 for not providing sufficient books to meet the needs of his monks.[102] The rapid expansion of the Order in England and on the Continent meant that, even towards the end of the fifteenth century, scribes like John Whetham were hard at work adapting liturgical books not originally intended for Carthusian use. Through necessity, these books were purchased second hand to provide monks with much needed reading material and were no doubt much used, as the letter from St. John Houghton, then prior of Beauvale, to the prior of London attests, in which he offered to buy a diurnal, for 'god knoweth we have grete nede to such bookis'.[103]

These practical concerns, however, were subordinate to the greater goal of the Carthusian vocation. Guibert of Nogent, in his comment on the rich libraries of the early Carthusians also revealed the true purpose of their industry: 'The less they abound in bread of the material sort, the more they work at the sweat of their brow to acquire food that does not perish but endures forever.'[104] It is precisely the semi-sacred role played by the books in their care that is also prefigured in the words of Guibert in 1104 and more explicitly stated later by Guigo I in his *Consuetudines*:

> Then, further, the inhabitant of the cell receives two books from the library to read. He has orders to exercise all diligence and all possible care so that these books are not soiled by smoke, dust, or any other stain. We desire that the books be made with the greatest attention and kept very carefully, like perpetual food for our souls, so that because we cannot preach the word of God by our mouths, we may do so with our hands.
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> In effect, however many books we copy, that many times we are seen to be the heralds of truth; and we hope for a reward from the Lord, for all those who through them are corrected from error,

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[101] This remains the case today: *Statutes*, bk. 1, ch. 5, art. 2. <http://www.chartreux.org/en/texts/statutes-book-1.php#c5> [accessed 24/02/2013]; *Statutes*, bk. 2, ch. 20, art. 10 <http://www.chartreux.org/en/texts/statutes-book-2.php#haut> [accessed 24/02/2013]; *Statutes*, bk 3., ch. 23., art. 12 <http://www.chartreux.org/en/texts/statutes-book-3.php#haut> [accessed 24/02/2013]; *Statutes*, bk. 3, ch. 23, art. 15, ibid.

[102] Hogg, 'Everyday Life in an English Charterhouse', 24.

[103] TNA, SP1/92/89, quoted in Doyle, *Libraries of the Carthusians*, 625-26.

[104] Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, 49, incl. n. 77.

> or profess universal truth, and for all those also who repent of their sins and of their vices or who are enflamed by a desire for heavenly land.[105]

This is the crux of the Carthusians' relationship with their books. Books are not mere repositories of information to be conveyed to lay brothers and novices as part of a programme of education. They are food for the soul, conduits of truth through which those who participate in their creation, copying and transmission might ascend to ever greater heavenly heights. They save souls, correct the sinful and can themselves be a means of remitting sins.[106] One of the most important aspects of the Carthusians' relationship with books, however, is the notion, even in the early days of Guigo I, that Carthusian books could be made for the benefit of others: 'because we cannot preach the word of God with our mouths, we may do so with our hands'. Though confined to their cells and solitary life, through books and book-making Carthusians could reach far beyond the bounds of their cells to those spiritually ambitious individuals who desired to correct themselves from error. Books were the intermediaries between the reader and heaven. The Carthusians, in making and disseminating these books, were the gatekeepers to heaven and that most elusive prize of spiritual perfection. As we shall see, the individuals who might have benefitted from Carthusian book-making may not always have been religious.

Carthusians and Late-Medieval Spiritual and Intellectual Cultures

The Carthusians shared a similar relationship of mutual benefit with another interlinked western religious phenomenon. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the mode of piety that most clearly reflected the intense meditative and contemplative aspect of Carthusian spirituality was the movement known as the *devotio moderna*. The *devotio moderna* was a comparatively inclusive method of piety though which the individual – laity as well as clergy and women as well as men – could bring themselves closer to god. This method included controlled prayer and intense contemplation upon significant moments of the Bible. Those who practised it were guided and supported in their aims by approved, orthodox literature to aid their contemplation. As layfolk were not excluded access to this literature – layfolk whose Latinity was almost always not proficient, it might be argued – a demand for texts in the vernacular increased correspondingly, which was met by approved authors and translators. In a world of uncertainty, it appealed deeply, perhaps paradoxically, to those who were furthest from the monastery. Kings,

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[105] ibid. The perception of books as everlasting food for the soul survives in the present *Statutes. Statutes*, bk. 3, ch. 23, art. 15 <http://www.chartreux.org/en/texts/statutes-book-3.php#haut> [accessed 24/02/2013].

[106] John Feriby and William Darker both considered certain acts of copying to equate to an act of penance. Both Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS lat. th. e 26 and London, British Library, MS Additional 22121, by Feriby and Darker respectively, contain the inscriptions 'scripsit...in remissionem peccatorum suorum'. N. R. Ker, *MLGB*, 2nd ed., 305.

politicians, merchants and businessmen, embroiled in internecine struggles of power, were drawn to it, perhaps affected by a wistful desire to withdraw for a while into the quiet of contemplation when secular affairs became too much to bear.[107]

From its beginnings, the *devotio moderna* possessed strong links to Carthusian monasticism. Geert Groote, its Dutch founder, spent three years at the charterhouse of Monnikhuizen, near Arnhem, before leaving to found the Brethren of Common Life, a community of laypeople living according to Groote's movement.[108] The relationship between Groote's fledgling movement and the ancient Carthusian Order would prove to be mutually beneficial. Groote would no doubt have been inspired by the intense, prayer-led, contemplative lives of the Carthusians of Monnikhuizen, and in turn, the *Imitatio Christi*, the most widely-circulated work of Thomas à Kempis, member of the Brethren of Common Life and one of the leading exponents of the *devotio moderna*, was picked up by the Carthusians and circulated by them.[109] In parallel, Groote's contemporary, the Augustinian mystic, Walter Hilton, formed a deep and lasting admiration of the Carthusian Order. This admiration is revealed in his letter to his friend Adam Horsley, who, following Hilton's advice entered the charterhouse of Beauvale.[110] Though Hilton did not join the Order, instead electing to become a canon of the Augustinian Thurgarton Priory, he remained in close correspondence with the Carthusians.[111] The Carthusians certainly appreciated Hilton's writings and worked to circulate and widen access to his work within their communities.[112] From the fourteenth century, works of Carthusian authors and texts Carthusians found relevant to their interests, and therefore circulated by them, began to filter out to other Orders and thus found a footing in the wider religious community.[113] In a form of cultural symbiosis, those late medieval religious movements that had drawn

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[107] Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987): 246.
[108] For the life and work of Geert Groote and the influence of the Carthusians on Groote's emergent devotional culture see Otto Gründler, 'Devotio Moderna atque antiqua: The Modern Devotion and Carthusian Spirituality', in *The Roots of Modern Spirituality of Western Christendom*, *II: the roots of the modern Christian tradition*, (ed.) Rozanne Elder, *Cistercian Studies*, 55 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984): 27-45. Theodore van Zijl, 'Geert Groote, Ascetic and Reformer (1340-1384)' (Washington, Catholic University of America, unpublished doctoral thesis, 1963) and Georgette Epiney-Burgard, *Gérard Grote (1340-1384) et les débuts de la devotion moderne* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970).
[109] Biggs (ed.), *The Imitation of Christ* (1997).
[110] Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection* (ed.) John P. H. Clark and Rosemary Dorward (New York: Paulist Press, 1991): 15.
[111] Charles Trice Martin, 'Hilton, Walter', *DNB*, 26 (London: Smith, Elder & co.,1885-1901): 435-36.
[112] Doyle, 'Publication by Members of the Religious Orders', 114-17; Michael G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Vol. 27, No. 3 (1976): 225-240.
[113] Even to the supposedly 'lax' Benedictine orders. For a discussion of Carthusian writers and Benedictine libraries, see Joan Greatrex, 'Of Monks and Books', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 115-124.

elements of their intrinsic make-up from the Carthusian Order produced religious texts in the vein of late medieval western mysticism and the *devotio moderna*, which were in turn copied and circulated by the Carthusians.

In their libraries, from what little survives of the records of books they cherished and what can be reconstructed from manuscripts of Carthusian provenance,[114] key names crop up time and again: Henry Suso, Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, the anonymous author of *Cloud of Unknowing*, Bonaventure, Bernard of Clairvaux, Jan van Ruysbroeck, Hugh of St. Victor, Richard of St. Victor, Denis the Carthusian, and, of course the work of Thomas á Kempis.[115] Female mystics were also on the agenda: Marguerite Poerete (condemned as heretical at Paris in 1310, which did not stop the Carthusians from appreciating her work under protecting influence of the glosses of M. N.) ,[116] Catherine of Siena, Elizabeth of Schonau, Mechthilde of Hackeborn, Mary Oigines, Mechthilde of Magdeburg, Brigit of Sweden, Elizabeth of Spalbeek and natives of the English school of mysticism, Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich. The Carthusians appear to have played a role in the production and circulation of the works of these authors, the only surviving copies being those of Carthusian origin.[117] They were able to do this because the centralised administration and system of visitation described above provided possibilities for textual exchange. English texts could find their way onto the continent, for instance, Julian of Norwich, Rolle, Hilton, and texts that were fresh from the continent such as Ruusbroec, Mechthilde of Hackeborn, Catherine of Siena, could find their way into English charterhouses.

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[114] E. M. Thompson first published the book-lists and dedicates chapter nine of *The Carthusian Order in England* to their libraries (pp. 313-334). See also the Carthusian entries in *MLGB* and N. R. Ker and Andrew G. Watson (eds.) *Supplement to the Second Edition*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 15 (London, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1987) and Doyle (ed.) *The Libraries of the Carthusians* (2001).

[115] *Libraries of the Carthusians*: Suso, C8.*34; Rolle, C8.23k, C2.14, C3.8a, C8.57, C2.8a, C2.5a; Hilton, C2.3a; Bonaventure, C8.20b [attr.]; Bernard of Clairvaux, C1.8, C8.20c, C9.1b, C8.20h [pseud.]; Ruusbroec, Hugh of St. Victor, Richard of St. Victor, Denis the Carthusian, C8.53; Thomas á Kempis, C4.6a, C8.33.

[116] See Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University Press, 2006): xlix, 412, note 16. See also, Fr. Edmund Colledge and Romana Guarnieri, 'The Glosses by M. N. and Richard Methley to *The Mirror of Simple Souls*', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, v (1968): 357-382.

[117] *Carthusian Libraries*: Catherine of Siena, C8.38 (her *Dialogo* appears translated into English by an anonymous Carthusian under the title *The Orcherd of Syon*); Elizabeth of Schonau, C8.36; Mechthild of Hackeborn, C4.8, C8.37; Brigit of Sweden, C3.¶4, C4.4, C6.1, C8.59 (2 vols); Elizabeth of Spalbeek, C8.*55x [*vita*]. For Carthusians as advocates of female visionaries see Roger Lovatt, 'The "Imitation of Christ" in Late Medieval England' (1968): 97-121, and 'Henry Suso and the Medieval Mystical Tradition in England', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.) *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1986): 47-62. Dennis D. Martin, 'Carthusians as Advocates of Women Visionary Reformers', in Luxford (ed.) *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 127-153; Michael G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Vol. 27, No. 3 (1976): 225-240. David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales,* 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1971).

The emergent literary culture built around the practice of *devotio moderna* also played a significant part in the circulation of these texts by Carthusians. Preference and necessity for devotional material in the vernacular among female religious and serious-minded, pious layfolk who were able to read and who wished to take advantage of the religious benefits conferred by the *devotio moderna* meant that these texts began to be made available in the vernacular, to be taken up by interested Carthusians and circulated within and outside their Order. What the Carthusians had been doing for hundreds of years had become fashionable in literary and devotional culture, and what had become fashionable in literary and devotional culture had become relevant to the Carthusian way of life: a literary movement with emphasis on the vernacular; a religious movement inclusive not only of religious, but lay men and women. Both of these developments gelled nicely with the contemplative aspect of the Carthusian vocation, and as a result, brought the Carthusian way of life into the public imagination in a way the Order had never before experienced.

For though they were cloistered and contemplative as a whole, they were by no means spiritually passive. The pen was their means of preaching and, occasionally, certain members of the Order were not shy in using it. The fifteenth century was certainly a period of rigorous 'intellectual interchange' between the differing schools of thought belonging to the late medieval period. It was the period during which medieval scholasticism co-existed (and regularly clashed with) Renaissance Humanism. It saw the *devotio moderna* movement gather strength and influential adherents. It saw a new wave of reformed monasticism that had begun to respond to the calls of pre-Reformation conciliarists for the Church – that is the western orthodox Roman Catholic branch of Christianity – to return to purity.[118] For the Carthusians, their enclosed lives and their love of reverent silence did not mean that they were cut off from these developments or that they did not participate.

Denys the Carthusian (or Denis of Rijkel), born in 1402 in the Belgian province of Limburg and dying at the Roermond charterhouse in 1471 is often considered the last important scholastic writer in that his works serve as vast compendiums of the scholastic teaching of the Middle Ages.[119] In contrast, Gregor Reisch, (ca. 1470-1525) who before being elected prior at the Freiburg charterhouse taught at Freiburg

[118] A revival in Thomist philosophy also proved an acceptable alternative for those who were as dissatisfied with the Humanists as they were with the rigid, Aristotelian nominalism of the Scholastics. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2004): 87, 126-7.

[119] A scholastic approach to the Carthusian mystical tradition seems, however, to have been something of an exception, as Dennis D. Martin reveals that Rijkel 'seems to have been attacked from within the order for being 'un-Carthusian', therefore there implying there was a common, or at least acknowledged, concept of a peculiarly Carthusian spiritual identity. Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform*, 5.

University, as a Carthusian wrote his *Margarita philosophica*: an encyclopedia intended for the use of young students,[120] assisted Erasmus in his nine-volume 1516 edition of Jerome and was a friend to celebrated Humanists.[121] Georg Carpentarius, of the charterhouse at Basel, a contemporary of Ulrich Zwingli who was educated at the University of Basel, translated Erasmus' anti-Reformation writings.[122] William Exmewe, one of the martyrs of the London charterhouse, born c. 1506, had received a Humanist education at Christ's College, Cambridge, and his knowledge of Greek was noted in particular.[123] On the opposite end of the scale, we have prior John Batmanson who, having received no formal university education, was still considered sufficiently learned by his superior, Dr Lee, then Archbishop of York, to write against Erasmus' *New Testament,* which had been published in Basel in 1519.[124] Batmanson's very public criticisms must have been sufficiently damaging, as Erasmus is later found to have been stung into writing to Bishop Fox of Winchester in complaint against Dr Lee and Batmanson.[125] Batmanson's criticisms also drew Sir Thomas More into the debate, a noted Humanist and admirer of the Carthusian Order (having spent four years from 1499-1503 at the London charterhouse before his ultimate decision to pursue a secular career).[126] Batmanson had known More when they were students of the law together, and the Carthusian's stinging criticisms of Erasmus' *New Testament* stirred More into writing a long letter in which he leapt to Erasmus' defence.[127]

Though he appeared not to possess Humanist inclinations (on the contrary, his theological standpoint was conservative),[128] Batmanson, like his colleague, Gregor Reisch, also rallied behind the Carthusian cause

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120 Gregor Reisch, *Natural Philosophy Epitomised: Books 8-11 of Gregor Reisch's Philosophical pearl (1503),* (eds. trans.) Andrew Cunningham, Sachiko Kusukawa (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).
121 For Gregor Reisch, see Lucia Andreini (ed.) Gregorius Reisch, *Margarita philosophica nova* 3 vols. (Salzburg: Institut, 2002).
122 Wolfram, D. Sexauer, 'Früneuhochdeutsche Schriften in Kartäuserbibliotheken', *Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe I, Deutsche Literatur und Germanistik*, 247, (Frankfurt am Main: Bern, 1978): 193-99.
123 'Religious Houses: House of Carthusian monks', *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 1: Physique, Archaeology, Domesday, Ecclesiastical Organization, The Jews, Religious Houses, Education of Working Classes to 1870, Private Education from Sixteenth Century* (1969): 159-169. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22116> [accessed 03/03/2013].
124 'Houses of Carthusian monks: The priory of Hinton', *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 2* (1911): 118-123 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=40928> [accessed 03/03/2013].
125 ibid.
126 Seymour Baker House, 'More, Sir Thomas (1478–1535)', *DNB* (Oxford: University Press, 2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19191> [accessed 03/03/2013].
127 D. Knowles, 'Appendix I: Sir Thomas More's Letter 'To a Monk'', *The Religious Orders in England,* 3 (Cambridge: University Press, 1959): 469. Knowles identifies the recipient of More's *Letter to a Monk* (E. F. Rogers, (ed.) *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More,* (Princeton: University Press, 1947)) as John Batmanson the Carthusian (d. 1531). C. M. Murphy, 'An Epistolary Defence of Erasmus: Thomas More and an English Carthusian', *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensi, 2* (1980): 329-47.
128 C. B. Rowntree, 'Batmanson, John (*d.* 1531)', *DNB* (Oxford: University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1705> [accessed 10/03/2013].

and fought strenuously against Lutheranism, having written a book that has since been lost but which was most likely conceived as a foil to Martin Luther's *De captivitate Babylonica*.[129] The Carthusians had participated in the struggle against Lollardy in the fourteenth century, the prior of Mountgrace, Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Life of* Christ having received the stamp of orthodoxy and approval of Archbishop Arundel c. 1410. Despite individual differences – whether a monk was for, against, or ambivalent towards Humanist efforts – Carthusian monks would always rally behind Rome as staunch defenders of orthodoxy.

In common with Humanists, Carthusians shared with them their spirit of textual editing, criticism and purity. The roots of the Carthusian concern for liturgical, and therefore textual, uniformity lay in the twelfth century, though the demand for uniformity was first codified in the *Statuta antiqua* of 1258.[130] The issue of uniformity, which Carthusians had always striven to achieve, became a problem during the Great Schism of 1378 and had proven such a problem that it became necessary to create manuals of correction such as the *Valde bonum* (which has not survived) and the *Opus pacis* of Oswald de Corda, monk of Nordlingen, vicar of La Grande Chartreuse and the first prior of Perth charterhouse, Scotland.[131] In his *Opus pacis*, Oswald discusses the delicate task of copying and its strong links to liturgical uniformity that was so essential to the monastic way of life, and states that the pressure of chasing absolute textual uniformity could and did disturb Carthusians' quiet of mind.[132] We may recall the vision of Dom John Homersley, who, when copying at the London charterhouse:

> On a certain occasion when he made a mistake in writing there appeared to him Our Lady and patron the Mother of God, and with her the spirit of a certain priest before dead who while living used to supply parchment for writing books to the same John Homersley according to his means.

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[129] D. Knowles, 'Appendix I: Sir Thomas More's Letter 'To a Monk,' 469.
[130] Oswaldi de Corda, *Opus Pacis: cura et studio*, (ed.) Belinda A. Egan, *Corpus Christianorum continvatio mediaevalis*, clxxix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001): 9.
[131] For the *Opus Pacis*, see: Belinda A. Egan (ed.) *Opus Pacis: cura et studio*; M. A. & R. H. Rouse, 'Correction and Emendation of Texts in the Fifteenth Century and the Autograph of the *Opus Pacis* by Oswaldus Anglicus', *Scire Litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben, herausgegeben von S. Krämer and M. Bernhard*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, n.F. 99 (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988): 333-46; J. Hogg (ed.), 'Oswald de Corda, a Forgotten Carthusian of Nördlingen', *Kartäusermystik und –mystiker*, 3, AC, 55:3 (Salzburg: Institut, 1982): 181-5; G. P. Kölner, 'Die Opus-Pacis Handschrift im Lectionarium des ehemaligen Benediktinerklosters St. Jakob vor den Mauern von Mainz', *Universitas: Dienst an Wahrheit und Leben. Festschrift für Bischof Dr. Albert Stohr* (Mainz: Grünewald, 1960): 258-73; Michael G. Sargent, 'The problem of uniformity in Carthusian book production from the *Opus Pacis* to the *Tertia Compilatio Statutorum*', in R. Beadle and A. J. Piper (eds.), *New Science Out of Old Books: studies in manuscripts and early printed books in honour of A. I. Doyle* (Aldershot, Hants.: Scolar Press, 1995): 122-141.
[132] Michael G. Sargent, 'The problem of uniformity in Carthusian book production from the *Opus Pacis* to the *Tertia Compilatio Statutorum*', 122.

> Then our most Blessed Lady pointed out to him his mistake where he made a default in writing, and kindly warned him to amend the book, and so disappeared.[133]

For Humanists, the desire to correct and recover the 'purest forms' of texts was spiritual as well as scholarly. Similarly, for Carthusians, a wrongly or neglectfully copied book could prove damaging to the souls of the copyist and the reader. To copy wrongly was tantamount to sinning and could even be dangerous.

The rise of Humanism and its central tenets therefore shared certain parallels with Carthusian spirituality, but the two were by no means the same. At its core, Carthusian spirituality was monastic, and monasticism in this context simply equates to 'monastic life: the *horarium*, role-formed identity, the patterns of liturgy and labor, the cycle of sounds and silences in a highly structured manner of living, indeed, a mannered way of life.'[134] Even within communities, however, there were conflicting ideas as to how a monastic should live. Dennis D. Martin provides the example of Jacob de Paradiso, a Carthusian at Erfurt charterhouse, who initially participated in programmes of monastic reform but later rejected outright in his *Ars moriendi* (1452) the practice of *any* form of pastoral activity that might have been undertaken by his fellow religious. His is an extreme example, as his views were challenged by fellow Carthusians,[135] but his dissent is perhaps indicative of competing intellectual and spiritual cultures even within individual charterhouses and provinces.

In the Carthusian Order in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, elements of scholastic traditions and humanist innovation co-existed and combined with monasticism to create that dynamic and rigorous intellectual culture the Order embodied. The semi-eremitic life of the Carthusian monk afforded great flexibility in terms of spiritual development.[136] That their recruits were men of learning, which did not (and does not) always presuppose a university education, meant that the members of the Order would have possessed diverse intellectual interests and backgrounds. As Dennis D. Martin elegantly put it: 'there is no such thing as a typical Carthusian'.[137]

The expansion of the Carthusian Order

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[133] Sir William St. John Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* 61.
[134] Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform*, 10.
[135] ibid., 236-37.
[136] ibid., 5.
[137] op. cit.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were a time of great trial for the western Christian church. In 1309, Clement V, as Pope, took up residence in Avignon, his actions leading directly to the Great Schism of 1378.[138] Two Popes were recognised as the unifying head of the Church in different parts of Europe, thus making a mockery of the central tenet of unity under the Papacy. In the early fifteenth century, the memory of the Great Schism was still near and the threats of Wycliffism (though no longer an immediate threat to orthodoxy by the 1450s) would still have been alive in the minds of those who had lived through it.[139] The Great Schism and the subsequent events which had shaken the confidence of the laity in those who were supposed to possess the power to safeguard their souls posed a problem: an important problem which could have proven to have wide-reaching spiritual consequences. To whom did those who were united under the banner of western Christendom turn when their faith in its very foundations was shaken? It seems the problem was solved by their turning to those who seemed to them to be the purest.

Motivations for founding charterhouses may be set out in terms of conventional piety. In founding a charterhouse, the patron had a permanent recourse to the intercessory prayers of the community on his or her behalf and to the spiritual guidance those members and access to their literature would provide. Fourteenth-century German charterhouses, for instance, 'tended to be located near but not in major cities... and were endowed by leading princes, burghers, and bishops, who viewed the Carthusians as 'leaven' that would raise the spiritual level of the church in general.'[140]

A patron's reasons for founding a Carthusian community, however, might not always have been purely spiritual. By founding a Carthusian house and associating with those who were widely considered the most vigorously ascetic of all the orders of western Christendom, a patron could further their political goals and make a very clear statement on their ability to exercise their political power under a veil of piety.[141] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, founding a charterhouse had become as much a statement of political power as it had been in the early days of the ancient Benedictine foundations. In this respect, the Carthusians were no different from other orders. As Catto states: 'These foundations were not spontaneous colonies generated by previous charterhouses; as the *chartae* attest, they needed to be founded by patrons powerful enough in the neighbourhood of the new house to give them favour and protection.'[142] The benefits of having a powerful patron and protector at hand are quite clearly attested

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[138] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700*, 35, 37.
[139] ibid., 36.
[140] Heinrich Rüthing, 'Zur Geschichte der Kartausen in der Ordensprovinz Alemannia inferior von 1320 bis 1400', in M. Zadnikar and A. Wienand (eds.), *Die Kartäuser. Der Orden der schweigenden Mönche* (Köln: Wienand,1983): 139-67. Quoted in Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth Century Reform*, 4, n. 12.
[141] Laura G. Gelfand, 'A Tale of Two Dukes: Philip the Bold, Giangaleazzo Visconti, and their Carthusian Foundations', *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 202.
[142] Jeremy Catto, 'Statesmen and Contemplatives in the Early Fifteenth Century', *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 108.

when comparing the fortunes of English charterhouses. The London charterhouse suffered teething problems when displaced locals rose up and took arms against the newly-founded charterhouse.[143] The monks of Mountgrace faced difficulties in the early days of their foundation through the death of their founder, Thomas de Holland.[144] Both stand in stark contrast to the ever rising fortunes of Sheen. Founded by Henry V and situated close to the seat of his power in Richmond, Surrey, it clearly attests to the benefits of having a powerful patron and protector at hand.[145]

On the Continent, the pattern of foundation by kings, princes, noblemen and rich and powerful magnates continued apace.[146] In England, the pattern was similar. Thomas de Holland, Earl of Kent and Duke of Surrey, founded Mountgrace charterhouse in 1398, following the example of his brother-in-law, Giangaleazzo Visconti, who founded the charterhouse at Pavia on 27th August, 1396.[147] In Scotland, James I, who was married to Joan Beaufort, founded Perth charterhouse in 1426, which was 'intended to raise the prestige of Scottish kingship by imitating European practice, and particularly Henry V's. The Carthusians were introduced to provide a model of monastic behaviour for the Scottish church. Emulating Henry V, James attempted to identify renewal of monarchy with the restoration of spiritual standards in the kingdom.'[148]

Another appealing aspect of founding a charterhouse was that it could be comparatively simple and cost-effective."A Charterhouse," Knowles writes, "satisfied very well the needs of the devout founder in an age which more than ever demanded a *quid pro quo* for its alms," and that, moreover, a Charterhouse "could be parcelled out among many founders."[149] The site itself and a generous initial endowment was provided by the main founder, and other wealthy, pious patrons would later come forward and donate single cells. The Carthusians' reputation for sanctity would provide the patron with reassurance that their money had been well spent on a truly worthy cause, and they would also benefit from the prayers of the monk inhabiting the cell they had so generously provided.

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[143] Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 173-74.
[144] ibid., 231-35.
[145] Often at the expense of the fortunes of Mountgrace. See the content related to notes 108 and 109 above.
[146] Catto provides an overview in 'Statesmen and Contemplatives', *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 109-110.
[147] For the connection between Thomas de Holand and Giangaleazzo Visconti, see Brantley, 'Reading in the Wilderness', 44. For the Certosa at Pavia, see J. Hogg, *La Certosa de Pavia*, 2 vols (New York: Mellen, 1994): 8-9 and n. 2, and Laura D. Gelfand 'A Tale of Two Dukes: Philip the Bold, Giangaleazzo Visconti, and their Carthusian Foundations', *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 201-223.
[148] M. H. Brown, 'James I (1394–1437)', *DNB*, (Oxford: University Press, 2004). <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14587> [accessed 04/03/2013].
[149] Dom David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1948-1959): 2:130.

The first charterhouse was founded in 1178, the house of St. Mary at Witham in Somerset, by Henry II as penance for his role in the murder of Thomas Beckett.[150] The second charterhouse, the house of God's Place, was founded just twelve miles away at Hinton, Somerset, in 1227.[151] A century then passed before the third was established, the house of the Blessed Trinity at Beauvale, Nottinghamshire, in 1343.[152] Following the foundation at Beauvale was the house of the Salutation of the Mother of God, London, in 1371 – the Order's first urban foundation.[153] Another urban foundation came soon after, the House of St Michael, Kingston-upon-Hull, in 1378,[154] then the House of St Anne, Coventry, in 1381.[155] Two further houses appeared in very close succession, the House of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Axholme, Lincolnshire, in 1397,[156] and the House of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Mountgrace, North Yorkshire, in 1397/8.[157] The last of the pre-Reformation English foundations, the House of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen, upon the banks of the Thames in Richmond, Surrey, in 1414, echoes the Order's illustrious royal beginnings, founded by Henry V in a joint project, 'the King's great work' with the famous Brigittine Abbey of Syon.[158]

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[150] For Witham, see: William Page (ed.), 'Houses of Carthusian monks: The priory of Witham', *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 2* (1911): 123-128; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 49-78, 133-147.

[151] For Hinton, see: Page (ed.), 'Houses of Carthusian monks: The priory of Hinton', *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 2* (1911): 118-123; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 147-157.

[152] For Beauvale, see: Brian C. Vander Veen, *The 'Vitae' of Bodleian Library, MS Douce 114,* (2007); William Page (ed.), 'Houses of Carthusian monks: The priory of Beauvale', *A History of the County of Nottingham: Volume 2* (1910): 105-109; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 158-166.

[153] For London, see: J. S. Cockburn, H. P. F. King, K. G. T. McDonnell (eds.), 'Religious Houses: House of Carthusian monks', *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 1,* (1969), 159-169; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 167-198; *A. R. Wines*, *The London Charterhouse in the Later Middle Ages* (1998).

[154] For Hull, see: William Page (ed.), 'Houses of Carthusian monks: Priory of Kingston-upon-Hull', *A History of the County of York: Volume 3* (1974): 190-192, and Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 199-207.

[155] For Coventry, see: Page (ed.), 'Houses of Carthusian monks: Priory of St Anne, Coventry', *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 2* (1908): 83-86; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 207-218.

[156] For Axholme, see: J. G. Bates, 'The Dissolution of Axholme Priory', *Lincolnshire Magazine*, 3 (1937); J. Hogg, 'Sidelights on the Charterhouse of Axholme in the Acta of the Carthusian General Chapter', AC, 184 (Salzburg: Institut, 2010); William Page (ed.), 'Houses of Carthusian monks: The priory of Axholme', *A History of the County of Lincoln: Volume 2* (1906): 158-160; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 218-228.

[157] For Mountgrace, see: J. Hogg, *Mount Grace Charterhouse and Late Medieval English Spirituality*, AC, 64:1-3, 82:3 (1978, 1980, 2010); William Page (ed.), 'Houses of Carthusian monks: Priory of Mount Grace', *A History of the County of York: Volume 3* (1974): 192-193; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 229-238.

[158] For Sheen, see: *W. N. M. Beckett*, *Sheen Charterhouse from its Foundation to its Dissolution* (1992); H. E. Madden (ed.), 'House of Carthusian monks: Priory of Sheen', *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 2* (1967): 89-94; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 238-246.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was a noticeable trend in the foundation patterns of charterhouses in the English province, one which mirrored developments on the continent. This was the phenomenon of the urban charterhouse. The urban charterhouse marked something of a departure in terms of the remarkable level of homogeneity the Order had maintained since its foundation, to such an extent that it has been described as a 'Copernican change'.[159] These were late foundations, constructed in or near the limits of great cities and the seats of power of wealthy patrons. For these communities, an active intellectual interchange was possible at all times. As they were far closer to 'the world' than were their colleagues in older, desert foundations, urban and suburban communities were obliged to tolerate a greater degree of outside contact. As these were new foundations, the work of acquiring and copying books to fill their libraries was an essential activity that would have begun immediately. Dennis D. Martin explains this 'Copernican change' in terms of the copying of manuscripts and books in continental charterhouses:

> In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the Basel charterhouse regularly loaned its books to nonmonastics. Indeed, the librarians Georg Carpentarius (d. 1531) and Ludwig Moser (d. 1510) kept a record of approximately five hundred books loaned between 1482 and 1528: among them the borrowers were the printers Johannes Amerbach and Hieronymus Froben in search of classical texts, but also secular priests, university students and professors, and school-masters. Heinrich Vullenho's foreword to a codex containing treatises on the nature of the Carthusian life explained that it had been assembled so it could be loaned for the edification of interested outsiders. A special abridgement of William of St. Thierry's *Golden Epistle*, made for the same purpose, has survived in multiple copies. The lay brothers' library, consisting largely of books in German, was likewise extensive, both in number of volumes and range of material. It was not unique among charterhouses: the urban Carthusian communities at Mainz and Cologne also had large vernacular libraries, as did the rural charterhouse at Schnals in South Tyrol.[160]

The library at Cologne came to generate such interest that in 1558, the librarian was forced to impose strict limits on borrowing by outsiders, as their books were being stolen.[161] Unfortunately, no such records survive for English Carthusian libraries, though there appears to have been a few, elite interested outsiders (both lay and religious, though mostly religious) who were allowed to benefit from their libraries or the spiritual guidance provided by the monks.

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[159] Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzil von Trient* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1949): 1: 115, quoted in Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth century Carthusian Reform*, 230, n. 164.
[160] Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth century Carthusian Reform*, 231-32, n. 169, 170, 171.
[161] Richard B. Marks, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne*, 2 vols., AC, 21-22 (Salzburg: Institut, 1974): 32, quoted in Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth century Carthusian Reform*, 233, n. 176.

The interaction between these interested outsiders and the monks, between those who copied and those who benefitted from the process of copying, is one of the main focal points of this thesis, which centres its analysis around two monks: William Mede and Stephen Dodesham, solemnly professed Carthusians of Sheen charterhouse. These men were contemporaries and scribes of the Order. Having professed at Sheen charterhouse: a royal foundation located near the palace of Henry V and was the latest of the Carthusian foundations in England, Mede and Dodesham would have lived through these slow but significant changes that had begun to affect the urban charterhouses in the fifteenth century.

A combination of circumstances, therefore, culminated in the fourteenth and fifteenth century Carthusian vogue. There were changes in literary and devotional culture with a particular emphasis on reading and reading material which fell in line with Carthusian traditions. Falling under the umbrella of the *devotio moderna*, these literary and devotional cultures included lay as well as religious adherents, which generated a greater demand for more accessible reading material in the vernacular that the Carthusians, with their traditional leanings towards contemplative, mystical, monastic texts, were well placed to supply. The Order also encompassed the co-existing and competing intellectual cultures of late-medieval Europe, particularly in their own unique forms of monasticism and certain of its members' collaborations with noted Humanists. The fall-out from the western schism and shaken confidence in the moral authority of the church forced patrons to look elsewhere, to those who were pure enough to ensure their spiritual salvation. The comparative ease with which a patron could found a charterhouse also played a part, being excellent value for money as the prayers came from the most rigorously ascetic and therefore the most holy of all the western orders. In situating their fledgling communities in or near city boundaries, these patrons and founders increased the level of contact between these new urban and suburban charterhouses and outsiders, and facilitated an increased intellectual interchange in the form of books that extended beyond the limits of the Carthusian Order: to other interested religious and, significantly, laymen and women. In conjunction with prayer and contemplation, book-making was a fundamental component of the Carthusian vocation. Preaching the word of god with their hands by copying and circulating books was something they had been doing since their foundation. The Sheen scribes Dom Stephen Dodesham and Dom William Mede carried on this tradition, and it is within this context that the following scribal biographies should be understood.

Chapter Three

William Mede

William Mede as a scribe and Carthusian was first discussed by E. M. Thompson's 1930 work, *The Carthusian Order in England*.[162] Following the leads provided by Thompson, N. R. Ker identified Mede's hand in four of the six manuscripts currently connected to him.[163] A. I. Doyle later extended Mede's *oeuvre* through his identification of the hand of William Mede first in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. i. 6, then Indiana, Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1.[164] Aspects of his work have been studied by Anselm J. Gribbin[165] and Wendy Scase.[166] However, no full examination of the life and work of William Mede has yet been undertaken. In this chapter, biographical data from archival sources will be examined in conjunction with that provided via manuscript descriptions and linguistic data, all of which will be subject to discussion through the sociological, functionalist lenses of codicology. The aim is to situate Mede's role within the wider developments in the history of English and the history of manuscript culture in fifteenth century England.

Mede's Language

Three of Dom William Mede's manuscripts contain vernacular material. The majority of manuscripts Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6, and Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1 (olim MS 67) (hereafter referred to as Gg and ND) are written in English, whereas only one folio of Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281 (hereafter TCD 281) is in English (and though it exhibits enough useful and varying forms for analysis, it is a short item and is included mainly for the sake of completeness.) TCD 281 was written after c. 1432, and is one of Mede's Latin notebooks, comprising of religious fragments of interest to Mede and his community. ND contains one of the two surviving copies of the *Speculum devotorum*, and was made before 1455 for Lord John Scrope, 4th Baron Masham, and his wife, Elizabeth Scrope, as evidenced by the armorial initial and the potential involvement of William Manfeld (Scrope's secretary) in the production of the book. Gg contains the other surviving copy of the *Speculum devotorum* and was written in the second to third quarters of the fifteenth century. A *LALME* profile exists for Gg, but Mede's language has been incorrectly assigned to Surrey (presumably because the signature/ex-libris inscription strongly identifies it with Sheen charterhouse, Surrey – the county in

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[162] Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 331-34.
[163] Ker, *MLGB*, 178-79, 305.
[164] Doyle, 'Book Production by the Monastic Orders in England', 1-19. For Doyle's attribution of Indiana, Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1 (olim MS 67) to William Mede, see Anselm J. Gribbin, 'Tribularer si nescirem misericordias tuas': Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism* (2008): 73-106.
[165] Gribbin, 'Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', 73-106.
[166] Wendy Scase, 'Reginald Pecock' (Variorum: 1996): 71-129.

which the manuscript was copied), which the following data will correct.[167] For this study, I have conducted my own analysis of Mede's language from data taken from examples of his surviving vernacular output. Forms from Mede's linguistic profile are given in Table 1.

Though largely colourless, the following items may be used for the localization of Mede's language. The forms *togedyrys*, *thowsende* (and near variants *thowsend, thousende and thousend*) *thedyr, dedyr, dethyr, syluyr, hoo, tueyne, lasse, hen(n)ys, ȝatys* (and near variant *ȝatis*), *felthe, eyi(n), shee, aȝeins, aȝenis, aȝeynst(e), a-ȝenst, a-ȝenste,* (and near variants *aȝenst*), *ayeynes, þhe, erte, seth(e), by-yonde, byyonde, ȝatys, -lyche, be-ȝende* (and near variants *beȝende* and *beȝend*), *myghthte* (and near variants *myghthe, myȝtht, myȝthte* and *myȝtthe*) and *alle-thoow* (and near variants *alle-thow, alle-þow, all-thow, all-þow, al-thow, althow, all-yow, al-yow and al-þowth*) are not found in the north. The items *owyn* (and near variants *owy(n*) and owyn(e)), *sawgh*, *schul, schull, yene, eu(er)ych(e)* (and near variant *eu(er)ich(e))* are only rarely found in the north, with one isolated occurrence recorded in the county dictionary. Only one item, *þair,* is recorded only in the north and items occurring mainly in the north are *eftre*, *mikil, mykil* and *mykyl*. The majority of these rare and exclusively northern items appear in ND, the language of which, while colourless on the whole, seems to be more influenced by language of the north and east.

The items *þaim, mykil/mykyl/mikil, mikel/mykel, es, eftre, þhe, ayeynes, þair, hundredth, eu(er)ych(e)* (and near variant *eu(er)ich(e))* and *alle-thoow* (and near variants *alle-thow, alle-þow, all-thow, all-þow, al-thow, althow, all-yow, al-yow* and *al-þowth*) as well as being rare or not occurring in the north, are also not found in the south. The items *thyes/thies, þoff(e)/yoffe),* and *friste* only occur rarely in the south, though the items *tueyne, togyderys* and *dethyr* only occur in the south. The forms occurring only in the south are exclusive to Gg, the language of which, while on the whole colourless, seems to pull more strongly towards East Anglia and the east Midlands and is more inclined to tolerate southern forms.

The greatest influence on Mede's language seems to come from the Midlands – specifically the area including East Anglia and the surrounding counties of the east Midlands and the west riding of Yorkshire. The items *eyi(n), eu(er)iche* and *all-thow* (including all near variants described above) are only found in the east Midlands and east Anglia. The items *þaim, mykil/mikil, mikel/mykel, eftre, yoff(e), þhe, brothyr* and *es* are only found in the area surrounding southern Yorkshire, the east Midlands and East Anglia. The items *ȝe, thowsende, dedyr,* near variants *owy(n)* and *owyn(e), alle-thoow* (and most near variants *alle-thow, alle-þow, all-þow, al-thow, althow, all-yow, al-yow and al-þowth* (with the exception of *all-thow,* which has an attested occurrence in Leicestershire) and *sueche* only appear within East Anglia. There are also items which appear widespread but in fact have a very high concentration of occurrences in East

[167] LALME, vol. 1, profile 5760.

Anglia, notably Norfolk. These items are: *sche, aftyr, dayis, owyn* (and near variants) and *thowsende* (plus near variants *thowsend, thousende and thousend*.) There are also certain items that only Mede is known to have used. These are: *seeghe, seygth, seyin, sawgth, seyin* and *heygthe.*

It seems that the location which is most comfortably able to accommodate Mede's language is East Anglia, particularly the area surrounding Norfolk, including the southern parts of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Suffolk, with reserve placings in the more southern counties of East Anglia. This correlates with Smith's account of the language of ND, which he described as: 'a somewhat colourless text with a sprinkling of regional forms,' then going on to suggest that 'the forms co-locate most plausibly in East Anglia, specifically East Norfolk, though the presence of some northern forms suggests a reserve placing on the Lincolnshire/Rutland/Leicestershire borders'[168] and also corrects the existing *LALME* linguistic profile for the language of Gg which currently represents William Mede.

The data from my analysis of the language of William Mede's vernacular work correlates with some of the known clusters of Medes on the east coast of England. Thomas Mede was a merchant of Bristol, serving as juror in 1428, and was commissioned to collect taxes there in 1429, 1430 and 1436. He married and had children, including three brothers: Thomas, Philip and John, but in his will dated 1454 he refers to himself as 'rector of the church of Elizabeth in Mundford, Norfolk'.[169] There were also clusters of Medes concentrated in the east coast, in the area spanning Essex and Kent. These families appear to be as well-established in their particular locales as the Somerset Medes, though unlike the Somerset clan, it is unknown whether or not they are related. In 1316, Stephen atte Mede was held under oath at an inqusition at Mongeham, Kent.[170] In 1324, a John atte Mede was accused of stealing wool from a ship.[171] In 1328, a forty year-old Richard atte Mede was called upon to prove the age of the twenty-one year-old Waresius de Voloignes, able to prove the young man's age because his son, William, became a Dominican at

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[168] See priv. comm. between Smith and V. A. Gillespie in, 'The Haunted Text: Reflections in The *Mirrour to Deuote Peple*', in *Medieval Texts and Contexts* (eds.) Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey, *Context and Genre in English Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 161, n. 24.

[169] For further detail, see Vance Mead, *Mead Genealogy* <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/notes.html#NI1984> and <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page83.html> [accessed 28/05/2013]. Vance Mead has undertaken extensive genealogical research into the Medes of England. Now a member of the University of Houston's Anglo-American Legal Tradition project, in researching his own genealogy Mead built upon the work of Gordon Remington, Spencer P. Meade and the Rev. George Streynsham Masters, and has, through consultation of contemporary sources, conducted a thorough and comprehensive survey of the Medes of England from 1200-1600. G. Remington, "The English Origin of William Mead of Stamford, CT" *The American Genealogist*, (January, 1998) 73:1, 1-10 and S. P. Mead, *History and genealogy of the Mead family of Fairfield County, Connecticut, eastern New York, western Vermont, and western Pennsylvania, from A.D. 1180 to 1900*, (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1901). George S. Master, 'Collections of a Parochial History of Wraxall', *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Northern Branch* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1900). V. Mead, *Mead Genealogy* (2007) <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page4.html> [accessed 28/05/2013].

[170] *Mead Genealogy, <koti.welho.com/lmead/page82.html> [accessed 28/05/2013].*

[171] *<koti.welho.com/lmead/page147.html>*

Canterbury.[172] In 1333, an Edmund atte Mede and his wife, Gerarda, and a year later, two men were accused of conspiring to assault a Simon atte Mede of Kent.[173] At least some of the Medes of Kent possessed a degree of wealth: Alan atte Mede is recorded as having a ship of his sailing to Bruges in 1340, and John atte Mede of Frindsbury, Kent, in conjunction with several other donors, granted land to a priory and convent of Kent in 1346.[174] In 1349, William atte Mede was owed £6 from a debtor, and ten years later, another William atte Mede, a baker of Canterbury, owed a large debt of 8m. 6s. 8d.[175] An interesting debt-related case is that of Richard atte Mede of Lymmynge, Kent, who owed Richard le Scrope £101 in 1374, and who, unsurprisingly, was unable to be found in the bailiwick and did not possess property or goods in the area which could be seized in recompense.[176] The records continue until and after Dom. William Mede entered the Carthusian Order. Just five years before Mede entered Sheen, in 1412, a William Mede complained of Thomas Stephene and Thomas Stonehurst, 'saying he made a covenant to acquit him of a fine at the King's Bench of a certain "taynte".[177]

There were also Medes further north in Essex. Several of these Medes were religious: a Roger atte Mede is recorded as the chaplain of Dovercourt, Essex, in 1351;[178] a Richard atte Mede, another chaplain, of Laindon, Essex, in 1361,[179] and in 1389 a William atte Mede of Cambridgeshire, who served as parson of South Hanningford, Essex, who owed a debt of 100s.[180] There was also an established family of 'atte Medes' of Earl's Colne manor, Essex.[181]

Further north again, the Norfolk connection does not end with Thomas Mede's installation as rector of St Elizabeth in Mundford, Norfolk. In 1303, pardon was granted to Stephen atte Mede for the death of Lucy Bon of Burgh, Norfolk.[182] In 1311, William atte Mede of Great Frausham granted the feoffment of an acre of arable land in 'Ywerthlond.'[183] A John atte Mede was involved in kidnapping and extortion of the archdeacon of Essex, John de Bousser, in the Suffolk and Essex area in 1340-41.[184] Another John Mede, who was connected to Sir Hugh de Hastings of Norfolk, was released by Simon atte Street from actions

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172 *<koti.welho.com/lmead/page281.html>*
173 *Mead Genealogy, <koti.welho.com/lmead/page82.html> and <koti.welho.com/lmead/page147.html>*
174 *<koti.welho.com/lmead/page82.html and http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page154.html>*
175 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page156.html>
176 ibid.
177 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page151.html>
178 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page150.html>
179 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page147.html>
180 <http:*koti.welho.com/lmead/page212.html> [accessed 28/05/2013].*
181 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page212.html>
182 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page155.html>
183 op. cit.
184 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page281.html>

arising from debt and trespass.[185] In 1391, the name Robert atte Mede appears in connection with Brent Eleigh, Suffolk.[186] A little further north still, and we find a few Medes in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. In 1379, there is a reference to Willelmus del Mede and his wife Alicia, of Shadwell, Yorkshire, and in 1386, the name John Mede is recorded in connection with Fleet, Linconshire.[187]

There were Medes in Norfolk, Lincoln, Essex and Kent, though it would be unwise to assign Mede to any of these areas based on his language, for east Midlands varieties were influential in London and these forms may reflect this; his language *is* largely colourless. What is interesting, however, is that the language of ND tends to be less secure, slightly more northerly (north-east Midlands, north East Anglia reaching into the lower parts of Yorkshire) and aims at forms which occur over a wider geographical spread, while Mede's language present in Gg leans more to the south. I believe this may signal an attempt by Mede, the scribe, to cater to different readerships and will be discussed below.

In terms of dialect, Dom William Mede, Carthusian of Sheen, seems most likely to have come from any of the more easterly Mede families. The recruitment trend at the time for English Carthusians seems to have been to pluck their novices from, if not always landed families then at least affluent, emerging, upper-middle class families with strong connections to at least one wealthier, more powerful relative or benefactor.

Sheen Charterhouse

The documentary record of Dom William Mede begins with the record of his ordination as a Carthusian in the register of Archbishop Henry Chichele. Ordained acolyte on 6th March, Mede must have been one of Sheen's earliest recruits, the charterhouse founded three years earlier by Henry V on 25th September, 1414, and only formally incorporated in the year of Mede's arrival.[188] He was ordained sub-deacon on 5th June later that year by John Sewale, bishop of Surrey.[189] Having served the required periods of postulancy and novitiate, on 23rd December, 1419, Mede was ordained priest by Richard Clifford, bishop of London.[190] By doing so, Mede had taken solemn vows, becoming a full choir monk and a permanent member of the Sheen community.

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185 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page156.html>
186 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page212.html>
187 <http://koti.welho.com/lmead/page212.html>
188 E. F. Jacob and H. C. Johnson (eds.), 'The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443', *Canterbury and York Society*, 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938-47): 322.
189 Davis, *London Clergy*, Register of Henry Clifford, Guildhall Library, MS 9531/4, f. 79v.
190 ibid. f. 90r.

Upon joining the Order in 1417, Mede would have had to have been at least in his early twenties to conform to the Carthusian statutes' conditions of acceptance.[191] This would set an absolute minimum birth date at c. 1397. Upon his death in 1473, his Carthusian (and perhaps scribal) career had lasted fifty-six years. Only six manuscripts represent his surviving output, and only two of those are entirely in English. The apparent lack of evidence may be explained by Mede's having held two senior posts: sacristan and vicar – both of which necessitated spending a little more time outside the cell than other Carthusian choir monks. The amount of Latin work, when compared to the output of Stephen Dodesham, is understandable given that two (and fragments from a third) of these Latin manuscripts were notebooks, likely reserved for personal or strictly within-house use and therefore did not need to be written in English. Perhaps other surviving witnesses remain to be identified.

The following witnesses represent the surviving output of Dom William Mede of Sheen:

i) Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281 (TCD 281)
ii) London, British Library, Cotton, Vespasian, D. IX (V)
iii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 14 (Hatton 14)
iv) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 117 (Bodley 117)
v) Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1 (olim MS 67) (ND)
vi) Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6 (Gg)

In *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, N. R. Ker identified items one to four through contemporary inscriptions present in the manuscripts.[192] A. I. Doyle later extended Mede's *oeuvre* through his identification of the hand of William Mede first in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6,[193] then Indiana, Notre Dame, MS Eng. d. 1.[194] Sharing his findings first in his Oxford lectures in 1988, then in print in 1990, in the brief entry for Mede's hand, Doyle describes it as 'an unpretentious and sometimes untidy Anglicana'[195] – an accurate summary, as Mede, unlike his colleague and contemporary Stephen Dodesham, reserves his best Formata for rubrics, chapter-breaks and Latin marginal notes. His more cursive Anglicana, with simpler, Secretary-inspired forms, is prone to a scratchier haste, which contributes to the sense of untidiness. Like most scribes of the period, Mede was able to copy in a variety

[191] Later, Andrew Boorde of London Charterhouse, claimed he was admitted under age when he realised the strict Carthusian discipline was not for him and wanted out. TNA, SP 1/103 f. 61, letter 605, 1st April 1536.
[192] Ker, *MLGB*, 178-79, 305.
[193] A. I. Doyle, 'Book Production by the Monastic Orders in England', 1-19. For Doyle's attribution of the Notre Dame manuscript to William Mede, see Gribbin, 'Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', 73-106.
[194] Gribbin, 'Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', 78 n. 22.
[195] Doyle, 'Book Production by the Monastic Orders in England', 13.

of scripts, varying in form and formality. In Indiana, Notre Dame, MS Eng. d. 1, Mede exhibits a rather tidier Bastard Anglicana, with characteristic biting curves and curling otiose strokes. His non-calligraphic, decorative features are more distinct, however, and will therefore also be discussed here as an identifying feature of his hand.

Mede's Anglicana

Mede's hand could be classified as a more cursive form of Anglicana, but it shares certain features with the newer Secretary script. The aspect of Mede's hand is not upright like the best grades of Anglicana, but possesses a marked slant. This slanting aspect is most apparent in Mede's ascenders and descenders.

Ascenders:

d: His lower-case <d> displays more varied forms, owing to different script styles. First is a looped ascender with a sharp left foot on the bottom compartment. One of Mede's more common forms, the sharp left foot is subject to varying degrees of exaggeration: those in Gg are exaggerated; those in ND are less so (plate 1, l. 7 'word(es)'; plate 9, l. 25 'adder'). The sharp-footed, exaggerated <d> is rarer in the TCD 281 example in the vernacular, which is more informal, (plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 31 'hadde') but common in his Latin work, (plate 15, f. 160^{v}, l. 1, 'dei'.) Second is a less common form with a sharp-footed lobe as above and an unlooped ascender, which owes more to Textura, the ascender scything in a sharp curve to the left, the letter resembling an inverted 9 (plate 8, l. 27, 'and'. This form does not appear in Gg or TCD.) Third is a rarer form with a round lobe and S-shaped ascender (plate 8, l. 4 'mynde'; TCD f. 161^{r}, l. 4 '-dys'), which does not appear in Gg. Fourth is a form appearing frequently in ND: the looped <d> with hairline 7-like tag – a form only used in final position (plate 8, l. 3, 'conforted'. This form does not appear in TCD 281, which seems to have been a notebook. The writing is small and close to fit in as much as possible, therefore there might not have been room for embellishment. The form does not appear in Gg, which appears to have been a less formal production of the *Speculum devotorum,* plainly decorated and subject to correction and extensive marginal notes and referencing.

f: Mede has three forms of <f> he uses regularly. Common to all his lower-case <f> forms is the thick, bold, tapering downstroke of the ascender, the bottom of which sometimes tapers to the left. The headstroke is either left unadorned (straight and plain, as in Gg. (plate 1, l. 18 'ful')), extending out towards or across smaller letters, or sports a pronounced hook, (plate 15, f.161^{r}, l. 32 'fyr(e)') which sometimes is finished with a loop, connected to the ascender with a hairline stroke. A tag occasionally appears on the right of the cross-stroke in final position (plate 8, l. 12, 'of'; l. 16 'ȝif'. In Gg, this form only appears in marginal notation plate 2, 'of'.)

h: His <h> exhibits his characteristic thick, bold, sharply tapering ascender with slanting aspect, invariably finished with a pronounced hook at the top, which Mede either leaves unadorned (plate 8, l. 23 ‘manhode’; plate 1, l. 15 ‘he’ next to right hand margin) or closes with a hairline stroke to form a loop (plate 1, l. 15 ‘he’ nearest left hand margin; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 3 ‘helpynge’). The hooked form ascender is top-heavy, extending out past the lobe and occasionally over other smaller letters following. The lobe descends below the base-line, curving under towards the left like an F-clef 𝄢. When in a <th> cluster, in his more formal work, <h> is crossed in final position (plate 1, l. 4 ‘tellyth’; plate 8, l. 21 ‘seth’). The crossed <h> form in <th> cluster does therefore not appear in TCD 281.

k: Mede’s <k> is a classic, scything Anglicana form, its ascender displaying the slanting aspect common to Mede’s hand, but with curved hooks at both ends. The top hook is pronounced; the bottom more subtle, smaller, which lends the impression the letter is unbalanced and liable to tip. (plate 8, l. 21 ‘werke’; plate 1, l. 9 ‘make’; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 15 ‘clerke’.)

l: The <l> with looped ascender is Mede’s favoured form, formed with a hook at the tip of the ascender which is closed with a hairline stroke to form a loop. Sometimes the ink has faded from the hairline stroke, making it difficult to detect the loop, though the majority of the time, it is (or has been) there. The ascender is mainly upright. Examples appear in (plate 8, l. 19 ‘shulde’; plate 1, l. 8 ‘lady’; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 4 ‘called’.)

long-s: Mede possesses two forms of long-s, which he uses in any position: initial, medial or, less commonly, final. Both exhibit the bold, sharply tapering ascender downstroke, but the headstroke is either hooked, or level and extending far across other, smaller letters – almost resembling Humanist long-s. i) hooked headstroke: plate 8, l. 18, ‘symple’; plate 1, l. 20 ‘suete’; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 18 ‘tennyse’. ii) level and extending: plate 8, l. 20, ‘suche’; plate 2, l. 20 ‘synuys’; level and extending not present to the same degree as above, but seems to be in development in plate 15, l. 34 ‘smote’, where the form is still hooked but begins to extend over other letters.

Descenders:

g: Mede displays two main forms of lower-case <g>. First, is the classic Anglicana two-compartment, 8-like <g>, with tag at the top right of the upper compartment (plate 8, l. 10 ‘myghte’. This form is less common, but present, in plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 29 ‘ȝonge’, and plate 2, l. 21 ‘passynge’.) Second is a two compartment <g> which seems to be a compromise between Anglicana and Secretary <g>: the top compartment formed like Mede’s triangular, Secretary <a> with the bottom compartment sharing this triangular aspect with a particularly sharp left foot, sometimes featuring a flat bottom almost level with the base-line and a top-right biting tag (plate 1, l. 18 ‘scornynge’ but see also plate 8, l. 5, ‘god’. In TCD 281, this form is uncommon in Mede’s vernacular work (plate 15, 161^{r}, l. 3 ‘helpynge’) but is employed in his Latin work (plate 15, f. 160^{v}, l. 10 ‘plage’.) Mede also displays a less frequently used horned <g>, a classic Secretary feature, though this form is only present in ND (plate 8, l. 12, ‘grace’.)

ȝ: Mede uses yogh to represent the letter <z> (Gg, 39^{r}, l. 2 ‘Elyȝabeth’), <y> (plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 30 ‘ȝou’) and /g/ and the realisations of its allophones (plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 7 ‘ȝyue’.) It is used in initial (plate 8, l. 12 ‘ȝaffe’, and at l. 13 ‘ȝif’) and medial (see ‘Elyȝabeth’ above; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 6 ‘ryȝt’). Though it may appear to have been used in final position (plate 8, l. 10 ‘lettinggȝ’), from evidence based on the Gg copy of *The Mirror to Devout People*, the <ȝ> character is an abbreviation for <es>. Mede’s form of yogh is common: like two F-clefs sat atop one another, the top smaller and the bottom larger, with a long, descender which tapers down to the left, then curving sharply up to the right.

i/j: Mede consistently employs a 7-like upper-case form, its long straight descender displaying the slanting aspect and bold, thick-to-thin, tapering downstroke. In ND, Gg and TCD 281, the descender extends well below the base-line, frequently straying into the text on the line below (see plate 8, l. 13 ‘In’; plate 1, l. 20 ‘Iled’; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 5 ‘I’). The approach stroke at the left either hooks or loops, contributing to the 7-like appearance. Mede dots his <i> forms with diagonal, hairline strokes. (plate 8, l. 12 ‘his’; plate 1, l. 15 ‘crucyfyoris’; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 1 ‘in’.)

p: The descender of Mede’s lower-case <p> also displays his slanting aspect and bold, tapering downstrokes, though it is classically Anglicana in form: the downstroke forked at the tip, the lobe forming from the fork and curving round to close and complete the lobe, the end protruding through the descender. It is a common form, therefore not very useful as an identifier. (plate 8, l. 12 and 13 ‘peple’; plate 2, l. 3 ‘ropys’; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 1 ‘pray’.) A rarer form of <p> bears a resemblance to the thorn rune as illustrated here <ꝑ>: a long tapering ascender with the lobe placed in the middle (plate 8, l. 13 ‘hope’ and ‘p(er)form’.) This form is not employed in TCD 281, but is employed in a modified form, almost a compromise between the two, in plate 2, l. 21 ‘passynge payne’, with the lobe placed nearer the middle of the descender with a marked hook at its tip

ꝑ: The character of Mede’s <ꝑ> is similar to <p>, displaying the same slanting aspect, bold, tapering downstroke and forked tip. The lobe of <ꝑ> is more triangular and tapering, therefore reminiscent of the wynn character, as illustrated here: <ꝑ>.

long-r: Mede uses the V-shaped long-r intermittently. It is more favoured in Gg (plate 1, l. 3 ‘reuelacyon’) than in ND, where it is present early on before Mede settles with 2-like short-r. Mede uses long-r initially and medially (see plate 1‘reuelacyon’ above and plate 1, l. 24 ‘cruelly’; plate 8, l. 4 ‘performe’; l. 17 ‘redressyd’; l. 26 ‘cristen’; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 31 ‘habyrion’ and l. 34 ‘rope’.)

y: Mede’s <y> form is subject to little variation in its basic state; short, but pronounced hooks embellish each stroke, both the short downstroke and at both top and bottom ends of the long descender, the lower end tapering to a hairline and veering sharply to the right. Mede is shown to have dotted his <y>, though his practice varies from manuscript to manuscript. In ND, dotted <y> dominates but is not always used (plate 8, l. 14 ‘fynde’ ‘thyng’ are undotted and ‘ony’, sandwiched in between those words, is dotted.) In Gg he does not dot <y> at all in the main body of the text, but does in marginal notation (124^{v}.) In TCD 281, Mede does not dot <y>. Perhaps a dotted <y> was a superfluous decoration; one

inappropriate given the plainness and lack of space in the TCD 281 notebook and the relative plainness of Gg.

Short letter forms:

a: Mede possesses four forms of lower-case <a> in his repertoire, the frequency with which those forms appear varying from manuscript to manuscript. First is the classic Anglicana two-compartment <a>; the dominant form in Gg and TCD 281 (plate 1, l. 3 'as'; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 23 'þan(n)e' and 'I sawe'.) In ND, the single-compartment, triangular Secretary <a> is used regularly and is interspersed with two-compartment forms (i) single compartment, triangular Secretary <a> plate 8, l. 12 'ʒaffe' ii) two-compartment Anglicana <a>: plate 8, l. 17 'vnablenesse'.) This secretary <a> form does not appear in TCD 281. Mede also uses an odd compromise of the two: a two compartment <a> where the top is not rounded and gracefully looped, but is closed, pointed, triangular and presses close to the lower compartment (plate 8, l. 4, 'as', l. 6 'somwhat'; plate 1, l. 6 'medytacyon'; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 1 'pray'.) Mede also uses a fourth form, a smaller version of the Anglicana upper-case <A>, with closed, rounded, lower compartment and an open, single-stroke vertical which can either slant to the left or remain upright (plate 8, l. 23 'and') and a form in which the vertical stroke is looped (plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 17 'and' l. 31 'and'.) These forms do not appear in Gg.

e: Mede uses two forms of lower-case <e>. The round, modern <e>, overwhelmingly, is his preferred form. Anglicana cursive <e> is present but only appears in final position in ND (plate 8, l. 14, 'edyficatife') and TCD 281 (plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 14 'lyfe') and not at all in Gg.

minims (m, n, u, i): Minims are treated not for display, but for clarity, to aid reader comprehension, with subtle curving feet or heads to indicate whether an <m>,<n>, or <u> is realised. Mede dots <i> with a diagonal, hairline stroke (see examples from i/j above).

r: Mede allows more variation in his short forms of <r>. The Anglicana 2-like <r> has several variations: the first and most common is the 2-like <r> with pronounced hook at the left foot (plate 8, l. 23 'wryten', 'lorde'; plate 1, l. 7 'word(es)'; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 'oratory'); second, the 2-like <r> without hook at the left foot, which is less common (plate 1, l. 16, 'Aftyr'; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 5 'forsake') Mede's repertoire also includes short <r> (plate 8, l. 15 'mercy'; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 3 'for'.)

s: Mede's <s> features less variation, but influence from different script varieties is nonetheless evident. His preferred form in his more formal work is the Anglicana 8-like <s>, which may be embellished with a hairline tag in final position (plate 8, l. 22 'thus') resembling a 7, or, less formally, without the tag (plate 1, l. 19. 'as'). Depending on the level of formality, this letter form can be quite sharp-looking, the strokes often creating a subtle, horned appearance. Less formal realisations are more rounded (plate 1, l. 25 'ys'.) Secretary sigma <s>, is more favoured in his less formal writing and is therefore the dominant form in TCD 281 (plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 22 'armys' and l. 33 'hys',) though it is present in (plate 3, l. 17 'hys'; plate 8, l. 9, 'suche'.)

v: Like his colleague Stephen Dodesham, Mede is possessed of the uncommon habit of using <v> medially (plate 3, 'meved'; plate 8, l. 8 'meved' and 'travayle'.) This habit is not present in his vernacular work in TCD 281.

w: Mede's favoured form of <w> varies from manuscript to manuscript. In Gg and TCD the sharp, looped <w> with B-like element is most common (plate 1, l. 3 'wryte'; a more cursive, rounded form present in plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 29 'crownys'). Less common is the looped, v-shaped element (plate 7, l. 15, 'w^{t}'.) In ND, Mede does use the looped <w> with B-shaped element (plate 8, l. 18, 'efterwarde'), but only sporadically when he first begins copying. Later, when he settles, a simpler, unlooped form with v-shaped element dominates (plate 8, l. 13 'whiche'.) In TCD 281, the V-shaped element is not used.

Non-calligraphic aspects of Mede's hand:

Mede's framing and ruling (if present) seem often to serve more as guidelines than absolutes. Mede regularly carries on writing into the right-hand margin, as if consciously trying to cram as many words into every available inch of space. He will, as in TCD 281, add extra text below the bottom line, or sometimes in the middle of the page at the end of a chapter or section, enclosing it with a mark like an inverted pilcrow with extended underline.

Generally, Mede does not often use space-fillers, but when, at the end of texts, he is confronted with a blank strip of paper or parchment, he may choose from a few, recurring, decorative devices. The double-helix shape is ubiquitous and appears in all of Mede's manuscripts (plate 13, f. 128^{r}). This shape, resembling a question mark <?> with pen-point shaped dots decorating either top or bottom, usually top but sometimes both ends (plate 12, f. 128^{r}) is ubiquitous and also common in all his manuscript work, appearing in the main body of texts, in marginal notes and as a space-filler. A three-pronged variant of this form also exists, though it is rarer (plate 14, 159r).

Errors and additions are subject to Mede's own idiosyncratic system. Text to be excised is scored through in red and can be marked with a broken underline (plate 1, l. 17 '~~thyn~~thynkyth'; plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 25 '~~to a byde~~').

Like his colleague, Stephen Dodesham, Mede uses two methods of supplying omitted text. The carat is most common <^> with the supplied additional material placed above the current line of text (plate 15, f. 161^{r}, l. 33 and margin 'ȝou'). Less common is the double-slash <//> over a word to indicate the supplied text is placed nearby (plate 4).

In his later manuscripts (and occasionally in his earlier output), Mede employs a *nota* system which is consistent and intuitive, with the placement of two (or more) large dots, like an umlaut, over the relevant section he desires to highlight or expand upon. Further information is supplied in the margin and bears the corresponding umlaut-like mark, making the connection between the two unambiguous (plate 1). Mede also employs a mark like a musical pause for the same purpose (plate 2). Mede also, however, employs pointers (plate 15, f. 160^{v}) and marginal notes, enclosed in decorative penwork, vines and flowers with sprays and shields as in (plate 1) and Bodley 117 (plate 16).

Catchwords are sometimes ornately decorated and enclosed in elaborate scrolls (plate 10). Catchwords are not employed in Gg, though marginal notes are enclosed in scrolls (plate 5), sometimes containing reference material.

Purely decorative features include a square or lozenge shape with a single dot placed in the centre: ◈. Fish occasionally feature. In TCD 281 and V, Mede seems rather drawn to flowers and foliage (plate 11, f. 94^{r}) One flower, in particular, appears to have been used by Mede as a sigil (plate 11, f. 94^{r} at marginal 'Amen', l. 7) This clover-like sign is also used by Mede to mark the continuations of Augustine's *City of God* over several breaks in copying (plate 15, 160^{v}). Flowers are also used by Mede, along with connecting, intersecting lines, to rhyming words in verse (plate 11, plate 13). A shape resembling a four-paned window is also used by Mede as a sigil to mark continuations in breaks of copying. (plate 12, f. 111^{v}) An example of Mede's abbreviated signature: 'q(uod) w(illielmus) m(ede) i(hesu) e(st) a(mor) m(eus)' is present in plate 11, f. 94^{r}, l. 11. In signing off with the word 'Amen', Mede will employ an engrossed <n> (plate 13).

Dating of the manuscripts and their contents:
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281

The earliest dateable manuscript featuring the hand of William Mede as yet identified is Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281: a Carthusian miscellany of ca. 1432-c.1440,[196] comprised mainly of extracts from religious authorities relevant to the Order's interests and vocation: Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyril, Robert of Lincoln, Richard Rolle, Bernard of Clairvaux, Nicholas de Lyra, Vincent de Beauvais, Guigo and Adam of Dryburgh (Adam the Carthusian). There are also saints' lives (Hugh of Lincoln and St. Catherine, who proves a particular favourite in this volume), short texts warning on the temptation to desert one's Order, on heretics and even reminders of the basic knowledge every religious should possess (the Credo, divisions of the Bible, books necessary for a priest, and a short course on punctuation.) TCD

[196] The dating of TCD 281 will be discussed in detail below.

281, in its present form, contains sixty-five items (including the notes and table of contents by James Caterall, which are not counted in the itemisation of the Colker catalogue.) The material contained in the following description is based on the Colker catalogue and from my own examination of the entire manuscript in microfilm format.[197]

i) Theological notes in the hand of James Caterall (1^{v}-4^{r}). ii) Table of contents in the hand of James Caterall, ending at item fifty-eight (4^{v}). iii) List of contents supplied by Mede (including mention of the missing Council of Basle letters, now found in British Library, Cotton, Vespasian, D IX) (5^{r}). iv) Theological notes in the hand of James Caterall (5^{v}). v) Chrysostom, *Exposicio oracionis Dominicalis* (6^{r}-8^{v}). vi) Augustine, *Sermon* (PL: 39:1533-1535) (8^{v}-10^{v}). vii) Hieronymus, *De obediencia* (10^{v}-12^{v}). viii) pseudo-Augustine, *Speculum peccatoris* (12^{v}-19^{v}). ix) Moralization concerning chess, which Colker believes is taken from Johannes Wallensis, *Communiloquium.* x) Robert of Lincoln, Definition of Vices (20^{r}-22^{r}). xi) Notes on penance. (22^{r}) xii) Notes on the soul and angels, entitled *Dignitas humane condicionis* (22^{v}). xiii) On books necessary for a priest (22^{v}). xiv) Credo, Lord's prayer and salutation of the Virgin (22^{v}). xv) Sermon on penance (22^{v}-26^{v}). xvi) Adam of Dryburgh, Sermon for St. John (26^{v}-32^{r}). xvii) 'Auctorites bone et notabiles', notes from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (32^{r-v}). xviii) The Greek acrostic spelling I*esous* CH*ristos*, TH*eou* Y*ios*, S*oter* (though Mede's is spelled: Iesuys Creystos Teuy Yios Soter) (33^{r}). xix) Excerpts from Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (33^{r-v}). xx) Guigo II, *Scala paradisi* or *Scala claustralium* (34^{r}-41^{r}). xxi) Josephus, testimony on Christ (41^{r}). xxii) Peter of Blois, Letter 86, against a deserter from the Carthusian Order (41^{v}-45^{v}). xxiii) Richard Rolle, *De emendatione vitae* (46^{r}-60^{v}). xxiv) Verses beginning, 'Omne quod est nichil est preter amare deum' (60^{v}). xxv) pseudo Bernard, *De diligendo Deo* (61^{r}-62^{v}). xxvi) Notes on monasticism (62^{v}-63^{r}). xxvii) short treatise on punctuation (63^{r}). xxviii) Verses on Christ, Mary and St. John (63^{r}). xxix) pseudo Augustine, Letter to Cyril on the death of St Jerome (63^{v}-67^{v}). xxx) pseudo Cyril, Letter to Augustine on the death of St Jerome (67^{v}-81^{v}). xxxi) Bernard, sermon, In Obitu Humberti, found in Bernard's *Opera* 2 (81^{v}). xxxii) Verses 'Dampna fleo rerum; sancti Iohannis fleo...' (81^{v}). xxxiii) Alcher of Clairvaux, Meditations on Augustine's *City of God* (82^{r}-94^{r}). xxxiv) Diagram on returning to Christ from worldly things (94^{r}). xxxv) pseudo-Augustine, excerpt from *Soliloquium* (94^{r}). xxxvi) Short comments on psalms, assigned mainly to Nicholas de Lyra (94^{v}). xxxvii) Pseudo-Bernard, *De interiori domo*, titled 'Hugo de consciencia' (95^{r}-109^{r}). xxxviii) Verses: 'Quere bonos mores thesauros...' (109^{r}). xxxix) Arnulf of Boheries' *Speculum monachorum*, attributed to Bernard, entitled 'Speculum Bernardi' (109^{r}-110^{v}). xl) On twelve abuses of the cloistered (110^{v}). xli) On the sacrament of the altar (110^{v}). xlii) Prayer on St. Catherine (110^{v}). xliii) Augustine, *Contra Faustum* (111^{r-v} with break then continuation at 113^{r}) xliv) Extracts from Augustine's *City of God*

[197] Marvin L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: descriptive catalogue of the mediaeval and renaissance Latin manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1991): 546-556.

(copied in short bursts over 112^{r}-113^{v}, 127^{v}, 128^{r-v}, 159^{r}-160^{v}, 161^{v}, 169^{r}-171^{r}). xlv) Verses: 'Ergo fide pura...' (113^{r}). xlvi) Verses, 'Hoc est nescire...' (113^{v}). xlvii) Bernard, *Super canticum canticorum*, sermon 74, from *Opera* 2 (114^{r}-115^{v}). xlviii) Vincent of Beauvais, *Life of St. John the Evangelist* (115^{v}-127^{r}). xlix) Prayer on the Trinity: 'Benedicamus sedulo trino et uno domino qui in Maria uirgine miro claruit opere...' (127^{v}). l) Prayer on the Trinity: 'Valde deuota oratio ad sanctam trinitatem...' (128^{r}). li) Prayer: 'ffiat queso michi...' (128^{r}). lii) Prayer on St. John: 'De sancto Iohanne euangeliste oracio' (128^{r}). liii) Verses on St Catherine: 'Lux lex regina rethor...' (128^{r}). liv) Augustine, *Contra faustum* continuation (129^{r}-133^{r}). lv) Augustine, *City of God*, a different excerpt from item forty-two above, (133^{r}-159^{r}). For ff. 159^{r}-160^{v}, see item xliv above. lvi) Vision in English concerning a man tempted to leave religion (161^{r}). lvii) 'Reuelacio mirabilis', an exemplum concerning the conversion of a Jew to Christianity (162^{r-v}). lviii) *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln* (163^{r}-164^{r}). lix) Thomas of Cantimpré, *Universale bonum de apibus*, excerpts on St. Catherine (164^{r}-165^{v}). lx) Bernard, *In Commemoratione St. Michaelis*, sermon 1, *Opera* 5 (165^{v}-167^{v}). lxi) Bernard, *In Commemoratione St. Michaelis*, sermon 2, *Opera* 5 (167^{v}-169). lxii) Rufinus of Aquileia, *Historia monachorum*, excerpt from ch. 1 on St. John and St. Jerome: 'Narraciones quas sanctus Iohannes anachorita in Egipto narrauit sancto Ieronimo et sociis eius et sunt ualde notabilia' (171^{r}-175^{r}). lxiii) *Vitae patrum*, excerpts, continued in British Library, Cotton, Vespasian, D. ix (175^{r}-178^{r}). lxiv) Table listing books of the Bible (178^{v}). lxv) Theological notes in the hand of James Caterall (179^{r}-186^{r}).

Six items bear William Mede's signature with its characteristic variations in his Anglicana and those items are scattered throughout the volume at intervals. i) The first, item seventeen, 'Auctoritates bone et notabiles' is signed 'q(uod) W M' at f. 32^{r}. ii) The second, item twenty-four, containing some religious verses, is signed 'q(uod) W M' at 60^{v}. iii) The third, item thirty-seven, containing Alcher of Clairvaux's meditations on Augustine's *City of God*. Mede's signature is more prolix in this instance, the item signed: 'Deo grac(ia)s. Omne quod est nichil est preter amare deum. Dilige bene et legem implesti q(uod) W M. I(hesu) e(st) a(mor) m(eus)' at 94^{r}. iv) Fourth, item thirty-nine, a pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, *De interiori domo*, here attributed to Hugh of St. Victor, 'Explicit Hugo de conscientia'. Mede signs this, 'Deo gra(cia)s q(uod) W (illelmus) Mede. I(hesus) e(st) a(mor) m(eus)... Explicit... Omne quod est nichil est preter amare deum' at f. 109^{r}. v) The fifth item bearing Mede's signature is an extract from Arnulf of Boheries' *Speculum monachorum*, item thirty-nine, and attributed here by Mede to Bernard of Clairvaux. Mede's signature reads: 'Deo gra(cia)s q(uod) W(illelmus) M(ede)' at f. 110^{v}. vi) The sixth and final item bearing Mede's signature is an excerpt from Augustine's *City of God,* item fifty-five, and is signed: 'Deo gra(cia)s. Explicit liber xxi b(ea)ti augustini ep(iscopi) de ciuitate dei. ffinito libro; sit laus et gl(or)ia Christo. Ame(n) q(uod) W. Mede' at f. 159^{r}.

Another ten items feature Mede's hand and his characteristic phrases, but are not signed by him. i) The first, an extract from Richard Rolle's *De emendatione vitae*, item twenty-three, is signed 'Deo gracias...

I(hesus) e(st) a(mor) m(eus). Om(n)e quod est nichil est p(r)e(t)e(r) amar(e) deu(m)' at f. 60^{v}. ii) Second, item twenty-five, an extract from St Bernard's *De diligendo Deo* displays a short and simple, 'Deo gracias' at f. 62^{v}. iii) Third, is a short piece on monasticism, item twenty-six, which is also finished with 'Deo gracias' at f. 63^{r}. iv) Next, letters on the passing of St. Jerome by Augustine and Cyril, items twenty-nine and thirty, are both signed 'Deo gracias' at f. 67^{v} and 81^{v}. vi) Item forty-two, prayers to St. Catherine, are signed 'Deo gra(cia)s' at f. 110^{v}, and this is struck through in red.[198] vii) At the beginning of item forty-five, the series of extracts from Augustine's *City of God* continued over broken stints in copying, Mede's 'Deo gracias' appears at 113^{r}. viii) In item forty-eight, an extract from Vincent of Beauvais' *Life of St. John*, 'Deo gra(cia)s' appears again at f. 127^{r}. ix) Item fifty-seven, the English *Reuelacio mirabilis*, is signed 'Deo gra(cia)s' at f. 162^{v}, and at x) item fifty-nine, an extract from Thomas of Cantimpré's *Vniversale bonum de apibus*, 'Deo gra(cia)s' appears again on 164^{v}.

The manuscript is composed of paper with parchment flyleaves (1-4, 179-181 and 186.) 186 leaves, iv + 174 + iii + 4 + i. Quires are signed and catchwords are present. Collation: 1^{10} + 3, 2-7^{16}, 8^{14}, 9^{16} + 1, 10^{16} + 2, 11^{4}, (12^{4} inserted.) Page size 210 x 143mm. Written space at c. 165 – c. 110mm, and lines per page, c. 30, are approximate because Mede tends towards cramming as much into the page as possible, while retaining legibility and a degree of neatness. Pages are laid out in single columns with frame ruling present. There are two tables of contents: a contemporary 15th c. table of contents on 5^{r} in the hand of William Mede, and a later 17th century table of contents (incomplete) on 4^{v} by a later owner, James Caterall. Secundo folio: IHC Exposicio *or* Anima nobis.

Mede's signature alone is indicative of TCD 281's Sheen provenance, but the manuscript's Sheen provenance is also evident in traces of writing at f. 1^{r}, at 179^{r} *Pertinet iste [liber] domino Iohanni de Bethleem de Shen(e) ordinis Cartus(iensis)* and 179^{v} which bears the signatures of *Willelmus Mede* and *Petrus Rykeman*. Having consulted the Register of Robert Gilbert, it appears that Peter Rykeman was a secular priest – belonging to no religious Order, and therefore having taken no vows of chastity or poverty – who attended Cambridge University and who received his M.A. by 1440.[199] Of the diocese of Canterbury, Rykeman was ordained priest by Robert Gilbert, bishop of London, on 24th September, 1440, at Great Hadham parish church, Hertfordshire.[200] He must have spent time at Sheen, as he was associated with it at the time of his ordination,[201] before deciding, perhaps, that the Carthusian life was not for him.

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[198] The same practice is observed by Mede in the second of the Council of Basle letters, in London, British Library, Cotton, Vespasian, D. ix. See below.
[199] A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1963): 499.
[200] Davis, *London Clergy*, Register of Robert Gilbert, Guildhall Library, MS 9531/6 ff. 152^{r}-183^{v} (for Rykeman, f. 162^{v}).
[201] op. cit.

Rykeman later became vicar of Lewisham, Kent,[202] and was still living until at least 1466. This is the same Peter Rykeman, clerk, 'lately of Lewisham, Kent', who was falsely accused of owing ten pounds to John Clyfton and Robert Broun, and who appeared in the Court of Common Pleas in the Michaelmas term of 1446.[203] This may be the same Peter Rykeman who appears in the Market Harborough Parish Records, as a Petrus Rykeman, priest, was presented by Nicholas Gryffyn, armiger, to the parish church as rector of Little Bowden, Leicestershire, in 1463.[204] As his signature appears on 179^{v} of TCD 281, Rykeman must have had access to the library at Sheen c. 1440. The location of Rykeman's signature on the original end parchment flyleaves of the volume combined with the discovery of the dates of his career in the relevant documentary records may provide a possible *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the finished product of TCD 281. Two letters from the Council of Basle signed by Mede (once belonging to TCD 281, now in BL, Cotton, Vespasian, D. ix (see below)); the first regarding heretics in Bohemia, which took place in 1431, and the second on the subject of heretics in England (the letter dated 1432) provide a definite *terminus a quo*. The Sheen community's interest in the Council of Basle is justified, given the prior was excommunicated over disputes regarding alien priories.[205] TCD was therefore most likely created ca. 1432, after the Council of Basle, and may have been more or less finished c. 1440 when the secular priest Peter Rykeman would have had access to Sheen's reading material. It is possible that Rykeman, as a secular priest associated with Sheen at his ordination, could have been permitted to borrow the book in an arrangement not unlike that eventually established by the library of the charterhouse at Cologne (see chapter two above).

TCD 281, it is argued here, may also provide an interesting insight into how Carthusians may have worked when copying manuscripts. The dispersed Augustine extracts may indicate that the exemplar was being used, or that Mede only worked on it when he had time, or that he was reading multiple books at a time and was distracted by something interesting in another book. Item forty-five, the series of extracts from Augustine's *City of God,* begins f.112-113^{v}, then appears in intermittent bursts – interrupted by different texts – across 127^{v}, 128^{r-v}, 159^{r}-160^{v}, 161^{v}, and 169^{r}-171^{v}. At the bottom of certain breaks in copying (fols. 128^{v}, 160^{v}, and 161^{v}) Mede, concerned with clarity, continuity and readability, supplies a note at the bottom of the page, informing the reader that the text is continued. Similarly, when copying the *Vitae patrum*, (175r-178r) Mede leaves a similar note, indicating the text continues five leaves later. In between these stints, Mede copies another extract from *City of God* (item fifty-two, f.133^{r}-159^{v}) before

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202 Emden, *Biographical Register*, 499.
203 Jonathan Mackman and Matthew Stevens (eds.), 'CP40/743: Michaelmas term 1446', *Court of common pleas: The National Archives, CP40: 1399-1500* (2010): CP 40/743, rot. 132d <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=118110> [accessed 28/05/2013].
204 J. E. Stocks and W. B. Bragg, *Market Harborough Parish Records to A.D. 1530* (London: Elliot Stock, 1890): 129.
205 Hogg, 'Life in an English Charterhouse', 26.

returning to the other long extract from book twenty-one. Throughout the proceedings, Mede kept a close eye on his own project and its order in what would become TCD 281. Either his exemplar was in use by a colleague, which necessitated turning briefly to another text while he waited, or quires were freely passed around. Sheen was founded by Henry V in 1414. By c. 1432-1440, it is likely that Sheen's library met at least the basic needs of all its monks by c.1432-1440. This, however, may not have entirely negated the problem of access to copies of texts in high demand – like Augustine's *City of God* – and resultant queues. The development of turn-based systems could have ensured each monk or reader was able to access sought-after reading material. As well as bound, completed codices, perhaps in-progress exemplars and incomplete quires were also passed around between colleagues and used when they had the time and desire to copy. A *pecia*-based system would have been useful, not only for copying, but if particular *reading* material was in high demand, especially if the foundation was relatively new and did not have all the books it required to meet the needs of the reading-intensive vocation as a Carthusian's (as outlined above in chapter two). For example, if one monk was finished with the first quire, it could be handed to another and he could progress to the second quire, which would be handed to the other monk upon having read it, who would take the second quire and pass on the first to yet another monk. Once the initial rush abated, the quires could then be bound into the form of a codex and deposited in the library. That Mede's copying of *City of God* was regularly interrupted by other texts and resumed suggests that he did not always have access to his exemplar and, even if such a system were not in operation at Sheen, that there were certainly queues for books.

That William Mede took it upon himself to draw up a table of contents on f. 5^{r} indicates that he had his colleagues in mind when forming the book that would become TCD 281, as he makes a valiant attempt in forming a cohesive whole, though his comment regarding the volume's organisation suggests that this was a difficult, and perhaps exasperating, process:

> Sequuntur et alie narraciones cum aliis notabilibus usque ad finem libri et multa alia notabilia interseruntur in hoc libro in diuersis locis ut satis bene patebit diligenter requirenti et est domus Ihesu de Bethleem ordinis Cartusiensis de Shene quod W. Mede. Deo gracias.
> [The following and other narrations with others, noteworthy, until the end of the book, and many other notable items are inserted in this book in different places, so that it will become sufficiently clear, diligence is required, and it belongs to the house of Jesus of Bethlehem of the Order of Carthusians at Sheen, said W. Mede. Thanks be to God.]

The process of assembling a Carthusian miscellany, it seems, was piecemeal and erratic. It may therefore have been difficult for Mede to impose structure, though he made a valiant attempt, as the texts are not

too difficult to navigate. Despite his attempts, Mede evidently feared that the end result may have had the potential to test the patience of even Sheen's most diligent seekers of 'bone auctoritates'.

Interesting, too, is the note left by Mede at the foot of his extract from the *Vitae patrum* (item 60, above) indicating that that the text was incomplete and continued five leaves later, as this continuation is missing. The manuscript, in its original finished form, would have ended with the three parchment flyleaves, ff. 179-181 (the paper gathering of 182-185 plus the parchment flyleaf of 186 were inserted later, and contain notes by James Caterall from 179-186). Therefore, the continuation, if it ever did form part of TCD 281, is no longer there. A clue as to what might have become of the dispossessed continuation is found in Mede's table of contents. In it, Mede includes two letters on the Council of Basle, on heretics in Bohemia and in England. These letters do not appear in TCD 281, nor are they noted in James Caterall's 17th century table of contents on 4v. Fortunately, they are not lost. Instead, they reappear in another manuscript: British Library, Cotton, Vespasian, D ix, which contains other items signed by William Mede from TCD 281.

London, British Library, Cotton, Vespasian, D. ix

British Library, Cotton, Vespasian, D. ix is, codicologically, closely related to TCD 281, though only parts of it are of Sheen provenance (and will, henceforth, be referred to as V). Two-hundred and eighteen leaves long, V is composed of fragments from historical texts and from texts dealing with issues of reform. The fragments contained within V originally belonged to separate manuscripts, brought together and bound in a single codex in the environment of the Cotton collection. The material contained in the following description is based on my own physical examination of the manuscript with occasional reference to the British Library catalogue.[206] V, in its present form, contains twenty-six items:

i) Verse life of St. Brendan (ff. 2-10). ii) Thomas Rudbourne's History of St. Swithun's, Winchester, from the time of Brutus to the eighteenth regnal year of Henry III (1234) (ff. 11-43v). [207] iii) Letters of the Council of Basle, 1432 (ff. 44r–46v). iv) Excerpts from *Vitae patrum*, the promised continuation from TCD 281 (ff. 46v–47v, 48r). v) Verses of Lollards against prelates of the church in order to excite temporal lords against them with verses against Lollards (f. 48r). vi) Mensura plage lateris Domini nostri Ihesu

[206] British Library, <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=IAMS_VU2> [accessed 28/05/2013] and enter the following string in the search box: "IAMS040-001103306".
[207] A copy of which, in a sixteenth-century hand, is extant in Cotton MS. Nero A. xvii. This manuscript was compiled by the author, at the request of his fellow-monks, from the works of Gildas, Beda, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Matthew Paris, Thomas Rudborn, bishop of St. David's, whose chronicle is now lost, and other writers. Alexander R. Rumble, 'Rudborne, Thomas (*fl.* 1447–1454)', *DNB* (Oxford: University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24244> [accessed 28/05/2013].

Christi (Measure of the blow in the side of our lord, Jesus Christ with a meditation upon the wound) and notes on four-thousand days' indulgence granted by Innocent II (f. 48^{v}). vii) Hymn of Compassion for the Blessed Virgin Mary (f. 49^{r}). viii) Peter of Blois, Compendium in Job (f. 49^{v}: excerpt, continued at paragraph 6, f. 168^{r}). ix) Chronicle of Holland and Zealand, from the time of Brutus with continuations to 1476 (f. 50-162^{v}). x) Verses of others to the Lollards, concerned with John Ball, an English Lollard priest who was executed for his part in the Peasant's Revolt (163-166^{v}). xi) Note on books of Scripture (f. 167^{r}). xii) Strophes on Christ, Mary and St. John (167^{r}). xiii) Witham Chronicle fragment, on Adam of Dryburgh (d. c. 1212) recording the names of early recruits under prior Albert, a description of Adam's appearance and a list of his works (167^{v}).[208] xiv) Peter of Blois, Compendium in Job (168^{r}: excerpt, continued from paragraph 3, f. 49^{v}). xv) Note on Prior Geoffrey of Clairvaux (168^{r}). xvi) Anselm of Canterbury, Oratio de spiritu sancto (168^{v}). xvii) The eight Revelations of St. Bridget (a later addition to the original thirteen revelations of St. Bridget) from her *Revelations to the Popes* or *Tractatus de summis pontificibus* (168^{v}).[209] xviii) John Johnston's *Urbes Brittaniae*, published 1607 (ff.169-176). xix) Bertram Walton's *Why I can't be a nun* (f. 177-182). xx) The Stacions of Rome (ff. 183^{r}–188^{r}). xxi) Love verses: 'O lord of love, here my complaynt.' (ff. 188^{r}–189^{v}) xxii) Continuation of Betram Walton's *Why I can't be a nun* (ff. 190$^{r\text{-}v}$). xxiii) *The Northern Passion* (ff. 191-192^{v}). xxiv) On the convocation of Benedictine monks at Westminster on 7th May, 1421, by Henry V (193^{r}–194v); letter from King Henry V of England (1413–1422) to the Benedictine superiors (194v); letter from the Benedictine superiors (195r–v); the Reform Articles of Henry V of 1421, with criticisms and modifications supplied by abbot John Whethamstede (196r–212v). xxv) Verse on the life of Christ (f. 212v). xxvi) Verse life of St. Alexius (f. 213-218r).

The binding is modern. The manuscript is composed of a paper and parchment mix. Parchment leaves include: initial flyleaf labelled i, f. 1 containing Cotton's table of contents, the verse life of St Brendan (ff. 2-10), and the verse life of St. Alexius, (ff. 213^{r}-218^{r}) and one endleaf. The rest – f.11-212, plus flyleaves at beginning and end of the volume – are paper. The entire volume: ii + 218 + ii. Some quire signatures survive (ff. 44-49 labelled 'g'). Some catchwords survive (gatherings comprising ff.11-43^{v} have catchwords every recto and verso, and the gathering comprising ff.44-49 has catchwords every recto supplied by Mede). Collation: mounted on modern guards and would have varied according to item. Page size, 210 x 170mm. The size of written space on the page varies according to item. The Verse Life of St. Brendan has 155 x 55mm written space for each column, in a double column layout. Others from 44^{r}-168^{v}

[208] Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 70-77, 314, 337.
[209] Arne Jönsson, (ed.), *St. Bridget's Revelations to the Popes: An edition of the so-called Tractatus de summis pontificibus*, Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia, 6 (Lund: Lund University Press, 1997).

(including items signed by Mede, excluding the Holland and Zealand chronicle from 50^{r}-162^{v}) have a c. 170x110 written space with single column layout.

Lines per page are approximate because different booklets of varying origins have found their way to V and have been bound together. The frame ruling is also varied. Variation is present even within the short items copied by Mede, which correlates with the items copied and still housed in TCD 281. Items signed by Mede and items in his hand vary from no frame at all (item 4), to single vertical rules and no horizontals (item 3), to fully framed with rather crooked ruling (the Witham Chronicle fragment and the note on Geoffrey of Clairvaux). His framing practice is inconsistent. A table of contents is supplied f. 1 in the hand of a scribe working for Robert Cotton, using the older system of foliation as reference.[210] Secundo folio: 'Pro seruo Dominus'. Decorative features: Mede rubricates his capitals with a single, vertical stroke. He underlines catchwords in red, sometimes decorating the underline with a little flourish or floral decoration (like the catchwords with floral decoration as described above in TCD 281). Mede's guide-mark flowers are also present on 49^{r} and 167^{r}, as in TCD 281. Separate, non-Carthusian items have their own decorative features. Items 1 and 26 (the saints' lives), originally from the same manuscript, have a two column layout and alternating red and blue capitals. Item 9 (the Dutch Chronicle of Gouda) with coat of arms, lion miniatures and extensive rubrication.

Of the items originally belonging to TCD 281, two items bear William Mede's signature, with its characteristic variations as described above, and another ten items feature his Anglicana or his signature 'phrases'. These items have been divided into two distinct groups by Cotton or his associates. These items comprise the group ff. 44-49 in V, which was lost from TCD 281 before c. 1624.[211] i) The first signed item is number three, the Letters from the Council of Basle, 1431-32, removed from TCD 281 before the 16th c. The second letter, dated 1432 by Mede, is signed 'w. edem deo gracias (with 'deo gracias' struck through in red, like item thirty-nine from TCD 281) and his flowers also feature on f. 49^{r}. Subsequent items in this first grouping are unsigned but copied in Mede's characteristic Anglicana. ii) Excerpts from *Vitae patrum*, item four. ii) Verses of Lollards against prelates of the church in order to excite temporal lords against them, with verses against Lollards, item five. iii) Measure of the blow in the side of Christ and notes on four-thousand days' indulgence, item six. iv) Hymn of Compassion for the Blessed Virgin Mary, item seven. v) Peter of Blois, Compendium in Job, item eight (part one).

Mede's hand does not feature again until f. 167. vi) The sixth item by Mede, Note on books of Scripture, item eleven. vii) Strophes on Christ, Mary and and St. John, item twelve, the verses of which are

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[210] Colin G. C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library, Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London: British Library, 2003). Compare with example on p. 27.
[211] *MLGB*, Supplement to the second edition, 62.

connected with a flower and extending stems in a similar form to those used by Mede in TCD 281. viii) Witham Chronicle fragment, item 13, which is signed 'deo gracias w. mede' at f. 47^{v}. ix) Peter of Blois (cont. from above), item fourteen. x) Note on Prior Geoffrey of Clairvaux, item fifteen, including Mede's phrase 'deo gracias' at 168^{r}. xi) Anselm of Canterbury, *Oratio de spiritu sancto*, item sixteen, and xii) the eight *Revelations* of St. Bridget, item seventeen. These items comprise the second distinct grouping ff. 167-168 in V, which was lost from TCD 281,[212] most likely at the same time as the Letters from the Council of Basle. Item sixty-three in TCD 281, mentioned briefly near the end of Mede's contemporary table of contents,[213] contains excerpts from *Vitae patrum*, to which a note in TCD 281 is appended by Mede mentioning the continuation of the imperfectly ended text five leaves later.[214] The continuation does not appear in TCD 281, but re-surfaces in two parts in V. Their place in the order of Mede's table of contents in TCD 281 and the surviving quire signatures indicate that the fragments now belonging to V were once placed near the end of the TCD 281 codex, and were therefore more vulnerable to deliberate extraction or accidental separation.

The verse lives of St. Brendan (f. 2-10^{v}) and St. Alexis (f. 213-218^{r})[215] both originally belonged to the same volume. Dated to c.1275-c.1325, these fragments would have belonged to a book copied long before the foundation of Sheen. (Though this does not discount the possibility of Carthusian provenance, the original book belonging, perhaps, to one of the more ancient houses such as Witham, or having been a donated volume or second-hand purchase, it remains very unlikely.) The *Chronicle of Gouda* (f. 50-162^{v}), according to Levelt, came to Robert Cotton through Emmanuel van Meteren (Emmanuel Demetrius).[216] Van Meteren was a 'merchant and historian, son of an Antwerp trader who had been the financier of one of the earliest English printed bibles' and who was also 'the commercial consul for the Netherlands in London'.[217] He became acquainted with Robert Cotton and provided him with several manuscripts and manuscript fragments of Dutch origin.[218] The Scottish scholar, John Johnston's *Urbes Britanniae* was published as part of a revised edition of William Camden's *Britannia* in 1607 – Johnston's city poems

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[212] ibid.
[213] TCD 281, f. 5^{r}: 'Narraciones quas sanctus Iohannes anachorita in Egipto narrauit sancto Ieronimo et sociis eius cum aliis narracionibus de uitis patrum interpositis libris biblie notatis (added: cum aliis de Adam Cartusiensi) et duobus epistolis quarum una missa fuit hereticis in Bohemia altera in Anglia a sacrosancta sinodo Basiliensi (cancelled: et inter illas scripte fuerunt).'
[214] f. 178^{r}: 'Vide fine(m) isti(um) narracio(n)is p(ro) v. folia ad dext(ra)m ad tale signu(m)', followed by Mede's flower with four petals.
[215] For the *Vita S. Brendani* and the *Vita S. Alexi*, see; Walter of Châtillon, *Saints' Lives by Walter of Châtillon: Brendan, Alexis, Thomas Becket*, (ed.) Carsten Wollin (Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002).
[216] Sjoerd Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk's Chronicles of Holland*, (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011): 15-16. See also; Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library*, 14. n. 88.
[217] ibid. 15.
[218] Tite, *Early Records*, 14.

inserted as an introduction before Camden's prose description. Gesine Manuwald found that letters between Johnston and Camden revealed that the former had sent his city poems to Camden the year before in August, 1606.[219] Aside from the different paper and the presence of the Humanist hand, the dating of the text, its author and his associates firmly discount any notions of Carthusian origin. The table of contents at the front of the volume appears to be in the hand of a secretary of Robert Cotton.[220] Therefore, these various fragments included in the table of contents were most likely assembled by Robert Cotton or by one of his associates. James Caterall, whose hand makes copious annotations in TCD 281, left an inscription in another manuscript in the Trinity College Dublin collection. At folio i in TCD 351, he writes: 'Ja. Caterall ex dono Io. Hulton / Darlensis gen' 1624.' Caterall, therefore, must have acquired TCD 281 around the same time. This places him within the same time frame as Robert Cotton and William Camden, and possibly Archbishop James Ussher, into whose hands the book later arrived (bearing the Ussher collection shelf-mark EEE.47, struck through, but still legible, on f. 5^{r}.) In the environment of Robert Cotton, William Camden and their associates, the sharing of specimens was common: either scripts or interesting snippets of information. The loose fragments from TCD 281, now in V may have been such a loaned item – from Ussher, Johannes Hulton, or someone else entirely – and the loose fragments simply did not make it back to their original collection. V may contain the hand of William Mede, but it is certainly not originally of Carthusian provenance.

Of the texts which are undoubtedly of Carthusian provenance, despite their convoluted contents, the extracts in V and TCD 281, when taken as a whole, would have formed a very useful notebook-turned-compilation. This single volume would have contained a repository of materials which would have been practical in the day-to-day life of a Carthusian, containing guides on how to be a good monk, including recommendations of relevant and essential reading material and copying practice. It contains prayers – always essential in the context of a Carthusian vocation – and items on guarding against temptation to desert and the punishments that met those who had done. It reveals Mede's (and perhaps the Order's) love for lives of saints: in Mede's case, the saints Jerome, John and Catherine, and of his predilection for items of historical as well as spiritual interest, and his concern for heretical beliefs and activities. It sheds light on Mede's personal tastes and what he considered useful to himself and his fellow monks and reinforces the idea, discussed in chapter two, that in terms of the comparative freedom the Order afforded its members in spiritual development, that there was no such thing as a typical Carthusian. Mede's interest in history, in particular, carries through two other surviving manuscripts which may confidently be connected to him and, through him, to Sheen charterhouse.

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[219] Gesine Manuwald, 'Two Johnstons on Glasgow: examples of Scottish Neo-Latin encomia urbis,' *Classical Receptions Journal*, vol. 2, iss. 1 (2010): 44–59.
[220] Tite, *Early Records*, 27.

Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton 14

Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton 14 (hereafter referred to as Hatton 14) contains a single item: a Latin copy of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, with continuations to 1377, described by Taylor as a variant of the C-continuation.[221] A copy of Higden's universal history of the world would have undoubtedly catered well to Mede's interest in historical events. Though Mede did not copy the book, it may be confidently connected to him and Sheen charterhouse through inscriptions of ownership and dedication at f. 8^{v} and 193^{v}. The manuscript likely came into Mede's hands in the early 1440s, as Mede appends two short historical notes for the years 1442 and 1444 on the inside of the back cover. The material contained in the following description is based on my own physical examination of the manuscript.

The binding is contemporary, English work, red leather on wooden boards, through which six thongs are visible. Fragments of another text are stuffed into the binding but it was not possible to access it in order to positively identify the text. The book is encased in a white sheep-skin cover, that once bore the title 'Polycronicon' – all that survives now of the title is the initial letter 'P'. The book had two metal clasps: one is lost and the other survives and still functions. Hatton 14 is comprised solely of parchment, containing 194 folios, its pages measuring 320 x 270mm and written in double columns of fifty-four lines per page, those columns measuring 235 x 60mm each to form a 253 x 150mm total written space (factoring in the space between columns). The gatherings are broken down as follows: $1\text{-}15^{12}$ 16^{12} +3 (signatures of final three leaves labelled a, b and the third is left blank). The pages are frame-ruled: four single verticals and a single horizontal across the top to form double columns. Pricking is visible on the outer edges of later gatherings. Pagination is modern, marking folios in the upper, outer corner of rectos. Catchwords are present, boxed in red. Signatures are also present under the following system: gatherings one to four have signatures i, ii, iii, iiii, iiiii, vi running horizontally from left to right. At gathering five, the numerals begin again, but run vertically from top to bottom. Some signatures are not in the gutter, but are placed higher up nearer the bottom line of the text and sometimes further up when running vertically. Decoration consists of rubrics, blue enlarged initials with red pen work, sycamore-like foliation inside, and red paraphs with extended underline. There is a drawing of a human face over the signature on 63^{v}, as though the artist saw a face in the spare lines of the signature pen-strokes and decided to fill it in. Secundo folio: Te brithtrico.

Two scribes had a hand in the creation of Hatton 14, described by Madan as having been written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century: one hand earlier and the other 'only slightly later', the earlier hand

[221] J. Taylor, 'Development of the Polychronicon continuation,' *English Historical Review*, v. 76, no. 298 (1961): 20-36.

ceasing to copy after the ominous: 'Sub pena carceris (et) capitis interdixit. Huc usque Randulphus', the second hand carrying on where the first left off without further comment.[222] Although William Mede had no hand in the construction of the book, he is still very much connected to it. Over and above the notes he liberally scatters throughout, indicating that the book was used and read and appreciated by him, there is, at 193^{v}, a record of the donation of the book to Mede for his use by a certain Johannes Yorke:

> Istum librum qui intitulatur latine policronica, grece vero polycronicon Iohannes Ȝorke generosus accommodauit primo domno Willelmo Mede huius domus monacho pro tempore vite sue. Postmodum Willelmo eiusdem filius dedit eidem domui in eternum. & inno orate deuote pro animabus eorum deum.
> [This book which in Latin is called Polychronica, in Greek Polychronicon, Johannes Yorke generously donated first to William Mede, monk of this house, for his life time. After, the same brother William of this house dedicated it to the house in perpetuity.]

It appears from this short inscription that William Mede had a patron, which was not itself unusual, especially for a monk of an urban charterhouse, who would have necessarily had to tolerate a greater degree of contact from well-meaning outsiders (as discussed more fully in chapter two). It is difficult to say who exactly Johannes Yorke was, though I have found a record of two individuals buried in the chapel of St. Francis in Greyfriars Church, London. The first is a Johannes Walter, alias Yorke, and another, simply 'Johannes Yorke'.[223] Kingsford states that 'The repute of the Grey Friars Church made it a favoured place for the burial of persons of rank, of the upper class of London' and that 'many of these last were buried in the Chapel of St. Francis.'[224] Johannes Yorke could have been either of those two men, another wealthy London citizen altogether, or not from London at all. He would have been wealthy at the very least, to have been able to own or purchase the book with intent on giving it away to a monk of Sheen. Whoever Johannes Yorke was, he must have known Mede and possessed some sort of connection to him, as Mede was mentioned specifically by name to receive the gift. It was not unusual for individual monks to have patrons, though we know that they were not allowed to own private property. This prohibition extended to the retaining of books for personal use, as in 1432, the General Chapter refused a monk of Coventry the permission to do so, on the grounds that he would thereby commit the crime of possessing private property.[225] Jessica Brantley, on the ownership of books by Carthusian monks, observes that the record of this incident 'provides evidence that the central organisation of the order

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[222] F. Madan, H. H. E. Craster and N. Denholm-Young, *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937): item 4105, 842.
[223] C. L. Kingsford, 'History of Greyfriars: The Register', *The Grey Friars of London,* (1915): 1-15 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=51594> [accessed 28/05/2013].
[224] ibid.
[225] Hogg, 'Life in an English Charterhouse', 26.

refused to allow the individual ownership of books, but it also suggests that books *were* privately owned by charter monks in England, and probably far more than this one instance proves.'[226] Brantley cites the example of Thomas Golwynne, who, when travelling from London to Mountgrace in 1519 took with him a list of items, which included: 'Item a printyd portews by the gift of M. Rawsom' and 'Item a yornall and a printed prymer gevyn by M. Parker.'[227] Mede certainly donated the book to Sheen after his death in perpetuity but whether he adhered to the Statutes and relinquished his private property and permitted others to use the volume while he lived is unknown. A volume reserved for the use of a single monk would have proven useful if copies of particular texts were in high demand and therefore not always available for consultation (see the discussion of *The City of God* above). What is certain, though, is that Mede was in contact with an individual capable of gifting an expensive book: Mede had a patron. As we will see shortly, like Thomas Golwynne of London charterhouse, he may have had more than one.

Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 117

This manuscript is of particular interest because it appears to have been, like TCD 281, one of William Mede's notebooks. Here, Mede has made no attempt to organise this volume for the benefit of others, in contrast with TCD 281. Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 117 (hereafter referred to as Bodley 117) therefore reveals a more personal collection of Mede's tastes through copious extracts and notes. The material contained in the following description is based on my own physical examination of the manuscript at the Bodleian Library.

1. Augustine, *De dignitate condicionis humanae* (1^{r}-2^{r}) 2. Note on part of the hours of night and day (2^{r}-4^{r}) 3. *The Sentences of Sextus* (4^{r}-8^{v}) 4. Pseudo-Bernard (extract from Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*?) (8^{v}) 5. On king Josiah of Judah (9^{r}-11^{r}) 6. Abrenunciacio de Reginaldi Pecok, Conclusions of Reginald Pecock and related notes (11^{r}-14^{v}) 7. Letters from a Carthusian confessor, 'w. cartus minimus', to Cardinal Henry Beaufort (14^{v}-18^{v}) 8. Bartholomaeus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (18^{v}-20^{r}) 9. Note on Kent, 'Cancia' a province in England (20^{r}) 10. *Modus lauda*, prayers and benedictions (20^{r}-21^{v}) 11. 'Sequuntur cronice notabilies': Julian the Apostate (21^{v}-23^{r}) 12. St Thomas of Canterbury (crossed out) (23^{r}) 13. Shem, Ham and Japheth and the Table of Nations (23^{v}-24^{r}) 14. Pope St. Gregory VII (24^{r}) 15. St Thomas of Canterbury (again crossed out) (24^{v}-25^{r}) 16. Pope Adrian IV (25^{r}-25^{v}) 17. Verses on Thomas

[226] Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, 54.
[227] ibid. See also Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 327-28 for the full list in print.

of Canterbury (crossed out) (25v) 18. St. Louis IX (25v-26r) 19. Julius Caesar, Marcus Terentius Varro and the public library of Rome (26r) Hugh of Saint Victor (26r-26v) 20. Note on the year of birth of John Gratian, Pope Gregory VI (26v) 21. Note on Petrus Comestor and his allegories on scripture (26v) 22. Constantine VII 'Porphyrogenitus' (26v-27r) 23. Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, note on the biblical Patriarchs (27r-27v) 24. Basil of Caesarea, against Arians, Fotinos and Sabellianos (27v) 25. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Canterbury, king Rud Hud Hudibras, son of king Leil, the founding of Canterbury and 'Dorobernia' (28r) 26. Thanet island, Kent, where Augustine landed (28r) 27. History of Britain from Caesar and Brutus to William the Conqueror (28r-29r) 28. Note on St. Elphego (29r) 29. 'Civis quidam urbis Rome ephebus etate Lucianus nomine. locuple ere sublimis genere, uxorem eugeniam nomine duxit'. The tale of the young man betrothed to a statue (29r-30r) 30. Berengar of Tours (30r) 31. On the death of Wycliffe (30r) Errores Iohannes Wyclyffe (30v-32v) 32. John Barton, *Symbolum contra Lollards* (*Symbolum fidei)* (32v) 33. Religious verses (33r) 34. Notes pertinent to archbishops of Canterbury and York (34r) 35. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, Tubal-Cain, Pythagoras and the art of music (34v), Pythagorean square diagram (34v), Pythagorean theory of music with diagram representing string ratios (35r) 36. Socrates (35r-36v) 37. Plato (36v) 38. Xenocrates (37v) 39. Aristotle (37r) 40. Theophrastus (37v) 41. Three songs (38r) 42. Julius Caesar (38r) 43. On the difference between poetry and satire (38v) 44. De Theatre (39r) 45. Gregory of Nazianzus (39r) 46. Pope Caius (39r) 47. Pope Marcellinus, successor of Caius (39r) 48. Boethius (39v) 49. Leo III (39v) 50. Pope Felix (40r) 51. Caedmon (40r) 52. Note against Lollards (41r) 53. St. Kenelm (41r) 54. Pope Sergius I and his changed name (41r) 55. Verse on the seven electors of the empire (41v) 56. on Muslim idolatry (41v) 57. Note on Saladin (42r) 58. Pope Sylvester II (43r) 59. Sibylla of Jerusalem (45r) 60. On demons (45v) 61. Olympias (46r) 62. Miracle of the Blessed Virgin (47r) 63. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, extract (47v) 64. Servius Tullius (47v) 65. On St. Jerome (47v-49r) 66. Julianus the Apostate (49r) 67. Synod against heretics in Macedonia and against Nestorum (50r) 68. Note on Leo I, successor of Sixtus III (50v) 69. Bede on the coming of the Saxons to Kent (50v) 70. Hengist landing at Thanet, Kent (51r) 71. Ethelbert, king of Kent (51r) 72. Tiberius Constantine (51v) 73. Guntram of Burgundy (51v) 74. Gregory the Great (52r) 75. Isle of Thanet and Ethelbert (52r) 76. Death of Ethelbert, king of Kent (53r) 77. Edbald, king of Kent, and his conversion (53r) 78. Etheldreda and Ecgfrith (53r) 79. St. Chad and Sigeberht (53v) 80. St. Oswine of Deira (53v) 81. St. Theodore of Canterbury (54r) 82. St. Fredeswyda (54r) 83. Pope St. Zachary (54r) 84. Charlemagne (54v) 85. Beorhtric of Wessex, Offa and Ecgberht (54v) 86. Pope Joan (55r) 87. Arnulf of Rhiems (55r) 88. Alured (55r) 89. verses on Alured (55v) 90. St. Eadburga (55v) 91. Richard, Duke of Normandy (56r) 92. St. Edith (56v) 93. On a miracle in Saxony (57r) 94. St. Brithwold of Sarum (57r) 95. Robert, Duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror (57v) 96. Cnut, Conrad and Winchester (58r) 97. St. Henry II, Emperor, and Conrad (58r) 98. William the Conqueror, ancestor of Valerius, coronation at Winchester (60r-63r) 99. William Fitz Osbert (63r) 100. St. Eustache (65v) 101. Death of king John at Swineshead (65v) 102. Edward II and Kenilworth castle, death and deposition (65v) 103. Edward III and Sheen (66v) 104. Death of the Duke of Gloucester (67r) 105.

Death of Richard II at Pontefract (67^{v}) 106. List of kings from William I to Henry IV (68^{r}) 107. Henry IV and note on his *primogenitus*, Henry V, founder of Sheen charterhouse (68^{r}) 108. The Southampton Plot of 1415, dealing with the conspiracy to seize the throne of Henry V and replace him with Roger Mortimer, 5th Earl of March, and the fates of the ringleaders: Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Henry Scrope, 3rd Baron Scrope of Masham, and Richard Conisburgh, 3rd Earl of Cambridge (69^{v}-72^{r}) 109. Titles in the peerage of France (72^{r}) 110. The third preface to Higden's *Polychronicon* (72^{v}) 111. Isidore of Seville, *De fabula* (73^{r}) 112. Note on the Trojan war (73^{v}) 113. Verses on England (74^{v}) 114. Miracles of St Sigebert of East Anglia (75^{r}) 115. Introit: 'benedicta sit sancta Trinitas' (75^{r}) 116. On Hugh of St. Victor and a related devotional narration (75^{v}) 117. Adam, canon of St. Victor (77^{r}) 118. The mendicant orders, Germany, 1229 (77^{v}) 119. St. Boniface (78^{r}) 200. 'Adolescentes adhue sodalem in scolis hebarum' (78^{r}) 201. Against adultery (78^{v}) 202. A miracle recommended by a friend, which recently occurred in Cambrai (79^{r}) 203. Notes on model clerics, Simon of Tournai (79^{v}) 204. Note on playing games (80^{r}) 205. Light songs/ballads (80^{r}) 206. St. Albertus Magnus (81^{r}) 207. On weak and carnal monks (82^{r}) 208. On the disputed election to a bishopric which broke out in rebellion, Emperor Henry IV, Albert, his brother, Duke of Brabant, and the role Rome played in the event (82^{v}) 209. Miracle relating to the body of Christ (83^{r}) 210. On the various kinds of devils (83^{v}) 211. Nicholas de Lyra, tabernacle (84^{r}-87^{r}) 212. Genesis 1:2 'Terra autem erat inanis' (87^{r}) 213. Note on where the world was created, with the arguments of Rabbis Eliezor and Joshua (87^{v}) 214. Extracts from Genesis, chapter two (87^{v}-88^{v}) 215. Extracts from Genesis, chapter three (88^{v}-90^{r}) 216. On the location of the Garden of Eden (90^{r}-91^{v}) 217. Abraham and the idols (91^{v}-92^{r}) 218. Abraham and Melchizedek, king of Salem (92^{r}) 219. Jacob/Israel (93^{v}) 220. Esau (93^{v}) 221. Joseph (94^{r}) 222. Nicholas de Lyra, *Postillae*, *Tota sacra scriptura* (95^{v}-101^{v}) 223. *De ornamenta sacra*, Josephus and Rabbi Salomon (101^{v}) 224. Extracts from Leviticus (102^{v}) 225. Extracts from Numbers (103^{r}) 226. Extracts from Deuteronomy (103^{v}) 227. Extracts from Judges (106^{r}-124^{v}) 228. Extracts from Ruth (124^{v}-130^{v}) 229. Extracts from 2 Samuel (130^{v}-131^{r}) 230. On the order of the seven deadly sins (131^{r}) 231. Note on ways and reasons for God's punishment of men (131^{v}) 232. Alleluia: laudate, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose. Laudate N, de Lyra. Religious verses. 'Laus tibi; sit christi; quorum liber explicit iste. Deo gracias quod w. edem. verso nomine. Orate pro scriptore intuitu pietatus et fraterne caritatis amore' (131^{v}).

Binding is contemporary, English work, stamped leather on wooden boards. Remains of metal clasp survives (broken). Five thongs are visible. The manuscript is composed of paper with two ex-pastedown parchment endleaves, the last of which is foliated 132. The entire volume: i + 132, the gatherings broken down as follows: 1^{8} 2^{10} 3-7^{8} 8^{7} +1 10-15^{8} 16^{7}. Size of page c. 230 x 153mm. Size of written space c. 155 x c. 105mm. The page is laid out in single columns and the number of lines per page varies from 28 to 34. Mede used frame ruling: single verticals and a single horizontal at the top, as though he did not want to restrict himself by closing off the potential writing space in the gutter. Prick-marks very faint, but visible.

Top line of ruling just about encloses the top line of text (Mede tends to write on or just under it.) Pagination is modern, marking folios in the upper outer corner of rectos. Catchwords are supplied by Mede and are enclosed in scrolls (perhaps an early form, as they are not as detailed or accomplished as his in other manuscripts.) Signatures are present and Mede uses Roman numerals only: i, ii, iii, iv and does not letter them. Decoration is minimal: consisting of rubric capitals; ihu enclosed in a red heart at 9^{r}; Mede's double helix in red at 1^{r}; enlarged capitals by Mede with penwork decoration; flowers, including Mede's sigil; pointing hands; Pythagorean square at 34^{r}; Pythagorean string theory diagram with pulsing red cord at 35^{r}; verse rhymes connected with red lines; illustration 49^{v}; shields enclosing marginal notes at 99^{v}, 103^{v} and a scroll enclosing marginal notes, 123^{r}, and catchwords. Secundo folio: iore(m) co(n)ditoris. The majority of the book is written by William Mede, except f. 84^{r}-87^{v}.[228] At the end of the volume, Mede signs his work: 'Deo gracias q(uod) w. edem v(er)so no(m)i(n)e. Orate p(ro) scriptore intuitu pietat(is) frat(er)ne caritatis amore' at 131^{v}. On the verso of i, the name of the scribe is supplied: 'W. monachi dom(us) de Bethleem ordinis Cartusianus de Shene'. Bodley 117 was donated by Nicholas Limbye, or Lymbe, B. D. of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1602.[229] There are no indications of any other owners, except that the passages concerning Thomas Becket are scored through in black ink.

Bodley 117, though its content is overwhelmingly religious (as fitting for a Carthusian monk), reveals more personal aspects of Mede's devotional tastes than collections like TCD 281 and V, and is almost a physical manifestation of Dennis D. Martin's maxim: 'there is no such thing as a typical Carthusian'.[230] A large part of the notes from the earlier half of the manuscript concern English saints and history, extending in sporadic bursts from Roman Britain right through to the contemporary figure of Henry V, whom Mede names as the founder of Sheen in a note at the foot of 68^{r}. There is also an enduring interest in Kent and East Anglia, which appears first at 20^{r} and in a larger section from 50^{v}-54^{r} containing narrations on Kentish and East Anglian history and local saints drawn from Bede. This special interest in the area lends further support to the dialectal analysis of Mede's vernacular work, which, though largely colourless, retains a few marked East Anglian features. We also know that there were large clusters of Medes in the area spanning East Anglia and Kent, and that a Petrus Rykeman, a secular priest from Kent, had access to TCD 281. Perhaps Mede was from the area and, though he could not return, he instead nurtured a spiritual connection to it in his cell at Sheen by studying its history and its local saints.

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[228] Doyle in correspondence with Anselm J. Gribbin in 'Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', 77, n. 17.
[229] F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, v. 2, pt. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922): 144-45.
[230] See chapter two above, p. 35. Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform*, 10.

A recurring thread running through this manuscript, in TCD 281 and V, is Mede's concern with heresy, a concern which no doubt would still have been near in the mind of one who had lived through the threat of Lollardy.[231] In Bodley 117, this ranges from issues pertinent to the early days of church history, in Basil of Caesarea's opposition to the Arian heresy, to notes on John Wycliffe and the very contemporary matter of Reginald Pecock, the Welshman elevated to the sees of St. Asaph and Chichester and the first English bishop to be convicted of heresy. Wendy Scase examines the life and work of Pecock and discusses the relevant material found in Mede's notebook.[232] Elevated to the see of St. Asaph on 14th June 1444, Pecock did not decamp to Wales, but continued to reside in London as an absentee bishop. Having garnered a great deal of criticism for his absentee status, in response, Pecock 'embarked upon a controversial preaching campaign which came to a head in a sermon he preached at St Paul's Cross, London, in 1447.'[233] Shortly after, he published the conclusions of his sermon in English, relating to the duties and office of bishop. These seven conclusions, along with related material appended by Mede setting out Pecock's counter-arguments in support of his stance, survive in Bodley 117 and are titled by Mede, 'Abrenunciacio Reginaldi Pecok'. This allows us to date the creation of Mede's notebook to no earlier than 1447. It also reveals that, although Mede was closeted in a cell at Sheen, he was very aware of the latest developments within the church and in the capital. Scase notes that the phrase 'ista ciuitate Londoniensi' appears in the *Abrenunciacio*, indicating that the document is a written record of a statement made in person by Pecok to John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury, and the *Abrenunciacio* also reveals that there was great disquiet in the minds of many, especially in London.[234] Pecock's sermon must have also concerned the Carthusians at Sheen, as Mede was able to gain access to a Latin version of such an current text as the *Abrenunciacio.* Mede had clearly been keeping up with the debate, as he appended the above-mentioned further relevant material in the form of arguments supporting Pecock's conclusion. Perhaps Mede was one of the clerics Pecock mentioned in his *Folewer*, who unsuccessfully attempted to refute his conclusions,[235] or he detected even then the heretical slant of Pecock's arguments, was one of the many whose minds were in disquiet, and wrote it down as a significant event, a storm cloud that was yet to break. Even then, the news of Pecock's conviction for heresy and his public recantation at St. Paul's years later in 1457 must have shocked Mede and his colleagues.

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[231] See chapter two above, 33.
[232] Wendy Scase, 'Reginald Pecock', 71-129.
[233] ibid., 95.
[234] ibid., 96.
[235] ibid., 97.

Another article which serves to date the creation of Bodley 117 is the inclusion of three letters from a Carthusian confessor, 'w. cartus minimus',[236] to Cardinal Henry Beaufort. Anselm J. Gribbin, in his article on Beaufort and his relationship with the Order and his Carthusian confessor, examines the evidence as to whether or not this 'w. cartus minimus' was the Cardinal's confessor. Since Mede does not outright name himself as acting in that capacity, there will always be a persistent element of doubt, though the evidence for Mede having acted as Beaufort's confessor is strong. The letters appear in Mede's personal notebook. Mede often refers to himself as w. in signing his work. That the confessor writes from a detached perspective, 'predictus monachus', 'idem monachus' and 'a quodam monachus', Gribbin offers the hypothesis that this was Mede's attempt to preserve a measure of his own anonymity and, more importantly, to maintain the confidentiality of the seal of the confessional, which held fast even after death. Given the most private nature of the confessional, that the confessor would have given the letters to another to copy seems rather unlikely. The content of the first two letters contains sensitive information suggesting that the confessor knew the Cardinal's business and explicitly mentions Beaufort's schedule.[237] Gribbin also states that the content suggests the letters may be dated to 1446, between 3rd January and 25th July.[238] Beaufort died on 11th April, 1447, which provides a very definite *terminus ante quem*. The 1447 end date also correlates with that of Reginald Pecock's *Abrenunciacio,* and their ordering in the second gathering shared by the two items (Pecock first, Beaufort letters following immediately after) indicates that the Beaufort letters, at the earliest, were likely copied into Bodley 117 after the Pecock preaching scandal, which occurred not long after the Cardinal's death. The creation of Bodley 117, therefore, may be dated to ca. 1447. That the letters were probably copied not long after Beaufort's death fits with Gribbin's hypothesis that the letters were copied into Bodley 117 by what was described by the confessor as a 'memento' of a privileged encounter.[239] Henry Beaufort was one of the richest and most powerful prelates in Christendom; to be privy to his secrets, to know his movements and be honoured by a personal visit (the confessor mentions Beaufort visited him in his cell)[240] would have been a memory Mede, if he was the confessor, would have justifiably wanted to treasure. We know already that Mede liked to take notes on memorable events. This one would have been particularly special. The confessor also makes reference to Charlemagne in his letters to Beaufort and we also know

[236] The phrase 'w. cartus minimus' appears to be an attempt made by the confessor to adhere to the standards of Carthusian humility and to maintain the confidentiality of the confessional. It could perhaps be translated as 'w. the least of Carthusians'.
[237] The itinerary of Beaufort's movements in the last years of his life (1444-47) is reconstructed and published by Gribbin, 'Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', 104-105, and a fuller itinerary by Gribbin will appear in Hampshire Record Series (forthcoming).
[238] Gribbin, 'Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', 73-106.
[239] ibid., 79, n. 25.
[240] ibid., 80, n. 28.

that, from the contents of Bodley 117, that Mede had a keen interest in history and that one of the items he copied was a note relating to Charlemagne.[241]

If Gribbin's hypothesis is correct, William Mede was Cardinal Beaufort's confessor and therefore acted as a spiritual director for a fellow religious, as did other Carthusians, among them William Darker for Elizabeth Gibbs, abbess of Syon, and James Grenehalgh for Johanna Sewell of Syon. On a more significant level, in terms of comparable temporal power, Gregor Reisch of Freiburg charterhouse was confessor to Emperor Maximilian.[242] Like Freiburg, Sheen was an urban charterhouse, founded near the seat of a powerful patron.[243] Cardinal Beaufort was the uncle of Henry V, Sheen's royal founder. It would not be outwith the realms of possibility to make a political connection when speculating upon how the Cardinal could command the services of a Carthusian confessor.

Though the confessor clearly cared about Beaufort's spiritual welfare, earnestly advising him to distribute his wealth for the benefit of his soul, the content of the third letter is rather different in tone and suggests that the benefits were not one-sided in favour of the Cardinal. In it, the confessor solicits a favour from Beaufort: to help a kinsman, a zealous preacher with an MA, to advance in the church. This is interesting because it hints at a potential patronage relationship from which Mede, if he were the confessor, may have benefitted, directly or indirectly. In his article, Gribbin discusses Beaufort's benefactions to the Carthusians, which were substantial, as they earned him a *tricennarium* (or trental), and also the benefactions the confessor recorded and wrote in two books.[244] Perhaps Mede used his connection to the Cardinal to solicit donations, in a similar vein to Dom Philip Underwood, the procurator of London and the son of a wealthy iron-monger, who used his connections to raise a substantial amount of money for his house and the Order.[245] That Mede is looking out for his kinsman is also interesting, as it proves that Mede was able to retain some form of connection to his family, which, in turn, may relate to the East Anglian and Kentish focused content of Bodley 117. Modern Carthusians are permitted an annual visit from family members. It may have been the same for their late-medieval colleagues.
The potential link to Cardinal Beaufort through the letters in Bodley 117 is not the only connection Mede held to the wealthy and powerful dynasties of late-medieval England, for the Scrope family of Masham played an integral role in the creation of the Mede manuscripts Cambridge, University Library, Gg. i. 6 and Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1 (olim MS 67), containing the only two surviving copies of the *Speculum devotorum*.

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[241] Item 84, Bodley 117. See above.
[242] Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth century Carthusian Reform*, 8, n. 26.
[243] See chapter two above, 39-40.
[244] Gribbin, 'Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', 87, n. 62.
[245] Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 194-198.

Cambridge, University Library, Gg. i. 6, and Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1. (olim MS 67)

The following manuscripts will be discussed together, as, being the same text copied by the same scribe in the same environment, they are closely related. I have assigned the sigil Gg to Cambridge, University Library, Gg. i. 6, and ND to Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1. Both will henceforth be referred to by their assigned sigla.

Gg and ND both contain the only surviving copies of the *Speculum devotorum*, or *Mirror to Devout People* – a late Middle English life of Christ written by an anonymous Carthusian. Divided into thirty-three chapters, representing the thirty-three years Christ lived on earth, it inhabits the same literary culture as the other, more famous Carthusian vernacular life of Christ, Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Paul J. Patterson, in his 2006 edition of the *Speculum devotorum*,[246] provides detailed descriptions of both Gg and ND; therefore, the descriptions provided here will be brief. The following accounts of Gg and ND are based on Patterson's descriptions, my own physical examination of Gg at Cambridge University Library, and my examination of both Gg and ND in microfilm format.

Cambridge, University Library, Gg. i. 6

Gg contains one of the only two surviving copies of the *Speculum devotorum* (6^{v}-144^{r}), a copy of *O Intemerata* (144^{r}-145^{r}) a Latin prayer included specifically to follow on from the reference to it in the final chapter of the main text of the *Speculum*, and also a Middle English translation of *O Intemerata*, unique to this manuscript (145^{r}-146^{r}). The volume is comprised solely of paper, containing 147 folios (iv (1 pastedown) + 147 + iv (wants 3, 4 pastedown)), its pages measuring 205 x 140mm and written in single columns of twenty-five lines per page, those columns measuring 146 x 92mm. Two types of Italian paper were used in the construction of Gg, according to the watermarks, the first type depicting a balance, the second an anvil.[247] The pages are frame ruled with single verticals and horizontals for 26 lines per page. Prick-marks are visible on the outer edges of each page. The gatherings are laid out as follows: 1^{15}, $2\text{-}3^{16}$, 4^{14}, $5\text{-}7^{16}$, 8^{10}, 9^{16}, 10^{14}. Pagination is modern, marking folios in the upper, outer corner of rectos and sometimes in the bottom, outer corner. Catchwords are not present. Signatures are in the form of an occasional + sign, but are inconsistent. Decoration consists of red capitals with brown ink, pen work

[246] Paul J. Patterson, *Myrror to Devout People (Speculum Devotorum): An Edition with Commentary* (University of Notre Dame: unpublished doctoral dissertation, 2006).
[247] ibid. 8.

embellishment; red paraphs, underlining and erasures; nota hands with fingers pointing in red ink; some decoration of colophons at 144^{r} and 145^{r}, and Mede's characteristic shields enclosing additional content placed in margins also feature. Secundo folio: 'to make'.

Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1. (olim MS 67)

Contains one of the only two surviving copies of the *Speculum devotorum* (1^{r}-108^{r}), another copy of the Latin *O Intemerata* (108^{r}-108^{v}) and the text of *The tretise of the craft of dying* (109^{v}-126^{r}). Binding is contemporary work, doe-skin over wooden boards, with a modern, red, Morocco lettering-piece with brown morocco-backed box.[248] Two brass catches and pin from the clasp strap survive. The volume is comprised entirely of parchment, containing 127 folios (ii + 127 + i) measuring 300 x 210mm and written in single columns of twenty-seven lines per page, those columns measuring c. 210 x 140mm. The pages are frame-ruled, single verticals and double horizontals enclosing the top and bottom lines. Prick marks are visible on the outer edges of each page. The gatherings are laid out as follows: 1-15^{8}, 16^{7} (vii cancelled blank). Pagination is modern, in pencil, and is placed in the upper right corner of each recto. Mede's scroll-enclosed catchwords are present on gatherings 1-13 and the word *examinata* appears, indicating the manuscript was checked for accuracy.[249] Signatures are not visible. Secundo folio: meditacions folowyng. Decoration is much grander than that present in the humbler Gg. Though they share the paraphs, erasures and underlining done in red ink, ND boasts lavish, illuminated borders and historiated initials. Patterson, basing his account on the work of Kathleen Scott, states that the border at f. 1^{r} matches illumination styles common in early 1430s London, though the figures in its historiated initials resemble those in manuscripts dating to the late 1440s.[250] An armorial initial at f. 1^{r} bears the arms of the Scrope family *azure*, a bend *or*, with label *argent* impaling the arms of Chaworth.[251] Historiated initials are found at f. 108^{r}, f. 109^{r}. Some guide letters are present, such as the 'h' at 3^{v}. Rubrics carry over into the margin, as typical of Mede's practice.

The dating of the manuscript witnesses is more complex, as Gg does not provide any internal or external evidence to aid enquiry. Patterson, in his 2006 unpublished PhD edition of the text, dates the creation of ND to c. 1430, or soon after, and Gg to the 1460s or early 1470s. There is no real evidence upon which to base the dating of the latter, as the only evidence Patterson gives for the later dating is that Gg is copied on paper, and ND on parchment. By c. 1440, Italian paper from factories in northern towns had been

[248] ibid., 7.
[249] op. cit.
[250] ibid. n. 15.
[251] ibid. n. 14.

available for import for a hundred years and from Germany c. 1320.[252] Mede's earliest dateable manuscript output, TCD 281 at c.1432-c.1440, is executed entirely on paper. The Carthusians of the English province's connectedness with their colleagues on the continent has already been discussed above.[253] If texts could travel, so too could the materials on which they were written. In dating ND to c. 1430, Patterson seems to be following previous scholars. A. S. G. Edwards, examining the ND manuscript, linked the armorial initial on f. 5^{r} to Lord John Scrope, 4th Baron of Masham, whose arms are impaled with those of his wife, Elizabeth Chaworth.[254] That the initial sports arms, not a lozenge, implies that the manuscript was likely commissioned before Scrope's death in 1455 (the lozenge a device used by women – mainly unmarried women, which does not apply to Elizabeth Chaworth, and widows, which would have after the death of Lord John Scrope). The presence of the name William Manfeld also cements this connection. Manfeld was Scrope's secretary and was mentioned in his will, therefore implying that Lord Scrope was, in some capacity, involved in the commissioning of ND. Scrope's death on 15th November, 1455, provides a potential *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the manuscript. Assigning a date of creation to Gg is more problematic. Patterson places Gg after the creation of ND, solely on the presence of Mede having copied on paper rather than parchment. There is evidence to suggest the order could be reversed, as Linne Mooney, in communication with Patterson, remarks that the undecorated, hastily-copied Gg, with its many pages of inserts and careful corrections, seems like an attempt to create an exemplar from which fairer copies, like ND, could be made.[255]

The language of the manuscripts does not make their order of creation any clearer. The language of Gg is recorded in *LALME*, and has been localised to Surrey due to the inscriptions relating it specifically to the charterhouse of Sheen.[256] Having re-analysed the linguistic evidence for this study, however, it appears that the language of Gg, though mainly colourless, exhibits more idiosyncratic forms that would be best accommodated in East Anglia.[257] This correlates with the language of ND, which was described by Jeremy Smith in correspondence with Vincent Gillespie in his 2004 article 'The Haunted Text', discussing the ND witness of the *Speculum devotorum*. Smith described it as: 'a somewhat colourless text with a sprinkling of regional forms,' then suggesting that 'the forms co-locate most plausibly in East Anglia, specifically East Norfolk, though the presence of some northern forms suggests a reserve placing

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[252] Wolfgang von Stromer, 'Große Innovationen der Papierfabrikation in Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit', *Technikgeschichte*, 60 (1993): 1–6.
[253] See chapter two above, 25-26, 29-31.
[254] A. S. G. Edwards, 'The Contexts of Notre Dame 67', in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors and Readers*, eds. Jill Mann and Maura B. Nolan (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006): 124, n. 13.
[255] Patterson, 65.
[256] *LALME*, vol. 3, 496-7.
[257] See the above discussion on Mede's language.

on the Lincolnshire/Rutland/Leicestershire borders.'[258] Having been copied by the same scribe, the similarities in dialectal forms are expected, and what differences arise between the two witnesses are minor variations in spelling and syntax, which would support the hypothesis that Mede may even have been the author of the text, explored below. However, albeit minor, there are differences in word forms between the two witnesses, which would lean more towards the possibility of there having been a not-so-temporally-distant ancestor of the text available at Sheen for Mede to have copied. There is a third scenario, involving Mede altering his language to suit different reading audiences, the possibility of which will be discussed below.

The anxious author?

Was William Mede the author of the *Speculum devotorum*? Though it is not the aim of this study to determine whether or not he was, the possibility is real enough to merit brief discussion. Only two witnesses of the *Speculum devotorum* survive, both copied by Dom William Mede of Sheen. That he copied both of the only surviving witnesses is not itself indicative of authorship. The dates, location, Mede's direct knowledge of the source material of the *Speculum* and audience, however, hint at the potential.

There is no doubt that the author of the *Speculum devotorum* was a Carthusian. In the opening passage of Gg, the author explicitly identifies himself as belonging to the order, stating at f. 1^{r} that 'a man of oure ordyr of charturhowse' had already translated the *Meditaciones vitae Christi* into English, referring here to Nicholas Love, the prior of Mountgrace.[259] The author also mentions another prior, his own, at f. 1^{v}: 'I thoghte þat I wolde aske counseill of my priour' in reference to the author having sought consultation with his superior before embarking upon the task of composing the *Speculum*. More specifically, it seems that the author may have been a Carthusian of Sheen, as the Latin colophons at the end of both manuscripts indirectly refer to the House of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen,[260] and the note at the beginning of Gg cements the connection of that particular book to that house, identifying Mede as scribe and that the book belonged to his house.[261] ND bears no ex-libris inscription or note, though the initials W. M. in the colophon after the *Craft of Dying* could possibly represent William Mede (though it is more likely they represent the initials of William Manfeld, Scrope's secretary).[262]

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258 V. Gillespie, 'The Haunted Text', 161, n. 24.

259 This comment also appears in ND, without the explicit identification with the Carthusians: 'when I herde telle þat a man of oure ordure hadde turned þe same booke in to englysshe' f. 1^{r}.

260 Gg. f. 144^{r}, l. 9: 'solidos q$^{(u)}$i pane cibabit/ De Bethleem pratu(m)', and ND f. 109^{r}, l. 12, 'solidos q^{u}i pane cibabit/ De bethlem pratu(m)'.

261 V. Gillespie, 'Haunted Text', 14; Patterson, 2.

262 The initials are accompanied by decorative features Mede uses frequently, though Mede's copying role is subject to quite a clean break, leaving a good deal of unused writing space before the second

That the author mentions Nicholas Love and his *Mirror*, having only 'herde tell' of it from his prior,[263] provides us with a firm Carthusian connection and also a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the *Speculum devotorum*. Nicholas Love's *Mirror* earned the stamp of orthodoxy c. 1410 in accordance with the Oxford Constitutions of 1407-1409, which attempted to combat Lollardy by forbidding any new Bible translations without submission of material to the local bishop. Love submitted his translation of the Johannes de Caulibus's *Meditaciones Vitae Christi* (pseudo-Bonaventure) and the official approval it won from archbishop Thomas Arundel meant that it was a 'safe' text and could be circulated widely and freely without fear of reprisal. William Mede was ordained acolyte and became an official member of the Sheen community in 1417, only seven years after Love's *Mirror* was approved, and therefore was around during the uncertain period when Lollardy was a threat worthy of the attention of the Carthusians and powerful prelates like Arundel. If Mede were the author, there is a strong possibility that he could have 'herde tell' of Love's success from his prior. As Love died c. 1424, there was a seven year overlap when the two men would have been distant colleagues: one a prior and an old hand, the other new blood at a new foundation. While Love yet lived, it might have been viewed as presumptuous to attempt to bring a competing translation into the arena, even if the two were meant to serve different audiences. Perhaps, upon Love's death c. 1424, Mede, or the anonymous Sheen author, felt safe enough to begin his own translation of the *Meditaciones*. If we take the author's comment about having only 'herde tell' of Love's *Mirror* at face value,[264] he would have known it eventually, at least by the 1450s, as his colleague Stephen Dodesham copied three of them.

Unlike Love's *Mirror*, however, the *Speculum devotorum* did not circulate widely. The combined serendipitous circumstances of the Oxford Constitutions, the fierce struggle against Lollardy, the anxiety of the laity who were unsure what was 'safe' to read but who *wanted* to read and desired an approved text, and the eventual approval of archbishop Arundel, made the success of Love's *Mirror* something of a one-off: an exception proving the rule that the Carthusians, as a whole, were often rather cautious in letting the contents of their books venture outside the walls of their houses.[265] The network within which

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copyist begins afresh over the page. The initials could also belong to William Manfeld, see Patterson, 31, as discussed below.

[263] ND f. 1^{r} and Gg f. 1^{r-v}.

[264] Vincent Gillespie argues that the Speculum author did not have knowledge of Love's *Mirror*, while Michael Sargent argues that not only did the author have access to the text, but that Love's translation was constantly in his mind while shaping the *Speculum devotorum* (see V. Gillespie, 'Haunted Text', 142, and M. G. Sargent, 'Versions of the Life of Christ: Nicholas Love's Mirror and Related Works,' *Poetica*, 42 (1994): 65.

[265] See V. Gillespie, 'Haunted Text', 138; A. I. Doyle, 'Carthusian Participation in the Movement of the Works of Richard Rolle between England and other parts of Europe in the 14th and 15th Centuries', in *Kartäuser-mystik und –Mystiker*, AC, 55:2 (1981): 116, and Doyle, 'Publication by Members of the Religious Orders', 113.

the *Speculum devotorum* circulated is more akin to that which Roger Lovatt describes: 'the appeal of such works in England largely restricted to a limited, interlinked elite of Carthusian monks, Bridgettines from Syon, a well-defined group of learned and devout clergy, and a small number of the laity, often pious noblewomen.'[266] It is within this narrow, tight-knit and rather specific circle that the author of the *Speculum devotorum* found his audience, and the sources which formed the *Speculum* attest to this.

The sources for the *Speculum devotorum* are for the first time set out in the index to Gillespie's 'Haunted Text', then gone over again in greater detail in Patterson's edition. Fitting seamlessly into the groups of texts of which any fifteenth-century manual for private, contemplative devotion should comprise, Gillespie and Patterson identify the *Speculum's* sources as being taken from the Bible; the early church fathers; medieval theologians and mystics such as Nicholas de Lyra, Adam the Carthusian, Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas of Cantimpré; imported texts from the Continent such as the works of various German mystics; saints' lives, travelogues and apocrypha; and the works of 'approved women' as set out in the preface, the most important of whom are St Bridget of Sweden, Catherine of Siena and Mechthild of Hackeborn.[267]

One of the main arguments regarding the creation of the *Speculum devotorum* is that the author would have had recourse to the library of Syon abbey;[268] that Syon's library was much larger, and that because all of the sources used in the *Speculum* may be found in the Syon's catalogues it was necessary for the Carthusians of Sheen to turn to Syon for books. It may have been the case that Syon's library was better stocked, though this cannot be proven. As no library catalogues survive from the *provincia Anglia*, research on Carthusian libraries cannot benefit from such a comprehensive source as Thomas Bateson's register.[269] Following on from his assertion that Sheen's library may have contained inadequate source material, Gillespie posits the theory that the terms of Martin V's bulls of 1418 uniquely allowed the bishop of London to grant the Carthusians of Sheen special permission to assist the Syon brethren in their administrations – extending this potential permission to include the hypothesis that the *Speculum*'s Carthusian author was allowed to temporarily vacate his cell in order to work across the river in the library at Syon, and that he may even have met the 'gostly sustre' face-to-face.[270] I am unsure as to how

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[266] Roger Lovatt, 'The Library of John Blacman and Contemporary Carthusian Spirituality', 207.
[267] Patterson, 37-38.
[268] Patterson states: 'Many of the works employed in the Mirror would not have been readily available to a Carthusian of Sheen without access to the extensive resources housed in Syon Abbey's library.' Patterson, 33. Vincent Gillespie has more faith that the Carthusian author had access to all the texts he needed within the bounds of his house but still considers the possibility that the Carthusian author left his cell to work in Syon's library. 'Haunted Text', 143.
[269] The vast difference in the surviving records of the holdings of both houses is made abundantly clear in V. Gillespie and Doyle (eds.) *Syon Abbey with the Libraries of the Carthusians*.
[270] V. Gillespie, 'Haunted Text', 155.

likely the above scenario may be. Even if there was a bull (only potentially) conferring the bishop of London powers to allow Carthusians to head across the water, it seems a step too far, for the General Chapter rigorously and repeatedly enforced the bonds of enclosure within the cell.[271] The assistance the Sheen Carthusians were permitted to provide to the Syon brethren may have applied to what they are already known for: copying books and serving as spiritual mentors. After all, no one knows better than the Carthusians that there are other ways to preach than from a pulpit. The author may have borrowed a few books from Syon, but we need not spirit a Carthusian monk away from his cell in order for him to have had access to the source materials he needed for his *Speculum devotorum*. For we do know that the Carthusians had access to *some* of the source material compiled by Gillespie and Patterson, and certainly to other works by the majority of the source authors. If Mede were the author of the *Speculum*, it follows that he should have known of these authors and their work and should have been able to freely access them within the environs of Sheen charterhouse.

Knowledge of the Bible, of course is a given; the most basic of religious texts which every monk should have been able to consult freely. In Bodley 117, Mede copies extracts from various books of the Bible, which he would likely have had to hand, perhaps even in his cell. Texts from which Mede is known to have copied extracts are: Thomas of Cantimpré's *Universale bonum de apibus* (item fifty-six in TCD 281); the *Revelations* of St. Bridget (the later Eight Revelations variant described above) in V; Adam of Dryburgh (Adam the Carthusian), a Sermon for St. John, which the *Speculum* author quotes extensively, appears in TCD 281 (item twelve)[272] and several extracts from Bernard of Clairvaux's *Opera* (items twenty-seven, forty-four and fifty-seven, also from TCD 281). Though not featured in any of the surviving manuscripts copied by Mede, other *Speculum* source material is known to have been held at Sheen charterhouse, which Mede would have been free to consult: Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (survives in Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.18 (354);[273] a copy of Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations* (Oxford, Magdalen College, MS lat. 77); in his will, Henry V left to Sheen a copy of Gregory the Great already in their care;[274] and we could add to this list Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, for Mede, in his letters to Cardinal Beaufort, quotes from its Life of St. Lucy, and also from Jerome and Augustine,[275] whom he praises in a note at the end of Bodley 117 alongside Ambrose, Gregory and Nicholas of Lyra.

Other *Speculum* source materials, though no records survive for their having been available at Sheen, are found at other English charterhouses, between which loans and transfer seemed to have been free and

[271] AC, 100:3, 88; AC, 100:31, 22 and 33.
[272] Gillespie, 'Haunted Text', 166.
[273] Ker, *MLGB*, 304-305.
[274] V. Gillespie, 'Haunted Text', 143.
[275] Gribbin, 'Cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian Confessor', 80, 83 n. 38.

frequent, as discussed above.[276] *Mandeville's Travels* appears in northern Carthusian manuscripts British Library, MS Additional 37049 and the later (c. 1520s) Oxford, Bodleian, MS e. museo 160.[277] Mede's colleague Stephen Dodesham copied de Lyra's *Postillae* for St. Albans: if he were a Carthusian at the time, the exemplar would have been available at Sheen at least until its completion in 1457.[278] Johannes de Caulibus' *Meditaciones Vitae Christi*, which Nicholas Love translated to form the basis of his *Mirror* could be found at the nearby London charterhouse.[279] John Whetham of London made two later copies of Mechthild of Hackeborn's *Liber specialis gratiae* (one surviving as Cambridge, University Library. Ff. 1. 19) and this text is notable as having been introduced to England and circulated by Carthusians.[280]

Notes and extracts from the authors of other *Speculum* sources litter Mede's notebooks. Although the works do not overlap, it shows that at least Mede was familiar with the authors and their work in general: Nicholas de Lyra features in items 211 and 222 in Bodley 117; there is a biographical note on Adam of Dryburgh in the Witham Chronicle Fragment from TCD 281, now in V, and Bernard of Clairvaux appears in item twenty-one of TCD 281, *De diligendo Deo*, as well as several pseudo-Bernards listed above. A note on Petrus Comestor's allegories in scripture feature, item 21, in Bodley 117 and multiple extracts from Bede, though mainly drawn from his *Historia*, may also be found in Bodley 117.

Not all of the sources traced by Patterson and Gillespie can be accounted for, but nevertheless, it is by no means a given that the *Speculum devotorum*'s Carthusian author was forced to turn only to Syon for material due to an impoverished library at Sheen. It is true that the brethren at Sheen received censure from the General Chapter in 1420, in which the prior was admonished for not providing sufficiently for the reading needs of his monks – but surely ten, twenty, thirty years later, they would not have lacked every example of *Speculum devotorum* source material except that written by the Carthusian Adam of Dryburgh – for such an admonishment never occurs again in the records.[281] We do not have a clear picture of how well-stocked the monks' library was, as no such records survive for Sheen charterhouse. William Mede is shown in his manuscript output to have known of some of the *Mirror* source texts and from loan records, ex-libris inscriptions and recent scholarly work, it is quite probable that, were Mede the author, he could have accessed – from other Carthusian houses as well as Syon – the rest of the texts that were not immediately available at Sheen. That the author did not necessarily *have* to resort to

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[276] See chapter two above, 25-26, 29-31.
[277] C. B. Rowntree and J. Hogg, 'A Carthusian World View: Bodleian MS E Museo 160', *Spiritualität heute und gestern*, 9, also AC, 35:9 (Salzburg: Institut, 1990): 15-16, 27.
[278] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 100.
[279] Doyle, *Libraries of the Carthusians*, 616.
[280] Roger Lovatt, 'Library of John Blacman', 207.
[281] J. Hogg (ed.), *MS. Grande Chartreuse 1. Cart. 15: Chartae Capituli Generalis 1411-1436*, AC, 100:8, 12.

extensive use of Syon's library, however, does not preclude Syon's potential role in the creation of the *Speculum*.

The inclusion of particular sources, especially the writings of whom the author refers to as 'approved women', may reflect the intended audience of the *Speculum devotorum*. References in the preface of Gg addressing a 'Gostly syster' and in ND, a 'gostely sustre' and 'relygious sustre' strongly indicate that the original intended audience for the *Speculum devotorum* was female and religious. Working within the parameters of the tight-knit spiritual aristocracy described by Lovatt, Gillespie and Patterson hypothesise a connection between Sheen and the Bridgettine abbey of Syon. Syon sat across and a little way along the Thames from Sheen, first at Twickenham from its foundation in 1415, then in its more permanent home at Isleworth by 1430. This placed Syon much closer to Sheen and facilitated the culture of textual and intellectual exchange fostered between the two institutions. Gillespie and Patterson posit that the author's relationship with the 'gostely sustre'[282] seems to have been of a mentoring nature, akin to that of Dom. James Grenehalgh of Sheen and Joanna Sewell of Syon.[283] The sources also conform to the ascetic reading guidelines set out by Syon.[284] Perhaps the *Speculum* was originally conceived with a nun of Syon across the water in mind. Mede was a monk of Sheen from 1417 – c. 1474; he lived and worked within the tight-knit Sheen/Syon circle and may have possessed a working 'spiritual relationship' with a fellow religious (no less a man than Cardinal Beaufort). Perhaps he, like James Grenhalgh, was a spiritual mentor to a nun of Syon and wrote the *Speculum devotorum* as a useful tool to guide her in her life of contemplation. At the very least, if he were not the author, he may have acted in a similar role to William Darker, who copied on request for Elizabeth Gibbs, abbess of Syon.

Aspects of certain passages, however, do not align with the concept of a solely female audience. The author also addresses male religious,[285] and references vowesses and lay married couples:[286] the very inclusive audience to which late medieval spiritual and intellecual movements sought to cater.[287] Gillespie views this as the author widening his scope just a little to accommodate not only nuns, but other readers within the extended Syon community: the brethren who ministered and preached to the nuns, lay and religious scholars working in their library, vowesses living within the grounds and those fashionably pious layfolk who rented lodgings.[288] The *Speculum devotorum*, it seems, was not designed to circulate

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[282] V. Gillespie, 'Haunted Text', 145.
[283] ibid. 141; Patterson, 29. For James Grenehalgh, see Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, AC, 85:2, 2 vols.
[284] V. Gillespie, 'Haunted Text', 154.
[285] op. cit, 147-48.
[286] op. cit, 152.
[287] See chapter two above, 28-31.
[288] op. cit, 148.

widely. It was made, rather, to suit the specific needs of the Bridgettine community across the water. How, then, did it come into the hands of lay folk? If Mede was both the author and copyist of the text contained in the ND witness, was he conscious for whom he copied?

Conscious Copyist

Scrope, Chaworth, Syon and Sheen

Syon's move to Isleworth facilitated the intellectual exchange between Carthusians and Bridgettines. As discussed above, the Carthusian monks were known to have mentored certain Bridgettine nuns and often copied for them, though the Carthusians' services were not confined to fellow religious. Stephen Dodesham copied for the Bridgettine Symon Wynter his *Life of St. Jerome,* which Wynter later presented to Margaret, duchess of Clarence. More significantly, Pope Martin V, in approving the foundation of Syon in two bulls issued in 1418, may have remitted to the Bishop of London the power to permit Carthusians to assist 'ad ministrandum et obsequendum' at Syon'.[289] Though the Carthusians were careful about who read their texts, the Bridgettines, Gillespie states, were less cautious about leaking devotional material, citing the example of Symon Wynter positively inviting the duchess of Clarence to have the exemplar copied and distributed as a prime example of their willingness to let religious texts fall into lay hands.[290] Patterson cites the same example, and likens the above circumstances to that of the Scropes and ND, speculating that this scenario could also have applied to them: borrowing books from Syon to have them copied. The book, however, appears to have been copied by a Carthusian and that there is no evidence that the potential exemplar (Gg or an antecedent) ever left the confines of Sheen charterhouse. It would not make sense if a Sheen Carthusian went to the trouble of borrowing the exemplar from Syon in order to copy a text that was written by a Sheen Carthusian, when there may already have been a potential exemplar sitting on the shelves at Sheen. The scenario is not impossible, but in light of Mede having copied ND, it seems certainly less likely.

What is plausible, however, is possibility of Scrope and Chaworth having discovered the *Speculum devotorum* via long-standing familial connections to Syon abbey. Lord John Scrope's brother, Henry 3rd Baron Masham, had been involved in the foundation of Henry V's project at Sheen and was also associated with Henry Fitzhugh, who attempted the first failed plantation of the Bridgettines in England. Henry Scrope also left books or vestments to the value of £40 to Syon and made numerous bequests to those who supported the establishment of the abbey in England.[291] Both John Scrope and Elizabeth Chaworth were associated with the Yorkshire fraternity of the Guild of Corpus Christi: 'a lay foundation

[289] op. cit, 141.
[290] op. cit, 140.
[291] ibid., 28.

whose main purpose was to administer, provide funds for, and add prestige to the Corpus Christi procession and drama', a mixed establishment, with laity and clergy claiming membership – unusual for such organisations – and through which Patterson hypothesises the Scropes may have come by devotional texts normally unavailable to the laity.[292] Elizabeth Chaworth, too, came from a book-owning family. Her father, Thomas Chaworth, a Nottinghamshire man and a powerful land-owner, possessed one of the largest libraries in England, among its holdings a copy of the Middle English *Horologium sapientie*, by Henry Suso, a Rhineland mystic beloved of the Carthusians.[293]

The Scrope family possessed long-standing connections to Syon abbey, to vernacular devotional literature circulating within the tight-knit spiritual aristocracy of the period, and to the vernacular book-trade. With the close familial connections the Scropes held with Syon, it is likely that they acquired their copy of the *Speculum devotorum* through recourse to Syon. We know now, however, that the ND was copied by a Carthusian monk, William Mede of Sheen, and that the larger part of the manuscript (the *Speculum* and the English and Latin *O Intemerata*) was copied there. If Mede had made a copy for Syon, it does not appear in Betson's register, though if they *did* own one, Syon would not have lent it to the Scropes to have it copied. There would have been no need, for Mede appears to have completed the manuscript in-house, and it is highly unlikely Syon would have an exemplar when Sheen did not, considering Sheen is the most likely place for the authorship of the *Speculum*. Perhaps the request for the book was made on behalf of the Scropes, Patterson speculates, by someone like William Manfeld, John Scrope's secretary, who may have been sent to commission the volume, collect it, have it decorated and bound – though before committing to the latter stages, having added his personal touch to the whole endeavour: copying the *Craft of Dying* and inscribing in a colophon the words 'Manfeld defende ruina'.[294] The request for the book may have been made by Manfeld on behalf of the Scropes, and Syon asked Sheen if they would provide. If Mede were the author, it would make sense for him to be the one who provided. If he is not the author, then he seems to have at least made a niche in copying a colleague's work – considering the dates, an immediate contemporary – as Stephen Dodesham did with his multiple copies of Love's *Mirror*. The possibility that the Scropes learned of the text from Syon, then cut out the middle man and headed straight for the source at Sheen with no direct commissioning role assigned to Syon should not be discounted. Whichever avenue the Scropes pursued in seeking to acquire the *Speculum*, Mede would have likely known for whom he was writing. Whether the request was in-house (from Sheen) or outside (from Syon), Mede would likely have found out when the book was about to leave the charterhouse. Mede certainly knew of the Masham Scrope line's recent ignominious family history, making a note in Bodley 117 of John's older brother Henry's execution for treason in the Southampton plot of 1415, and there is also the

[292] ibid., 27.
[293] ibid, 22.
[294] Patterson, 31.

odd case of a Richard le Scrope lending a lot of money to a Mede of Kent,[295] so it is not inconceivable that Mede knew exactly for whose use the book was intended.

Punctuation practice

He may even have altered the punctuation to accommodate and guide more unfamiliar lay readers with Chaworth and Scrope, or at least an extended audience, in mind. We know the art of punctuation was important to William Mede, for he copied a short, Latin treatise on the subject in TCD 281:

[IMAGE (REFERENCE) REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT ISSUES.]

Reproduced by kind permission of Trinity College Library, Trinity College, University of Dublin. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 281, f. 63^{r} (detail).

In the following extracts, the concept of the *commata* – to mark the boundaries of separate clauses where the sense of a sentence is incomplete, as set out in the above extract – is represented by the modern full stop <.> as it is represented on the page by Mede. In discussion, this will be referred to as a period. The *punctus elevatus* – in this case employed by Mede to represent a more major, medial pause, or the *cola*, where an element of a sentence makes sense on its own, but the meaning is incomplete – is here represented by the semicolon <;>. To increase the length of a pause, either *comma* or *cola*, to the finality of the *periodus* – the equivalent of the modern full-stop where meaning is fully complete – Mede adopts a belt-and-braces approach, combining the *punctus elevatus* <;> or the *commata* <.> with *littera notabiliores*. The latter are represented here by upper-case letters, though Mede also capitalises proper nouns, particularly in ND. Mede also employs paraphs, which are represented here by the pilcrow <¶>.

Passage 1, an extract from ND at folio 50^{v}

Gostely sustre I haue tolde yow in þe chapetle
next afore þis howe þe bisshoppes and þe phari
sees token here counseill togidre aȝeyns our lorde
and by þe counseil of Cayphas to sle hym as sone
as þei myght ¶ Sistre þis yhe may thenke howe oure lorde
Ihu criste . as þe eu(a)ngeliste seynte Iohn bereth wytnes . sex
dayes affor Estre amonge þe Iewes þat is Palme sonday . even
come to Betany . two myles fro Ierusalem ¶ Here I woll
tel yow firste what þis Estre was amonge hem ; ffor yhe

[295] See above, 90.

shall vnderstonde þat it was a grete festyuall day amonge
þe Iewes . And it is als mykill to seye as a passynge; This
feste yhe shall vnderstonde was vsed amonge hem in mynde
þat þe grete b(e)nfete þat god shewede hem . when by hys angele
he delyuerde hem oute of þe londe of Egipte fro þe crwell bon
dage of kynge Pharaho . for þe nyght affore þat þei were de
lyuerde . þe angell of god wente by all houses of Egipte and
slewe yche fyrste begeten thynge þer in both of men and bestes
outake of þe peple of Israel ; And for þe angel of god wente so
and smote ych firste begeten thynge in þe londe of Egipte and
sauede hem . it was callede þe passynge of our lorde ; And so
fro þat tyme forewarde . it was a solempne feste amonge hem
by þe comandement of god . And it endurede seuen days . Bot
þe firste and þe laste were moste solempne . And þis feste was
callede estre amonge hem . þat is to seye þe passynge of our lorde
And so sex dayes affore þis feste amonge þe Iewes . yhe may
thenke as it is beforeseide . howe our lorde come in Betany . where
hadde be deede . þe which he raysede . as I haue shortely tolde
yowe in þe chapitle next affore þis . And there men of þat place
made hym a sopere . And Martha Mary Mawdeleyns systre ser
uede . and Lazare hir brother was one þat satte at þe sopere w^{t}
oure lorde ; This sopere as doctoures seyne comonly was in þe
house of a man þat was callede Symon lepre . þe whiche oure
lorde had helede of þe lepre . bot þe name abode in mynde of þe
myracle . And þe same man as Lyre seyth was Marthees negh
bore . and therfore she was þe bolder . to doo seruyce to our lorde
in his house ¶

<u>Passage 2, the corresponding passage from Gg at folio 67^{r}, beginning on l. 6, till 67^{v} l. 24.</u>

Gostly systyr I haue tolde ȝow i(n) the chapetle nex-
ste a for(e) thys how the byischoppys & the
pharyseys toke her(e) conseyil to geder(e) a ȝenste our(e)
lorde & be conseyil of cayphas purposyde to sclee
hym as sone as they mygthte . ¶ Aftyr þ^{e} ȝe maye
thynke how our(e) lorde Ihu c(ri)ste as the eua(n)gelyste

seyint Ihon beryth wytnesse vj . dayis a for(e) es-
tyr amonge the iewys þ^{t} ys palme sondaye euy(en)
cam i(n) to betanye the whyche ys too myle fro Ie-
rusalem . her(e) I wole telle ȝow fyrste what thys
estyr(e) was amonge he(m) for ȝe schal undyrsta(n)de
þ^{t} hyt was a gret festeful daye a monge þ^{e} iewys .
& hyt ys as myche to seye as a passynge . Thys
feste was vsyd a monge hem ȝe schal vndyr-
stande i(n) mynde of the grete b(e)nfeett þ^{t} god
schewde hem when(n)e be hys angyl he delyu(er)ede he(m)
out of þ^{e} londe of egypte fro the nygthte a for(e) þ^{t}
they wer(e) delyu(er)ed the angyl of god wente bee
all þ^{e} howses of egypte & sclewe eche fyrste
begotyn thynge ther Inne bothe of me(n) & of best(es)
out take of þ^{e} peple of israel . & for the angyl
of god went soo & smote eu(er)yche fyrste be gotyn
thynge i(n) the londe of egypte ; & sauyde hem . hyt
was callyd þ^{e} passynge of our(e) lorde . And fro that
tyme hyt was a sole(m)pne feste a monge hem be þ^{e}
com(m)aundme(n)t of god & hyt duryde vij dayis but
the fyrste daye & the laste wer(e) moste sole(m)pne . &
thys feste was callys estyr amonge hem . þ^{t} ys to
seye þ^{e} passynge of our(e) lorde . And so vj dayis a
for(e) þ^{e} feste a monge þ^{e} Iewys ȝe maye thynke as
ys forseyde how our(e) lorde cam i(n) to Betanye wher(e)
lasur hadde be deede the whyche he raysyde as
I haue schortly tolde ȝow i(n) the chapetele afor(e) þ^{e} .
And ther(e) me(n) of þ^{t} place made hy(m) a soper(e). & mar
the marye maudeleynys systyr seruyde & lasur
her(e) brothyr was one of hem þ^{t} satt att soper(e) w^{t}
our(e) lorde . Thys soper(e) as some doctorys seyn comunely
whas i(n) the house of a ma(n) þ^{t} ys callyd Symo(n) le-
pyr the whyche our(e) lorde hadde helyd of þ^{e} lepyr
but þ^{e} name abode i(n) mynde of þ^{t} m(ir)acle . & the
same ma(n) as lyr(e) seyth was Marthys nygthbor(e)

& therfor(e) sche was þ^{e} boldyr too doo seruyse to
our(e) lorde in hys house.

Analysis:

Abbreviation is much heavier in Gg and comparatively lighter in ND. The reader of Gg, a potential exemplar, would have possessed a knowledge of conventional abbreviations. Mede, however, does not assume this knowledge on the part of the potential readers of ND, preferring to write out whole words, rather than abbreviate. Mede makes three types of changes between Gg and ND. The first type changes the mark in order to more clearly distinguish between different grades of pauses as set out in the short treatise on punctuation above. The second inserts capitals and *litterae notabiliores*. The third type adds punctuation to ND where none is present in Gg. Of the first type, there are nine occurrences: i) period plus ¶ at l. 5 in Gg where there is only a ¶ at l. 5 in ND. ii) at l. 6 in ND and l. 7 in Gg, the period changes place 'bereth wytnes. sex' compared with 'beryth wytnesse vj. dayis'. The punctuation of ND makes more sense, rhetorically and grammatically. iii) In Gg, the period at l. 10 is marked more clearly in ND with a ¶. iv) The period in Gg, l. 13 becomes a colon in ND l. 11. v) Mede uses a period in the same place 'and sauede hem' in ND l. 20 as in Gg l. 23, though the preceding *punctus elevatus* in Gg l. 23 creates a more rhetorical reading, where NDs punctuation is more modern and grammatical. vi) The *punctus elevatus* is employed at ND l. 20 where a period is used in Gg (l. 24). vii) In ND, Mede prefers to write out whole numbers, whereas in Gg, Mede uses Roman numerals, perhaps in a bid to excise potential unfamiliar symbols to a reader not used to using them. viii) The period in Gg l. 37 is a *punctus elevatus* in ND l. 31. ix) In ND, Mede finishes the section clearly at l. 36 with a ¶. In Gg, it is marked at l. 43 with a period.

Of the second type, there are six occurrences: i) Capitalisation of 'Cayphas' in ND l.4 and none in Gg l. 4. ii) Capitalisation of 'Palme sonday' at l. 7 in ND, but none in Gg l. 8. iii) 'Iewys' capitalised in ND, but not in Gg. iv) 'And' is written out fully and capitalised in ND l. 11, where & is used in Gg l. 13. v) In ND, Mede capitalises the names 'Martha Mary Mawdeleyns' and 'Lazare' ll. 29-30 and does not in Gg. vi) In ND, 'Lyre' is capitalised at l. 34 and is not in Gg l. 41.

Of the third type, there are eleven occurrences: i) In ND, l. 6, there is a period after 'Ihu criste' and none in Gg l. 6. ii) In Gg, there is no punctuation at all from l. 7 till 'Jerusalem' l. 10, where ND is more heavily punctuated. iii) In ND, the *punctus elevatus* appears at l. 9 and nothing at all in Gg (l. 11). iv) In Gg, a period is omitted at l. 16 where present in ND l. 14. v) In Gg Mede employs no punctuation or *litterae notabiliores* till l. 21 where ND has the following: 'Egpite' l. 14, 'Pharaho' l. 15, a period at ll. 15 and 16, 'Israel' l. 18, a period at l. 18 and the word 'And' capitalised and written out at l. 18 in

comparison with the ampersand used at Gg l. 21. vi) In Gg there is no punctuation from the end of l. 24 – end of l. 27, where its corresponding passage in ND is heavily punctuated. vii) A period is employed in ND l. 25 where nothing appears in Gg, l. 30. viii) Periods are employed in ND from lines 25-27 and none in Gg lines 29-33. ix) In ND, periods function as bracketing commas in ND ll. 32-33 and none are used in Gg. x) A period is used in ND from l. 35, where nothing is used in Gg (ll. 41-43).

Within the two above passages, Mede has made a total of twenty-six changes in punctuation and all of those changes made improve the clarity and structure of the text in ND to the readers, Elizabeth Chaworth, and perhaps her husband, Lord John Scrope of Masham. In the next series of parallel passages, Mede takes even greater steps to guide the reader in ND.

Passage 3, from ND at folio 64^{v}

gothe oute to þe Iewes and askede hem what accusacio(u)n þei brynge
aȝenste hym . And þei seye þan to hym . Bot ȝif he were a mysdo=
er . we wolde not haue brought hym to þe ; And þan Pilate seide
to hem aȝine . Take yhe hym þan he seide . And deme hym after
yowr lawe . And þan þei seyden to hym aȝene . hit is not lawefull
to vs to sleye ony man . ¶ And þan þei accusede hym of thre thyn
ges ¶ þe firste was ; þat þei seyden he turnede þe peple fro Moy=
ses lawe ¶ the secunde ; þat he forbedde þei seyden þe tribute to be
ȝeue to þe Emp(er)our ¶ The thirde ; for he seide he was criste a kynge
and goddes sone ; And as for þe firste poynte . þat þei accusede hy(m)
of . Pilate rought neuer . for he was a paynym . And þerfore he
roughte neuer of Moyses lawe ; As for þe secunde nether
ffor he hadde herde telle happely þat our lord hadde boden that
þe tribute shulde be ȝeue to þe Emp(er)our . as I have affore tolde
yow in þe fyfteneth Chapitle ; Bot of þe thirde poynte þat
hym thoghte was aȝenste þe worshipe of þe Emp(er)oure . he askede
hym . Whether hym semede. þat is was aȝenste þe worshippe
or þe Emp(er)oure . þat ony shulde be callede a kynge bothe . And þ(er)fore
he askede hym þus ; þou erte kynge of Iewes . As who seyth

Nota bene.
. 1 .
. 2 .
. 3 .

Passage 4, the corresponding passage from Gg. i. 6 at folio 85^{v}-86^{r}

goeth out to þ^{e} iewys & askyth hem what accusacyon they
brynge a ȝenste hy(m) . And they seyde a ȝen to hym . But
yf he wer(e) a mys doar(e) we wolde not haue browgth hy(m)
to the ; And than(n)e pylat seyde a ȝen to hem . Take
ȝe hym than(n)e & demyth hym aftyr ȝour(e) lawe / And
than(n)e they seyde to hy(m) a ȝen . Hyt ys not laweful to
vs to scle eny man . And than(n)e they accusyde hy(m) of thr(e) thy(n)
g(es) . The fyrste was þ^{t} as they seyde he turnyde the pe-
ple fro Moyses lawe . The secunde was . þ^{t} he forbede
they seyde the trybute to be ȝeue to the emperour(e)
The thyrde was ; for he seyde þ^{t} he was cryste a kyn-
ge & godys sone . And of þ^{e} fyrste puncte þ^{t} they accu-
syde hym of Pylat rofte neu(er) for he was a paynym
& therfor(e) he rofte not of Moyses lawe . & as of the se
cunde nothyr for he hadde herde telle haply þ^{t} our(e) lorde
hadde I bode þ^{t} the trybute schulde be ȝeue to the em
perour(e) as I haue tolde ȝow a for(e) in the xv chapete
le . But of the thyrde puncte þ^{t} hym semyde was a
ȝenste the worschype of the emperour(e) he askede hy(m) .

for hym semyde þ^{t} hyt was a ȝenste the worschype of
the emperour(e) that eny ma(n) schulde be callyd a ky
nge but he . And therfor(e) he askyde hym thus . Thow
arte kynge of iewys (?) as ho seyth .

Here, the punctuation between the two examples is more similar, the differences a matter of a few added periods or *littera notabiliores*. Though Mede has added or modified punctuation to provide greater clarity in certain sections in ND, other stretches of Gg are adequately punctuated and are therefore sufficiently clear to the reader in terms of meaning. In particular places, the relationship between the two manuscripts seems rather faithful, at least in terms of punctuation, which may serve as another argument for ND and Gg sharing a direct, or at least not-so-temporally-distant, exemplar/copy relationship.

What is interesting in the ND witness, however, is Mede's effective and successful attempt in guiding the reader through what he seems to view as an important part of the text. The series of <¶> marks are employed by Mede to highlight three, successive, relevant points of interest: what Jesus was accused of by the Jews when he was brought to Pilate. (ND ll. 6-10; Gg. ll. 7-12.) These points are marked as

significant by Mede's marginal inclusion not only of an underlined 'Nota bene' (written out fully and not abbreviated) but with a series of numbered points, 1, 2 and 3, that correspond with the <¶>-marked first, second and third offences Jesus was accused of to the degree that the marginal numbers even match in terms of the position of the numbered offences on the page. This elaborate *nota* system is not present in Gg. It is exclusive to ND, perhaps invented for the purpose of guiding an unfamiliar reader to the most important points of the text that Mede deemed worthy of memory. The layout and punctuation of ND, the display manuscript intended for a lay reader, is far more reader-friendly than the manuscript of Gg, perhaps intended as an exemplar from which fairer copies could be made.

Language

Another factor supporting the argument that Mede was conscious of for whom he copied, both in Gg and ND, is his use of particular word forms. The dialect in both examples of the *Speculum devotorum* is largely colourless (as discussed above), though there are marked differences in orthography between Mede's usage of certain forms, differences that cannot be passed over without an attempt at explanation. It is, of course, not uncommon for scribes to use different word forms even when engaged in making multiple copies of the same text (see Dodesham's work on the *Siege of Thebes* and Love's *Mirror*; table 2). If Mede were the author of the *Speculum devotorum*, however, surely it would be more likely for the languages of Gg and ND to tend more towards a greater level of homogeneity than present? Certain forms are present in ND, in particular, which are not used, or used rarely, in Gg and TCD 281, Mede's only other example of vernacular work. The pattern in ND appears to be substitution with more northerly forms in comparison with Gg which tends to exhibit more southerly or even idiosyncratic East Anglian forms.

They: the *-ai/ay–* variants used in ND are rarer and more northerly[296] used alongside the more widespread *–ei/ey–* variants Mede uses in Gg and TCD.[297]
Them: again, in ND Mede has selected a more northerly variant *–ai–* (*þaim*)[298] to use in conjunction with *hem*, which is more widespread in the Midlands and south that is used in Gg and TCD.[299]
Any: Mede has employed the form *ony* in ND, the form strongest in the east and north east,[300] compared with the form strongest in the south and west, *eny*, which he uses in Gg.[301] *Much*: In ND, Mede uses –

[296] LALME, v. 1, 312, map 31.
[297] ibid., map 30.
[298] ibid., 315, map 42.
[299] ibid., 314, map 40.
[300] ibid., 329, map 99.
[301] ibid., map 98.

kel(-)– variants, which have a marked presence from East Anglia spreading north east,[302] compared with the *myche* form, which is solid across the Midlands with a spread south.[303]

Is: Mede prefers the colourless *ys/is* variants, but in ND, he occasionally slips in the *es* variant, which is more northerly.[304]

Will: In Gg, Mede uses *wol-* type forms, which were rather widespread but their usage appears to have faltered at the north and north east Midlands.[305] In ND, however, alongside *wol-* types, Mede elects to use the *wil-* type. Like the *wol-* types, *wil-* was widespread, but their usage, crucially, includes more northerly counties.[306]

After: In ND, in conjunction with his preferred and more widespread *a-* variants used in Gg and TCD, Mede occasionally slips in *eftre*, a more northerly variant.[307]

Though: This is perhaps the most marked of the differences in Mede's choice of forms. The usage of medial *–off–* types (*þoffe/yoffe/þof*) is strongly connected to counties in the north and north east (including north East Anglia).[308] The forms Mede employs in Gg, especially *though*, had greater currency in the Midlands and south. The final *–th* form in Gg, though, is rarer, occurring in isolated spots across the Midlands and into the south west.[309]

Might (vb.): In Gg, Mede is content to use a rarer, more local *–gth–* type, its usage found in an East Anglian cluster.[310] In ND, he elects to use a more colourless, more widely-understood form which enjoyed usage from north to south (though with less of a presence in the south west.)[311]

There: Alongside the more widespread form he prefers and uses in Gg and ND *(ther(-)/þer(-))*, in the latter Mede also employs the strongly northern form *þair,*[312] and the fringe form *þar(e)* which had currency in the north and north east Midlands and the far south and south west.[313]

Through: The form *thorow* used in Gg, appears to have been used sparingly but widely throughout the country, though especially in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Norfolk, Lincoln, Leicestershire and Somerset.[314] The *thurgh* form chosen in ND is much more strongly associated with counties in the north

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[302] ibid., 331, map 106.
[303] ibid., 330, map 102.
[304] ibid., 338, map 134.
[305] ibid., 345, map 164.
[306] ibid., 345, map 163.
[307] ibid. 349, map 180.
[308] ibid., 355, map 203.
[309] ibid., 356, map 206.
[310] ibid., 387, map 329.
[311] ibid., map 331.
[312] ibid., 384, map 318
[313] ibid., map 320.
[314] LALME, vol. 4, 98.

and north east Midlands.[315] *First*: In Gg and ND, Mede uses the widespread *first(-)/fyrst(-)* types, but in the latter he also occasionally uses a strongly north eastern initial *fr-* type.[316]
Hundred: The *–th(-)* endings used in ND correspond with usage dominant in the north and north east Midlands downwards, and are very rare, but present, in the south.[317] Whereas the medial *–d–* and final *–d–* form used in Gg is widespread but with much greater currency in the south.[318]
Thousand: in Gg, Mede prefers the rarer *–ende(-)–* variant which appears in clusters in the west and East Anglia with sporadic attestations across the south and occurs not much farther north than the dividing line from Gloucestershire to East Anglia.[319] In ND, Mede has chosen a form with a much wider currency, therefore intelligible to a wider readership.
Two: similarly, in Gg, Mede uses the forms *too* and *tueyne*, the former fairly widespread but occurring no farther north than Lincolnshire,[320] and the latter which is very strongly southern.[321] In ND, Mede appears to have chosen the most widespread, colourless form with currency in both north and south.[322]
–ly: again, in Gg, alongside this widespread form, Mede occasionally uses *–lyche*, a form which (although creeping into the north west Midlands) is more strongly southern.[323] In ND, Mede does not use *–lyche*, electing only to employ the most widely understood form *–ly*.
Such: in another similar case, Mede does not use his preferred, strongly East Anglian form *sueche* used in Gg and TCD,[324] instead employing the more widely recognised *such(-)* variant in ND. In ND, with other forms, such as *ere (conj.)* and *not*, Mede displays either flexibility or insecurity in his tendency to employ different variants (*er, or, ar*) and (*not, noght, nat*), perhaps an indicator of a scribe hedging his bets as to which form would be understood by particular audiences. The forms for *ere (conj.)* and *not* used in Gg, in comparison, are much more linguistically secure.

Though colourless on the whole, the language of ND leans towards more northerly counties and Gg leans further south and is also comparatively secure. Could the more northerly forms interspersed within colourless usage within ND represent Mede's attempt to cater for his patrons, Lord Scrope and his wife, Elizabeth Chaworth, of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire families respectively? If Mede were a native of East Anglia (and his East Anglian forms do not simply reflect the wider geographical spread of items from that dialect during the late medieval period), he may have been uniquely placed to recognise these

[315] op. cit.
[316] LALME, vol. 1, 409, map 418.
[317] ibid., 418, map 454.
[318] LALME, vol. 4, 202.
[319] LALME, vol. 1, 438, map 535.
[320] ibid., 444, map 537.
[321] ibid., 443, map 553.
[322] ibid., 442, map 550.
[323] ibid., 457, map 609.
[324] ibid., 323, map 75.

more northerly forms and know which were used north or south of East Anglia and to be able to adjust his usage accordingly. In some cases, such as *þair,* there is a chance the more northerly forms may reflect the southward spread of northern forms, though more obscure northerly forms that did not become standard, such as *es* and *mykell*, cast doubt upon this. If the language of the north-east Midlands into north-East Anglia and the lower West Riding of Yorkshire was the language with which Mede was most comfortable, perhaps Gg represents an attempt to make his in-house exemplar more friendly to southerners who might read and copy from it, such as Stephen Dodesham. His language is colourless, but where the chance arises, in Gg, Mede will choose a southern form, maximising the communicative efficiency, and therefore readability, within the environment of Sheen charterhouse where it was more likely to be circulated. The language of Gg is also more tolerant of more obscure East-Anglian local forms. Since Gg seems to have been corrected and prepared as an exemplar, the inclusion of idiosyncratic forms like sygth-that and *myghthte* would, if a copyist found it difficult to infer their meaning from context, be able to be explained and translated in the environment of the charterhouse where the exemplar scribe would likely be present.

Offices and duties

As to when in his career Mede was likely to have copied the *Speculum devotorum* on behalf of a colleague (or perhaps written it), it is uncertain whether Mede worked on ND and Gg before or after his promotion to two of the regular offices of the Carthusian Order. The duties of office may have placed constraints on any potential copying time, (though, of course, that did not prevent Denys of Rijkel, Oswald de Corda, or Nicholas Love, other Carthusians who held offices, from studying and writing.) Though there may be further examples of Mede's work yet to be identified, it seems that promotion to office may have curtailed his scribal activity, as he does not seem to have matched the prolific output of his colleague, Stephen Dodesham.[325]

During his career at Sheen, Mede acted as sacristan and vicar; the latter post he held until his death in 1473.[326] The solitary nature of the Carthusian vocation meant that the duties of their sacristans were different to those belonging to other Orders, though they shared fundamental similarities. The Carthusian sacrist:

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[325] No hard evidence survives for Dodesham ever having been promoted to office, though his copying activity bears a strong, educational slant, as discussed more fully in chapter four.

[326] M. Sargent and J. Hogg (eds.), *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: Paris, Bib. Nat. MS Latin 10888*, AC, 100:6, vol. 2 (Salzburg, 1985): 211.

> was in charge of all the sacred vestments of the church; rings the bell for service; lights candles for Mass; cleans the priestly vestments and the altar and was charged with the cleaning and upkeep of the church, chapter house and cloister.[327]

Through necessity, the Carthusian sacrist spent more time outside his cell than the other monks and was permitted to enlist aid in his duties from other monks and even lay brothers and servants in certain tasks.

The vicar of a charterhouse fulfils the function of spiritual head in the absence of its prior. In short, the vicar is second-in-command. The post of vicar was one of potentially greater responsibility, the holder's most important function being the arrangement of the election of any new prior. Having served fifty-six years in the Order from his ordination until his death (from 1417-1473), William Mede saw out three priors, having served under John Widrington (1414-1422/3), John Bokyngham (1422-3 – occ. 1453 and d. former prior 1457), and John Ives (1457 – c. 1467), and he was certainly vicar to William Wildy (1467 – 1476).[328] He would have also known well his contemporary, the Sheen scribe Stephen Dodesham who transferred to Witham c. 1457-1462 and, as vicar, may have helped oversee his colleague's return to Sheen c. 1470/1. The positions of sacrist and vicar were both regularly instituted offices which conferred upon the holder of that office a degree of respect, responsibility and authority within the house. William Mede must have proven efficient in both, having the retained the post of vicar until he died.

Upon his death on 10th January, 1473, Dom William Mede had served a very respectable fifty-six years in the Order. His obit in the *chartae* for that year provides a brief memorium:

> Et domnus Willelmus Meede, Vicarius domus Jhesu de Bethleem iuxta [Shene]. Et dictus domnus Willelmus habet anniversarium perpetuum per totum Ordinem associandum cum primo anniuersario currente post diem obitus eius, qui fuit x^{o} Januarij. Ideo scribatur in kalendarijs conuentualibus domorum Ordinis.
> [And Dom William Mede, vicar of the house of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen. And the said Dom William is granted a perpetual anniversary throughout the whole Order, associated with the first anniversary of his death, which is 10th January [the Carthusians followed the Roman calendar]. Therefore let it be written in the conventual calendar of the houses of the Order.][329]

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327 Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 113.
328 David M. Smith (ed.), *The heads of religious houses,* 363-364.
329 John Clark (ed.), *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: London, Lambeth Palace, MS 413, Part three, 1461-1474 (Ff. 301^{v}-458^{v})*, AC, 100:2 (Salzburg, 1991): 176.

Traditionally, certain accolades may be appended to the names of worthy members of the Order; those appendants indicating specific aspects of their lives within their community. As Dom William Mede lived fifty-six years in the Order, under certain circumstances, this would have merited the title *laudabiliter*, yet he did not earn this. Rowntree, in correspondence with the monks of Parkminster, uncovered the significance of this accolade:

> 50 annis laudabiliter vixit in ordine... According to the Carthusians of Parkminster, this phrase, which recurs occasionally in the obit-lists, is not simply a statement of fact, but an accolade used to distinguish individuals whose years in the order were celebrated not only by longevity but also by exceptional piety.[330]

Evidently, William Mede had not lived up to the lofty standard of exceptional Carthusian piety – which would have been exceptional indeed, given the austerity and rigor of their vocation. Living fifty-six years as a Carthusian is itself an accomplishment and this should not diminish the value of Mede's service to the Order. He was, however, awarded an *anniversarium*. The *anniversarium* 'consisted of the annual recitation of the office for the dead on the anniversary of the death of a benefactor'.[331] This may be a significant indication that Mede came from an affluent background, as the donations are in his name, not another's. Unless a relative or patron purchased it for him, it is most likely that Mede was in possession of a significant amount of money or property before he entered the Order. Maurice Chauncey, in his contemporary account of the Carthusian martyrs, tells of his memories of his life at London charterhouse, informing his readers that many who sought the Carthusian vocation – full choir monks and lay brothers – relinquished all property and birthrights to which they were entitled.[332] Perhaps William Mede was in possession of a sizeable share of an inheritance, the entirety of which he donated to the Order upon his profession. The lack of *laudabiliter* and the presence of the *anniversarium* in his obit could provide clues as to Mede's attitude and to what sort of a career Mede had at Sheen. It sheds light on certain matters pertinent to his manuscript record: particularly the three intriguing letters to Cardinal Henry Beaufort by a certain 'W. Cartus minimus' of Sheen, and his copying for Lord Scrope of Masham and his wife, Elizabeth Chaworth. It is possible that Mede may have been a little more worldly-wise than the majority of his colleagues. Politics could enter even the charterhouse, and as we have seen above, whom you knew could earn you a cell. Knowing Cardinal Beaufort would certainly have been one way towards career

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330 C. B. Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England*, 153 n. 3.
331 Joseph A. Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice in Later Medieval England,* 33.
332 Mauritius Chancaeus [Maurice Chauncy], *Historia Aliquot Nostri Sæculi Martyrum... Nunc ad exemplar primæ editionis Moguntinæ anno 1550 excusæ a monachis Cartusiæ S. Hugonis in Anglia denuo edita.*, ed. with introduction by V. M. Doreau (Montreuil-sur-Mer: Monstrolii, 1888): 67. See also Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England*, 166.

advancement at Sheen. If Mede were his confessor, perhaps the role he played in that capacity could have earned him his post as vicar.

Conclusion

To what extent does Mede's life and scribal activity at Sheen reflect the contexts of his copying? In terms of the written mode, Mede's activity encompasses different types of writing (by which I refer to 'scribal activity', not acting as an author, though Mede may have done). Bodley 117 is representative of the 'notebook', a volume made for personal use, employing no guidance for other readers and is only easily referenced by the scribe who wrote it and therefore would have known roughly the location of particular items. TCD 281 and the Vespasian fragments bear the hallmarks of Mede having attempted to impose a structure and organisational format on a collection of disparate materials that are very broadly thematic and therefore useful in a collected form. These examples therefore represent personal writing modified for the use of a community of readers: from notebook to reference miscellany. Community use, in the form of the exemplar reserved for in-house copying with a view to wider dissemination of a text, is represented in the Gg copy of the *Speculum devotorum*, which is plainly decorated, subject to correction and includes references to particular books and chapters which may have been to hand in the charterhouse library at Sheen. Public writing is represented by the ND witness of the *Speculum devotorum*: a fully-formed, (comparatively) neatly-copied, decorated display piece commissioned by a patron and copied by a Carthusian monk, all which would have combined to lend the volume an element of prestige. Though ND was a 'public' volume that circulated beyond the confines of Mede's immediate community of readers and scribes at Sheen, it did not appear to have circulated any further beyond the tight-knit spiritual elite centred around Sheen, Syon and their wealthy and influential patrons as described by Lovatt.[333] The reading and writing communites inhabited by William Mede were small, select clusters of like-minded people: his own community and those closely affiliated with it, whether religious or layfolk seeking spiritual guidance. As a reader, Mede's tastes also reflect this, though his reading tastes taken from his more personal collections, such as Bodley 117 notebook and the TCD 281/Vespasian D.ix compilation, is rather different from what he chooses to transmit through copying into the public sphere, being more conservative and bearing a marked 'local' interest in English matters: historical, spiritual, English saints, current English spiritual developments (mainly concerning Lollardy and heresy). The signs of less conservative (only less conservative and by no means unsafe or unorthodox) reading of the type most commonly associated with Carthusians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries during the flowering of mysticism and the *devotio moderna* is only made apparent in Mede's vernacular work intended for public consumption: in the *Speculum devotorum*, which counts among its sources imported texts from the

[333] Lovatt, 'The Imitation of Christ in Late Medieval England', 114.

continent and works of ‘approved women’, most prominent among them Bridget of Sweden. Evidence of Mede having read and copied the latest spiritual texts only arose within the environment of the vernacular. Mede’s use of colourless language in his vernacular work and his tendency to alter punctuation to achieve different ends in different settings also point to the scribe’s consciousness of his potential audience.

Chapter Four
Stephen Dodesham

Introduction

Twenty years after William Mede made the decision to enter the Carthusian Order, a new recruit arrived to take up a vacant cell and join Mede in his life of prayer and contemplation at Sheen. This man was Stephen Dodesham, one of the most prolific named scribes whose work has survived to be identified. Given the number of surviving witnesses, that each of those witnesses can be confidently assigned to a single, known scribe, and given the rarity of such a combination of circumstances, Dodesham is not exactly an obscure figure. A. I. Doyle was the first to bring attention to Dodesham in his series of Lyell lectures in 1967, this followed shortly by the publication of Parkes' *English cursive book hands* in 1969, in which Dodesham featured, along with specimens of his hand and lists of manuscripts comprising his *oeuvre*.[334] In 1984, in their edition of *De institutione inclusarum*, J. R. Ayto and A. Barratt included a detailed description of Bodley 423 and an analysis of Dodesham's language, supplementing the data made available in three *LALME* linguistic profiles.[335] A. S. G. Edwards in 1991 published descriptions and specimens of Dodesham's three copies of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, discussing the circumstances of their creation.[336] In 1997, A. I. Doyle published his account of the life and work of Stephen Dodesham, the fullest to date, providing specimens of each manuscript which had then been identified as Dodesham's work, including descriptions of those manuscripts, discussions on provenance and extrapolating from the data and various historical records the circumstances in which Dodesham might have made those manuscripts.[337] After Doyle's thorough and comprehensive discussion, yet more work on Dodesham followed. The first comprehensive analysis of Dodesham's language was conducted by Brendan Biggs in 1995 in attempt to reconstruct the language of the archetype text of the first English translation of the *Imitatio Christi*.[338] Michael Sargent, in his 2005 full critical edition of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Life of Christ*, conducted a thorough recension and placed Dodesham's three copies of the *Mirror* into their respective manuscript families.[339] Proving that continuing, updated work on Dodesham is necessary, in 2009, another manuscript – a copy of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe* – was identified by Simon

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334 M. B. Parkes, *English cursive book hands: 1250-1500* (1969).
335 J. R. Ayto and A. Barratt (eds.) *Aelred of Rievaulx's De institutione inclusarum: two English versions*, EETS, original series 287 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).
336 Edwards, A. S. G, 'Beinecke MS 661 and Early Fifteenth-Century English Manuscript Production', *Yale University Library Gazette*, supplement to vol. 6 (1991): 181-196.
337 A. I. Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', *Of the Making of Books, Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers* (1997): 94-115.
338 B. Biggs, 'The Language of the Scribes of the First English Translation of the *Imitatio Christi*', 79-111.
339 Sargent, *Nicholas Love's 'Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ': A Critical Edition*, lxxvii and *Nicholas Love, 'The mirror of the blessed life of Jesus Christ': a reading text*, (2004).

Horobin, further extending Dodesham's *oeuvre*.[340] In 2013, just before this thesis was due for submission, the team responsible for the electronic edition of *LALME* published an updated linguistic profile for Stephen Dodesham, representing the language of the newly-identified manuscript of the Middle English translation of Macer's *De viribus herbarum* brought to the attention of the *eLALME* editors by Mr John Benson of the Cheshire Record Office.[341] The identification of the *Herbal* is very recent and I have therefore been unable to examine this manuscript within the context of the life and work of Dodesham.

Despite the attention lavished upon this prolific scribe, there are gaps in our knowledge of his life – proven by the continuing identification of his hand in previously unattributed manuscripts – and, consequently, in our knowledge of his role in book-making and the contexts in which he performed this role. Fortunately, new initiatives like *eLALME*, driven by the widely-acknowledged need to electronically publish and preserve primary source material, have made recovering biographical details a much easier and more enjoyable task: projects such as British History Online, the extensive, ongoing project undertaken by the University of London and the History of Parliament trust in conjunction with other partner organisations,[342] and the London Clergy project headed by Professor Virginia Davis, which supplies a list of 30,000 ordained clerics – regular and secular – based on bishops' registers and ordination lists.[343] Data provided by these sources enable us to make sense of, and fill in, the lacunae left by Doyle, and also make it possible to strengthen some of Doyle's initial hypotheses on Dodesham's life, thereby enabling us to contextualise and gain a fuller understanding of Dodesham's long, prolific career.

Wiltshire, Somerset and London

Based on the evidence of his work in MS Sankt Georgen 12 and the traces of palimpsest on Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54, Doyle theorised, in his biography of the life of Stephen Dodesham, that Dodesham was working in London in the 1430s, quite possibly before.[344] In Easter, 1428, I found that the name Stephen Dodesham appears in three records of the Court of Common Pleas.[345] All three cases were related in this instance to a Thomas Broun, a chaplain from London, who issued bonds valued each at 26 marks 6 shillings and 8 pence to three men on 6th November 1424, at St Mary Woolnoth, London. The

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340 S. Horobin, 'The Scribe of Bodleian Library MS Bodley 619 and the Circulation of Chaucer's Treatise on the Astrolabe', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 31 (2009): 109-124.
341 *eLALME*, LP 6445.
342 *British History Online* <www.british-history.ac.uk> [accessed 29/05/2013].
343 Davis, *Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages* (2000).
344 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 98-99, 106-107.
345 Mackman and Stevens (eds.), 'CP40/669: Easter term 1428', *Court of common pleas: The National Archives, CP40: 1399-1500* (2010), <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=118095> [accessed 29/05/2013].

first man, John Smyth, was a husbandman from Compton, Wiltshire; the second, another husbandman from Compton named Thomas Harold; and the third John Reynold (alias John Hert) a parson from Tockenham, Wiltshire. According to the condition of the bonds, the debts were supposed to be repaid on the Nativity of St John the Baptist the following year (that is 24th June, 1425). By Easter, 1428, however, the debts were not paid, and Thomas Broun took his case to the Court of Common Pleas armed with his lawyer, William Fenyngham, seeking to recover from Smyth, Harold and Reynold his original loans of 26m 6s 8d, plus £20 in damages.

This was a substantial sum of money, the total debt of the three Wiltshire men plus damages adding up to £113 – equalling approximately £51,000 by today's reckoning.[346] During the Easter law term, that is some time between 15th April to 8th May, the defendants appeared at court. The bond was shown, and Smyth, Harold and Reynold sought license to imparl – that is, to settle the litigation amicably and have time to confer outside court and obtain delay for this adjustment – as far as Trinity term, 1428 (22nd May – 12th June). Four men stood as surety for them. Their names were John Gilys of All Cannings, Wiltshire; Robert Colyngborn of Bedwyn, Wiltshire; John Raunston of Kingsclere, Hampshire; and Stephen Dodesham of All Cannings, Wiltshire. All of the men standing surety for Smyth, Harold and Reynold were classed as 'gentlemen', with no occupation noted. Each must have possessed a decent income, however, as standing surety for a debt entails an obligation to pay a sum of money for the debtor in the event that he is unable to repay that debt. The combined debt when divided four apiece between the sureties would have meant Gilys, Colyngborn, Raunston and Dodesham would have had to pay £28 5s each to Thomas Broun. It was no wonder the London chaplain wanted his money back. It is uncertain exactly how Thomas Broun's cases played out in the end, but *postea* texts included in each plea state that all debts were satisfied and that the defendants were quit.

If this Stephen Dodesham of All Cannings, Wiltshire, is the same Stephen Dodesham who would later enter the Carthusian Order, this, at first appearance, lessens the likelihood of a connection with the prominent Dodesham family of Cannington, Somerset. Records, however, seem to imply this may not have been the case. From the later fourteenth century, the Dodeshams of Somerset appear to have amassed a sizeable estate, which included lands in Cannington, East Chilton, Southbrook and Gurney Street (the latter likely the home of William Dodesham jnr.)[347] The family can be traced back to an elder

[346] 26 m 6s 8d in pounds shillings and pence will give £17 13s 4d. Add £20 damages, and that becomes £37 13s 4d. Multiplied by three gives the total of all the money owed to Thomas Broun, that is £113, which, when converted by the National Archives currency converter for the year 1430 gives the figure of £51,502.01 in 2005's money. National Archives, *Currency Converter* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/> [accessed 29/05/2013].

[347] R. W. Dunning, C. R. Elrington (eds.), A. P. Baggs, M. C. Siraut. 'Cannington: Church: Andersfield, Cannington, and North Petherton Hundreds (Bridgwater and neighbouring parishes)', *A History of the*

Stephen Dodesham, for whom a record appears in 1385, his name mentioned in relation to his son: 'William, son of Stephen Dodesham,' who was given land in Canyngtonmede.[348] The elder Stephen Dodesham appears again in 1394-95, this time with his wife, Joan, again in relation to land in Cannington,[349] and in the will of John Fytleton, dated Sunday February 16th, 1398 (proven 6th April, 1399), indicating that 'William son of Stephen Dodesham' was to serve as executor of Fytleton's will.[350] The last appearance of the elder Stephen Dodesham in surviving records is in an interesting document dated 10th Jan, 1411, granting power of attorney to deliver seisin of properties to William, son of Stephen Dodesham, and Richard, son of Walter Dodesham – the presence of Richard and Walter here indicating potential branch families to whom the Carthusian Stephen Dodesham could also have borne relation.[351] The William Dodesham, son of Stephen, mentioned here is William snr. (d. 1440), who was married to Ellen, daughter of Robert Homond.[352] The evidence of this family connection is found in a fragment of a memorial brass to their memory in the 15th century font of the Church of St Mary, Cannington.[353] The memorial was erected by Ellen and William Dodesham snr.'s son, William Dodesham jnr. about whom much more is known.

William Dodesham jnr. was a successful lawyer from Cannington and MP for Bridgwater with a legal practice which extended to Bristol,[354] and certainly to London, for Dodesham himself counted the King's Bench and the Court of Common Pleas in his professional, day-to-day business.[355] As well as being a practising lawyer, in 1445, he was both commissioner for sewers in Somerset and commissioner for

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County of Somerset, 6 (1992): 76-85 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=18559> [accessed 29/05/2013].

348 Thomas Hugo, *The History of Canyngton Priory in the County of Somerset*. Medieval Nunneries of Somersetshire, 2 (London: J. R. Smith, 1863): 70.

349 Emanuel Green (ed.), 'Pedes Finium', *Somerset Record Society*, 17 (1902): 160-61.

350 Thomas Procter Wadley (ed.), 'Notes or abstracts of the wills contained in the volume entitled *The Great Orphan Book and the Book of Wills* in the council house at Bristol', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Society* (Bristol: Bristol and Gloucestershire Society, 1886): item 107.

351 SRO, DD\BW/1/21.

352 For Ellen Dodesham, daughter of Robert Homond, see SRO, DD\L/P8/2/131; DD\L/P8/2/185; and DD\L/P8/2/186.

353 Dunning, Elrington, (et al.), 'Cannington: Church', 87-89 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=18559> [accessed 29/05/2013].

354 Anthony Nott, 'Oldbury Court: the Place and the People', *Regional Historian*, 12 (Autumn, 2004): 1.

355 'William Dodesham states that, whereas he and his ancestors have always been free men, William Michell, in order to injure his reputation, extort his property and totally destroy him, has claimed that he is his villein, and has lain in wait to take and imprison him. He states that in order to do this, WM came to London on 10th November 1446, and from that day until the day of his original writ, namely 8th November 1446 [sic?], he has lain in wait for him, such that he has been unable to conduct his business, namely going to St Paul's to speak with sergeants and other lawyers on various matters, and with clients for whom he is acting as attorney in the King's Bench and Common Pleas, and in going to Westminster for these clients, so that all this business is left undone, to his damage of £1000.' In Mackman and Stevens, 'CP40/745: Easter tern 1447,' *Court of Common Pleas: The National Archives, CP40: 1399-1500* (2010) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=118112> [accessed 29/05/2013].

dilapidations in Cornwall.[356] Again, ten years later on 26th February 1455, he was commissioned to enquire regarding all dilapidations of castles and manors in Cornwall, and on 23rd June of that same year, he was on commission 'de walliis et fossatis', dealing with land drainage and sewers for the Somerset area. [357] As a member of the House of Commons, having been elected M.P. for Bridgewater in 1442, William Dodesham would have, in all likelihood, formed ties with the capital, having been willing to participate in its politics, and was seemingly a man of enough importance as to have merited being pardoned by the Yorkists in October of 1468.[358] He was married certainly by 1427 to a Joan, daughter of Robert Oldemyxen,[359] and had two sisters: Eleanor and Jane, the latter referred to in a court case where William jnr. served as her attorney, 'Jane Gosse, widow, and William Dodesham her brother', over lands in Somerset.[360] He was also pious, at least after the conventional manner of the upper and emergent middle classes of the fifteenth century. Dodesham was holder-in-chief of the Raleigh chantry in Nettlecombe church, founded with lands endowed by the late Sir Simon de Raleigh (d. 1440) in his will, and on 10th October, 1453, wished the priest of Raleigh chantry to pray for him and his wife Joan.[361] His relationship with Raleigh chantry was not without its problems, however, as in the late fifteenth century he was accused of the removal of deeds from Nettlecombe and troubling the chantry priest.[362]

According to the memorial on the fifteenth-century font in St Mary's church, Cannington, Dodesham's wife Joan died in 1472. Upon the death of William Dodesham himself on 15th August, 1480,[363] his heirs were John Peryman, grandson of his sister Joan, and Alexander Pym, grandson of his sister Eleanor, and parts of the Dodesham estate were eventually settled upon them. A large estate was also held in trust for Dodesham's niece, Agnes Peryman, daughter of his sister Joan.[364] If Stephen Dodesham the Carthusian and 'gentleman' (if indeed they are the same person) were related to William Dodesham, however closely or distantly, they would have been of the same generation, possibly close in age, as they appear in official records roughly around the same time (late 1420s) and their dates of death are also close, 1480 for William and 1481/2 for Stephen. If Stephen were a brother or a cousin or close relative of William (both

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356 Col. Josiah C. Wedgewood, (ed.), *History of Parliament: Biographies of Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509*, 1 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1936): 276.
357 Public Record Office, The Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1452-61, 6 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910): 225.
358 Wedgewood, (ed.), *History of Parliament, 1439-1509*, 1, 276.
359 NA, AC/D/11/16 a-c, item D/11/15/a.
360 NA, C 1/11/58 covering 1432-43, possibly 1467-1470.
361 SRO, DD\WO/62/9/5, in collection 'Trevelyan Papers' and also in documents DD\S\WH/356, DD\WO/32/1/4 and DD\WO/48/19/1.
362 ibid. DD\WO/32/1/4 and DD\WO/48/19/1, both undated.
363 Writ of *diem clausit extremum*. Public Record Office, *Calendar of the Fine Rolls: preserved in the Public Record Office. Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, 1471-85*, 21 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1961): 196.
364 SRO, DD/S/WH 115; National Archives, C 140/77, no. 78; Dunning, Elrington, et. al., 'Cannington: Church': 76-85 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=18559> [accessed 29/05/2013].

the given names Stephen and William seem to have been present in at least four generations of that branch) he would not have been permitted to inherit any of the Dodesham estate, as Carthusians have never been allowed to inherit property. This does not prove a connection between Stephen Dodesham of All Cannings, Wiltshire, and the Dodeshams of Somerset. The men with whom Stephen Dodesham acted as surety, however, provide several interesting clues as to the likelihood of this potential link.

Of the four men with whom Dodesham shared the responsibility of debt surety, the name Robert Colyngborn appears in a papal indult dated 3rd August 1422, granting permission to possess a portable altar. This indult granted permission to a 'Robert Colyngborn, donsel, of the diocese of Salisbury' and also to 'Joan Colyngborn, damsel, of the same diocese.'[365] In 1422, Robert Colyngborne is a 'donsel', a trainee page, young squire, or knight's attendant – a position similar to that held by Geoffrey Chaucer and one through which a young man would expect to gain a well-rounded, courtly education. Six years later in the debt case with Stephen Dodesham, he is referred to as 'gentleman' and appears to have found himself employment with John Stourton (d. 1438), Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset.[366] Colyngborn's name appears in a letter from Sir John Stourton to his cousin, Sir John Luttrell asking 'that ye woll be remembrid of the litell money that I dude paie by the hondes of Robert Colyngborn', a loan that was swiftly repaid without further incident,[367] and again in connection to Sir John Stourton regarding inheritance of lands Stourton had gifted his daughter and her husband, Robert Warre,[368] and also in a document which contains the name of Philip Pym, a known associate of William Dodesham jnr.[369] In a 1427 document relating to the founding of a chantry within the hamlet of Ichestoke, by William Paulet of Beere, in the ordinances for his chaplain, Paulet desires that the chantry priest pray for the souls of Cecily Stourton, her father, John Stourton, and William Dodesham, though in 1427, William Dodesham's father was still alive, therefore it could equally refer to him.[370] A Carthusian connection is also found through

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365 J. A. Tremlow (ed.), 'Lateran Regesta 297: 1429-1430,' *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: 1427-1447,* 8 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=104424> [accessed 29/05/2013].

366 J. S. Roskell, L. Clark, C. Rawcliffe (eds.) *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386-1421* (Stroud, Eng.: Alan Sutton for the History of Parliament Trust, 1992) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/stourton-john-i-1438> [accessed 04/05/2013].

367 H. C. Maxwell Lyte, 'Dunster and its lords', *The Archaeological Journal*, 37 (1880): 174 <http://www.archive.org/stream/archaeologicaljo37brituoft/archaeologicaljo37brituoft_djvu.txt> [accessed 29/05/2013].

368 Rev. Thomas Hugo, 'Hestercombe', *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings 1872*, 18 (1874): 158.

369 Maxwell-Lyte, 'Dunster', 174.

370 'Then follow directions as to the service, prayers, etc., to be used; and, that in the beginning of the mass...the chaplain shall say in the vulgar tongue in the hearing of those present...for the happy expedition and prosperous state of William Paulet, the founder of the chapel...as well as for the souls of... John Hille, Cecily his wife, John Stourton, father of the said Cecily, Hugh Cary, and William Dodesham when they depart this life.' Thomas Scott Holmes (ed.), 'The register of John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells,

the Stourton family. John Stourton's brother, William Stourton, alienated land and property to Witham charterhouse and was buried there when he died in 1410.[371] Interestingly, Thomas Colyngborne, a scribe, who in 1448 made an incomplete copy of Docking's *Commentary on Galatians*, a book subsequently owned by John Dygon, recluse of Sheen,[372] appears round about the same time as Robert Colyngborn – Thomas' name appearing in a 1424 debt case involving William Chichele, Chancellor of Salisbury (the church of Sarum St. Martin, Salisbury) and nephew of Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury. The two may be related.[373] It is also plausible, given Stephen Dodesham's past association with Robert Colyngborn, that Dodesham knew Thomas Colyngborne and recommended him for the work. It is also plausible, therefore, that Stephen Dodesham of All Cannings, Wiltshire, is connected to the Dodeshams of Cannington, Somerset, through their connections (Stephen through Robert Colyngborn, and William jnr., through his known associate, Philip Pym, and either directly or through his father) to Sir John Stourton.

John Raunston, 'gentleman' of Kingsclere, Hampshire, appears to have been a different sort of man. He appears regularly in the records of the Court of Common Pleas, acting as attorney for various parties. He seemed to specialise in debt cases, or his name at least is mainly found in cases of that type, acting either as surety or as attorney, like John Gilys. Raunston appears in cases connected to Hampshire[374] but is clearly a London lawyer, as names and places from all over England feature in cases linked to him. Not much else is known about him, save a brief reference to 'John Raunston, the younger' who was granted a commission to levy and collect taxes in Hampshire in 1445, though this could equally refer to a son or a relative.[375]

More is known about John Gilys, gentleman of All Cannings, Wiltshire. Like Robert Colyngborn, Gilys appears on the *Lateran Regesta*, as a layman of the diocese of Salisbury, granted an indult in January 1430 to have a portable altar – this permission also extended to Alice, his wife.[376] In 1424, John and Alice

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1425-1443. From the original in the registry at Wells', *Somerset Record Society*, 31 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1915): 51.

[371] Roskell, Clark and Rawcliffe (eds.) *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386-1421* <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/stourton-william-1413> [accessed 03/05/2013].

[372] Parkes, *Their hands before our eyes: a closer look at scribes,* 49.

[373] Mackman and Stevens (eds.), 'CP40/652: Hilary term 1424', *Court of common pleas: The National Archives, CP40: 1399-1500* (2010) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=118078> [accessed 29/05/2013].

[374] TNA, CP 40/666 rot. 111d, and CP 40/669 rot 123d.

[375] Public Record Office, *Calendar of Fine Rolls: Henry VI, 1437–1445,* 17 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937): 329.

[376] J. A. Tremlow (ed.), 'Lateran Regesta 297: 1429-1430' <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=104424> [accessed 29/05/2013].

Gilys were also granted a dispensation that the confessor of their choice would be able to give them plenary remission once only in the hour of their death – that is a full remission from the purification both would need to endure after death in purgatory.[377] John Gilys was also a lawyer, and like John Raunston, was active in the Court of Common Pleas in the 1420s-30s, mainly in cases involving debt, although Gilys acted as attorney for Sir William Esturmy, knight of the shire in Devon and Speaker of the House of Commons, in a case dated 1423 dealing with house-breaking and theft.[378] During the 1430s, Gilys disappears from the Court of Common Pleas records, perhaps having moved on to bigger and better things, for on 15th May, 1462, we find him serving the Crown, having been granted for life 'the office of packer of woollen cloths, Westminster, vessels of pewter, rabbit skins, wool-fells, 'thromes', and other merchandise within the port of Pole and in 'crikes' and places pertaining to it in the counties of Dorset and Wilts… with all due profits.'[379] In 1471, John Gilys is referred to as the 'king's clerk' and by then must have worked hard enough to earn his pension, as enquiries were being made of the Abbess of Wilton in 11th August of that year to afford Gilys an annual pension until she could provide him with a suitable benefice.[380] By 1477, his son, Robert, had taken over his affairs; the son referring to his father as 'late of Combe Bisset [now Combe Basset], co. Wiltshire'.[381]

If this Stephen Dodesham of All Cannings, Wiltshire, who stood surety for three debts in 1428 is the same Stephen Dodesham who eventually became a Carthusian and copied many beautiful books, then we may speculate the following: that Stephen Dodesham was from, or was based in, All Cannings, Wiltshire, and may have possessed connections with the Dodeshams of Cannington, Somerset; that he was in or around London in 1428; that he was old enough to appear in court and stand surety for a debt; that he was of 'gentleman' status; that he was wealthy enough to have been prepared to pay a sizeable £28 5s share of a debt if the need arose; and that he had contacts in London, Wiltshire and Hampshire. There is a possibility that the Stephen Dodesham mentioned in the court case is the elder Stephen Dodesham, father of William Dodesham snr., but the dates during which Gilys, Raunston and Colyngborne flourished

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[377] op. cit. Interestingly, John Dygon, perpetual vicar in the church of Salisbury, is also granted the same dispensations in the same years as John and Alice Gilys.
[378] Mackman and Stevens, 'CP 40/651: Michaelmas term 1423', *Court of Common Pleas: The National Archives, CP 40: 1399-1500* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=118077> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[379] H. C. Maxwell-Lyte (ed.), *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward IV: 1461-1467,* 14 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1897): 185. <http://www.archive.org/stream/calendarpatentr14offigoog/calendarpatentr14offigoog_djvu.txt>
[380] W. H. B. Bird, 'Close Rolls, Edward IV: July 1471', *Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward IV, 1468-1476*, 2 (1953): 191-196 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=110943> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[381] K. H. Ledward, 'Close Rolls, Edward IV: 1477-1479', *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III: 1476-1485* (1954): 133-144 ,<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=111048> [accessed 29/05/2013].

strongly suggest this was a circle of younger men who were only just beginning to make their way in the capital.

What these connections might say about Stephen Dodesham himself is uncertain. What we do have here, however, are links to provincial gentry and middle class, professional families with strong ties to London, Wiltshire and the surrounding counties. The 'gentleman' status is a little more difficult to interpret clearly, as it held different meanings and could represent several different types of middle-class men in the fifteenth century. The title 'gentleman' could denote an individual with an independent income and means to support himself; it could denote those men like John Gilys and John Raunston – lawyers, professionals, respectable middle-class gentlemen. It was also used by civil servants to indicate lay status.[382] Perhaps Dodesham was the sort of gentleman who luckily possessed an independent income and therefore did not need to work: a plausible scenario given the sizeable sum of money he was willing to pay as surety. Dodesham might also have been a gentleman civil servant. Doyle speculated that Stephen Dodesham had his training in an official, governmental capacity, in Chancery, for Doyle observed his hand's closest congeners in documents of the royal Chancery during the reign of Henry VI (1422-71).[383] Could Stephen Dodesham have been a civil servant or royal bureaucrat, thus earning his gentleman status? If the Stephen Dodesham involved in the debt case is the same man who would later make his profession at Sheen, perhaps Doyle was correct in his hypothesis, and Dodesham's well-drilled, consistently formed hand was the product of official government training. This would explain the company he might have kept, having operated in the same circles as the men with whom he was associated in the debt case: lawyers, royal clerks, clerks of good, middle-class, professional standing employed by provincial gentry. Perhaps, like Thomas Hoccleve before him, Dodesham, in 1428, was biding his time in royal service, waiting for a benefice to arrive. Were this the case, he proved luckier than Hoccleve, acquiring a very prestigious and stable vocation in the wealthiest of the English charterhouses: the royal foundation at Sheen.

Dodesham's Language

If Dom Stephen Dodesham may be equated with Stephen Dodesham of All Cannings, Wiltshire, and if he had borne any relation to the Dodeshams of Somerset, however closely or distantly, then it may be considered somewhat surprising that his language does not seem to reflect upon these connections. *LALME* includes three full linguistic profiles drawn from texts copied by Dodesham, although at the time

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[382] R. L. Storey, 'Gentlemen bureaucrats,' in C. H. Clough (ed.), *Profession, Vocation and Culture in the Later Medieval England: Essays dedicated to the memory of A. R. Myers* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1982): 97-99.
[383] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 113.

of compilation, Professor Samuels was aware of only Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 77 (T. 3. 15) as having been written in his hand. These profiles have not been subject to revision by Benskin and Laing in *eLALME*, though a newer profile, LP 6445, has been created to represent the newly identified copy of Macer's *Herbal*. The following profiles, therefore, may in future be subject to change. Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 77 (T. 3. 15) was originally localised to Nottinghamshire (LP 530).[384] London, British Library, Additional 11305, localised to Middlesex (LP 6440)[385] and Dublin, Trinity College, F. 5. 8, were localised to southern Buckinghamshire (LP 6730)[386] and have since been conflated into a composite *eLALME* profile (LP 6440). Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 423, ff. 178-92, which is mentioned in the index of sources, was assigned possible localisation in south east Cambridgeshire.[387] The above analyses (with the exception of the Nottingham localisation) placed Dodesham's dialect in the broad metropolitan area, a result more in line with an individual born in or near the home counties as opposed to the more dialectally distinct counties of south-western England. More recent analysis of Dodesham's linguistic *oeuvre* confirm this: Ayto and Barratt stating that the scribal dialect of Bodley 423 (Dodesham's copy of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum*) 'can be located in the Buckinghamshire-west Hertfordshire- Bedfordshire area',[388] and the new profile (*eLALME* LP 6445) drawn from Dodesham's copy of the Middle English translation of Macer's *Herbal*, 'approximates to the language of south Middlesex or northern Surrey'.[389] Difficulty in pin-pointing Dodesham's dialect could be due to the comparative lateness of his career, having begun in the late 1420s or early 1430s, which would stretch the boundaries of the 1450 *LALME* cut-off point. Another consideration is the possible adoption by Dodesham of colourless language: a mixture of the most widely recognised and socially accepted linguistic forms used at a time when social stigmas were becoming associated with certain dialectal forms, which would have been a very practical strategy for a scribe working in the capital or elsewhere seeking to maximise his employability. His colleague, William Mede, has already been shown to have employed colourless language and occasionally, it is argued, to have altered his language to suit different readerships.[390] To what extent, then, does Dodesham use colourless language? Does his work reveal anything of a Somerset past?

Brendan Biggs, in his search to recover the authorial, prototypical language of the first English translation of the *Imitatio Christi*, conducted a thorough dialectal survey, analysing thirteen of the surviving

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384 LALME, vol. 3, LP 530, pp. 408-9.
385 ibid., LP 6440, p. 302.
386 ibid., LP 6730, p. 20.
387 LALME, vol. 1, p. 146. eLALME, LP 6730 and the related profile 6440.
388 In correspondence with Angus McIntosh. Ayto and Barratt, *De Institutione Inclusarum*, lv.
389 eLALME, LP 6445.
390 See chapter three above, 97-100.

witnesses of Dodesham's work.[391] The result is a linguistic profile that, due to the specialised focus on Dodesham and the benefit of more recent research, is by these virtues more accurate than the localisation of the older *LALME* profiles. Biggs's research places Dodesham 'further east in southern Middlesex or northern Surrey', and though Biggs employs his findings in order to argue that Dodesham's *Imitatio Christi* was written at Sheen charterhouse, Surrey, it is more likely that Biggs' findings support Doyle's hypothesis that Dodesham had his training in or around the metropolitan area,[392] as he is linguistically consistent: his earlier works displaying much the same forms as his later works (with a few particular exceptions to be discussed below). His orthography may therefore have been formed during the time he spent in London. I have reproduced Biggs' data in Table 2.

In 2009, Simon Horobin identified the hand of Stephen Dodesham in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Bodley 619.[393] Prior to the submission of this thesis, in 2013, the team responsible for the electronic edition of *LALME* published an updated linguistic profile for Stephen Dodesham, representing the language of the newly-identified manuscript of the Middle English translation of Macer's *De viribus herbarum*, brought to the attention of the *eLALME* editors by Mr John Benson of the Cheshire Record Office.[394] In light of these discoveries, the data from the new *eLALME* linguistic profile 6445 and the data assembled from the questionnaire I applied to Bodley 619 (no questionnaires have yet been applied to this manuscript) are represented in Table 3.

Comparing the accumulated data from the collected tables reveals some forms which appear to have been part of Dodesham's active, scribal repertoire: *These/þese, she, hir, it, þei/thei, þey/they, hem, her, suche/such, whiche, the/þe whiche, many, man, eny, muche, moche, ben, is/ys, art, was, shal (sg.) shul (pl.), shuld/shulde, wol (sg.), wol (pl.), wolde (sg.), than/þan (then), than/þan (than), though, yf/if, ayenst/(a-yenst), ayen (again), or (ere), yit, whiles, while, strengthe/strengþe/strength, wh-, not, ne (nor), nor (nor), worlde, thenke/þenke, werke/werk/werk- (sb.), worke/work/work- (sb.), worche/worch- (vb.), there/þere/þer-, where/wher-, thorugh/þorugh, whan, aske/ask-, before, bothe/boþe, besye/besy/besy-, daies, days, doth/doþ/doþe (3sg.), dide (pt-sg), outher+, either/eiþer+, eyther+, euel, first, the/þe first, youen (give ppl.), lasse (less), lye/ly-/li- (lie), ovne, owne, seien (see ppl.), seyen, seyn, seen, whider, wite/wyte.*

[391] B. Biggs, 'The Language of the Scribes of the First English Translation of the *Imitatio Christi*', *Leeds Studies in English*, 79-111.
[392] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 112 and n. 61.
[393] Simon Horobin, 'The Scribe of Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 619', 109-124.
[394] *eLALME*, LP 6445.

From the above forms which appear to represent Dodesham's active repertoire, the following forms possess a wide currency throughout England and are present in all parts of the country from north to south: *these, they, hir, she, whiche, many, man, ben, or (ere), ask-, besy, was, shal (sg.), shuld, yit, wh-, not, world, first*.[395] Other forms are colourless but appear to have been stronger in particular locales: *shul (sg.), wolde (sg.), ayenst, ayen, art* (which is a southern form, though Dodesham chooses the most widely-dispersed variety) *thenk, worke (sb.), than (then), whan, lasse*, and *owne*, are all much stronger in the southern half of the country and are rare or absent in the north or northeast.[396] The following forms, while colourless, appear to have been strongest in the western half of the country: *suche, eny, owne*.[397] The forms Dodesham habitually chooses in preference to other competing forms, therefore, are either highly colourless or have a strong currency in the southern half of the country, including the Midlands, to the exclusion of the north. It also appears to be the case that, given the choice between competing colourless forms, that Dodesham will usually choose the form favouring the western half of the country to the prejudice of the east. Other forms used by Dodesham corroborate with this pattern. Certain forms – notably in his earlier work, though not always – retain forms that are more concentrated in the south-west/west-midlands, such as *eny, seyen/seien, worche/worch-, ovne* (own).[398] There are, however, certain

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[395] *eLALME* dot maps are generated via the following string: <http://archive.ling.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme_scripts/lib/create_feature_map.php?mapid=0020003>. Only '0000000'is altered, the final number corresponding to a particular item in the database. Only the item number will be referenced in square brackets.
These [0020003][0020010]; *they* [0070008]; *hir* [0040007]; *she* [0040007]; *whiche* [0110007]; *many* [0130001]; *man* [0140002]; *ben* [0170010]; *or* [0380003]; *ask-* [0800001]; *besy* [0990001]; *shal (sg.)* [0220010]; *shuld* [0230006]; *yit* [0400002]; *wh-* [0440006]; *not* [0460017]; *world* [0490006]; *first* [1830002].

[396] *Shul (sg.)* [0223005]; *wolde* [025003]; *ayenst* [0360012][0360003]; *ayen* [0370011]; *art* [0200001], compare with *ert* [0200002]; *thenk* [0500002] compare with *think* [0500001]; *worke (sb.)* [0510008]; *than (then)* [0300001] compare *then* (then) [0300002]; *whan* [0560001] strongest in southern half of the country up into the Midlands despite conflation with *quan*, compare with *when* [0560002]; *lasse* [1370001].

[397] *Suche* [0100006]; *eny* [0150003]; *owne* (item 226 in eLALME's county dictionary).

[398] *Eny*: a definite southern form, with a marked cluster in the south west midlands and spreading south west. *Eny* is also present in spaced but regular intervals across the south and into the south east, though is less common in east Anglia. *Eny* is Dodesham's preferred form, though he will occasionally tolerate *any* and *ony* (an East-Midlands form; see *LALME* dot map 99. *Eny* appears in all of Dodesham's English manuscripts, except Downside 26542 (*Pricking of Love)* and Cambridge Add. 3137 *Siege of Thebes*. *Ony* appears only in Downside 26542 and Boston f.med.94 (*Siege of Thebes). Any* appears only in Downside 26542 and the Cambridge Add. 3137 and Boston f.med.94 *Siege of Thebes* manuscripts. The Lydgate copies, c. 1430 (see above), are earlier in Dodesham's career and may have been copied on a commercial basis while living in London before he entered the Carthusian Order.

Seyen/seien and *seyn*: do not appear in the north at all and seem more western than eastern. Interestingly, these forms only appear in a cluster of similar manuscripts and early works of Dodesham: all copies of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes. Seyen* features in CUL 3137 and Beinecke. *Seyn* features in CUL 3137 and Boston.

Worche/worch-: seem to be preferred by Dodesham, appearing in ten out of the fourteen surviving English manuscripts. *Worche* has marked clusters in the western half of the country and seems to be more strongly present in the southern half of the country, appearing comparatively rarely in the north and

forms which prove exceptions. These are the south-eastern or East Anglian forms such as: *eyther+, youen* and *thorugh/þorugh*.[399] In contrast with William Mede, Dodesham's usage is therefore overwhelmingly southern, this indicated most strongly by his late use of *they/hem/her* from his early work of the 1430s right through to his later work of the 1470s.

If Dodesham was indeed from a Wiltshire or Somersetshire family, his language appears to have lost its local colour, something which may have occurred during his training, or as a result of migration to London, or both. Doyle hypothesizes that Dodesham may have had his training in a royal, clerical capacity, noting that his Anglicana Formata 'resembles most closely that used in documents of the royal Chancery during the reign of Henry VI (1422-71)'. This institution also played a part in the gradual process of the standardisation of the English language, the language of the government documents that had begun to be written in English in the years following 1430. The language of these documents was analysed by M. L. Samuels in 1963, and his analysis revealed the forms used in these document governments amounted to an incipient standard language that developed within the administrative sector of London and competed with other incipient standards that had developed and had been used within the London area. Samuels referred to this developing, incipient standard as Type IV 'Chancery Standard'.[400] If Dodesham were trained in a governmental capacity c. 1428-c.1437, it would be expected that aspects of Dodesham's language would align with the forms associated with Samuels' Type IV.

The following forms represent the features of Type IV 'Chancery Standard' as outlined by Samuels. For comparison, the features of Type III, the literary language of London, will also be reproduced and discussed here.[401]

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east-midlands. Features in: Bodley 619 (*Astrolabe*), TCD 678 (*Imitatio*), TCC B.14.54 (*Creed*), Downside 26542 (*Pricking of Love*), Beinecke f.med.94 (*Siege of Thebes*), Rawlinson, Trinity Cambridge, Hunter *Mirrors*.

399 *Eyther (+or)* is a clear, strong East-Anglian form, which does not appear outside the eastern half of the country. This form features in: Bodley 423 (*Rule and Form of Living*), Downside 26542 (*Pricking of Love*), Boston f.med.94 (*Siege of Thebes*) Rawlinson Mirror.

Youen (given ppl.) does not appear at all in the north and is very rare in the west, with only one attested occurrence in the West-Midlands. Its presence is stronger in the south-east and East-Anglia. Features in: Bodley 619 (*Astrolabe*), BL Add. 11305 (*Prick of Conscience*), Bodley 423 (*Rule and Form of Living*), Hunter U.14.16 (*Benjamin Minor*), Downside 26542 (*Pricking of Love*), Rawlinson, Trinity Cambridge and Hunter *Mirrors*.

Thorugh/þorugh: both forms are markedly stronger in the east, especially in East Anglia. *Thorugh* features across Dodesham's surviving output with the notable exception of TCD 678 (*Imitatio.*) *Þorugh* features in: Trinity B.14.54 (*Creed*) and Downside 26542 (*Pricking of Love*.) The Type IV incipient 'Chancery Standard' form *þourough* appears only once, in TCD 678 (*Imitatio*).

400 M. L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', 88-90.

401 ibid., 89 n. 10.

Type III:	Type IV:
YAF	GAF
NAT	NOT
BOT	BUT
SWICH(E)	SUCH(E)
THISE	THESE
SHOLD(E)	SHULD(E)
THURGH	THOROUGH/ÞOROWE
HIRE	TH- forms e.g. THEYRE, ÞAIR(E), ÞAIR(E)

Drawing from the forms which appear to constitute Dodesham's active repertoire, from Type IV, Dodesham uses: *not, such(e), thes(e), shuld(e)*. From Type III, Dodesham uses: *world, though, they/hem/her*. The form *thorugh*, by far Dodesham's preferred spelling of 'through' is very close to Type IV *thorough*, though not identical. From Type III the *thurgh* form appears, rarely, but across five different witnesses and therefore might be counted in Dodesham's passive repertoire. The presence of both Type III and Type IV forms within Dodesham's preferred variants and passive repertoire may represent one of the earliest points of the development of Type IV when both III and IV forms competed and co-existed as incipient standards to which a given user could aspire. The documents containing examples of Type IV examined by Samuels were from the 1430s onwards, and Dodesham, before becoming a Carthusian, seems to have been active in and around London from c. 1428-c.1437. The presence of such an early example of Type IV forms appearing outside Chancery documents and included in Dodesham's active repertoire could, therefore, support Doyle's argument of Dodesham having trained in a governmental capacity, which, in turn, bolsters the argument of this study that Dodesham's 'gentleman' status might represent a gentleman civil servant. This potential government training may perhaps prove a contributing factor in explaining Dodesham's comparatively uniform language and calligraphic consistency. Dodesham, in the majority of cases, seems to be secure in the forms he prefers to use, and will translate into his scribal idiolect.[402] There are a few marked occasions, though, when Dodesham appears to retain more alien forms. Several of those forms are employed only in his three copies of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*.

Cambridge, University Library, Additional 3137; Boston (MA), Public Library, f.med.94; New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 661

[402] See chapter three on scribal behaviour in *LALME*, vol. 1, 12-23, or *eLALME* <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/intros/atlas_gen_intro.html> [accessed 29/05/13].

A record I discovered in the Register of Robert Gilbert, bishop of London, notes that on 28th February, 1437, Stephen Dodesham was ordained a Carthusian of Sheen charterhouse, Surrey, receiving the rank of deacon. The ordination ceremony took place at St Bride's Parish church, Fleet Street.[403] Just over a month later, again at Sheen, Dodesham earned the rank of priest, on 30th March, 1437, by appointment of Richard Clark, visiting bishop of Ross, who conducted the ceremony in the Lower Episcopal Palace Chapel, London.[404] Factoring in at least a year to account for Dodesham's time spent as a postulant and novice (for the late medieval Carthusian novitiate was considerably shorter than today's)[405] this would have seen him enter Sheen c. 1436 or possibly earlier if his novitiate was extended.

By early 1437, therefore, Stephen Dodesham had left the title of 'gentleman' and the secular concerns of London behind him and had taken up his cell at Sheen. Exactly how he managed to win that cell is unknown. Evidence from the Clifford letters clearly demonstrates the stiff competition faced by aspiring Mountgrace candidates, and we may assume that the level of competition faced by budding recruits of the royal foundation at Sheen was equally fierce.[406] It is likely that Dodesham had a patron, someone influential he worked for or with whom he formed a connection who could have used their influence as leverage with John Bokyngham, then prior of Sheen (although the final decision, of course, rested with the community).[407] We have already seen that Dodesham may have operated in London circles that would have facilitated the formation of such advantageous connections: aristocrats and professional, middle-class, London citizens on the rise, such as lawyers, clerks and civil servants. Though who exactly facilitated Dodesham's entry into Sheen is unknown, his early manuscript work may also hint at what sort of person it might have been.

The records detailing Dodesham's entry into the Carthusian Order provide us with a potential *terminus ante quem* for his copies of John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, the three manuscripts most commonly identified with the pre-Carthusian phase of Dodesham's life and career. These manuscripts were first identified by A. S. G. Edwards as having been written by the hand of Stephen Dodesham and his discovery was later confirmed by Doyle.[408] These copies of the *Siege of Thebes* are:

i) Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 3137 (Cambridge 3137)

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[403] Davis, *London Clergy*, Register of Robert Gilbert, bishop of London, f.153r.
[404] ibid., f. 154r.
[405] See chapter two above for the admission and training of novices, 22-23.
[406] A. G. Dickens (ed.) *Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century*, 68-69.
[407] For John Bokyngham, see David M. Smith, *Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales*, 1377-1540, 3: 363.
[408] A. S. G. Edwards, 'Beinecke MS 661' (1991).

ii) Boston (MA), Public Library, MS f.med.94 (Boston); and

iii) New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 661 (Beinecke).

Each manuscript is illuminated and contains only the *Siege of Thebes*. Descriptions have appeared in Erdman and Ekwall, Edwards, and Doyle.[409] I have based the following summaries of Cambridge 3137, Boston and Beinecke upon the descriptions of those scholars, which are included for completeness' sake, to situate the manuscripts within the Dodesham timeline and to place their content within the contexts of their making and circumstances of making.

Cambridge, University Library, Additional 3137

Cambridge 3137 contains only a copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*. Edwards was unable to date the manuscript on the basis of its decoration, as not enough of it has survived to yield reliable evidence. The main body of the text was written by a single scribe, Stephen Dodesham, on parchment numbering sixty-one leaves, in single columns ruled to accommodate thirty-eight to thirty-nine lines each. Decoration follows Edwards: demi-vinet border on f. 40^{v} with four-line gilded and painted initial, rubrics in red, paraphs alternating between blue with red penwork and gilt with blue penwork.[410] In Cambridge 3137, Edwards notes the following inscription on f. 74^{v}: 'Here endyth the prologe & myrror of lyffe compilyd/ by me thomas Ionys of london prenter made the/ thurde daye of nouembre in the xxviii yere of the/ reign of kynge henry the viii^{o} [1536/7]',[411] providing evidence that it was unlikely this manuscript was owned by Sheen, as it was in the hands of a London printer before the Dissolution of Sheen charterhouse, which occurred in 1539.

New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 661

Beinecke 661 contains a copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* only. On the basis of decoration, Edwards dates Beinecke 661 to c. 1430, and the main body of the text was written by a single scribe, Stephen Dodesham, on parchment numbering sixty-one leaves, in single columns ruled to accommodate thirty-eight lines each. Decoration as described by Edwards: 'one full-page border and demi-vinets with six-line illuminated initials, smaller gilt initials with blue and purple decoration and foliate gilt tracing, rubrics in red, running titles in red, paraphs alternating between blue with red penwork and gilt with blue

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[409] Edwards, 'Beinecke MS 661', 191-193; Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', p. 101; A. Erdmann and E. Ekwall (eds.) *Lydgate's Siege of Thebes*, EETS extra series, 125 (1930): 43-44, Cambridge 3137 only.
[410] Edwards, 'Beinecke MS 661', 192-93.
[411] op. cit.

penwork'.[412] Edwards states that Beinecke 661 was probably owned by the Mostyn family, collectors of Lydgate texts, in the seventeenth- century, which is of course long after the Dissolution of Sheen in 1539 and therefore offers no evidence as to whether the manuscript was copied by Dodesham as a young 'gentleman' in London or as a Carthusian of Sheen. It is, however, related closely to the Boston manuscript in date and decoration, which possesses much stronger connections to fifteenth-century lay families, as discussed by Priscilla Bawcutt in her 2001 study of the Boston manuscript's owners and inscriptions.

Boston, Public Library, f.med.94

Boston contains a copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (ff. 1-74) and short verses written in various languages (French, Latin) in various hands on the leaves preceding and succeeding the main text. On the basis of decoration, Edwards dates Boston to c. 1430. The main body of the text was written by a single scribe, Stephen Dodesham, on parchment numbering two flyleaves and seventy-six leaves ruled to accommodate thirty-three lines each. Decoration follows Edwards: one full-page border and demi-vinets with six-line, illuminated initials, rubrics in red, paraphs alternating between blue with red penwork and gilt with blue penwork.[413] Boston's earliest inscriptions appear on f. 76^{r} in Latin 'Te deum laudamus te dominum confitemur' and in French 'Pour diem Remembres Vous de moy/ Remembres Vous de moy pour dieu'. Both are in the same 'neat, fifteenth century secretary hand' described by Doyle, who, in private communication with Bawcutt, considered the hand English rather than Scottish.[414] By the late fifteenth century, Boston was in Scotland, for the names 'Robertus lyle', 'Mareota lyle' and the following inscription 'Memorandum that Robert lylle borruyt a buk/fra maryown lylle lade of huston/[...] Robert lylles hed & xxxv' on f. 75^{v} indicate it was in the possession of the Lyle family.[415] Bawcutt rules out the first Sir Robert Lyle, who was active in England between 1425 to 1427 on the basis of Edwards' dating of Boston to the 1430s.[416] Bawcutt argues the second Robert Lyle is a more likely candidate for having acquired the Boston manuscript, after its previous English owner for whatever reason relinquished it. The second Robert Lyle was appointed by March 1472 as an ambassador to England, and in 1484, after he had been acquitted of treason, was sent to conclude a treaty through which a marriage was arranged between Prince James (heir of James III of Scotland) and Anne de la Pole (niece of Richard III).[417] The marriage

412 ibid., 191.
413 ibid., 192.
414 Priscilla J. Bawcutt, 'The Boston Public Library Manuscript of John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*: its Scottish Owners and Inscriptions', *Medium Ævum*, 70:1 (Spring, 2001): 80-94.
415 op. cit.
416 op. cit.
417 C. A. McGladdery, 'Lyle, Robert, first Lord Lyle (d. c. 1470)', *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66112> [accessed 29/05/2013].

did not take place due to Richard's death, but McGladdery views Lyle's having been assigned to this mission as indicative of the position of influence Lyle had built up with the English king.[418] The second Robert Lyle also was known to have owned English books.[419] Boston appears to have been owned, at one time, by 'Maryown', Marion or Mariota Lyle, the youngest of the second Robert Lyle's daughters and brother of Robert Lyle, third Lord Lyle, to whom Bawcutt believes her memorandum is likely addressed. She was living in 24th December 1471, and by 6th May, 1495, she was married and had become the lady of Houston.[420] It appears to me that the Boston manuscript, therefore, was in the hands of laymen and women during the fifteenth century, and if the second Lord Lyle originally brought the manuscript to Scotland during his appointment as ambassador to England, it may have been acquired from its earlier English owner, who commissioned it originally from a young, London scribe who eventually became a Carthusian and went on to copy further manuscripts for Sheen charterhouse.

Two of the three witnesses containing Dodesham's copies of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (Boston and Beinecke) appear to have been early copies of the text, dating from c. 1430, and two out of the three (Cambridge 3137 and Boston) provide evidence for their having been in lay hands before the dissolution of Sheen in 1539. Therefore, it seems to me most likely that Dodesham's copies of Lydgate's continuation of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* were made during Dodesham's time as a 'gentleman' in London. As the record of Dodesham's ordination at Sheen in February, 1437, provides a potential *terminus ante quem*, the date of completion of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* dates c. 1421 and provides a neater *terminus post quem* for the creation of Cambridge 3137, Boston and Beinecke. The following evidence points to c. 1421 as a close estimate for Lydgate having completed his text: references to the Treaty of Troyes, which was ratified on the 21st May, 1420,[421] and Lydgate's concern to portray himself as a strenuous adherent to the Rule of St. Benedict, which may have echoed the convocation of Benedictine monks called on May 1421 by Henry V, who accused their order of laxity and presented them with a list of abuses for which the only solution was reform.[422] Astronomical references in the Prologue suggest a date of April 1421 for the pilgrims' return journey from Canterbury,[423] and Lydgate's address to Henry V imply that the finished work was completed before the king's death on 31st August

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[418] ibid.
[419] Bawcutt, 'Boston', 80-94.
[420] op. cit.
[421] John M. Bowers (ed.), 'John Lydgate's Prologue to the *Siege of Thebes*: Introduction', originally published in *The Canterbury Tales: Fifteenth-Century Continuation and Additions* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992). <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/lydgtint.htm> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[422] W. A. Pantin (ed.) *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540,* 3 vols. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1933): 111-115, and E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961): 196-97.
[423] Johnstone Parr, 'Astronomical Dating for Some of Lydgate's Poems', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 67 (March, 1952): 253-56.

1422 (though some scholars are hesitant to apply Henry's death as firm evidence of the poem having been completed before then).[424] Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, therefore, may be assigned a completion date of mid-1421 to the end of August, 1422 (if not later). This is more than enough time for Lydgate's text to have embedded itself in the literary culture of London for it to have been copied by a young Stephen Dodesham c. 1428. On the basis of the above evidence, it seems to me most likely that Cambridge 3137, Boston and Beinecke, if they were made outside the Carthusian Order, were completed in the eight years between c. 1428-c.1436/7.

Like Boston and Beinecke, the earliest witnesses to the *Siege of Thebes* date to the 1430s-1440s and are strongly connected with their aristocratic audiences, or at least bear the hallmarks of having been commissioned by a patron of some wealth. British Library, Arundel 119 contains the arms of William de la Pole, who was married to Alice Chaucer in the early 1430s.[425] British Library, Royal 18, D.ii was made for Sir William Herbert and his second wife Anne Devereux as a gift for either Henry VI or Edward IV.[426] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 776 was dated by Erdmann and Ekwall to 1430-1440 and, Robert Edwards states, once contained lavish illumination on its opening folio similar to that found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 230.[427] Early, illuminated witnesses containing only the *Siege of Thebes* are linked to early aristocratic audiences. Boston, Beinecke and the little that has survived in Cambridge 3137 also display similarly lavish illumination. In dating Beinecke, A. S. G. Edwards consulted Kathleen Scott, who tentatively linked the hand of a limner working on Beinecke to another manuscript completed before 1428.[428] Doyle extends the illumination based dating, allowing for a creation date of 1430-1460.[429] The quality of the decoration itself suggests a metropolitan environment.[430] These connections seem to suggest that Dodesham's copies of the *Siege of Thebes* fall approximately in the decade from 1430-1440, during which most of the early witnesses linked to aristocratic or wealthy patrons were commissioned. Like those other early witnesses, Dodesham's copies possess illumination of high quality which is likely to have been produced in or around London. A link, therefore, between those early copies and Dodesham's is not implausible, which suggests that Dodesham, while a young 'gentleman' in London might have been commissioned by a series of wealthy patrons to produce deluxe copies of

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[424] For a summary of the debate, see the note to l. 4703 of the Prologue in Robert R. Edwards (ed.) *John Lydgate, The Siege of Thebes* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001) <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/thebfrp.htm> [accessed 08/06/2013].
[425] R. Edwards (ed.), *John Lydgate, The Siege of Thebes* <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/thebint.htm> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[426] Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, vol. 6 (London: Harvey Miller, 1996) 2:284.
[427] Erdmann and Ekwall (eds.), *Lydgate Siege of Thebes*, 125 (1930): 43, and R. Edwards, *John Lydgate, The Siege of Thebes* <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/thebint.htm> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[428] A. S. G. Edwards, 'Beinecke MS 661', 195, n.37.
[429] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 101.
[430] A. S. G. Edwards, 'Beinecke MS 661', 189.

Lydgate's latest text, which was currently in vogue in wealthy, aristocratic circles in southern England and the capital. This also suggests that Dodesham perhaps possessed professional connections with members of London society of wealth and rank (not necessarily based in the capital), which surely would have been advantageous for a young man seeking such a prestigious vocation as that of a Carthusian.

The contents of the texts themselves also appear to cement the connection between Dodesham's copies of the *Siege of Thebes* and the London book trade. In his study of the manuscripts, Edwards undertook selective collations of Boston; then, placing that collation within the framework of Erdmann and Ekwall, concluded that Cambridge 3137, Boston and Beinecke were each copied from a different exemplar.[431] If they had been copied in a charterhouse, it would be most likely that Dodesham would have had access to one or two exemplars from similar manuscript families, not ones so far removed as Beinecke and Cambridge in textual tradition, nor ones which display 'such distinctive variant readings', 'a lack of distinctive, unique shared errors' and 'no connections in leaf and quire boundaries.'[432]

The language of Cambridge, Boston and Beinecke also seems to indicate that they may be the product of a younger scribe, one perhaps comparatively inexperienced as the linguistic forms he uses are less secure. For clusters of odd forms appear in Cambridge, Boston and Beinecke: forms he does not normally use and which appear either solely, or in only one other manuscript outside the Lydgate cluster. These forms are: *ony, any, arn, ar, ageyn, or-that, yet, work(e), thorgh, throgh, whan-that, beforn(e), aforn, toforn(e), seyen/seyn/seien*. Out of the three witnesses, Cambridge appears to possess the most unique variants, which may be used in other manuscripts by Dodesham, but not in the other Lydgates: *theyr, noþer, other+, thogh, toforn (pr.)* and *–liche (-ly)*, then followed by Beinecke, which has three: *mony, beforne (adv.)* and *to-forn (pr.)*. Boston does not use *throgh*, where Cambridge and Beinecke do, and uses *whither* where Cambridge uses Dodesham's preferred *whider* and Beinecke *wheder* (there is also *aforn (pr.)*, but this appears in Cambridge and Beinecke in adv. form, and is therefore not entirely alien). There are more cases when all three agree on passive/relic forms: *arn, ar, werke (vb.)*, *what-that (when), aforn (adv.), beforn (adv.), seien/seyen (see ppl.), ageyn* (and other medial –g– types), *or-that, yet, thorgh, ayen, and tofore (pr.)*. There are clusters where all three witnesses share common passive or relict forms, but some – particularly Cambridge – possess unique variants. Linguistically, Boston appears to unite the three in the majority of cases (with only two exceptions). Cambridge will agree with Boston, and Beinecke will agree with Boston, or all three will agree. It is rare that only Cambridge and Beinecke agree.

[431] ibid., 188.
[432] op. cit.

The forms appear to have been variants that perhaps Dodesham may not have regularly come across. Some appear to have been forms of northern origin which might not have long reached London, such as *any, ar-* and the medial –g– variants of *ageyn*, etc., and others such as *arn, thorgh, throgh,* and the *seyn/seyen/seien* and *aforn/beforn(e)/toforn(e)* variants, all of which display stronger ties to particular locations.[433]

Though outside the remit of this study, it would be interesting to compare the language of the other early witnesses to the *Siege of Thebes* in order to estimate how far Dodesham preserved possible relict forms in clusters of manuscripts. Later in his career as an established Carthusian of Sheen, Dodesham also made three copies of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Life of Jesus Christ* (discussed below), but the expected occurrences of clusters of certain forms used only within the environment of his copies of the *Mirror* does not happen. The data from Table 2 reveals a few potential relict forms, but none common across all. A possible explanation for Dodesham's retention of these clearly less-preferred forms, I tentatively propose, might be symptomatic of a language tradition, in the vein of the work of Smith on Gower and Horobin on Chaucer.[434] A detailed comparison of the language of the other early, surviving witnesses of the *Siege of*

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[433] *Ony* is (an East-Midlands form; see *LALME* dot map 99. *Ony* is also a form indicative of Samuels incipient Type I 'Central Midlands standard'.) *Ony* could be evidence of continued influence of East Anglian forms on London language, though the form does appear (with less regularity) in the south-eastern parts of the country, including Sussex, Lydgate's home county and that of Bury St. Edmunds, where he lived and wrote as a monk. *Ony* only appears in the Boston *Siege of Thebes* copy, and could therefore be a relic form Dodesham retained from an early exemplar.
Any is more widespread, though far more common in the north and less common in the south, especially the south-west. (dot map 97).
Ar is a northern and Midlands form that seems to have drifted gradually down to London [0170002].
Arn is quite a strongly East Anglian form with clusters in the south east and occurrences in outlying regions in the west and north-west Midlands. [0170004].
Ageyn and medial –g– types are strongly northern forms that have drifted down to the south. [0360001].
Or-that is not recorded in *LALME* or *eLALME*.
Yet is rare or absent in the north-east; its strongest clusters in the West Midlands and East Anglia [0400001]. *Yit* is the most colourless variety. [0400002].
Werk(e) (vb.) is a form with its strongest clusters in East Anglia, with a stronger presence in the eastern half of the country [0512004].
Thorgh is a form whose greatest concentration lies in the north and east, including the north-east, East Anglia and the East Midlands. [county dictionary, item 55].
Throgh is a form which is markedly stronger in the north and the northern half of the country. [county dictionary, item 55].
Whan-that type appears to be an Essex form that is also present in a few rare occurrences in western counties [county dictionary, item 56].
Beforn(e), aforn, toforn(e) –forn(e) types are strongly East Anglian with a few isolated dots penetrating more western counties [0850006].
Seyen/seyn/seien (ppl.) are very much southern forms, less widespread than other competing variants such as *seen* and *sene* [county dictionary, item 236-60].

[434] J. J. Smith, *Studies in the Language of Some Manuscripts of Gower's 'Confessio Amantis'*, (University of Glasgow: unpublished PhD dissertation, 1985); Samuels and Smith (eds.), 'Spelling and Tradition in

Thebes is outside the remit of this study, though deserves further investigation. Another possible explanation for the presence of these 'odd' forms lies in Dodesham's comparative youth. Could these forms represent a young scribe not yet comfortable with his usage and consequently preferring to retain unfamiliar forms alongside more widely understood, colourless terms rather than risk an inaccurate translation? If the latter is correct, this could also bolster the argument for the Cambridge, Boston and Beinecke manuscripts having been copied in the pre-Carthusian, 'gentleman' phase of Dodesham's life and career.

The evidence for Dodesham having made his three copies of the Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* before he took up his vocation as a Carthusian is strong. There is also evidence, however, for Dodesham's copying either or all three *Siege of Thebes* manuscripts within the environment of the charterhouse, which, I argue, should not be ignored. Dodesham copies Lydgate's *Dietary* in Hunterian U.4.17., a manuscript he most likely copied as a Carthusian.[435] Another Carthusian manuscript, originally part of a larger volume but now broken up into i) Cambridge, St John's College, MS N.17 ii) Cambridge, St John's College, MS N.16 iii) Huntington Library, MS HM 115, and iv) Harvard University, MS Richardson 44, preserves a copy of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (in no. 3).[436] The Carthusian hand copying this composite volume is also the one which interrupted Dodesham's hand mid-quire in Bodley 549, supplying English verses on the Pater Noster and the sacraments.[437] As will be discussed in further detail below, while a Carthusian at Sheen, Dodesham is also found copying items for St. Albans while Abbot John Whethamstede was still alive and after Whethamstede commissioned Lydgate to compose his life of *Saint Alban* in 1439. While at Sheen he also copied for Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, and Dame Eleanor Hull, both prominent laywomen who possessed strong associations with St. Albans. Lydgate's association with Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, goes further, as Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* was 'reputed to have been composed at the request of Henry V,' and is 'found in conjunction with the life of St Jerome, which was composed for the widow of Henry's brother,' suggesting that 'the possibility that the original volume was compiled for the use of a member of the Lancastrian court, that is, for one of the duchess of Clarence's own relatives or associates'.[438] Again at Sheen, Dodesham copied a supply leaf for British Library, Harley, MS 630, a manuscript possessing strong links with St. Albans and one which may even have been used by Lydgate

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Fifteenth-Century Copies of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*' (1988); S. Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition*, Chaucer Studies, 32 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003).

[435] See discussion of Hunterian U.4.17 below.

[436] George R. Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth-Century England: Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, Symon Wynter and Beinecke MS 317', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 60 (1985): 42.

[437] George R. Keiser, 'Ordinatio in the Manuscripts of John Lydgates's Lyf of Our Lady: Its Value for the Reader, Its Challenge for the Modern Editor', in *Medieval Literature: Texts and Interpretation*, (ed.) Tim William Machan, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 79 (New York: Binghamtown, 1991): 153.

[438] Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety' 42.

as a source for his *Life of Saint Alban*.[439] It is plausible, therefore, to argue that Dodesham's three copies of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* could have been copied during his time at Sheen. At a time when Lydgate's star was on the rise, Dom. Stephen Dodesham was copying for St. Albans and for laywomen associated with St. Albans. Dodesham was copying for a woman who was reputedly the impetus behind the commission of one of Lydgate's copies of *Life of Our Lady*. The man who reputedly commissioned Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* was Henry V, patron of Lydgate and founder of Sheen, the community in which Dodesham was first professed in 1437. Dodesham worked on and had access to a manuscript that Lydgate may have used as a source for another of his works, which was commissioned by Abbot John Whethamstede of St. Albans in 1439. As a Carthusian, Dodesham also made three copies of the *Mirror of the Life of Christ*. Two of these manuscripts, Hunter MS 77 and Rawlinson A.387 B belonging to the same branch, and Trinity College Cambridge, B.15.18, which Michael Sargent classed as belonging to an earlier tradition,[440] indicating that Dodesham might have had access to multiple exemplars within the environment of a charterhouse, as he would have needed in order to produce such diverse copies of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*. Doyle, however, doubts Dodesham made his three copies of the *Siege of Thebes* in that capacity as 'the austerity of Carthusian discipline would surely have drawn a line about content'.[441] Dodesham, however, did copy other Lydgate texts, and at least one other Carthusian colleague was also engaged in the practice. The monks at the royal foundation at Sheen could have felt obliged to copy material commissioned by their patron, who died in 1422, or close, favoured associates of their patron who outlived him. Considering the greater degree of contact the monks from more urban foundations like Sheen endured (as discussed above in chapter two), such a scenario is not unlikely.[442] If such a request came from one of those quarters, it would certainly have been difficult to refuse.

Sheen Charterhouse: c.1436/7 – c.1457

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Sankt Georgen 12

The earliest of example of Dodesham's work that may be attributed to Sheen charterhouse is the single surviving volume of the two-volume *Sanctilogium salvatoris*, a large-scale collection of saints' lives arranged to follow each day of the liturgical year. Sankt Georgen 12 has been described by Doyle, Braunbehrens and Rudolph.[443] This summary of Sankt Georgen is based on the accounts of those scholars

[439] See discussion of Harley 630 below.
[440] Sargent, *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, xxxv.
[441] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 101.
[442] See above, chapter two, 36-40.
[443] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 98-99. Adrian Braunbehrens (ed.) (et. al.) *Kalender im Wandel der Zeiten Ausstellungskatalog...im Jahr 1582* (Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek, 1982): 330. Hans Ulrich Rudolph, Volker Himmelein (et. al.) *Alte Klöster Neue Herren: die Säkularisation im deutschen Südwesten 1803, Ausstellungskatalog* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2003): 65-66. Gillespie and Doyle (eds.) *Syon Abbey with the Libraries of the*

and is included for completeness' sake, to situate the manuscript within the Dodesham timeline and to place its content within the contexts of its making and circumstances of making.

The origins of Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Sankt Georgen 12 lie, as stated in the Prologue, in the neighbouring Syon Abbey, which had been settled at Isleworth in the new buildings across the Thames from Sheen since 1430, and the two volumes appear in the Thomas Bateson's catalogue as M1-2.[444] The Prologue states that the *Sanctilogium salvatoris* was compiled by a brother of Syon Abbey, the most likely candidate being Symon Wynter, the spiritual counsellor of Margaret, Countess of Somerset and Duchess of Clarence, for whose expense Sankt Georgen 12 was copied.[445] This would have been a considerable expense, for the lavish decoration is in the style of the workshop of Herman Scheere, [446] the London-based German book-painter, who worked on manuscripts for the English royal family in the first half of the fifteenth century, to which the Duchess of Clarence belonged through her successive marriages to John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, and Thomas of Lancaster, 1st Duke of Clarence, son of Henry IV and uncle of Henry V, the founder of Syon and Sheen. She was also sister-in-law to Cardinal Henry Beaufort, the potential patron of William Mede, who may have acted as the Cardinal's confessor.[447]

The Duchess of Clarence died on 30th December, 1439. If Dodesham began work as a novice c. 1436/7 on the two volume *Sanctilogium salvatoris* at the request of Syon Abbey – who would doubtless have welcomed the services of the Carthusians across the water who were free to produce beautiful books on their behalf – he would have had three years to complete the set (closer to four, perhaps, as the Duchess died in December). Doyle suggested that the whole project, including the first volume and the whole of the second, if Dodesham did copy it, would have taken at least a few years to complete.[448] This window from c. 1436 to c. 1439, I argue, would have given Dodesham enough time to finish the text before the books were sent to Scheere for decoration.

Symon Wynter must have been one of Syon's earliest recruits, as he accompanied the first Confessor-General, Thomas Fishbourne (once steward to the abbot of St. Albans) to Rome in 1423, and Wynter was

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Carthusians, 212. M. Bateson, (ed.) *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth* (Cambridge: University Press, 1898): 96. See also Gillespie and Doyle (eds.) *Syon Abbey with the Libraries of the Carthusians*, 212.

[444] Bateson, (ed.) *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth*, 96. See also Gillespie and Doyle (eds.) *Syon Abbey with the Libraries of the Carthusians*, 212.

[445] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 98, and Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety' 32-46.

[446] Braunbehrens (ed.) (et. al.) *Kalender*, 330. Rudolph, Himmelein (et. al.) *Alte Klöster Neue Herren,* 65-66.

[447] See chapter three above, 36-38.

[448] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 99.

present at the election of the second Confessor-General, Robert Bell.[449] In 1429, the duchess of Clarence obtained permission in a papal letter addressed to the abbot of St. Albans for Wynter to transfer to a less strict order on grounds of ill-health.[450] It is unknown whether or not Wynter made the transfer to St. Albans, as the evidence is conflicting. Wynter appears in the Syon *martiloge*: 'Dominus Symon Wynter, sacerdos' on 3rd January 1448, alongside 'Margeria Wynter, soror', added later on 17th September, 1470,[451] which suggests that Wynter might not have left. Sankt Georgen remained at Syon for a hundred years before the dissolution of the Abbey in 1539, and the book likely followed the community as they left England to live in exile, first in the Low Countries, before a brief return to England during the Marian Restoration, after which they moved to a more permanent settlement in Lisbon in the sixteenth century.[452] That Sankt Georgen remained with the Syon community appears to me to hint that Wynter did not leave (though the volumes were donated by the Duchess of Clarence, therefore it was her choice to which establishment she would gift the books). On the other hand, Keiser notes that in 1429, a 'Margaret Wynter made her profession at Sopwell Priory, a nunnery subject to the abbot of St. Albans' – possibly the same 'Margeria Wynter' above – and that 'the duchess of Clarence was received into the lay fraternity of St. Albans.'[453] Might Wynter's relative and the duchess have followed him to St. Albans? Vincent Gillespie, in his work on the catalogue of Syon Abbey, also reveals that, unlike the other Syon brothers, Wynter's name, uniquely, was not erased in sermons attributed to him, which suggests that he might have left after all.[454] Would Dodesham having copied his *Sanctilogium salvatoris* at Sheen c.1436-1439 have had any impact on this potential migration from Syon to St. Albans? Doyle believes the hand that worked on the calendar and supplied additional, often marginal, material is the hand of Symon Wynter,[455] and the author is described in the prologue as a professed brother of Syon. If Wynter did not move, or delayed transfer, I posit that this would have made working on the volume and making additions to it a much easier process, since Sheen and Syon were by 1430 on opposite banks of the Thames. Wynter's hand potentially appearing in the book, however, does not preclude Wynter's having left for St Alban's. Syon and St. Albans possessed close connections of long-standing: the abbot of St. Albans served as part of a

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[449] Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety', 38.
[450] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 98 n. 18.
[451] Gillespie (ed.), *Syon Abbey with the Libraries of the Carthusians*, 593.
[452] It then came to Abbot George Gaisser II (1627-1655) of the community of Sankt Georgen in 1642, which was then in exile in Vittingen, Austria (1648-1806). In 1806, the Villingen community was dissolved and the medieval manuscripts of Sankt Georgen arrived in the Sankt Georgen Baden Court Library, the progenitor of the Karlsruhe Landesbibiothek. See Adrian Braunbehrens ed. (et. al.) *Kalender,* 330; and Rudolph, Himmelein (et. al.) *Alte Klöster Neue Herren*, 65-66.
[453] Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety', 38.
[454] V. Gillespie, 'The Book and the Brotherhood: Reflections on the Lost Library of Syon Abbey', in A. S. G. Edwards, V. Gillespie, and R. Hanna (eds), *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London: British Library, 2000): 202.
[455] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 98.

delegation drafted in to form Syon's Rule during its foundation,[456] and the Duchess of Clarence was a known benefactor of St. Albans as well as Syon.[457] St. Albans Abbey is not so far from Sheen. Dodesham could have completed the work *in situ* at Sheen (it would have been very unlikely that he would have been granted permission to leave his cell) and the volume then passed to Wynter at St. Albans or Syon for him to work on. I acknowledge, of course, the possibility that Sankt Georgen was the commission that led to Dodesham earning his cell at Sheen. However, as we see some of his colleagues such as William Mede and William Darker also copying for women associated with Syon, this lessens the likelihood. Whether or not Wynter moved to St. Albans in the end, the link between Syon Abbey and St. Albans certainly explains how Dodesham might have come to the attention of Abbot John Whethamstede, Dame Eleanor Hull, Roger Huswyff, and the community of St. Albans, for whom he copied Cambridge, University Library, MSS Dd.7.7-10.

Cambridge, University Library, MSS Dd.7.7-10

This manuscript group comprises four illuminated and illustrated volumes containing Nicholas de Lyre's *Postilla litteralis in vetus et Novum Testamentum*. Dd. 7.7-10 have been described by Doyle, Ker, Binski, and others.[458] This summary of this group of manuscripts is based on the descriptions of those scholars and is included for completeness' sake, to situate the manuscripts within the Dodesham timeline and to place them within the contexts of their making and circumstances of making.

These lavish volumes would have been a significant undertaking, even for a full-time scribe, possibly taking around five years to complete the full set.[459] Doyle notes that abbot John Whethamstede of St Albans (1420-1440, 1451-1465) initiated the copying of de Lyre's *Postillae* on the whole Bible: 'idem Abbas facit inchoari de manu satis sollempni postillam Nicholai de lira super totam bibliam'.[460] If this refers to Dd.7.7-10, this might imply that the donors took on the costs of the project from

[456] See the papal bulls of August 1418 and Thomas Fishbourne (a former steward to the abbot of St. Albans) in, J. S. Cockburn, H. P. F. King, K. G. T. McDonnell (eds.) 'Religious Houses: House of Bridgettines', *A History of the County of Middlesex*, 1 (1969): 182-191. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22119> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[457] Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety', 38.
[458] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 100. Ker, *MLGB*, 165. P. Binski, P. N. R. Zutshi, Stella Panayatova (eds.), *Western illuminated manuscripts: a catalogue of the collection in Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011): 223-225. An extended bibliography is provided on p. 225. C. Hardwick, H. R. Luard (et al.) *A catalogue of manuscripts preserved in the library of the university of Cambridge*, I (Cambridge: University Press, 1856): 327-28. P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of dated and dateable manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge libraries* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1988): 24-25, plate 265.
[459] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 100.
[460] op. cit., n. 23.

Whethamstede.[461] These donors were Dame Eleanor Hull and Roger Huswyff, her spiritual and legal adviser and executor of her will. An indenture dated 17th May, 1457, copied on the front flyleaves of Dd.7.7, Dd.7.8 and Dd.7.9 details the circumstances of the creations of the *Postillae* and conditions of their use: that Hull and Huswyff presented the volumes to the community of St. Albans, but that their use was reserved to Huswyff as long as he lived. By 1457, Dodesham had completed the four volumes of de Lyre's *Postillae*, likely having begun the enterprise roughly five years earlier, c. 1452, on the behalf of the community of St. Albans. We have already established above the potential connections between Dom. Stephen Dodesham of Sheen, Simon Wynter of Syon and Wynter's connections with St. Albans through Syon Abbey and Margaret, Duchess of Clarence. What further connections might volumes Dd.7.7-10 reveal between Dodesham, St Albans and its benefactors?

In February, 1417, Dame Eleanor Hull had been admitted into the confraternity of St Albans Abbey, and after the death of her husband in 1427, Hull lived for a time at Sopwell Priory.[462] In 1429, a Margeria Wynter made her profession at Sopwell Priory, a nunnery dependent on St Albans and in the same year, Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, like Eleanor Hull, was admitted into the confraternity of St Albans (see above). It is therefore likely that the three woman could have met and known one another. In 1457, Hull and her adviser Roger Huswyff presented the community of St. Albans with the expensive copies of de Lyre's commentaries on the Bible, and by 1458, she had retired to the Benedictine priory at Cannington, Somerset – the seat of the Dodesham family – and died there in December, 1460. Dame Eleanor Hull, born Malet, was the only child of Sir John Malet, of Enmore, Somerset, and she had a son, Edward, who was killed at the battle of Castillon in 1453. She was also a highly educated lay woman and translator. I have found five documents that illustrate contemporary connections between the Hull/Malet families and William Dodesham jnr. The first, dated 15th October, 1447, is a transfer of land from Thomas Westhaugh, cousin and heir of Simon de Raleigh of Nettlecombe, to Joan, Simon's wife, William Gascoigne, Philip Pym, John Loty and William Dodesham. The witnesses to this transfer were John Fortescu, chief justice of the King's Bench, William lord Boneville and Edward Hull, knights. The transaction took place in Nettlecombe church.[463] This would have been related to Raleigh chantry, founded through endowments provided by the late Sir Simon de Raleigh in his will and held in chief by William Dodesham by 1453.[464] The second document, dated 10th November, 1452, details the transfer of land in Wemeden and East

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[461] P. Binski (et al.), *Western illuminated manuscripts: a catalogue of the collection in Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011): 225.
[462] For the life and work of Dame Eleanor Hull, see Alexandra Barratt, ed. *The Seven Psalms*, EETS, 307 (Oxford: University Press, 1995), and Barratt, 'Hull, Eleanor, Lady Hull (*c.*1394–1460)', *DNB*, (Oxford: University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52459> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[463] C. T. Flower (ed.), 'Close Rolls, Henry VI: April 1453', *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry VI: volume 5: 1447-1454* (1947): 442-443 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=110384> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[464] See above, 110.

Chilton from Thomas Sambroke of Neuport, county Salop, to William Dodesham, Philip Pym and others. Witnesses to this were Edward Hulle and Humphrey Courtenay, knights.[465] The third document, dated 5th January, 1455, is a transfer of land from Edward Stapilton, son and heir of William Stapilton, to William lord Boneville, knight, William Dodesham and James Britte. The witnesses to this transaction were Hugh Malet esq. (d. 1465, the half-brother of Dame Eleanor's father, John Malet), Philip Pym, Thomas Tremayll, Roger Pym, and John Bartelet.[466] The fourth, dated 1455, is another transfer of land in Cannington between Hugh Malet and Philip Pym (which they held by feoffment of William Dodesham) to William lord Bonevile, knight, and sergeant-at-law William Hyndeston.[467] The fifth, dated 5th October, 1456, is yet another transfer of land from William, lord Boneville, to William Dodesham jnr., this time in Bridgewater, witnessed by Hugh Malet, Philip Pym, Thomas Tremayll, Roger Pym and John Bartelot.[468]

The lives of Dom. Stephen Dodesham of Sheen and Dame Eleanor Hull, and those of William Dodesham of Cannington, Edward Hull and Hugh Malet, I have found, intersect in rather interesting ways and at interesting junctures. Dame Eleanor Hull was associated with Sopwell Priory and St. Albans at the same time as the Duchess of Clarence and Margeria Wynter (and possibly Symon Wynter). This was the period from 1429 until the Duchess's death in 1439, and was the period during which Stephen Dodesham copied MS Sankt Georgen for Symon Wynter, the Duchess of Clarence and the community of Syon. Later, the decade from 1447-1457, William Dodesham of Cannington was acquiring land in transactions which were witnessed by Eleanor Hull's close relations: her son Edward, and her father's half-brother, Hugh Malet.

There appears to me to have been a convergence in the social connections possessed by the religious and secular Dodeshams. There are several scenarios that may have played out here. Perhaps Stephen Dodesham came to the attention of John Whethamstede and St Albans through his part in the creation of MS Sankt Georgen, for Syon, of which Whethamstede may have learned via Symon Wynter or the Duchess of Clarence – that is, if Wynter did make the move to St Albans. It is also plausible that Whethamstede learned of Dodesham's work on the *Sanctilogium* even if Wynter remained at Syon. Perhaps Eleanor Hull herself was aware of Dodesham's work and learned of it from Margeria Wynter or the Duchess of Clarence when their associations with Sopwell Priory and St Albans intersected. The

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[465] Flower (ed.), 'Close Rolls, Henry VI: March 1455', *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry VI: volume 6: 1454-1461* (1947): 60-63 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=110451> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[466] ibid. 'Close Rolls, Henry VI: April 1456', 130-137 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=110468> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[467] ibid. 'Close Rolls, Henry VI: 1455-1456', 120-127 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=110466> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[468] ibid.'Close Rolls, Henry VI: November 1456', 168-174 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=110488> [accessed 29/05/2013].

request may even have come from outside religion, Eleanor Hull's knowledge of Stephen Dodesham's work perhaps stemming from a family member. It may very well have been a little of everything.

Doyle states that completing the copies of de Lyre's *Postillae* would have taken around five years. Dodesham may therefore have begun work c. 1452 – possibly earlier, since he was a full-time religious.[469] In 1457, Dd.7.7-10 were completed and presented to St. Albans, and a year later, Eleanor Hull retired to Cannington, where she died in December 1460. That Dd.7.7-10 and MS Sankt Georgen 12 share a decorator in common, which Kathleen Scott has identified as Illustrator B, is perhaps an indicator that the volumes Dd.7.7-10 were completed at Sheen and that the exemplar was available for use by Dodesham within his cell at Sheen. It is certainly more likely that Sheen had their own copy of Nicholas de Lyre's *Postillae* than the scenario that exemplars were loaned from St Albans for Whethamstede's project, as William Mede is found to have copied an extract into his Bodley 117 notebook.[470] By 1462, however, Stephen Dodesham had transferred from Sheen to Witham charterhouse, Somerset, and had had the time to copy the stolen New York, formerly Cockerell/Duschnes pseudo-Augustine *Sermones morales ad fratres suos in heremo*.[471] Perhaps the de Lyre set was the last work he undertook for Sheen before making the journey to Somerset.

Downside Abbey, MS 26542

Another manuscript that seems to have been copied during Dodesham's first stint at Sheen charterhouse, with earlier illumination dating to the second quarter of the fifteenth century,[472] is Downside Abbey, MS 26542. Written entirely in the hand of Stephen Dodesham, this manuscript contains copies of *The Pricking of Love* (ff. 1-90^{r}), an English piece attributed to St Bernard (on 90^{v} and 92^{r} – folios 91 and 93 are blank and incorrectly bound),[473] the *Pore Caitiff* (94^{r}-168^{v}), and two final short texts in Latin: the first, an extract from the *Speculum spiritualium* (168^{v}-172^{r}) and the second, a pseudo-Augustine sermon (172^{r}-173^{v}). Downside 26542 has been described by N. R. Ker, Dom. A. Watkin, A. I. Doyle and Paul Lee.[474] This summary of Downside 26542 is based upon the descriptions of those scholars, and is included for

469 Doyle, Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 100.
470 See above, chapter three, 73.
471 ibid., 94.
472 ibid., 102.
473 Paul Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality in Late Medieval English Society: The Dominican Priory of Dartford* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press in Association with Boydell & Brewer, 2001): 190.
474 Ker, *MMBL*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-92): I, 445; Dom A. Watkin, 'Some Manuscripts in the Downside Abbey Library', *Downside Review*, 59 (1941): 75-92, 77; Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 102-103; Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality*, 188-193.

completeness' sake, to situate it within the Dodesham timeline and to place the manuscript within the context of its making and circumstances of making.

Downside 26542 is another of Dodesham's manuscripts boasting the contemporary, fifteenth-century luxury of illumination. On the contents page and on folio 1[r], are initial capitals in blue, red, gold, green and white, with illuminated borders.[475] The rest of the text, while not quite so lavishly decorated (blue and red alternating capitals and some enlarged with penwork decoration) displays an attention to detail present in the *ordinatio*, in the design of the page and the layout of the volume that suggests some care was taken by Dodesham in the arrangement of Downside 26542. The chapter numbers and headings are in red, very clearly placed throughout the *Pricking of Love*, having been written at the top centre of each page, and the text itself is written with very little abbreviation,[476] indicating, perhaps, that Dodesham was aiming for clarity and readability. For whom did Dodesham copy this illuminated, deluxe, yet easily-readable compilation of English and Latin devotional texts?

An inscription on the verso of the third flyleaf tells us:

> Ave maria Jhesu Amen. This book is youe to Betryce chaumbir, and aftir hir decese to sustir Emme Wynter, and to [sustir] denyse Caston/ nonnes of dertforthe, and so to abide in the saam hous of the nonnes of dertforthe for euere 'to pr[a]y for hem that yeue yt.[477]

Like Sheen and Syon, Dartford Abbey, Kent, was a royal foundation and enjoyed from its inception royal patronage and connections. Founded by Edward III from 1436, it was the only house of Dominican nuns in England and was under the supervision of the Dominican Friary at Kings Langley, Hertfordshire. Dartford was rich and renowned as a centre of learning, and therefore attracted women of high status. Among its ranks were a daughter of a king, Princess Bridget, daughter of Edward III, women of the aristocracy and noble birth, such as Prioresses Joan Scrope, daughter of Henry, 4[th] Lord Scrope of Bolton, and Margaret Beaumont, whose brother was the Earl of Bologne. Later, in the sixteenth century, Dartford Priory housed sisters of two of the prominent London Carthusian martyrs, Sebastian Newdigate and William Exmewe. At the time of Dissolution, Dartford seemed to hold a special connection of long-standing with the houses of Sheen and Syon, as the three houses left England in exile together. There are definite links between Dartford, Sheen and Syon, and these links appear to be two-fold: based on kinship ties and their similar cultures of learning and spirituality, which appear to have complemented, and was perhaps inspired by, the late medieval spiritual and intellectual movement of the *devotio moderna*, as

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475 Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality,* 189.
476 op. cit.
477 op. cit.

described in chapter two.[478] Dartford was renowned as a centre of learning, in which the nuns, uncommonly in the later medieval period, were instructed in Latin up to 1481, although the greater part of their reading material remained in the vernacular.[479] This fits with Dartford's culture of learning based on mystical and contemplative spirituality, which, in turn, also fits with the similar cultures maintained at Sheen and Syon. The reading material at Dartford, like at Sheen and Syon, was current, and the latest vernacular, devotional reading material was readily available at all three houses.[480] The prestige of the houses, their wealth, and emphasis on the most up-to-date varieties of learning and devotion I suspect would have undoubtedly attracted members from families of wealth and status. Paul Lee has studied the kinship links between Dartford, Syon and Sheen, and those include: Dame Johanna Stockton of Dartford, who had a sister, Elizabeth, at Syon; princess Bridget, daughter of Edward III, was the cousin of Anne de la Pole, prioress of Syon; the Exmewe family had William, a Carthusian son, and a Dominican daughter, Elizabeth, at Dartford; the Newdigate family boasted not only a Dartford nun, but an abbess of Syon, a Carthusian martyr, a prioress of Haliwell and two knights of Malta; Joan Scrope, prioress of Dartford (c.1470-2) came from the Scrope family of Bolton. From the Scropes of Masham, we have Henry Scrope, 3rd Baron Masham, who married Joan Holland, the sister of Margaret Holland, Duchess of Clarence, who left her daughters in the care of Dartford when she left for France (1418-21)[481] and who was first married to John Beaufort, brother of Cardinal Henry Beaufort, who likely employed Dom William Mede as a confessor, and who was married second to Thomas Lancaster, brother of Henry V, the founder of Sheen and Syon. We also have Henry 3rd Baron Masham's brother, John Scrope, 4th Baron Masham, whose second wife, Elizabeth Chaworth, became a vowess associated with Syon upon his death, and who played a part along with his wife in commissioning Dom William Mede of Sheen to copy Notre Dame, MS Eng d. 1.[482]

Another potential kinship connection lies with the very sister Emma Wynter named in the above inscription from Downside 26542, as there is a possibility she may have been related to Symon Wynter and Margeria Wynter of Syon. As strong kinship ties existed between Syon and Dartford, this is not impossible. Stephen Dodesham, having copied for Symon Wynter and having demonstrated the quality of his work, may then have been called upon to copy for a relative at Dartford. This is, of course, speculative, as no records survive linking Symon and Emma Wynter. We do know, however, that Sister Emma Wynter of Dartford Priory was educated and keen on books. Emma Wynter was responsible for the commissioning of London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 717, an Office of the Dead, missing the hours

[478] See chapter two above, 28-31.
[479] David N. Bell, *What nuns read: books and libraries in medieval English nunneries* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995): 128.
[480] op. cit.
[481] Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality*, 145.
[482] See chapter three above, 79-100.

and the calendar, with additional prayers, an antiphon and plainsong chants.[483] She may also have written her own name in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson G.59[484] – a copy of the *Disticha Catonis* – as well as being one of the named recipients of the gift of Downside 26542. The copy of the *Distichs* of Cato is of particular interest, as it implies that Emma Wynter was learned in Latin, and had perhaps used Rawlinson G.59 to learn Latin with a preceptor in the *locutorium*, as was customary for some of the nuns.[485] Dartford is also linked to Syon through their mutual use of the *Disticha Catonis* to educate their nuns.

Glasgow, Hunterian Library, MSS Hunter U.4.16 and U.4.17, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. e. 15

The Glasgow and Oxford manuscripts have been described in Doyle and Dallachy, and the Glasgow manuscripts in Aitken and Young. This summary of this group of manuscripts is based on the descriptions of those scholars and is included for completeness' sake, to situate the manuscripts within the Dodesham timeline and to place them within the context of their making and circumstances of making.[486] The original *Disticha Catonis* was an anonymous, third-century compilation of moral precepts. In the course of its transmission, those precepts were modified to suit a Christian audience. By the late medieval period, it had become a cornerstone of the school curriculum, and was much copied and quoted from, providing sound moral instruction and aiding the beginner in their learning of Latin.[487] The version copied by Stephen Dodesham was Benedict Burgh's *Parvus* and *Magnus Cato*. Benedict (or Benet) Burgh received his MA from Oxford and rented a school from University College in 1432-3. He rose through the ranks of the church until, in 1470, he was appointed chaplain to the king. Burgh was an admirer of the work of John Lydgate, admitting as much in a poem addressed to Lydgate in which he expressed the desire to become his apprentice.[488] Burgh put this into practice when he was called upon to complete Lydgate's *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, a translation of the *Secreta secretorum*, attributed in the fifteenth century to Aristotle and left unfinished before Lydgate's death c. 1451. Burgh's *Distichs of Cato*

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[483] ibid., 169, 206 and 215.
[484] ibid., 138.
[485] ibid., 209
[486] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 103-104. Fraser Dallachy, *A Study of the Manuscript Contexts of Benedict Burgh's Middle English* Distichs of Cato (University of Glasgow: unpublished doctoral dissertation, 2012): 113-118, with extended commentary from 119-140. Young and Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1908): 209-211 and online <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=35051> <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=35050> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[487] N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973): 102-3
[488] London, British Library, MS Additional 29729, which was written at Beeleigh Abbey, with 'frosti fingers' in December. Douglas Gray, 'Burgh, Benedict (*d.* in or before 1483)', *DNB* (Oxford: University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3990> [accessed 29/05/2013].

survives in over thirty manuscripts and was published by Caxton in three editions from 1477-83. Caxton stated that the *Distichs* were composed by 'Master Benet' for the 'erudicion of my lorde Bousher', referring to William, son and heir of Henry Bourchier first earl of Essex. Doyle notes that Henry Bourchier was married by 1426, and his son, William, married by 1467.[489] Therefore, an approximate dating for the composition of the *Distichs* would fall around 1426-1467, more likely from at least 1432-33, when Burgh had opened his school at University College, Oxford, and when William Bourchier would have been old enough to attempt to acquire Latin. Doyle also provides more potential dates: from 1440, Burgh was beneficed in Essex, seat of the Bourchier family, and by Bourchier's gift from 1450.[490] If the poem began to circulate in the early 1430s, Dodesham *could* have made the Glasgow and Oxford copies of the *Distichs* outside the order on a secular commission, but if later in the 1430s, Dodesham would most likely have been a Carthusian by the time Burgh's *Cato* began to circulate.

For whom, then, was Dodesham writing? Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian U.4.17 and U.4.16 (hereafter Hunterian U.4.17 and U.4.16) originally one volume with fifty-seven leaves missing between them, contain Burgh's *Cato*, Lydgate's *Dietary* (U.4.17) and *Benjamin Minor* with a poem on blood-letting added in a secretary hand.[491] The copy of the *Dietary*, Lydgate's widely-copied folk-health treatise that survived in fifty-seven manuscripts and was printed by Caxton, de Worde and Pynson,[492] echoes Dodesham's copying of Macer's *De viribus herbarum*, which survives in Cheshire Record Office, Chester D 4398/1, and his copying of *The Regiment of Health*. Though I was not able to examine the former, the brief description of Chester D 4398/1 details a short epitaph, in French, of a Duke of Burgundy that could potentially refer to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who founded the charterhouse of Champol and who was a noted benefactor of the Carthusian Order, therefore tentatively hinting at Carthusian provenance.[493] The short, thirty-eight leaves long Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. e. 15 (hereafter Eng.poet) contains only Burgh's *Parvus* and *Magnus Cato*. These manuscripts seem to be educational. Commenting on the contents of Hunterian U.4.17 and U.4.16, Doyle writes:

> This may seem a somewhat surprising selection of contents, and with unknown matter between, but the pseudo-Cato, traditionally used to teach Latin and good manners to the young, the advice on health, and the allegorical exposition of spiritual life would not have been discordant in either a

[489] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 104 n. 40.
[490] ibid., 103
[491] ibid., 104.
[492] George Shuffelton, *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008) <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/sgas31int.htm> [accessed 04/05/2013].
[493] CRO, Chester D 4398/1 <http://archive.cheshire.gov.uk/calmview/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=D+4398&pos=1> [accessed 29/05/2013].

> pious secular household or the novitiate of a religious community. The large size of writing could have been helpful to beginners in learning.[494]

In light of Dodesham's previous work for Dartford and Syon, however, it seems to me less likely that Dodesham made Hunterian U.4.16-17 and Eng. poet for a pious, lay household. It is much more likely that he was writing for religious women or for religious institutions like Dartford, who ran a school. It is even possible that Dodesham copied for the novitiate of his own community, with the inclusion of the lay brethren, perhaps,[495] or even for the school that was run by Sheen, attended by Cardinal Pole during his adolescence.[496]

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54

The contents of other manuscripts copied by Dodesham display similar elements of the practicality of basic education, among them Cambridge, Trinity College, B.14.54, which also reinforces Dodesham's connection with Syon. Described by Doyle and James, this summary of B.14.54 is based on the descriptions of those scholars.[497] Folios 89^{r}-99^{v} are palimpsest of a copy of the Syon indulgences, acquired in 1425, and copied by Dodesham before the making of Trinity, which, according to Doyle, corresponds verbally with those in an English sermon ascribed in the catalogue of the Syon brethren's library to Symon Wynter.[498] That this manuscript was written on reused parchment that had seen work for Syon makes it much more likely that the finished product of Trinity, B.14.54 was made at Sheen after his profession there in February, 1437. It is a small volume, measuring only 130x85mm and contains i) Exposition of the Creed (f. 1-17^{v}), ii) Exposition of the Ten Commandments (f. 17^{v}-93^{v}), iii) The Sixteen Conditions of Christ's Charity (f. 93^{v}-99^{r}), iv) The Five Bodily Senses and The Five Spiritual Senses, taken together from the lists in parts two and three of the *Ancrene Riwle* and v) the palimpsest of the indulgences *Ad Vincula* for visiting Syon Abbey (f. 89^{r}-99^{v}).[499] This manuscript, entirely in English, provides the reader with the most basic doctrinal information – necessary information forming the cornerstones of the Christian faith that any halfway competent religious should have possessed. I suspect

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494 op. cit.
495 On the school at Dartford Priory and the education of children there, see Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality,* especially 161-4.
496 L. Beccatelli, 'Vita Reginaldi Poli Sanctae Ecclesiae Cardinalis', in A. Dudith (trans) and A. M. Quirini (ed.) *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli S. R. E. Cardinalis et Aliorum ad Ipsum Collectio*, (Brixiae Rizzardi, 1744): vols. 1, 5, 7-8.
497 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 106. M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a Descriptive Catalogue,* vol. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1900): 463.
498 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 106.
499 James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge,* vol. 1, 463.

that Dodesham here was writing for a reader who needed a refresher course, or, again, an introduction to the fundamentals: a child from the school at Sheen, a novice nun or monk, or even the Carthusian lay brothers, who were required to be taught to recite the elements of doctrine daily in their vernacular.[500] In reconstructing the catalogue of the lay brethren at the Basle charterhouse and editing two vernacular translations of the Carthusian *Statutes* intended for the lay brothers, Wolfram Sexauer suggested that the vernacular manuscripts in Carthusian libraries may primarily have been intended for use of the lay brothers, despite Carthusian regulation dictating up until 1432 that the lay brothers were not permitted to learn to read, which implies that at least some of the lay brethren were literate, perhaps before they entered the charterhouse.[501] Those vernacular manuscripts were also permitted to be lent to other readers outside the charterhouse. Such an obvious series of palimpsests, however, suggests the book was primarily intended for in-house use. Who would want to receive a new, commissioned book with old parchment that had already been written over? Dodesham's own community may have received the book gratefully, where it would be known and appreciated that the parchment had been reused for reasons of economy. In the catalogue, James states that some of the passages in Trinity suggest a Lollard interpolation.[502] If that is correct, considering their animosity to Lollardy in any form,[503] the Carthusians were careless in their selections of these particular texts.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 619

Another manuscript bearing the potential hallmarks of basic education is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 619, a copy of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe* identified by Simon Horobin in 2009 as having been written by Dodesham.[504] Horobin presents several scenarios pertaining to when in Dodesham's career Bodley 619 might have been copied. There is an argument for Bodley 619 having been copied outside the Carthusian Order, having been produced in the same textual circles as Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, in which both texts circulated.[505] Dodesham also worked on three copies of Lydgate's

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[500] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 111, n. 55.
[501] Wolfram D. Sexauer, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Schriften in Kartaüserbibliotheken: Untersuchen zur Pflege der volkesprachlichen Literatur in Kartaüserklöstern des oberdeutschen Raums bis zum Einsetzen des Reformation* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1978). For a summary of Sexauer's argument, see Gillespie, 'Cura Pastoralis in Deserto' in Sargent, (et. al.) *De cella in saeculum* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989): 166, and Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform*, 232, n. 171.
[502] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 106.
[503] See chapter two above, 33 and 35, and chapter three, 75-76.
[504] Bodley 619 is described in Madan and Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, v. 2, pt. 1, Collections received before 1660 and miscellaneous mss. acquired during the first half of the 17th century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922): 232, and by Horobin in 'The Scribe of Bodleian Library MS Bodley 619' and online at *Medieval Scribes* <http://www.medievalscribes.com/index.php?browse=manuscripts&id=34&navlocation=Oxford&navlibrary=Bodleian%20Library&nav=off> [accessed 29/05/3013]. The above summary is based on the descriptions of those scholars.
[505] Horobin, 'The Scribe of Bodleian Library MS Bodley 619', 119, n. 25.

Siege of Thebes, probably (but not undisputedly) on commission in a secular capacity, and Horobin argues that an accompanying copy of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe* such as that present in Bodley 619 may have helped a reader make sense of the astronomical references in both the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Siege of Thebes*, the latter penned by Lydgate as a continuation to the former. There is also an argument holding that since the audience for the Astrolabe was originally conceived by Chaucer as encompassing those with a similar understanding of the subject of astronomy as his ten year old son, Lewes, that the purpose of the manuscript was to educate young minds in a lay household, an argument Horobin rejects, citing the comparative plainness and lack of decoration in Bodley 619 as evidence against it having been commissioned to educate layfolk.[506] Horobin believes the volume was copied late in Dodesham's career, on the basis of Dodesham's preference for specific letter forms at different points in his career,[507] that religious houses are associated with surviving copies of the *Astrolabe* (Syon Abbey having possessed a copy of Messahala's *Compositio et operatio astrolabii*, one of the sources Chaucer consulted while composing the *Astrolabe*)[508] and that, considering the plainness and lack of decoration, Bodley 619 was most likely copied for personal use and study.[509] Horobin also posits a connection with Merton College, through the presence of John Blacman, who was at Merton in 1437, and citing the work of professional scribes such as Henry Mere who worked for the Oxford book trade. The connection with Merton appears to me to be coincidental. John Blacman was at Merton College in 1437, but Dodesham was already at Sheen in early 1437. Unless Blacman knew Dodesham when he was yet a 'gentleman' working in London, then he likely could not have drawn on him for any sort of copying, as it seems to have been only the lay and religious elite who could access the copying services of Carthusian monks (though they may have been able to borrow from their libraries).[510] After 1437, unless Blacman had access to Sheen through his position as a spiritual adviser of Henry VI, there likely would not have been any opportunity to meet until Blacman appeared at Witham charterhouse in 1465.[511] Dodesham arrived before him: certainly by 1462, but possibly ca. 1457, as discussed above, and he was back at Sheen by 1471.[512] There is also the issue of Blacman being a *clericus redditus,* not a full choir monk. At Witham, the choir monks were completely separated from the converses of the lower house,[513] therefore it is uncertain how much access Blacman would have had to Dodesham. An alternative scenario regarding the purpose of Bodley 619 therefore presents itself. The educational angle seems to be the most probable, but this copy of the *Astrolabe* might not have been made for a lay household. Like the Dominicans at

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506 ibid.,120.
507 ibid., 120.
508 Gillespie (ed.), *Syon Abbey with the Libraries of the Carthusians*, item SS1.*79e (B.2.), 25-26, 753.
509 Horobin, 'The Scribe of Bodleian Library MS Bodley 619', 121.
510 See chapter two above, 40, and chapter three, 60.
511 R. Lovatt, 'The Library of John Blacman and Contemporary Carthusian Spirituality', 199; Horobin, 'The Scribe of Bodleian Library MS Bodley 619', 123, n.33.
512 See below, p. 182.
513 Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 143-44.

Dartford, the Carthusians maintained a school at Sheen, which Cardinal Pole attended for five years during his adolescence:

> þe noble King Henry þe Fyft founded ii houses of Religion: one Called Syon, beside Braynford of þe ord*re* of Seynt Brigitt, both of men & women; And on þat oþer, side of þe ryver of Tamyse, an house of monkes of Chartrehouse: In which ij places he is continuelly prayed for night and day: for euer, when they of Syon rest, þei of þe Chartrehouse done þe seruice; And in like wise, whan þei of þe Chartrehouse rest, þe oþer gon to. And bi þe ryngyng of þe belles of eyther place, ayther knowweth when þai haue ended þer seruice, which be nobly endowed & done dayly þer great Almesse dedes; As in þe Charetrehouse certeyn childre be found to schole; & at Sion, certeyn Almesse gyven dayly.[514]

I offer the possibility that there is a significant chance that Bodley 619 could have been copied for the use of the school at Sheen, which Cardinal Pole attended for five years during his adolescence.[515] I also consider the possibility that it could equally have been made for the erudition of nuns, novices or lay brothers in Dodesham's own community – most likely at Sheen, where the vernacular culture was strongest, as none of the surviving manuscripts known to have been copied by Dodesham at Witham charterhouse are in English, though there is on f. 70^{v}, part of an Office of St. Erasmus in Latin.[516] Trinity College, B. 14. 54 is small, plain and unspectacular in appearance and decoration. The two volumes containing Burgh's *Distichs of Cato* are similarly plain. The only manuscript presenting illumination, a clear decorative hierarchy and elaborate *ordinatio* is the book Dodesham copied for the nuns at Dartford. This may suggest in-house usage at Sheen for Bodley 619, though it is quite possible that a less expensive, text-book for private study could have been commissioned by another house like Syon or Dartford. If Horobin's observation that the letter forms used by Dodesham represent those used in the later part of Dodesham's career is correct, I speculate that Dodesham may have been deemed old and experienced enough to take on a position of responsibility for younger members of his community, a position such as novice-master?

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 549

[514] Frederich W. D. Brie (ed.) *The Brut: Chronicles of England*, EETS, 2 vols. 131, 136 (London: Oxford University Press and Kegan Paul, 1908-1960): ii, 496.
[515] L. Beccatelli, 'Vita Reginaldi Poli Sanctae Ecclesiae Cardinalis', vols. 1, 5, 7-8.
[516] Madan and Craster, *Summary catalogue*, 2:1, 232.

The manuscript which potentially bears out this hypothesis is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 549. Originally separate, Bodley 549 is composed of three volumes bound together, labelled Sections A, B and C by Doyle.[517] The above summary of Bodley 549 is based on the descriptions in Doyle and the *Summary catalogue*.[518] Section A (ff. 1^{r}-24^{v}) is written in two different early fifteenth-century hands, and on f. 198 of Section C (ff. 98^{r}-198^{v}), Dodesham has supplied a table of contents for the items in Section C only. Sections B (ff. 25^{r}-97^{v}) and C are written in Dodesham's hand. Taken as a whole, the entire book is in Latin, save a brief interlude in a different hand, interrupting Dodesham from ff. 77^{v}-79^{r}, which has inserted vernacular, verse paraphrases of the *Creed*, *the Ten Commandments* and the *Five Joys of Our Lady* before Dodesham resumes his work from f. 79^{r} onwards. This interrupting hand is Carthusian and also copies the composite volume preserving a copy of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (discussed above) i) Cambridge, St John's College, MS N.17 ii) Cambridge, St John's College, MS N.16 iii) Huntington Library, MS HM 115, and iv) Harvard University, MS Richardson 44. Section A contains a single item: the *Ars moriendi* from Suso's *Horologium sapientie*, book two, the first twelve chapters of dialogue between Sapientia and Discipulus. Section B contains: i) a letter from Boso, the nineteenth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, to Clement V, ii) a treatise on the Carthusian Order formed from extracts from the Fathers, iii) verse paraphrases of the Creed, Ten Commandments and Five Joys of Our Lady, in English iv) the continuation of the treatise of the Carthusian Order found in item two, v) a treaty decrying those who say the Carthusians are uncharitable vi) a history of the Carthusian Order vii) outlining the usual proceedings in the election of a prior[519] viii) short pieces from the *Regiment of Health* attributed here to John of Toledo,[520] and ix) John Barton's *Symbolum fidei*, which also appears in Mede's notebook, Bodley 117, item 32 (f. 32^{v}).[521] Section C contains: i) Latin expositions on the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Credo, elsewhere attributed to Richard Rolle, ii) prologue to the pseudo-Augustine *Liber de Contemplatione Domini* (or *Manuale*) with the treatise, iii) *Manuale sacerdotum* by John Mirk, and iv) several prayers and treatises on spirituality, including an account of a miracle. Doyle believes that Sections B and C were written at roughly the same time, and were later bound together with Section A by the beginning of the sixteenth century,[522] as the whole volume, including Sections A, B and C, was donated to the Bodleian by Sir Walter Cope in 1602.[523] Doyle also believes that C could have been

[517] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 109.
[518] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 109-111, and Madan and Craster, *Summary Catalogue*, 295-297. Madan and Craster divided Bodley 549 into sections A and B only, B comprising the items written by Dodesham.
[519] A similar item is found in London, British Library, Cotton, MS Caligula A. ii, ff. 157^{v}-158^{v}, a formulary for electing a prior.
[520] Dodesham also made copies of Lydgate's *Dietary* and Macer's *De viribus herbarum*.
[521] See chapter three above, 71.
[522] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 111.
[523] Madan and Craster, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,* 297.

joined with B 'for the utility of the pastoral items for whoever had care of novices and lay brethren.'[524] The interruption in Section B, where the intruding hand inserts English stanzas on the basic elements of Christianity, the Creed and Ten Commandments, reinforces the educatory aspect of this section.[525] Section B is also very practical, especially to a Carthusian, containing what seems to be a guide to Carthusianism, detailing important points in the history of the Order, offering advice on health (echoing his copying of Lydgate's *Dietary* and Macer's *De viribus herbarum*) and dealing with practical workaday issues such as the election of a prior, as though explaining to a new recruit or refreshing memories of older monks. This ties in with the brief interruption in English, item two, the verse paraphrases of the Creed and Ten Commandments, which Dodesham set out in Trinity B.14.54 above (perhaps easier to memorise in stanzaic form), and the Latin expositions in Section C. The presence of Mirk's *Manuale sacerdotum*, composed by Mirk to encourage a colleague in performing his pastoral duties, seems an odd inclusion in a manuscript copied by a strictly enclosed Carthusian, but with its chapters attacking contemporary clerical abuses and corruption in the priesthood, it again ties in with the note of reform in the *Symbolum fidei* and those present in William Mede's work. The presence of the *Symbolum fidei* also hints that Bodley 549 could have been a Sheen product, as the same text appears in the work of William Mede, Dodesham's colleague at Sheen. It appears to me that Dodesham, therefore, seems to have been involved in copying texts of a practical, educatory nature, especially during his time at Sheen. Perhaps he was a spiritual advisor or was involved in education in some capacity, either through copying texts for the school at Sheen, with novices in his own community, with nuns across the water in Syon, or even at Dartford. The large size of letters, the amount of Latin and strong Carthusian links suggest an in-house use for Bodley 549, so it was more likely Dodesham was writing, at least in this case, for novices.

London, British Library, MS Additional 11305

Another manuscript that seems to have been made for in-house use is London, British Library, Additional 11305. Additional 11305 has been fully described in Lewis and McIntosh and by Doyle.[526] This summary is based on the descriptions of those scholars. Additional 11305 is a plain volume of 124 folios containing only the southern recension of the *Prick of Conscience*, with additional evidence of palimpsest leaves of a table of contents listing items from Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*. The *Prick of Conscience* deals with standard subjects, which any self-respecting religious or layperson would be expected to know, or be taught by their parish priest. Over the course of its seven books, it deals with

[524] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 111.
[525] ibid., 110.
[526] Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the 'Prick of Conscience'*, Medium Ævum Monographs, New Series, 12 (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Mediæval Languages and Literature, 1982): 140-141. For evidence of the palimpsest leaves, see Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham and Witham and Sheen', 102-103.

'the wretchedness of man's nature, the world and the various conditions thereof, death and the fear of death, purgatory, the day of judgement, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven,' these preceded and followed by a short prologue and epilogue respectively.[527] A number of manuscripts from the varying *Prick of Conscience* traditions are connected with parish priests and may have been considered by them to have been a useful 'compendium of knowledge which a priest, following the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council and the Peckham *Constitutions*, would be expected to make known to his flock, or a handbook from which he could draw material for his sermons.'[528] That parts of the *Prick of Conscience* also circulated separately, in extract form, may also reinforce this concept of the text as 'a storehouse of information to which a medieval reader could go for various kinds of religious lore and from which a medieval writer could borrow as he saw fit.'[529] The *Prick of Conscience* was general, accessible and edificatory. Therefore, it is unsurprising that ownership of the text was enjoyed by both lay and religious readers.

A copy of one of the most widely read vernacular verse summaries of current, contemporary medieval theology, in the first instance, might not seem solemn or scholarly enough for a Carthusian library, being as it rather successfully fulfilled the author's intention of benefitting both the 'lewed' as well as the 'lered'.[530] Despite the comparative simplicity of the subject matter of the *Prick of Conscience*, however, religious *did* own copies of the text.[531] Interestingly, London, British Library, Additional 37049, one of the most important surviving vernacular religious miscellanies, which contains three extracts from the *Prick of Conscience*, is strongly linked to a Carthusian house in the north of England, perhaps Mountgrace Priory, Yorkshire.[532] None of the surviving witnesses listed in Lewis and McIntosh's *Guide* that are of identifiable religious provenance are owned by women, however. Male religious seem to have monopolised the use of the surviving religious copies of the *Prick of Conscience*: from local parish chaplains, to itinerant friars and cloistered Carthusians. Despite the lack of surviving evidence, we do know that female religious owned and read it. The will of laywoman Agnes Stapilton of Yorkshire, dated

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527 Lewis and McIntosh, *Descriptive Guide*, 3.
528 ibid., 14, especially n. 39.
529 op. cit.
530 Prologue, ll. 328-47; Epilogue, ll. 9454-48, 9581-99, 9613, in Lewis and McIntosh, p. 15.
531 Lewis and McIntosh split the tradition into five definable groups: the Main Version (assigned MV), the Southern Recension (SR), Extracts (E), the *Speculum Huius Vite* (S) and the Latin Translation (L). Of manuscripts identifiable with religious owners:
MV 2, 11, 15, 19, 28, 40, 43, 49, 65, 70, 81, 83, 86; SR 5, 7, 12, 14 and 11 (written by Dom Stephen Dodesham of Sheen, owned later in the seventeenth century by John Sharrock, who loaned it to Robert Hesketh in 1651); E1, E7 (linked to a Carthusian house in the north of England. Lewis and McIntosh suggest Mountgrace, Yorkshire), and E8, and L5.
532 ibid., 155-156.

1448, indicates that she left a *Prick of Conscience* to the Cistercian nuns of Esholt, West Yorkshire.[533] Therefore, we know that at least one nunnery possessed a copy of the *Prick of Conscience*.

For whom, then, was Additional 11305 written? It could have been for a nun or a laywoman, though the presentation of the volume does not mark it as a luxury commission. The decoration is plain, lacking illumination, the only nods to colour in the form of red and blue penwork initials at the beginning of each chapter, alternating red and blue paraphs and Latin rubrics. Though the volume contains only a copy of the *Prick of Conscience*, there are signs in the gatherings near the end of the volume that the parchment was previously used by Dodesham to copy a table of contents from Barthomolaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*[534] and from which William Mede is found to have copied an extract.[535] Doyle also states that Dodesham's writing in Additional 11305 is comparably inferior in places, though this may have been a symptom of the varying quality of the membrane used to produce the manuscript.[536] Considering the plainness of its decoration, the varying quality of Dodesham's hand, the varying quality of parchment used, that Mede is also found copying an extract from the same text as found on the palimpsest leaves, and that certain second-hand leaves still bear the scraped-out writing from a previous project, it is less likely that this copy of the *Prick of Conscience* was made with a reader outside the charterhouse in mind. Despite the plainness of the decoration, however, the *ordinatio* used by Dodesham in Additional 11305 is very clear, the page framed in such a way as to devote chapter headings their own space at the top of the page, a margin ruled which holds space for numeric, sub-chapter section numbers as a reminder for the reader and as a possible reference tool. Latin subtitles or marginal notes and the top and bottom lines of text are enclosed by double-horizontal lines. Clearly, a degree of thought has gone into the planning of this volume in order to maximise clarity and ease of use for any potential reader who might pick up the book.[537]

Though its content does not seem in the first instance to have been relevant to Carthusians, as a valuable, easily accessible vernacular summary of contemporary theological concerns, the *Prick of Conscience* could have proven useful to any of the members of a given charterhouse, from lay brother to full choir monk, or even to a boy at the school at Sheen. That the volume is plain and contains very obvious second-hand parchment makes it likely that Additional 11305 was neither made for a patron nor intended for use

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[533] Carol Meale, '"...alle the bokes that I have of latyn, englisch, and frensch": Laywomen and their Books in Late Medieval England', in C. Meale, (ed.) *Women and Literature in England, 1150-1500* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993): 143.
[534] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 104. The palimpsest leaves are not mentioned in Lewis and McIntosh.
[535] See chapter three above, 71.
[536] op. cit.
[537] Of course, Dodesham may have reproduced the *ordinatio* of his exemplar, though the fact that he may have reproduced it means the schema was fit for purpose.

outside a charterhouse, and that another manuscript containing extracts from the *Prick of Conscience* is also strongly linked to a Carthusian charterhouse all reinforce the argument that Additional 11305 may have been made for Carthusian readership.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 423

Bodley 423 is a composite manuscript consisting of four separate volumes bound together during the seventeenth century.[538] These composite parts were originally labelled sections A to E,[539] however the cataloguer failed to recognise that sections B and C (ff. 128^{r}-243^{v}) were both copied by Dodesham. Therefore, it is likely that both parts always circulated together.[540] In discussion below, sections B and C will be considered a single unit (however, in order to preserve the continuity with other sources, they will not be relabelled). Section A (ff. 1^{r}-127^{v}) contains a collection of twelfth-century Latin sermons; section D (ff. 244^{r}-345^{v}) contains the *Stimulus conscientiae* in fifteenth century Middle English; and section E (ff. 346^{r}-416^{v}) a fifteenth century copy of John Capgrave's *Solace of Pilgrims*. Sections B and C are described exhaustively in Ayto and Barratt's edition of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum* for the Early English Text Society. This account of Bodley 423 is based on their descriptions and is included for completeness' sake, to situate it within the Dodesham timeline with a view to a potential reinterpretation of the making and circumstances of its making.

The contents of Section B are as follows: i) *Fervor amoris* (ff. 128^{r}-150^{r}) a devotional prose treatise, which offers the reader spiritual and moral guidance at a fairly elementary level, centred around the four degrees of love, published in two editions by Wynkyn de Worde as *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*,[541] ii) translation of an extract from book six, chapter sixty-five of the *Revelations of St. Bridget*, here titled *Informacion of Contemplatif lyf and Actif* (ff. 150^{r}-156^{v}), iii) two meditations, parts of which are in Latin (ff. 156^{v}-164^{r}), iv) verse translation of the *Salve Regina*, followed by a prayer in English (ff. 164^{rv}), v) *The mirrour and the mede of sorow and of tribulacion* (ff. 164^{v}-166^{r}) vi) short treatise *Ayenst the excusacion of lechery and othir dedly synnes* (ff. 166^{r}-167^{r}), vii) an abbreviated version of three chapters extracted from *Fervor Amoris* giving guidance on resisting temptation (ff. 167^{r}-168^{v}), viii) heralds the beginning of a series of extracts from the *Pore Caitiff*, which Dodesham also copied in

[538] There are two accounts as to how sections A-E of the manuscript came together, both of which are covered in J. R. Ayto and A. Barratt (eds.) *Aelred of Rievaulx's De institutione inclusarum*', xix.
[539] F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A summary catalogue of western manuscripts at the Bodleian Library at Oxford,* 2:1, 308-310.
[540] Ayto and Barratt, *De institutione inclusarum*, xx-xxi.
[541] Margaret Connolly, 'Mapping Manuscripts and Readers of *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*' in M. Connolly and L. Mooney (eds.) *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2008): 261. See also Connolly's edition, *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God,* EETS, original series, 303 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

BL, Additional, MS 11305. This extract (f. 168^{v}-170^{r}) is entitled *The counsaill of crist*, ix) another extract found in *Pore Caitiff*, though holding its ultimate origins in Richard Rolle's *Emendatio vitae*, upon which the author of *Pore Caitiff* drew heavily. This short extract (ff. 170^{r}-171^{r}) is entitled *Of Pacience*, x) Again from *Pore Caitiff*, called *Of Temptacyon* (ff. 171^{r}-171^{v}), xi) (ff. 174^{v}-178^{r}) *Chartre of Heuene*, also drawn from the *Pore Caitiff*, xii) and the last of the extracts from *Pore Caitiff*, here named *Hors either armure of heuen*, elsewhere known as *A treatise of ghostly battle*, xiii) ff. 178^{r}-192^{v} contains the English translation of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum*, xiv) *A tretys to lerne to wepe* (ff. 192^{v}-205^{r}) and item xv) (ff. 205^{r}-26^{r}) is *The boke of tribulacyon*, an English translation of the Old French *Li douze services de tribulacion*, a text which encourages moral self-scrutiny. There follows a gap of blank but ruled pages, until we come to f. 228^{r} and section C. Section C is much shorter and contains: xvi) *The Craft of Dying* (ff. 228^{r}-241^{v}) an English translation of the *Ars moriendi*. *The Craft of Dying* also features in Indiana, Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1, which William Mede played a role in constructing, though he did not copy the text.[542] This is followed by item xvii) another short extract from *Fervor amoris* (ff. 241^{v}) and the final item xviii) an extract from William Flete's *De remediis contra temptacionis*, attributed here and elsewhere to Rolle's *Form of Living*.

The sorts of texts contained by Bodley 423 and its decoration reveal potential aspects of the function of the volume; most importantly in this case, for whom Dodesham may have been writing. Bodley 423 has the *Fervor amoris*, a devotional prose text offering spiritual and moral guidance at an elementary level. The *Revelations of St. Bridget*, which is a mystical text, though this extract offers practical information on the contemplative and active lives, using female examples from the Bible to illustrate the differences inherent in each approach. The *Pore Caitiff* was a didactic, instructional manual that draws heavily on Rolle's *Emendatione vitae*. Although it was read by layfolk, Sister Theresa Bradley points out that by drawing so heavily on Rolle, the *Pore Caitiff* does not give any real place to the mixed life practised by pious laywomen.[543] Originally, Rolle wrote his *Emendatione vitae* for a nun: Margaret de Kirkby of Hampole in 1349.[544] That the *Pore Caitiff* was read by layfolk does not exclude an audience of potential religious readers. Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum* is a text that would have been of primary interest to religious, particularly religious women who had taken solemn vows. In it, Aelred creates 'a manual, providing spiritual guidance geared towards women – specifically religious women who had adopted the rigorous vocation of anchoress,' and it is therefore the only text that points to a religious purpose for the part of the manuscript copied by Dodesham.[545] The other texts would not have been out of place upon the shelves of the collections of women like the Duchess of Clarence and Dame

[542] See chapter three above, 79, 82.
[543] Sister M. T. Bradley, 'Rolle's *Form of Living* and *The Pore Caitiff*', *Traditio*, 36 (1980): 426-35.
[544] Paul Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality*, 192.
[545] Ayto and Barratt, *De institutione inclusarum*, xxvi.

Eleanor Hull. The only possible scenario linking a lay reader to Aelred's *De institutione inclusarum* might be one of an attempt by a well-placed lay woman to catch a glimpse into the mysterious inner life of the cloistered, with perhaps an element of escapism and wish-fulfillment, those involved with worldly affairs seeking to retire from it, albeit briefly, through learning about and absorbing themselves in a completely different world. *The Book of Tribulation* is a text in the same vein as the *Prick of Conscience* and *The Chastising of God's Children*, copied by Dodesham and Edmund Storer respectively, and all are based upon the theme of the encouragement of strict moral self-scrutiny and teaching how this should best be achieved.[546] The presence of *The Craft of Dying*, I suspect, increases the likelihood that Sections B and C of Bodley 423 were copied by Dodesham at Sheen. For although the text circulated widely, it appears in a manuscript in which the hand of William Mede features, and both versions have very similar incipits and explicits:

Bodley 423: *inc*. 'For asmuche as the passage of deeth...' *exp*. '...mediatour bitwene god and man Amen. Explict tractatus Vtilissimus de Arte moriendi.'

ND: *inc*. 'For als miche as þe passage of dethe...' *exp*. '...mediatour bytwix god and man Amen.' (f. 126^{r}).

Dodesham calls *The Craft of Dying* 'tractatus Vtilissimus', 'most useful', even going to the trouble of using the upper case for emphasis. *The Craft of Dying* was, indeed, very practical and served its purpose well as an instructional manual, providing theological discussion, moral instruction and model prayers in guiding the medieval soul through the difficult process of dying.[547] Ayto and Barratt, summarising the contents of sections B and C, state that: 'The combination of devotional and meditative interests, then, represented by MS Bodley 423 belongs to the mainstream of vernacular religious tradition; indeed, the only item in the collection that might be considered as out of place or unusual is the translation of Aelred's *Rule*.'[548] They also posit close links for Dodesham's part of Bodley 423 with two other manuscripts with remarkably similar contents: London, British Library, Arundel 197 and Cambridge, University Library, Ii.6.40, and note that, although these texts were by no means rare in terms of such devotional compilations, Cambridge, University Library, Ii.6.40 once belonged to Dame Joan Mouresleygh, nun of Shaftesbury in 1441 and 1460.[549] The presence of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum* in Bodley 423 combined with a similar devotional compilation being linked with

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[546] *The Chastising of God's Children* survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 505.
[547] For a detailed discussion of *The Craft of Dying* and its contents, see Nancy Lee Beaty, *The Craft of Dying: a study of the Ars moriendi in England*, Yale Studies in English, 175 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970): 1-53.
[548] Ayto and Barratt, *De institutione inclusarum*, xxvi.
[549] For the full list of contents of both manuscripts, see ibid., xxvi-xxix. Information on the ownership of Cambridge, University Library, Ii.6.40 was supplied by A. I. Doyle to Ayto and Barratt, xxviii.

a nun from the ancient Benedictine foundation of Shaftesbury – the richest nunnery in England – might point to Dodesham's part in Bodley 423 as having been intended for the use of a female religious.

If Bodley 423 were intended for a nun, the manuscript may not have reached its intended destination, or, if it had been sent away, the owner's grand plans for its decoration were quickly abandoned. Ayto and Barratt provide a detailed analysis of the decoration of Bodley 423, and from the information they provide, it is clear that it remained unfinished. The first gathering of section B (ff. 128^{r}-132^{v}) and the only two gatherings of section C (ff. 228^{r}-243^{v}) begin with a more ornate, ambitious schema, including red reference letters, capitals and chapter headings, with blue initials for each chapter, red and blue paraphs and marginal glosses underlined in red. The first folio of section C (ff. 228^{r}) even has the outline of a large marginal decoration which has only partly been filled in with red and blue, and other areas 'prepared with a beige undercoat which was probably intended to be covered with gold leaf.'[550] The remainder of section B becomes progressively less ambitious, until at gathering eleven, the chapter headings and Latin quotations – previously rubricated – are in plain ink underlined in red. Only the red parts of the decoration have been supplied in gatherings two to thirteen – the letters which were supposed to be in blue having been supplied by Dodesham in minuscule as a guide to the illuminator.[551] The decoration seems originally intended to have been luxurious, but this intention was quickly abandoned. It is difficult to speculate why. Perhaps the project suffered from a sudden lack of funding, the patron or commissioner of the manuscript sections having withdrawn support or even having died. This seems to me less likely when other evidence reveals that perhaps Dodesham himself did not see it as finished and therefore it was not sent to the illuminators for decoration. The last gathering of section B (gathering thirteen, ff. 220^{r}-229^{v}) is left ruled but unfinished, as is the last gathering of section C (gathering two, ff. 236^{r}-243^{v}), as though to make room for more text. Ayto and Barratt also concluded that both sections circulated together – unbound, partly decorated and incomplete – for quite some time, as the first folio of section B (ff. 128^{r}) is dirty and much discoloured.[552] Why was it left this way? It could have been a sudden lack of materials or funding, or perhaps the priority of the project may have been reassessed and Dodesham consequently turned his attention to copying another more urgently needed text. As a religious, he may even have been busy with other duties, or, since we now know that it is most likely his part of Bodley 423 was copied at Sheen, he may have left for Witham, or he might even have died before finishing it. It is impossible to say, but a combination of any of the above scenarios may have played a part in Dodesham having left this particular piece incomplete.

[550] ibid., xx.
[551] op. cit.
[552] op. cit.

Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 3042

Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 3042 (Add. 3042) is another small volume. Measuring 115 x 70mm, it is even smaller than Trinity B.14.54, and is still housed in its modest medieval binding (though it is in a fragile condition).[553] Add. 3042 is described by Doyle in summary form and in detail by Alexandra Barratt and Jayne Ringrose.[554] This summary of Bodley 423 is based on the descriptions of these scholars and is included for completeness' sake, to situate it within the Dodesham timeline and to place it within the context of its making and circumstances of making.

Ten or more (at least twelve) contemporary hands make contributions to Add. 3042, with a few later sixteenth-century hands making minor additions. The number of hands involved, all copying distinct texts, explains the complex nature of the volume's quiring and decoration, leading both Doyle and Barratt to describe the construction of Add. 3042 as having grown, quite possibly over a number of years, in a collaborative process of accretion with no evidence of planning. Doyle hypothesises that these accretive units 'could have been assembled from various sources over a wide area as gifts for a member of a religious community and augmented within it.'[555]

The manuscript contains items in Latin, English and a few examples of French: i) Instructions for the correct observance of Ascension and Pentecost in Latin with English rubrics (3^{r}-6^{v}). ii) Hours of the Holy Spirit, in Latin (7^{r}-32^{r}). iii) Various short items, including a Hymn, versicle and response of St. Etheldreda; antiphons of St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul; and prayers to the Holy Trinity (33^{r}-35^{v}). iv) Text II of Rolle's *Meditations of the Passion* (36^{r}-78^{v}). v) Form of confession for a religious, in English (79^{r}-80^{v}). vi) Three Latin psalms (81^{r-v}). vii) Diagrams of ladders of vices and virtues from the *Speculum Christiani*, labelled in Latin, (82^{r-v}). viii) Treatise on sins of the heart, word and deed again taken from the *Speculum Christiani*, this time in English (83^{r}-97^{v}). ix) Prayer to the Trinity in Latin (97^{v}-98^{r}). x) Prayer to 'howre lady' in English followed by another Latin prayer (98^{v}-99^{r}). xi) Devotions to Christ's wounds in English and Latin (99^{v}-105^{v}). xii) Hours of the Compassion of the Blessed Virgin Mary (106^{r}-109^{r}). xiii) Extracts from the Revelations of St. Bridget, in English (109^{r}-113^{r}). xiv) Ave Regina Caelorum, one of the four Marian antiphons (113^{v}). xv) Prayers devoted to Gabriel, Raphael, the

[553] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 108. Barratt measures 110 x 75mm. Ringrose measures 117 x 85mm.
[554] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 106-08; Alexandra Barratt, 'Books for nuns: Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 3042', *Notes and Queries*, 44:3 (September, 1997): 310-319; J. S. Ringrose, *Summary catalogue of the additional medieval manuscripts in Cambridge University Library acquired before 1940* (Woodbridge, Suffolk : Boydell Press, 2009): 53-55.
[555] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 108.

prayer's guardian angel and St. Anne (114^{r}-115^{v}). xvi) A devotional treatise derived from Bonaventure's *De Triplici Via*, copied by Stephen Dodesham (f. 116^{r}-125^{r}). xvii) A short note in a Textura hand on St. Gregory, on the verso of the final leaf of Dodesham's copy of *De Triplici Via* (125^{r}). xviii) Veni Sancte Spiritus, a sequence for the Masses of Pentecost (126^{r}). xix) French and Latin prayers and psalms (127^{r}-131^{v}). xx) A treatise on the Five Sorrows of Our Lady, followed by badly damaged fragments of Latin prayers (132^{r}-134^{r}, 134^{v} blank and the fragments of Latin prayers follow on f. 135).

A number of the items listed point to Add. 3042 as having been originally owned, compiled for, partly copied by, or copied in mind of female religious, particularly one who either belonged to the Augustinian Order, or another similar, such as the Bridgettines or Dominicans, who followed an adapted version of the Augustinian Rule. Items ten, eleven and nineteen are Latin prayers containing feminine forms, which potentially point to a female readership.[556] Item five could point, more specifically, to a religious reader, as its text contains the telling phrase 'ne I haue take hede so hertely to the obseruaunces of religioun as I shulde'.[557] In the same item, Barratt also mentions the penitent crying out: 'godde mercy with all myn hert and oure lady seynt marie, seint Augustyn, and all the seynts in heuen,' implying that the name-checking of St. Augustine of Hippo flags a potential connection to his eponymous Order. Over and above the female-centric prayers and devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Anne, the presence of St. Etheldreda in Add. 3042 could reveal an even more specific link to the Augustinian canonesses of Canonsleigh Abbey, Devon, which was dedicated to the saint.[558] Doyle and Barratt both concede that this attribution is unlikely, as the linguistic evidence from Add. 3042 is not consonant with a Devonshire origin. Dialect is not always an accurate indicator of a scribe's origins, where a text was written, or, indeed, where that text might have ended up. Dodesham seems to have been from the south-west, yet his language is determinedly colourless. The hands designated D and F by the compilers of LALME are from Lincolnshire,[559] Hand A is also from Lincolnshire, and Hand B from Huntingdonshire, while the rest are less northerly.[560] The quires may have come together from various locales, however, any attribution to a particular place should not be ruled out immediately on the basis of dialect. Canonsleigh Abbey, therefore, may very well have been the final destination of the quires which eventually came to form Add. 3042. Aside from Canonsleigh, there were twenty-eight other houses of Augustinian canonesses,[561] though Barratt notes that only six of those houses have attributable surviving evidence of a contemporary

[556] Barratt, 'Books for nuns', 112.
[557] op. cit.
[558] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 107, and Barratt, 'Books for nuns', 312-13.
[559] *LALME*, vol. 1, 66; vol. 3, 279, LP 425. eLALME, LP 425.
[560] Doyle, in private communication with Angus McIntosh, in 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 107, n. 48.
[561] D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (London: Longman, 1971, repr. 1984.)

manuscript culture.[562] Among those houses is Campsey Ash, Suffolk, which agrees with the more southerly hands of Add. 3042 on linguistic grounds and also agrees, at least potentially, on provenance, Doyle noting that the volume 'is one of a small group of manuscripts from the former Brent Eleigh parish library, Suffolk, which may suggest Campsey as its source' (before qualifying this with the further observation that 'not all of these manuscripts were so local').[563] Campsey Ash also owned five manuscripts, so it is not outside the realms of possibility that Add. 3042 could have had its origins in Suffolk, which is not so far from Sheen as Witham. There remains, of course, the possibility that Add. 3042 belonged to a female religious of another order like the Bridgettines at Syon, or the Dominicans at Dartford, Kent, who adhered to an adapted version of the Augustinian Rule and for whom we know Dodesham had already written.[564]

This time, however, Dodesham seems not to have been alone in his work. Including Dodesham, there are two (or three) potential Carthusian colleagues working together in Add. 3042 on a group of items in close proximity. Dodesham fills most of a quire with item sixteen, his copy of *De Triplici Via* (ff. 116^{r}-125^{r}). A different Textura hand fills in the blank space at the back of the quire on f. 125^{v} with item seventeen: a note on St. Gregory. According to Barratt and Doyle, this hand also occurs elsewhere in the volume, copying items fourteen and fifteen.[565] That the Textura scribe is filling in blank space on the back of Dodesham's quire indicates that both Dodesham and the Textura scribe had easy access to the quire. The Textura scribe also copies off the back of the scribe of item thirteen, a copy of the *Revelations* of St. Bridget, which ends f.113^{r}, before the Textura scribe begins copying on the following verso. If Barratt's attribution of items nine and eleven (the latter one of the Latin prayers containing feminine forms) to the scribe of thirteen is correct, then I argue that, rather than having been written by nuns, that it is entirely possible that the majority of this manuscript was instead copied by Carthusians for the use of Augustinian canonesses.

It certainly seemed that Dodesham was aware for whom he was copying. Item sixteen contains his copy of a Middle English version of Bonaventure's *De Triplici Via*. Often erroneously titled *Incendium amoris*, in it, Bonaventure sets out and distinguishes the different degrees of perfect charity. To Paschal Robinson, *De triplici via* is to mysticism what the *Breviloquium* was to scholasticism; like the *Craft of Dying*, it was a *tractatus Vtilissimus*.[566] Despite the authoritative status held by Bonaventure's *De triplici via*, however,

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[562] Barratt, 'Books for nuns', 313
[563] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 108, n. 49.
[564] Barratt, 'Books for nuns', 313
[565] Doyle, 107-108. Barratt attributes items fourteen, fifteen and seventeen to Hand H, 'Books for nuns', 312.
[566] Paschal Robinson, 'Saint Bonaventure', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907).

Barratt noticed that the editor/compiler of this Middle English version has done something rather odd to the text, observing that it has been completely 'emptied of strictly mystical content and reworked as a devotional exercise, accessible to any pious Christian,' in line with the English stance on discouraging visionary and mystical aspirations among its female religious population.[567] To the end of the text, a short, Latin note is appended:

> Compilator istius libelle, exercitando ista, plura bona inuenit quam scribit vel fari potuit a deo; consulit deuota ad augmentacionem sue deuocionis crebre frequentat ista.[568]

In this note, the compiler of the text proclaims to possess experience in support of his advice to the devout soul, who, dedicated to increasing their devotion, should frequently make use of the complier's work. Doyle remarks that it would be interesting if this were Dodesham's own compilation.[569] Considering his prior work for nuns discussed above, the other devotional manuscripts of a practical, basic, edificatory nature which he copied and his ability to distinguish which are 'most useful', it is by no means impossible. Given his experience, if this Middle English version were indeed compiled and edited by Dodesham, he would be quite entitled to insist on his being able and qualified in advising the devout soul. It would certainly tie in with what we know of his colleagues James Grenehalgh and William Darker, and even William Mede, who may have served as the confessor of Cardinal Beaufort.[570]

Witham Charterhouse

The next group of manuscripts to be discussed mark a significant change in the life and work of Dom Stephen Dodesham. After at least twenty years of quiet and obedient service at Sheen,[571] Dodesham uprooted and made the hundred mile journey from Surrey to Somerset to take up a cell at Witham charterhouse. As discussed above in chapter two, it was not unusual for Carthusians to transfer between houses.[572] Some monks had skills that were needed, such as Richard Borton, Prior of Beauvale, Hinton

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567 Barratt, 'Books for nuns', 314.
568 ibid., 317. Add. 3042, f. 125^{r}.
569 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 108.
570 For the tale of James Grenehalgh, see Michael G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, 2 vols., AC, 85:2 (Salzburg : Institut, 1984). For William Darker, see A. I. Doyle, 'William Darker: the work of an English Carthusian scribe', *Medieval Manuscripts, their makers and users: a special issue of Viator in honor of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). For Mede's connection with Cardinal Beaufort, see chapter three above, 76-78.
571 From his ordination in 1437 until the completion date of de Lyre's *Postillae* in 1457, possibly longer if Dodesham transferred to Witham not long before he completed the Cockerell/Duschnes manuscript for Witham in 1462.
572 See above, chapter two, 21.

and Axholme, an accomplished builder who, when he had repaired one priory, was moved on to the next.[573] Some were promoted, like Robert Benet, who began his career at Sheen before his promotion to the office of prior at Beauvale.[574] Some were visitors, trusted officials like Richard Borton who were appointed by the General Chapter to ensure discipline and stability were upheld in other houses of their province, and who were therefore permitted to spend time at other communities for the duration of their inspections. Other visitors, like John Whetham, were just passing through with books.[575] Certain groups of monks were uprooted from their place of profession and transplanted into fledgling communities, to aid the development of new foundations. Others wanted a change of scene; some moving within their province and others, such as Dom Richard Dixton, a professed monk of Hinton who died at the charterhouse of Naples in 1473-74, moving further afield.[576] A few dissident monks, such as James Grenehalgh, were decanted to other communities for disciplinary reasons.[577] It is therefore unclear why Stephen Dodesham decided to leave Sheen charterhouse for Witham. It is unlikely, however, to have been related to any transgression on his part, as this would have been noted in the annals of the *General Chartae*. If Dodesham was indeed related to the Dodeshams of Cannington, Somerset, then Witham charterhouse would not have been so far from home as Sheen. Perhaps Dodesham, like Richard Dixton, wanted a change of scene and thought being nearer to home would be preferable. I also offer the possibility that, given his connections to Dame Eleanor Hull, that his transfer could have been related to her removal by 1458 to the Benedictine Priory at Cannington, the seat of the Dodesham family, just before her death.[578]

Dodesham managed to remain at Witham for at least twelve years, during which time he developed a startling animosity towards the incumbent prior, John Pester,[579] which eventually saw him sent back to Sheen under threats of perpetual silence and imprisonment. Depending on when Dodesham moved, he might even have been caught up in the scandal that surrounded Richard Vyell, the runaway prior who was deprived of office in 1450-51, the effects of which would no doubt have still been felt by the community of Witham at the time of Vyell's appointment in 1465 to the vicarage of Woolavington, Somerset.[580] We

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573 M. Sargent and J. Hogg (eds.), *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS. Latin 10887, Part I: 1438-1446 (Ff. 1-144)*, AC, 100:3 (1984): 88.
574 C. B. Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England* (University of York: unpub. doctoral dissertation, 1981): 491.
575 Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 329; Doyle (ed.), *The Libraries of the Carthusians*, 622-623.
576 Hogg, 'Life in an English Charterhouse', 29.
577 Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, 2 vols., AC, 85:2 (Salzburg : Institut, 1984).
578 See above, 136.
579 David M. Smith (ed.), The *Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 1377-1540*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: University Press, 2008): 365.
580 Richard Vyell (or Viell) prior of Witham from c. 1443-1450/1 and named executor in the will of Cardinal Beaufort of 1447. In the same year, the General Chapter ordered an enquiry into his rule, and a

know that Dodesham was working for Sheen until the completion of the four volumes of Cambridge, University Library, Dd.7.7-10 for the community of St. Albans, Roger Huswyff and Dame Eleanor Hull, which was presented on 17th May, 1457. By 1462, Dodesham resided at Witham, as the inscription in the former Cockerell/Duschnes manuscript reveals:

> Liber Domus beate Marie de Wytham ordinis Cartusiensis quam scripsit Domnus Stephanus Dodesham monachus eiusdem Domnus Anno Domini Millesimo quadragentisimo sexagesimo secundo.[581]
> [Book of the house of the Blessed Mary of Witham of the Carthusian Order, which was written by Dom Stephen Dodesham, monk of the same place in the year of our lord fourteen hundred and sixty two.]

Furthering this manuscript's association with Witham charterhouse is the presence of the 'skilled Secretary hand' of the Witham librarian in this inscription, who also recorded some of the books donated by John Blacman and who added other *ex-libris* inscriptions to Witham's books.[582] It is one of only two surviving manuscripts in which Dodesham's calligraphic skill is shown not to have been limited to his accomplished Anglicana Formata, for in the New York, former Cockerell/Duschnes manuscript, Dodesham is revealed to have possessed an equally accomplished and beautiful Textura hand. As Textura by the mid fifteenth century had become less conducive to the idiosyncrasies of individual scribes in the formation of its letters than any of the more cursive Anglicana scripts, there may be more of Dodesham's Textura work that has survived but has yet to be identified.[583] The formation of Textura letters was also a slower and more laborious process, therefore the text contained in this manuscript – a copy, 105 folios long and in Latin, of the pseudo-Augustine *Sermones morales ad fratres suos in heremo* followed by a

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few years later, in 1450-51, Vyell deserted his post and became a runaway religious. He was deprived of office by the General Chapter and his successor, John Pestor, issued a warrant for his arrest on 20th May, 1451, and Vyell was caught and disciplined by the General Chapter. Two years later, on 19th July, 1453, Vyell, still referred to as prior of Witham, received royal pardon from Henry VI an unspecified offence committed during his peregrinations. In 1459, Vyell was appointed Bishop of Killala, Ireland, and was granted papal permission to reside in England, though Vyell's appointment never took effect (Rowntree, however, states that Vyell was still bishop in 1464 and won a dispensation to hold any benefice). Vyell was recorded as having acted as suffragan in Bath and Wells diocese, and he was eventually appointed to the vicarage of Woolavington, Somerset, in 1465, which he still held in 1479; cf. Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England*, 540; David M. Smith, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 1377-1540*, 365; F. Donald Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, 1240-1540* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996): 215, and Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 306.

[581] Inscription from S. C. Cockerell, 'Signed Manuscripts in my Collection', *Book Handbook*, vol. 1 (1947): 432.

[582] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 94.

[583] '...by the mid fifteenth century the script had been further developed, becoming more artificial as letter shapes became inflexible, and features of style were crystallized.' M. B. Parkes, *Their hands before our eyes: a closer look at scribes,* 105.

short prayer – would have been a time-consuming task for Dodesham, and one that would have taken a great deal of skill, dedication and patience.[584] The effort involved in producing this small volume (145 x 100mm) was clearly valued by the Witham community, as the book was illuminated, its first folio sporting an illuminated initial of a mitred cleric and sinuous, flowing floral decoration.[585] London, Lambeth Palace, MS 410, a larger volume from the nearby Hinton charterhouse, Somerset, containing the same pseudo-Augustine sermon, measuring 238 x 159mm, with mostly thirty-eight lines to a page, spans thirty folios.[586] The first folio of the New York manuscript is ruled for sixteen lines per page and spans one-hundred and three folios.[587] It seems to me that Dodesham, therefore, might even have been at Witham before 1462, for the book would likely have had to have been in a complete or near-complete form to merit the Witham librarian's inscription.

Cambridge, University Library, Kk.6.41

Cambridge, University Library, Kk.6.41, does not possess any of these overt connections and is more tenuously connected to Witham charterhouse than the New York manuscript. I offer the possibility that there is an equal chance that this volume could have been produced at Sheen. Measuring 135 x 95mm and decorated with blue capitals surrounded by red penwork, the entire volume is copied by Dodesham and contains twelve short, Latin spiritual treatises commonly found in Carthusian collections. Kk.6.41 has been described by Doyle, and by Hardwick and Luard.[588] This summary of Kk.6.41 is based on the descriptions of those scholars and is included for completeness' sake, to situate it within the Dodesham timeline and to place it within the context of its making and circumstances of making.

i) *Speculum peccatoris* of Richard Rolle of Hampole (here attributed to St. Bernard) (1^{r}-21^{v}). Ff. 22^{r}-24^{v} are blank. ii) A sermon, here attributed to St. Augustine, on confession (25^{r}-28^{v}). iii) Another extract from the same sermon on the same subject (28^{v}-34^{r}). iv) Another short extract on the subject of confession and conversion attributed to St. Augustine (34^{r}-38^{v}). v) Sermon on the Lord's Prayer (38^{v}-46^{r}). vi) Sermon on the fire of purgatory (may be Augustine's Sermon 104, v. 2601) (46^{r}-56^{r}). vii) Sermon on the Day of

[584] Cockerell, 'Signed Manuscripts in my Collection,' 432 and 449, including plates 7 and 7b.
[585] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 95, pl. 7.
[586] M. R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, containing parts 4-5 of the original edition*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: University Press, 1932, reissued 2011): 565.
[587] Cockerell, 'Signed Manuscripts in my Collection', 432, pl. 7. See also, Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 95, pl. 7.
[588] For the Carthusian manuscripts in which these texts are found, see Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 108, n. 50. C. Hardwick, H. R. Luard (et al.) *A catalogue of manuscripts preserved in the library of the university of Cambridge*, I (Cambridge: University Press, 1856): 731-733.

Judgement (may be Augustine's Sermon 249, Append. v. 2998) (56^{r}-61^{r}). viii) Sermon on the book of the joy of the chosen and the damnation of the supplicants from *De tribus habitaculus* (attributed here to St. Augustine, but elsewhere to St. Patrick) (61^{r}-77^{r}). ix) Sermon on eternal life, attributed to Augustine (77^{r}-80^{r}). x) Sermon on the end without end (80^{r-v}). xi) *Secreta meditacio beati Jeronimi* (81^{r}-83^{r}). xii) A very significant revelation which the reader is to note well concerning St Brice (83^{r}-93). xiii) Of a soul in purgatory and its diverse punishments, an extract from the *Revelations* of St. Bridget, from which William Mede also copied an extract (see Cotton, Vespasian D.ix above) (94^{r}-99^{v}). xiv) On the commendation of divine mercy, an extract from the *Summa veritatis theologiae* (99^{v}-103^{v}). xv) Letter of Venturinus de Bergamo against blasphemy (103^{v}-113^{r}). xvi) On the benefit of temptations and tribulations which God temporarily permits to afflict and weary his chosen ones (113^{v}-124^{v}). xvi) Accounts written on red plummet on the end leaves of the volume (125^{r}, 126^{r-v} blank, 127^{r-v}, 128^{r} blank and 128^{v}).

The contents of Kk.6.41 are consonant with texts which appear in other Carthusian collections. They are also entirely in Latin, which may exclude the majority of nuns and lay brothers in its readership. This book, therefore, was likely made for the use of a Carthusian, or at least a religious reader who was proficient in Latin. However, it is not the series of short, Latin extracts that provide clues as to its provenance. The accounts, roughly jotted down on the end leaves of the book in red plummet, record, according to Doyle, the receipts of large sums of money, 'most probably forced loans to Henry VI's government (c. 1445-50).'[589] Henry VI was a notorious debtor, 'the most insolvent of all medieval English kings',[590] who, carrying on the tradition of most of his immediate predecessors and successors, circumvented the inconvenient medieval laws prohibiting usury by taking advantage of the 'benevolence': when wealthy subjects were asked in begging letters from Chancery to make loans to the king.[591] The accounts mention money having been collected from the town of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, and the Abbot of Tewkesbury;[592] the town of Cardiff 'kerdef';[593] 'prore durstie', which could be Durston, Somerset, where Buckland Priory was located;[594] the town of 'cabbrge', which could be Cambridge, or Cowbridge, a town in south Wales in the Vale of Glamorgan, not far from Cardiff;[595]

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589 op. cit.
590 Alexander Grant, *Henry VII: the importance of his reign in English history* (London: Methuen, 1985): 42.
591 I hesitate to use the term 'forced loans', as K. B. McFarlane argues convincingly that 'benevolence', 'chevisance/chevance' and other such terms were euphemisms for usury, and that the royal forced loans were not forced at all, but often subject to crippling interest rates. K. B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1981): ch. 4, 57-79.
592 Cambridge, University Library, Kk.6.41, f. 127^{r}
593 ibid., f. 127^{v}
594 ibid., f. 127^{r}
595 ibid., f. 127^{v}

from an individual by the name of 'danyt machell' who could be a relative of John Machell, MP, 1637-1704, of Hill's Place, Horsham, Sussex, who was descended from a London cloth worker of Westmorland origin;[596] and received from Coventry 'couintre' via an individual known only as 'nanfan'.[597] Doyle links 'nanfan' to 'John Nanfan, 1400-1459, of Worcestershire and Cornwall', who was 'M.P. for the former and Chamberlain of the Exchequer, 1445-46, and also Constable of Cardiff.'[598]

There is confusion surrounding the figure of John Nanfan; namely whether the records relate to one man or two men of the same name. Most modern sources treat John Nanfan as one man,[599] while others split his achievements across a generation, between a Sir John Nanfan, snr., who was recognised for his long service to Henry V in his wars in France, and a John Nanfan, jnr., who served as Governor of the Channel Islands and died shortly before 1477.[600] The dates seem confused, the *History of Parliament* biographies claiming dates of 1400-1459 for a John Nanfan, the *Victoria County History* article stating Sir John Nanfan, snr. died in 1446 (amending this by later mentioning that Nanfan's will was dated 1446, but that he was still alive in 1447 when he received a grant), and the work of Tim Thornton in *The Channel Islands* revealing that John Nanfan, Governor of Jersey and Guernsey, was *still* alive and well in 1460 and was even re-appointed governor for ten years on 12th May, 1460, when Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, was stripped of his Lordship of the Isles.[601] If there are, indeed, two men by the name of John Nanfan, then it is most likely that John Nanfan jnr. is the 'nanfan' referred to in the Kk.6.41 accounts.

John Nanfan was from a Cornish family and served the Beauchamp family, from Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to his wife, Isabel Despenser, then their son Duke Henry Beauchamp, 14th Earl of Warwick, then Duke Henry's daughter Anne, and after that, Duke Henry's sister Anne Beauchamp.

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596 B. M. Crook, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, (ed.) Basil Duke Henning (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1983) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/machell-john-1637-1704> [accessed 29/05/2013].
597 Cambridge, University Library, Kk.6.41, f.128v
598 J. C. Wedgwood and A. D. Holt, *History of Parliament: Biographies of Members of the Commons House 1439-1509* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1936): 621-3; cf. Doyle, *Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen*, 109, n. 51.
599 Michael Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); Tim Thornton, *The Channel Islands, 1370-1640: Between England and Normandy* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012).
600 'John was a member of an ancient Cornish family and was Sheriff of Cornwall and of Worcestershire and esquire of the body to Henry VI. His will is dated 1446, but he was alive in 1447, when a money grant was made to him 'in consideration of his long service to Henry V in his wars of France, where he was taken prisoner and ransomed at great cost.' His son John Nanfan was justice of the peace for Cornwall and for Worcestershire in 1451, Warden and Governor of Jersey and Guernsey in 1452 and 1457. John Nanfan died shortly before 1477.' William Page and J. W. Willis-Bund (eds.), 'Parishes: Birtsmorton', *A History of the County of Worcester*, 4 (1924): 29-33 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42850> [accessed 29/05/2013].
601 Thornton, *The Channel Islands,* 43.

Through Anne Beauchamp, Nanfan came to serve her husband, 'the Kingmaker' Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick. Nanfan began his career as an estates administrator, though he proved himself capable in dealing with international politics through his diplomatic missions abroad and the offices he held in Wales, the south-coast of England and the Channel Islands. Nanfan was Warwick's man during the hotly-contested partition of the Beauchamp/Despenser inheritance, of which Warwick eventually emerged the victor. By 1449, Wicks states that:

> Warwick had secured the Beauchamp lands in Wales, holding half or more probably all of Glamorgan in the custody of administrators sympathetic to his aims. He was in Abergavenny in September, 1449. Warwick visited Cardiff on several occasions in the same year, his estates steward was William Herbert of Raglan, who claimed expenses from Tewkesbury Abbey's grange of Llanwit, which Warwick later pardoned. [602]

Wicks goes on to add:

> Up to April 1450, all the issues from Glamorgan were taken by John Nanfan, the receiver appointed by Duke Henry [Henry Beauchamp, brother of Anne, Warwick's wife] and Thomas Butler. Warwick was at Cardiff in the Autumn of 1449, when he was accepted unambiguously as lord by the receiver of Tewkesbury Abbey estate.[603]

The names Nanfan, Tewkesbury, Tewkesbury Abbey and Cardiff are all connected during the short period from 1449-1450 through Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, for that was when Warwick (and by extension Nanfan) was most active in south Wales. This might indicate that – despite the locations of the Kk.6.41 account receipts being nearer to Witham – the manuscript was written at Sheen, for Dodesham was still there in the 1450s and certainly until c.1457. Nanfan was occupied with business in Calais shortly after, having first won the appointment of Warden and Governor of Jersey and Guernsey in 1452, and he was certainly acting for Warwick during his missions to Chinon in early 1449 and to the Duchess of Burgundy in early 1451.[604]

If these accounts represent loans to the government of Henry VI, then a date of 1449 to the early 1450s seems a likely *terminus ante quem* for the creation of Kk.6.41, for the flyleaves on which the accounts were written, Doyle observes, were originally ruled like the rest of the book, indicating that the gatherings were in a finished state by the time the book fell into the hands of the account-keeper – most likely a

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602 Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 47.
603 op.cit.
604 Thornton, *The Channel Islands,* 41.

layman.[605] If the account-keeper was indeed a layman, this raises the interesting question as to how he gained access to a book containing markedly Carthusian content, in Latin, from the library at Sheen. Was it loaned, gifted, or was the account-keeper able to read it *in situ* as a visitor, like Petrus Rykeman?[606]

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 46

Another manuscript which may only potentially be attributed to Dodesham's time at Witham is Oxford, Trinity College, MS 46, though the evidence for a connection with Witham is stronger than in Kk.6.41. It also contains an inscription and is therefore the only surviving book in which Dodesham names himself as copyist:

> Orate pro anima domni Stephani Dodesham huius libri scriptoris. dicendo deuote Anima eius & anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam dei requiescant in pace.[607]
> [Pray for the soul of Dom Stephen Dodesham writer of this book. Pronounce these words devoutly: his soul & the souls of all the faithful, departed through the mercy of God, rest in peace.]

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 46 (hereafter referred to as Trinity 46) is a ferial or choir Psalter.[608] The manuscript has been described in Doyle, and in Alexander and Temple. This summary is based on the descriptions of those scholars and is included to situate the manuscript within the its content within the context of its making and circumstances of making. The ferial may be distinguished from the Psalter in that the Psalter contains only Psalms, while the ferial contains additional material for the performance of daily services, such as antiphons, chapters, canticles and short responsories.[609] In this case, Trinity 46 is almost entirely written in Latin save the brief verses in English on calculating Easter, and contains canticles, litanies and lessons for the dead, and is marked as a Carthusian ferial by the presence at the beginning of the manuscript of a Carthusian liturgical calendar.[610] That this ferial was copied by Dodesham for practical use during the daily services within the Order, therefore, is not in doubt. Whether he copied Trinity 46 at Witham or Sheen, however, is harder to establish.

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605 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 108.
606 For discussion of outsiders borrowing Carthusian books, see chapter two above, 40. For Petrus Rykeman, see chapter three, 59-60.
607 Oxford, Trinity College, MS 46, f.167^{v}.
608 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 95-96. J. J. G. Alexander and E. Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985): 58, plate 598.
609 Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to the Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University Press, 1982): 119, 226-231.
610 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 95.

It is a larger volume than the New York Cockerell/Duschnes manuscript, measuring 287x180mm – not far off the dimensions of a sheet of A4 paper – and Alexander and Temple identify its accomplished illumination as belonging to the Franco-Flemish style.[611] Internal textual evidence tied to Carthusian liturgical practice provided by Doyle suggests a dating of ca.1468-1474, which extends through Dodesham's troubled period at Witham from c. 1457/1462 - 1470/1, after which he had returned to Sheen by 1471.[612] It is difficult to date and therefore pinpoint whether Trinity 46 was created for the use of Witham or Sheen on the evidence provided by knowledge of the Carthusian liturgy. Equally ambiguous is the list of saintly kings that precedes Dodesham's inscription, as both Witham and Sheen were founded by royal Henrys. As Doyle observes, however, that St. Hugh, the celebrated first prior of Witham, is invoked twice in the litanies of Trinity 46 leans more in favour of Witham than Sheen as its place of creation.[613] Doyle suggests the Franco-Flemish style of illumination is more consonant with the capital than with Somerset, and therefore points to a Sheen origin. However the book could easily have been sent from Witham to London or elsewhere for decoration and binding.[614] That the Textura of Trinity 46 is the same as that of the New York, Cockerell/Duschnes manuscript (which, with its inscription by the Witham librarian, is most likely a book of that community) may indicate, albeit tenuously, a connection favouring Witham over Sheen.[615] I make the tentative hypothesis that Textura having used in both volumes with links to Witham may also hint at the differences in scribal cultures within Witham and Sheen. Where Dodesham's work at Sheen allowed extensive use of the vernacular as well as Latin, varieties of script grades – most prominent the less formal Anglicana Formata – was at times plainly decorated and permitted him to copy for other religious communities and individuals, the evidence we have for Dodesham's work at Witham points to a scribal culture that was decidedly more conservative, featuring Textura-grade script and practical, conservative, traditional Latin source material that was beautifully illuminated and for strictly in-house use. It was also far less productive. During his twenty years or so at Sheen from 1437-c.1457 and from another eleven or twelve years after his return in 1470-71 till his death in 1481-82 Dodesham may have completed up to sixteen books.[616] At Witham, where he resided for around fourteen years from c. 1457-1470/1 surviving evidence suggests two.

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611 ibid, 95-96. Alexander and Temple measure 287 x 150mm for Trinity 46. J. J. G. Alexander and E. Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985): 58, 602, and pl. 589.

612 'The calendar contains (in the original hand and ink) the feast of the Visitation authorized for the whole Carthusian order in 1468, though allowed much earlier in England; it does not have that of the Presentation of the BVM authorized in 1474'. Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 96. See also, A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London: Longmans Green, 1955): 25, and Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice*, AC, 99:33, 60, 73.

613 op. cit. Witham was founded by Henry II, and Sheen by Henry V.

614 op. cit.

615 ibid, 95.

616 I have included Bodley 619, Sankt Georgen 12, CUL Dd.7.7-10, Downside 26542, Bodleian eng.poet.e.15, Hunter U.4.16 and 17 (originally one volume, therefore counted as such), BL Add. 11305,

It was clear that Dodesham was not happy at Witham, or at least not towards the end of his stay. At Sheen, he seems to have been able to use his scribal talents to the fullest, combining his skills in that area with the knowledge acquired in his reading to eventually become able to advise the devout soul, as he states in his edited version of *De triplici via*. Even though Dodesham was secure and silent in his cell at Sheen, through his scribal work, there would have been a sense of dialogue, of having a sense of purpose and means of communication through intellectual exchange that extended much further than the walls of his community, whether it was over the river at Syon, or further afield at Dartford or St. Albans. His work might also have been appreciated at Sheen, as it was still a relatively new foundation when he joined its ranks in 1437, and it would have needed books, as the prior in 1420 was ordered to ensure he had a sufficient number to conform to the liturgical practice of the Order.[617] Witham, it appears to me, seems to have fostered a rather different culture. The oldest of the communities of the *provincia Anglia*, reputedly founded in 1178/9 by Henry II in reparation for the murder of Thomas Beckett, it was poorer than Sheen,[618] but would have had most of the books it needed, perhaps the only ones needing replacing being the ones most in use: liturgical books, like the Trinity 46 ferial. Witham also received books second-hand and as gifts: Durham Cathedral, MS A.IV.30 was a second-hand Bible, originally from France and adapted for Carthusian use at Witham;[619] sixty-eight of Witham's books were donated to the community by John Blacman when he entered as a *clericus redditus*.[620] There may not have been as much scope for preaching the word of god with his hands, for spiritual advising, as there were no Brigittine nuns or brethren across the water with whom he could maintain a comparatively quick and easy correspondence. Witham charterhouse was constructed around the old-style desert foundations, as opposed to the newer urban charterhouses discussed in chapter two and of which Sheen could be counted among their number.[621] Therefore there would have been less intrusion upon their solitude, no dignitaries coming to

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CUL Add. 3042, Bodley 423, Cambridge, Trinity College B.15.16, CUL Kk.6.41, Dublin Trinity College F.5.8 (678), Bodleian Rawlinson A.387B, Hunter T.3.15, Bodley 549, Cambridge, Trinity College, B.14.54. I have not included the single leaf supplied by Dodesham in BL, Harley, 630. This count may increase to seventeen, depending on where Dodesham's copy of Macer's *Herbal* was made, surviving in CRO, Chester: D/4398/1.

617 J. Hogg (ed.), *MS Grande Chartreuse 1. Cart. 15: Chartae Capituli Generalis 1411-1436*, AC, 100:8 (Salzburg: Institut, 1986): 11.

618 See the table of relative values of the Charterhouses in 1535, compiled by Rowntree from J. Carey and J. Hunter's edition of *Valor Ecclesiasticus Tempore Henrici VIII Auctoritate Regis Institutus*, 6 vols (Record Commission, 1810-34), in Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England*, 417. Sheen was valued at £777 12s 0½d and was the richest Carthusian community in England (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 2:53). Witham was sixth in the list, valued at £215 15s (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1:158).

619 Julian M. Luxford, 'Precept and Practice: The Decoration of English Carthusian Books', *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 233.

620 R. Lovatt, 'The library of John Blacman', 200. Blacman's gifts to Witham are listed in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 154, fly leaf and ff. 1^{r}-2^{v} and have been published in Doyle, *Libraries of the Carthusians*, 630-651, and Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 317-322.

621 See chapter two above, 36-40.

visit and living in the guesthouse, no grand Lord Scropes to ask for books copied.[622] In comparison with Sheen, Witham seems to have been a true wilderness, with nothing to do there but pray, chant the hours and dream up grudges against the prior. Similar behaviour occurs even in modern Carthusian communities:

> On the walks, Dom Gregory would say, pointing to the power lines above, "That's the only place around here where there is more tension than in the Charterhouse." The monks irritated each other a lot. Dom Philip thought that the monks were more aware of other people's oddities because they didn't talk. Dom Bonaventure loved to tell the story about the monk who entered his cell in such a state of anger and agitation that he couldn't even speak. Eventually, he calmed down enough to say that Dom X really hated him. When Dom Bonaventure asked him why, he said, "Didn't you see the way he handed me the bell rope last week?"... Dom Philip had weighed the difficulty of solitude before he came to the Charterhouse. He had not weighed the problem of the other monks. He was taken aback at the tension between men who didn't even talk to each other. The solitary regimen actually encouraged tensions. Although the monks left their cells three times a day, they only talked to each other during an hour long Sunday recreation and on the walks, which meant perhaps an hour's conversation with each monk every month. But indirect conversations every week or so did not resolve tensions. This sort of tension, what some might call pettiness, is a temptation in an environment with little external stimulus; some monks succumb to it, others are not affected. Hidden under the cloak of charity, the monks might, perhaps, mention their irritation obliquely on the weekly walks, but they could only talk directly to their confessor. Unless the monks were able to sublimate their irritation...these tensions continued unabated, driving some of them into illness and out of the Charterhouse... Since no new information came inside the cloister to change the monks' ideas, the Charterhouse offered fertile ground for unmediated opposition, for prejudice, for factions. Doms Gregory and Leo, for example, had a lifelong animosity over the nature of choir; Dom Leo didn't care how it sounded, and Dom Gregory did.[623]

Controversy

The desert community at Witham seems to have had a recent history of dissent within its ranks in the years before Dodesham arrived. In 1427, John Corsham, then prior, was granted release from office, having been the victim of a rebellion involving three of his monks: Dom Robert, the sacristan, had been 'rebellious and disobedient to the prior and had introduced seculars into the cloister' – a *scandalum et*

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[622] Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 143-144.
[623] Nancy Klein Maguire, *An Infinity of Little Hours,* 113.

magna infamia – and two others 'hindered the prior in the execution of his office, even to the laying of violent hands upon him.'[624] The community at Witham was then at the mercy of a series of inefficient priors. First, Thomas Pollard, who was ordained at Sheen in 1417 (and was therefore a contemporary of William Mede).[625] Pollard was promoted from the post of procurator at Hinton charterhouse to that of prior of Witham in 1442 and lasted only a year in office due to his duplicitous character, having concealed from the Carthusian Order his obtainment in 1441 of a papal dispensation to hold a benefice, in direct defiance of the Carthusian Statutes. To make matters worse, the papal exemption had been granted to Pollard upon his false assertions that he had consulted and had been given permission by the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse and the General Chapter to bend the rules of the Order. Upon discovery of his 'fox-like craft', Pollard, 'so ambitious and so pestilent a person to religion' was swiftly and decidedly dealt with.[626] In 1451, the General Chapter noted 'considerable disorders' had 'recently troubled the peace of the charterhouse of Witham', most likely referring to the runaway prior, Richard Vyell, Pollard's successor. When John Pester stepped in around 1451, the community of Witham was in such a bad way that the General Chapter was forced to appoint other trustworthy Carthusians and even outside authorities to regulate affairs there.[627] Perhaps Dodesham was one of those trustworthy monks sent from Sheen with the intention of stabilising the community there. John Pester seems to have been an efficient prior, for though it took a few years to settle his community again, upon his appointment to office, it seemed to have been business as usual at Witham charterhouse. One of his charges, however, seems to have developed a startling animosity towards him.

The *chartae* for 1469 relates the bare bones of this curious tale:

> Priori domus de Wytham non fit misericordia. Et quia domnus Stephanus Dodesham monachus eiusdem domus nimis [confuse], prolixe et irreuerenter scribit, non respondetur sibi pro presenti.[628]
>
> [The Prior of the house of Witham is not granted mercy. And since Stephen Dodesham, monk of the same house, writes in too confused, prolix and irreverent a way, we will not answer him for the present.]

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624 J. Hogg (ed.), MS Grande Chartreuse 1. Cart. 15: Chartae Capituli Generalis 1411-1436, 11. See also Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, 303.

625 Thomas Pollard, ordained deacon and professed at Sheen Priory on the 5th June, 1417, by John Sewale, bishop of Surrey, at London, Crutched Friars Church, St Mary's Chapel. Davis, *London Clergy*, Clifford f. 79v.

626 Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 305. Mede was ordained sub-deacon on the same day, by the same person, in the same place. Davis, *London Clergy*, Clifford, f. 79v.

627 Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 306.

628 J. Clark (ed.), *The* Chartae *of the Carthusian General Chapter: London, Lambeth Palace MS 413, Part III: 1461-1474 (Ff. 301v-458v)*, 117.

At Witham, Dodesham seems to have written a rather lengthy letter, disrespectful in tone; so disrespectful that the General Chapter seems to have decided to adopt the strange strategy of both ignoring and acknowledging it, letting Dodesham know their opinion of it without going into detail that might upset the peace of the Witham community.

It seems, however, that the General Chapter's strategy did not pay off, as matters become abundantly clear when we come to the *chartae* for the year 1471:

> Prior[i] domus Jesu [de] Bethlem iuxta Shen' non fit misericordia... Et domno Stephano Dodesham professo dicte domus scribenti contra Priorem de Witham, non solum inordinate sed eciam false prout sufficienter informati sumus, super suis sc[ri]ptis & articulis pertetuum silencium imponimus sub pena inobediencie & carceris.[629]
> [The Prior of the house of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen is not granted mercy... And Dom. Stephen Dodesham, professed of the said house, who writes against the Prior of Witham, is not only inordinate but also false, as we are adequately informed. On his writings and articles, perpetual silence is imposed on pain of disobedience and imprisonment.]

Dodesham bore a grudge against John Pester, a grudge so strong that it followed him even after he was transferred back to Sheen at some point between 1469 and 1471. It seemed that even at Sheen he was still writing to the Grande Chartreuse, determined to be heard, whatever the veracity of his complaints. Interestingly, the career of one of Dodesham's colleagues, William Marshall, echoes this strange episode. Marshall, vicar of Sheen, was promoted to the office of prior at Hinton charterhouse in 1441. While prior, Marshall was victim of letters of false accusation sent to the Grande Chartreuse in 1456, which were subject to an enquiry held by the General Chapter.[630] Though proven false, the accusations seemed to have affected Marshall's standing in the community, as the Hinton brethren elected William Hatherlee in his place, and in 1457, he was admonished not to pester the new prior.[631] Marshall was likely transferred back to Sheen, as he is recorded as having died there in 1472.[632] Though Marshall was subject to an enquiry and was eventually demoted, there were no threats of imprisonment or perpetual silence made against him by the General Chapter, as in Dodesham's case. Doyle notes that 'transfers from one Charterhouse to another, temporarily or permanently, were not unusual in cases of personal difficulties,

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[629] ibid., 144-45.
[630] Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, 307-8.
[631] Lambeth Palace, MS 413, f. 264^{r}
[632] ibid., f. 433^{r} and London, British Library, Add. 17092, f. 19^{v}. Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England*, 521.

but such a severe threat was less common.'[633] Whatever their content, it was sufficiently inflammatory to incite threats of imprisonment, a fate more commonly reserved for only the severest cases of disobedience.

It was clear that Dodesham was unhappy at Witham, and it is interesting to speculate on whether the differing scribal cultures between Witham and Sheen discussed above could have contributed to his spectacular outburst and eventual return to the house of his initial profession. Unlike his colleague William Darker, Dodesham did not appear to have viewed copying as an act of penance, but rather as 'preaching the word of god with his hands'.[634] He copied so many books during his time in the Order that either he was masochistically inclined or he had found a vocation within his vocation and perceived copying books as a pious act.[635] His sense of purpose taken from him at Witham, there may have been nothing else to do but pray, chant the hours, and sit in his cell, dwelling perhaps upon how John Pester had handed him the bell rope the week before.

Return to Sheen:

Oxford, Trinity College, 46 appears to have been one of the last books Dodesham copied for Witham (or is at least the latest surviving example) because by 1470/1, the Witham community had finally managed to rid themselves of him and he had been sent back to Sheen, the house of his initial profession. After the initial outburst, Dodesham seems to have settled again, as there were no further reports of misdemeanour (though this apparent contentment could, of course, be attributed to the threats of imprisonment from the General Chapter) and he returned to work, copying several more beautiful books on behalf of Sheen priory.

At least two of those manuscripts were copies of the Carthusian Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*.[636] Surviving in fifty-six manuscripts, printed twice by Caxton in 1484 and 1490 and reprinted seven times by Pyson and de Worde between 1494 and 1530, in England, Love's *Mirror* was the most successful and enduring of the late-medieval, vernacular lives of Christ.[637] A translation of

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[633] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 96.
[634] At f. 181^{v} in British Library, MS Add. 22121, Darker writes: 'Liber domus Jesu de Bethleem ordinis cartusiensis iuxta Shene quem scripsit Domus Willielmus Darker monachus et professus eiusdem domus in remissionem peccatorum suorum'.
[635] Luxford, 'Precept and Practice', 238-9.
[636] Dodesham made three copies of Love's *Mirror*, but one may have been made before his transfer to Witham.
[637] A. W. Pollard, (et. al.) (eds.) *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640,* 2nd ed. (London: Biographical Society, 1976): nos. 3259-67.

Johannes de Caulibus' *Meditationes vitae Christi*, Love's intent was to cater for an audience of 'men and women, literate and illiterate, religious and lay' who keenly desired to read devotional texts in the vernacular.[638] In compiling his material, Love showed great skill as a translator and a thorough knowledge of the source material in adapting it, sometimes making quite original additions, to suit the needs of his audience.[639] Some of these additions appear to have been included with a view to combating the threat of Lollardy and the increase in circulation of unorthodox Wycliffite texts and ideas: a threat which was still very near when Love first appears on the record as the fourth rector of the newly-founded Mount Grace charterhouse, Yorkshire, in 1409, and as its first prior in 1410.[640] To combat this threat to orthodoxy, Archbishop Thomas Arundel promulgated his constitutions in 1407-09, which placed heavy restrictions on vernacular translations such as Love's and forbade their transmission unless submitted for approval to a local bishop. These restrictions may have prompted Love to submit his *Mirror* (which appears to have circulated before the arrival of the constitutions) to Arundel for approval. This approval was granted in 1411, and having won this official endorsement from Arundel, Love's translation was safe, had been granted the stamp of orthodoxy and was free to be copied and read by the devout souls, men and women, literate and illiterate, religious and lay, he had envisaged since its inception. It is uncertain when Love's *Mirror* reached Sheen, though if we take the word of the anonymous author of the *Speculum devotorum* at face value, word of it, at least, had reached Sheen by the 1450s. Dodesham's three copies of Love's *Mirror* survive in:

i) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.16
ii) Glasgow, Hunterian, MS Hunterian 77 (T. 3. 15), and
iii) Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson A.387B

Though the evidence for MS B.15.16 appears to indicate it was copied earlier in Dodesham's career, for convenience and to avoid unnecessary repetition, it will be discussed here together with the two later copies.

Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.16

638 W. N. M. Beckett, 'Love, Nicholas (*d.* 1423/4)', *DNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53111> [accessed 29/05/2013].
639 I. R. Johnson, 'The Latin source of Nicholas Love's *Mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*: a reconsideration', *Notes & Queries*, 33:2 (1986): 157–60.
640 D. Smith, *Heads of Religious Houses, 1377-1540*, 362. 'Desc. as 4th rector until 1411 and 1st pr. 1412-21', this according to Hogg, *The pre-reformation priors of the Provincia Angliae*, AC, new series, 1, no. 1 (1989): 55, n. 161. According to Dom Palemon Bastin, Love was prior in 1410, in Hogg (ed.), *Dom Palémon Bastin's extracts from the Acta of the Carthusian General Chapter for the Provincia Angliae. Parkminster MS B. 77*, AC , 100:21 (Salzburg: Institut, 1988): 82.

Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.16, (hereafter Trinity B.15.16) has been described in Bernard, James, Sargent, Mooney and Doyle.[641] This summary is based on the descriptions of those scholars and is included for completeness' sake, to situate the manuscript within an updated context of its making and circumstances of making. Trinity B.15.16 contains a copy of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Sargent dates Trinity B.15.16 to c. 1450, and it was written by Dodesham on parchment leaves numbering 134 leaves, measuring 300 x 210mm,[642] in single columns ruled to accommodate thirty-three lines each.[643] Decoration consists of alternating gold and blue initial letters with red penwork flourishing, full-page border on f. 5^{r}.[644] A table of contents is provided by Dodesham on f. 1^{r-v}. Inscriptions by its owners reveal Trinity B.15.16 once belonged to John Langridge, priest. Langridge's family appear to have lived in Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland (now Cumbria), though Langridge himself need not have lived there all his life:

> pray for the good helthe of John langrig' pryest, and for the sovllys of nicholis langrig' Roger and Robertt sonnys of y^{e} seid nocholys[645]
>
> and;
> Obitus nicholai langrige iij die Januarii A.d. M.^{to} cccc xiiij^{o} cuius anime propicietur deus et corpus dicti nicholai sepultus est in ecclesia b. marie virginis in kyrkby in lonisdall in comitatu westmerland Eboracensis dioc[646]
> [The death of Nicholas Langridge on the 3rd day of January 1514 on whose soul may God have mercy and the body of the said Nicholas is buried in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kirkby Lonsdale in the county of Westmorland.]

According to James, Trinity B.15.16 also once belonged to a parson of Barkham, Berkshire:

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641 M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, vol. 1, (Cambridge: University Press, 1900) 479-80, item 352; Sargent (ed.), *Nicholas Love's 'Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ': A Critical Edition*, lxxvii; L. R. Mooney, *The Index of Middle English Prose Handlist 11: Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1995): 17-18; Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 102.
642 James measures 11⅞ x 8¼ (302 x 210mm), Scott measures 301 x 210mm. Kathleen Scott, Waseda, 63.
643 James, 479.
644 Kathleen L. Scott, 'The Illustration and Decoration of Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*', in S. Oguro, R. Beadle and M. G. Sargent (eds.) *Nicholas Love at Waseda* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1997): 71.
645 Trinity B.15.16, f. 134^{r}.
646 op. cit.

> M[d] that the xiiiij day of Septender in the feaste of the exaltacyon of the crosse the yere of our lorde gode a thowsonde fyve hundred lij kynge Edwarde the sixte and in the sixte yere of hys gracis regne hvnted in the bear wood in the forest of Wenssor and theer dide his grace kyll a great bucke and d... John Wylson of barkham then kepper of the balywick of fynchamsted and of the bear wood. Also the kyngs grace was that same tyme w[th] in the paryshe of barkham[647]

Also on f. 134[v] is a list of payments ranging from one penny to sixteen pence, headed 'barkham. The xvth and x of our sovereign lorde kyng Henry the viij', or 1523/24, indicating that Trinity B.15.16 belonged to the Barkham parson before the Dissolution of Sheen in 1539. The book may have been sold or gifted, but there is also the chance that Trinity B.15.16 could be one of the sorts of sought-after books that were borrowed and not returned from well-stocked Carthusian libraries.[648] Before finding its way to Berkshire, the manuscript probably belonged first to John Langridge, c. 1514, though the inscription could have served as a memorial after the event. It was still in Berkshire in 1552, then passed at an indeterminate point into the hands of George Willmer, who donated it to Trinity College, Cambridge, c.1608-1614.[649] Sargent's latest collation of the majority of the surviving *Mirror* manuscripts in his 2004 reading text places Trinity B.15.16 in the γ branch, 'comprising ten manuscripts plus two of mixed affiliation' which is 'most certainly scribal in origin'.[650] Within the γ group, Trinity B.15.16 belongs to the γ1 branch, which tends more towards agreeing with readings from Sargent's α group, alpha most probably representing 'the form of the text that was approved by Archbishop Arundel for circulation', although Trinity B.15.16 does share certain features, among them the 'Memorandum' and the 'Treatise on the Sacrament', with Sargent's β group.[651]

Distinguishing γ from other branches, Sargent states that the γ witnesses incorporate Latin scriptural quotations into the text itself rather than in the margins and do not show signs of textual contamination with the Middle English *Meditaciones de Passione*, and citing the presence of the Latin version of the meditation on the Ave Maria and Latin quotations embedded within the text, Sargent concludes that the γ branch may have been a 'clerical' version of Love's *Mirror*, which, generally, appear to have been cheaply produced, probably for personal use.[652] The decoration of Trinity B.15.16, however, clearly marks it as an exception. Sargent also offers evidence for the dissemination of the γ branch as having

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[647] op. cit.
[648] See chapter two above, 40.
[649] Christopher de Hamel, 'The Selling and Collecting of Manuscripts', *Nicholas Love at Waseda,* 88, n. 5.
[650] Sargent (ed.), *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, xxiv, xxxv.
[651] Michael G. Sargent, *Patterns of Textual Affiliation in the Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's '*Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ', Geographies of Orthodoxy Project (2009) <http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/resources/affiliations.php> [accessed 29/05/2013].
[652] op. cit.

originated from London and the area to the south and west.[653] Is the composite nature of this branch and the effort taken to prevent the introduction of corrupting elements such as the Middle English *Meditaciones de Passione* indicative of the Carthusian preference for uncorrupted texts (as referred to in chapter two)?[654] If Trinity B.15.16 does represent a clerical version of Love's *Mirror*, this would perhaps explain its subsequently being owned by a priest and a parson in Berkshire (whether it was gifted to him or he neglected to return it to its rightful owners), although its original owner would have had to have been wealthy enough to commission its fine decoration. Sargent dates the creation of Trinity B.15.16 to the second half of the fifteenth century, therefore it is more likely that Dodesham copied this manuscript as a professed Carthusian monk than in any secular capacity. Perhaps Trinity B.15.16 was an outside commission. Interestingly, the author of the *Speculum devotorum*, a Sheen Carthusian, referred directly to Nicholas Love as 'a man of oure ordyr of charturhowse' who had already translated the *Meditaciones vitae Christi* into English, but that he had only 'herde tell' of it from his prior.[655] The *Speculum devotorum* was disseminated c. 1450, at a time when Love's *Mirror* had been circulating since its approval by Arundel in c.1410. If we take the author of the *Speculum devotorum* at his word, and that this anonymous Carthusian, most likely from Sheen, had only 'herde tell' of Love's work from his prior, then Love's *Mirror* may have reached the more southerly charterhouses rather later, perhaps due to demand for exemplars from other quarters. Sargent and Doyle view Trinity B.15.16 as having been copied earlier in Dodesham's career (perhaps earlier at Sheen). Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A. 387B and Glasgow, Hunterian Library, MS Hunterian 77, the two remaining *Mirror* copies made by Dodesham, are placed a little later and are much more closely related and bear stronger connections to Sheen charterhouse.

Glasgow, Hunterian Library, MS Hunterian 77

Glasgow, Hunterian Library, MS Hunterian 77, (hereafter Hunterian 77) has been described in Young and Aitken, Sargent, and Doyle.[656] This summary is based on the descriptions of those scholars and a physical

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[653] op. cit. With the exception of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 131, which has 'solid York connections'.
[654] See chapter two above, 33-34.
[655] ND f. 1^{r} and Gg. i. 6 f. 1^{rv}.
[656] J. P. Young and P. H. Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1908) <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=34501> [accessed 29.05/2013] ; Sargent (ed.), *Love's 'Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ': A Critical Edition*, lxxvii; Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 102.

examination of the manuscript, and is included to place the manuscript within an updated context of its making and circumstances of making. Hunterian 77 contains a copy of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. A contemporary inscription in a different hand from Dodesham's indicates it belonged to Sheen charterhouse, was copied in 1475 and was written by Dodesham on parchment leaves numbering 165 leaves,[657] measuring 286 x 222mm,[658] in a mixture of single and double columns ruled to contain the prefatory material and the main text respectively, initially accommodating 26 lines before reverting to 33 lines per page for the rest of the volume.[659] Decoration consists of a full-page border on 3^{v}, floreated pages and borders, gilt initials, blue initials with red penwork, alternating paraphs blue with red penwork and red with blue penwork, running titles in red, capitals and the letter w – resembling Trinity 678 below – have a yellow background,[660] and a later hand provides foliation, leaves an inscription relaying instructions as to how the book should be bound at f. iii^{v} and imposes double margin lines throughout the volume in pink ink. Folio iii^{v} bears the following inscription: 'Thys Boke be longgyth on to the Chartter hows of schene wrettyn by þe hand[is/es] of dane stephene doddzam monke of þe same plasse the ȝer of Kynge Edwarde the fourthe fourteenthe', that is from March 1474 to March 1475. It also bears inscriptions in the hands of Dr William Hunter at f. iv^{v}, Thomas Frognall Dibdin at f. ii^{r} and the price of the volume £5.0.0 in 1747.[661] Thorpe suggests that before Hunterian 77 came to Dr Hunter, it was once owned by Thomas Martin of Palgrave (1697-1771).[662] N. R. Kerr adds that it may then have come into the hands of the bookseller, Thomas Payne (1716/18-1799), to whom Thomas Martin sold a substantial part of his book collection in 1769.[663] Hunterian 77 was bequeathed to Glasgow University in 1783 by Dr Hunter but retained as per the conditions of his will in London for the use of his nephew,

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[657] Young and Aitken state, 'originally ff. 168.' *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow*, <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=34501> [accessed 29.05/2013].

[658] Doyle measures 280 x 205mm and Scott measures 228 x 215mm. See Doyle, Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen and Kathleen L. Scott, 'The Illustration and Decoration of Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*', 63, n. 5.

[659] Young and Aitken, *Catalogue* <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=34501> [accessed 29/05/2013].

[660] Biggs (ed.), *The Imitation of Christ: The First English Translation of the 'Imitatio Christi'*, xx.

[661] Helen Brock, 'Hunter, William (1718–1783)', *DNB* (Oxford: University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14234> [accessed 29/05/2013];
John V. Richardson Jr., 'Dibdin, Thomas Frognall (1776–1847)', *DNB* (Oxford: University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7588> [accessed 29/05/2013]. The price of Hunterian 77 is discussed in Christopher de Hamel, 'The Selling and Collecting of Manuscripts', 89.

[662] N. Thorp, *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Glasgow University Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 1987): 96, no. 42. For Thomas Martin of Palgrave, see David Stoker, 'Martin, Thomas (1697–1771)', *DNB* (Oxford: University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18212> [accessed 29/05/2013].

[663] N. R. Ker, *William Hunter as a Collector of Medieval Manuscripts*, Edwards Lecture on Palaeography, 1st ed. (Glasgow: University Press, 1983): 20-21. For Thomas Payne, see David Stoker, 'Payne, Thomas (1716x18–1799)', *DNB* (Oxford: University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21655>, [accessed 29/05/2013].

Matthew Baillie, until it was deposited in the university library in December 1807.[664] Like Rawlinson above, Hunterian 77 belongs to Sargent's α3 branch, to which a Carthusian origin is attributed (discussed below), in this case obvious, evidenced by the inscription at f. iii^{v}. Though this copy of Love's *Mirror* is the only one to have any contemporary attribution to Sheen, evidence may suggest that the origins of Trinity B.15.16 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A. 387B may also lie there.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A. 387B

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A. 387B (hereafter Rawlinson) has been described in Macray, Sargent and Doyle.[665] This summary is based on the descriptions of those scholars and is included for completeness' sake, to place the manuscript within an updated context of its making and circumstances of making. Rawlinson contains a copy of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Scott dates Rawlinson on the basis of its decoration to c. 1460-70,[666] and it was written by Dodesham on parchment described by Doyle as 'a mixed, inferior' kind on which 'the ink has not taken or held very well',[667] numbering 134 leaves in single columns ruled to accommodate 28-31 lines per page.[668] Decoration consists of only spray initials, no borders, and initial decorated with the Holy Name monogram at f. 3^{v}, which Scott dates to c. 1460-70.[669] Rawlinson suffers from poorer presentation overall, though it was at least important or useful enough to have been decorated with spray initials. Doyle notes that Dodesham's hand is comparatively larger and coarser, the irregularity of the ruling resulting in inconsistent numbers of lines per page, the considerable number of corrections, supplied both by Dodesham and other hands, and the note 'corrigitur' at the foot of some of the last pages of quires – indicative of supervision – all leading Doyle to believe Rawlinson 'may have been copied in haste, ill-health or old age.'[670] Rawlinson belongs to Sargent's α3 branch, the alpha affiliation, Sargent states, most probably representing 'the form of the text that was approved by Archbishop Arundel for circulation.'[671] The α3 group is small, comprising only three manuscripts and two are written by Dodesham: one

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664 Young and Aitken, *Catalogue,* <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=34501>, [accessed 29/05/2013].
665 William D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. 5, part 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1862): 384; Michael G. Sargent, *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Critical Edition*, lxxvii; Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 102.
666 Kathleen L. Scott, 'The Illustration and Decoration of Manuscripts', 67.
667 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 102.
668 op. cit.
669 Scott, 'The Illustration and Decoration of Manuscripts', 67.
670 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 102.
671 Sargent, Patterns of Textual Affiliation in the Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* <http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/resources/affiliations.php> [accessed 29/05/2013].

Rawlinson, the other Hunterian 77.[672] Sargent believes the Hunter manuscript has been contaminated by non- α3 readings.[673] In his examination of the punctuation of the *Mirror* manuscripts, Parkes notes that there is similarity in Dodesham's use of punctuation in Rawlinson and Hunterian 77, but not absolute identity.[674] Could these non- α3 readings be represented in the extensive corrections present in Rawlinson? If so, Rawlinson, in the spirit of Carthusian interest in textual criticism and purity, could represent a carefully copied and checked-over exemplar for a fairer copy of the *Mirror* which might have become Hunterian 77. Sargent states there are also 'variations coincident with γ manuscripts – particularly with the anomalous γ2 [sic. γ1] manuscripts Tr1 and Fw'.[675] This may serve as evidence furthering my hypothesis that the Trinity B.15.16 manuscript was copied at Sheen. Sargent views the small α3 group as possibly Carthusian in origin, due to the small number of witnesses comprising the group and their relatively late dates of copying. That a Carthusian copied two out of the three also lends credence to Sargent's theory. Did Dodesham copy Rawlinson at Sheen charterhouse? That it is rather more closely related to Hunterian 77, I suspect, edges probability in the favour of such a hypothesis, as Hunterian 77 bears a contemporary inscription and date which places it firmly in the library of Sheen. Perhaps Rawlinson was one of the first projects he undertook when he returned from Witham. Another brief project Dodesham most likely attended to during his second sojourn at Sheen is London, British Library, Harley, MS 630: a single supply leaf from a copy of the *Gilte Legende*.

London, British Library, Harley, MS 630

The provenance of the manuscript copy of the *Gilte Legende* surviving in London, British Library, Harley, MS 630, (hereafter referred to as Harley 630) is difficult to place. Associated with Lydgate and St. Albans, with a single leaf supplied by a known Carthusian and owned by a layman, Harley 630 could conceivably have been made at any point in Dodesham's career. I argue, however, that there are a few clues within the volume which discount the possibility of Dodesham's having taken the supply leaf on in a commercial capacity and instead point back again to St Albans.

Harley 630 has been fully described in the third volume of Hamer and Russell's edition of the *Gilte Legende*.[676] This summary account is based upon the description of those scholars and is included for

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[672] The third α3 manuscript is London, British Library, MS Additional 11565.
[673] op. cit.
[674] M. B. Parkes, 'Punctuation in Copies of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*', *Nicholas Love at Waseda*, 51, n. 13.
[675] Tr1 refers to Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.16 and Fw to Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 127. See Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, ed. Michael G. Sargent, xxxiv.
[676] Richard Hamer and Vida Russell (eds.), *Gilte Legende*, vol. 3, EETS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 10-12.

completeness' sake, to situate its content within an updated context of its making and circumstances of making. Harley 630 contains a complete cycle of the English *Gilte Legende* (the text ends on f. 356^{r}) and on f.1* a pasted-in fragment of six Latin verses. Hamer dates Harley 630 to the mid-fifteenth century, and it was written by one main scribe on parchment leaves numbering 1* + 367 leaves, measuring 280 x 205mm, with a written space of 210 x 160mm in double columns ruled to accommodate thirty-nine lines each.[677] Decoration consists of alternating red and blue paraphs, borders and some initials touched with gold and other initials in blue on a red background.[678] The text of the *Gilte Legende* ends on f. 356^{r}, and on ff. 356^{v}-366^{v} follows a table of contents added by a Dutch-spelling scribe.[679] Another different fifteenth-century hand supplies foliation, which does not account for Dodesham's insertion at f.163, and numerous corrections are supplied by various hands both within the text and in the margins.[680] Hamer has assigned Harley 630 the sigil H1 and it is very closely affiliated within the EH1 branch with Dublin, Trinity College, MS 319 (T1), which, Hamer states, was copied from Harley 630 'after many changes or corrections in that manuscript had been inserted.'[681]

The dating of Harley 630 is facilitated by textual clues. In the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 372, another copy of the *Gilte Legend*, a colophon is supplied, which reads: 'And also here endith the lives of Seintis that is callid in Latynne Legenda aurea and in Englisshe the gilte legende, the whiche is drawen out of Frensshe into Englisshe, the yere of oure lorde a M. CCCC. and xxxiij; bi a synfulle wretche'.[682] If the author of the Douce 372 colophon is to be taken at his or her word, the *Gilte Legende* was completed, or at least was being copied, by 1438.[683] Larissa Tracy argues convincingly that Harley 630 was at St. Albans and was available there as a new, year-old source for Lydgate's *Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*, which was completed in 1439 and commissioned by Abbot John Whethamstede.[684] Tracy also argues that Harley 630 was copied with the interest of St. Alban in mind, with its generously extended life of St. Alban and references to 'King Offa, þe Foundre of þis monasterie' rather than 'the founder of the monastery that nowe is called Seinte Albones' that appears in another *Gilte Legende*

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677 ibid., 10-11.
678 ibid, 10.
679 op.cit. For the Dutch-spelling scribe, see Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 104.
680 ibid., 10-11.
681 ibid, 27.
682 F. Madan, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts: collections received during the first half of the 19th century. Nos 16670-24330.*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897): 610.
683 Manfred Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends* (Heidelberg: Universitatsverlag Carl Winter, 1998): 136.
684 Larissa Tracy, 'British Library MS Harley 630: Saint Alban's and Lydgate', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, vol. 3 (2000): 36-58. G. F. Reinecke also argued in his 1985 edition that it was perfectly feasible for Lydgate to have had access to the year-old *Gilte Legend* at St. Alban's. *Saint Albon and Saint Amphibalus by John Lydgate,* ed. G. F. Reinecke (New York: Garland, 1985): xxxiii.

manuscript: London, British Library, Additional MS 35298.[685] If Tracy is correct in her assertion that Harley 630 was a source available at St. Albans upon which Lydgate based his 1439 *Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibalus*, then Stephen Dodesham could not have supplied the single leaf at f. 163 in a commercial capacity, as he was professed at Sheen charterhouse on 28th February, 1437. Was this another case of Dodesham taking up scribe work for St. Albans whilst a solemnly professed Carthusian monk? The name Edward Goldisburgh may provide, if not all the answers, then at least several solid lines of enquiry.

At the top of f. 233^{v} is written 'Edwardo Goldisburgh constat liber.' Edward Goldisburgh was from a Yorkshire family, the younger son of Sir Richard Goldisburgh and Elizabeth Norton. His older brother, Thomas Goldisburgh, married Joanne Chaworth, possibly a relative of Elizabeth Chaworth, on whose behalf ND was copied by William Mede. Edward Goldisburgh first appears on record on 8th May, 1476, when he was commissioner of the peace for the West Riding, a post he held at least until 8th June, 1468.[686] On 10th March 1471, like Dodesham, he was listed 'gentilman' and in conjunction with John, bishop of Exeter, master John Walter, clerk, Margaret Hurtebees 'silkewoman', Richard Oldum, and Laurence Booth, bishop of Durham who later became archbishop of York and chancellor of England, Goldisburgh was given the gift of all the goods and chattels of Robert Oldum.[687] In 1471, he was also numbered among a group who received demise and quitclaim in the manors of Burghersh, Mase and Ewell in Surrey, Sussex and Middlesex.[688] This seems to suggest that Goldisburgh's interests were moving further south, though on 12th February 1473, he was still involved with business in Yorkshire, as he was commissioned to enquire into the seisin of land there.[689] On 31st August 1474, Goldisburgh became a feofee of Alice Portalyn of St. Bartholomew's Close and Isleworth, the heiress whose hand was so coveted that upon the death of her second husband, she was the victim of kidnap and rape by a man intent upon acquiring her fortune.[690] By 1479, Alice Portaleyn had died and Goldisburgh was appointed executor of her will alongside John Barton, Master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, with a London lawyer, Roger Philpot, assigned the role of supervisor.[691] By 1480, Goldisburgh was associated with individuals

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685 ibid., 38-41.
686 H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Calendar of Patent Rolls. Edward IV, Henry VI: 1467-1477*, vol. 15 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900): 185.
687 W. H. B. Bird and K. H. Ledward, 'Close Rolls, Edward IV: 1471-1472', *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward IV: 1468-1476, volume 2* (1953): 180-191, entry 675 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=110942> [accessed: 29/05/2013]. See also, Larissa Tracy, 'Harley 630', 44.
688 Larissa Tracy, 'Harley 630', 44.
689 Maxwell-Light, *Calendar of Patent Rolls: 1467-1477*, 378.
690 Anne F. Sutton, 'Alice Domenyk-Markby-Shipley-Portaleyn of St Bartholomew's Hospital Close and Isleworth: The Inheritance, Life and Tribulations of an Heiress', *The Ricardian*, vol. 20 (2010): 62.
691 op. cit.

from Isleworth and the All Angels area.[692] Isleworth was the parish of Syon abbey and Sheen was not very far away.

By 26th June 1483, Goldisburgh had managed to earn the position of Third Baron Exchequer, attended the coronation of Richard III, having been granted coronation livery to wear for the occasion, and from 1483-85, Goldisburgh seems to be based in Hertfordshire.[693] Goldisburgh survived the fall of Richard III and was reappointed 3rd Baron Exchequer. A promotion followed on 5th December 1488, as Goldisburgh rose to the office of 2nd Baron Exchequer, though this was only granted 'during good behaviour'.[694] Goldisburgh's will was proven on 12th November 1495 and Tracy suggests that he may have fallen alongside other Yorkist sympathisers: 'Edward Goldisburgh, being a baron of the Exchequer and a former Yorkist supporter, may have been implicated in the plot with Sir William Stanley, one of his superiors in the Exchequer,' though the circumstances of his death remain a mystery.[695] Despite being subject to doubtless busy life of a baron of the Exchequer, Goldisburgh evidently set aside enough time to read for pleasure, and acquired Harley 630, a copy of the *Gilte Legende*. This manuscript potentially possesses links to St. Alban's, situated in Hertfordshire, where Goldisburgh was active from 1483-85. Through Stephen Dodesham, this manuscript has links to Sheen, which was across the Thames from Isleworth, where Goldisburgh had business from 1474 until the 1480s. Tracy argues that Harley 630 was acquired from St. Albans by Goldisburgh while he was living and working in the area surrounding the abbey. It appears to me, however, that Harley 630 may also have been owned by Carthusians.

Apart from Dodesham's insertion at f. 163, the main body of the text was written by one main copyist, whose work was subject to numerous corrections within the text and margins by various hands.[696] Some of these corrections, Hamer states, are from a GD branch of the stemma, the other main stemma which is farthest removed from the EH1T1A1(A2) main branch to which Harley 630 belongs, suggesting 'the manuscript was subject to multiple use at a centre where a copy from that branch was also kept'.[697] The Harley 630 manuscript is also closely related to Dublin, Trinity College, MS 319 (T1), which was copied after the many corrections in Harley had been inserted (see above). The multiple use environment could feasibly be a religious library of some sort and could equally be St. Albans or a Carthusian charterhouse.

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[692] op. cit.
[693] A. F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond, *The Coronation of Richard III: the extant documents* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1983): 346, and H. C. Maxwell-Light, R. C. Fowler and R. F. Issacson (eds.) *Calendar of Patent Rolls. Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III: 1476-85* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1901): 360, 562, 395, 562, 401, 489, 562.
[694] Larissa Tracy, 'Harley 630', 45.
[695] London Guildhall, MS 917/18, f. 101v. See Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 104, n. 42.
[696] Hamer and Russell, *Gilte Legende*, vol. 3 (2012): 11.
[697] ibid., 30.

The sheer volume of corrections, however, seems to be a peculiarly Carthusian habit, as they prized textual correctness and purity and were given to interfering with each other's books (as William Darker did with Dodesham's copy of the *Imitatio Christi*). It would be interesting if the provenance of Dublin, Trinity College, MS 319 or the hand of its copyist could be traced to a Carthusian community, as it would make a strong case for Harley 630 having been owned or borrowed, at least at one point in the mid- to late fifteenth century, by Carthusians. As for the Dutch-spelling scribe, the English Carthusians had long possessed links with the Low Countries.[698] Of course, this does not exclude the possibility of the main body of Harley 630 having its roots in St. Albans, or even a commercial origin. Dodesham, after all, had already worked for them, having copied the four volume set of de Lyre (Cambridge, University Library, MSS Dd.7.7-10) for Dame Eleanor Hull on behalf of Roger Huswyff, and it was not the first time he had worked on texts with connections to John Lydgate (and Hamer also makes a claim for Eleanor Hull as having played a role in the translation of the *Gilte Legende*).[699] Though enlisting a Carthusian to copy a single page seems a little extravagant, it is not outside the limits of possibility, and that Dodesham was aware of the lacunae implies that Sheen possessed a copy against which Harley 630 could be checked. Other scenarios I suspect may also prove plausible include the potential for Harley 630, an early copy of the *Gilte Legende*, to have been borrowed or gifted to Sheen by St. Albans, who gifted it in turn to Edward Goldisburgh; or Goldisburgh may have acquired the manuscript from St. Albans before donating it to Sheen during the period of his association with Isleworth from 1474 to the 1480s. The rise of Edward Goldisburgh (fl. 1467-1488) correlates with the years of Stephen Dodesham's return to Sheen from 1470/1-1482, which appear to me to suggest that whatever Goldisburgh's relation to Harley 630, Dodesham's page was likely added to the volume during the second half of his Sheen career. The potential association with a baron of the Exchequer may add another important lay patron to its ever-increasing list of benefactors.

Like Harley 630, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 678 is another manuscript which has been subject to a great deal of correction. In this case, however, these corrections are the proven work of another Sheen Carthusian: Dom William Darker.

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[698] A. I. Doyle, 'A Text Attributed to Ruusbroec Circulating in England', in A. Ampe (ed.) *Dr. L. Reypens-album: opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. L. Reypens* (Antwerp: Ruusbroec-Genootschap, 1964): 153-171, esp. 157, n.23.
[699] Hamer and Russell, *Gilte Legende* (2012): 52-56.

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 678

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 678 (hereafter referred to as Trinity 678) has been fully described in Doyle, Biggs, Ingram and Bernard.[700] This summary account is based upon the descriptions of those scholars and is included to situate the manuscript within the Dodesham timeline and to place its content within an updated context of its making and circumstances of making. Trinity 678 contains a copy of the first English translation of the *Imitatio Christi*, ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, though his authorship of the text is subject to debate.[701] Trinity 678 bears the title *Musica ecclesiastica*.[702] Biggs dates Trinity 678 to the mid-fifteenth century, and the main body of the text was written by a single scribe, Stephen Dodesham, on parchment numbering 121 leaves, measuring 200 x 133mm,[703] with a written space of 140 x 80mm in single columns ruled to accommodate twenty-four to twenty-five lines each.[704] Decoration consists of two-line high initials in blue and red with occasional attempts at embellishment within the body of the letter itself; chapter headings supplied in red, and initial letters of sentences sport a yellow background.[705] Modern pagination is present, in pencil and inaccurate.[706] Quire signatures survive, with evidence of two competing systems: the first leaf is labelled 'a' on certain gatherings and 'a' on the second leaf of others.[707] The early textual tradition of the *Imitatio Christi* possessed strong links with Sheen charterhouse. Divided into four books, the *Imitatio Christi* was originally written in Latin, most probably by Thomas à Kempis, in the Netherlands. At the earliest, book I was completed by c. 1424, and by 1427, all four books were available for consultation.[708] The earliest manuscript of one early Latin version of the *Imitatio Christi* known to have originated in England survives in Oxford, Magdalene College, MS 93. Roger Lovatt discusses the textual transmission of the *Imitatio Christi* in his 1968 article, arguing that the earliest part of the text in the above manuscript, Book I of the *Imitatio*, was copied in 1438 by John

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[700] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 111-12. Biggs (ed.), *The Imitation of Christ,* xx-xxii. J. K. Ingram (ed.), *The Earliest English Translation of the First Three Books of the 'De Imitatione Christi',* EETS, extra series 63 (1893): xiii. E. Bernard, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti*, 2 vols (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1697): 2:2, 59.
[701] Biggs, *Imitation of Christ*, xxx-xxxv.
[702] On the origins of the title, see Biggs, xxxix-xl, n.71.
[703] Doyle measures 205 x 135mm. Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 111.
[704] Biggs, *Imitation of Christ*, xx.
[705] ibid., xxi.
[706] ibid., xx-xxi.
[707] ibid., xx.
[708] J. Huijben and P. Debongnie, '*L'Auteur ou les auteurs de L'Imitation'*, *Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* 30 (1957): 3-7. Though perhaps not all books were available to consult as one volume, as Biggs argues that they circulated separately for a time, and only in 1441 did Kempis finally retrieve all his disparate quires, which he bound into one volume, signed and dated. Biggs, *Imitatio Christi*, xxxv-xxxviii.

Dygon, recluse of Sheen, from an exemplar of Carthusian origin imported from the continent.[709] Dygon later added Books II and III to Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 93, based on the fuller *Musica ecclesiastica* recension and completed it before his death c. 1450. The first English translation, which is found in Dodesham's Trinity 678, was based upon this fuller Latin recension and, Lovatt states, was 'probably not available in England until c.1440.[710] Lovatt also speculates that the translation could have been the work of Sheen Carthusians.[711] Whatever the origins of Trinity 678, it is clear that from the presence of Dom William Darker's hand and the important role Sheen played in the early transmission of both the Latin version and the first English translation of the *Imitatio Christi* that this manuscript was written by Stephen Dodesham at Sheen charterhouse. Whether it was copied during his initial residence, 1437-c.1457, or during his return from Witham c.1470/1-1482, it is difficult to assess. If it were the former, Dodesham would have been present when the *Imitatio Christi*, a new and exciting text from the continent, was first delivered to Sheen, and he would have been one of the first to have had access to the English translation, if indeed he did not take part in the process himself. If it were the latter, Doyle's assertion that in Trinity 678 the size of Dodesham's letters are comparatively large (as in Bodley 549)[712] may imply failing eyesight and advancing old age, though this may equally be a consequence of the inferior membrane with which Dodesham had been provided (as in Rawlinson above, another potential example from the later end of Dodesham's career).

The presence of Darker's hand and the sheer number of corrections in his hand might imply that those corrections took place after Dodesham's death in 1481/2. Doyle states:

> There are many corrections, over erasures and in the margins, by Dodesham himself and also in the distinctive fere-textura of William Darker, monk of Sheen from about 1481 to 1513. Dr Biggs has established that Darker collated the text with a copy of the Latin nearer to the source than that used by the English translator, and incorporated the resulting improvements in the fair copy (Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian MS T. 6 18 (136)) which he wrote for Elizabeth Gibbs, abbess of Syon, in 1502.[713]

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[709] Roger Lovatt, 'The *Imitation of Christ* in Medieval England', 101-111, esp. 109-110. Biggs offers an alternative scenario: that the *Imitatio* may not have been brought to the England from the Low Countries, but from a German or Austrian Charterhouse. Biggs, *Imitation of Christ*, xliv-xlv.
[710] ibid., 111, n. 4.
[711] ibid., 112.
[712] A. I. Doyle, 'English Carthusian books not yet linked with a charterhouse', in Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Katherine Simms (eds.), *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998): 126, and Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 111-112.
[713] Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 112. I am uncertain as to where Doyle discovered evidence of Darker as having been at Sheen from 1481. He has not explicitly mentioned this date in his recent 2011 article, though it may be an extrapolation from the date of Dodesham's death, 1481/2, or a reference to the identification in Lambeth Palace, MS 546 of 'Master John Warde' (f. 20^{v}) and 'Robart

It is unknown when Darker made his profession at Sheen. A William Darker of the diocese of Worcester was ordained sub-deacon on the title of Oseney Abbey, Oxford, on 14th December, 1468,[714] and he may have studied at Oxford, as he referred to himself on f. i^{r} of Hunterian T. 6. 18 as 'in artibus magistro', and the Eton Audit Rolls refer to a 'William Dacker or Darkar' who came from Oxford to take up the post of usher between 1469 and 1471.[715] Darker may have left Eton in 1471 upon receiving word that there was a cell available for him at Sheen, but there is no evidence to support that hypothesis. Whether Dodesham and Darker were colleagues, therefore, remains unknown, but it is likely that Darker corrected Trinity 678 after Dodesham's death. Though correcting was an accepted and encouraged activity within the Order, scrawling all over Trinity 678 and erasing sections of Dodesham's careful work – a large part of the corrections not related at all to the accuracy of the text but more to do with Darker's personal taste in orthography – seems as though it would have been a little over-zealous and perhaps an affront if the original scribe was indeed still living. That some of the corrections are Dodesham's might imply that he had begun the task of correcting Trinity 678 in view of providing a fair copy, which Darker completed after Dodesham's death.

Dodesham's death

The only surviving record for the date of Dodesham's death is that made by Dom Georgius Schwengel, prior of Kartuzy charterhouse, west of Gdańsk, in 1760.[716] The obits for English province for the years 1481-82 appear to have been lost, as there is no information on Dodesham in the archives of the Grande Chartreuse held in AV 232 or 6 ANG 7. Neither does the enlarged 1474-1485 record, found in 7 Gene 15, nor the work of Dom Palémon Bastin (who copied selected extracts from the notes and transcripts of his seventeenth-century predecessor, Dom Capus) hold any information on Dodesham.[717] Nothing is mentioned in Dom Stanislas Autore's work on Carthusian writers, held in the Archives of the Grande Chartreuse, 7 Gene 18.[718] In Dom Schwengel's extracts, the obits of only the monks who received an *anniversarium*, such as William Mede, were recorded in full with exact dates, including day, month and

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Davemport' (f.52^{r}), the steward of Syon Abbey in 1485 and a priest, a relative of a nun there of the same name, who annotated that manuscript. A. I. Doyle, 'William Darker: the work of an English Carthusian scribe', *Medieval Manuscripts, their makers and users: a special issue of Viator in honor of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011): 202.

[714] ibid., 200, n. 5.

[715] Biggs, *Imitation of Christ*, xxiii, n.10. See also, W. Sterry, *The Eton College Register, 1441-1698* (Eton: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & co. ltd.,1943): xxxiii; and A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957): 544.

[716] This record survives in BL, MS Add. 17092, f. 124. The first part of this manuscript has been published in facsimile form in Hogg (ed.), *Apparatus ad annales S. O. Cartusiensis British Library London Add. MS. 17092 Dom Georgius Schwengel, Pars 1*, AC, 90:9 (Salzburg: Institut, 1983): 34, 41.

[717] Bastin and Capus.

[718] Dom. Stanislas Autore, *Scriptores Ordinis Cartusiensis: Tomus Primus*, 2 vols. (ed. Jean Picard), AC, 200:4-5 (Salzburg: Institut, 2005).

year. Concerning the deaths of other Carthusians, only the year was recorded. Dodesham received an obit from both Witham and Sheen:

> Shene in Anglia... 1482. D(om) Stephan(us) , ult(imo) pr(ofessus) (?) V(?) Witham.'[719]
> 'Wittham... 1482. D(om) Steph(anus) de Dodesan. Mon(achus) pr(ofessus) d(omus) de Witham, ult(imo) . d(omus) Shene.[720]

Interestingly, Schwengel's record from BL MS Add. 17092 describes Dodesham as a professed monk first of Witham, then Sheen. The English ordination records contradict this, as Dodesham is recorded as having professed as a Carthusian at Sheen in 1437. Doyle states that 'he must have died within the 12 months up to Easter, after which information from England would go to the Grande Chartreuse for the General Chapter there, at which the annual *carta* was compiled', indicating a date of death ranging from after Easter 1481 to before Easter 1482.[721] The obit is perhaps misleading. Rowntree offers a plausible explanation:

> Since moreover the English Carthusians did not need to attend the chapters except in leap-years, one may also wonder whether their obits were recorded as accurately as those of their continental counterparts.[722]

Perhaps Dodesham intended to remain at Witham, for he is described as 'monachus professus domus de Witham', implying he made a second profession there, but his eventual quarrel with John Pester saw him back at Sheen where he died in 1481/82. William Dodesham died not long before him, on 15th August, 1480. Dodesham lived for forty-five years in the Order, therefore just missing out on the accolade of *laudabiliter* (though considering his spate of indiscipline at Witham, it is uncertain whether he would have merited that particular reward).

Conclusion

During his long career, Dodesham left behind a legacy of twenty-three surviving manuscripts. Though he did not earn himself a *laudabiliter, sacerdotes,* or an *anniversarium*, Dodesham deserves to be known as one of the most prolific late medieval English scribes yet identified. Through the discovery of Stephen Dodesham, 'gentleman' of All Cannings, Wiltshire, involved in three 1428 debt cases heard at the Court of Common Pleas, convened at Westminster, Doyle's hypothesis that Dodesham began his career in late 1420/early 1430 is greatly strengthened. Dodesham's potential status as a gentleman in these cases and the presence of very early Type IV linguistic forms in his active repertoire appearing outside government

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719 Hogg (ed.) 'Apparatus ad annales... Schwengel', 34.
720 ibid., 41.
721 Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen', 97.
722 Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England*, 136-137.

documents may also serve to strengthen Doyle's hypothesis that Dodesham might have had training in a governmental capacity. The previously posited link between Dom Stephen Dodesham and the prominent Dodesham family of Somerset appears weakened by the association with All Cannings, Wiltshire, but a series of intriguing mutual connections shared by Stephen Dodesham and the lawyer William Dodesham jnr. both before and after Dodesham entered the Carthusian Order suggests that he may indeed have been in some manner connected to the Somerset family.

In 1428, at the time of the London debt cases, Dodesham's associates, most of whom were from Wiltshire, were all professional young men – lawyers, civil servants, clerks in employment of provincial gentry – middle-class families with strong ties to the south-western counties of England, and who were active in and around London in the late 1420s. Those for whom Dodesham made three copies of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* reinforce the idea of Dodesham, before becoming a Carthusian, having possessed professional connections with members of London society (not necessarily based in the capital) of wealth and rank, as Lydgate's continuation of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* was currently in vogue in wealthy, aristocratic circles in southern England.

There is a strong connection with Lydgate in Dodesham's early career and this connection followed him into the charterhouse. Another Sheen monk was also engaged in copying Lydgate texts, whose hand interrupts a quire copied by Dodesham. There is also the distinct possibility, though unlikely, that Dodesham's copies were made at Sheen. Whatever the case, the copying of Lydgate material, a connection shared by both Dodesham and Sheen charterhouse, could prove a potentially interesting and useful topic for future study. The clusters of relict forms present only in Dodesham's three copies of the *Siege of Thebes* as a possible representation of his having participated in a Lydgate language tradition akin to those practised by scribes of Gower and Chaucer could also yield positive results on further examination.

The discovery of the record of Dodesham's ordination in 1437 facilitates the process of assigning particular manuscripts to particular phases of his career, thereby providing much stronger evidence with regard to their provenance. The following represents a summary of Dodesham's scribal output with tentative dating and assignations of provenance.

Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*:
1. CUL 3137 c. 1428-c.1437
2. Boston c. 1428-c.1437
3. Beinecke c. 1428-c.1437

Sanctilogium salvatoris

4. MS Sankt Georgen 12, c. 1436/7-c. 1439 assoc. Symon Wynter, Duchess of Clarence. Sheen.

De Lyre's *Postillae*

5. CUL, MS Dd. 7. 7-10, c. 1452-17th May 1457 (complete), assoc. John Whethamstede, Eleanor Hull, Roger Huswyff. Sheen.

Pricking of Love, Pore Caitiff, etc.

6. Downside Abbey, MS 26542, c.1425-c.1450 (based on decoration), assoc. nuns of Dartford Priory. Sheen?

Burgh, *Distichs of Cato*

7. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.poet.e.15 c.1433 onwards. Sheen?

Distichs of Cato, Lydgate's *Dietary*, *Benjamin Minor*

8. Glasgow, University Library, MSS Hunter U.4.17 and U.4.16, c. 1433 onwards. Sheen?

Exposition of the Creed and Ten Commandments, etc. and palimpsest of Syon indulgences

9. Cambridge, Trinity, B. 14.54, c. 1437 onwards. Sheen.

Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*

10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 619, later career letter forms. Sheen?

Historical Carthusian items, *Regiment of Health*, verse Creed and Ten Commandments, *Symbolum fidei*, Latin expositions on Ave Maria, Pater Noster, etc., pseudo-Augustine *Manuale*, Mirk's *Manuale Sacerdotum*

11. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 549 (sections B and C only.) Sheen.

Prick of Conscience, plus palimpsest of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*

12. London, British Library, MS Additional 11305. Sheen?

Fervor Amoris, *Revelations of St. Bridget, Pore Caitiff,* Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum*, the *Craft of Dying*, William Flete's *De Remediis contra Temptacionis*

13. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 423. Sheen. Intended for female religious?

De Triplici Via (edited, perhaps, by Dodesham), miscellaneous religious texts copied by other (some Carthusian) hands
14. Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 3042. Female religious. Sheen.

Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermones morales ad fratres suos in heremo*.
15. New York, formerly Cockerell/Duschnes, completed at Witham, 1462. Textura.

Carthusian collection: *Speculum peccatoris*, sermons, *Relevations of St. Bridget, Summa Veritatis Theologiae,* etc. plus lay accounts.
16. Cambridge, University Library, Kk.6.41, complete c.1449-early 1450s? Sheen.

Ferial/choir Psalter
17. Oxford, Trinity College, MS 64, c.1468-1474. Witham? Textura.

Dom. Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*
18. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.16, c. 1450 onwards, assoc. Barkham parson before dissolution of Sheen, possible outside commission. Sheen?
19. Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunterian 77 (T.3.15), inscription, completed 1474/5 at Sheen.
20. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A. 387B, closely related to Hunterian 77, which was copied at Sheen

Gilte Legende (supply leaf only)
21. London, British Library, MS Harley 630, c. 1438 onwards (c.1474-1481/2), assoc. Edward Goldisburgh and St. Albans. Sheen.

Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*
22. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 678, c.1437-c.1457, c.1470/1-1481/2, assoc. William Darker. Sheen.

Macer's *De viribus herbarum*
23. CRO, Chester D/4398/1 (possible Carthusian connections due to French epitaph to the Duke of Burgundy. Philip the Bold was a noted patron of the Order.)

Remarkably, over a long career of forty-five years in the Carthusian Order, Dodesham completed most (if not all) of his work over and above his duties as a solemnly professed choir monk. At the very least, the nineteen manuscripts that may be more confidently attributed to Carthusian phases of his career (perhaps

twenty if the French epitaph to the Duke of Burgundy, great patron of the Order, is indicative of the CRO manuscript's Carthusian provenance) may also greatly increase the number of texts likely available for consultation in the library of Sheen and may also increase our understanding of the variety of texts available for reading in English charterhouses.

In terms of copying practice, in comparison with his colleague, William Mede, Dodesham was highly prolific. This comparative lack of activity from Mede, however, may be attributed to the offices held by him during his career at Sheen: sacristan and vicar, both of which conferred a degree of responsibility that may not have involved copying books as a top priority. A lack of surviving witnesses and the possibility that, as with Dodesham, more await identification, may also contribute to Mede's comparative lack of scribal activity.

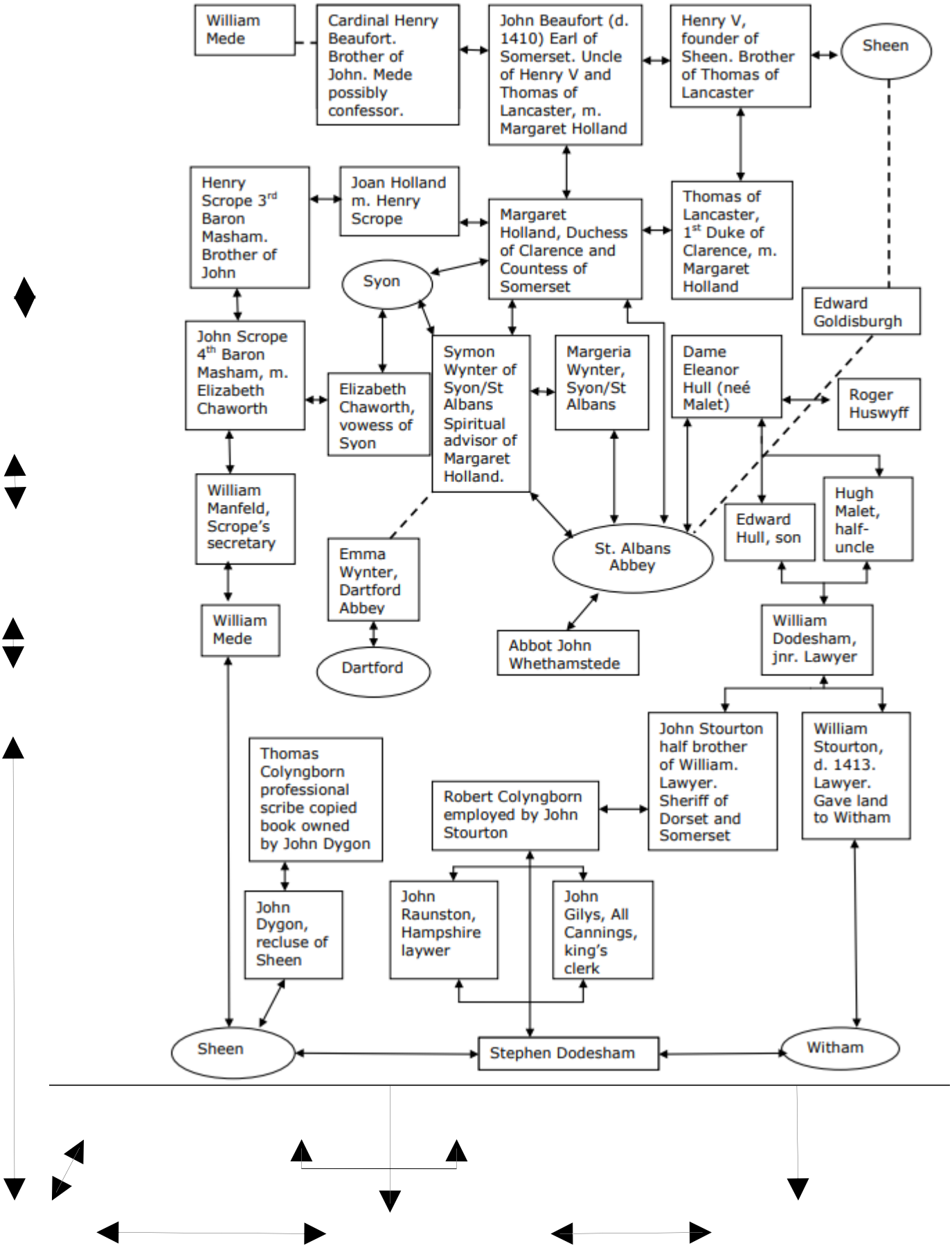
Another note of contrast is provided when comparing the reading and copying tastes of Mede and Dodesham. From what can be deduced from Dodesham's reading tastes through his scribal activity (for there is no strong evidence for notebook copying as with Mede), Dodesham's tastes seemed to have been markedly less conservative than Mede's and more in line with Carthusian tastes for the latest devotional, mystical, contemplative texts. Of course, Dodesham is shown to have copied more practical, traditional texts (the ferial, de Lyre's *Postillae*, texts attributed to SS. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and Bernard), though from surviving evidence, the overwhelming impression given is that the texts Dodesham found most useful and therefore was most willing to copy were not the conservative works of the church fathers, but more current texts: the vernacular, devotional material that was a symptom of current spiritual trends of the fifteenth century. Some of the most enduring, widely-attested products of the devotional literature of late-medieval England were read and copied (completely or in extract form) by Dodesham: the *Pore Caitiff*, the *Craft of Dying*, the *Prick of Conscience*, Dom. Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, the *Gilte Legende*, Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* and texts erroneously attributed to others, or correctly attributed to, Richard Rolle. More significantly, Dodesham's scribal activity seems to reveal a strong interest in education. This interest does not appear to have been solely confined to the spiritual, but extends to accommodate the needs of the educator as well as those who may have been taking their first tentative steps in their religious vocation. Among these texts are: Lydgate's *Dietary*, Odo of Meung (Macer's) *De viribus herbarum*, the *Regiment of Health*, Burgh's *Distichs of Cato*, expositions of the Creed, Ten Commandments, *Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster*, Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, the palimpsest of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, Mirk's *Festial*, Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum* and *Benjamin Minor*. This strong interest in education that seems to have run throughout his Carthusian career (perhaps faltering at ancient the foundation of Witham which appears to have fostered a rather different scribal culture to the newer community at Sheen) may indicate that Dodesham served as a spiritual advisor, as novice master, perhaps as infirmarian, or was even engaged in

copying text books for the school at Sheen. From the evidence of his surviving output, a significant proportion of his scribal activity should be viewed in the context of Dodesham as educator: of female religious, perhaps children, and of members of his own community, whatever their status.

Though Dodesham's vocation was solitary, he maintained a wide network of religious contacts throughout southern England. Through his scribal activity, Dodesham's reach was extended far beyond the confines of his cell: across the Thames to the Brigittines of Syon, to the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans, to the Dominican sisters of Dartford Priory and perhaps other institutions yet to be discovered. The identification of Dodesham's connections with the above-named institutions extends the select, 'tight-knit' circle first described in connection with Sheen by Roger Lovatt in 1968, to encompass not only Syon, but St Albans and Dartford as having participated in this spiritually elite group of religious institutions in fifteenth century England.

Considering Dodesham's reach, as a scribe, his use of colourless language (and particularly his occasional preference for variants which were colourless in the southern half of the country rather than those which had a wide currency throughout the country) makes sense. For a scribe who copied for religious and lay individuals who may have been attracted by the prestige of their particular institutions from across England, and even further afield, employing colourless terms would have been a practical strategy in ensuring his work would have been understood by the greatest number of readers. As Dodesham seems to have possessed a strong interest in education, regionally indistinct language may even have proven helpful in facilitating the learning process of individuals who may otherwise have become unstuck on some of the more bizarre provincialisms of late medieval English.

In his capacity as a scribe, Dodesham was connected to not only some of the most influential religious institutions but also several powerful and influential lay and religious men and women. During his early career, Dodesham may have operated in London circles that would have facilitated the formation of such advantageous connections: aristocrats and professional, middle-class citizens on the rise, such as lawyers, clerks and civil servants. In his role as a Carthusian scribe, Dodesham had completed work for Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, Syon abbey, Symon Wynter of Syon, John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Albans and Dame Eleanor Hull, among others. Dodesham's connections were many and varied to such an extent I felt it would prove useful to illustrate those connections and the ways in which they intersected in the form of a diagram presented below.


William Mede
Cardinal Henry Beaufort. Brother of John. Mede possibly confessor.
John Beaufort (d. 1410) Earl of Somerset. Uncle of Henry V and Thomas of Lancaster, m. Margaret Holland
Henry V, founder of Sheen. Brother of Thomas of Lancaster
Sheen
Henry Scrope 3rd Baron Masham. Brother of John
Joan Holland m. Henry Scrope
Margaret Holland, Duchess of Clarence and Countess of Somerset
Thomas of Lancaster, 1st Duke of Clarence, m. Margaret Holland
Syon
Edward Goldisburgh
John Scrope 4th Baron Masham, m. Elizabeth Chaworth
Elizabeth Chaworth, vowess of Syon
Symon Wynter of Syon/St Albans Spiritual advisor of Margaret Holland.
Margeria Wynter, Syon/St Albans
Dame Eleanor Hull (neé Malet)
Roger Huswyff
William Manfeld, Scrope's secretary
Hugh Malet, half-uncle
Edward Hull, son
St. Albans Abbey
Emma Wynter, Dartford Abbey
William Mede
Dartford
Abbot John Whethamstede
William Dodesham, jnr. Lawyer
John Stourton half brother of William. Lawyer. Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset
William Stourton, d. 1413. Lawyer. Gave land to Witham
Thomas Colyngborn professional scribe copied book owned by John Dygon
Robert Colyngborn employed by John Stourton
John Dygon, recluse of Sheen
John Raunston, Hampshire laywer
John Gilys, All Cannings, king's clerk
Sheen
Stephen Dodesham
Witham

Over the course of his long career, Dom. Stephen Dodesham was a Lydgate scribe, a Chaucer scribe, a Love scribe, possibly a civil servant or clerk, a Carthusian monk and an educator, whose reach extended far beyond his cell: across the water to Brigittines at Syon, to the Benedictines of St Albans, to the Dominican sisters of Dartford Abbey and perhaps other institutions elsewhere in connections yet to be discovered. He should be celebrated particularly for his contribution to the education of both male and female religious and his work for some of the most educated and influential religious men and lay-women of the fifteenth century. It is within this context and within his status as a solemnly professed Carthusian monk that the vast majority – if not all – of his work should be imagined. The legacy of a single Carthusian monk who appeared to have eagerly, and successfully, taken on the challenge of preaching the word of god with his hands.

Chapter Five
Conclusion

Codicology and the biographical approach

> What object crystallizes the whole of its environment and the area dissected by the historian in the field of historical knowledge more and better than an actual character? [The individual] participates simultaneously in the... social, the political, the religious, and the cultural; he acted in all of these domains, while thinking of them in a way that the historian must analyse and explain – even if the search for complete knowledge of the individual in question remains a utopian quest.[723]

Chapter one quoted the words of Jacques Le Goff on the merits of the biography as an effective means of practising social historiography. Therefore it seems fitting, in this final chapter, to return to them in order to assess the usefulness of an integrated biographical and comparative approach in the examination of the making and circumstances of making of manuscript books within the context of this study. As evident from the discussion of William Mede and Stephen Dodesham in chapters three and four, these monks, though cloistered and removed from worldly affairs, both participated in the domains of the social, political, religious and cultural defined above by Le Goff. This, therefore, enables us not only to begin to build scribal biographies for Mede and Dodesham but also allows us contextualise the manuscript output of Mede and Dodesham and form a fuller picture than has hitherto proved possible of the Carthusian contexts within which both men operated.

As fully professed Carthusian monks, their participation in the domain of religion is a given, and, as discussed in chapter two, the reason for the greater part of Mede and Dodesham's copying (if not all)[724] was spiritually motivated. As discussed in chapter two, their scribal activity is given a special meaning within the context of their vocation. As Carthusians, they sought to preach the word of god through writing, so that those who received the fruits of their labour could improve their spiritual lot through reading. As discussed in chapter three, Dodesham seems to have most keenly taken on this task, as a significant proportion of his surviving output bears a strongly educational slant; perhaps indicative of his having held responsibility for spiritual education of members of his community and further afield in an advisory role. Mede is also seen to have copied occasionally with the benefit of his colleagues in mind,

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[723] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, xxiii.
[724] Dodesham's copying of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, as discussed in chapter four above, is likely to have been undertaken before his ordination as a Carthusian, though evidence does exist to the contrary and should therefore not be discounted.

and by copying for Lord John Scrope and his wife, Elizabeth Chaworth, who were pious and powerful layfolk, he made a small, but significant impact upon late-medieval devotional culture that saw a rise in demand from well-placed, spiritually ambitious layfolk for orthodox, edifying texts in the vernacular, as outlined in chapter two. Dodesham's contribution to this culture is more significant, as the majority of his scribal output seems to be most comfortably placed within it, and from the evidence discussed in chapter four, he appears to have actively sought out the latest vernacular, devotional literature and was engaged in copying and circulating that literature to those he felt needed to read it. He is also found copying more classic, conservative texts: De Lyre's *Postillae*, the *ferial*, and the pseudo-Augustine *Sermones morales ad fratres suos in heremo*, although the former was intended for an individual with St. Albans connections and the latter examples completed at Witham charterhouse, which may hint, potentially, at Sheen's forward-looking devotional culture as having embraced the *devotio moderna* (or perhaps compelled to do so by interested outsiders), this in comparison with other, more conservative religious communities – even Carthusian ones.

In contrast, the majority of Mede's surviving output reveals more conservative leanings. Through his notebooks, those examples of writing only intended for in-house use, more idiosyncratic spiritual interests are revealed, including means of combating Lollardy, English saints and English-based religious narratives, and the latest developments of the Church in England: a more personal selection that recalls Dennis D. Martin's assertion, discussed in chapter two, that Carthusians enjoyed a degree of freedom in their spiritual development.[725] Mede's nod to contemporary devotional culture is found only in his copies of the *Speculum devotorum* (of which he may have been the author) that references the latest literature, including that of 'approved women', which would no doubt have proven useful to Elizabeth Chaworth as a vowess affiliated to Syon Abbey. Like William Mede, Stephen Dodesham is also shown to have copied religious material for layfolk, though Syon, in the case of his copying for the Duchess of Clarence, served as an intermediary agent. The majority of Dodesham's copying, however, extended to benefit his fellow religious and no further.

Through their scribal activity, therefore, we see that, even as Carthusians, Dodesham and Mede were not immune to the politics of the age. By merely belonging to the community at Sheen, Mede and Dodesham were part of Henry V's 'great work at Sheen'. As Carthusians, they were considered the spiritual elite; therefore, from the perspective of the lay elite, whose confidence in the Church had been shaken due to the Great Schism and the events immediately following,[726] it made sense to align themselves with their heavenly counterparts by founding communities and funding the building of cells, as discussed by

[725] Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform*, 5.
[726] See chapter two.

Knowles, Catto and Gelfand.[727] In return, those patrons sought to benefit from their ministrations, which could take a direct form, as with William Mede, the likely confessor of Cardinal Beaufort, who wielded both temporal and spiritual power, and in the form of the manuscript books that Mede copied for Lord John Scrope and Elizabeth Chaworth, and Dodesham for Margaret Holland, Duchess of Clarence, Dame Eleanor Hull and even through John Nanfan a potential connection to Richard Neville, the 'Kingmaker'. The Carthusians cherished their silence and solitude, therefore only those who were well-placed to do so were permitted to benefit from disturbing them. Not just anyone could command the services of a Carthusian scribe.

Their copying activity, then, may be defined in terms of the circle of small, conservative, intellectual and spiritual aristocracy as described by Roger Lovatt,[728] but from the evidence of Dodesham's work as detailed in chapter four, it seems as though that circle should be extended from the tight-knit communities of Sheen and Syon to include St Albans and Dartford Priory, and perhaps to an Augustinian establishment, with whom Sheen may have shared patrons in common. These scribal networks also include powerful members of the lay elite, as described above. Through the possible identification of Dodesham with the 1428 debt case, he comes to represent another sort of network: that of the middle-class professionals of early fifteenth-century London 'gentlemen' status and that of prominent provincial families with professional connections to provincial gentry. Here, Dodesham's association with Robert Colyngborn is of particular interest, as he may have known Dodesham before he entered Sheen, and the scribe, Thomas Colyngborne, was working to copy for John Dygon, recluse of Sheen, after Dodesham's profession there in 1437. There may be a connection. Also of interest is Dodesham's connection with the prominent Dodesham family of Cannington, Somerset, as Stephen Dodesham and William Dodesham jnr. are both connected to Dame Eleanor Hull: Stephen through his manuscript work, and William through land and property dealings with her son and half-uncle. William Dodesham is also connected to the Stourton family, who were patrons of Witham charterhouse, where Stephen eventually made his profession. These Carthusian scribal networks, set out at the end of chapter four, could therefore be wider than hitherto assumed.

Through their scribal activity, both Mede and Dodesham participated extensively in religious culture, as summarised above, but both have also been shown, through their copying, to have participated in non-religious, literary cultures. Mede's work in Bodley 117 reveals a man with diverse intellectual interests,

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[727] Dom David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 2, 130. Jeremy Catto, 'Statesmen and Contemplatives in the Early Fifteenth Century', *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 108. Laura G. Gelfand, 'A Tale of Two Dukes: Philip the Bold, Giangaleazzo Visconti, and their Carthusian Foundations', *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, 202.
[728] Roger Lovatt, 'The Imitation of Christ in Late Medieval England', 113-117.

ranging from Pythagorean music theory to titles in the peerage of France. He also harbours a particular interest in history which is strengthened by the donation by a patron, Johannes Ȝorke, of a copy of Higden's *Polychronicon*, which Mede, through his annotations, is revealed to have read closely. The evident availability of these texts to the monks at Sheen and the process of assembly of Mede's notebooks, as discussed in chapter three, also raise questions regarding Sheen's library, discussed elsewhere by Doyle, Gillespie and Patterson:[729] its holdings, the number and range of books available for consultation and the ease of access to those books, which serve as potential indicators of which texts were in high-demand at Sheen and raises the possibility that there were queues for books. Mede's copying of the *Speculum devotorum* also raises questions regarding the circulation of Love's *Mirror*, as it only appeared to have reached the more southerly charterhouses c. 1450, much later than its approval by Thomas Arundel c. 1410.

Dodesham also participated in non-religious literary cultures, both by copying educational, medical texts while at Sheen and through his repeated copying of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, most likely while a 'gentleman' of All Cannings working in and around London. Through Dodesham's scribal activity, there appears to have been a strong connection to the literary culture surrounding Lydgate, one which seems to have followed him to the charterhouse (if its origins did not lie there).

Dodesham's work also provides evidence as to how far wider cultural developments may have acted on individual scribes. One such cultural force, it may be argued, is language, particularly orthographic practice. Mede and Dodesham were both men of their time in their use of colourless language, as defined in chapter one and described in the introductory volume of *LALME*.[730] By, on the whole, electing to use less dialectally distinct forms and therefore maximising their communicative efficiency, Mede and Dodesham increased the potential readership of the texts they copied. Their vocation involved preaching the word of God with their hands. What use was a preacher who could not communicate with his flock? Mede and Dodesham's solution to that was to employ colourless language where possible. There were different, competing colourless variants, however; some colourless in the north, some in the south and others which possessed a country-wide currency. Depending upon where a scribe was educated, or where he was from, it seems from the evidence provided by the close analysis of Mede and Dodesham's copying habits, that the option of favouring one colourless term over another was viable in fifteenth-century England, which may represent behaviour conforming to Samuels' and Smith's definition of 'colourless

[729] A. I. Doyle, *The Libraries of the Carthusians* (2001); V. Gillespie, 'Haunted Text', 136-66; Patterson, *Myrror to Devout People* (2006).
[730] *LALME*, vol. 1, 'Introduction to Index of Sources', section 4 'Documents'

regional standards'.[731] Dodesham, a south-western man, tends to favour southern, colourless variants, and Mede, depending on for whom he copies, appears to favour either more northern variants or southern. If Mede's language as evidenced in his vernacular copies of the *Speculum devotorum* as described by Smith[732] is in any way indicative of where Mede learned to write, then he would have been geographically well-placed to have had knowledge of both northern and southern variant sets. This knowledge no doubt proved useful when copying for different reading audiences, as discussed in chapter three, and could also pose interesting questions regarding adaptive behaviours of scribes. Types III and IV of Samuels' incipient standards also feature in Dodesham's linguistic repertoire,[733] and are given context in consideration of Doyle's hypothesis that Dodesham was working in or around London in the early 1430s and his observance of the closest congeners of Dodesham's hand in government charters, and these hypotheses are, in turn, strengthened by the 1428 debt case and Dodesham's potential 'gentleman' status. Samuels argued that Type IV emerged from the 1430s onwards, and evidence from Dodesham's language, having worked from c. 1428-c.1482 supports this. Though not his preferred forms, both Types III and IV are present, potentially reflecting the spread of these forms into non-government work through civil servants who took their training elsewhere. Further to the connections Dodesham possesses with the literary culture of Lydgate, his linguistic behaviour also proves interesting, especially in his early copies of the *Siege of Thebes*, as it could potentially display the behaviour of a young scribe insecure in his preferred word forms choosing to reproduce the wording of exemplars and therefore participating in a 'language of Lydgate tradition', like those described in the work of Smith on Gower and Horobin on Chaucer.[734] The above arguments, however, must be treated with a degree of caution in consideration of the fundamental nature of language change, the processes of which have been argued to represent the interaction of dynamic variables and multi-factorial causation.[735] The processes of language change have the potential to affect any given language system at any level and can be caused by intra- and extra-linguistic pressures.[736] To imply any level of consciousness on the part of Mede and Dodesham of the linguistic developments that were taking place in England in the fifteenth-century presupposes an awareness of at least some parts of the processes for linguistic change and that there were other variants

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[731] M. L. Samuels, 'Spelling and dialect in the late and post-Middle English periods', *So meny people longages and tonges, philological essays in Scots and mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh* (Edinburgh: M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels, 1981): 43-44.
[732] Smith in correspondence with Vincent Gillespie, in Gillespie, 'The Haunted Text', 161, n. 24.
[733] M. L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', 88-90.
[734] J. J. Smith, *Studies in the Language of Some Manuscripts of Gower's 'Confessio Amantis'* (University of Glasgow: unpublished PhD dissertation, 1985); Samuels and Smith (eds.), 'Spelling and Tradition in Fifteenth-Century Copies of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*' (1988); S. Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition*, Chaucer Studies, 32 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003).
[735] Smith, *An Historical Study of English*, 52.
[736] For a definition of intra- and extra-linguistic and historical examples of those pressures interacting to produce language change, see Samuels, *Linguistic Evolution* (1972), and Smith, *An Historical Study of English* (1996).

for them to choose from, which is difficult to prove. It could be argued that any awareness, if indeed it were ever present, was, at the very least, at the level of the available exemplars and the function of each specific manuscript copied.

Aims and objectives

Stephen Dodesham's status as an important late medieval English scribe has long been established. William Mede's status as scribe has been acknowledged but his life and work has suffered from a lack of wider attention, perhaps due to the prolificness and proficiency of his colleague Dodesham. This study has set out to achieve the following aim: to demonstrate the value of an integrated biographical and comparative approach in the examination of the making and circumstances of making of manuscript books. As discussed in chapter one and evident from the discussion of the lives and works of our case-studies, William Mede and Stephen Dodesham, the broader codicological approach defined by Doyle in chapter one[737] is not only an effective means of bringing together biographical, palaeographical, codicological and philological descriptive data for interpretation within wider socio-cultural contexts, but is also an inclusive and interdisciplinary way of practising social historiography. The integrated approach taken by those who practise codicology in its broader sense allows evidence to be subjected to analysis from different angles, which, when examined in isolation may not allow for the interpretation of patterns which emerge from larger data sets. As a means of practising social historiography, codicology, when married with a biographical approach, also has the potential to place scribal activity beyond the codex and more widely within the current social and cultural developments of the period of study generally. Through the analysis of their scribal activity from this integrated perspective, we can use the biographical, palaeographical, codicological and philological data analysed from the surviving manuscript output of Mede and Dodesham to generate a fuller picture of not only the family backgrounds and religious careers of these scribes, but also the extended social networks they inhabited and the wider contexts which affected their copying practices. However, the focus of research through the lense of biography results in the neglect of other interesting and potentially useful codicological detail, such as the afterlives of texts. Moreover, though the methodology of this study is based upon integrated, contextualising approaches resembling those adopted in socio-historical studies, it cannot claim that the work of Mede and Dodesham is expansively sociological in scope and representative of cross-sections of an entire scribal culture. Rather, the findings presented here should be viewed as two useful, but quite specific and perhaps idiosyncratic snapshots of Carthusian scribal activity at Sheen charterhouse in fifteenth-century England.

[737] Doyle, 'Recent Directions in Medieval Manuscript Study', 7.

This is not to say, however, that such snapshots are not useful, as they lend us new and potentially interesting information about these scribes, which could in turn be built upon in order to improve our understanding, not only of late medieval scribal culture in England, but of the society in which it flourished.

Limitations and Future Research:

It seems fitting to end on Le Goff's warning above on the pitfalls of practising historical biography, in which he states that: 'the search for complete knowledge of the individual in question remains a utopian quest.'[738] In any study, especially one which claims a socio-historical perspective, it is necessary to impose certain limitations with the aims of preserving a certain level of order and structure and answering focussed research questions. In another study with different research criteria, a codicological study could also include reference to the circulation of texts, as in Doyle's pioneering 1953 work, or rigorous, literary analysis. Due to this study's focus on biographical, palaeographical, codicological and philological data, I have not performed any rigorous, literary analysis of the Latin or vernacular texts copied by Mede and Dodesham. Space permitting, I would have liked to have spent time analysing Mede's notebooks, particularly Bodley 117, in order to ascertain whether there were any close correspondences with the *Speculum devotorum* and with the letters addressed to Cardinal Beaufort, which, if discovered, could potentially strengthen the case for Mede as having been the author of both. Similarly, I have not conducted literary or linguistic comparisons of other surviving witnesses of the texts copied by Mede and Dodesham; for instance, copies of Love's *Mirror* or Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*. Given time, I would have liked to have compared the manuscripts copied by Mede and Dodesham with other examples of the same texts in order to ascertain whether the literary and linguistic patterns displayed in their work was replicated in that of other scribes, which would strengthen the hypothesis that Dodesham, as a young man, was participating in a 'language of Lydgate tradition'. I have also only rarely referred to Mede and Dodesham's surviving output in terms of its circulation, though this is due to the high-quality work that has already been undertaken in this area by collaborative projects such as 'Geographies of Orthodoxy', run by Queen's University Belfast and the University of St Andrews,[739] and scholars such as Doyle, Lovatt and Sargent.[740]

Just before this thesis was due for submission, the team responsible for the electronic edition of *LALME* published an updated linguistic profile for Stephen Dodesham, representing the language of the newly-identified manuscript of the Middle English translation of Macer's *De viribus herbarum* brought to the attention of the *eLALME* editors by Mr John Benson of the Cheshire Record Office.[741] The identification

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[738] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, xxiii.
[739] Geographies of Orthodoxy: mapping pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ, 1350-1550. < http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/> [accessed 19/06/2013].
[740] See, for instance, A. I. Doyle, *A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English* (1953); Roger Lovatt, 'The "Imitation of Christ" in Late Medieval England' (1968) 97-121 and Michael G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* (1976) 225-240.
[741] *eLALME*, LP 6445.

of the *Herbal* is very recent and I have therefore been unable to examine this manuscript within the context of the life and work of Dodesham.

This recent identification is representative of a pattern that is in the process of developing in manuscript studies, specifically the field focussing on late-medieval English work, in which attempts are being made to answer the call of Angus McIntosh made in 1974 for an inventory of scribal hands.[742] Manuscripts identified as having been copied by the hand of Stephen Dodesham and William Mede, in recent years, have steadily increased. Others, no doubt, await discovery; other witnesses that could provide further and yet more useful detail. Further, with the increasing publication of important, primary, non-literary sources through projects such as *British History Online*,[743] it is now easier to search for biographical data and fill in lacunae left, through lack of evidence, by previous scholars. A greater understanding of the lives of scribes leads to a greater understanding of the contexts of their copying.

Recent work, such as that undertaken by Mooney on English late-medieval scribal culture, has tended to focus on the administrative circles surrounding Chaucer, on secular scribes and clerks such as Adam Pinkhurst.[744] There is a case to be made for the study of figures as Dodesham and Mede – non-secular, non-professional scribes – as they contributed as much to the textual cultures of the time as their administrative, secular counterparts. Considering Dodesham's early London connections and his copying of Lydgate throughout his career, it could be said that both sacred and secular literary circles were subject to a degree of overlap that could prove mutually inspiring and influential. Considering this shift of focus onto London-based government scribes and guild clerks, evidence of Dodesham having had government training, if it exists, is more likely than ever to be discovered. As the process of scribal identification continues and is refined, with bodies of work assigned to particular scribes, where possible, it will be easier to widen the scope of codicological enquiry and increase our understanding, not only of late medieval scribal culture in England, but of the society in which it flourished.

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[742] Angus McIntosh, 'Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 75 (1974): 602-24.
[743] *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/> [accessed 19/06/2013].
[744] For a survey of these studies, see footnotes to chapter one.

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Plate 8
Reproduced from the original held by the Department of Special Collections of the Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1. (*olim* MS 67), fol. 1^{v}.

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Plate 9
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Plate 10
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Plate 11
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Plate 12
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Plate 13
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Plate 14
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Plate 15
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Plate 16
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Plate 17
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Table 1: William Mede

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
The	the þe	þe (the) (þhe)	þe
These	these	thies (thyes)	
She	sche	she (shee)	
Her	her(e) (hyr(e))	hir hir(e)	her(e)
It	hyt	hit it	
They	they	þai þei (thei) (they) (þay) (þaye)	they

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Them	hem	hem þaim	hem
Their	her(e)	her her(e) here	
Such	sueche	suche such	sueche
Which	whyche the whyche þe whyche	þe whiche the whiche whiche þe wiche	
Each	eueryche	yche eueryche iche ych	
Many	manye	mony	many
Man	man	man	man
Any	eny	ony	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Much	myche	mykyll mykill mykel mykell mikell mykyl	myche
Are	ben (been) (byn) (bee)	bene beth bien	
Is	ys	is ys es	ys
Art	arte	erte ert	
Was	was (whas)	was	was

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Shall (sg.)	schal (schall) (schul) (schull)	shall shal shull	
Shall (pl.)	(schul) (schulle) (schal)	shull shall	
Should (sg.)	schulde	shulde	schuld
Will (sg.)	wole	will woll wole	
Will (pl.)	wole	wole wolen	
Would (sg.)	wolde	wolde	wold
From	fro	fro (from)	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
After	aftyr	aftre (after) (eftre)	aftyr
Then	tha(n)ne þan(n)e	þan	þan(n)e
Than	tha(n)ne	þan þen	than
Though	thowgth (though)	þoffe (yoff) (yoffe) (þof)	
If	yf (ȝyf)	ȝif	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Against	a ȝenste a ȝenst	aȝenste aȝeynste (aȝeins) (aȝenis) (aȝens) (aȝeyn(e)s) (ayeynes)	
Again	a ȝen	aȝene aȝen (aȝeine) (aȝeyne) (ayeine) (aȝein) (ayeyne)	
Ere (conj.)	er er(e)	er (or) (ar)	
Since (conj.)	sygth (sygth that)	seth sethe	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Yet	ȝytt	ȝit ȝitte yit	
While	whyle	while	
Strength	strenthe strengthe strengethe	strenthe	
Wh-	wh-	wh-	wh-
Not	not	not (noght) (nat)	not
Nor	ne	ne (nor)	
World	worlde	worlde	world
Think	thynke	thenke thynke (thinke)	
	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Work (sb.)	werke werk-	werke werk-	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
There	ther (there(e)) (there)	þere þer ther there (þair) (þar(e))	þer
Where	wher(e)	wher(e)	
Might (vb.)	mygthte mygth (mowe) (mowen) (mygh(t))	myght (myghte) (mowe) (mowen)	myȝt
Through	thorow	thurgh	
When	when(n)e (whene)	when	when

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Pres. Part.	ynge (inge) (yinge)	yng ynge	ynge
Str pt pl	e	en (bounden) y - (ybounden) i - (idrawe)	i (igo, isey) y (ysey3t)
Ask	aske	aske	
Before (adv.)	afor(e)	before (affore)	
Before (pr.)	afor(e)	before (byfore)	
Beyond	be 3ende	byyonde	
Both	bothe (both)	bothe (both)	
Burn	brenn-	brenn-	brenn-
Busy (adj.)	bysy-	besy-	
Came (sg.)	cam	came	come

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Could (sg.)	cowde cowthe	couthe (cowthe)	cowthe
Day (pl.)	dayis	dayes (days)	
Die	dye (deye)	dye	
Die (pt.)	dyde	diede	
Do (3sg.)	do (doyth)	do	
Do (pt-sg.)	dede	dede	
Dread/spread	drede (dredde) (a drad)	drede (dredde)	
Evil	euyl (euyll) (euil)	euyl euyll	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Eye (pl.)	eyen (eyin)	yene eyne	eyen
OE fela	fele	fele	
Filth	fylthe felthe	filthe fylthe	
Fire	fyr(e)	fire fyre	fyr(e)
First	fyrste (firste) (fyrst)	firste (friste) (fyrste)	
First (wk-adj.)	the fyrst (the firste) (þe firste)	þe firste (þe friste)	
Gate	gate (ȝatys)	gate (ȝate) (ȝates)	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Get (ppl.)	be geten begotyn	begeten begetyn	
Give (pt-sg.)	ȝaf	ȝafe ȝaf (ȝaffe)	
Give (ppl.)	ȝeue	ȝeue (ȝeuen)	
Go (3sg)	goyth goeth	goth gothe	
Good	goode (good)	gode (goode)	
Hang (pt.)			
Have (inf.)	haue	haue	haue
Have (pt-sg.)	hadde	hadde (had)	hadde
Hear	here	here	
Hence	hen(n)ys	hens	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
High	hye	hye	
Height	heygthe (lygth) (rygth)	lyght ryght lyghte ryghte	ry3t my3t
Hither	hedyr	hider	
Hundred	hundryd	hundredth (hundredthe)	
I	I	I	I
Kind (etc.)	kynde mynde fynde	kynde mynde fynde	
Less	lasse	lesse	
Little	lytyl	lytell lytell	
Live (vb.)	lyuyde	lyuyde	lyfe
Ne + will	wolde not	wolde not	wolde not

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Neither + nor	nothyr+ neyther+	nether+ne	
No-more	no more	no more (nomore)	
Or	or	or	
Own (adj.)	owen owyn	owne	
Pride (etc.)	pryde	pride	
Run	ren(n)- (renne) (ranne)	renn- (renne) (ranne)	
The-same	the same (þe same)	the same (þe same)	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
See (pt-sg.)	seygth (sawghe) (sawgh) (sawgth) (seygh)	sawe (seeghe)	sey yseyȝt saw
See (ppl.)	seyin	seene sene seye seyne	
Self	selfe self	selfe	
Silver	syluyr	syluer	
Sin	synne	synne	
Stead	sted-	sted-	
Thither	thedyr (dedyr) (dethyr)	thider	
Thousand	thowsende thousende	thowsande thousande	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Together	to gyderys	to gidre to gedre (to gydre)	
Two	too tueyne	two	two too
Until	tyl tyll	til till	
What	what	what	
Whence	whennys	whens	
Whether	whethyr wheder	whether (wheder)	
Whither	whythyr	whider	
Who	hoo ho	who	

	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 6	Indiana, Univ. Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, MS Eng. d. 1	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281
Whom	whom	whome (whom)	
Witen	wyte wote wyste	wyste wote (wytt)	
Without (pr.)	wt oute	with oute (with out) (wt out) (wt outen)	
Worse	worse wors	wers	
Yield (cf.)	ȝelde	ȝelde	
-ly	ly (lyche)	ly	ly

	Trin. Coll. Dublin, MS 678, *Imitation of Christ*	B. L. Add. 11305, *Prick of Conscience*	Bodley 423, *Rule and Form of Living*	Hunter, U.4.16, Benjamin Minor	CUL, Add. 3042, *Directions for Prayer and Praise*	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.14.54, *Of the Creed, etc.*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1, Macer's Herbal
Them	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem
						((he*m*))	
Their	her	her	her	her		her	her
	(þere)						
Many	many	many	many	many		many	many
Any	eny	eny	eny	eny	eny	eny	eny
Much	muche	muche	muche	muche	myche	muche	muche
	(moche)		((moche))	((mekel-))	(miche)		
			((-muche))				
Are	biþ	bith	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben
	are	ben		are			((be))
Are (cont.)	(beþ)	(be)		(ar*e*)			((are))
	(be)						
Will (sg. pl.)	wol (sg. pl.)	wol (sg.)	wil (sg.)	wol (sg. pl.)		wol (sg. pl.)	wol (sg.)
		wollen (pl.)	wil (pl.)				
		wol (pl.)	(wiln) (pl.)				
Than	þan	than	than	than	than	þan	than
	(þen)	(þan)					
Though	þouȝh	though	al-though	though	though	þough	though
	(þouȝe)	(þouȝ)	though	though-that		though	
	(þou)			though-al-that		all-though	
	Trin. Coll. Dublin, MS 678, *Imitation of Christ*	B. L. Add. 11305, *Prick of Conscience*	Bodley 423, *Rule and Form of Living*	Hunter, U.4.16, Benjamin Minor	CUL, Add. 3042, *Directions for Prayer and Praise*	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.14.54, *Of the Creed, etc.*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1, Macer's Herbal

Against	ayenst	ayenst	ayenst	ayenst		ayenst	ayenst
Against	ayen					((ayen))	
	aȝens					((a-yenst))	
Ere (conj.)	or	or	er	or			or
Yet	yit	yit	yit	yit		yit	yit
	(ȝit)		((yhit))				
	(yette)						
Strength (sb.)	strengþe	strengþe		strengthe	strengthe		strengthe
	strenþe	strengthe					
Nor	ner	ne	ne	ne		ne	ne
	(nor)	(neither)		nor		((neiþer))	((nor)
		(nor)				((neiþ*er*))	((neither))
Work (sb. vb.)	work-	work- (sb.)	werk- (sb.)	work-	werk- (sb.)	worke	worche (vb.)
	(werk) (sb.)		worch- (vb.)	worch- (vb.)		work-	
	worche					((werke))	
	(work-) (imp. vb.)					((werk-)) (sb.)	
						worch-	
						((worke))	
						((worche)) (vb.)	
Through	þorough	þorugh	thorugh	thorugh		þorugh	thorugh
	Trin. Coll. Dublin, MS 678, *Imitation of Christ*	B. L. Add. 11305, *Prick of Conscience*	Bodley 423, *Rule and Form of Living*	Hunter, U.4.16, Benjamin Minor	CUL, Add. 3042, *Directions for Prayer and Praise*	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.14.54, *Of the Creed, etc.*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1, Macer's Herbal
Through (cont.)	þoruȝ	thorugh	((thurgh))	((thurgh))		thurgh	((thurgh))
	(þuruȝ-)	(þurgh)				thorugh	
	(þurugh)	(thurgh)				þurgh	

	(þurgh)						
	(þroghe)						
When	whan	whan	whan	whan	whan	whan	whan
	(when)		((when))	((when))	when	((wha*n*))	
			((whanne))				
Pres. part.	–inge	–ynge	–ynge	–yng	–yng	–ynge	–ynge
	–yng	–ing	–yng	–ing	(–eng)	–ing	(–ing, –inge)
		–eng	((–inge))	(–ynge)		((–yng))	((–i+eng))
			((–ing))	(–inge)		((–enge))	((–yng, –y*n*g))
			((–enge))	(–eng)			
Pres. part.			((–eng))				
Ask	ask-	ask-	axe	ask-	aske	aske	ask-
			ax-			ask-	
			(aske)				
			(ask-)				
Before (adv. pr.)	before (adv.)	before	before	before (adv.)		before (adv.)	before (adv.)
	Trin. Coll. Dublin, MS 678, *Imitation of Christ*	B. L. Add. 11305, *Prick of Conscience*	Bodley 423, *Rule and Form of Living*	Hunter, U.4.16, Benjamin Minor	CUL, Add. 3042, *Directions for Prayer and Praise*	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.14.54, *Of the Creed, etc.*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1, Macer's Herbal
Before (adv. pr.) (cont.)	before (pr.)	(afore) (adv.)	(bifore)				(asfore, tofore)(adv.)
	afore	tofore (pr.)	(afore-) (adv.)				afore, before (pr.)
		afore	afore (pr.)				
			(tofore)				
Busy (adj.)	besy	busy	besy	besy	besy-		
			busy				

Do (pt-sg, pt-pl)	dide (pt-pl)	dide (pt-sg)	dide (pt-sg)			dide (pt-sg)	dide (pt-sg)
			diden (pt-pl)			diden (pt-pl)	
			dide (pt-pl)				
Either + or	eiþer+		either+	either+		eiþer+	either+
			((outher+))				outher+
			((eyther+))				
Give (ppl.)	yoven	youen	youen	youen		y-youe	youe
Given (ppl.)							
	yeven		((youe))	youe		youe	(youen)
				(y-youen)			
Less	lasse	lasse	lasse	lasse			lasse
	(lesse)						
Lie	lye		lye			lye, li-	lye, lie, li-
	Trin. Coll. Dublin, MS 678, *Imitation of Christ*	B. L. Add. 11305, *Prick of Conscience*	Bodley 423, *Rule and Form of Living*	Hunter, U.4.16, Benjamin Minor	CUL, Add. 3042, *Directions for Prayer and Praise*	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.14.54, *Of the Creed, etc.*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1, Macer's Herbal
Own	ovne	owne	owne	ovne		ovne	
	(oune)		owen				
	(owne)						
See (ppl.)		ysaie	seen				saie
Whither	whider	whedir	whider				whethir
	whiþer	-whider					whether
Witen		ywite		wite		wite	wit-
				wote			wote
–ly	–ly	–ly	–ly	–ly	–ly	–ly	
		–liche				((–liche))	
		–lyche				((–lyche))	

	Downside 26542, *Pricking of Love*	CUL, Add. 3137, *Siege of Thebes*	Boston f.med.94, *Siege of Thebes*	Beinecke 661, *Siege of Thebes*	Rawlinson A. 387B, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.15.16, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Hunter, T.3.15, Mirror of the Life of Christ
Them	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem
Their	her	her	her	her	her	her	her
		((theyr))					
Many	many	many	many	many	many	many	many
				(mony)			
Any	ony	any	ony	eny	eny	eny	eny
	any		((any))				
			((eny))				
Much	moche	moche	moche	moche	muche	muche	muche
							((mychel))
							((miche))
Much							((muchel))
Are	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben
		((be))	((ar))	((ar))			
		((are))	((arn))	((arn))			
		((ar))					
		((arn))					
Will (sg. pl.)	wil (sg.)	wil (sg. pl.)	wil	wil	wol (sg.)	wol (sg. pl.)	wol (sg.)
	wil (pl.)		wyl (sg.)	wol (sg.)	wol (pl.)		wol (pl.)
	(wiln) (pl.)		wyl (pl.)		wollen		wollen
Than	than	than	than	than	than	than	than
	þan				((þan))		
	Downside 26542, *Pricking of Love*	CUL, Add. 3137, *Siege of Thebes*	Boston f.med.94, *Siege of Thebes*	Beinecke 661, *Siege of Thebes*	Rawlinson A. 387B, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.15.16, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Hunter, T.3.15, Mirror of the Life of Christ

Though	though	though	though	though	though	though	though
	(thouȝ)	thogh			((although))	((although))	((al-though))
						((thouȝ))	((though-that))
Against	ayenst	ayen	ayen	ayen	ayenst	ayenst	ayenst
	ayens	(ayenst)	ageyn	ayens			
		(ageyn)	(ayens)	ageyn			
		((ageyns))					
		((agens))					
Ere (conj.)	or-that	or	or	or			
		or-that	or-that	or-that			
Yet	yet	yet	yet	yet	yit	yit	yit
Yet	((yhet))				yhit	yhit	yhit
Strength (sb.)	strengthe				strength	strengthe	strengthe
					strengthe	strengþe	
						strength-	
Nor	ne	nor	nor	nor	nor	neiþer	nor
	((nor))	((ne))	((ne))	ne	ne	ne	ne
		((nother))					
Work (sb. vb.)	werke (sb.)	werk	werk- (vb.)	werk	worke	werke	werke
	worke (sb.)	werk- (sb.)		werk- (sb.)	work- (sb.)	werk-	werk-
	Downside 26542, *Pricking of Love*	CUL, Add. 3137, *Siege of Thebes*	Boston f.med.94, *Siege of Thebes*	Beinecke 661, *Siege of Thebes*	Rawlinson A. 387B, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.15.16, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Hunter, T.3.15, Mirror of the Life of Christ
Work (cont.)	worche (vb.)	werke (vb.)		werke (vb.)	worche (vb.)	worke	worke
		werk-		werk-	worch-	work- (sb.)	work (sb.)
		(work-)		(worche)		worche	worch- (vb.)
				(worken)		worch- (vb.)	((wurch-))

Through	thorugh	thorgh	thorgh	thorgh	thurgh	thorugh	thorugh
	((þorugh))	(throgh)	thorugh	thorugh	(thorugh)	((through))	((thurgh))
		((thorugh))		((throgh))		((thorgh))	
				((thorgh))			
When	whan	whan	whan	whan	whan	whan	whan
		((whan-that))	((whan-that))	((whan-that))	((wha*n*))		((whanne))
Pres. part.	–yng	–ing	–yng	–yng	–ynge	–ynge	–yng
	–ing	–yng	((–ing))	–ing	–yng	–yng	(–ing)
Pres. part.		((–eng))	((–eng))	((–eng))	–inge	((–inge))	(–ynge)
					–ing	((–ing))	(–eng)
						((–enge))	((–inge))
						((–eng))	
Ask	aske			ask-	aske	aske	aske
	ax-				ask-	ask-	ask-
	ask-						
Before (adv. pr.)	afore (adv.)	aforn	aforn	aforn	afore (adv.)	before	before (adv.)
	before (pr.)	toforn	beforn	beforn	before (pr.)	(tofore) (adv/pr)	before (pr.)
	Downside 26542, *Pricking of Love*	CUL, Add. 3137, *Siege of Thebes*	Boston f.med.94, *Siege of Thebes*	Beinecke 661, *Siege of Thebes*	Rawlinson A. 387B, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.15.16, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Hunter, T.3.15, Mirror of the Life of Christ
Before (adv. pr.)		((beforn))(adv.)	toforn	beforn*e*	afore		((bifore))
		toforn (pr.)	tofore (adv.)	tofore			((tofore))
		(tofore)	tofore (pr.)	to-forn (adv.)			
		(afore)	afore	afore (pr.)			
			aforn	tofore			
Busy (adj.)	besy-	besy	besy	besy	besy	besy	besy
		besy-			besye	besy-	

Do (pt-sg, pt-pl)	dide	dide (pt-sg)	did	dide	dide (pt-sg)	did	dide
	dyde (pt-sg)	diden (pt-pl)	dide	(dyde) (pt-sg)		dide (pt-sg)	(dyde) (pt-sg)
	didist (pt-2sg)	dide	dyde (pt-sg)	dide (pt-pl)		didist (pt-2sg)	
		ded	dide (pt-pl)	dyde			
Either + or	outher+	outher+	eyther+	either+	either+	outher+	either+
	eyther+	other+	outher+		eyther+		eiþer+
Give (ppl.)	youen				youen	youen	youen
						gouen	
Less					lasse	lasse	lasse
Lie		lye	lye	li-	liggh-	liggh-	liggh-
		li-	ly-				
			li-				
Own	owne	ovne			ovne	owne	owne
	Downside 26542, *Pricking of Love*	CUL, Add. 3137, *Siege of Thebes*	Boston f.med.94, *Siege of Thebes*	Beinecke 661, *Siege of Thebes*	Rawlinson A. 387B, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B.15.16, Mirror of the Life of Christ	Hunter, T.3.15, Mirror of the Life of Christ
See (ppl.)	sayne	seyn	–seyn	seyen	seen		
		seyen	seien	seien			
See (ppl.)		seien					
Whither		whider	whethir	wheder	whider	whider	whider
Witen	wyte				wite	wite	wyte
	wyten				wyte		wite
–ly	–ly	–ly	–ly	–ly	–ly	–ly	–ly
	((–liche))	((–liche))			((–liche))	((–liche))	((–liche))

	Bodley 619, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1 *Macer's Herbal*
The	the þe	the ((þe))
These	these þese	these ((þese))
She	she	she
Her	hir	hir ((hyr, her))
It	it	it ((It))
They	thei þei they (þey)	thei ((they, þey, þei))
Them	hem	hem
Their	her	her
Such	suche	suche
Which	whiche	the-whiche (whiche) ((þe-whiche, þe-which))
Each	(euer)iche	iche
Many	many	many
Man	man	man
Any	eny (any)	eny
Much	muche	muche (-muche)
Are	ben	ben ((be, are))
Is	is	is
Art	art	
Was	was	was
Shall (sg.)	shal	shal ((shul))
Shall (pl.)		shul (shal) ((shull))
Should (sg.)	shuld	shulde ((shuld))
Will (sg.)	wol (woll)	wol
Will (pl.)	wol	
Would (sg.)	wolde	wolde
From	fro from	fro ((from))
After	after	after (after-) ((aft*er*))

	Bodley 619, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1 *Macer's Herbal*
Then	than þo (þan) (then) (þen)	than ((then))
Than	than (han) (þan)	than
Though	though	though
If	yf (if) (yif)	if (yf)
Against	ageynst ageyns	ayenst
Again	ageyn	ayen ((a-yen))
Ere (conj.)		tofore-or or-that afore-or
Since (conj.)	syth	sith-that sith sithen
Yet	yit	yit
While		while
Strength		strengthe
Wh-	wh- (w-)	wh-
Not	not (nat)	not
Nor	no ne	ne ((nor, neither))
World	worlde	worlde
Work (sb.)	werke worche worke	worch- (worche)
Work (vb.)	worche	worche
There	there þere	there ((þere, there))
Where	where wher	where wher-
Might (vb.)		might
Through	thorugh	thorugh ((thurgh))
When	whan (when)	whan

	Bodley 619, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1 *Macer's Herbal*
Pres. Part.	yng (ing) (eng)	–ynge (–ing, –inge) ((–i+eng)) ((–yng, –yng))
Str pt pl	-en (-ed)	-e -en
Ask		ask-
Before (adv.)	before (bifore)	before (asfore, tofore)
Before (pr.)	before (beforn)	before afore
Both	bothe, (boþe)	bothe, ((boþe))
Burn		brenne bre*n*ne
	Bodley 619, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1 Macer's *Herbal*
Busy (adj.)	besy	
Could (sg.)	koude	coude
Day (pl.)	daies (days)	daies days
Die		di- dye
Do (3sg.)	doth	doth ((doþ))
Do (pt-sg.)	dide	dide
Dread/spread		dradde
Evil		euel ((euell))
Eye (pl.)		eyen ((eyes))
Filth		filthe
Fire		fire ((fyre))
First	first	first
First (wk-adj.)	the first	the-first ((the-firste))
Give (pt-sg.)		yaaf
Give (ppl.)	youen	youe (youen)
Go (3sg)	goth (go)	goth
Good	gode	good (gode)
Hang (pt.)		honged hanged
Have (inf.)	haue	hauen
Have (pt-sg.)	had	
Hear		here
High	highe	

	Bodley 619, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1 *Macer's Herbal*
Hight	height (heighte) light right	height
Hundred		hundred
I	I	I
Kind (etc.)		mynde, kynde (kinde)
Less	lasse	lasse
Little	litel	litel
Live (vb.)		lyue
Ne + will	ne + wol (ne + woll)	
Neither + nor	ne + no (neyther + ne) (neither + ne)	neither+
No-more	nomore	nomore
Or	or	or ((either))
Own (adj.)	ovne	
Run	renneth	renne
The-same	the same	thilke ((that-thilke))
See (pt-sg.)	saw	
See (ppl.)	seyn	((saie))
Self		self
Silver		seluer, siluer
Stead		stede
Thousand		thousand
Together		togidre ((to-gidre, togidres, togidir, to-gidris))
Two	two	too (tweyne, two, tweyn)
Until	til (tyl)	til (tyl, til-that)
What	what	–what
Whether	wheither weiþer wether, whethir	whethir whether
Who		who-so, who
Whom	whom	whom
Witen	wite woot wote, wiste	wit- wote

	Bodley 619, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*	CRO, Chester: D/4398/1 *Macer's Herbal*
Without (pr.)	withoute	with-outen withouten
-ly	-ly	–ly ((–liche))

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