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**Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4**  
**A 15<sup>th</sup> Century Spiritual Compilation**

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**The University of Glasgow**  
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## Abstract

Westminster Cathedral Treasury Ms 4 is a late fifteenth-early sixteenth century copy of an early-to-mid fifteenth century compilation. The text has a precise and narrow aim : it teaches contemplation – the mystical life – to what must have been an intended audience of some sophistication, using fragments of four religious texts in the vernacular : a Middle English exposition of Psalm 90, *Qui Habitat*, and a Middle English exposition of psalm 91, *Bonum Est* (both psalm expositions are sometimes attributed to Walter Hilton), Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* and the long version of Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*. The transcript of the compilation provides references to the main editions of the source texts from which the compiler selected the fragments that make up his text.

This study aims to show that it is not just the technical putting together of fragments from existing texts that makes a compilation, but rather the thematic unity of the new text that is formed by the selecting and ordering of the fragments. This is why the core of this study is a detailed analysis of the themes of the compilation and the way they have been introduced and elaborated throughout the compilation.

In addition to this, this study discusses the compilation's likely intended audience as well as the historical and literary factors that could have led to its composition.

The study of individual late medieval spiritual compilations such as Westminster Cathedral Treasury 4 is ultimately aimed at the definition of late medieval spiritual compilations as a genre in their own right, whose characteristics challenge our preconceived notions of authorship and textual integrity.

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## Preface

The immediate impulse for examining Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4 was that it contains fragments from the long text of Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*. Moreover, these fragments are the earliest witness to the long text of the *Revelations*, as the other manuscript versions that have come down to us are all seventeenth century copies and the source texts from which they were copied are now lost. It very quickly becomes clear, however, that the value of Treasury 4 does not lie primarily in its being the earliest extant source for the long text of the *Revelations*. The *Revelations* fragments do not differ spectacularly from the extant full versions of the long text and the manuscript evidence is too scant to trace the place of the "Westminster fragments" in the textual tradition of the *Revelations*.

Gradually I shifted my attention from the fragments from Julian's *Revelations*, which form the closing section of the manuscript, to the other fragments that are part of the compilation. I realized that the fragments had not been put into the compilation haphazardly, but were chosen to form a new text across the boundaries of the four texts the compiler chose fragments from. I decided to study the compiler's text in its own right, to analyze it thematically as well as structurally and to see whether any patterns of selecting and ordering of fragments could be seen to emerge. I found that we can indeed call the compilation a "new" text, as the compiler gave the compilation a clear structure and conveyed his own message by means of fragments from existing texts.

This thesis is my first step towards further study of medieval spiritual or mystical compilations as a genre. I believe we can understand this genre better if we realize that a compiler always adds something of his own to what seems nothing more than a collection of (fragments of) existing texts. What makes this collection of fragments of texts a compilation is not just the fact that they occur in one manuscript volume together and that the one text ends on the same folio as the other begins. This collection is a compilation because its contents can be shown to form part of one overall message from which every single fragment that the compiler selected can be justified.

In the case of Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4 there seems to be an external reason why the compiler chose this genre of text to convey his message, but the reasons that a compilation is written need not always be non-literary.



This approach of the compilation we find in Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4 as an example of a literary genre in its own right, with its own characteristics of form as well as of content, challenges our beliefs both of what a text is and what an author is, and can teach us something about the way texts were seen, read, used, passed on and appreciated in the late medieval period.

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Antwerp, April 1997.

## Introduction

This thesis presents a study of the spiritual compilation found in Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4. In the case of Treasury 4, the term “compilation” is used as a name for a text that consists entirely of fragments from existing texts, but that can nevertheless be said to be a “new” text, a text in its own right. Thus this compilation is not just a collection of purple passages, but a text with a precise and narrow aim : it teaches contemplation – the mystical life – to what must have been an intended audience of some sophistication, using fragments of four religious texts in the vernacular : a Middle English exposition of Psalm 90, *Qui Habitat*, and a Middle English exposition of psalm 91<sup>1</sup>, *Bonum Est* (both psalm expositions are sometimes attributed to Walter Hilton), Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection* and the long version of Julian of Norwich’s *Revelations of Divine Love*. Analysis of the manuscript shows that the compiler has quite carefully arranged his selections in a particular order, and chosen fragments from these texts that discuss his main themes.

I will show throughout the thesis that the discussion of the manuscript’s formal characteristics and its contents cannot consistently be separated. The compiler’s decisions that seem to be formal, such as the cutting out of large chunks of material from the *Revelations*, turn out to be informed by considerations of a thematic nature. On the other hand, the generic difference between the *Revelations* fragments and the fragments from *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est* and the *Scale* is reflected in the layout of the manuscript.

Chapter 1 focuses mainly on the manuscript’s physical characteristics and provides a discussion of the compiler’s methods of selecting and ordering the fragments that make up his text. It includes a transcript of the compilation, as well as references to the main editions of the compiler’s source texts for each of the fragments he used.

Chapter 2 gives a detailed discussion of the themes the compiler addresses in his text and the way he introduces, elaborates and interlinks the themes. Analysis of the compilation shows that the compiler has quite consciously put the texts he selected fragments from in a particular order, and consciously chose fragments from these texts to convey his message to his audience effectively. The thematic unity of the compilation is such that it compensates for what a modern reader might consider the compilation’s formal shortcomings.

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<sup>1</sup> Vulgate numbering.

Chapter 3 tries to define the compiler's intended audience and discusses the historical and literary reasons that may have urged the compiler to write a text in somebody else's words rather than in his own.

The conclusion includes suggestions for further study of the compilation.

## Chapter 1 : Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4 : the Text

### 1.1 Description of the Manuscript.

#### 1.1.1 The physical characteristics of the manuscript.

(1) Westminster Cathedral Manuscript Treasury 4<sup>1</sup> (henceforth referred to as Treasury 4) is a compilation written in a late 15<sup>th</sup>-early 16<sup>th</sup> century hand. It contains fragments from four texts in Middle English. The fragments from the Exposition of Psalm 90 (*Qui Habitat*) in English start on f. 1r and end on line 9 of f. 25r. The fragments from the Exposition of Psalm 91 in English (*Bonum Est*) start on line 10 of f. 25r and end on line 1 of f. 35v. The fragments from Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (*Scale*) start on line 2 of f. 35v and end on line 9 of f. 72r. The fragments from the long text Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love* (*Revelations*) start on 72v and end on line 11 of f. 112v. The psalm commentaries have been assigned to Walter Hilton by some scholars, and the Hilton scholar J.P.H. Clark concluded, if only for *Qui Habitat*, that the work is probably Hilton's<sup>2</sup>. Neither psalm commentary is ever ascribed to Hilton in any of the surviving manuscripts, but the similarity of language and subject matter does place the psalm commentaries within the same literary and theological background as the *Scale*, which is why I will refer to the fragments from the psalm commentaries and the *Scale*, which can be said to make up the first part of the compilation, as the Hilton-canon fragments.

The manuscript does not contain any other texts apart from the compilation and is written in single columns of seventeen lines in a single hand, identified by Ker as a "large secretary hand, not current"<sup>3</sup> and by Basing as "English bastard secretary hand"<sup>4</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> In Colledge's and Walsh's standard edition of Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*, Treasury 4 is confusingly called Westminster Archdiocesan Archives MS. This choice of name for the manuscript is odd, also because Ker had listed the manuscript correctly in his *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* in 1969, which was nine years before Colledge's and Walsh's edition was published. Colledge, Edmund and Walsh, James [ed.] : *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*. 2 vols. (Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), pp.9-10. The manuscript is still owned by Westminster Cathedral, but it is kept in the Library of Westminster Abbey for security reasons.

<sup>2</sup> Clark, J.P.H. : "Walter Hilton and the Psalm Commentary *Qui Habitat*" *The Downside Review* 100 (1982), p. 253. Clark's article contains a detailed discussion of coincidence in language and subject matter between *Qui Habitat* and Book II of the *Scale*. A brief discussion of the discussion of the authorship of *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* can be found in Wallner, Björn : "An Exposition of *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* in English." *Land Studies in English* XXIII (1954), pp. xxxix-xl.

<sup>3</sup> Ker, N.R. : *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries. Part I. London*. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 418. Ker's description continues on p. 419.

manuscript is usually dated c. 1500. The date "1368" is written in the lower margin of f. 1r in a hand that is identified by Basing as either 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century. This seems to have no other significance than being the date some 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century reader thought the manuscript (or one of the texts it contains ?) was written. The manuscript consists of 14 gatherings of 8 folios. Catchwords are consistently used from f. 8v onwards. All evidence suggests that Treasury 4, apart from the marginalia, which are late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the binding, which is dated by Basing as late 18<sup>th</sup> and by Ker as 19<sup>th</sup> century, has survived in its original form. The marginal annotations were indeed made before the manuscript was rebound, as some letters have been cropped away. To the descriptions of the manuscript that can be found in Ker and Basing could be added that the ruling of the manuscript is in ink and that the scribe started writing below the first line. The written surface of some folios seems to have been written on before<sup>5</sup>. In both Ker's and Basing's descriptions of the contents of the compilation<sup>6</sup> the inclusion of short fragments from revelations 3 and 13 from the *Revelations* is overlooked.

(2) Walsh and Colledge identify three annotators, all late seventeenth or early eighteenth century writers<sup>7</sup>, who wrote study aids in the margin, sometimes emended spellings and occasionally wrote the modern form of a word in the margin. As the marginal annotations do not tell us anything about the way the manuscript would have been read in the late fifteenth - early sixteenth century, I have not considered them in my analysis of the compilation. In the transcript of Treasury 4 I include the marginal annotations in the footnotes.

(3) The *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est* and *Scale* fragments are presented as one unbroken sequence, subdivided only by the occasional blue two-line initial with red ornament. The Latin verses quoted from the Vulgate in the *Scale* fragments are written in red ink as well. Apart from the two-line initials indicating the beginning of the fragments from *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est*, the *Scale* and the *Revelations*, decorated initials have been used on f. 22v, f. 29r, f. 31v, f. 32v, f. 48v, f. 50r, f. 51v, f. 52v, f. 55v f. 56r, f. 59r, f. 63v, f. 65r

<sup>4</sup> Brown, John and Dean, Timothy : *Westminster Cathedral. Building of Faith*. (London : Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1995), p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> This is a supposition on my part, and it would need to be confirmed by an expert in codicology. See for instance ff. 27v and 28r, ff. 33v to 39r, ff. 50v and 51r.

<sup>6</sup> Basing's description is obviously based on Ker's.

and f. 68v. This means that all the decorated initials that cut up the text in smaller parts occur in the Hilton-canon fragments. Thus the *Revelations* fragments do not contain any decorated initials apart from the one indicating the first fragment from revelation 1<sup>8</sup>. There is no really meaningful pattern in the way the decorated initials have been distributed throughout the manuscript. It is true that very often they indicate a new step in the argument, which in all except three cases<sup>9</sup> coincides with the start of a new fragment from the original text, but in many other places a new point in the argument is being introduced without it being indicated by a decorated initial. There is also no meaningful pattern to the double slash (/) the scribe uses now and then as if to demarcate two passages<sup>10</sup>.

More significant than the occurrence of two-line initials is the blank space of half of f. 72r that separates the *Revelations* fragments from the rest of the compilation. This empty space does indicate some kind of break between the Hilton-canon fragments and the *Revelations* fragments. In section 2.4 of chapter 2 I will show that the *Revelations* fragments stand apart from the rest of the compilation not in content, but because of the different nature of the text the fragments were taken from.

### 1.1.2 Compiler, scribe, date and provenance.

Treasury 4 does not contain the compiler's original text, but a late 15<sup>th</sup> - early 16<sup>th</sup> century scribal copy made quite some time after the text was first compiled, which must have been between the beginning and the middle of the fifteenth century. The time lapse between the original compilation and the copy we have in Treasury 4, shows from the scribe's misspellings of words that he did not recognize<sup>11</sup> as well as from his otherwise mechanical copying of words that had become "rare and obscure in the sixteenth

<sup>7</sup> Walsh and Colledge, *A Book of Showings*, p. vii.

<sup>8</sup> There does not seem to be an immediate reason for the absence of decorated initials in the *Revelations* fragments. The only one that I can think of is the different nature of the *Revelations* as a text compared to the Hilton-canon fragments, although it seems more likely that the explanation for the absence of decorated initials in the *Revelations* fragments is more prosaic. Maybe the scribe ran out of coloured ink, or maybe he did not take the time to stop and draw the initials.

<sup>9</sup> The decorated initials on f. 22v, f. 31v and f. 68v indicate a new step in the argument, but do not indicate the start of another fragment.

<sup>10</sup> The double slashes have been transcribed and can be found on ff. 1r, 1v, 18r, 18v, 30r, 37r, 39v, 42r, 43v, 45r, 61v, 65r, 68r and 95r.

<sup>11</sup> In the introduction to their translation of Treasury 4, Walsh and Colledge point out the words "arrectith" on f. 25r and f. 27r (should be "arrectith", *imputes*, as on f. 26v), "wounded" on f. 27r (should be "wounden", past participle of "to wind") and "thinke" on f. 33v (should be "thilke", *the same*). See

century”<sup>12</sup>. The text’s initial compiler seems to have taken great care to translate the fragments that were almost certainly taken from source texts showing traces of various English dialects into “the English spoken in the South-Eastern regions of the country, adjacent to London, in the mid-fifteenth century”<sup>13</sup>. That the compilation was copied mechanically suggests that the text we have in Treasury 4 must be close to the compiler’s original, which means that we can discuss the text in Treasury 4 as the compiler’s version.

Walsh and Colledge assume that the compiler was a priest, “or at least a cleric with a good grasp of theology, and some Latin – otherwise he would not have bothered to reproduce (accurately) the Vulgate citations, especially as an English rendering is always appended”<sup>14</sup>. Even though the theoretical possibility that the compiler was a woman cannot be ruled out<sup>15</sup>, I opted to refer to the compiler as a man. This is a practical decision and should not be taken as a definitive statement on the compiler’s sex.

The exact provenance of both Treasury 4 and the compilation it contains are unknown. In chapter 3 I will discuss the compilation in its cultural context and will indicate the milieu in which it might have originated.

## 1.2 Selection and Ordering of Fragments in the Compilation.

### 1.2.1 Patchwork ?

(1) When we compare the fragments that make up Treasury 4 with the available source texts of the originals the fragments were selected from, it appears that the compiler followed his sources closely, and probably even copied them word for word. Of course, we have to take into account that we do not know the place of Treasury 4 in the textual tradition of *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est*, the *Scale* and the *Revelations*<sup>16</sup>. If there are

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Walsh, James and Colledge, Eric : *Of the Knowledge of Ourselves and of God. A Fifteenth Century Florilegium*. (London : A.R.Mowbray, 1961), p.vi.

<sup>12</sup> Walsh and Colledge, *Of the Knowledge ...*, p. vi.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. vii.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. xvi.

<sup>15</sup> Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, is an example of an early 15<sup>th</sup> C woman of letters. She translated several devotional works from French into English, but as she did not know Latin, she also relied on scholars to help her with her work. See : Driver, Martha W. : “Pictures in Print : Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century English Religious Books for Lay Readers”, p. 234, esp. note 16, and Hutchison, Anne M. : “Devotional Reading in the Monastery and in the Late Medieval Household”, p. 225. Both in Sargent, Michael G.[ed.] : *De Cella in Seculum. Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*. (Cambridge : D.S. Brewer, 1989).

<sup>16</sup> Even if, as Nicholas Watson announces, “the long awaited critical edition of Hilton’s *Scale* [...] is to be published by EETS before the millenium”, it might still be difficult to actually decide where the



differences between Treasury 4 and the editions of its sources that I used, these differences show that the compiler's different reading does not change the *res*, the essential meaning of the text, but only changes the *verba*, the wording of the meaning.

However, there is one instance where the choice of a word that changes the meaning of the message seems to have been caused by the larger context of the compilation. On f. 79r, we read that "truely. our louer desyreth þat þe soule clyme to hym. with all the myghtes. and þat we be euyr clymyng to his goodnes" (79r). The compilation here reads "clyme" where all other extant manuscripts of the *Revelations* read "cleuc"<sup>17</sup>. The Treasury 4 reading might well have been influenced by the imagery of the Hilton-canon fragments, in which contemplation is described as the upward movement of the soul to God.

(2) The compiler chose fragments from existing texts to write his own text. This way of working inevitably leads to the occurrence of what I would call "loose ends" in the text, terms that pop up in the compilation as if out of the blue, because the compiler did not select the passage in which they were introduced.

On f. 37r, for example, we read that the soul "may renne a while tyll he be wery. and thenne shall he turne ayen" (37r). The word "renne" was introduced in the preceding passage, which was not selected by the compiler :

A hound that only runs after the hare because he sees other hounds run rests when he is tired or returns home. But if he runs because he sees the hare, he will not stop until he has caught it, tired though he may be. Our spiritual progress is very similar<sup>18</sup>.

We might well ask ourselves if the audience can place the use of the word "renne" without the hound-and-hare simile being included.

Similarly, on ff. 82v-83r the word "synne" occurs without having been mentioned before : "And I was sure þat he doeth no synne. And here I sawe sothly þat synne ys no dede". In the full version of the *Revelations*, this statement is an answer to a question of

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compilation fits into the textual tradition of all four of its source texts, as the manuscripts the compiler copied from might be no longer extant. This is almost certainly the case for the *Revelations*. Watson, Nicholas "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England : Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409" *Speculum* 70 (1995), p. 847, note 73.

<sup>17</sup> Colledge and Walsh, *A Book of Showings*, long text, chapter 6, 46-48.

<sup>18</sup> Walter Hilton : *The Ladder of Perfection*, translated by Leo Sherley-Price. (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1988), Book 1, chapter 41, 6-10.

Julian's, springing from her understanding that God "is all thing" (82r) : "I merveyled in that syght with a softe drede, and thought : What is synne ? For I saw truly that god doth alle thyng"<sup>19</sup>. The compiler cuts round this sentence because sin is not one of his themes, but he does leave in the later references to sin. Again I think that it would take some effort on the part of the readers to place the unIntroduced mention of sin, as they would have to link God's providence and omnipotence with the absence of sin in God and the consequent denial of "the substantial reality of evil"<sup>20</sup>.

Again, on f. 85v, the phrase "the blessed trynnye of oure saluacion" is mentioned seemingly without having been introduced explicitly. In the full text of the *Revelations* the use of the phrase is prepared for by Julian's description of the three heavens, defined as joy, bliss and endless delight, each of which is associated with a person of the Trinity<sup>21</sup>. Even though this "introductory passage" is omitted in the compilation, we cannot say that the phrase comes out of the blue the way the mention of sin did. The *Scale* fragments contain a passage that replaces the passage that introduces the phrase "blessed trynnye of oure saluacion" in the *Revelations*. In ff. 46v-47r the triad of creation - redemption - salvation is appropriated to the working of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit respectively. Moreover, the term "þe trynnye of oure saluacion" is explained on the next folio : "All the blessed trynnye wrought in þe passion of criste. mynstryng abundaunce of vertues and plente of grace to vs by hym. but only þe maydenys sone sufferd. Whereof all þe gloriousse trynnye endelesly enioyeth" (86r).

There is a gradation in the three "loose ends" that I mentioned, which shows something about the coherence of the compilation. Whereas it was probably near to impossible for the compiler's audience to understand correctly the isolated use of the word "renne" on f. 37r, they would have been able to integrate the references to sin on ff. 82v-83r into the compiler's argument, albeit with some effort. The "blessed trynnye of oure saluacion"-phrase, even though it might seem isolated at first, turns out to be a phrase that has been introduced, in an explicit way in the *Scale* fragment on ff. 46r-47v, and implicitly in all the references to the Trinity and to salvation in the compilation. In order to understand

<sup>19</sup> Colledge and Walsh, *A Book of Showings*, long text, Chapter 11, 6-7.

<sup>20</sup> Baker, Denise Nowakowski : *Julian of Norwich's Showings. From Vision to Book*. (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 65.

<sup>21</sup> "And in these thre wordes : It is a joy, a blysse and endlesse lykyng to me, were shewyd thre hevyns, as thus. For the joy, I vnderstode the plesannce of the father, and for the blysse the wurshyppe of the sonne, and for the endlesse lykyng the holy gost. The father is plesyd, the sonne is wurshyppyd, the holy gost lykyth." Colledge and Walsh, *A Book of Showings*, long text, chapter 23, 1-6.

the reference to the soul's aimless running, the audience would almost have to know the original Scale passage to get the sense clear. The other two "loose ends" would doubtlessly have been made sense of by an advanced<sup>22</sup> audience like the compiler's. The theological issues addressed in the text would have been so well known to them, that their act of reading would have brought coherence to a text that might otherwise seem patchy and defective.

(3) The compiler places the fragments he selected next to one another without much further manipulation. The transitional phrases he puts in are absolutely minimal. His favoured words to go from one fragment to the other are "for" and "also". When he does put in a transitional phrase, it is made up from words from the fragments or their context<sup>23</sup>. All this makes the compilation look very much like the result of a rudimentary "cut and paste"-job.

As I will show in chapter 2, it is to the compiler's credit that what looks like an unpromising collection of fragments put one after another is so coherent from the point of view of content<sup>24</sup>. The formal incoherence of the text, as I already suggested, would have been overcome in the audience's act of reading. Their meditative reading of the text would indeed imply linking the fragments to each other in the understanding of their overall meaning.

When Julian of Norwich suggested, in the full text of the *Revelations*, that "[t]his boke is begonne by goddys gyfte and his grace, butt it is nott yett performyd, as to my syght"<sup>25</sup>, she seems to be indicating that her work is not finished unless it is received by an

<sup>22</sup> I use the term "advanced" to mean "of some theological sophistication". This means that the compiler's audience had sufficient theological knowledge to understand the compiler's message.

<sup>23</sup> See ff. 73v, 83r, 83v and 103r. It is interesting to see that these longer transitional phrases occur in the *Revelations* fragments.

<sup>24</sup> An interesting discussion of the medieval concept of literary structure can be found in Gradon, Pamela: *Form and Style in Early English Literature*. (London: Methuen, 1971). In Chapter 2, pp. 93-151, Gradon discusses the structure of medieval narrative prose and poetry (*Beowulf*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Patience*, Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur* ...). For these texts, she concludes that the medieval concept of structure is governed by "pattern" rather than by plot. In a "pattern", the action is presented "in such a way that the events within the frame bear a thematic relationship to each other" (p. 94). The parts of the text are not only "related by virtue of an underlying meaning, but [...] the juxtaposition of the parts is itself part of the meaning" (p. 96). A pattern "is indeed a kind of parataxis whereas the concept of "plot" [...] is a kind of syntaxis" (ibidem). Even though Gradon does not discuss spiritual compilations like Treasury 4, the terminology she uses can be applied to the compilation. Like the different parts of *Purity*, one of the poems Gradon discusses, the fragments Treasury 4 is constructed out of could be said to be "linked together by a pattern of imagery" (p. 123), as I will show in chapter 2.

<sup>25</sup> Colledge and Walsh, *A Book of Showings*, long text, chapter 86, 1-2.

audience that will “perform” what she wrote. Gertrud Jaron Lewis, when describing a text from one of the 14<sup>th</sup> century German Sister-Books, seems to associate the audience’s responsibility to “perform” the text with *florilegia* in particular.

Likening her splendid work to a *florilegium* [...], the author [Katharina von Unterlinden] invites her audience to cooperate so that her task will be accomplished. The “perfection” of her work, of course, does not simply mean that more material be added to the text [...] but rather that the purpose of her writing be fulfilled by the audience. The listener and reader are generally called upon not to judge the work but to validate it<sup>26</sup>.

A similar invitation for the audience to validate the compilation can also be read in the closing sentence of the compilation : “It is godis wyll that we sett the poynt of our bought in this blessed beholding as often as we may and as long” (112v).

### 1.2.2 Omissions and dislocations in the *Revelations* fragments.

I will limit myself to the discussion of omissions and dislocations in the *Revelations* fragments, because there they seem to be of a different nature than in the Hilton-canon fragments.

(1) The omissions of fragments from the Hilton-canon fragments can generally be explained on the grounds that the compiler is writing for an advanced audience. In the case of the *Revelations* fragments, many fragments seem to have been omitted simply because the issues they discussed had been already addressed earlier in the compilation. In some cases, however, the compiler’s omission of fragments from the *Revelations* seems to have been motivated by other considerations. In this section I will be looking at the larger blocks of material that have been left out by the compiler : from the larger part of revelation 3 to revelation 8, from revelation 11 to most of revelation 13, and a large portion of revelation 14. Revelation 16 will not be considered because the compiler did not include any material from this revelation<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Jaron Lewis, Gertrud : *By Women, for Women, about Women. The Sister Books of Fourteenth-Century Germany*. (Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1996), pp.41-42.

<sup>27</sup> The compiler might not have selected from revelation 16 because in this concluding section of the *Revelations* Julian does not only describe her vision of God’s indwelling in man’s soul, a theme which has been addressed in the compilation already, but she also considers the meaning of her visionary experience as a whole. Revelation 16 also contains a lot of references to revelations from which the compiler did not select and discussions of themes, such as sin, that were not the compiler’s.

Possible reasons for the omission of revelation 3 to revelation 8 will be discussed in chapter 2, as they are relevant to the discussion of the compilation as a whole.

Revelations 11 and 12 (long text chapters 25 and 26) might well have been left out by the compiler because they describe Julian's vision of the Virgin Mary's glory in heaven and her vision of God, who shows Himself to Julian more glorified than ever before. The compiler shares Hilton's tendency not to describe what the contemplative might see in contemplation in exact and concrete terms. Revelation 13 (chapters 27 to 40) might have been left out, apart from a one short passage, not only because its main themes were outside the compiler's direct scope, but also because Julian's discussion of sin and her suggestion of universal salvation might have been too unusual and too potentially controversial for the compiler's taste, although Julian's speculations remain within the confines of orthodoxy. Indeed, the compiler takes the traditional line, represented in Julian's discussion by the teaching of the Church, as he selects a passage from *Qui Habitat* that refers to eternal damnation. The soul will see God's righteousness "in punysshynge of reprocued soules. and in yeldyng payne for þer synne [...] / [...] Then it is ryghtfull þat he [the lover of the world] be afir þis lyfe in endelesse payne. and neuer feelee ioye" (12r-12v)<sup>28</sup>. If the compiler would have inserted fragments from those chapters of the *Revelations* in which universal salvation is suggested, they would have clashed with the compiler's previously adopted line.

In the third chapter of Denise Baker's study of the *Revelations*, it is shown how Julian interpreted God's reassuring statement that "alle shalle be welc, and alle shalle be wele, and alle maner of thyng shalle be wele"<sup>29</sup> to refer both to the meaning of sin as a *felix culpa* and to the possibility of salvation for all humankind, even for the wicked<sup>30</sup>. Julian presents "a moral or tropological interpretation of the *felix culpa*; she considers personal sin in those who will be saved as a fortunate fault with beneficial consequences far exceeding the initial culpability"<sup>31</sup>. With the same optimism that speaks from her thoughts on the meaning of sin, Julian goes on to speculate on the fate of those not predestined to salvation. What she writes in revelation 13 strongly suggests that she is

<sup>28</sup> We also find the classical approach, very outspokenly, in Bernard's *Sermones De Psalmo "Qui Habitat"*. *Sancti Bernardi Opera IV. Sermones I*. Edited by J. Leclercq and H. Rochais. (Rome : Editiones Cistercienses, 1966), pp. 383-492.

<sup>29</sup> Colledge and Walsh, *A Book of Showings*, chapter 27, 13-14.

<sup>30</sup> Baker, *Julian of Norwich's Showings*, p. 82.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

hinting at universal salvation, redemption and salvation for all humankind. She never says so explicitly, but refers to God's great secret :

And in theyse same wordes I saw an hygh mervelous prevyte hyd in god, whych pryuyte he shalle opynly make and shalle be knowen to vs in hevyn. In whych knowyng we shalle verely se the cause why he sufferde synne to come, in whych syght we shalle endlessly haue ioye<sup>32</sup>.

The reason why Julian does not discuss universal salvation explicitly is that it contradicts, if not the Church's explicit teaching, then definitely its silent assumption of the eternal damnation of sinners. Julian is painfully aware of this contradiction and she is desperately trying to solve the dilemma in chapters 45 to 52 of revelation 14, again left out by the compiler. God's answer to the dilemma is the exemplum of the Lord and the Servant (chapter 51), which again seems to confirm that the "hygh mervelous prevyte" does indeed comprise salvation for all, even though the secret will only be revealed at the end of time. Julian manages to harmonize the conflict between the teachings of the Church and what she understands in the revelations, saying that the teachings of the Church are what God wants us to know now, and that his secrets are what He wants us to know at the end of time.

While the chapter describing the exemplum of the Lord and the Servant may have been left out because it describes in such detail what Julian was shown, the compiler might well have chosen not to select passages from the chapters leading up to the exemplum because they are charged with Julian's inner conflict. He might have judged that these chapters would be unsettling for an audience aspiring to a contemplative way of life because they contain an almost painful record of Julian's mental struggles.

(2) That the compiler's work does have a pattern to it and that it is definitely not just patchwork can be seen in the effects of the reordering of fragments from the *Revelations* in two places in the compilation.

One instance of a reordering of fragments with a resulting shift in emphasis can be found in the selections from revelation 3 (83r-83v).

In the full version of the *Revelations* Julian's understanding of God's constancy and omnipotence precedes and is confirmed by God's assertions of these qualities<sup>33</sup>. In the

<sup>32</sup> Colledge and Walsh, *A Book of Showings*, long text, chapter 27, 39-42.

<sup>33</sup> Colledge and Walsh, *A Book of Showings*, long text, chapter 11, 44-48 and 51-56.

compilation, the order is reversed : Julian's understanding is not corroborated by God's statement, but follows from it. Through the reordering of these fragments the compiler has indicated more clearly that all understanding is given to the soul by God. Even though this is at the basis of Julian's teaching as well, the positioning of God's statement after her understanding could be misinterpreted.

Most heavily edited through reordering are the fragments the compiler selects from revelation 9 (chapters 22-23, Treasury 4 ff. 83v-85r). There is something uncanny about this reordering, because the "new text" works as well as Julian's version. However, the shuffling around of fragments here sometimes does bring about a shift in emphasis.

This is the case in the compiler's decision to let lines 15-17 of chapter 22 follow rather than precede lines 21-23 and lines 19-21 of that same chapter. In the full version of the *Revelations*, the initial reference to God's reward and gift to His Son remains vague, abstract and general. Only in the subsequent passages is the reward identified as God's gift of the soul to His Son. In the compilation the reversed order of the passages leaves the audience no space to ponder the nature of "þat yefte" (85r), and immediately imposes a concrete interpretation of what this gift could be. The compilation thus emphasizes from the start of this passage that the soul is God's gift and reward for His Son. The emphasis on the soul itself being God's gift to His Son is strengthened as the compiler, immediately after chapter 22, lines 15-17, inserts a passage from long text chapter 23, in which God's delight in the soul is reasserted<sup>34</sup>.

### 1.3 A Transcript of Westminster Cathedral Treasury MS 4.

#### 1.3.1 Method of transcription.

(1) My method of transcription is in accordance with the scheme set out in Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London : British Library, 1990), pp. 5-6. However, I deviate from her method in several respects. I underline expanded abbreviations rather than italicizing them or putting them between round brackets. I use slashes to indicate scribal as well as non-scribal insertions (insertions by annotators). I have not kept the lay-out of the manuscript page because there was no immediate reason to do so. I have kept the original punctuation of the manuscript because it does not affect the clarity of the text.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., long text, chapter 23, 18.

*Expanded abbreviations* : underlined. I expanded all abbreviation marks, except the abbreviation marks over the following words, which seemed redundant :

f. 4v : I nough

f. 5r : thorough

f. 10r : euer (expansion of this abbreviation mark would yield “eueuer”, which is obviously nonsensical)

f. 26r : nyght

f. 45r : john

f. 62r : clennes

*Scribal as well as non-scribal insertions* : slashes. On the writing line, /and\; between the lines, \and/; marginal \and//.

*Cancellations* : square brackets. By crossing out, illegible [---], legible [— and].

*Emendations* : In footnote. If a missing word is inserted : square brackets. [and].

(2) The transcription also identifies most of the fragments the compilation is built out of with reference to an edition of the source text. For the fragments from *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* references are to Wallner, Björn [ed] : *An Exposition of Qui Habitat and Bonum Est in English*. Lund Studies in English XXIII (Lund : C.W.K. Gleerup, 1954). References to Wallner are in page and line numbers.

For the fragments from the *Scale of Perfection* references are to Hilton, Walter : *The Ladder of Perfection. Translated by Leo Sherley-Price*. (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1957, repr. 1988). References to the Penguin *Scale* are in Book, page and line numbers. So far there is no easily accessible edition of the *Scale*, and the illegibility of the microfilm of the standard *Scale* text, BL Harley 6579, made me decide to use the Penguin *Scale*. This is not the ideal solution, but it was the most practicable, as the Penguin *Scale* is easily accessible and is based on Harley 6579.

For the Fragments from the *Revelations of Divine Love* references are to Colledge, Edmund and Walsh, James [ed] : *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*. 2 vols. (Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978). References to Colledge and Walsh are to the long text (volume 2) in chapter and line numbers.

Marginal annotations as well as references to decorated initials and *punctus elevati* can be found in the footnotes. Marginal annotations on recto pages are written in the right



hand side margin of the page and on verso pages they are written on the left hand side of the page unless otherwise indicated. The cropped away bits of the marginal annotations have been repaired where possible. Emendations are between square brackets.

*1.3.2 Westminster Cathedral Treasury Ms 4 : Transcript.*

**fragments from *Qui Habitat*.**

1r<sup>35</sup>

(1) If<sup>36</sup> that wonyth in þe helpe of the hyeste. in helyng<sup>37</sup> of god of heuen he shall dwel. // He wonyth in þe helpe of the hyeste. þat is meke in spirite. þat knowyth and feelyth hym selfe vn myghty and vnwyse to helpe hym selfe in eny temptacioun. And therfore he utterly forsaketh him selfe and sekyth helpe of god. putting all his truste in hym. not sodenly. for a shorte tyme. but lastyngly wonyng in his helpe. euyr felynge in lyke weykenesse. and euyr resceyuyng lyke fauour of our lordes goodnes. // (2) ffor the ryghtwysman for sauynge of \\his//<sup>38</sup>

(1) Wallner, p. 2, 2-9.

(2) Wallner, p. 2, 12 to p. 3, 11

1v

soule from temptacioun of þe fende. he sekyth to our lord god with a meke harte. and a louyng desire. and then our louyng lord god assone takyng hym in to his proteccion. and hilleth hym fro his enemyes. þat þei may not trouble hym. And sothely he þat may wone in þe helpe of the hyeste. thorow grace here in this lyfe. he shall dwell in surenesse of euerlastyng ioy in the blysse of heuen. // But what shall þat wyse man do þat felith so grete profite in hys lordis wordis. and in his helpe. shall he be ydill and rechelesse. nay. but he

2r<sup>39</sup>

shall sey to our lord. my vptakar<sup>40</sup> art thou. my refute. my god. I shall hope in hym þat he shall sey<sup>41</sup> to our lord. \not/<sup>42</sup> as only by sowne of mouthe. as louars of þe world doo. (3) but bothe in mouthe and in hart with full wyll and true entent to god. for þat seyenge god heryth and approuyth. and þat word may no man speke. but by

(3) Wallner, p.3, 13-16

<sup>35</sup> In the top margin of the page : "An Exposition upon the 91. Psalme".

<sup>36</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>37</sup> Marginal : "vers 1".

<sup>38</sup> Later hand, different ink. Also, in the bottom margin of the page : "1368".

<sup>39</sup> In the top margin of the page : "Psalme 91".

<sup>40</sup> Marginal : "vers 2".

<sup>41</sup> Marginal : "say".

<sup>42</sup> Above the line, later hand, different ink.

grace. as þe apostle seyeth. (4) Also our lord god seyth in his gospels. not all þat seyth to me lord lord. shall haue þe blysse of heuen. (5) but he þat seyth it in þe holy goost. That is to sey. noo man may truly sey ihesu. but yf his wyll

(4) Wallner, p.3, 12-13.

(5) Wallner, p.4, 1 to p.6, 2.

2v

and his entent be turned fro synne to þe loue of god. by god bi grace of the holy goost. And þat is only þe ryght wyse man. for he shal sey to our lorde god. w<sup>t</sup>/<sup>43</sup>hat sothely mynn vptakar<sup>44</sup> þou arte. for when I was sonkyn in to the myre of synne. blynded with likynge and luste of þe worlde. and had noo syght of mynn owne myscheffe. ne lyuynge of lyght of grace. thou lord thorowe \þe/<sup>45</sup> towchyng of thy blessed lyght. þou toke me yp fro there I lay. shewyng me to my syght. þe horrybylite of my synmys. yevynge to me verey contricion. and hoole

3r

forsakyng of my synne. and fully turnynge and drawyng my harte for to love the. and not only my vptaker. but also my refute<sup>46</sup> þou arte. for aftir þat tyme þat I was turned to thee lord god in will and in warke. my gostely enemyes more sharply pursued me with dyuerse temptacions. þat I ne wyste what þat I myght doo. but as vmyghty. I fledde fro them in my thought to thee lord. askynge helpe with brennyng de=syre. and I founde þee only my refute. for þou with the shadowynge of thi grace eesed me of my peynes. and fro lustes. myghty-

3v

ly ouercommyng all my enemyes And þou art my god<sup>47</sup>. I wyll haue noo god but only þee. þat haste so moche done for me. for though I may not see þee as þou art. ne feele þee as þou art in thi blessed kynde. neuerþelesse by the effecte of þi graciouse workyng in me þat þou hast doo so myche for me. I see þe and feele þee. as I se þe sonne. and fele þe hete of it by shynynge of þe beames. ryght so I do se þee and feele þee by thi yeflis of grace. for sothely þat thyng þat toke me vp fro þe fylth of synne. and hath strengthened me thorough

<sup>43</sup> Above the line, later hand, different ink.

<sup>44</sup> Marginal : "uptaker".

<sup>45</sup> Above the line, scribal insertion.

<sup>46</sup> Marginal : "refuge".

<sup>47</sup> Marginal : "my God".

4r

swetnes of deuocion. for to loue hym. that thyng is my god. what þat it be. Well I woot a myghty thyng it is and a souereyne good thyng. therfor I shall hope in hym þat is my<sup>48</sup> god. (6) askyng of hym my bodily sustynauce. only as me nedyth. withoute couetyse of worshiþe or of rychesse. and the saluacion only of my soule. by his mercy. Not lettyng my hope in my deseruyngis ne in þe prayer of man. but in clerenesse of conscience. fro all maner of synne. And in myghtynesse of wyll to the loue of

(6) Wallner, p. 6, 11 to p. 7, 6.

4v

god to all vertues and to all good dedis. And sothely but yf I sett \not//<sup>49</sup> fully all my hope in god I were<sup>50</sup> myche to blame. (7) for why :<sup>51</sup> he hath delyuered me fro fendes þat are my dedly enemyes. (8) when I had not drede of God ne knowyng of my selfe but folowed<sup>52</sup> my fleshely desyre as a beeste doeth. settinge my thought and my loue in rychesse and worshippes and in pryde of my selfe. and in all worldely vanytees. In this snare was I bownde and tyed many a day. and I felte it not. me thought I dydd well I nough. for I sawe no defaute

(7) Wallner. Conflation of p. 7, 8-10.

(8) Wallner, p. 7, 13 to p. 9, 5.

5r

ther in. for me thought nyghhand þat all men dydd lyke as I dydd. But our lord thorough shynyng of hys blessed lyght touched my blynde hart. and shewed to my syght þat it was a snare of darkenes þat I was<sup>53</sup> in. and with the swete felyng of his loue. he brake myghtyly þis snare. and he delyuered me oute of it. he made me to lothe and myslyke. þat thyng þat I mooste lyked. and made me to forsake þat. that I moste coueted of worldely vanytees. and so he made me free fro thraldome of worldely lyfe. and not only

5v

þat he dyd so. but he delyuered me<sup>54</sup> fro sharpe wordes. þat is backbytyng. scornynge and euyll spekyng of frowarde men. a yent such soules þat be newly turned fro þe worlde to god. when thees worldely lyuers se a

<sup>48</sup> Marginal : "hope in God".

<sup>49</sup> Later hand, different ink.

<sup>50</sup> Marginal : "vers 3".

<sup>51</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>52</sup> Marginal : "[s]nare of þe hunter".

<sup>53</sup> Marginal : "snare of darkene[s]".

<sup>54</sup> Marginal : "delivery from sharpe wordes".

man or a woman. stered by grace for to despyse them selfe and the lykyng of þe worlde. fully and mekely yeuyng them selfe to þe seruyce of god. as sone þees wordely louers ben euyl contented with them. and call them ypocrytes. or yonge seyntes and olde deuylles. they holde them foolys. and sey þat they shal neuer

6r

brynge a bowte or brynge to ende þat þat they haue begonne. and so by suche sharpe wordis they lett sum soulis fro þe loue of god. (9) But the ryghtwysse man is not letted for no suche wordes. he is quickly enspyred<sup>55</sup> with the holy goost. for when he heryth a sharpe worde. then he felyth. redyly in his soule a contrary worde. swetely sownyng for to lyfte hym vp myghtyly. and confortyng and swetely techyng hym þat he holde furth his good purposse and spare not for no frowarde wordes to do þe wyll of god. And sothly

(9) Wallner, p. 9,9 to p.11, 15.

6v

this worde of god is a blessed worde and a spedy. sharper þan a swerde. As the apostle seyth. for it sleeth in a chosen soule. All oþer false wordes spoken of man contrary ther to. And þerfor thou þat felyste þi selfe called by inwardely callynge to despise þe worlde and for to loue god. drede not for a sharpe worde. ffor why. our lorde god shall<sup>56</sup> with hys shulders vmbeshadowe the. and vnder his feders þou shalt hope. The shuldres of oure lorde<sup>57</sup> ben his mercy and sothefastenes. vndir the whyche \the//<sup>58</sup> shall vmbeshadowe þee. and

7r

that is þe mercyfull foryeuyng of thi synnes. and sothfastly yeuyng the grace of vertuouse kepyng the safely fro þine enemyes. as the henne kepyth her byrdis vnder þe shadowe of her wyngis. so þe shulders of our lorde ar all his mercyfull workyngis shewed to vs in his manhed. vnder whiche shadow þou shalte be kepte and keled in thy soule fro all mann of brennyng of synne and flesly desyres as þy body may be keled and refreshed in in a shadowe fro brennyng of the sonne. and þerfor yf þou be stered to pride. to yre. or to co-

7v

uetyse or eny oþer synne. then bryng to thy mynde þe

<sup>55</sup> Marginal : "the Spirit".

<sup>56</sup> Marginal : "vers .4.".

<sup>57</sup> Marginal : "[Sc]apulæ domini".

<sup>58</sup> Later hand, different ink.

mekenes of our lord ihesu. hou buxum he was to þe fadir of heuenn. hou meke he was to serue his moder. and hou meke he was in all oþer thynges. refrashe the and hyde þee. and eese thy selfe vnder þis shadow of mekenes. and take ensample at our lord ihesu. and remembre his mekenes. his charite. his pacience. and specially in tyme of his passion. and hou he spared for no man þat he ne kepð ryghtwysnes in worde and in worke. fle þou te<sup>59</sup> this precious shadowe of his manhed when

8r

þou art in temptacion. (10) and then shall our lorde with his gracious presence shadow þi soule and fede the swetely with mynde of hys passion and of his workis. that thi goostly enemyes shall not brenne the. and so vnder his fedirs shalte þou hope. þe fedirs<sup>60</sup> of our lorde ar wordis of holy wryte. endited by þe holy gost in conforte of chosen soules trauelyng in derknes of þis lyf. the whiche wordes yf they be truely fastened in a meke soule. then they bere vp þe soule in to þe eyre. with thees wordis shalt þou defende thy selfe ayenst all

(10) Wallner, p. 12, 1 to p. 13, 6.

8v

sharpe wordes of euyl men. and ayenste all false wordes of þe fende. and so they shal be rooted in thi soule þat no wycked steryng shall peryshe thorough thy hart for to lett the of thi flyght to the loue of god. and þou shalt thorough teching of thees wordis. flee vp fro gree to gree. þat is fro bodily exercise into goostly. tyll þou comm to perfeccioun þat þou mayste see oure lorde god. In þe mount of syon vnder thees wordes shalte þou hope. for þou shalt truste fully in them þat they are trewe. And patiently abide

9r

the fulfylling of all that they behote vnto the laste ende. (11) ffor oure lorde shall not only arme<sup>61</sup> the with the shadow of his manhed. but also he as sothfastenes shall a bowte goo the with the shyld of his godhed. wondyfully openyng þe syght of þi soule in to beholdyng of hym tendirly touchyng þe affeccion of thi soule thorough swetnes of his loue. shewyng to thee with grete reuerence þe syght of his pruytees. sheldyng þe myghtyly fro thyne enemyes and hydyng

(11) Wallner, p. 14, 1 to p. 15, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Sic. Emendation : "to".

<sup>60</sup> Marginal : "pccnae domini".

<sup>61</sup> Marginal : "his truth shall be thy shield".

thee in hym selfe. so fer fro ther syght. þat for þat

9v

tyme they lese þee. and they shall not wyte where þou art tyll þou fail ayen to comon thyng. by þe freelte of man. Thys is þe shelde of contemplacion þat is a boue all armure<sup>62</sup>. for it is a boue all þe wyttis and þe vertues of man. and all bodily working only wrought by þe grace and lyght of the holi goost in a meke soule. for thees ar þe armures of defence ayenste þi enemyes. sothely yf þou wyll holde þe ther in. þou shall not drede thynn enemyes<sup>63</sup>. (12) And than þe lyght of grace shal be shewed vnto the. for in

(12) Wallner, p. 23, 6-11.

10r

the presence of grace is alle mekenesse. softenesse and clerenesse. and clerenes. ffor foryetyng of them selfe and beholding of god. Therfor yf þou wyll not be desceyuyd haue mekenes euer<sup>64</sup> with the. and wone in the helpe of þe hyste and he shall saue þe with the shelde of sothfastnes. ffor (13) when þou art turned fro þe loue of þe worlde to þe loue of god. and through long exercise in prayng and thyng of god. þou feliste þi conscience myche clensed and well peased brough grace fro dwtis and dredis. and all fleshly desyres þat þou feleste them

(13) Wallner, p. 26, 1 to p.27, 9.

10v

lesse in myght then they were. than þou beholdeste with þyne<sup>65</sup> eyen what is sothly god. for a clene soule shall see god. not<sup>66</sup> bodyly but goostly. and not goostly in his chaungeable beyng what he is or as he is :<sup>67</sup> but þou shalt se hym in his werkys. ffor thyne ynnere eye shal be opened through grace. and lyght of þe holy gooste for to se som what of þe mercyfull goodnes of god. and of his wonderfull wysedom done and shewed to thee a bowte sauynge of thy soule. and þou shalt wonder at hym þat he myght kepe

11r

thy soule fro all perylles and þou shalt loue hym þat walde helpe þe so weell. and þou shalt see þat all þe

<sup>62</sup> Marginal : "contemplation".

<sup>63</sup> Marginal : "vers .5.".

<sup>64</sup> Marginal : "Mekenesse".

<sup>65</sup> Marginal : "vers 8".

<sup>66</sup> Marginal : "To see God".

<sup>67</sup> Punctus elevatus.

sorow and trauell þat þou<sup>68</sup> haste felte. was not wrathfull smytyng of god. ne workyng of the fende. not principally. but it was of a tender loue of god. þat he wolde drawe þe oute of synne and departe þi soule fro vayne loue ffor thy selfe is on=ly the cause of þyne owne sorow. yf þou haddiste in þee no worldely loue then þou shuldist not be moche peyned in temptacion. This shalt þou see and myche more. for what maner

11v

beholdyng a louer shall haue in god. I may not. ne can not shewe þee. but þis I sey. (14) The louer of god þat hath þe eye of his soule clensed by grace fro all þe fylthe of synnes. he hath his beholdyng in god with swetenes of loue in goostlye goodnes þat is in þe wonderfull workyng of our lord god. in vertues of soule. in þe wordis of holy wryte. þat are opened to his syght. and but morally and mystically in workyng of mannys soule in the blessed kynde of angels. and a boue all this a lytyll in þe blessed

(14) Wallner, p. 27, 13 to p. 32, 5.

12r

kynde of god oonly in shadow. thees thynges shalt þou beholde with thynn eyen goostly. yf they be clenc fro fylth of synne. The nede not to be ydyll ne heuy. þou shall fynde thynges I nowghe feyre and preciouise in þe goostly cunntre. where with all þou shalt fede þe lykyng of þi goostly eyes. and yett ouer this þou shalt<sup>69</sup> see þe mercyfull goodnes of god<sup>70</sup> shewed to thee. and to all chosen soules in holy church. Ryght so shalt þou se þe streyghte ryghtwysnes of hym in punysshyng of reproued soules. and in yeldyng peyne for þer synne.

12v

at the day of dome. But thys shall þan see before the dome comme with thy goostly eye. and þou shalt thynke it full resonable. for he þat wolde euer lyue in synne and luste of this lyfe and neuer haue oþer ioye yf he myght haue þat. Then it is ryghtfull þat he be aftir þis lyfe in endoclesse peyne. and neuer feelee ioye. But of this streyght dome of god. þe ryghtwysse man. shall not drede. for why. lord thou<sup>71</sup> arte my hope. and þou haste sett me in my refute. moste hycste. lorde god I hope in þe and not in my selfe. neþer in my wer<sup>72</sup> -

<sup>68</sup> Marginal : "Sorrow".

<sup>69</sup> Marginal : "To see God".

<sup>70</sup> Marginal : "mercy and iustice".

<sup>71</sup> Marginal : "God my hope".

<sup>72</sup> Marginal : "[S]elfe denyall".

13r

ke. ne in my worde. ne in my dede. neper in my witte. ne in my feelyng. for by all thees. I am not worthy for to haue thee. for they are nought in þem selfe. yf they be well and truely examyned. but synne and blyndenes as þe prophete seyeth this. lorde all ourc ryghtwysnes is but a clothe of vnclennes. and therfor I dar not in my selfe reste. ne in my werkys with heyghyng of my selfe. But lord I shall hope oonly in thi mercy. and hange by thi goodnes. and reste in thy loue. and a hyde in thy sothfastenesse. And neuerthelesse. yet will<sup>73</sup>

13v

I be as besy as I may for to plesse thee in werke and in worde. in wytt and in felynge. And yette when I haue all done I wyll be as naked and as bare. as I hadde ryght nought. but only at thy rewarde good lord god. for þou lorde art only my hope. for well I wott my selfe. and feele in my selfe. and also I do feele þe myschyff of my selfe þat I am fall in by wey of þe same kynde. eyther for to be kepte in þe blyssc þat þei haue þat fall not in þis nede. as angels and oþer blessed creatures are. or else to be brought

14r

out of this nede as oþer soules trauelynge in this lyfe. Ther for I am dreven for to hope principally and fully in hym þat sufficit to all. and nedith helpe of noon. ffor sothely. refute<sup>74</sup> fynde I noon. but in þe hyeste of all. for though it be so þat þer be many creatures here in grace and in ioy than I. yet þer is no kynde nere god. ne hygher than my kynde is. but only þe blessed kynde of god. ne þer is no creature so nere ne neper so godly. ne so helpely to me. as þe blessed kynde of god is. for he may through his grace enter

14v

into þe substance of my soule. and make me myghty. and wytty. and wylling to all goodnesse. and so may noon but he. and þerfor wyll I make hym only my refute. and yet neuerthelesse shall not I refuse helpe of a graciouse or blessed creature. for I shal pray and desyre with all my harte. to haue helpe to my soule of the leeste creature þat is in grace. But for þat our lorde god is hyeste in grace and nereste. myghtyest and wyseste.

<sup>73</sup> Marginal : "good works".

<sup>74</sup> Marginal : "no refuge but in God".



therfor all oper thyngis lefte. I wyll seke hym in my soule. he is not ferre fro me. for he seyth hym selfe. the kyngdomm

15r

of heuen is within þe. þat is hym selfe. And ther for yf þou mayste through grace at eny tyme fynd hym in þee. and thee in hym. than<sup>75</sup> art þou in syker refute. (15) and þan<sup>76</sup> Iuell shall not comm to þe. (16) What is Iuell to a soule but synne. sothly nothing else. and þat synne ys openly pryde when a soule leuyth god and lenyth to hym selfe. and þat is þe begynnyng of all synne. (17) But þou louer of god. loke þat þou be not ouerleyed with this yuell. flee to þi refute. withdrawe thee as myche as þou mayeste fro all fleshy myrthe. fro all ac=quayntance and compaynes of world-

(15) Wallner, p. 32, 9

(16) Wallner, p. 32, 11-14.

(17) Wallner, p. 33, 3-9.

15v

ly. men. and caste all þe worlde vnder thy feete. and thynke þat all shall passe þou woste not how sone. and make the powre in thyne owne harte. as yf þou had ryght nought. (18) than seke our lorde in þi thought. and pray hym deuoutely and aske hym grace. truste fully and stablye (19) presse vp=on hym by dyuerse tymes. tyll þou feele þe conscience clered. and þi goostely eye opened in beholdynge of hym. as he will. shew hym so þat þou mayeste. freely and restefully thynke on him. with swete affeccions somm melting in thi soule. And whan it is

(18) Wallner, p. 33, 10-12.

(19) Wallner, p. 34, 1-8.

16r

this with the or else better. than art thou in thy refute. kepe þe there soberly. and lese it not rechelesly. for whyles thou art in thy hygh refute. euell shall not hurte þee. (20) But yet the whyles þat þou leuyste in this worlde. þou shalt be euer fyghtyng (21) therfor by hyghnes of thought and feruent desyre to our lorde. and kepe þe with hym þat þou passe not oute. haue hym reuerently euer in thi syght. and occupy þe in hym besyly. (22) and<sup>77</sup> he hath sent his angels for to<sup>78</sup> kepe the in all thy weyes. (--w)ith myche tendernes of loue. shew-

(20) Wallner, p. 35, 1-2.

(21) Wallner, p. 35, 4-7.

(22) Wallner, p. 36, 7 to p. 37, 5.

16v

yth our lorde to þee þat art hys loue. for he

<sup>75</sup> Marginal : "vers 10".

<sup>76</sup> Marginal : "no euill shall come to thee".

<sup>77</sup> Marginal : "vers 11".

<sup>78</sup> Marginal : "this Angell[es] shall kepe thee".

commaundith not to oon angell. but to many. þat þey kepe thee in all thy weys. that is in all thy werkis. thy wordis. and thi thoughtis as mache as lyeth in them. But they may not make þe lyght of grace in thi soule. for þat longyth to god oonly hym selfe. for he thorough his vncessable presence. makyth myght. lyght and loue. and he yeuyth it to thy soule. But angels by their presence goostely shall helpe þee. and conforte thy soule ryght moche when þou arte in state of grace

17r

for they stoppe oute þe prise of vnclene thoughtis and evyll spi<sup>79</sup>ritis. they clense þe soule fro fantysyes and vayne ymagynacions. and they forme feyre wordis. and reasones. and temper the lyght of grace sufferably in fedyng of thi soule. they sterve thy hart to þe loue of god and of all goodnes. and yf þou offend by fraylete. redyly then they do blame the. for they wyll suffer noo synne to reste in the. (23) and what conforte and helpe þou shalt haue of holy angels goostely. I can not tell thee. thou shalte wete by assay better þan by

(23) Wallner, p. 37, 10 to p. 38, 3.

17v

worde. ffor þe wyse man seythe þat the soule of ryghtwysman is heuen and þe sette of god. and sothelye where so heuen is. there are angels. than yf þou mayste fynde through grace þe goostely presence of god in thi soule. then is thy soule heuen. all be sette with presence of angels in kepyng of thee. (24) for in their handis they bere þe vp. (25) not thy body fro þe erthe with<sup>80</sup> bodyly handis. for they haue noon. but goostely þey bere vp thy soule fro synne of erthely loue. with their goostely handis. the whiche handis ar goostly

(24) Wallner, p. 38, 5-6.

(25) Wallner, p. 38, 7-11.

18r

touchyngis. goostely shynynges and goostely spekyngis betwene them and a clene soule. // (26) when a soule through blynde<sup>81</sup>nes of it selfe offendyth god in vnordynate loue to eny creature. god is neuer the wers. he is not stered by wrath as it were a man. but þou soule. thou haste only þe harme. and sothly. yf þou had euer eny tendernes of loue to god. thou shalt full sone feele it. there is no better maister for to shew þe þat þou art hurte. than þe feelyng of helthe before. ¶<sup>82</sup>

(26) Wallner, p. 39, 8-13.

<sup>79</sup> Marginal : "Angellics" (or a cropped Latin word such as Angellor[um] ?)

<sup>80</sup> Marginal : "[i]n manibus [p]ortabunt te [--] animam tuam".

<sup>81</sup> Marginal : "vers 13".

<sup>82</sup> This is the one and only paragraph mark in the text.

(27) God of his endelesse mercy will ouercom the

(27) Wallner, p. 43, 2-17.

18v

fende in chosen soules. þat are his lymmys. fastened to hym in loue and charite. and more specially in them þat are his louers. and chosen to his seruyce. But good lorde wherfor doeste thou so mercyfully with thy seruantis. // Sothly for he hopyth in me<sup>83</sup>. thefor I shall delyuer hym. for he knoweth my name. he þat despysyth hym selfe. as he hath be. and as he is of hym selfe sothefastely. and hath noo deyntye of hym selfe. ne vayne Ioy. but fully he hopyth in me and dothe no deede wylfully þat shulde offende me. I shall delyuer hym

19r

fro his enemyes. and I shall departe with hym. the yeftis of the holy gooste. and I shall make hym free. and wyllynge for to loue. and for he knowethe my<sup>84</sup> name I shall defende hym. Louers of þe worlde knoweth not my name. (28) for they wene I see not what they do. ne take no hede of them. neþer þat I wyll punyshe them. for ther synnes. these men know me not. Other men ther be þat knowe halfe my name. as are thees þat knoweth me and louyth me. as a man þat is not fully so good. they thynke moste on my manhedde.

(28) Wallner, p. 43, 19 to p. 48, 13.

19v<sup>85</sup>

and fele moste confort ther in. thees ar no louers of þe world. but they ar begynnynge of my loue. but he þat knowyth my full name. þat I am ihesu god. he knowyth me. and he louyth me. for my name is both god and man. he knowyth my name through the lyght of grace. yeuen vnto hym as souereyne goodnes. souereyne wysedom. souereyne might. endelesse beynge. and blessed life and ioy vnspekable. he knowith my name. for I am all this. I do all thyng þat I do wysely and godly. and ryghtfully. and there is no thyng done by no creatur

20r

but at my wyll. other approuyng or sufferyng. as myne approuyng of all good dedys. and of all good men þat are good and ryghtfull. Ryght so in sufferyng of all euyl dedys. of euyl men as good and ryghtfull. though the doers be vnryghtfull. and also þer falleth no tribulacion

<sup>83</sup> Marginal : "loveth me".

<sup>84</sup> Marginal : "knoweth my name".

<sup>85</sup> Top left corner of the page : "[w]ho knoweth [G]od".

ne anguishe. ne noon. oþer thyng to noon of tho  
myschosen<sup>86</sup> chyldren. but as my wyll <sup>is</sup><sup>87</sup>. and for their  
profyte. and for he þat is my loue knowyth thus fully  
my name þat I am as I am. And he louyth me so tendirly.  
for I am

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as I am. and he holdyth hym fully apayed euer with me.  
What so euer I do to hym or to eny creature. be it esy.  
or vnesy. well or woo. ffor hym thynkyth þat I am so  
good þat I may not do evyll. neþer þat I wyll not do  
evyll. And he thynkyth that I please hym in all my  
workys and he lokyth afir noon oþer but fulfylling of  
my wyll. Therfor I shall sothly defende hym. and I shall  
menteyne him ayenste all his enemyes. and syth he  
knowyth me I shal know hym. and marke hym wyth his  
name. I shall make him myghti

21r

ayenste all his enemyes. and I<sup>88</sup> shall make hym wytty  
and wyse in knowyng of sothfastenes. and I shall yeue  
hym þe yefte of loue þat is þe holy goost. and I shall  
make hym sauf. and than berith he my name ihesu. ffor  
my name is ihesu. þat is sauour. I am ihesu mediatour.  
as man. oon person. boeth god and man. thus knowyth  
my loue. me. And<sup>89</sup> for he cryed to me. I shall here him.  
I am with hym in tribulacion. I shall delyuer hym. and I  
shal gloryfie hym. he cryed to me<sup>90</sup>. not only by voyce of  
mouthe

21v<sup>91</sup>

for þat crye is common bothe to good and badde. But  
by desyre of harte for a meke desyre to god in a clene  
harto. is a great crye in the ceris of god. som tyme when  
the tunge is styll. for the meke in spirite is trewe  
withoute vntrew desayng or feynyng. full of reuerent  
drede to my felyng. and felynge þe feblenes of hym selfe.  
Besy prayeng and thynkyng on me ihesu. hauyng no  
sauour ne lykyng in the worlde. hungryng all maner of  
ryghtwysnes. thurstyng only þe presence of me by þe  
grace of loue. Sothly. he cryeth to me

22r

<sup>86</sup> Sic.

<sup>87</sup> Scribal insertion, above the line.

<sup>88</sup> Marginal : Latin phrase (?) that I cannot decipher.

<sup>89</sup> Marginal : "vers 15".

<sup>90</sup> Marginal : "he crieth to me".

<sup>91</sup> Top left corner of the page : "[c]lamavit ad me".

with a wonder hygh voyce. for all his lyfe in worde. and in worke. ys a contynuall crye to me. and þer for I shall here hym. and fauorably helpe hym the whyle the worde is in his mouthe. I shall helpe hym and be at hym. and I shall graunte hym what he askyth. I shall no thyng denye hym;<sup>92</sup> for he cryeth afir no thyng but only afir me. he askyth neþer hous ne lande. worshyp ne rychesse. ne worldely good. ne he<sup>93</sup> askyth no syngular yftis of grace. as is þe ycfte of prophecy ne workyng of myracles. neþer no suche thyng of holynesse.

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other þan is nedefull and helpyng of grace. but only he askyth me for me. for to se me and loue me. for it sufficyt to hym alone. and no=thyng else withoute me. And þerfor I shall here hym and be with hym. in all tribulacion<sup>94</sup>.

B<sup>95</sup>ut good lord what trybulacion may thi seruaunt haue and feele. to whom þou art so fauorable and helpyng. and ma-kyste hym for to know þee. and loue þee so tenderly. and confortyste hym so grāciously with þi blessed presence. yes he shall haue tribulacioun in somm maner wyse. noo man more. for all þe felynge of

23r

hys bodyly lyfe. is to hym tribulacion. in som maner wyse. the more conforte þat he felyth at som tyme. of my blessed loue. þe more peynefull it is to hym. som tyme eny touchyng of louc þat is contrary þer to. ffor þe affeccion of my loue is so tender and so clene in þe hart of my seruant. þat it may suffer noon vncleennes. a lytyll hurting of synne to hym. is wonder peynefull. And for he may not escape all clenc fro synne. but all day ys touched and defowled with corrupcion of þat fleshely kynde. therfore he is suer in tribulacion. not peynefull. ne grutchyng. stering

23v

ayenste me. for I am with hym and [kepe] hym full surely in his tribulacion. and bare hym vp through my myght. and þat knoweth he full well. for I shew it hym and conforte hym with my presence whan I vouchesaufe or else he shulde dispeyre. and so ledith he hys lyfe. In a mornyng myrth in well and in woo. in gladnesse and in sorow. in tribulacion þat is comfortable. and this shal be

<sup>92</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>93</sup> Marginal : "Quae spere[n]d[---] sunt a deo".

<sup>94</sup> Marginal : "[tri]bulacion".

<sup>95</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

his lyfe vntyll þe tyme þat bodyly deth comm. and than I shall take hym oute. of peyne and of þe prison of this lyfe. fro all þe fendis daunger. and hys

24r

traueyle and woo. and I shal gloryfie hym. and brynge his soule fyrste in to blessed reste. And after warde at þe laste day of dome his body shalbe gloryfied in to ioyfull vndodlenesse (29) and I shall fulfill hym. I shalbe his lyght and hys sonne. full shynyng to hym. ffor I shall than shew<sup>96</sup> to hym fully mync hele. þat is<sup>97</sup> I. than I shall shew to hym openly þat I am ihesu. as longe as he leuyd in his body of synne. he myght not se me as I am. for I shewed not hym in my blessed beyng. he myght not suffer me and liue. as seyth holy write.

(29) Wallner, p. 49, 3 to p. 50, 4.

24v

but for he trowe in me fully þat I am as I am. and a lytyll I do shew of me hydde vnder a feyre lykenes. and by þat derke syght I drawe his loue to me. and make hym for to loue me. þat he seyth<sup>98</sup> not. Therefore I shall shewe me to hym. than his loue touchyth me nerer þan his syght dothe. for when knowyng fayleth for wekenes of reason. than is loue myghtyest and hygheste in his workyng through inspyryng of my grace. And for as myche as he desyryth me. so myche as to se me as I am. þat I am. Ihesu his saveour. so

25r<sup>99</sup>

souereyne myght souereyne wysedome. and souereyne goodnesse. and shynyth so bryght in my syght. therefore I shall shewe me to hym fully in my blysse and fulfill his desyre. I shal speke peertly to hym [not] in prouerbis for who so loueth me I shall loue hym. and I shall shewe me vnto hym.

#### fragments from *Bonum Est*.

25r

(30) I<sup>100</sup>t is good to shryue to our<sup>101</sup> lord god. and synge to his name. (31) by shryfte is þe soule clensed. and through syngyng he ys kcped in clenness. he shryueth

(30) Wallner, p. 51, 1-2.

(31) Wallner, p. 51, 7 to p. 52, 5.

<sup>96</sup> Marginal : "vers 16".

<sup>97</sup> Marginal : "shew him my salvatio[n]".

<sup>98</sup> This spelling can cause confusion. What is meant is "sees". Wallner has "seop" (p. 49, 12).

<sup>99</sup> Top margin : "Psalm 92".

<sup>100</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>101</sup> Marginal : "Psalm 92 vers .1.".

to our lorde and mekely arrectith<sup>102</sup> all goodnesse to  
god. and all synnys

25v

to hym selfe. as þat by grace seeth his owne defautes.  
and he makyth no force though all men<sup>103</sup> knewe them  
as fully as him selfe. doth. so þat noon were shamyd ne  
sclaundred but only hym self. and is in full wyll to shew  
hym euyn as he is. to hys goostly faper withoute eny  
vaynyng<sup>104</sup>. Than he shryuyth hym to our lorde. for þe  
syght þat he hath of his synnys by grace. is a verey  
shryfte to god. (32) so þat he shryue hym to a preste. at  
byddyng of holy church. yf þe synne be dedely. else yf  
it be venyall it nedith not. (33) This shryfte makyth a  
clene

(32) Wallner, p. 52, 6-7.

(33) Wallner, p. 52, 10-12.

26r

conscience. and makyth a soule able for to synge to our  
lorde. (34) he syngith alther hyeste to thy name. þat in  
wyll and in worke. in worde and in dede. scruyth þee  
and pleasyth þee. only for thee. And not for worldely  
good ne for worshyppe of his owne name. hym thynkyth  
it rewarde I nough for to do well and to be þi seruauant.  
(35) and he syngyth to thee<sup>105</sup> in good workys. in good  
thoughtis. and in brennyng loue. it is his lyfe. and his  
conforte. his myrthe and his solace. and also for to  
shewe thy mercy at morowe and þi<sup>106</sup> sothfastnesse by  
nyght. By þe

(34) Wallner, p. 54, 14 to p. 53, 2.

(35) Wallner, p. 54, 2 to p. 57, 10.

26v

morowe is vnderstonde þe lyght<sup>107</sup> of grace by presence  
of our lord. the ryghtwysman. sheweth thi mercy at  
morowe for all þe good dedis and good thoughtis that  
he doth and thynkyth and all the grace þat he felyth. he  
arrettith to þe greate mercy of god only. The myght þat  
he hath to despyse þe lykyng of þe worlde. and for to  
forsake wyckednesse. with lyght and gladnes of hart. þe  
syght þat he hath in knowyng of hym selfe and of  
sothfastnesse the loue and þe lykyng þat he hath in  
vertues. and in all good dedys. and ouer this also þe  
prosperite

27r

<sup>102</sup> Misspelling of "arrettith", as in 26v.

<sup>103</sup> Marginal : "[C]onfessio".

<sup>104</sup> Misspelling of "faynyng", or "feynyng", as on 36v.

<sup>105</sup> Marginal : "Cantare domino".

<sup>106</sup> Marginal : "vers 2".

<sup>107</sup> Marginal : a Latin (?) word I cannot decipher.

of grace in deuocion goostly sauour and heuenly swetnesse. grete confortys. speciall visitacions of god gracious illumynacions and oper goostly felyngis which ar all lykened to þe morow for þey make a soule shynyng in þe lyght and in loue. and thees arecty<sup>108</sup> not to his owne desertis. but only to þe mercy of god. and þat he mekely shewyth. for he knowith it trewly to god. and tellyth it mekely to man. for whan he faryth well. as in his felynge doth bodily and goostely through plente of grace. than he thynkyth hym all wounded<sup>109</sup> and lapped in þe mercy

27v

of god. he wondryth and louyth al the goodnes of god. and all thyng pleasith hym. and nothyng myspleasyth hym. for þe mercy of god turnyth all thyng in to softnesse. And also for to shewe thy sothfastnesse by nyght. Nyght<sup>110</sup> betekenyth aduersite and wantyng of conforte both bodily and goostly. as whan it semyth þat grace is wythdrawen. and leuyth the soule in derkenes. but blessed is he þat dar well a byde in þis derkenes and shew the ryghtwysnes of god. and in good truste withoute venemous dredis and doutis or eny grutchyng ayenste god.

28r

Thus doth the ryghtwysman. for when þe felyng of grace is wythdrawen in som maner. and deuocion and compuncion ar reft fro hym swete affeccions and specyally comfortis ben as þey were loste and he is lefte as naked. and poure as a man þat were robbed of all þe good þat he had to his bare skynne. and semyth as god had forsake hym and forgett hym. but yett he turnyth not ayen to þe loue of þe worlde. for þat may he not. ne he wyll not þer he myght haue no lykyng þer in with reste of harte. he is not angri with god. demyng in hym hard-

28v

nesse. ne he dispeyryth not in hym selfe for drede of his wyckednesse. for it is all for yevyn. But he a bydith in this derke nyght. and shewyth to our lord full trustily his sothfastnes. And he thynkith þat thus shulde it be here in this lyfe. ffor this is sothfastnes. he knowyth well þat grace is with<sup>111</sup>drawen. for hym in on maner. but it is

<sup>108</sup> See note 19.

<sup>109</sup> Should be "wounden", past participle of "to wind".

<sup>110</sup> Marginal : word I cannot decipher.

<sup>111</sup> Marginal : "[G]race with [d]rawn".



yeuen to hym on an oper<sup>112</sup> maner as god wyll. Not so swetely nor so felably as it was. but more preuily. more myghtyly and more godly. he holdyth hym payed as it is. and wyll noon oper wyse haue it. but evyn as god

29r

wyll. In this nyght þer is myche lyght. but it shynyth not. It shall shyne when þe nyght is passed. and þe full day shall show. And so lorde god shall þe ryghtwysman. shewe to þe. thy mercy and thy sothfastenesse.

(36) T<sup>113</sup> he ryghtwysman. mak<sup>114</sup>yth myrthe with songe to our lorde god. in a ten strynged<sup>115</sup> Saudre. that is in fulfyllinge of his commandementis. and þat is þe firste fyttre of his songe. for to kepe and to loue all þe byddynges for that nedith to be donne þe whi=che ar comprehendid vnder ten. for in them. all oper ar vndirstod.

(36) Wallner, p. 57, 13 to p. 58, 10.

29v

and what þat our lorde god forbyddyth hym he wyll not doo. what þat he byddith do vnder peyne of dedely synne. þat he is redy for to doo : and affir this he makyth songe and myrthe<sup>116</sup> in þe harpe þat is with charite in chastite. Charite is þe songe and chastite is þe harpe. for not only he kepith the byddynges of god. but also he settyth hym for to holde his counseyles. he forsakyth fully þe lustis of þe worlde. and offerth hym enterely in wyll and in werke to þe seruyce of god. (37) he syngyth well in þe harpe. for he lyvyth chastely. But þe harper<sup>117</sup> withoute

(37) Wallner, p. 58, 13 to p. 60, 5.

30r

songe pleasyth not. for chastite withoute loue helpyth not but loue alone suffycith. he þat moste louyth god syngyth hyste. //

And sothly he moste louyth god<sup>118</sup>. þat through grace is moste depered fro þe loue of þe worlde. and þat is not for he hath moste feruour. or moste deuocion in teeris or in prayers. or in suche felable confortes. But for he hath leeste of pryde. and moste hath of mekenes. and is moste myghty and strong ayenste all synne. and þat leeste felyth of peynefull doutis and dredis. and for he

<sup>112</sup> Marginal : finger pointing at this line.

<sup>113</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>114</sup> Marginal : "vers 3".

<sup>115</sup> Marginal : an annotation that is severely cropped and of which I can only decipher one word : "god".

<sup>116</sup> Marginal : "song on the harpe".

<sup>117</sup> Sic.

<sup>118</sup> Marginal : "who moste loveth God".

moste wysely knowyth god. and stably lastith.

30v

in truste of hym. what so euer he sendyth. and for þat he is neuer angry ne wrath. ne stered þroughe frowardenesse of wyll ayenste god ne man. And also for he felyth no desyre in hym selfe to eny thyng þat is. but holdyth hym content as it is. full louyngly abydynng þe wyll of our lorde god. leeste crauyng of god. in speciall. and moste hauyng of hym in generall þat beryth his bodily lyfe as crosse on his back. mightly with pacience euer redy for to dye when his tyme commyth. þat hath leste sauour of þis worlde. and lyuyth contynually longyng

31r

to heuenly blysse. (38) He this moste louyth god.  
(39) he yeldyth a swete melodye in þe eeris of our lord god. This meryly syngyth þe ryght wysman. And þat is nor meruell though he syngith so well. ffor<sup>119</sup> why. lord god þou haste delytet<sup>120</sup> me in thy makynge. and in þe werkys of thy handys I shall ioye. the dyte of my songe lord. is the makynge of me. in whiche ioye þou haste delytet me. for I am glad þat I am as I am. and þat þou lorde god haste made me. me lykyth well by my beyng. not on=ly as it is nowe. but as I shall be. And for þat thou haste made

(38) Wallner, p. 60, 5.

(39) Wallner, p. 60, 7 to p. 62, 6.

31v

me of thy goodnesse to þyne ymage and thy lykenes. I am gretly delytet. for by þat I haue knowyng. þat I am takable of thee. and may haue þee endelesly in ioye. and in blysse. and not dye with the body as a beeste vnresonable. and therfor I shall euer ioy in the werkys of thy handys. thy wonderfull werkys ar þe nootys of my songe.

A<sup>121</sup> Chaste louer of god ioyeth to our lorde in mynde of his werkys with swetnesse of loue. and þe more worthy that the werke is in shewyng of hys myght and his goodnesse þe more

32r

is the myrth and þe hygher he syngith. when grace touchyth hym. Myche myght shewed oure lord god in makynge of the worlde and all creatures bodyly but moche more shewed he in makynge of goostly creatures

<sup>119</sup> Marginal : "vers 4".

<sup>120</sup> Marginal : "thou hast delighted m[e] in thy maki[ng]".

<sup>121</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

as angels and soules. And also myche wysedom and goodnesse shewed our lord god in sauynge and helpynge of man is soule. thys good myrthe in a clene soule. so for to loue god and knowe hym. and loue in hym selfe withoute eny meane. the on com=myth affir þe other. for grace is

32v<sup>122</sup>

maistresse þat doth all this in a meke soule.

(40) L<sup>123</sup> orde God hou wonder<sup>124</sup> grete ben thi werkys. and full depe ar thy thoughtis made. wonder myche ben þi werkis in bodyly creatures. as in heuen and in erth. and all the elementis. but myche more in gostly creatures. for thy werke ys more in makynge of a soule resonable. than it is of all bodyly thyngis. for it is more worthyer<sup>125</sup> in kynde. But moste art þou lord god in thi selfe. and bi þe mychenesse of thi werkes I may know þat þou art won-

(40) Wallner, p. 62, 9 to p. 65, 10.

33r

derful myche in myght. in wysdom and in goodnesse. endelesly a boue all þi werkys. thi werkes<sup>126</sup> þi werkes lord god. ar my bokes for to know the by. for þi werkes I may see and knowe þee in them. But I may not se thee in thy blessed kynde what þou art in thy blessed kynde what þou art in þi selfe. my syght faylyth. my witt and my reason wantyth there. though it be lyghtned by grace. lord god this fer may I se thee and knowe thee. and þat is. þat I may not take vnder my knowing. the better þat I se the through grace. þe more vnknownen art thou to me. and

33v

the further fleest þou fro me. But neuerthelesse where knowing fayleth. there loue hittith. think<sup>127</sup> þat I know not. that I loue best. for when my thought is withdrawen through grace. from beholdyng of all creatures. and all speciall werkes of god þat I se no thinge. than loue I beste the maker of all thyng. I know thee lord god more in thi werkys. then I do in þi selfe. but I loue the better in thi selfe than I do in þi werkes. my loue and my trouth may touche þe and passe aboue all þi werkis euen to thee. but my knowyng

<sup>122</sup> Marginal : in the middle of the upper margin of the page : "Psalme 92".

<sup>123</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>124</sup> Marginal : "vers 5".

<sup>125</sup> Double comparative : sic.

<sup>126</sup> Marginal : "liber crea[tu]-rae".

<sup>127</sup> Should be "thilke", "the same".

34r

is to lytyll. and may not go so ferre whilis I leue here in this lyfe. Miche then benn þi werkes and myche more depe ben thy<sup>128</sup> thoughtis. Thi thoughtes lorde ar thi pryue domes and þi ryghtfull disposyng. vnchaunchebly sette in thi wysdom a boute sauynge of thi chosen soulis and demyng of reproved creatures. No creature may comprehende them. they ar so depe hyd in þi pryuy knowyng. he þat will ransack them by his owne wit. for to know þe causis of them. he shall synke and be drenched. the water is so deepe. þi priuy

34v

domys lord god ar to be drede with loue and reuerence. and not to be disputed by mannis reason. A meke soule þat louyth god. goeth all aboue þe water. full<sup>129</sup> surely and synkyth not. for he holdith hym payed with all þe werkys of our lord. and he askyth no reason why god doth so. he sekyth not else but a clene hart. and a fre loue fro þe worlde and than is all good I nough. what so euer fall. he is sure of hym þat he louyth. so þat he may not be. or do. but all wel. That soule dredith not god peynefully. but he trustyth in hym

35r

sykerly. In a meke knowynge of hym and of his pryue werkes with loue. a bydyng þe fulfillyng of his wyll. And for he sekyth not else but thys. ther for our lord god shewyth som tyme to hym. the knowyng of hym selfe and of his werkys. Also when it plesith his goodnesse. (41) He þat louyth god truely askyth not wyth rysyng of harte. why god doth thys or þat. it is reason I nough to hym þat god wyll haue it so in all thyng þat he doth. ffor god is ryghtwysnesse. sothfastnes. and goodnesse. and therfor he may not do but ryghtfully

(41) Wallner, p. 68, 4-9.

35v<sup>130</sup>

wysely. and godly in all thyngis.

### Fragments from the *Scale*

(42) H<sup>131</sup> It nedith to a soule þat wold<sup>132</sup> haue knowyng of goostly thyng. for to haue fyrst knowyng of it selfe. for it may not haue knowyng of a kynd a boue it self.

(42) Scale II, 30, 1-3.

<sup>128</sup> Marginal : "thy thought[s] are very dcepe".

<sup>129</sup> Marginal : "[h]umilitas".

<sup>130</sup> In the top margin of the page : "Of the knowledge of our selves and of God".

<sup>131</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>132</sup> Marginal : "Of Gods gifts".

but yf it haue knowyng of it self firste. (43) And by þe knowyng þer of he may comme to þe goostly knowyng of god. I sey not þat it ys nedefull for þee and dette. for to traueyle so. ne to noon oþer man. but I sey it them þat fele them stered therto by grace. as yf he were called therto of god. ffor our lord god yeuyth thee sondry yeftys. where so he wyll. not to oon

(43) Scale I, 40, 9-24.

36r

man all. ne to all men oon. sauf only charite. þat is comon to all men and þerfore yef a soule haue resceyuyd a yeft of god. as deuocion of prayer. or in þe passion of crist. or eny other be it neuer so lytyll. leue yt it not to sone. for noon oþer. but yf he feele a better. but holde þat he hath. and traueyle þere in stably. euer desyryng a better when god wyll yeue it. Neuerthelesse affirwarde yf þat he withdrowe somewhat. and he seeth and feelith a better. and also þat he fele his hart stered perto. than semyth it a callynge of god to þe

36v

better. than is it tyme for to folow affir. to gett it. and fulfyll it as myche as he may. (44) Oure holy fadirs here before taught vs þat we shulde know þe mesure \\of//<sup>133</sup> oure yftis. and vpon þat we shulde werke. not takyng vpon vs by feynyng more than we haue in felyng. we may euer desyre þe beste. but we may not euer werke þe beste. for we haue not resceyuyd þat grace. (45) who so hatht a grace be it neuer so lytyll. and leue wyllfully þe wurkyng þer of. and makyth hym selfe for to traueyll in an oþer whiche he hath not yett

(44) Scale I, 41, 1-6.

(45) Scale I, 41, 10-22.

37r

only for cause he seeth or hereth<sup>134</sup> þat oþer men didde so : Sothly he may renne a while tyll he be wery. and thenne shall he turne ayen. and but he be war. he may hurt hym by somm fantasyes. or þat he comm (-- w) hom. // but he þat workyth in suche grace as he hath and desyryth by prayer mekely and lastyngly affir a better. and after þat he felyth his hart stered perto. forto folow þe grace whyche \\he/<sup>135</sup> desyred. he may suerly than yf he kepe mekenes. comme perto. and desyre of god as myche as þou mayste withoute (--.) discrecion of all þat longith to

<sup>133</sup> Later hand, different ink.

<sup>134</sup> Marginal : Latin (?) word that I cannot decipher.

<sup>135</sup> Above the line, scribal insertion.

37v

his loue and to þe blysse of heuen. (46) Saynt Paule seyth þat euery man hath hys yefte of god. oon this. and an oþer this. for to euery man or woman þat shall be sauýd is yeuen a grace aftir þe mesure of goddis yefte. and þerfor it is spedefull þat we know the yeftis of god. whiche ar yeuyn vs of hym. that we may worke<sup>136</sup> in them. for by þat we shal be sauf. As som by dedis and werkes of mercy. som by grete penaunce. and som by dyuerse graces and yeftes of deuocion. shalbe saufe and com to þe blysse of heuyn. (47) Oon wer<sup>137</sup>ke is spedefull. þat is to know þi

(46) Scale I, 41, 30-39.

(47) Scale I, 42, 1-2, 4.

38r

soule. (48) The soule of man is a lif. made of thre myghtis. þat is mynde. reason and wyll. to the<sup>138</sup> ymage of þe glorious trynityte whole. perfytt and ryghtwys. In so myche as þe mynde was made myghty and stedfaste by þe vertue of þe father þat is allmyghty. for to holde hym withoute (--- for) foryetyng. distractyng. or lettyng of eny creature. and so it hath þe lykenes of þe faper. Reason was<sup>139</sup> made clere and bryght withoute errour or derkenesse. as perfytly as þe soule in a body vngloryfyed. myght haue. And so

(48) Scale I, 43, 1-23.

38v

it hath þe lykenes of the sonne. whiche is endelesse wysdome. And the loue and þe wyll was made clene and brennyng vnto god withoute beestely loue of þe fleshe. or of eny creature by the souercyne goodnes of god the holi goost. and so it hath þe lykenes of þe holy goost. whiche is blessed loue. So þat a mannys soule may be called a made trynityte<sup>140</sup>. and was fulfilled in mynde. syght. reason. and loue of þe vnmade blessed trynityte. whiche is our lorde and oure god. This is the dignyte. state. and þe wurshyppe of mannys soule. by kynd

39r

of þe fyrste makynge. Thys state hadde we in Adam before þe fyrste synn of man. but when<sup>141</sup> Adam had synned he loste all. þe dygnyte and wurshyppe. and we also in hym. fro that blessed trinityte. vnto a foule derke and wretched trynityte. þat is. in to a for getting of god.

<sup>136</sup> Marginal : Latin word I cannot decipher.

<sup>137</sup> Marginal : English word I cannot decipher.

<sup>138</sup> Marginal : "mens ratio voluntas"

<sup>139</sup> Marginal : "ratio".

<sup>140</sup> Marginal : "Trinitas".

<sup>141</sup> Marginal : "Adams lapsi[ng]".

and vnknowynge of hym. And into a bestly<sup>142</sup> lykyng of our selfe (49) and of oper creaturys. (50) Than yf þou wylt fyrst fynde þi soule. withdrawe thy selfe fro all bodyly thynges outward. and fro mynde of thyn owne body. and fro all thy fyue wyttis as myche as

(49) Scale I, 43, 29.

(50) Scale II, 30, 17-25.

39v

þou mayste. and thynke on the kynde of a resonable soule gostly. as þou woldist thynke for to knowe eny vertue. as sothfastnes. mekenesse. or eny oper vertue. Ryght so thynke þat a soule is a lyfe vndedly and vnseabyll. and hath myght in it self<sup>143</sup>. to see and for to know þe souereyne goodnesse. þat is god. when þou seeste this. than felist þou som what of þi selfe. (51) and þe more þat þou seeste þe kynd of a resonable soule. and þe kynde=ly wurkyng of it. the better knoweste þou þi selfe. // (52) we shulde

(51) Scale II, 30, 26-28.

(52) Scale II, 30, 33-37.

40r<sup>144</sup>

know god. and goostely thyngis. by vnderstandyng of þe soule. and nat by ymaginacioun. Ryght so as a soule seeth by vnderstandyng. þat þe vertue of ryghtwysnes is for to yelde to eche. þat thyng þat it ought to haue. ryght so on suche a<sup>145</sup> maner may þe soule it selfe by vnderstandyng. and by þat it shall see þe knowyng of god. (53) A soule þat is called fro þe loue of þe worlde. and afir þat it is ryghtyd and assayed. mortified and purified. then oure lorde ihesu of his mercyfull goodnesse reformyth it in felynge whan

(53) Scale II, 32, 1-28.

40v

he voucheth sauf. he openeth the goostely eye of the soule whan he lyghtnyth the reson through touchyng and shynyng of his blessed lyght. for to see hym and know hym. not all fully at ones. but by lytyll and lytyll. by dyuerse tymes as the soule may bere it. and suffer it. he seeth hym not as he is. for þat may no creature do in heuen ne in<sup>146</sup> erth. ne he seeth hym nat what he is. for þat syght is oonly in heuyn blysse. but þe soule seeth hym þat he is vnchaungeable beyng. as souereyne myght. souereyne sothfastnes and a soue-

<sup>142</sup> Marginal : "oblivio ignorantia [---]" and another sin I cannot decipher.

<sup>143</sup> Marginal : "[A]tina".

<sup>144</sup> In the top margin of the page : "Of the knowledge of God".

<sup>145</sup> Marginal : "criste" and another word I cannot decipher.

<sup>146</sup> Marginal : "Deus".

41r

uereyne<sup>147</sup> goodnes. a blessed lyfe. and an endelesse  
 blysse. Thys seeth þe soule and muche more þat  
 commyth with all. nat nakedly and blyndly and  
 vnsauourly : as doth a clarke þat seeth god by hys<sup>148</sup>  
 clargie only through myght of his naked reason. But the  
 soule seeth god in vnderstandyng. so þat he is  
 confortd and lyghtned by þe yefte of þe holi goost.  
with a wondyrfull reuerence and a pryue brennyng  
 loue. and with goostly sauour and heuenly delyte. more  
 clerely and more fully þan it may be wryte or seyd.  
 Thys syght. though it be

41v

but shortely and lytyll. yet it is so myghty and so worthy  
 þat it drawyth and rauyshyth all þe affeccion of the  
 soule. fro all maner of synn. and fro all vanytees of þis  
 worlde. and vanysheth þe mynde and all þe myghtis and  
 powers of þe soule. fro beholdyng and mynde of all  
 erthly thyngis therto. for to reste þer in euer more yf it  
 might. And of þis maner syght. and knowyng þe soule.  
 groundith all his inward workyng in all þe affeccions.  
 for than it dredyth god. as sothfastnes and wondrith in  
 hym as myght. and louyþ

42r

hym as all goodnesse. Thys syght and this knowyng of  
 ihesu god and man. with the blessed loue þat commyth  
 oute of þis syght and knowyng it. may be called  
 reforming of a soule in feythe and in felyng. // (54) A  
 soule þat is reformyd in feyth and in felyng. and so is  
 contemplatyff. he seeth sumwhat of þe godhed by grace.  
 nat clerely. neþer fully. for hys bodyly kynde lettityth  
 hym fro þe clere syght of god. but he seeth afir as grace  
 touchyth him more or lesse. þat ihesu is god. and þat  
 ihesu is souereyne goodnesse and souereyne beyng. a  
 blessed

(54) Scale II, 32, 50-65.

42v

lyfe. and þat all goodnes commyth of hym. this seeth þe  
 soule by grace. not ayenstandyng þe bodyly kynde. and  
 þe more clene and sotel þat þe soule is made. þe more it  
 is departed fro fleshlyhed. þe sharper syght it hath. and  
 þe myghtyer loue of þe godhed of ihesu. This syght is so  
 myghty. þat though noon oþer creature wolde trowe and

<sup>147</sup> Scribal error : " ue" is copied twice.

<sup>148</sup> Marginal : "Via [sic ?] quoni[am] deum videt".



beleue in ihesu neþer loue hym. he wold neuer trow or beleue þe lesse. ne loue hym þe lesse. for he seeth it so sothfastely. þat he may not vnbeleue it.

(55) Neuerthelesse all þe soulis þat be in thys state ar

(55) Scale II, 32, 73-88.

43r

not lyke ferfurth in grace. for som haue it lytyll and shortly and seldom. and som haue it longer. clerer. and oftner. and som haue it cleriste and longiste. after the habundance of grace. And yet all þees haue þe yefte of contemplacion. for þe soule hath no perfit syght of god all at ones. but firste a lytyll. and aftir that it profitith and commyth to more felyng. and as longe as a soule is in þis lyfe. it may wax more in knowyng and in loue of god. and sothly I wot not what were more lykyng to suche a soule þat hath felte a lytyll of

43v

this lyfly grace. Than vtterly al oper thyngis lefte and sette at nought. and attende only þer to. for to haue clere syght and clener loue of ihesu in whom is all þe blessed trynte. This maner of knowyng of god as I vnderstonde is þe openyng of heuen to þee. and to all clene soules. of the whiche holy men haue writen.

(56) W<sup>149</sup>hat is heuen to a resonable soule. sothly not else but god. for he is only a boue all thyng. Than yf a soule may haue knowyng of þe blessed kynd of ihesu. sothely. than he seeth heuyn. for he seeth god. //

(56) Scale II, 33, 1-6.

(57) The

(57) Scale II, 34, 5-11.

44r

syght of ihesu is full blysse of a soule. and þat is not only for the syght. but it is also for þe blessed loue þat commyth oute of þat sight<sup>150</sup>. neuerthelesse. for loue commyth oute of knowyng. and not knowyng fro loue. Therefore it ys seyð þat in knowyng and in sight principally of god with loue is þe blysse of a soule. (58) Therfor I seyð þat þou shuldste only couete and<sup>151</sup> desyre loue. for loue is cause þat a soule commyth to þis syght and to this knowyng. And þat loue is not þe loue þat a soule hath in it selfe to god. but it is þe loue þat oure mercyfull lord god hath to

(58) Scale II, 34, 15-20.

44v<sup>152</sup>

a synfull soule þat can not loue him. is þe cause why þat

<sup>149</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>150</sup> Marginal : "Amor Dei".

<sup>151</sup> Marginal : "Charitas".

<sup>152</sup> Top left corner of the page, just above the ruling : pointing finger.

a soule commyth to his knowyng. and to his loue þat commyth oute of knowyng. (59) ffor þer is two maner of goostly loue. Oon is called vnformyd loue. and an oþer is called formyd loue. Loue vnformid. is god hym selfe. the thride person in trynyte. þat is þe holy goost whiche is verey loue. (60) and he yeuith hym selfe to vs :<sup>153</sup> he is boethe the gyfte and þe geuer. and makyth vs by þat gyfte for to know hym and loue hym. (61) therfor shulde we fully desyre and aske of god þis gyfte of loue. þat he wolde for

(59) Scale II, 34, 22-25.

(60) Scale II, 34, 42-44.

(61) Scale II, 34, 48-61.

45r

the mkenes of his loue. touche oure hartis with his blessed loue. þat as he louyth vs. that we may loue hym. This seyth seynt john Diligamus deum qui ipse prior dilexit nos. that is loue we god now : for he fyrst loued vs. // He louyd vs meche. when he made vs to his owne lykenes and ymage. But loued vs more when he redemyd and bought vs with his precious blod. by wilful takyng of dethe in his manhed. fro þe power of þe fende and fro the peynes of hell. But he louyd vs moste. when he gaue vs þe gyfte of þe holy goost. þat is loue

45v

by þe whiche we know hym and loue hym. and ar made suer þat we be his chylder. choson to saluacion. (62) This is þe grettyst loue þat god hath shewed to poure mankynde : for oure makynge and oure ayen byenge. all dyd not profite to vs (---- withoute) except he had sauyd vs. And therefore þe moste token of loue is shewed to vs in þat he yeuyth him selfe in his godhed to oure soules :<sup>154</sup> he gaue hym selfe fyrste to vs in his manhed for oure redempcion. when he offered hym selfe to þe faper of heuen on þe aulter of þe crosse. This was a feyre gift

(62) Scale II, 34, 66-90.

46r

and a greate token of loue. but when he geuyth hym selfe in his godhed goostely to oure soulys for oure saluacion. and makith vs for to know and loue hym. then he louyth vs fully. ffor than he geuyth hym selfe to vs. and more myght not he geue vnto vs. no lesse myght not suffice to vs. And for þis cause it is seyð þat þe ryghtyng of a synful soule. in forgeuyng synnes is a propered principaly to þe wurkyng of þe holy gooste. for þe holi gost is loue. And in þe ryghtyng of a soule. oure lord

<sup>153</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>154</sup> Punctus elevatus.

god hath sheued moste of his loue to a synfull

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soule. for he doth a wey all synne. and onyth it to hym selfe. and þat is þe beste thyng þat he may do to a soule. and þerfor it is a propered to þe holy goost. The makynge of a soule is a propered to þe fadir. as for souereyne might. and power. þat he shewyth in makynge of it. And þe byeng is arected and appropried to þe sone. for his souereyne wysedome þat he shewed in his manhed. for he ouercame þe fende principally through wysedom and not through strenngth. but þe ryghttyng of a soule is a full saluacion. by forgeuenes of synnes.

47r

is appropried to þe holy goost. for ther in god shewyth moste loue vnto vs. (63) for this loue is god him selfe. The holy goost whan þis<sup>155</sup> loue is geuen to vs. it workith in oure soule all goodnes. and all þat longith to goodness. This loue. louyd vs or we louyd hym. for it clensith vs of oure synnes first. and than it makyth vs for to loue hym. and makyth our wyll stronge for to ageyne stonde all synnes. and it steryth vs for to assay our selfe through dyuerse exercyses booth bodyly and goostely in all vertues. and it fleeth all maner of vanite

(63) Scale II, 34, 114.

47v

and steryngis of synne. (64) All thys doth god with his blessed loue in a chosen soule. when he geuyth him selfe to vs. we do ryght nought but suffer hym and assente to hym. for þat is þe moste þat we do. þat we assent wyllfully to hym. and to his gracious wurkyng in vs. and yet is not þat wyll of vs. but of his makynge. so þat þe loue of god doth in vs all þat is well donne. and þat we se it not. and not oonly þat god doth þis. but after all þis loue doth more in a soule and shewyth to it the syght of ihsu wonderfully. and

(64) Scale II, 34, 118-135.

48r

þe knowynge of hym as þe soule suffer it. and this by lityll and \bi/<sup>156</sup> litill. and þat syght he rauyshyth al the affeccion of þe soule to hym selfe. and than begynnith þe soule for to know hym goostly and brennyngly for to loue hym. Than seeth the soule som what of þe kynde of his blessed godhed how þat he is all. and þat he wurkith all. and þat all good dedis that ar donne. and good

<sup>155</sup> Marginal : "Charitas".

<sup>156</sup> Scribal insertion, above the line.

thoughtis ben only<sup>157</sup> of hym. for he is all souereyne myght. and all souereyne sothfastnes. and all souereyne goodnes. and perfor euery good dede is donne of hym and by hym. and he shall only

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haue the worshyp and thanke for all and noon but he. (65) for a soule doth no thyng of it selfe. but only of hym<sup>158</sup>

(65) unidentified so far

(66) A<sup>159</sup> soule pat hath pe gyfte of loue on that maner as it is before seyde proung gracious beholding of God. or else yf he haue yt not yet. but he wolde haue it. he is not besy for to streyne hym selfe ouer his myght. as it were by bodyly strength for to haue it by bodily feruours. and so for to feele of pe loue of god. but he thynkith pat he is ryght nought. and pat he can ryght nought do of him selfe. but as it were a dedde pyng. onli

(66) Scale II, 35, 19-48.

49r

hongyng and borne vp by the grete mercy of god. he seeth well pat god is all. and he doth all pat is well donne. and perfore askyth pe soule nobyng else but pe gyfte of his loue. pat is god to a soule. and pe more pat pe soule knowyth it selfe through grace by syght of sothfastenes. somm tyme with=oute eny feruour owtewardly shewed. and pe lesse pat it thyn=kyth pat it louyth god. the more it neyghith for to perceyue the gyfte of pe blessed loue of god. ffor than loue is mayster and

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wurkyth in the soule. and makith it to forgett it selfe. and for to se and beholde only hou loue doth. and than is pe soule more sufferynge ben doynge. and pat is clene loue. Thus seynt paule ment when he seyde. Quicumque spiritu dei aguntur. hii filij dei sunt. that is. Al pees pat are wrought with pe spirite of god<sup>160</sup> they be goddis sones. pat ben pees soules pat ar made so meke. and so buxum to god pat they worke not of them selfe. but pei suffer pe holy goost to sterve pern and wurke in them pe felynges of loue with a full swete a corde to his sterynges. thees soules be

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speciall goddys sones.

<sup>157</sup> Marginal : "Deus".

<sup>158</sup> This word is written one line lower, under .ly of.

<sup>159</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>160</sup> Punctus elevatus.

(67) A<sup>161</sup> Soule þat hath goostly<sup>162</sup> syght of god. it takyth no grete hede of stryvyng for vertues. he is not besy a bouthe them specially. but he settyth al his besynes for to kepe þat syght and beholdyng of god that he hath. for to kepe his mynde stable þerto. and bynde his loue<sup>163</sup> only to it. þat it fall nat therfro. and forgett all oper thyngis as meche. as it may. and when it doth this. than god is maister in þe soule. (68) and þan is þe soule perfitly meke by þe syght of god and by knowyng of hym. (69) he

(67) Scale II, 36, 83-89.

(68) Scale II, 37, 28-29.

(69) Scale II, 37, 32-41.

50v

forgetteth hym selfe and all his synnes. and all his vertues and oper creatures whether they be better þan hym selfe is or worse. for he holdyth hym selfe and all other as nought ayens þe beyng of god. as yf þer were noo thyng but god. this meke was prophet dauid. whan he seyde this. Et gloria mea tamquam nichilum ante te. that is. Lord god. the syght of the blessed vnmade substance and thyne ondeles beyng. shewyth well vnto me þat my substance and beyng of my soule. is nought. as anenst þee. (70) this is perfitte mekenes and loue þat doth

(70) cf. Scale II, 38, 29.

51r

all this. (71) ffor loue openeth þe eye of þe soule in to þe syght of god. and stablit /A<sup>164</sup> it with þe lykyng of loue.<sup>165</sup> þat takyth no hede what þat men iangle and speke. or doo ayenste hym. it hangith not in his hart and mynde. The most harme þat he myght haue were for bere þe goostly sight of god in his soule. and þerfore he had leuer suffer all harmys þan þat alone. (72) Suche a soule is mortyfied fro synne and all maner of passions and of rysyngis of harte and euyl wyllis of pryde. (73) yre and envye ayenste his evencristen. and he wyll dysese no man. nor

(71) Scale II, 38, 29-35.

(72) cf. Scale II, 27

(73) Scale II, 27, 54-59.

51v

anger them vnskyllfully in worde or dede. ne geue eny creature cause where with he myght be skylfully angered or troubeled. so þat he is fre fro euery creatur. þat no man hath to do with hym. nor he with noon. (74) but as god and charyte wyll. he louyth noo desseyte or falsenes. but he doth all thynghe purely for god.

(74) cf. Scale II, 27 ?

<sup>161</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>162</sup> Marginal : "this sight o[f] God wholl[y] takes up [---] soules".

<sup>163</sup> Marginal : "humilita[s], Charita[s]".

<sup>164</sup> Later hand, different ink.

<sup>165</sup> Punctus elevatus.

(75) I<sup>166</sup>T is a peyne to þe louer of god. to here or to speke of eny thyng þat myght lett þe fredom of spyrite fro þe thyngyng on god. what song. or melody. or eny owteward solace or comf<sup>o</sup>rte what so euyr it be. yf it

(75) Scale II, 39, 100-115.

52r

lett his harte and thought that he may not frely and restefully pray and thynke on god. it lykyth hym ryght nought. and the more delyctable þat it is to oper þe more vnsauoury it is to hym. And also for to here eny oper speke. but yf it be som what touchyng to þe wurkyng of his soule to þe loue of god. else it lykyth hym ryght nought. and he is wery of it. he had leuer be in pees and here no thyng. Also for to here þe spekyng and techyng of þe grettist clerke of þe erthe with all þe resons þat he coude<sup>167</sup> sey to hym through mannys

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wytte. but yf he coude speke felyngly and steryngly of þe loue of god. ffor þat is þe ioy and lykyng of suche a soule bothe for to here and speke of god. and he wolde no thyng else speke or here. but of þat. that myght helpe hym and ferther hym in to more knowyng and to better felyng of god.

(76) T<sup>168</sup>Her ben many maner of felyngis lyke vnto bodily felyngis. as heryng of delictable songe. or felynge of comf<sup>o</sup>rtable heete in þe body. or seenge of lyght. or swetenes of bodyly sauour. Thees ben no goostely felyngis. for goostely felyngis

(76) Scale II, 30, 164-194.

53r

ar felte in þe myght of þe soule. pryncipally in vnderstondyng and loue. and lytill in<sup>169</sup> ymaginacioun. But these outewarde felyngis ben in ymagynacioun. and þ<sup>o</sup>rfor they ar not goostly felynges. but whan they ar beste and moste trewe. yet ar they but outward tokenes of þe inward grace þat is felt in þe myghtis of þe soule. This may be openly proued by holy wryte seyeng thus. Apparuerunt apostolis dispertite lingue tamquam ignis. The holy gooste apered to þe apostles in þe day of pentecoste in þe lykenes of brennyng tungis. and inflamed

<sup>166</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>167</sup> Marginal: "Amor D[ei]".

<sup>168</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>169</sup> Under the line, later hand, different ink.

53v

ther hartys. and satt vpon eche of them. Now sothe it is. the holy goost þat is god in hym selfe vnseable. was not þat fyre ne þe tungis þat were brennyng and þat was felt bodyly. but he was vnseably felt in þe myghtis of þer soulis. for he lyghtened þer reson. and kyndeled<sup>170</sup> þer affecciōns through his blessed presence. so clerely and so brennyngly. þat þey had sodenly þe knowyng of sothfastnes and the perfeccion of loue. as our lord behyght them. seyeng þus. Spiritus sanctus docebit vos omnem veritatem. that is. the holy goost techith

54r

vs all sothfastenes. Than was þat fyre and þat brennyng not else. but a bodyly token owtewardely shewed in wytnessing of þe grace þat was inwardly felt in ther soules. So it is in oþer soules þat ar visited and lyghtned within of þe holi goost. and haue with þat suche owtewarde felyngis in comfort and in wytnessyng of þe grace inwardly. But þat grace is not in all soules þat ar parfyt. but there as oure lord wyll.

(77) T<sup>171</sup> He soule of a man whilis it is not touched with grace. it is blont and boystowes

(77) Scale II, 42, 1-22.

54v

to goostly wurkis. it may not feblenes of it selfe<sup>172</sup>. but than commyth grace. and by the lyght of grace the soule is touched and it makyth þe soule sharpe and sotyll. redy and able to goostely werke. and yeuyth it a grete fredom and a holy redynes in wyll. for to begynn to all þe steryng of grace. and redy for to wurke after þat grace stereth þe soule. And than som tyme grace stereth þe soule for to pray. and how þe soule prayeth than. I shall tell þee þe moste speciall prayer þat the soule vsyth and hath moste confort in. Is the pater noster. and

55r

psalmes. and ympnes. and oþer seruice of holy churche. the soule prayeth than not in a maner as it ded be fore. ne in maner by hyghnes of voyce or by resonable spekyng oute. but in full grete stefnesse of voyce. and softenes of hart. for his mynde is not troubled. neper taryed with outeward thyngys. but it is whole gadryd to geder<sup>173</sup> in it selfe. and þe soule is in goostly presence of

<sup>170</sup> Marginal : English phrase I cannot decipher ([--]canning [--]ongnes ?).

<sup>171</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>172</sup> By feblenes of it selfe ? Or is there a longer phrase missing ?

<sup>173</sup> Marginal : "Oratio ver[a]".

god. and þerfor euery word and euery syllabil is shewed sauourly. swetely and delectably with full accorde of hart and mouthe. for the soule is turned þan in to fyre of loue

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(78) T<sup>174</sup> he holy goost enspiryth where he wyll. and þou heryst his voyce. but þou wottyst not whan he commyth ne wheþer he goeth. he commythe pryuyly. som tyme when þou art leeste war of hym. but þou shalt know hym er he goo. ffor wonderly he steryth. and myghtily<sup>175</sup> he turnyth thyne hart in to beholdyng of his goodnes. and makyth thyne hart to melte dilectably as wax ayenste þe fyre in to softnes of his loue. and þis is þe voyce þat he sowneth. But than he goeth er þou wette it. for he withdrawith

(78) Scale II, 41, 184-198.

56r

hym som what but not all. but fro exercise in to sobernes. the hyghnes passeth. but þe substaunce and þe effecte of grace dwellyth styll. and þat is as longe as þe soule is a louer. and kepith it clene and fallyth not wilfully to rechelesnes or dissolucion in fleshelynes. ne to outwarde vanite. as som tyme it dothe though it haue no delyte þer in for fraylete of it selfe.

(79) S<sup>176</sup> Hewe me a soule þat þrough inspyracion of grace. that hath openyng of þe goostly eye. into beholdyng of god þat is departed fro þe loue of þe worlde

(79) Scale II, 41, 1-40.

56v

so ferfurth þat it hath puryte and pouerte of spirite. goostly reste. inwarde sylence and peccsse in contynuaunce. hyghnes of thought. onlynes in pryete of hart. waker of slepe. the spouse þat hath leste lykyng and ioy of þis worlde. taken with delyte of heuenly sauour. euyr thurstyng and softely sykyng þe blessed presence of god. þis soule brennyth all in loue. and shynith all in lyght. worthy for to comm to þe name of a spouse. for it is reformed in felyng. made able and redy to contemplacion. Thees ar þe tokenes of inspira-

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cion. in openyng of þe goostely eyen. for whan þe goostly eyen ar opened. then the soule is in full felyng of

<sup>174</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>175</sup> Marginal : "[S]piritus sanctus".

<sup>176</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.



all þees vertues before seyð for þat tyme. Neuertheles it fallyth som tyme þat grace withdrawyth in partye. for corrupcion of oure fraylete. and suffereth þe soule fall in to it selfe in fleshlyhed as it was before. And then is þe soule is sorow and in payne. for it is blynd and vnsauoury. and can no good. it is feble and vn myghty encumbred with þe body. and with all the bodyly wyttis. it sekyth and desyryth þe grace of god ayen.

57v

and it may not fynde it. for holy wryte seyeth of our lorde thus. *Postquam vultum suum absconderit non est qui contempletur eum.* that is. Afir whan oure lorde god hath hyd his face : þer is noon þat may beholde hymm. for than þe soule is derke. And when he shewyth hym. þe soule may not vnsee hym. for he is light. Hys hydyng is but a sotyll assayenge of þe soule. And his shewyng is a wonder mercyfull goodnes of god in comfort of þe soule. Haue þou no wonder though þe felyng of grace withdrawe som tyme fro a loue

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of god. for holy wryte seyeth þe same of þe spouse. *Quesiui et non respondit michi.* I seke. and I fynde hym nat. I called and he answered me not. þat is when I fall downe to my fraylete. than grace withdrawyth. for my fallyng is cause ther of. and not his fleynge. but than feele I payne of my wretchednes in his absence. (80) And I fele so many dowtis and dredis bo\lt/<sup>177</sup>þ within and wythout. and so grete perplexitees þat I fall nerehand in dyspayre of god. and lefte all in the hande of þe fende. (82) for it semyth as þe soule were for-

(80) Scale II, 28, 47-59.

58v

saken of god. out take a lytyll pryue trust. oure lord god lo\le/uyth<sup>178</sup> in suche soule by the whiche it is borne vp fro despayre and sauýd fro goostli myschef. And also withoute it selfe it shalbe payned in þe sensualite ayther by sykenes or by feleabyll tormentyng of þe fende. or else by þe pryue myght of god þe sely soule by felynge and beryng of þe wretched body. It shalbe so payned. and it shall not wete wheþer ne how þat it shulde not nowe suffer to be in þe body. ne were þat oure lorde god kepith it þer in. (81) And

(81) Scale I, 42, 40-46.

<sup>177</sup> Above the line. Scribal insertion ?

<sup>178</sup> The later correction of "louyth" to "leuyth" provides the more plausible reading.

59r

so þe soule shall folow criste in beryng of þe crosse. as our lorde<sup>179</sup> ihesu seyed. who þat wyll com after me. forsake hym selfe. þat is for to sey. he shall forsake all fleshly loue. and hate his owne fleshly lyf. and vayne lykyng of all his bodyly wyttis. for loue of me. and take þe crosse. þat is to sey. suffer þe payne a while. and þan folow me. þat is in to contemplacion of my manhed and be of my godhed.

(82) C<sup>180</sup>harite is a free yefte of god. sente into a meke soule. as saynt paule seyeth. who dar hardely sey þat he

(82) Scale I, 68, 6-17.

59v

hath charyte : Sothly noon may sey it sewrely. but he þat is perfytly meke. oper men may trow of þem<sup>181</sup> selfe and hope þat þey be in charite by tokenes of charite. But he þat is perfytly meke. he felyth that he is in charite. and perfor he may sothly sey it. This<sup>182</sup> meke was saynt poule. when he seyde of hymselfe. Quis seperabit nos a caritate dei tribulacio an angustia. that is. who shall departe me fro þe charyte of god. tribulacion or an=guyshe. And he answeyth him selfe and seyeth. þat þer shall no þyng put me fro þe charite of

60r

god. (83) Therefore. þe lesse þou arte stered ayenste thyne euencristen. þe nerer þou art to charite. (84) and yf þou be not stered ayenst no person by anger or feble chere outewarde. ne by no pryue hate in þi harte for to dispise and deme them. or to sett þem at nought. but þe more harme. shame and velany he doth to thee in worde or dede. the more pyte and compassion þou hast of hym. and prayest for his amending. not only with thy mouth. but also with thy harte and trewe affeccion of loue. Than haste perfite charite. (85) this

(83) Scale I, 69, 25.

(84) Scale I, 70, 1-11.

(85) Scale I, 70, 13-19.

60v

charite cownseylith our lord ihesu criste to all þat wolde be his perfite folowers. when he seyde. louyth your enemyes. and doeth good to them þat hate yow and pray for them þat pursueth yow and sclawnderth yow. And perfor yf þou wyll be lyke to criste than folow hym. (86) and beholde how criste loued Iudas þat was bothe his

(86) Scale I, 70, 20-40.

<sup>179</sup> Marginal : a cross drawn in the margin.

<sup>180</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>181</sup> Marginal : a word I cannot decipher.

<sup>182</sup> Expansion by analogy with the meekness of the "prophet dauid" in 50v.

dedly enemye and a synfull caytyf.<sup>183</sup> se how good<sup>184</sup>ly  
criste was to hym. how benynge and hou curteys. hou  
lowly and how mekely he yaue hym power to wurke  
myracles. and he shewed hym þe same good

61r

chere in worde and dede. as he did to oþer apostles. he  
wassed his fete. and fedde hym with his precious body.  
and preched to hym. as he dyd to oþer apostles. he  
bewreyed hym not openly ne mysseyd hym not. ne spake  
no euyll of hym. And whan iudas toke hym. he kyssed  
hym and called hym his frende. All this charite shewed  
criste to iudas whom he knew for dampnable. and þis  
was not shewed feynyngly. but in sothfastenes and clene  
loue. ffor þough it were so þat iudas was vnworthy for  
to haue had eny

61v

yefte of god. or eny token of loue for his wyckednes. //  
yet yt was worthy and skylfull þat oure lord ihesu criste  
shulde shewe as he is. for he is loue and goodnes. And  
so he shewyth loue and goodnes to all his creaturys.  
(87) Thus a perfit soule shall folow criste. in louyng of  
his enymyes. and than his goostly eye shal be opened by  
speciall grace of holy goost. into beholdyng of goddis  
maicste and heuenly ioy. Than þe soule shalbe fedde by  
felyng of pure loue in þe sight and presence of god. And  
þan the felyng of grace shall teche

(87) unidentified.

62r

þe. how and where vpon þou shalt sett þe poynte of þi  
thought in<sup>185</sup> tyme of prayer. (88) ffor þe soule sharply  
beholdyth þe face of ihesu. and he is made sure þat it is  
ihesu þat he felyth and seeth. I meane not ihesu as he is  
in hym selfe. in fulnes of his godhed. but I meane ihesu  
as he wyll shew hym to a clene soule holde in þe body  
after þe clennes þat he hathe. for euery felyng of grace is  
ihesu<sup>186</sup> and may be called ihesu. after as þe grace is.  
more or lesse. yc the fyrste felyng of grace þat is speciall  
grace : in a begynner. þat is called grace of compunc-

(88) Scale II, 42, 105-144.

62v

cion and contricion for his synnes. it is verely ihesu. for  
he makyth þat contricion in a soule by his presence. But  
ihesu is than full rudely felt for godly sotylte. for þe

<sup>183</sup> Punctus elevatus

<sup>184</sup> Marginal : "[h]umilitas [c]hristi de [---]a Judam".

<sup>185</sup> Marginal : "Orandi modo".

<sup>186</sup> Marginal : "Jesus".

soule can no better for clennes of it selfe. But aftirward yf þe soule profite and encesse in vertues and in clennes. than þe same ihesu a nonne þer is bothe sene and felt of þe same soule. whan it is touched with grace. but þat sight and felynge is more godly and nerer to godly kynde of ihesu. And sothly þat is þe moste þing þat ihesu louyth in a soule þat it myght be made godly and goostly

63r

in syght of loue lyke to hym by grace as he is by kynde. for þat shalbe þende of all þe louers of god. Than mayste þou be sure when þou feliste þi soule stered by grace. specially in þat maner as it is before seyde. þat þou seest and feliste ihesu. (---w)holde hym fast whilis þou may. and kepe the in grace. and loke aftir noon other but ihesu. saf þat same by felyng of his grace. þat hys myght wex more godly in þee. euer more and more. and dredde þe not though þat ihesu þat þou feliste. be not ihesu as he is in his full godhed. and þat þou shuldist

63v

perfor be disceyuyd yf þou leue to þi felynge. but truste thou well yf þou be a louer of ihesu<sup>187</sup> þat in þi felyng is trewe. and þat ihesu is truly felte and sene of þee þrough his grace as thow mayste see and feele hym here in þis lyf. and þer fore lene fully to þi felyng. when it is graciously and goostly shewed. and kepe it tenderly þat þou myghtiste feele and see ihesu euer better and better. ffor grace shall euen teche þee it selfe. yf þou comm to þend.

(89) W<sup>188</sup>hen þe soule of a louer felyth god in prayer in

(89) Scale II, 43, 1-2.

64r<sup>189</sup>

þe maner before seyde. (90) than it fallyth som tyme þat grace puttyth scilence to vocall prayer. and steryth þe soule to see and feele ihesu in an oþer maner. (---at) \and./<sup>190</sup> þat is firste to se ihesu in holy wryte. (91) and he may not be knowen ne felt but of a clene hart. (92) Than for as muche as þe soule of a louer is made meke through inspiracion of grace. by openyng of the goostly eyes. and seeth þat it is not of it selfe. but only han=geth on þe mercy and goodnes of ihesu. and lastyngly is borne vp by fauour and helpe of hym

(90) Scale II, 43, 3-6.

(91) Scale II, 43, 7-8.

(92) Scale II, 43, 14-29.

<sup>187</sup> Marginal : "Amor Jesu".

<sup>188</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>189</sup> In the bottom margin of this folio : "Irdis helpe of hym goodness". In a script that is more square than the main text.

<sup>190</sup> Above the line, later hand.

64v

only. and truly desyryng þe presence of hym. Therfor seeth the soule ihesu. for it seeth the sothfastnes of holy wryte wonderly shewed and opened a boue þe study and traueyle and reason of mannys kyndely wytte. and þat may welbe called þe felyng and þe perceyvyng of ihesu. for ihesu is well of wysdom<sup>191</sup>. and by a lytyll holdyng of wisdom. in a clene soule. he makyth a soule wyse I nough for to vnderstonde holy wryte. not all at ones in speciall beholding. but through þat grace a soule resceyuyth a newe ablenes and a gracious abyte for to vnder-

65r

stonde it. specially when it commyth to mynde. this clerenes of wytt is made \of/<sup>192</sup> þe holy goost. // (93) Yf a soule profite in vertues and in clenness by speciall inspiracion of grace for to seke god. þat is sothfastnes in holy write. with greate deuocion in prayenge. and with meche besynes in studieng goynge before. þecs soulis may comm to þe fyndyng. when oure lord god wyll shew it.

(93) unidentified.

(94) A<sup>193</sup> Chosen soule seeth god in this lyf by a myrrour and by a lykenes as þe apostle seyth. ihesu is endeles myght. wysedom and goodnes ryghtwis-

(94) Scale II, 43, 130-144.

65v

nes and sothfastnes. holynes and mercy. and what ihesu is in hym selfe. may no soule know ne see here in this lyfe. but by effecte<sup>194</sup> of his workyng he may be sene þrough lyght of grace. as thus. his myght is seen by makyng of all creatures of nought. hys wysdom inordynate disposyng of them. his goodnes in sauynge of þem. his mercy in foryeuenes of synnys. his sothfastnes in true rewardyng of good werkys. his holynes in yeftys of grace. his ryghtwysnes in hard punyshyng of synne. And all this is expressed in holy write.

66r

And þis seeth þe soule with all oþer accidentes þat fallyth þerto. And witt þou well þat all suche gracious knowynges in holy write. or in oþer writing þat is made through grace. (---- or not) \are nought/ else but swete letters sendyng made betwene a louyng soule and god.

<sup>191</sup> as if a yogh is still following.

<sup>192</sup> Above the line, later hand, different ink.

<sup>193</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>194</sup> Marginal : "Jesus".

(95) T<sup>195</sup> he drawyng of a soule fully to perfite loue. is fyrste by þe shewyng of goostly thynges to a clene soule when þe goostly eye is opened. not þat a soule shulde reste þer in. and make an ende there. but by þat myght seke hym and loue hym þat is hygh-

(95) Scale II, 44, 62-71.

66v

este of all. only withoute eny beholdyng of eny oþer thyng than hym selfe. But what ar þees goostly thynges. I do answere and scy. that goostely thyngys may be seyed all þe sothfastnesse of holy wryte. and þerfor a soule þat through grace may se þe sothfastnes of it. than it seeth goostely thyngis as I haue before seyde. (96) Neuertheles oþer goostely thynges þer be also. the whiche through lyght of grace is shewyd a soule. and þat ar thees. the kynde of all resonable soulis. and þe gracious wurkyng of our lord god in

(96) Scale II, 45, 1-48.

67r

them. and þe kynde of angels blessed and vnreprouyd in þer wurkyng. and þe knowyng of þe blessed trunyte. þat grace techith vs holy wryte where it is seyde in þe boke of songes of þe spouse. thus. Surgam et aranbo ciuitatem et queram quem diligit anima mea. that is. I shal ryse. and I shall go a boute þe cite. and I shall seke hym that my soul louyth. that is. I shal rise in to hyghnes of thought and goo a boute þe cite. By þe cite is vnderstonde þe vniuersite of all creaturys bodyly and goost=ly. ordeyned and reuled vnder

67v

god by laues of kynde. of reson and of grace. I go a boute þis cite when I beholde þe kyndis and þe causes of bodyly creaturis by yeftis of grace. And þe blysse of goostly creaturis. and <sup>in</sup>196 all thees I seke hym þat my soule louyth. It is a feyre lokyng with þe inner eye on god in bodily creaturis. for to see his myght. his wysdom and his goodnes in ordynance of them and of ther kynde. but it is meche feyer lokyng on god in goostely crea=turys. fyrste in resonable soulis boeth of chosen and reprouyd. for to se þe mercifull callyng of hym

68r

to his chosen. how he turnyth þem fro synne by lyght of grace. how he helpyth them. techyth þem and chastysyth

<sup>195</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>196</sup> Above the line, later hand, different ink.

them and conffortyth them. he ryghtith. he clensyth he fedith them. and how he makyth them brennyng in lyght by plente of his grace. and þis doth not he to oon soule only. but to all his chosen. afir mesure of his grace. // Also þe reprouyd. how ryghtfully he forsakyth them and leuyth them in þer synne and doth them no wronge. How he rewardeyth þem in þis lyf. and sufferyth them to haue þer wyll in þis worlde. and afir ryght-

68v

wysly. he punyssheth them endelesly<sup>197</sup>.

L<sup>198</sup>O. this is a lytyll beholding of holy church here in erthe. for to se how black and how foule it semyth in soulys þat be reprouyd. and how feyre and louely it is in chosen soulis. And all þis goostely syght. ys nothyng else but þe syght of ihesu. not in hym selfe. but in his mercyfull and preuy werkes. And also ouer þis to see with þe goostly eyes. þe peynes of þe reprouyd soulys. and þe blysse of þe blessed soulis. ffor sothefastnes may not be sene in a clene soule withoute grete delyte and wonderful

69r

softenes of brennyng loue in god. Also for to beholde þe kynde of angels. bothe of good angels and of þe dampned. It is a feyre contemplacion of þe fende in a clene soule when grace bryngyth þe fende to þe syght of þe soule. as<sup>199</sup> a wretched caytyf bownde with þe myght of god so þat he may no thyng do. no more than a mowse. Than þou shalt beholde hym not bodyly. but gostly. seyng his kynde and his malice. and tourneth hym vpsodowne. spoylith hym and rendeth hym all to nought. and skornyth hym. and vtterly despise hym and sett

69v

hym at nought by his malyce. (97) Meche wonder hath a parfit soule. þat þe fende is so full of malyce. and hath so lytyll myght. for ther is no creature so vnmyghty as he is. and þerfore it is a greate cowardnes þat men drede hym so meche. he may no thyng do withoute leue of our lorde god. not so meche as to enter in to a swyne. as the gospell scyth.<sup>200</sup> Than yf oure lord will yeue hym leue.

(97) Scale II, 45, 51-59.

<sup>197</sup> "lesly" is written under "ende", at the end of the second line. The scribe could not finish the word on the line and he needed the next one to start a new paragraph (not a new fragment) with a decorated initial.

<sup>198</sup> Decorated initial over two lines.

<sup>199</sup> Marginal: "Satana[s]".

<sup>200</sup> Punctus elevatus.

for to trouble vs. it is full worthy. and full mercyfully done. pat our lord god doeth. and perfore welcomm be our lorde god. boeth in hym selfe. and in all his

70r

messengers. Than pe soule ferith not. or dredith not pe fende. (98) but ryghtfully pe soule demeth hym as he hath deseruyd. (99) ffor \God/<sup>201</sup> sayed to his breperne. wete ye not breperne pat we shall deme angels pat ar wyckyd spiritis. and he answered. yes. This demyng is figyured before the dome in contemplatiff soulis. for they felc a lytyll tastynge of pat. pat shalbe done aftirwarde of god openly. (100) Than aftir pis. by pe same lyght of gracc may pe soule see goostely. the feyrenes of angels and worthynes of them in kynde and sotylte in sub-

(98) Scale II, 45, 63-64.

(99) cf. Scale II, 45, 66-72.

(100) Scale II, 46, 1-8.

70v

stance confermyng of pem in grace and pe fulnes of endeles blysse pat sundryhed of orders and the distynccion of persons. and hou pey leue all in lyght of sotht=fastnes. and how they brenne all in loue. aftir the worthines of orders. and how they so loue and persecue god all in reste withoute eny disesyng. (101) Than begynnyth pe soule to haue grete aqueyntaunce of thees blessed spirites. and pey ar full tendir and full besy a bout such a soule for to helpe it. they ar mastres for to teche pe soule and often through her goostly pre-

(101) Scale II, 46, 10-14

71r

sence. they put oute fantasies fro pe soule. and they illumyne the soule graciously. (102) ffor wet pou well pat all pis goostely wurkyng of wordis and resons pat ar brought to pi mynde. it is done by pe mynystrynge of angels whan pe lyght of grace abundantly shynyth in a clene soule. It may not be tolde by tunge pe felynges and pe lyghtnyngis. pe gracis. and pe confortis. and specially pat clene soules perseyue through fauourable felyshyppe of blessed anangels<sup>202</sup>. the soule is glad to beholde how pey do. Than by pe

(102) Scale II, 21-42.

71v

by the<sup>203</sup> helpe of angels pe soule seeth more. for knowynge arysith a boue all pis in a clene soule. and pat is to beholde pe blessed kynde of ihesu. first of his glorious manhed. how it is worthyly hyghed a boue al

<sup>201</sup> Above the line, later hand, different ink.

<sup>202</sup> Emendation: "angels". The scribe divided the word at the end of the line, but forgot he did so, and copied the entire word on the following line.

<sup>203</sup> "by the" is copied twice.



angels kynde. and þan aftir of his blesse\d/ godhed. for by knowyng of creaturis is knowen þe creatour. and þan begynnith þe soule to perseyue a lytil of þe preuytees of þe blessed trynityte. it may wel I nough. for þe lyght of grace gooth be fore. and þerfor þe soule shall not erre. as long as she holdith

72r

her with þat lyght. Than ys it opened sothfastely to the eye of þe soule. the onhed in sub=stance and distynccion of per=sones in þe blessed trynityte as may be sene here in thys lyf and meche oper sothfastenes of þe blessed trinite perteynyng to þis mater þe whiche is open.

### Fragments from the *Revelations*.

[Revelation 1]

72v.

(103) Oure gracious and goode lorde god shewed me in party þe wisdom and the trewthe of þe soule of oure blessed lady saynt mary. wher in I vnderstood þe reuerent beholdyng. þat she behelde her god þat is her maker. maruelynge with grete reuerence þat he wolde be borne þat was a simple creature of his makyng. for this was her meruelyng. þat he þat was her maker wolde be borne of her þat is made. And this wysdom and trowth knowyng the grettenes of her maker. and the lytyllnes of her

(103) Chapter 4, 31-37.

73r.

selfe þat is made. caused here to sey full mekely vnto gabryell. lo me here. goddis handmayden. (104) This wysdom and trowth made her to beholde her god so gret so hygh. so myghty. and so good þat the gretenes and the nobilte and beholdyng of god fulfilled her of reuerent dred. And with this she sawe her selfe so lytyll and so lowe. so symple and so pore in re[-- w]\g/<sup>204</sup>arde of her god. þat þis reuerent drede fulfilled her of mekenes. And þis. by þis grownd she was fulfilled of grace and of all maner of vertues. and ouer passyth all creaturys. (105) In this

(104) Chapter 7, 4-11.

(105) Chapter 4, 37-40.

73v.

syght I vndyrstod sothly þat she is more þan all þat god made. beneth her in worthynes and in fulhed. for a boue her þere is no thing þat is made : but þe blessed manhed of criste. as to my syght. (106) And this oure good lord

(106) Compiler's own

<sup>204</sup> Above the line, later hand, different ink.

shewed to myne vnderstondyng in lernyng of vs. (107)  
Also I saw þat oure good lord is to vs all þyng þat is  
good and comfortable to oure helpe. he is oure clothing.  
þe which for loue wrappith vs and wyndith vs helpith vs  
and ablyth vs and hangith aboute vs for tender love. þat  
he may neuer

transitional phrase ?  
(107) Chapter 5, 3-46.

74r.

leue vs. And so in þis syght I sawe þat he is all þyng þat  
is good as to my vnderstondyng. And in þis he shewed  
me a lytil thyng þe quantite of a hasyl nott. lyeng in þe  
pawme of my hand as it had semed. and it was as  
rownde as eny ball. I loked þer vpon with the eye of of  
my vnderstondyng. and I þought what may þis be. and it  
was answered generally thus. It is all þat is made. I  
merueled howe it myght laste. for me þought it myght  
sodenly haue fall to nought for lytyllhed. And I was  
answered in my vnder-

74v.

standing. It lastyth and euer shall for god louyth it. and  
so hath all thyng his begynnyng by þe loue of god. In  
this lytyll thyng I sawe thre propertees. The fyrste is þat  
god made it. þe secunde is. þat \God/<sup>205</sup> louyth it. And  
the þrid is. þat god kepith it. But what is þis to me.  
Sothly the maker. þe keper and þe louer. for tyll I am  
substancially oned to hym. I may neuer have full reste ne  
verey blysse. that is to sey þat I be so fastened to hym  
þat þer be no thyng þat is made betwene my god and  
me. This lital thyng þat is made. me thought

75r.

it myght haue fall to nought. for lytyllness. Of this nedith  
vs to haue knowynge þat it is lyke to nought all þyng þat  
is made. for to loue and haue god þat is vnmade. for þis  
is the cause why þat we be not all in ese of harte and  
soule. for we seke here reste. In this thyng þat is so  
lytyll where no reste is in. and know not our god þat is  
allmyghty. all wise and all good. for he is verey reste.  
God wyll be knowen. And it likith hym þat we reste  
\vs/<sup>206</sup> in hym. for all þat is beneth hym sufficith not to  
vs. And þis is the cause why. þat no soule is rested tyll it  
be

75v.

noughted of all that is made. and when he is wylfully

<sup>205</sup> Above the line, later hand, different ink.

<sup>206</sup> Above the line, scribal insertion.

noughted for loue. to haue hym þat is all. then is he able to resceyue goostely reste. Also oure lordc shewed þat it is ful grete pleasance to hym. þat a sely soule com to hym nakedly. pleynely and homly. for þis is þe kynde yernyng of þe soule by þe touchyng of the holy gooste. As by þe vndirstondyng þat I haue in þis shewyng. God for þi goodnes yeue vnto me thy selfe : for þou art I nowgh to me. I may no thyng aske<sup>207</sup> þat is lesse. þat may be full wurshyppe to thee. And yf I aske cny

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thyng þat is<sup>208</sup> lesse. euer me wantith. but only in þe I haue all. And þes wordes. god of thy goodnes it are full louesum to þe soule. and ful nygh touchyng þe wyll of our lordc. For his goodnes comprehendith all his creatures and all his blessed werkes. and ouer passith withoute ende. For he is þe endeleshed. and he hath made vs only to hym selfe. and restored vs by his precious passion. and euer kepith vs in his blessed loue. and al þis is of his goodnes. (108) This shewyng was yeue as to my vnderstandyng to lerne oure soules wisely to cleue to þe goodnes of god.<sup>209</sup>

(108) Chapter 6, 1-61.

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And in þat same tyme þe custom of oure prayer was brought to my mynde how þat we use. for vnknowyng of loue to make many meanys. Than sawe I sothly þat is more worshippe to god and more very delyte. þat we feythfully prey to hym selfe. of his goodnes and cleue þer to by his grace with true vndirstondyng and stedfast beleue. Than yf we made all þe meanys þat hart may thyngke. for þough we make all þis menys it is to lytyll and not full worshyp to god. But in his goodnes is all þe whole. and þere feylith no thyng. for þis as I shall sey.

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came to my mynde in þe same tyme we prayde to god for his holy fleshe. and for his precious blode. his holy passion. and his dereworthi deeth. his worshypfull woundes and all þe blessed kyndenes. þe endeles lyf þat we haue of all this. it is of hys goodnes. and we pray hym for his moder loue. þat hym bare.<sup>210</sup> and all þat helpe þat we haue in her. it is of his goodnes. and we pray for hys holy crosse þat he deyde on. and all þe helpe and vertue that we haue of þe crosse. it is of his

<sup>207</sup> Marginal : "Oratio".

<sup>208</sup> Above the line, scribal insertion.

<sup>209</sup> Punctus elevatus

<sup>210</sup> Punctus elevatus.

goodnes. And on þe same wyse. all þe helpe þat we haue of speciall

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sayntis. and all þe blessed company in heuen. þe dereworthy loue and þe holy endeles frendeshyppe þat we haue of them. it is all of his goodnes. For god of his goodnes. For god of his grete goodnes hath ordeyned meanys to help vs in most lovyng and blessed maner. of whiche þe cheyff and principall meane is þe blessed kynde þat he toke of þe mayden mary. with all þe menys that goeth before. and commyth astir. whiche ben longynge to our saluacion. and endeles redempcion. Wherefore it pleasith hym. þat we seke hym and worshippe hym by menys. vndirstondyng and knowyng þat

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he is goodnes of all. for to the goodnes of god is the hygheste prayer. and it commyth downe to vs. to þe loweste party of our nede. It quicknyth our soule and bryngith it on lyf. and makith it to wax in grace and in vertue. It is neriste in kynde and rediest in grace. for it is þe same grace þat þe soule sekith. and euer shall tyll we know our god verely. þat hath vs all in hym beclosed. A man goeth vpryght. and þe soule of his bodi is sperd as a purse ful feyre. and when it is tyme of his necessary it is opened and sperd ayen. well honestely. And þat is

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he þat doth this. he shewyth þat he seeth. he commyth downe to vs. to þe lowest party of oure nede. for he hath no dyspyte of þat þat he hath made. neþer he hath no disdeyne to serue vs at þe symplest office þat longith to our body in kynde. for loue of the soule. þat he hath made to hys owne lykenes. For as þe bodi is cladde in þe clothe and þe fleshe. and þe harte in the bouke.<sup>211</sup> so be we soul and body clad and closed in the goodnes of god. ye and more homly. for all þees may were and waste away. but þe goodnes is euer whole. and nere

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to vs withoute eny lykenes. For truely. our louer desyreth þat þe soule clyme to hym. with all the myghtes. and þat we be euyr clymyng to his goodnes. For of all thyng þat hart may thynk. it pleasyth moste god. and soneste spedith. For oure soule is so preciously

<sup>211</sup> Punctus elevatus

loued of hym þat is hyghest. þat it ouerpassith þe knowlege of all oþer creaturis. þat is to sey þer ys no creature þat is made. þat may wete how meche and how swetely and how tenderly our maker<sup>212</sup> louyth vs. Wherfor we may with his grace and with his hooly ston-

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dyng in goostely beholdyng with euerlasting meruclyng. In this here ouerpassyng vnmesurable loue þat oure lorde hath to vs of his goodnes. and þerfor we may aske of oure louver with reuerence all þat we wyll. for oure kyndely wyll is to haue god. and þe good wyll of god is to haue vs. and we may neuer blyn in wylling ne of louyng. tyll we haue hym in fulnes of ioy. And þan may we desyre no more. For he wyll þat we be occupied in knowyng and louyng of hym. tyll þe tyme com þat we shall be fulfilled \in/<sup>213</sup>

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heuen. (109) For of all thyng þe beholdeng and þe lovyng of þe maker causith the soule to seme leste in his owne sight. and moste fyllith it with reuerent drede and true mekenes. and with plente of charite. to his euencristen.

(109) Chapter 6, 64-67.

[Revelation 2]

(110) fferther more. we be nowe so blynde and so unwyse þat we can neuer seke god. tyll what tyme þat he of his goodnes shewyth hym selfe to vs. and when we see ought of hym graciously þan ar we stered by þe same grace to seke hym with grete desyre to se hym more blissfully. And þus I sawe hym and sought hym

(110) Chapter 10, 14-20.

80v.

and I had hym and wanted hym. And þis is and shulde be our common wurkyng in þys lyf. as to my syght. (111) For þe contynuyng sekyng of the soule pleasyth god full meche. for it may do no more þan sekyng. sufferyng and trustyng. And þis is wroght on eche a soule þat hath it be þe holy goost. and þe clerenes of fyndyng is. of a speciall grace of god. when it is his wyll. The sekyng with feyth. hope and charite plesith our lord god. and þe fyndyng pleasith þe soule. and fulfyllith it of ioyes. And þus was I lerned to my vnder-

(111) Chapter 10, 68-83.

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<sup>212</sup> Marginal : "Amor dei in nos".

<sup>213</sup> Later hand, different ink.

standyng. þat þe sekyng is as good as beholdyng. for þe tyme<sup>214</sup> þat he wyll suffer þe soule to be in traueyle. It is goddis wyll þat we seke in to þe beholdyng of hym. for by þat shall he shewe vs hymselfe of his speciall grace when he wyll. And how a soule shall haue hym in his beholdyng. he shall teche hym selfe. and þat is moste wurshyp to hym. and most profit to þe soule. and it moste resceyuyth of mekenes and vertues with þe grace and ledyng of þe holy goost. For a soule þat only fasteneth hym to god with very truste

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eyther in sekyng or in beholdyng that is the moste wurshippe þat he may do as to my syght. (112) It is god is wyll þat we haue thre thynges in our sekyng of his yfte. The fyrste is. we seke wyllfully and besyly withoute slouth. as it may be with his grace gladly and merily without vnskyllfull heuynes and vayne sorowe. The secunde þat we abide hym stedfastly for hys loue withoute grutchyng and stryvyng ayenste hym in to our lyvys ende. for it shall leste but a whyle. The thryd is þat we truste in hym myghtily of full sure feyth. for it is his wyll þat

(112) Chapter 10, 87-96.

82r.

we shall know þat he wyll appere sodenly and blessedfully to al his louers. for his workyngc is preuey. and it wyll be perceyued. and his apperyng shalbe swith sodene. and he wyll be beleuyd. for he is full hende. homly and curteys. blessed mutte he be.

[Revelation 3]

(113) And after þis I sawe god in a poynt. þat is to sey in myne vnderstandyng. by whiche syght I sawe þat he is all thyng. I behelde with a viscent. seying and knowyng in þat sight. þat he doth all þat is done. (114) be it neuer so litill. And I sawe þat no thyng is don by happe. ne by aduenture. but

(113) Chapter 11, 3-6.

(114) Chapter 11, 7-10.

82v.

all by þe foreseeing of goddis wysedom. And yf it be hap. or aduentur in þe syght of man :<sup>215</sup> our blydenes and our vnbefore syght is þe cause. (115) wherfor wel I wot þat in syght of our lord god. is no happe ne aduenture And therfor me behouyd nedisly. to graunt þat all þyng þat is done. it is well done. for oure lord

(115) Chapter 11, 16-22.

<sup>214</sup> Marginal : "Secke go[d]".

<sup>215</sup> Punctus elevatus.

god dothe all. for in þis tyme þe wurkyng of creature was not shewed but of oure lord god. in creature. for he is in þe mydde poynt of all thynges. and all he dothe. And I was sure þat he doeth no synne. And

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here I sawe sothly þat synne ys no dede. (116) Also amonge oþer shewynges our good lord meanyng þus. (117) Se I am god : se I am in al þyng : se I do all thyng. Se I lefte neuer myne hande of my workes. ne neuer shall withoute ende. see I led all thyng to \þe/<sup>216</sup> ende. that I ordeyned it to. fro with oute begynnyng. by the same myght wisdomed and loue. þat I made it with. how shulde than eny thyng be amys. (118) I sawe full surely þat he changyth neuer his purpose in no maner þyng. ne neuer shall withoute ende. for ther was no thyng vnkownyn to hym

(116) Compiler's transitional phrase, built of elements from Chapter 11, 51.

(117) Chapter 11, 51-56.

(118) Chapter 11, 44-48.

83v.

in his ryghtfull ordinaunce fro without begynnyng. And þerfor all þyng were sett in order or any thyng was made. as it shulde withoute ende.

[Revelation 9]

(119) Also in the nyneth shewyng our lord god seyde to her thus. (120) Art þou well payed þat I sufferd for thee. And she seyde ye good lord graunt mercy. ye good lord blessed mote þou be. Than seyde ihesu oure good lorde god. yf þou be payed. I am payed. It is a ioy. a blysse. and an endelesse lyknyng to me þat I euer sufferde passion for thee. and yf I myght suffer more. I wolde suffer more. (121) And in thoes same

(119) Compiler's transitional phrase.

(120) Chapter 22, 2-7.

(121) Chapter 22, 25-26.

84r.

wordys yf I myght :<sup>217</sup> (122) I sawe sothly þat as [-- of] often as he might dye. as often he wolde and loue shulde neuer lett hym haue rest tyll he hath donne it. And I beheld with greute diligence for to wete how \often/<sup>218</sup> he wolde dye yef he myght. and sothly the number passed myne vnderstandyng and my wittes so ferre þat my reason myght not. ne coude not comþrehende it. ne take it. And when he had thus ofte deyed or shulde. yett he wolde sett it at nought for loue. (123) For though þe swete manhed of criste myght suffer but ones. the goodnes of hym may

(122) Chapter 22, 26-33.

(123) Chapter 22, 34-36.

<sup>216</sup> Above the line, scribal insertion.

<sup>217</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>218</sup> Above the line, later hand, different ink.

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neuer cesse of profer. euery day to þe same yf it myght be. (124) Also it is goddis wyll þat we haue trewe lykyng with hym in oure saluacion. and þer in he wyll þat we be myghtyly confortid and strengthed. And þus wyll he merely with (--his) his grace þat oure soule be occupied. (125) for we be his blysse. hys mede. and his wurship. And we be his coronn. And this was a singular meruell and full delectable \be/<sup>219</sup>holdyng þat we be his coronn. (126) This þat I sey is so grete blysse to oure lorde ihesu þat he settith at nought all his traucyll and his hard pas-

(124) Chapter 23, 15-18.

(125) Chapter 22, 21-23.

(126) Chapter 22, 24-25.

85r.

sion and his cruell and shamefull deth. (127) The fader is full pleasyd with þe dedis þat ihesu hath done about oure saluacion. Wherefore we be not only his by his byenge. but also by the curteys yefte of his father. (128) for we be his blysse and his mede. as it is seyð before. (129) and þat yefte and þe mede is so blysseful to oure lord ihesu [----- þat his fader] þat his father myght haue yeue hym no mede þat myght haue lykyd hym better. (130) For in vs he lykyth withoute ende. and so shall we with in hym with his grace. All þat he hath donne for vs and dothe and

(127) Chapter 22, 19-21.

(128) Compiler's phrase.

(129) Chapter 22, 15-17.

(130) Chapter 23, 18-44.

85v.

and<sup>220</sup> euer shall doo. Was neuer coste ne charge to hym no myght be. but only þat he dedde in our manhed begynnyng at þe swete incarnacion. and lestyng tyl þe blessed vprysyng on ester day in þe mornyng. So longe dured þe coste and þe charge aboute oure redempcion in dede. of whiche dede he enioyeth endelesly as it is afore seyð. Also ihesu wil þat we take hede. to þis blysse þat is in þe trynnyte of oure saluacion. and þat we desyre to haue as meche goostely lykyng with his grace as is afore seyde. þat is to sey. þat þe lykyng of

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of<sup>221</sup> oure saluacion be lyke to þe ioye þat criste hath of oure saluacion as it may be whyle we ben here. All the blessed trynnyte wrought in þe passion of criste. mynstryng abundaunce of vertues and plente of grace to vs by hym. but only þe maydenys sone sufferd.

<sup>219</sup> Above the line, scribal insertion.

<sup>220</sup> "And" is copied twice.

<sup>221</sup> "of" is copied twice.



Whereof all þe gloriouse trynyte endelesly enioyeth. And þis was shewed in the worde. art þou well payed. By þat oper word þat criste seyde. yf þou art payed. I am payed. as yf he had seyde.<sup>222</sup> yt is ioi and lykyng I nough to me. and I aske not else of þe

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for my traueyle.<sup>223</sup> but þat I myght pay thee. And it<sup>224</sup> þis he broght to my mynde þe propertee of a glad \y/<sup>225</sup>euer. A glad yeuer. takyth but lytyll hede at þe thyng þat he ycuith.<sup>226</sup> but his desyre is and<sup>227</sup> all his entent to pl/e/<sup>228</sup>ace hym and solace hym to whom he yeuith it. and yf the resceyuer take the y/e/<sup>229</sup>lle gladly and thankfully. the þe curteys yeuer settythe at nought all his costc and all his traucyle for ioiye and delyte þat he hath. for he hath so plesed and solacyd hym þat he lough. plenteously and fully was þis shewed.

[Revelation 10]

(131) Also with glad chere our

(131) Chapter 24, 3-31.

87r.

lord loked into his syde and behelde. enioyenge. and with his swete lokyng he ledde furthe þe vnderstandyng of his creaturys by þe same wounde in to his syde withyn. and þere he shewed a feyre delectable place and large I now for all man kynde þat shall be sauf to reste in pees and loue. and þer with he brought to mynde his dereworthy blod. and his precious water.<sup>230</sup> whiche he lett poure all oute for loue. And with þat swete beholdyng he shewed his blessed harte euyne clouen at twoo. And with this swete enioyng he shewed in vnderstandyng in

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partye þe blessed godhed. as ferfurth as he wolde. at that tyme strengthyng þe pore soule for to vnderstonde as yt may be seyed þat is to meane þe endeles loue þat was withoute begynnyng. and is and shalbe cuer. And with this oure lord god seyde. fulblessedly. Loo how I

<sup>222</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>223</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>224</sup> Sic. Emendation: "in".

<sup>225</sup> Above the line, scribal insertion.

<sup>226</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>227</sup> Marginal: "[---] gladde geuer".

<sup>228</sup> Scribal insertion.

<sup>229</sup> Above the line.

<sup>230</sup> Punctus elevatus.

louyd thee. as yf he had seyd my derl<sup>231</sup>ynge beholde  
and see þyn owne broþer. þi souereyne. my chylde  
 beholde and se. þi lorde god. thy maker and thi endeles  
 ioye. see what lykyng and blysse I haue in thy  
 saluacion. and for my loue enioy with me. Also to more

88r.

vnderstandynge þis blessed worde was seyd. Loo how  
 I loue the. as yf he had seyd. beholde and see þat I  
 loued the so meche. or I dyed for þe. þat I wolde dye  
 for the. and now I haue dyed for the. and sufferde payne  
 wylfully þat I may. and now is all my bitter peyne. and  
 all my traucyle turned to endeles ioye and blysse bothe  
 to me and to thee. Howe shulde it now be þat thou  
 shuldste ony thyng pray me þat lykyth me : but þat I  
 shulde full gladly graunt it. þe. for my lykyng is þi  
 holynes. and thy endeles ioye and blysse with

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me. This is the vndirstondyng symple as I can sey of  
 thys blessed worde. Loo how I love thee. Loo how I  
 loue thee. All this shewed oure lorde god to make vs  
 gladde and mery.

[Revelation 13]

(132) Also I vndirstond sothly þat all maner thyng is  
 made redy to vs by þe grete goodnes of god. so  
 ferfurthe þat what tyme we ben oure selfe in peace and  
 in charite. We be verely saufe. but for þat we may not  
 haue þis in fulnes while we ben here. therfore it befallyth  
 vs euere more to lyue in swete prayer. and in louely  
 longyng with our lorde

(132) Chapter 40, 20-24.

89r.

ihesu .

[Revelation 14]

(133) Also oure lorde shewed for prayer. in whiche  
 shewyng I saw two condicions in our lordis meanyng.  
 oon is right full prayer. and þe oþer is sure truste. But  
 yet ofte tymis our truste is not full. for we be not sure  
 þat god heryth vs as we thynke for oure vn worthynes.  
and for þat we fele no thyng. For we be as bareyne and  
 as drye often tymes aftir oure prayer as we were before.  
 and þus in oure feylyng. oure foly is cause of oure  
 wekenes. For þus I haue felt in my selfe. And all þus  
 brought

(133) Chapter 41, 1-26.

<sup>231</sup> Marginal : pointing finger.

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oure lorde sodenly to my mynde and shewed thees wordis and seyed. I am grounde of þi besekyng. firste it is my wyll þat þou haue it. and I make þe to wyll it. how shulde it than be þat þou shuldste not haue þi besekyng seeth I make þe to besekyng it. and þou besekist it. And þus in þe ferst reson of þe thre þat folowyth our lord god shewyth a myghty confort as may be seyeng in the same wordis in þe ferste reson. where he seyeth and þou besekyst it. there he shewyth full grete plesance. and endeles mede þat he

90r.

wyll yeue vs for our besekyng. And in þe sexte reason there he seyeth. how shulde it þan be. þis was seyed for a vnpossible. For it was þe moste vnpossible þat may be þat we shulde beseke mercy and grace. and not haue it. For of all thyng þat our lord makyth vs to beseke. hym selfe hath ordeyned it to vs fro withoute begynnyng. here may we \\see//<sup>232</sup> than þat oure besekyng is not cause of þe goodnes and grace þat he dothe vnto vs. but his [-- his] owne proper goodnes. and þat shewyth he sothfastly in all þees swete wordys. there he seyeth

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I am grounde (134) of thi prayer and of thi besekyng. (135) And oure lorde wyll þat this beknownen of all his louers in erthe. and þe more þat we knowe it. þe more shulde we beseke it. yf it be wysely taken. and so is our lordis menyng. Wyse sckyne is a trew gracious lestyng wyll of þe soule. oned' and fastened in to the wyll of oure lorde god hymselfe. he is þe furste resceyuer of our prayer as to my syght. and he takyth it ryght thankfully and hyghly enioyeth. he sendyth it vp a boue and settyth it in tresory. where it shall neuer peryshe. It is

(134) Compiler's repetition of this phrase.  
(135) Chapter 41, 26-42.

91r.

there before god with all his holy company contynually resceyuyd. euer spedyng oure nedis. And when we shall vndersong<sup>233</sup> our blysse : it shall be yeue vs for a degree of ioye with endeles wurshypfull thankynges of hym. Ful glad and mery is our lord god of our prayer. he lokith þer aftir and he wolde haue it. For with his grace it makith vs lyke to hym selfe in condition. as we be in kynde. Also he seyeth pray though þou thynke it sauour

<sup>232</sup> Later hand, different ink.

<sup>233</sup> Sic.

þe not. (136) Also to prayer : langith thankyng.  
Thankyng : is a trewe inwarde knowyng with

(136) Chapter 41, 56-67.

91v.

grete reuerence and louely drede turnyng our selfe with  
all our<sup>234</sup> myghtis in to þe wurkyng þat oure lorde god  
steryd us to. inoyeng and thankyng hym inwardely. and  
som tyme with plenteousnes it brekith owte with voyce.  
and seyth good lord graunt mercy. blessed mote þou be.  
And some tyme when thy harte is drye. and felyth  
nought. or else by temptation of our enymye. than it is  
dryuen by reason and by grace to kryc vp on oure lorde  
with voyce rehersyng his blessed passion and his grete  
goodnes. and so þe vertue

92r.

of our lordis worde turnyth in to þe soule and quicknyth  
the hart and entrith in by his grace in to trewe wurkyng.  
and makith it to pray full blessedly. To enioy in our  
lorde god. it is a louely thankyng in his syght. (137) Our  
lord wyll þat we haue trewe vndirstondyng. and namely  
in thre thyng þat longith to oure prayer. The fyrste is by  
whom and how þat our prayer spryngith. by whom he  
shewed whom he seyde. I am grounde. And how by his  
goodnes. for he seyeth fyrst. it is my wyll. And for þe  
secunde in what maner and how

(137) Chapter 42, 2-40.

92v.

we shulde pray. That is þat oure wyll be turned in to þe  
wyll of oure lorde god enioyenge. And so meanyth he.  
Whan he seyth. I make þe to wyll yt. For the thyrde. þat  
we knowe þe fruyt and thende of oure prayer. That is to  
be oned and lyke to oure lord in all thyng. And to þis  
menyng and for þis ende was all þis louely lesson  
shewed. and he wyll helpe vs. and he shall make it so as  
he seyeth hym selfe blessed mote he be. for this is oure  
lordis wyl. þat oure prayer and oure truste be both a  
lyke large. For yf we truste<sup>235</sup>

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not as moche as we pray : we do not full wurship to  
oure lorde in our prayer. and also we tary and peyne our  
selfe. And þe cause is. as I beleue. For we know not  
truely þat our lord god is grounde hym selfe of whom  
our prayer spryngith. And also þat we know not þat it is  
yeuen vs by his grace of his grete and tender loue. For yf

<sup>234</sup> Marginal : "[---]ratian (?) actio".

<sup>235</sup> Marginal : "Spes".

we knewe this. it wolde make vs truste to haue of oure lordes yefte. all þat we desyre. For I am sure þat no man þat askyth mercy and grace with true menyng, but mercy and grace be fyrst yeue

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vnto hym. But somme tymes yt commyth to oure minde þat we haue prayed long tyme. and yet we thynke þat we haue not oure askyng. but here fore shulde not we be heuy. For I am sure by oure lordis menyng. þat eyther we abyde. a better tyme. or more grace. or else a better yefte. He wyll þat we haue trewe knowyng in hym selfe. þat he is beyng. And in thys knowyng he wyll þat oure vnderstandyng be grounded with all oure manyng. And in thys grounde he wyll þat we take oure

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stede and our wonyng. and by þe gracious lyght of hym selfe. he wyll þat we haue vnderstandyng of thre thynges. The fyrste is thi noble and excellent makyng. The secunde is þe precious and dereworthy ayen byeng. The thirde is þat all þyng þat he hath made beneth vs : to serue vs. he for our loue kepith it. Than menyth he thus. as yf he seyed. beholde and se þat I haue done all this. before thy prayer. and now þou art<sup>236</sup> and prayeste me. And þis our lord god manyth. þat it longith to vs for to wette þat þe grettist

94v<sup>237</sup>

dedis be done as holy churche techyth. (138) And in thee selfe. (139) to our soulis we haue þat we desire. and than we se not for the tyme what we shulde mor pray. but all our entent with all our myghtis is sett wholi in to þe beholdyng of hym. and þis is an high and vnparceable prayer. as to my sight. For all þe cause wherefore we pray. is onyd in to þe sight and þe beholdyng of hym to whom we pray merueylously enioyenge with reuerent drede and so grete swetnes and delite in hym þat we can not pray

(138) unidentified and incoherent.

(139) Chapter 43, 19-59.

95r.

no thyng. but as he steryth vs for þe tyme. And well I wote. the more þe soule seeth of god : the more it desyreth hym by grace. But when we se hym not so :<sup>238</sup>

<sup>236</sup> Arrow (in different ink) pointing that something has to be inserted here, but nothing has been.

<sup>237</sup> In the middle of the bottom margin of the page : "so great".

<sup>238</sup> Punctus elevatus.

than fele we nede and cause to pray. for faylyng and for  
ablyng of oure selfe to our lorde ihesu . For when a  
soule is tempestet and troubled. and lefte to it selfe :<sup>239</sup>  
than ys tyme to pray. to make hym selfe souple and  
buxum to god :<sup>240</sup> but he. by no maner of prayer makith  
god souple to hym. for he is euer a lyke in loue. // And  
þus I saw. þat what ty-

95v.

me we sedis<sup>241</sup> wherfor we pray. than our lord god  
folowyth vs helpynge our desyre. And whan we of his  
speciall grace pleyndly beholdith hym seyng noo oper  
nedis :<sup>242</sup> than we folowith hym and he drawyth vs in to  
hym by loue. For I saw and felt þat his merueylous and  
his fulsum goodnes fulfyllith all other myghtis. and  
therwith I sawe þat his continuyng wurkyng in all  
maner thyng is done so godly. so wysely. and so  
myghtily þat it plesith all our ymagynyng. and all þat we  
can meane and thynke. and than

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we can do no more but behold him and enioying with a  
myghti desyre to be all onyd in to hym and entende to  
his wo[~~--w~~]/n<sup>243</sup>yng and enioyng in his loue and delyte  
in his goodnes. And þer by his swete grace shall we in  
our owne meke continuyng prayer commyng \come/<sup>244</sup>  
vnto hym now in þis lyf by many prevey touchynges of  
swete gostly syghtis and felyng mesured to vs. as oure  
symplenes may beer it. And this is wrought and shall be.  
by þe grace of þe holy goost. so longe tyll we shall deye  
in longyng for loue.

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And than shall we all come in to oure lord god oure  
selfe clerely knowyng. and god fulsomly hauyng. and we  
endelesly be had all in god. hym verely seyng and  
fulsomly felyng. and hym goostly felyng and hym  
goostly heryng and delytably smellyng. and swetely  
swallowyng. and thus shall we se god face to face. homly  
and fulsomly. The creature þat is made shall se and  
endelesly beholde god þat is the maker. for þus may no

<sup>239</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>240</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>241</sup> Contraction of "we se nedis". See Colledge and Walsh, *A Book of Showings*, p. 479, line 33 : "we se nedc".

<sup>242</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>243</sup> Above the line, later hand. The correction is the wrong reading of this word. What is referred to here is God's wooing of the soul.

<sup>244</sup> Later hand, different ink.

man se god and leue afir. that is to sey in þis dedly lyf.  
But whan he of his speciall

97r.

grace wyll shew hym here. he strengtith þe creature a  
boue þe selfe. and he mesuryth the shewynge afir his  
owne wyl. as it is moste profitable for the tyme.

(140) Trewth seeth god. and wysedom beholdith god.  
and of thees two commynth þe thryd. and þat is a  
merueylous holi delite in god. Whiche is loue. where  
trewth and wysdom ys. verely there is loue and veryli  
commynge of them both. and all of goddis makynge. For  
god is endeles souereyne trowth endeles. souereyne  
wysedom endeles. souereyne loue vn-

(140) Chapter 44, 8-21.

97v.

made. And mannys soule is a creature in god. the  
whyche hath þe same propertees made. and euer more it  
dothe þat it was made fore. it seeth god. and it beholdith  
god. and yt louyth god.<sup>245</sup> where god enioyeth in þe  
creature. and þe creature enioyeth in god. endelesly  
merueylyng. in the which merueylyng he seeth his god.  
his lorde. his maker so high. so grete and so good in  
rewarde of hym þat is made þat vnethis the creature  
semyth nought to it selfe. but þe clerenes and clenness of  
trowth and wysedom makith

98r.

hym to se and to be knowen þat he is made for loue. in  
whiche loue god endelesly kepith hym. (141) Also he  
wyll þat we wett þat oure soule is a lyf. whiche lyf of his  
goodnes and grace shall leste in heuen with oute ende.  
hym louyng. hym thankyng. and hym praysyng. (142)  
Also he wyll þat we wett þat þe nobleste thyng þat euer  
he made is mankynde. and þe fulleste substance. and þe  
hycste vertue is þe blessed soule of criste. And ferther  
more he wyll þat we know þat þis dereworthy soule was  
preciously knytt to hym in the ma-

(141) Chapter 53, 52-54.

(142) Chapter 53, 56-64.

98v.

kyng. Whiche knat is so sotyl and so myghty. þat it is  
oned in to god. in whiche onynge it is made endelesly  
holy. Ferther more he wyll þat we wett and vnderstonde.  
þat all þe soulis þat shall be sauyd in heuen with oute  
ende be knytt in thys knot. and onyd in þis onynge. and  
made holy in þis holines. (143) and for grete endeles  
loue þat god hath to all mankynde. he makyth no

(143) Chapter 54, 2-16.

<sup>245</sup> Punctus elevatus.

departyng in loue betwene þe blessed soule of criste.  
and þe leeste soule þat shall be sauýd. for it is well easy  
to lyue and to trowe. þat þe dwellyng of þe

99r.

blessed soule of criste is full high in þe glorious godhed.  
and sothly as I vnderstand in oure lordis menyng. where  
þe blessed soule of criste is. there is þe substance of all  
þe soulis þat shalbe sauýd by criste. hyghly ought we to  
enjoy þat god dwellith in oure soule. and meche more  
hyly we ought to enjoy þat oure soule dwellith in god.  
Our soule is made to be goddis dwellyng place. and þe  
dwellyng place of oure soule is in god. whiche is  
vmade. A hyghe vnderstandyng it is inwardly to se and  
to knowe þat god which

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is oure maker. dwellyth in oure soule. And a hygher  
vndirstondyng it is and more inwardly to se and to know  
oure soule þat is made dwellyth in god in substance. of  
whiche substance by god we be þat we be. (144) Also  
þe almighty trouthe of þe trynity is oure fader. for he  
made vs. and kepith vs in hym. And þe deepe wysedome  
of þe trynity is oure moder. in whom we be all enclosed.  
and þe high goodnes of þe trynity is oure lord and in  
hym we ar closed. and he is in vs.

(145) almyghty. all wisdom and all goodnes. oon god.  
oon

(144) Chapter 54, 20-23.

(145) Chapter 54, 26-27.

100r.

lorde. and oon goodnes. (146) Also I saw þat criste. all  
hauyng vs in hym. þat shall be sauýd by hym.  
wurshypfully presentyth his fader in heuyn with vs  
whiche present well thankfully his father resceyuyth.  
and curteysly yeuyth it to his sonne ihesu criste. Whiche  
yefte and wurkyng is ioye to the fader. and blisse to the  
sone. and lykyng to þe holy gooste. And of all thyng þat  
to vs longyth. it is moste lykyng to oure lorde þat we  
enjoy in this ioye. Whiche is in the blessed trynity of  
oure saluacion. (147) Also I sawe ful surely. þat it

(146) Chapter 55, 3-10.

(147) Chapter 56, 2-18.

100v.

is redyer to vs and more easy to comme to þe knowyng  
of god than to knowyng of oure owne soule. For oure  
soule is so depe grounded in god. and so endelesly  
tresored : þat we may not comme to the knowyng  
therof. tyll we haue fyrste knowyng of god whiche is þe



maker :<sup>246</sup> to whom it is oned. But not with stondyng. I sawe þat we haue kyndely of fulnes to desyre wysely. and truely to knowe our owne soule. wherby we ar lerned to seke it there it is. and þat is in god. and þus by the gracious ledyng of þe holy

101r.

gooste. we shulde knowe them bothe in oon. Whether we be stered to knowe god or our selfe soule. it ar bothe good and trewe. God in nerer to vs þan oure owne soule. for he is grounde in whom oure soule stondyth. and he is mene þat kepith þe substance and þe sensuallite together so þat it shall neuer depart. for oure soule syttith in god. in verey reste. and oure soule standith in god in sure strength. and oure soule is kyndely rooted in god. in endelesse loue. and perfore yf we wylle haue knowyng of oure soule and communynge and da-

101v.

liance þerwith : it behovyth to seke in to oure lord god in whom it is enclosyd. (148) And annentis oure substance it may ryghtfully be called our soule. and anentis oure sensualite it may ryghtfull be called our soule. and þat is by þe onyng þat it hath in god. that wurshypfull cite þat oure lord ihesu syttith in. it is our sensualite in whiche he is enclosed. and our kyndely substance is beclosyd in ihesu criste. with þe blessed soule of cryste syttyng in reste in þe godhed. And I sawe ful surely þat it behouyth nedis

(148) Chapter 56, 20-37.

102r.

þat we shall be in longyng and in penance. in to þe tyme þat we be led so depe in to god. þat we may verely and truely know oure owne soule. And sothly I saw þat in to thys hygh depenes oure lorde hym selfe ledith vs in þe same loue þat he made vs. and in þe same loue þat he bought vs. bi his mercy and grace þrough vertue of his blessed passion. And not withstondyng all þis we may neuer comme to the full knowyng of god. tyll we first know clerely oure owne soule. For into þe tyme þat it be in the

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full myghtis we may not be all full holy and þat is þat oure sensualite. by þe vertue of cristes passion be

<sup>246</sup> Punctus elevatus.

brought vp into þe substance with all the profits of oure tribulacion þat oure lorde shall make vs to gete by mercy and grace. (149) Also as verely as god is oure fader. so vereli god is oure moder.<sup>247</sup> and þat shewyth he in all and namely in þees swe=te wordis. there as he seyeth. I it am. þat is to sey. I it am. the myght and goodnes of fadirhed. I it am. the wysedome and þe kyndenes of moderhed. I it am. the lyght and þe grace þat

(149) Chapter 59, 12-23.

103r.

is all blessed loue. I it am. the trinite. I it am. the vnite. I it am. the hygh souereyne goodnes of all maner thyng. I it am. that makith þe to loue. I it am. þat makith the to longe. þe endeles fullnes of all trew desyres. For ther the soule is hygheste. nobeleste and worthyeste. there it is lowyst. mekyste and mildist. And of this substanciall ground we haue all oure vertues in oure sensualite by right of kynde. and by helpyng and spedyng of mercy and grace withoute the whiche we may not profite. (150) Also ihesu þe secunde person in trinite

(150) Compiler's transitional phrase

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in whom is the fader and the holy gooste. (151) he is verely our moder in kynde of our first making. and he is oure verely moder in grace. by takyng of our kynde made. (152) I vnderstond thre maner of beholdyng of moderhed in god. The fyrste is grounde of oure kynde making. The secunde is takyng of oure kynde. and þere begynnyth þe moderhed of grace. the thyrde is moderhed of werkyng and þer in is a furthe spredyng by þe same grace of length and of brede. of heyp and of depenesse without ende.

(151) Chapter 59, 37-38.

(152) Chapter 59, 43-48.

104r.

and all is oon loue. (153) But now me behouyth to sey a litil more of this furthe spredyng. As I vnderstode. in þe mcnynge of oure lorde. how þat we be brought ayen by þe mod'hed of mercy and grace into our kyndely stede. Where þat we wer made by þe moderhed of kynde loue.<sup>248</sup> whiche kynde loue þat neuer leuith vs. Oure kynde moder oure gracious moder. for he wolde all wholly becomme our moder in all þing. he toke þe grounde of his werke full lowe and full myldely in þe maydens wombe. (154) takyng fleshe of her. (155) redy in

(153) Chapter 60, 2-9.

(154) Compiler's phrase.

(155) Chapter 60, 13-65.

<sup>247</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>248</sup> Punctus elevatus.

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oure pore fleshe hym selfe to do þe seruyce and þe office of moderhed in all thyng. the moders seruyce. is nereste. redieste and sureste. It is nereste for it ys of kynde. redieste for it is most of loue. and sureste for it is of trewth. This office ne myght ne coude neuer non do to the full. but criste ihesu god and man alone. We knowe wel þat all oure moders bere vs with peyne and to deyeng. but our verey moder ihesu . he alone beryth vs to ioy and to blysse. and endeles lykyng blessed moste he be. Thus he sustey-

105r.

nyth vs within hym in loue. And traueyled in to þe full tyme þat he wolde suffer the sharpeste throwes. and the greuouste peynes þat euer were or euer shall be. and deyed at þe laste. And when he had done and so borne vs to blysse. yet myght not all þis make a sythe to his meruelous loue. and þat shewed he in thees hygh ouerpassyng wordis of loue. yf I myght suffer more I wolde suffer more. he myght no more dye but he wolde not stynt of workyng. Wherfor than hym behouyth to fede vs.

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for the dereworthy loue of moderhed hath made hym dettour to vs. The moder may yeue her chylde to souke her<sup>249</sup> mylke. but our precious moder ihesu . he may fede vs with hym selfe. and dothe full curteysly and full tenderly with þe blessed sacrament of his body and blode þat is precious fode of verey lif. and with all the swete sacramentis he susteynith vs well mercyfully and graciously. and soo mente he in thees gracious wordys. where he seyeth. I it am þat holy church prechyth the and techyth the. þat is to sey.

106r.

all þe helthe and þe lyf of sacramentis. all þe vertue and þe grace of my worde. all þe goodnes þat is ordeyned in holy church to be /I<sup>250</sup> it am. The moder may ley her chylde tenderly to her breste. but oure tender lorde ihesu he may homly lede us <sup>to</sup>/<sup>251</sup> his blessed breste by his swete open syde. and shewe vs there in party of his godhed. and þe ioyes of heuen with goostly surenesse of

<sup>249</sup> Marginal : "Eucharistia".

<sup>250</sup> Later hand, different ink.

<sup>251</sup> Above the line, scribal insertion.

endeles blysse. that shewed he in thees swete wordis.  
wher he seyde. loo how I loued the. beholdynge in to his  
syde. enioyeng this feyre louely worde. moder

106v.

it is so swete and so kynde in it selfe.<sup>252</sup> þat it ne may  
vereyly be seyde of noon ne to noon. but to hym and of  
hym þat is verey moder of lyfe and all. to þe properte of  
moderhed. belongyth kynde loue wysedom and  
knowyng. and it is god. For though it be so þat oure  
bodyly furth brynging be but lytyll. lowe and symple in  
rew<sup>253</sup>arde of oure gostely furthbrynger. yet it is he  
þat dothe it in the creature. by whom þat it is done. The  
kynde louynge moder þat wote and knowyth þe nede of  
her chylde. She kepith it full tenderly.as

107r.

the kynde and condicion of moderhed wyll. And euer as  
it waxith in age and in stature so she chaungith her  
wurkyng. but not her loue. and whan it is waxen of  
more age. she sufferith it to be chastisyd in brekyng  
downe of vices to make þe chylde to resceyue vertues  
and grace. This working with all oper þat be our good  
lord doth in them by whom it is done. Thus he is our  
moder in kynde by þe wurkyng of grace in vs. lower  
partith for loue of the hygher. And he whiche þat we  
knowen it. for he wolde

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haue all oure loue fastened to hym. And in þis I sawe  
þat all oure dettes þat we owe by godis byddyng it is to  
faderhed and moderhed. is fulfilled in trow louynge of  
god. whiche blessed loue criste workyth in vs. and þis  
was shewed in all. and namely in þe high plenteousnes  
wordis where he seyde. I it am. that þou louyst. (156)  
And in oure goostly furthbryngyng he vsyth more  
tendernes in kepyng withoute comparison. by as meche  
as oure soule is of more price in his syght. he kendelyth  
oure vndirstondyng. he

(156) Chapter 61, 2-20.

108r.

addith oure weyes. he esyth oure consciens. he  
confortith oure soule. he lyghth our hart and yeuyth vs  
in party knowyng and louyng in his blessed godhed. with  
gracious mynde in his manhed and his blessed passion.  
With curteys merueylyng in his high ouerpassing

<sup>252</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>253</sup> Above the line, later hand, different ink.

goodnes. and makyth vs to loue all þat he louyth. for his loue. and to be payed with hym and with all þat he dothe and in all his werkes. and whan we fall hastily. he reysith vs by his louely beclepping and his gracious touchyng. and when we be strengthened by his

108v.

swete wurkyng. than we wyllfully chose hym by his grace to be his seruantis and his louers lastingly withoute ende. And yet after þis he sufferith somme of vs to fall more greuously and more hard þan euer we dydde before. as we thynkyth. and þen wenn we þe whiche be not all wise. þat all were nought þat we haue begonne. but þat is not so. for it nedith vs to fall. and it nedith vs to know it and to se it. For yf we fall not. we shuld not know how feble and how wretched we be of oure selfe. (157) And also it nedith vs to see oure

(157) Chapter 61, 31-34.

109r.

fallyng. for yf we se it not. though we fall. it shulde not profite vs. and commonly first we fall and after we se it. and thorough þat syght by þe mercy of god. we be lowe and meke. (158) The moder may suffer her childe to perishe <sup>254</sup> but oure heuenly moder ihesu criste may neuer suffer vs þat be his chyldryn to peryshe for he is almyghty. all wysedomm and all loue. and so is noon but he. blessed mote he be. Also often tymes when oure fallyng and oure wretchednes is shewed vs. we be so sore a dred and so gretely ashamed of

(158) Chapter 61, 37-73.

109v.

oure selfe þat vnnethis we wet where þat we may holde vs. But than wyll not oure curteys modir. þat we flee a wey <sup>255</sup> for hym were no þing lother. but he wyll þan þat we vse þe condicion of a chylde. for when it is diseasid or a dred. than yt rennyth hastily to þe moder. and yf may do no more. it cryeth on þe moder for helpe with all þe myghtis. So will oure lorde þat we do as a meke chylde. sayeng thus. my kynd moder. my gracious modyr. my dereworthy moder haue mercy on me. I haue made

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selfe foule and vnyke to þe. and I ne may ne can amende yt. but with thyne helpe and grace. and yf we fele vs not eased than as sone. than be we sure þat he

<sup>254</sup> Punctus elevatus.

<sup>255</sup> Punctus elevatus.

vsyth þe condicion of a wyse modir. For yf he se þat it be more profite to vs for to wepe and moorne. than he wil suffer it with ruyth and pytey in to þe beste tyme for loue. And he wyll þan. þat we vse þe properte of \a<sup>256</sup> chylde þat euer more kyndly trustith to þe loue of þe moder in well and in wo. And our lord god wyll þat we take vs myghtily to þe feyth of holy

110v.

churche. and fynde there oure dereworthy moder in solace of trew vndirstondyng with all þe blessed commonn. For oon singular person may ofte tymes be broken<sup>257</sup> as it semyth to þe selfe. But þe whole body of holy churche was neuer broken ne neuer shall with oute ende. And þefore a sure thyng it is and good and gracious to wyll mekely and myghtily fastened and oned to oure moder holy churche þat is criste ihesu. for þe flood of mercy þat is his dereworthy blode and preciose water. it is plenteous to make vs feyre and clene. the blessedde

111r.

woundis of oure sauour ben open and enioye to hele vs. þe swete gracious handis of oure modyr be redy and dilygent about vs. For he in all þis wurkyng vsyth the verey office of akynd norse. þat hath noþinge else to do. but to attende aboute þe saluacion of her chylde. It is the office of our lorde ihesu criste to saue vs. it is his wurshyppe to do it. and it is his wyll we know it. For he wyll þat we loue hym swetely. and truste on hym mekely and myghtily. and this he shewed in thees graciose wordis. I kepe þee full

111v.

surely. (159) ferther more a kyndely chylde despeyryth not of þe moders loue. and kyndely þe chylde presumyth not of it selfe. kyndly þe chylde louyth þe moder and eche of them both oþer.

(159) Chapter 63, 38-40.

[Revelation 15]

(160) Also I had grete desyre and longynge of godis yeste to be delyuered of þis worlde and of þis lyfe. For ofte tymes I beheld þe wo þat is here in þis lyfe. and þe wele and þe blessed beyng þat is in heuyn. and me thought somme tymes þough þer had be no payne in þis lyfe but þe absence of oure lorde god. it was more þan I

(160) Chapter 64, 5-21.

<sup>256</sup> Above the line, scribal insertion.

<sup>257</sup> Marginal : "[E]cclesia".

myght bere. and þis made

112r.

me to moorne and besyly to long. And also myne owne wretchednesse. slouth and urkenesse halpe þerto. so þat me lyked not to lyue and to traueyle as me fell to do. And to all oure curteis lord god answered for comferte and pacience. and seyde þees wordis. sodeynly þou shalt be taken fro all þi peyne. and fro all thy seykenesse. fro all þi disese. and fro all þi woo. and þou shalt cum<sup>258</sup> vp a boue. and þou shalt haue me to þi mede and rewarde. and þou shalt be fulfilled of ioie and of blysse. and þou shalt neuer more haue no maner of peyne.

112v<sup>259</sup>.

neþer no maner of seykenesse. no maner of myslykyng. ne no wantyng of wyll. but euer in ioie and blysse withouten ende. What shulde it þan greue the to suffer a whyle. Sithen it is my wyll and my wurship.

(161) It is godis wyll that we sett the poynt of our þought in this blessed beholdyng as often as we may and as long.

(161) Chapter 64, 49-50.

<sup>258</sup> The -u with abbreviation mark is followed by a yogh.

<sup>259</sup> Halfway down the page, under the scribe's text : " my self wife benice and fors[??] of all ben Thomas Lowe [4 times] Frauncis Lowe [2 times]".

## Chapter 2 : What and How the Compilation Teaches its Audience

(1) Westminster Cathedral Treasury Ms 4 is a compilation. This means that a compiler put the text it contains together using fragments of four religious texts : a Middle English exposition of Psalm 90, *Qui Habitat*, and a Middle English exposition of psalm 91<sup>1</sup>, *Bonum Est*, Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* and Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*. As can be seen from the identification of the selected fragments alongside the transcript in Chapter 1, the compiler does not mix the fragments of the four texts. The compilation opens with all the fragments from *Qui Habitat*, followed by all the fragments from *Bonum Est*, followed by those from the *Scale*, followed by those from the *Revelations*. The compiler also generally presents the fragments of any of the four texts in the order in which they occur in the full versions of the texts. The selected fragments from the *Scale* are an exception, as the compiler jumps to and fro between Book I and Book II, although most of the fragments from Book II are presented in the order in which they occur in the full text. The apparent ease with which the compiler mixes Book I and Book II fragments could indicate that he was more familiar with the *Scale* than with the other texts he uses in the compilation. The compiler also shuffles the fragments he selected from Julian's revelation 9 (Long Text chapters 22 and 23) around in order to emphasise certain meanings. The person who compiled the text we find in Treasury 4 can be said to have mainly worked linearly : we can imagine him going through the texts one by one, deciding to put in the fragments that suited his purposes and leaving out those that did not. As he worked with fragments from existing texts only, the compiler's hand is visible only in his choice of texts to copy fragments from, in the order in which he decided to present the texts, in the in- and exclusion of fragments from these texts and the order in which he presented them, if this is different from the original texts.

In the prologue to his *Sentences* commentary Bonaventure distinguishes between the roles of a *scriptor*, a *compiler*, a *commentator* and an *auctor* (in ascending order of importance and of responsibility for what one wrote)<sup>2</sup>. The *compiler* adds together, or

<sup>1</sup> Vulgate numbering.

<sup>2</sup> Minnis, A.J. : *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages*. (London : Scolar, 1984), p. 94. The *auctores* of the Middle Ages were only those authors whose texts were authoritative in their field, for instance the Classics (Aristotle and Cicero) and the Church Fathers. An *auctoritas* could also be a text. The Bible was the medieval *auctoritas* par excellence. Often valuable texts that were anonymous would be ascribed to a famous *auctor* and *auctoritas* in order to make it authoritative. Pseudo-Dionysius is a case in point. The term *auctor* would only have been used for a



arranges the statements of other men, adding no opinion of his own (*addendo, sed non de suo*). Although the compiler's part in the writing of the text as we find it in Treasury 4 seems small, we can still give him credit for what he did : he shaped raw materials, and not the least of raw materials, into a text that is more than the sum of its parts.

Contentwise, the compilation of course owes a lot to its source texts, but by the compiler's selection of themes and of fragments which he felt were crucial to the teaching of these themes the compilation possesses greater focus and is more forceful in the emphasis on what the compiler wants to teach his audience than any of the source texts on its own would have been. The compiler clearly did not intend to copy *Qui Habitat, Bonum Est*, the *Scale* and the *Revelations*. He also did not intend to make a florilegium of purple passages from these texts. What the compiler of Treasury 4 wanted to do is to convey a definite message, he wanted to teach his audience the contemplative life. In order to convey this message he used existing materials. The reasons why he might have done this will be discussed elsewhere.

(2) The "contemplative life" here does not necessarily mean the life of religious men and women who chose to live between abbey or convent walls. It refers to a more advanced spiritual life chosen by either religious or lay men and women in order to withdraw themselves completely from the "world"<sup>3</sup> and to devote themselves exclusively to a life of getting to know 'themselves (their souls) and God'<sup>4</sup>. In his *De Adhaerendo Deo* Albertus Magnus described the aim of the advanced contemplative life as follows :

For this is the end of all spiritual exercises : to draw near to God in your own self and to rest in him by means of faith utterly purified and without impressions of external things, by a will wholly faithful, without other ties<sup>5</sup>.

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limited number of texts and people in the Latinate scholastic environment of the Schools of theology. It is highly unlikely that Walter Hilton or Julian of Norwich, both writers of religious texts in the vernacular, would have been called *auctor*.

<sup>3</sup> The concept "world" has multiple meanings, hence it is written between inverted commas. For the contemplative it refers both to the world in its moral sense of a place of sin as well as to the world in its sense of the soul's earthly existence before death. For the enclosed contemplative the sense of the world as the material, cosmic world is added : by living in a limited space, enclosed between four walls, the anchorite and anchoress do not only retreat from the world mentally, but also physically.

<sup>4</sup> A 17<sup>th</sup> century hand has inscribed "Of the Knowledge of Ourselves and of God" as a title in the upper margin of f. 35v. Colledge and Walsh have adopted this title for their 1961 translation of Treasury 4.

<sup>5</sup> Stopp, F. : *Of Cleaving to God*. (Oxford, 1947), p. 17. Quoted in S.S. Hussey : "Walter Hilton : Traditionalist ?" In Glasscoe, Marion, *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England. Papers Read at the Exeter Symposium, July 1980*. (Exeter : University of Exeter, 1980), p. 2.

Very often the contemplatives' withdrawal from the world and their concentration on God was aided by, or mirrored in, a physical environment that supported their lives of meditation and prayer : an anchorite's or anchoress's cell looking out to the altar of the Church it was attached to, or, in the case of anchorites that were priests themselves, containing a small altar.

Writings which taught or described the contemplative life or aspects of it seem to have been in great demand from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards. At any rate, many authors took up the pen to teach their audiences, great or small, general or specific, about the life that they were called to or that the authors wanted them to choose<sup>6</sup>. Treasury 4 clearly figures within the tradition of religious writings which Wolfgang Riehle calls "homiletic"<sup>7</sup> and which could also be called didactic, as it is the compiler's obvious intention to teach his audience how they should turn away from the world and sin, and how they should make their souls humble and pure so that they will be enabled to attain "knowledge of their souls and of God", "to draw near to God within their own self" in contemplation.

We do not know the exact audience the compilation was written for. We do not know if it was written for a lay<sup>8</sup> or religious audience, or if it was written for men or women, although the use of the vernacular might point to a female readership. It is clear however, that the compilation was intended for an audience already advanced in the contemplative life, as will become clear in my analysis of its contents.

(3) How exactly does the compiler teach his advanced audience about the contemplative life ? The compiler has chosen and arranged his source texts and the fragments he has chosen from them in such a way that the themes that are introduced in the *Qui Habitat* fragments are covered again in the fragments from *Bonum Est*, the *Scale* and the *Revelations*. This returning to the same small group of themes throughout the compilation is not just repetitive, as each selection of fragments adds greater detail and the themes tend to be discussed on an increasingly higher level of spiritual experience in

<sup>6</sup> Well-known examples are *Ancrene Wisse*, Aelred of Rievaulx's *Institutio Inclusarum*, Hilton's *Scale* ... I would also include texts like St Bridget's *Book of Revelations* and Julian's *Revelations* or Ruusbroec's *Die chierheit der gheestelicker brulocht* and Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* among these didactic writings, as they doubtlessly also inspired men and women to follow in the saintly author's or subject's footsteps. Margery Kempe, for instance, admits being influenced by St Bridget's *Book of Revelations*.

<sup>7</sup> Riehle, Wolfgang : *The Middle English Mystics*. (London : Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1981), p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> By 'lay' I mean an audience of people who did not belong to a religious order.

the consecutive texts. The text as it were circles around the same centre, but the circles widen as the text advances. The reading process of such a text can be said to be circular as well as linear, as there is both repetition and clear progress towards the ultimate goal of the contemplative life the compilation aims to teach its audience. In a 1979 modernisation of the *Scale* this constant returning to a small set of themes was compared to "the upward progress of a spiral staircase"<sup>9</sup>.

Such "spiral staircase" texts invite and incite their audience to meditate on and to consider the contents of the text again and again, thereby imitating the monastic reading practice, the *meditatio*<sup>10</sup>. *Meditatio* is the second moment of the *lectio divina*<sup>11</sup> and it stands for the committing to memory of Scripture, by going over the text again and again in one's mind, by, in the frequently used image, chewing and ruminating the text. "*Ruminatio*," writes Mary Carruthers, "is an image of regurgitation, quite literally intended; the memory is a stomach, the stored texts are the sweet-smelling cud originally drawn from the meadows of books (or lecture), they are chewed in the palate."<sup>12</sup> In compiling Treasury 4, the compiler went through this process of ruminating a small group of themes in all four texts and then left the process ready for his audience to go through. At the same time, the repetition of the themes in, say, the *Scale* fragments might have invited reconsideration and rumination of these themes and what was said about them in the earlier selections of fragments and might also have made the audience wonder what the treatment of these themes would be in that part of the compilation that still remained to be read. When the audience had read through the compilation as a whole, its central message had been repeated to them so many times that they had ruminated it already simply by going through the compilation linearly. This effect may well have been strengthened by the audience's own inclination to pause and ruminate parts or the whole of the text on their own. I believe that the way Treasury 4 was structured shows that the compiler wanted to imprint what he believed to be the central

<sup>9</sup> The simile is M. del Mastro's. See Sargent, Michael G. : "The Organization of the *Scale of Perfection*", p. 231 and p. 260, note 3. In : Glasscoe, Marion [ed.] *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England. Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1982*. (Exeter, University of Exeter, 1982) pp. 231-261.

<sup>10</sup> Different from meditation on the humanity of Christ that leads to compassion.

<sup>11</sup> "The goal of *lectio divina* relates to both prayer and study, the four moments, *lectio* (active reading), *meditatio* (meditating), *oratio* (prayer) and *contemplatio* (contemplation), are reading aloud and memorising the Scriptures in a way that integrates the mind, the heart, the will and the body." Hyde, Kerrie : "The showings of Julian of Norwich as a *Lectio Divina*". *Tjurunga* 49 (1996), p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Carruthers, Mary : *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 165.

tenets of the contemplative life deeply onto his audience's memories. In this chapter I aim to show how the compiler achieved this.

## 2.1 "My vptakar art thou. my refute" : The *Qui Habitat* Fragments.

### 2.1.1 *The themes of the compilation and the mystical tradition.*

In accordance with Albertus Magnus' formulation of the aim of the contemplative life, the *Qui Habitat* fragments teach their audience that

- (i)
  - a. their faith should be utterly purified.
  - b. they should be free from all impressions of external things and from all external ties.
  - c. their will should become wholly faithful to God through pure faith and freedom from external influences.
- (ii) they should draw near to God in their own selves by means of prayer and meditation.
- (iii) they will rest in God if their souls are pure and humble and if they draw near to God by means of meditation.

In a shorter form the stages of the contemplative life as they are taught in the *Qui Habitat* fragments could be schematised as follows :

- (i) purgation
- (ii) recollection, meditation, devotion
- (iii) mystical union

This is the "classic" scheme Cuthbert Butler distilled from the writings of both Gregory the Great and Bernard of Clairvaux<sup>13</sup>.

If one were to adopt the scheme of affective spirituality, as Denise Baker discusses it in a recent study of the *Revelations of Divine Love*<sup>14</sup>, the terminology for the three stages would become :

- (i) contrition
- (ii) compassion
- (iii) contemplation

<sup>13</sup> Butler, Cuthbert : *Western Mysticism. The Teaching of SS. Augustine, Gregory and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life.* (London : Constable, 1926).

<sup>14</sup> Baker, Denise Nowakowski : *Julian of Norwich's Showings. From Vision to Book.* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1994).

Typical for the late medieval period is the importance of meditation in the contemplative life. Many texts urge their audiences to meditate on events in the life of Christ, especially the Passion, as they were found in the Scriptures or in the Apocrypha. These meditations were considered to be the starting point for the soul's ascent to God.

In the contemplative scheme of things it was natural that consideration of Christ's manhood should precede considerations of his godhead and it was one of the main ways of preparing the soul for God<sup>15</sup>.

The visual arts of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries can be taken as an illustration as well as a source of the popularity of meditation on the life of Christ and show the increased emotional involvement of both artist and viewer. Christ on the Cross is no longer represented in Majesty, untouched by suffering, but as the suffering human being whose features are distorted by extreme pain and whose body bears the marks of the scourging and the nails.

This late medieval "human interest" in the life of Christ has its roots, as Denise Baker points out, in a change in "Western religious consciousness that occurred between about 1050 and 1200"<sup>16</sup>. Baker points to Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* (1098) as "one of the catalysts for this change". Anselm's soteriology outlined in this work concentrated on the humanity of Christ. God became man in Christ because humanity's sins could only be atoned for by a human being.

For when death had entered into the human race through man's disobedience, it was fitting that life should be restored through the obedience of man. When the sin which was the cause of our condemnation had its beginning from a woman, it was fitting for the author of our justice and salvation to be born of a woman. Since the devil, when he tempted man, conquered him by the tasting of a tree, it was fitting for him to be conquered by man's bearing of suffering on a tree<sup>17</sup>.

As ordinary mortals lacked the strength to accomplish this tremendous act of atonement, the redeemer had to be both man and God. Anselm's stress on the necessity of the Incarnation and the humanity of Christ was not only an expression of theology on a theoretical level. His view would also influence practical theology, the way people lived their beliefs, as it was "a deliberate way of saying how important it is that human beings

<sup>15</sup> Hussey, "Walter Hilton : Traditionalist ?", p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Baker, *Julian of Norwich's Showings*, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Baker, pp. 17-18 (see also note 10, p. 172).

are enabled by God to cooperate in their own salvation"<sup>18</sup>, or, in other words, an invitation to a way of life intent on God. Thus we find the germs of the late medieval concentration on the emotional aspects of religion in Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* as Christ's/God's solidarity with humanity, a theme (for Anselm doubtlessly a reality) he elaborated in his *Prayers*<sup>19</sup>. By putting the humanity of Christ at the centre of his salvation theology as well as at the centre of his devotion, Anselm fundamentally reshaped the theological as well as the devotional landscape of centuries to come. Abelard, Aquinas, Bonaventure and Bernard all emphasize "the love Christ expressed for humanity in his passion", complemented in devotion by the "emphasis on humanity's duty to reciprocate this love through compassion for Christ"<sup>20</sup>. In the late middle ages these aspects of the soul's relationship with God were increasingly focused on and determined the teaching of the contemplative life as well as the way the contemplative life was experienced to a considerable extent.

In what follows, we will have a closer look at how the compilation teaches the different stages of the contemplative life and how it fits in the late medieval mystical tradition that was described above.

### 2.1.2 From the "myre of synne" to "þe helpe of the hyste".

(1) The *Qui Habitat* fragments describe the need for the contemplatives-to-be to turn away from the world and its sins and temptations in order to find true rest in God, whose love and presence can be experienced in the earthly life. These themes, central to the *Qui Habitat* exposition will become the central themes of the entire compilation.

If we want to understand the exact nature of Treasury 4 I believe we should try and understand why the compiler chose fragments from the *Qui Habitat* exposition to open

<sup>18</sup> Nuth, Joan M. : "Two Medieval Soteriologies : Anselm of Canterbury and Julian of Norwich". *Theological Studies* 53 (1992), p. 623.

<sup>19</sup> A good example of this can be found in "A Prayer to Christ" : "Why, O my soul, were you not there / to be pierced by a sword of bitter sorrow / when you could not bear / the piercing of your Saviour with a lance ? / Why could you not bear to see / the nails violate the hands and feet of your Creator ? / Why did you not see with horror / the blood that poured out of the side of your Redeemer ? / Why were you not drunk with bitter tears / when they gave him bitter gall to drink ? / Why did you not share / the sufferings of the most pure virgin, / his worthy mother and your gentle lady ?" In : *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm with the Proslogion*. Translated by Benedicta Ward. (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1973), p. 95, lines 79-91.

<sup>20</sup> Baker, *Julian of Norwich's Showings*, p. 19.

his text. In the surviving manuscripts<sup>21</sup> that contain the Middle English psalm expositions of *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est*, the exposition of *Qui Habitat* always precedes the *Bonum Est* exposition, obviously for reasons of numerical ordering : in the Book of Psalms psalm 90 precedes psalm 91. We have seen that the compiler generally goes through the texts he selects from linearly. He could have simply done so with the psalm expositions as well. But even if this is so, I believe there are additional reasons why the *Qui Habitat* fragments serve their purpose of opening this compilation extraordinarily well.

In the liturgy psalm 90 is sung during the Sunday vespers service, but it is also a central part of the liturgy of the first Sunday of Lent and the following days. This means that it is a psalm strongly associated with conversion and repentance, issues that are also addressed in the psalm itself, and the beginning of the liturgical period leading up to Easter. Thus psalm 90 is associated with the change in inward and outward behaviour that christians should adopt in order to prepare themselves for the most important feast of the liturgical calendar. As the contemplative life presupposes an initial stage of purification from sins and of turning away from the world, psalm 90 is an eligible text to use as a starting point in a text that aims to teach its audience how they can achieve unity with the divine.

In addition to its prominent position in the liturgy at the beginning of Lent, psalm 90 also has a very special significance in the life of Christ, as its verses 11 and 12 were used by the devil to tempt Christ in the desert.

Et dixit ei si Filius Dei es mitte te deorsum scriptum est enim quia angelis suis mandabit de te et in manibus tollent te ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum.

(Matthew, 4 : 6)

Bernard points out in one of his seventeen sermons on *Qui Habitat* that the devil left out part of verse 11 ("ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis") as to throw oneself down is not a way (also implying that the angels will not guard him should he throw himself down)<sup>22</sup>. It is remarkable that the Middle English exposition of the psalm does not contain a single reference to the temptation of Christ in the desert. Earlier psalm commentators,

<sup>21</sup> Vernon. MS. Eng. Poet a.1.; Univ. Lib. Cam. MS. Dd.I.1.; Univ. Lib. Cam. MS.Hh.I.11. and MS. Lambeth 472.

<sup>22</sup> "Nempe quod in Psalmo sequitur : UT CUSTODIANT TE IN OMNIBUS VIIS TUIS. Numquid in praecipitiis ? Qualis via haec, de pinnaculo templi mittere se deorsum ? Non est via haec, sed ruina; et si

Cassiodorus and Augustine amongst others, mention the devil's use of verses 11 and 12 of this psalm at the very beginning of the commentary and make the temptation of Christ a central issue in their commentary. They argue that because Christ overcame the devil in the desert, prefiguring His victory over the devil by His death and resurrection, man should fight to overcome the temptations of the devil as well<sup>23</sup>. That this occurrence of the psalm in the Gospel according to Matthew seemingly passes unnoticed by the commentator of psalm 90 does not mean that he did not know Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* or Bernard's *Sermones de Tempore*, as there are indications in the *Qui Habitat* exposition that its author knew both Augustine's and Bernard's commentaries. Rather, it is clear that the commentator of the Middle English *Qui Habitat* exposition did not mention the temptation of Christ in the desert because it did not fit his purposes in writing the exposition. It emerges from the Middle English exposition that it was written for a more specialized and advanced audience than either Augustine's and Bernard's and with a more specific aim in mind, i.e. to teach its audience the contemplative life.

If you look at Treasury 4 as a whole, the Middle English *Qui Habitat* exposition must have been exactly the kind of text the compiler was looking for. He placed it first and to a large extent used its themes and outlook to shape the compilation. The selection of fragments from *Bonum Est*, the *Scale* and the *Revelations* was determined by the contents of the *Qui Habitat* fragments. Next to offering the compiler the very message he wanted to convey to his audience, the *Qui Habitat* exposition also provided biblical authorization for the compiler's text.

(2) The central themes of the *Qui Habitat* fragments are expressed in verse 2 of the psalm: "Dicet Domino: susceptor meus es tu, & refugium meum: Deus meus, sperabo in eum". The psalmist calls God his "susceptor", the commentator addresses God as "myn vptakar", which is echoed by the compiler.

When the psalmist addresses God in the first person singular, the exposition of the relevant psalm verse will also be written as a monologue addressed to God. In the same

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via, tua est, non illius." Sermo XIV. *Sancti Bernardi Opera IV. Sermones I.* Edited by J. Leclercq and H. Rochais. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1966), p. 473.

<sup>23</sup> In Augustine, the temptation of Christ by the devil is another "human condition" he had to share in order to become truly human. As such the temptation of Christ is another proof of his humanity, which for Augustine would have been an argument against the Manichees.



way the exposition copies the third person singular descriptive mode of some of the psalm verses and God's first person singular monologue of the final three verses of the psalm. Each of these modes of discourse has its own effects. The use of the first person singular in the monologue addressed to God is particularly effective because it invites the audience to adopt the voice of the text as their own<sup>24</sup>.

myn vptakar þou arte. for when I was sonkyn in to the myre of synne. blynded  
with likynge and luste of þe worlde. and had noo syght of myn owne myscheffe.  
ne lyuynge of lyght of gracc. thou lord thorowe þe towchyng of thy blessed  
lyght. þou toke me yp fro there I lay. shewyng me to my syght. þe horrybylite of  
my synnys. yevynge to me verey contricion<sup>25</sup>. and hoole / forsakyng of my synne.  
and fully turnynge and drawyng my harte for to love the (2v-3r).

It is clear from this passage that the themes of a commentary are, by the very nature of the genre, dictated by the text that it expounds.

Man turns away from the world and sin as he "knowyth and feelyth hym selfe vn myghty and vnwyse to helpe hym selfe in eny temptacioun", and, wisely, "forsaketh him selfe and sekyth helpe of god" (1r). This feeling itself only comes about because God touches the soul first, and makes it see that it lives in sin and that it cannot climb out of the mire of sin on its own. The compiler seems to attach great importance to teaching his audience that it is God who gives them contrition, calls them to the contemplative life and enables them to experience Him in contemplation<sup>26</sup>. By pointing this out to his audience from the very beginning of his text, the compiler highlights (be it indirectly) how necessary it is for the contemplative to be humble.

<sup>24</sup> The use of the first person singular could be called both performative and persuasive. See Vanderjagt, Arno: "Categorieën van het denken." In Stoffers, Manuel [ed.]: *De Middeleeuwse Ideeënwereld 1000 - 1300*. (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), p. 67.

<sup>25</sup> There is a parallel between the phrase and Julian's use of it. In Julian's wish for "thre woundes" she wishes for "the wound of verie contricion" first, followed by "the wound of kynd compassion and the wound of wylfull longing to God" (Long text, chapter 2, 40-43). Both the commentator of *Qui Habitat* and Julian considered it necessary and significant to distinguish genuine from false contrition. This is related to the need of confession to be truthful. Truthfulness is one of the conditions of confession, often defined in sermons and treatises on confession, and also in the *Ancrone Wisse*: "Schrift schal beo wreiful, bitter mid sorhe, ihal, naket, ofte innaket, hiiful, eadmod, selicomeful, [dredful ant] hopeful, wis, soð ant willes, ahne ant studcest, bihoht biuore longe." (italics mine. MS. Corpus Christi Colledge, Cambridge, 402, f. 82v, 6-9, quoted by Bella Millett in an unpublished paper, "Ancrone Wisse and the Conditions of Confession", p. 1.)

<sup>26</sup> This insistence on the powerlessness of man and the omnipotence of God can be found throughout the compilation. I do not think we have to imply from this that the compilation is strictly predestinarian. The stress on the fact that it is God rather than man himself who brings about the purification of the soul and who pulls the soul up seems a constant reminder that the soul should become humble and annihilate itself.

The upward movement of the soul being taken up by God, away from the world of sin leads to the soul's refuge in God: "refugium meum", translated as "my refute" (2r). The compilation significantly opens with a short description of this refuge in God, which is the goal the contemplative should attain through the spiritual lifestyle described as well as illustrated in the text: "He that wonyth in þe helpe of the hyeste. in helyng of god of heuen he shall dwel" (1r).

(3) In the selections from the Middle English *Qui Habitat*-exposition, the first stage of the contemplative life, the purification of the soul and its freedom from external ties and influences, can be found in the soul's desire to be cleansed of the mire of sin and to leave the world and its snares.

In the full version of *Qui Habitat* the passages on the lovers of the world and on the world and its temptations are many and elaborate. The compiler omits most of the passages describing the typical conduct of the lover of the world<sup>27</sup>, the mini-treatise on temptation, which is the exposition of verses 5 to 7<sup>28</sup>, as well as the exposition of verse 13<sup>29</sup>, in which the four beasts stand for the properties of the devil. The omission of these passages is another strong indication that the compilation was written for an advanced audience, who, though they could use an occasional reference to the bad world they had left behind, did not seem to need systematic and detailed teaching on its temptations. The *Qui Habitat* fragments concentrate on the movement away from the world rather than on the exact temptations that will need to be fought.

<sup>27</sup> Such as Wallner, Björn: "An Exposition of Qui Habitat and Bonum Est in English." *Lund Studies in English* XXIII (1954), p. 6, 3-11; p. 35, 9 to p. 36, 5.

<sup>28</sup> "Scuto circumdabit te veritas eius: non timebis a timore nocturno / A sagitta volante in die, a negocio per-ambulante in tenebris: ab incursu, & a demonio meridiano / Cadent a latere tuo milia, & decem milia a dextris tuis: ad te autem non appropinquabunt". See Wallner, "An Exposition ...", p. 15, 4 to p. 25, 11. The temptations assailing the would-be contemplative are fear of temptation (*timor nocturnus*), vainglory (*sagitta volans in die*), hypocrisy (*negocium per-ambulans in tenebris*), attacks by the devil (*incursus*; about which the commentator remains rather vague) and the midday devil (*demonius meridianus*), who attacks the soul that is getting close to perfection. These temptations need not be feared, however, by those armed with the words and the works of the Lord. The remedy to the attacks of the midday devil (humility and being enclosed in the help of the highest) was selected for Treasury 4, following a passage in which contemplation is called a shield against one's enemies (see 9v-10r). Verse 7 enables the commentator to refer to other temptations than the five the psalmist mentioned explicitly: "alle sturyngeþ þat are bitter and pyneful" (Ibid., p. 24, 3), such as anger, envy, impatience and sloth, and "alle þe sturyngeþ þat are plesaunt and likyng" (Ibid., p. 24, 9), such as pride, vainglory (a temptation that was mentioned earlier), covetousness, vanity, gluttony and lechery.

<sup>29</sup> "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis: & conculcabis leonem & draconem" (Ibid., p. 40, 8 to p. 43, 2). The snake stands for the devil's secrecy and venom; the basilisk stands for the devil's openly venomous breath; the lion stands for the devil's mastery; the dragon stands for his slyness.

The soul's sinful life in the world robs it of its purity and of its ability to see God. In the world the soul is stuck in mire and dirt, which has made the soul blind and thus ignorant<sup>30</sup> of both the horror of its life in sin as well as of the bliss of a life with God. That the soul living in the world without wanting to ascend to God is blind is repeated several times. The soul is "blynded with likynge and luste of the worlde" (2v), having "noo syght" (2v) of its own sins. The soul's works, deeds, words and understanding "are nought in þem selfe. (...) but synne and blyndenes" (13r). A soul "through blyndenes of it selfe" offends God "in vnordynate loue to eny creature" (18r). This blindness, as was said earlier, is caused by the soul's being sunk into the mire and "fylth of synne" (3v, 11v, 12r). God's grace can lift the soul up, "þou toke me vp fro thre I lay" (2v), away from the dirt of the world. This is one of the many references the upward movement to the psalm's high and safe place where the soul will dwell in the help of the Highest. God takes the soul up by cleaning it from the filth of sin and by making the soul see and understand its sins.

But our lord thorough shynyng of hys blessed lyght touched my blynde hart. and shewed to my syght þat it was a snare of darkenes þat I was in. (5v)

Again and again it is repeated that the soul can only start its ascent to God if God has cleansed its eyes from the filth of sin, so that it can see and know itself<sup>31</sup>. This repetition is functional because the soul's knowledge of itself is an important theme in the teaching of the spiritual life as we find it in Treasury 4 and will be addressed in greater detail in the *Scale* and *Revelations* fragments.

At the initial stages of what we might well call the soul's conversion, God's grace makes the soul see and understand "þe horrybylite of my synnys" (2v) and thus enables it to feel contrition for its sins, to renounce the world and to turn to God. Renouncing the world and turning to God is not an easy process, but a painful and sometimes bitter one. But God will make the soul understand that "all þe sorrow and trauell þat þou hast felte. was not wrathfull smytyng of god. ne workyng of the fende. not principally<sup>32</sup>. but it was of a

<sup>30</sup> In the Hilton-canon texts in the compilation, to see is to know and to be blind equals to be ignorant.

<sup>31</sup> See for instance 11v: "The louer of god þat hath þe eye of his soule clenched by grace fro all þe fylthe of synnes. he hath his beholdyng in god with sweteness of loue in goostlyc goodnes þat is in þe wonderfull workyng of our lord god." Other instances of God cleansing the soul or the eyes of the soul in *Qui Habitat* can be found in 10r, 10v, 11v, 12r, 18r, 21v, 23r.

<sup>32</sup> By inserting this phrase, both the *Qui Habitat* commentator as well as the compiler distance themselves from Julian's optimistic and orthodox though unusual understanding of the absence of wrath in God. Initially, she experiences her vision to be contrary to the Church's teachings, but in her understanding of the exemplum of the Lord and the Servant she is able to harmonize the seemingly

tender loue of god [...] yf þou haddiste in þee no worldely loue then þou shuldiste not be moche peyned in temptacion" (11r). Through difficulty and pain God draws the soul out of the mire of sin and away from vain love of its worldly self. The suffering that the soul experiences in this process is useful, as it leads to purification. The soul's leavetaking from the world should be made easier by the promise of its dwelling place in the spiritual country: "The nede not to be ydyll ne heuy. þou shall fynde thynges I nowghe feyre and preciouise in þe goostly cuntre" (12r). The soul will need this promise, as there will always be pain in its earthly life. As the soul is tied to the body and "all day ys touched and defowled with corrupcion of þat fleshely kynde" (23r), it will never be cleansed of sin completely. The soul that has turned to God will thus always be in tribulation, but will be kept by God who will always be with Him, "and þat knoweth he full well" (23v).

In the Hilton-canon fragments it is not only God who is the agent taking up the soul from the filth of sin into the bliss of heaven. The angels from psalm verses 11 and 12<sup>33</sup> fulfill this office equally well, "for they stoppe oute þe prise of vnclene thoughtis and evyll spiritis. they clense the soule fro fantysyes and vayne ymaginacyons" (17r). The discussion of the role of the angels in the spiritual life will be taken up again in the *Scale* fragments.

(4) At this point it is interesting to note that the *Qui Habitat* fragments do not systematically teach meditation on the humanity of Christ as a way into the realization of one's sins and later into the experience of the divine in the purified soul. Within the sequence of the *Qui Habitat* fragments meditation is touched upon only once, in a passage urging the contemplatives to "bryng to thy mynde þe mekenes of our lord ihesu" (7v) whenever they are "stered to pride. to yre. or to co/uetyse or eny oþer synne" (7r-7v). Meditation is thus a suggested cure against the temptations of sin. The contents of a possible meditation are given, but they remain low-profile in the sense that they do not invite the contemplative to meditate on specific events in Christ's life, but to concentrate on Christ's virtues instead<sup>34</sup>. This could be called meditation on a more abstract level

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conflicting views of her vision and what the Church teaches. See *A Book of Showings*, mainly revelation 14 (Long text, chapters 41 to 63). See also chapter 1, section 1.2.2.

<sup>33</sup> "Quoniam Angelis suis mandabit de te : ut te custodiant te in omnibus uis tuis / In manibus (s)uis portabunt te : ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum"

<sup>34</sup> I think it is plausible, though, that the audience following this advice would fill these abstract terms such as Jesus' meekness in serving his Mother with concrete, anecdotal Biblical or commonly known apocryphal events.

than meditations like for instance Margery Kempe's, who took on the role of Mary and Joseph's servant and the infant Jesus' nurse as she meditated on his birth and childhood<sup>35</sup>. If this more distanced treatment of meditation cannot be called Hilton's (or his circle's)<sup>36</sup>, it can certainly be called the compiler's. The compiler's preference for what could be called more abstract meditation and prayer shows mostly in his selection, or rather omission of fragments from Julian's *Revelations*. He does not include any of Julian's lively descriptions of her visions of the suffering Christ, which suggests that he does not favour a too emotional involvement in Christ's passion, the late medieval subject for meditation par excellence.

In the *Qui Habitat* fragment on meditation the contemplative is urged to remember "how buxum [ihesu] was to þe fadir of heuenn. hou meke he was to serue his moder and how meke he was in all oþer thynges [...] and hou he ne spared for no man þat he ne kepð ryghtwysnes in worde and in worke" and to take Christ as an example because of "his mekenes. his charite. his pacience and specially in tyme of his passion" (7v). It is significantly characteristic that one of the few Treasury 4 references to the suffering of Christ should occur in a passage on meditation, as meditations on the suffering and death of Christ were very common in the context of late medieval spirituality. It is typical for Treasury 4, however, that the meditation is not on the passion itself, that is, not on the pain and the suffering of Christ, but on Christ's milder feelings<sup>37</sup>.

Whereas first it seems suggested that the contemplatives-to-be arrive at meditation themselves, it is made clear later on (in keeping with the earlier assertion that man cannot do anything without God) that this meditation is given to man by God when he flees to God in temptation :

and then shall our lorde with his gracious presence shadow þi soule and fede the swetely with mynde of his passion and of his workis (8r).

<sup>35</sup> Meech, Sanford Brown and Allen, Hope Emily [ed.] : *The Book of Margery Kempe*. (Oxford : EETS, 1940, repr. 1993), pp. 18-20 (Capitula 6 and 7).

<sup>36</sup> Even though the *Scale* does contain passages in which Hilton promotes more "anecdotal" meditation, for instance Book I, chapter 35, Hilton remains, as Hussey points out, "a teacher, not a witness", he does not "participate in the way that Julian of Norwich wished to do". This could well be linked to Hussey's characterization of Hilton : "he is the closest we can imagine a mystic getting to the man whose feet are firmly on the ground, so very English, no suspicious *calor*, *dulcor* or *canor*, no impossible strivings after the pseudo-Dionysian solitude, certainly none of the embarrassment (...) of Margery Kempe."

Hussey, "Walter Hilton : Traditionalist ?", pp. 4 and 2.

<sup>37</sup> Margery Kempe has been mentioned already and the extreme violence of her feelings and how she expressed them during her meditations could be enough reason for a spiritual adviser not to teach the people in his care what could be considered more dangerous forms of meditation.

It should be clear from this passage that the advanced contemplative life does not consist of stages linearly following each other when the previous has run its course, as the previously discussed schemes might seem to suggest. The contemplative's life on earth entails that the soul will fall back into a state in which it realizes that it still has to fight sin, even after it has experienced God in contemplation<sup>38</sup>. The contemplative life itself could therefore be described as proceeding according to a spiral pattern, which is mirrored in the "spiral staircase" structure of the compilation<sup>39</sup> we find in Treasury 4.

(5) Contemplation is described in the *Qui Habitat* fragments as the soul's experience of its true nature, which is very close to God's. The soul cannot find rest but in God.

ffor sothely. refute fynde I noon. but in the hyeste of all. for though it be so þat þer be many creatures here in grace and in ioy than I. yet there is no kynde nere god. ne hygher than my kynde is. but only þe blessed kynde of god. ne þer is no creature so nere ne neþer so godly. ne so helpely to me. as þe blessed kynde of god is. (14r)

In the selections from the *Qui Habitat*-exposition the contemplative experience is described in the strongly comforting and promising imagery of the psalm. The soul that through genuine contrition has cried out for God "both in mouthe and in hart with full wyll and true entent to god" (2r) will be taken up to a high and safe refuge (*refugium*) where its enemies cannot reach it and where it is safe from the world it is fleeing from.

The protection that God offers in this high place is suggested in the images of military defense and bodily sheltering the commentator found in the psalm. God's word is "sharper than a swerde. [...] for it sleeth in a chosen soule. All oþer false wordes spoken of man contrary ther to"<sup>40</sup> (6v). The "false words" referred to are the words the contemplatives-to-be will have to endure from people who criticize their choice and "backbytynge, scornynge and euyl spekyng of frowarde men" (5v). It is interesting to observe that the compiler has left in this reference to backbiting whereas he left out almost all other references to any particular vice. Why exactly did the compiler leave this passage (ff. 5v-6v) in and not the others? Backbiting is a common monastic theme, but it is also fairly often referred to in sermons that we know were preached for mixed

<sup>38</sup> See section 2.1.2 (3) and f. 23v on tribulation.

<sup>39</sup> See section (3) of the introduction to this chapter.

<sup>40</sup> The image is Paul's: Hebrews iv, 12.

audiences of both lay and religious people<sup>41</sup>. As backbiting was a common theme in sermons for both monastic and lay audiences, I believe we cannot draw conclusions about the compilation's audience from the presence of this passage in Treasury 4. The passage does seem to prove that gossip and slander were as common in the fifteenth century as they are today, and that the extremely tempting nature of the vice warranted the compiler's inclusion of this warning against slander even for an advanced audience.

God will not only "arme the with the shadow of his manhed. but also he as sothfastenes shall a bowte goo the with the shyld [the *scutum* of verse 5] of his godhed" (9r) and He will "meynteyne him ayenste all his enemyes (...) [and] make him myghti / ayenste all his enemyes" (20v-21r). Contemplation itself is a shield that is "a boue all armure" (9v). God's shoulders provide the soul with a cooling shadow that will protect it from the burning sun of sin (7r) "that thi goostly enemies shall not brenne the" (8r). God will "with his shuldres vmbeshadowe the. and vnder his feders þou shalt hope"<sup>42</sup> (6v). As in the expositions on this psalm by Augustine and Bernard, this psalm verse is related to the Gospel passage in which Christ refers to himself as to a hen that protects her chicks under her wings<sup>43</sup> : "as þe henne kepyth her byrdis vnder þe shadowe of her wyngis. so þe shuldres of our lorde are all his mercyfull workyngis shewed to vs in his manhed" (7r). The association of maternal imagery (the hen and her chicks) with the humanity of Christ announces the Motherhood of Jesus theme that will be addressed and elaborated at some length in the *Revelations* fragments.

All these images could be subsumed under one cover-image : the safe dwelling of the soul in God. As will be shown, this image is central to the compilation's conception of contemplation, as the indwelling of the soul in God has consequences for both the nature of the contemplative experience and for the way the soul can arrive at the knowledge of itself and of God.

<sup>41</sup> A fragment from a sermon preached at Worcester before an audience which was "a mixture of lay-folk and monks, assembled probably in the Cathedral Church for a Sunday sermon" is particularly interesting, as it closely resembles what we find in the *Qui Habitat* exposition : "But, an they se another that begynnyth to floressche with the flowres o vertu, bigynnyth to bryng vorth fruit of good doctryne, 3e, bigynnyth for to take the bowes of estat and of wirschepe, at hym they puf and blowe with al the myth in hir bodi, vor to bryng hym downe, and they mythe; thei fantesi vals lesynges, vals talis up-on him ...". Quoted in Owst, G.R. : *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England. A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters & of the English People*. (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1966), p. 454 and p. 455 note 4. This part of the sermon can be found in MS. Worc. Libr. F. 10, ff. 44b-45.

<sup>42</sup> Psalm verse 4.

<sup>43</sup> Matthew 23 : 37 and Luke 13 : 34.

In addition to the protection-images, contemplation is very often described in terms of light (the light of grace), seeing (the eyes of the soul being opened, being cleansed of the filth of sin) and the soul being shown things. The process of the soul's turning to God and leaving the world behind is aimed at the experience or vision of God, which is fleeting and brief because the soul is limited through its life in the body. God teaches the soul that has turned to Him with the words of Scripture and the soul will "thorough techyng of thees wordis. flee vp fro gree to gree. þat is fro bodily exercise into goostly. tyll þou comin to perfeccioun þat þou mayste see oure lorde god" (8v). This process involves "long exercise in prayng and thynkyng of god" (10v), and requires the soul to be "as besy as [it] may for to plesse thee in werke and in worde. in wytt and in felynge"<sup>44</sup> (13r). Apart from the passage in f.7v in which the audience is urged to meditate on Christ's virtues, the compilation does not contain any detailed discussion on what exactly these "bodily and goostly" exercises were. This might be an indication of the audience's advanced state in the contemplative life, as the absence of any systematic teaching on the practices of prayer or meditation seems to suggest that the audience was well aware of what exactly these practices were.

The *Qui Habitat* fragments describe the life which the compilation is written to teach in positive terms, which is another reason why it is a good choice as a first text. The text is quite absolute in its assertions of utter safety in God and the bliss of experiencing Him. It is especially psalm verses 11-12 and 14-16 that invite optimistic comments. The exposition of verses 11-12<sup>45</sup> discusses the ministration of angels, who mitigate God's grace, so that the soul is able to take it. Even though it can only be God Himself who "thorough his vncessable presence. makyth myght. lyght and loue. and yeuyth it to thy soule" (16v), it is the angels who "by their presence goostely shall helpe þee" (16v). They will comfort and keep the soul, and "goostely þey bere vp thy soule fro synne of erthely loue" (17v).

The exposition of verses 14-16<sup>46</sup> is doubly effective in its optimistic message because, like the psalm verses, they have been written as if God speaks them<sup>47</sup>. God promises the

<sup>44</sup> This 'requirement' is repeated in 21v.

<sup>45</sup> "Quoniam Angelis suis mandauit de te : ut custodiant te in omnibus uis tuis / In manibus suis portabunt te : ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum"

<sup>46</sup> "Quoniam in me sperauit, liberabo eum : protegam eum, quoniam cognouit nomen meum / Clamauit ad me, & exaudiam eum : cum ipso sum in tribulacione : eripiam eum, & clarificabo eum / In longitudine dierum adimplebo eum : & ostendam illi salutare meum"



contemplatives-to-be that, if they recognize Him as both God and man – if they know his name, “I shall delyuer hym / fro his enemyes. and I shall departe with hym. the yeftis of the holy gooste. and I shall make hym free. and wyllynge for to loue [...] and I shall defende hym” (18v-19r). By contrast with the selections from *Qui Habitat* generally, the compiler does leave in a description of the lovers of the world at this stage, a poignant reminder of how the promise of God does not apply to those who do not devote themselves to God entirely, and thus do not know His name to be both God and Man.

God’s promise to those who do know His full name is repeated at the end of 20v and the beginning of 21r in very much the same words that were used earlier, but added to these promises of protection from one’s enemies and readiness for God’s love is the promise that the contemplative, when made “sauþ” by God, “than berith [...] my name ihesu. ffor my name is ihesu. þat is sauour” (21r). This is nothing less than a promise of deification, of becoming like God, by carrying His name.

The contemplative who knows God to be both God and Man lives in a state of protection, but at the same time he continuously feels contrition: “Sothly. he cryeth to me / with a wonder hygh voyce. for all his lyfe in worde. and in worke. ys a contynuall crye to me” (21v-22r). The soul cries out to God because as long as it is in this life, it is “in tribulacione”<sup>47</sup> and it will suffer from its sins. But this is no reason for the contemplative to feel desolate.

The long and detailed discussion of 90 : 15<sup>48</sup> describes the reality of the soul’s suffering in this world, which will be mitigated by God’s continuous presence, and culminates in God’s promise to “take [the contemplative] oute. of peyne and of þe prison of this lyfe. fro all þe fendis daunger. and hys / traueyle and woo” (23v-24r). The *Qui Habitat* fragments thus end with God’s promise to the contemplatives that they will be taken up away from the dangers of the world into the bliss and safety of heaven as they have experienced being brought to safety in contemplation in their earthly lives, be it with a difference. The contemplatives lead their earthly lives “[i]n a mornyng myrth in well and in woo. in gladnesse and in sorow. in tribulacion þat is comfortable” (23v). Comfortable tribulation is actually synonymous with the soul’s feeling as if it is on a spiral staircase in

<sup>47</sup> As with the use of the first person singular containing the voices of the psalmist, the commentator, the compiler and, ideally, by empathy, the audience, this is a rhetorical device invited by the text that is being commented on. I think it is because of the Biblical tradition of God speaking to His people that to speak in God’s voice was not thought of as blasphemous or presumptuous.

<sup>48</sup> See psalm 90 : 15.

the earthly life : there is no linear ascent to God, the soul will have to fight temptations and will have to continue doing “bodily and goostly” exercises in order not to fall back into the sins of the world. In heaven there will only be “myrth [...] well [...] gladnesse” and “blessed rest” (24r) and the soul will be able to see God as He is, face to face, without the limits caused by its life in the body.

as longe as he leuyd in his body of synne. he myght not se me as I am. for I shewed not hym in my blessed beynge. he myght not suffer me and liue<sup>50</sup>/ but for he trowe in me fully þat I am as I am (24r).

In contemplation God does show a little of what He is “hydde vnder a feyre lykenes” so as to draw the soul’s love to Him “by þat derke syght” (24v), so that it can reach by love what it cannot see and understand. This dark sight and the disability of the soul to see God as He is will be superseded by the beatific vision of God after death : “therefore I shall shewe me to hym fully in my blysse and fulfill his desyre. I shal speke peertly to him [not] in prouerbis [...] and I shall shewe me vnto hym” (25r).

Contemplation, then, is a prefiguration of the beatific vision, and very often the dividing line between the descriptions of the contemplative experience in this life and the beatific vision in the next is very thin, not in the least because the contemplative experience itself can only be attained if the soul “dies” to the world, or, in the words of the *Qui Habitat*-Exposition, is lifted up into God’s safe place. Sometimes it is hard to tell how figuratively you have to take this terminology in descriptions of the experience of God in contemplation.

### 2.1.3 *The recovery of the Imago Dei.*

The main themes of the compilation have now been introduced as they occur in the *Qui Habitat* fragments. They are all of them related to the lifestyle that should be adopted if one wants to attain the *unio mystica* with God, brief and fleeting in this life, lasting and timeless in the afterlife. There is another theological vein that runs through the compilation and that I want to introduce at this point, even though it is not explicitly discussed in the *Qui Habitat* fragments. It is the theology and anthropology of the *imago Dei*. This theology/anthropology, which was central to the medieval theories of the soul

<sup>49</sup> Especially of “cum ipso sum in tribulacione”.

<sup>50</sup> Exod. xxxiii, 20.

since Augustine, could also be called the deeper reason why the contemplative life is taught at all.

The reason why the soul can only find rest and salvation in God is that it is created in God's "image and likeness"<sup>51</sup>. The soul is created in the image of the uncreated Trinity, of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Three Persons but one substance, but lost this image, its created trinity through Adam's fall. Since the fall, the *imago Dei* has been forgotten by every soul entering into the bodily life and therefore into sin. Christ's redemptive work has made it possible for the soul to recover the *imago Dei*. This means that any soul has been given the possibility to deserve the redemption and salvation that it is offered by Christ. The purer and the more humble the soul becomes, the more it will recognize that it is a created trinity, the "image and likeness" of the Uncreated Trinity and the more it will realize that it will only fulfill its deepest yearnings when it will be united with God, both its beginning and its end.

We find this theology/anthropology in descriptions of the soul and God as trinitarian throughout the compilation. In the *Qui Habitat* fragments the theology is implicitly present. In the *Bonum Est* fragments the soul rejoices "for þat thou haste made / me of thy goodnesse to þyne ymage and thy lykenes" (31r-31v). The full explicit mentioning and explaining of the theology only features in the *Scale* fragments. I quote the fragment from the *Scale* in full, as it is so central to the compilation as a whole.

The soule of man is a lif. made of thre myghtis. þat is mynde. reason and wyll. to the ymage of þe glorious trynyte whole. perfytt and ryghtwys. In so myche as þe mynde was made myghty and stedfaste by þe vertue of þe father þat is allmyghty. [...] and so it hath þe lykenes of þe faper. Reason was made clere and bryght without errour or derkenesse. as perfittly as þe soule in a body vnglorified myght haue. And so / it hath the lykenes of þe sonne. whiche is endelesse wysdome. And the loue and þe wyll was made clene and brennyng vnto god withoute beestely loue of þe fleshe. or of eny creature by the souereyne goodnes of god the holi goost. whiche is blessed loue. So þat a mannys soule may be called a made trynyte. and was fulfilled in mynde. syght. reason and loue of þe vnmade blessed trynyte. whiche is our lorde and our god. (38r-38v)

<sup>51</sup> Genesis I, 26.

In this passage and the following, we get Augustine's anthropology/theology explained very clearly. The loss of the created trinity in the soul has degraded it "vnto a foule derke and wretched trynyte" (39r), the mire of sin, "a bestly lykyng of our selfe and of oþer creaturys" and into the blindness of "vnknowynge of hym" (39r). The soule can get out of this wretched state, as we have learned in the *Qui Habitat* fragments, by adopting the contemplative life and thus arriving at the knowledge of its own soul as trinitarian in structure.

In schematized form, the trinitarian structure of God and the soul can be represented as follows :

Father	Power	mind ( <i>memoria</i> )
Son	Wisdom	reason (understanding)
Holy Spirit	Love (goodness)	love (will)

The second and third column stand for the attributes of the uncreated Trinity that can also be found in the created trinity, man's soul. References to the Trinity and its attributes echo the explicit teaching of the *imago Dei* anthropology and theology throughout the compilation.

In the *Qui Habitat* fragments, for instance, knowing the name of God is not just recognizing God in His divinity as well as His humanity, but also to recognize Him as the triune God : "he knowyth my name through the lyght of grace. yeuen vnto hym as souereyne goodnes [Holy Spirit]. souereync wysedom [Son]. soucreyne myght [Father]" (19v). When the soul thus knows God as the triune God, it will be restored to the likeness of God.

and syth he knowyth me I shal know hym. and marke hym wyth his name. I shall make him myghti [Father] / ayenste all his enemyes. and I shall make hym wytty and wyse in knowyng of sothfastenes [Son]. and I shall yeue hym þe yeste of loue þat is þe holy goost (20v-21r).,

The soul attains safety and rest in God exactly because it has recovered its divine likeness.

## 2.2 "þe morowe and þe nyght" : The *Bonum Est* Fragments.

The *Bonum Est* fragments are well-chosen to follow the *Qui Habitat* fragments in the compilation because they complicate some of the themes introduced in the *Qui Habitat* fragments. This means that the audience is made to ruminate the themes that were

introduced earlier and to renew their thinking about them, as they encounter familiar issues in a different context. At the same time the audience faces additional teaching about the contemplative life. In my discussion of the *Bonum Est* fragments I will concentrate mainly on what they add to what was taught in the *Qui Habitat* fragments.

The similarities between the *Qui Habitat* and the *Bonum Est* fragments are not only thematic. Both psalm expositions also share formal characteristics. Like *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est* copies the praying first person discourse or third person expository discourse from the psalm verse that is expounded. Many of the selected fragments are first person singular monologues addressed to God. The voices behind this first person singular again include the psalmist, the commentator, the compiler and ideally and empathetically, the audience. The rhetorical device that uses the first person singular as if God is speaking to the audience is not used in the *Bonum Est* fragments.

The compiler selected only a limited portion of the exposition. Apart from a short fragment of the exposition of verse 7<sup>52</sup> the *Bonum Est* fragments end with the exposition of verse 5. The compiler works with the same principles of selection he applied in the *Qui Habitat* exposition. He does not put the larger part of the *Bonum Est* exposition in his compilation because it discusses the behaviour of the "lovers of the world" in great detail<sup>53</sup> or because it repeats themes that have been dealt with in the *Qui Habitat* fragments already<sup>54</sup>. It is impossible to reconstruct what went on in the compiler's mind as he was selecting passages to write his text, but in the case of the *Bonum Est* exposition the compiler very clearly only selected those parts of the exposition that added to the teaching of the contemplative life in the *Qui Habitat* fragments and thus furthered his specific purposes.

### 2.2.1 "It is good to shryue to our lord god. and synge to his name".

The *Bonum Est* fragments introduce confession as a way to cleanse the soul from sin, and singing prayers as a way to keep the soul clean: "It is good to shryue to our lord

<sup>52</sup> Wallner, "An Exposition ...", p. 68, 5-9.

<sup>53</sup> The themes of those parts of the exposition that have been left out are, for instance, that the "vnuysc mon" and the "fole" (Wallner, "An Exposition ...", p. 65, 12; verse 7) will never know God as He is, that the wicked will never enjoy the beatific vision in heaven because they have chosen nothing but pleasure in this life (verse 9).

<sup>54</sup> Themes that are recurring are, for instance, the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the humble soul (verse 10), how the souls of God's lovers will be taken up from the suffering of their lives in the body into the bliss of heaven (verse 15).

god. and synge to his name. by shryfte is þe soule clensed. And through syngyng he is kepēd in clennessē" (25r). True confession is possible only when the person confessing "mekely arre[t]tith all goodnesse to god. and all synnys / to hym selfe. as þat by grace sees his owne defautes" (25r-25v). This opening fragment by itself already contains references to the soul's necessary humility, concomitant with the realization of God's omnipotence and the impossibility to be purified from sin without God's grace. The realization of one's naked sins by God's grace, is in itself "a verey shryfte to god" (25v), so that actual confession to a priest is only necessary "yf the synne be dedely. else yf it be venyall it nedith not" (25v).

When the contemplative's conscience is thus made clean, the contemplative is "able for to synge to oure lorde [...] in wyll and in worke. in worde and in dede" (26r). In keeping with the omission of passages discussing the behaviour of the lovers of the world from the *Qui Habitat*-exposition the compiler omitted a passage from *Bonum Est* that discusses the difference between the singing of the lovers of the world and the singing of God's lovers<sup>55</sup>. This is another suggestion of the compilation's advanced audience.

The singing imagery is for this psalm what the turning away from the world and the soul's concentration on God and being taken up by Him is for psalm 90. Singing is the soul's jubilation because it has found a life in God. It sings to God "in good workys. in good thoughtis. and in brennyng loue. it is his lyfe. and his conforte. his myrthe and his solace" (26r).

### 2.2.2 The "withdrawal of grace".

The soul also sings "for to shewe thy mercy at morowe and þi sothfastnesse by nyght" (26r). In this line the morning stands for "þe lyght of grace by presence of our lord" (26v), that is, contemplation; the night stands for "aduersite and wantyng of conforte both bodyly and goostly. as when it semyth þat grace is withdrawnen" (27v).

Contemplation is described as "þe lyght of grace by presence of our lord" (26v). The contemplative, the "ryghtwysman", finds the created trinity in himself, but realizes that it is restored to him through God's mercy. Thus the compilation's trinitarian vein also runs through the *Bonum Est* fragments.

<sup>55</sup> Wallner, "An Exposition ...", p. 53,2 to p. 54, 2. For instance: "þeose men synge to hem-self, and not to þe. þei loue not þe for þe, but for þi ziftus. And þei loue þi ziftus more þen þe. ffor, zif þou wiþ-drawe þi ziftus, þe grucche a-geyn þe and wol not serue þe".

The myght [Father] that [the ryghtwysman] hath to despyse þe lykyng of þe worlde. and for to forseke wyckednesse. with lyght and gladnes of hart. þe syght [understanding; Son] þat he hath in knowyng of hym selfe and of sothfastnesse the loue and þe lykyng [Holy Spirit] þat he hath in vertues. and in all good dedys.  
(26v)

The *Bonum Est* fragments also add to *Qui Habitat*'s description of contemplation, as they describe in greater detail how the light of the presence of God's grace can manifest itself to the contemplative. The soul can experience "þe prosperite / of grace in deuocion goostly sauour and heuenly swetnesse. grete comfortys. speciall vicitacions of god gracious illumynacions and oþer goostly felynges" (27r). These manifestations, "all lykened to þe morow for þey make a soule shynyng in þe lyght and in loue" (27r), transcend the soul's knowledge of the created trinity within itself and the virtuous life that results from this knowledge and "than he thynkyth hym all wounded and lapped in þe mercy / of God" (27v-28r). The soul is back in the high, safe place of the *Qui Habitat* fragments.

The contemplative's song did not only signify the mercy of God "at morowe" (26r), but also his "sothfastnesse by nyght" (26r), "as when it semyth þat grace is wythdrawen" (28r). The withdrawal of grace is a recurrent theme in mystical writings and in writings that instruct their audiences in the contemplative life. The term could be misleading to a modern readership, as it seems to suggest that God does indeed withdraw His grace from the soul that has turned to Him. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century context of the texts that made up the compilation and the compilation itself, such an interpretation is out of the question. If one assumed that God withdraws His grace at any given point, this would not only mean that there is change in God, who is timeless and therefore unchangeable, but it would also mean a descent into crime and irrevocable damnation, as a soul that lacks God's grace is beyond redemption.

Withdrawal of grace refers to a state in which the soul does no longer feel the sweetness and bliss of God's presence in contemplation, but feels barren and dry, as if God were no longer there, "he is lefte as naked. and poure as a man þat were robbed of all þe good þat he had to his bare skynne. and semyth as god had forsake hym and forgett hym" (28r). The "as if" is crucial here, as God never withdraws His grace, but always keeps the soul that has turned to Him in safety. The *Bonum Est* fragments also teach that the withdrawal of grace manifests itself as "wantyng of conforte both bodyly and goostly"

(27v); "þe felyng of grace is wythdrawen in som maner. And deuocion and compunccion are reft fro hym [...] swete affeccions and specyally comfortis ben as þey were loste" (28r). It is always implied, but never made explicit that God does not withdraw His grace from the soul. The seeming withdrawal of grace does not mean that God has abandoned the soul. It is a trial of strength that is inherent in the soul's earthly life. The soul has to learn that God's grace sometimes manifests itself in unexpected ways.

The soul that is left without the feeling of God's grace could well lapse back into the sins of the world. However, the "ryghtwysman [...] / a bydith in this derke nyght. And shewyth to our lord full trustily his sothfastenes." (28v). The dark night of the soul is an experience of God on a higher (or deeper) level than the sweet experience of God's grace. It is still a manifestation of God's grace, but this is grace "yeuen to [the soul] on an oper maner as God wyll. [...] more preuily. more myghtyly and more godly" (28v). The night is dark, but it holds a promise of "myche lyght", which "shall shyne when þe nyght is passed. and þe full day shall show" (29r). In this last sentence, "þe full day" is a reference to the beatific vision in heaven, where the soul will see and know God without the limits imposed by its bodily existence.

### 2.2.3 *"I know thee lord god more in thi werkys. then I do in þi selfe. but I loue the better in thi selfe than I do in þi werkes".*

The transcendence of the soul's experience of God as He is in His blessed nature and in Himself is elaborated in the exposition of verses 5 and 6<sup>56</sup> of the psalm, which the compiler has selected in full. The soul can know God in His works. The soul can know God in the creation of the material world, but can know Him better in the creation of "goostle creatures as angels and soules" (32r), and still better in God's "sauynge and helpynge of man is soule" (32r). God's works are the means through which the soul can love and know Him. To know God in His works in creation is a lower stage of contemplation<sup>57</sup>. Transcending this knowledge and love of God is "[to] loue in hym selfe withoute eny meane" (32r). God is "won/derful myche in myght. in wysdom and in goodnesse [Trinity]. endelesly aboue all þi werkys" (32v-33r). God's works are like a

<sup>56</sup> "Quia delectasti me, domine, in factura tua : & in operibus manuum tuarum exultabo / Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, domine : nimis profunde facte sunt cogitaciones tue"

<sup>57</sup> Hussey quotes the three ways of contemplating God distinguished by St Edmund of Abingdon : "(i) through creation, i.e. created beings, (ii) in the Scriptures, i.e. meditation, (iii) in the divine nature itself." Hussey, "Walter Hilton : Traditionalist ?", p. 3.



book in which the soul can read what He is, but they do not allow him to see and know God as He is, "my syght felyth. my wytt and my reason wantyth there" (33r). The soul can only see God as He really is through God's grace, but this seeing transcends knowledge by reason<sup>58</sup>: "the better þat I se the through grace. þe more vnknownen art thou to me. and / the further fleest thou fro me" (33r-33v). The soul can only see God as He is by loving Him. In order to love God best, the soul needs to withdraw itself from the world<sup>59</sup> and even from contemplating God's works, which necessarily belong to the created world.

This discussion of the soul's knowledge of God's works and love of God in His very nature develops into a strong denunciation of those who do try to know God as He is, instead of accepting that they are too limited to do so. "To know God as He is" is here further defined as knowing God's thoughts, "thi pryue domes and þi ryghtfull disposyng. vnchaungebly sette in this wysdom aboute sauynge of thi chosen soules and demyng of reprovéd creatures" (34r). Those who try to know what God's secret judgments are overstep the boundaries. They commit the mortal sin of pride because they do not accept the limitations inherent in their human nature. The commentator's (and, accordingly, the compiler's) condemnation of them does not lack in clarity and severity.

No creature may comprehend [thi pryue domes and þi ryghtfull disposyng]. they ar so depe hyd in þi pryuy knowyng. he þat will ransack them by his owne wit. for to know þe causis of them. he shall synke and be drenched. the water is so depe. þi priuy / domys lord god ar to be drede with loue and reuerence. and not to be disputed by mannis reason. (34r-34v)

The punishment for the proud is contrasted with the reward for the humble soul, who does not question God's actions, but accepts them and trusts their "ryghtwysnesse. sothfastnes. and goodnesse" (35r). The humble soul is rewarded by God's protection: "A meke soule þat louyth god. goeth all aboute þe water. full surely and synkyth not"<sup>60</sup> (34v). God also gives the soul "the knowyng of hym selfe [God] and of his werkys"

<sup>58</sup> In the description of lower and higher stages of contemplation, "seeing" and "knowing" are no longer used to refer to the same reality.

<sup>59</sup> This idea, central to the teaching of the contemplative life, echoes the *Qui Habitat* fragments.

<sup>60</sup> In both the punishment for the proud and the reward for the humble, the imagery derives from Matthew xiv : 22-33. (Also Mark vi : 45-52). Especially the image of walking on the water is effective, because this is something that is not usually thought possible. If the soul trusts God, it can walk on water, as it was proven by Peter.

(35r) because it does not look for the secret judgements of God, but only seeks "þe fulfylling of his wyll" (35r).

### 2.3 "Of the knowledge of ourselves and of God" : The *Scale* fragments.

The *Scale* fragments connect with the issues discussed at the end of the *Bonum Est* fragments. The audience has just been taught that it would be wrong to wonder why God does as He does. In the *Scale* fragments, they are taught how they can achieve the true and proper knowledge of God. This question links up with the discussion of the nature of the soul and of God, which was introduced in the *Qui Habitat* fragments (14r). The *Scale* fragments thus follow onto the psalm exposition fragments in a way characteristic to the compilation : they repeat and elaborate the themes that have been introduced in the *Qui Habitat* or *Bonum Est* fragments. As they continue to read, the audience is made to ruminate and expand their understanding of the main themes of the compilation so that they will have thoroughly digested its messages once they have worked through the text in its entirety.

The *Scale* fragments consolidate the psalm exposition fragments in content, but differ from the expositions in genre. In the *Scale* fragments the contents of the text are not invited by a biblical source, *in casu* a psalm text. This has consequences for the structure of the text, the voice in which the text is written and its authorization. The structure of the text follows a pattern that is not determined by a text that is commented on, but by the author himself. Walter Hilton wrote the *Scale of Perfection* as a deliberately didactic text with a clear structure that teaches its audience the contemplative life step by step<sup>61</sup>. The voice in which the text is written is very clearly a teacher's voice and thus differs from the voices in the psalm expositions. The teacher usually writes in an expository third person<sup>62</sup>, addresses his audience directly in the second person, referring to humankind as "we"<sup>63</sup> and sometimes he speaks in his own name using the first person singular<sup>64</sup>. The use of the performative and persuasive first person in monologues addressed to God only occurs in the translation and brief expansion of first person

<sup>61</sup> An interesting and detailed analysis of the structure of the *Scale* is Sargent, "The Organization of the *Scale of Perfection*". In Glasscoe, Marion [ed.] : *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England. Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1982*. (Exeter, University of Exeter, 1982), pp. 231-261.

<sup>62</sup> e.g. "And by þe knowyng þer of he may comme to þe goostly knowyng of god" (35v).

<sup>63</sup> e.g. "Oure holy fadirs here before taught vs þat we shulde know þe mesure of oure yftis" (36v).

<sup>64</sup> e.g. "I sey not at it ys nedefull for þee and dette. for to traueyle so" (35v).

biblical quotes that are inserted in the discourse to authorize what the author wrote<sup>65</sup>. It is interesting to note that, now that the text does not proceed from a biblical text, Hilton introduces quite some biblical quotes in support of what he wrote. However, Hilton's text is not only authorized by the biblical quotes. It is grounded in the tradition of mystical writing and teaching. This is made explicit by the references to the "holy fadirs" (36v), whose teachings Hilton and the compiler pass on to their audiences.

As I pointed out earlier, the fragments of the *Scale* have not been selected in the order in which they occur in the full text. The compiler mainly selected fragments from Book II, inserted passages from Book I whenever he thought it appropriate and created a coherent text in this way. The ease with which he seems to have done this cannot but mean that the compiler was quite familiar with the *Scale*.

### 2.3.1 "He is boethe the gyfte and þe geuer".

(1) More than the *Qui Habitat* and the *Bonum Est* fragments the *Scale* fragments devote attention to exactly how the soul should attain union with God. As Albertus Magnus described it in his *De Adhaerendo Deo*,

We must proceed by the usual order, from the labour of action to the stillness of contemplation, from the moral virtues to the theoretical and speculative virtues<sup>66</sup>.

The *Scale* fragments make it abundantly clear that the way the ascent to God is effected is different for each soul, depending on the gifts of grace God gives to the individual soul. In its effort to conform its will to God's will, the soul should accept the gift it has been given by God, even if the soul thinks the gift is too small and aspires to a larger one.

yef a soule haue resceyuyd a yeft of god. as deuocion of prayer. or in þe passion of crist. or eny other be it neuer so lytyll. leue yt not to sone. for noon oþer. but yf he feele a better. but holde þat he hath. and traueyle þere in stably. euer desyryng a better when god wyll yeue it. (36r)

With the compiler's characteristic common sense, which may also account for the absence of any concrete advice on affective meditation<sup>67</sup>, the audience is taught to

<sup>65</sup> See f.i. the translation of psalm 39 : 5 (50v) and the translation and expansion of Song of Songs, iii, 1 (58r).

<sup>66</sup> Stopp, E. : *Of Cleaving to God*. Oxford, 1947, p. 36. Quoted in Hussey, "Walter Hilton : Traditionalist ?", p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> "Deuocion [...] in þe passion of crist" is not given prominence, but is named as one among many gifts of God. This is in keeping with the advice on meditation that the audience was given in the *Qui Habitat*

"withdrawe somewhat" (36r) and not to desire what they have not been given. Only when "he seeth and feelith a better [gift]. and also þat he fele his hart stered þerto. than semyth it a callynge of god to þe / better. than is it tyme for to folow affir. to gett it. and fulfyll it as myche as he may" (36r-36v). Hilton has a talent for vigorously reinforcing matters for his audience in the *Scale*, which the compiler gladly adopts. He repeats the warning that "who so hath a grace be it neuer so lytyll. and leue wylfully þe wurkyng þer of. and makyth hym selfe for to traueyll in an oþer whiche he hath not yett" (36v), works in vain and even runs the danger of being "hurt [...] by somm fantasyes" (37r). That the soul should wait until God decides that it is ready for a higher gift and should not pursue higher gifts of its own accord basically comes down to the need for the soul to conform its will to God's will in perfect humility. The *Scale* fragments repeat this teaching in a different shape time and time again. The text is continued by yet another repetition of this teaching, now based on the authority of Saint Paul<sup>68</sup>. Each soul is given its own gift of God, which is to lead the soul into safety (echoing the *Qui Habitat* fragments) and the bliss of heaven. These gifts could be "dedis and werkes of mercy [...] grete penaunce [...] dyuerse graces and yettes of deuocion" (37v), ranging from the lower level of "the labour of action" to the higher level of "stillness of contemplation".

God can also give the soul knowledge of itself and of God<sup>69</sup>. This is a gift that would benefit all souls, but is not given to all. The knowledge of God and of spiritual things can be attained "by vnderstondyng of þe soule. and nat by ymaginacioun"<sup>70</sup> (40r). In order to

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fragments. The audience were advised to meditate on Christ's virtues and not on concrete events of his life.

<sup>68</sup> Several verses from the letters of Saint Paul have been translated here (37v). The order in which they occur in the compilation and can be found in Latin in the full version of the *Scale* is as follows: I Cor. vii, 7; Eph. iv, 7; I Cor. xii, 4-8; I Cor. ii, 12.

<sup>69</sup> It is in this context that the compiler selects the long passage that explains the theology / anthropology of the *imago Dei*.

<sup>70</sup> For a discussion of the imagination as a power of the sensitive soul see Carruthers, Mary: *The Book of Memory*, pp. 51-59; and Decorte, Jos: "Naar Zijn beeld en gelijkenis: de ziel." In: Stoffers, Manuel [ed.]: *De Middeleeuwse Ideeënwereld 1000 - 1300*. (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994) pp. 201-232, esp. pp. 209-213. Hilton uses terminology here that features in scholastic epistemological writings, for instance in Aquinas' *Summa*. The imagination is an internal power of the sensitive soul. The external powers of the sensitive soul are constituted by perception through the five (external) senses. The internal powers of the sensitive soul are the interior senses: *sensus communis* the soul's perception of its sense perceptions), *phantasia* (*imaginatio*; helps to form images of the externally perceived objects and to retain them), *vis aestimativa* (helps the soul to estimate and judge characteristics that can not immediately be externally perceived), *vis memorativa* (stores the characteristics that have been found by the *vis aestimativa* for the future). Aquinas describes the imagination as "a storehouse of forms received through the senses" (*Summa*, Ia, Q; 78, article 4). The human imagination is deliberative, as "humans are not just moved by imagination's products, but judge and form opinions about them" (Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 52). The imagination is denounced as a way to achieve knowledge of God and of

make clear what this means the knowledge of God is compared to the knowledge of another spiritual thing, in this case the virtue of justice, which the audience does know and can relate to. The attempt at an epistemological definition of the knowledge of God is thus superseded by a comparison that is probably more workeable, which shows the didactic nature of both the *Scale* and Treasury 4.

(2) Later on in the *Scale* fragments the image of the gift of God occurs again. This time the highest gift God can give to the soul is discussed, His gift of His love, His gift of Himself. By God's gift of His love, the soul is made "for to know hym and loue hym" (44v), the two modes of union with God that were discussed in the *Bonum Est* fragments<sup>71</sup>. God's love for the soul manifests itself in three ways :

- (i) in God's creation of humankind in His image and likeness
- (ii) in God's redemption of humankind through Christ's Passion
- (iii) in God's pure gift of Himself (the Holy Spirit, love) to the soul.

In this last gift of His love, God shows humankind that "he louyd vs moste" (45r), because by this highest gift of His love "we know hym and loue hym. and ar made suer pat we be his chylder. choson to saluacion" (45v). God's gift of Himself to the soul leads the soul to salvation and thus makes the soul profit from its creation and redemption through Christ's suffering. This means that choosing the contemplative life, the life that prepares the soul to receive this gift, is nothing short of choosing the only way of life that makes its creation as well as its redemption through Christ's sacrifice worthwhile for the individual soul. The compiler made sure that this crucially important message would not be lost on his audience by repeating it in ff. 45v-46v, adding another assertion of the special nature of the gift and its importance for the fulfillment of the soul : "more myght not he geue vnto vs. ne lesse myght not suffice to vs" (46r).

In f. 46v the theme of God's gift of love in creation, redemption and salvation is anchored in the compilation's trinitarian foundation and is linked to the cleansing of the soul, a prominent theme in the *Qui Habitat* fragments. The Father showed His power in the creation of the soul. The Son showed His wisdom in the redemption of the soul

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spiritual things, because it is a lower faculty (Ibid., p. 349, n.10), as well as a somatic faculty that is directed at the knowledge of the world. In addition, the pre-rational deliberative nature of the imagination also means that "imagination can be false" (Ibid., p. 52), therefore it cannot be trusted.

<sup>71</sup> See 33r to 35r and section 2.2.3.

through His victory over the devil. The Holy Spirit showed His love in the salvation of the soul that He has purified from all sins.

### 2.3.2 *Prayer and virtues.*

The gift of prayer is another gift of God's grace to the soul. God's grace, the audience is taught, does not only make the soul "sharpe and sotyll. redy and able to goostely werke. and yeuyth it a grete fredom and a holy redynes in wyll" (54v), but, when the soul is made ready, "some tyme grace stereth þe soule for to pray" (54v). The soul prays using familiar prayers, "the pater noster. and psalmes. and ympnes. and oþer seruice of holy church" (54v-55r), but does not pray "in a maner as it ded be fore" (55r). As the soul has withdrawn into itself and is not busy with external matters, it is in the presence of God and prays "with full accorde of hart and mouthe" (55r), or, as the *Qui Habitat* fragments have it, "bothe in mouthe and in hart with full wyll and true entent to god" (2r). It is specified, as always, that this happens through God's grace. This could be called the lower level of contemplating God in prayer. As the soul progresses in the contemplative life, it also progresses in prayer. Nine folios on, the audience learns that the manner of prayer "before seyde" (64r) can be superseded by a higher form of prayer, when "grace puttyth seilence to vocall prayer. and steryth þe soule to see and feele ihesu in an oþer maner" (64r), i.e. in Scripture and in Himself. These higher forms of prayer correspond with the second and the third ways of contemplating God, which were distinguished by Edmund of Abingdon<sup>72</sup>.

In a passage on f. 60r, prayer links up with the virtue of love ("charite"). The need for the soul to be virtuous, and to progress in virtuousness is addressed several times in Treasury 4. It is implied in the *Bonum Est* fragments that the soul keeps itself clean by following the ten commandments<sup>73</sup> and by keeping itself in "charite [...] and chastyte"<sup>74</sup> (29v). There is a hierarchy in virtues, as "chastite withoute loue helpyth not but loue alone suffycith" (30r). The superiority of the virtue of "charite" is confirmed in the *Scale* fragments. "Charite" is defined as "a free yefte of God. sente into a meke soule" (59r)

<sup>72</sup> See note 57.

<sup>73</sup> The soul "makyth myrthe with songe to our lorde god. in a ten stringed saudre. that is in fulfyllunge of his commandementis" (29r), this is the exposition of psalm 91: "In decacordo psalterio: cum cantico in cithara". The implication follows from the earlier assertion that "through syngyng he ys keped in clenness" (25r).

<sup>74</sup> "and aftir this he makyth songe and myrthe in þe harpe þat is with charite in chastite. Charite is þe songe and chastite is þe harpe" (29v).

and is therefore directly linked to the important virtue of humility, which will be discussed in section 2.3.3. It is "charite" that prevents the soul from being "stered ayenste thyne euencristen" (60r) and against those who want to harm the soul. "Charite" stirs the soul to be compassionate by praying for them, "not only with thy mouth. but also with thy harte and trewe perfection of loue" (60r). By this compassionate prayer the soul can attain the virtue of "perfite charite" (60r).

Those souls who want to be Christ's "perfite folowers" (60v) are addressed in the words that Christ used in the sermon on the mount<sup>75</sup>: "louyth your enemyes. and doeth good to them þat hate yow and pray for them þat pursueth yow" (60v). To this verse Walter Hilton added the injunction "[and pray for them that] sclawnderth yow"<sup>76</sup> (60v). Slander<sup>77</sup>, an issue already addressed in the *Qui Habitat* fragments, is thus brought to the audience's attention again. The compiler focuses on this vice more than on others, probably because of its commonness in any community, as we claimed earlier on<sup>78</sup>.

The soul is taught that, if it wants to follow Christ, it should follow Him in His feelings of "charite" for His fellow-christians first and foremost. Christ's love for Judas, who betrayed Him, is put before the audience as an example<sup>79</sup>. This *imitatio Christi* will lead the soul "into beholdyng of goddis maieste and heuenly ioy" (61v), which in turn will teach the soul "how and where vpon þou shalt sett þe poynte of þi thought in tyme of prayer" (62r). The *Scale* fragments running from 59r to 62r, all selected from consecutive chapters from Book I, illustrate beautifully how the elements that constitute the contemplative life are interrelated and how the contemplative life is a continuous upwardly circular process, a "spiral staircase" itself. The purified soul can be given prayer, through which it is made ready to experience the divine, which again makes the soul purer and enables it to pray at a higher level of spirituality. Thus the nature of the contemplative life is imitated in the structure of the text.

<sup>75</sup> Matthew v. Verse 44 is used to address the audience.

<sup>76</sup> In f. 60r slander is referred to as "velany [...] in worde".

<sup>77</sup> Like in the *Qui Habitat* fragments (see p. 16), it is this vice which is explicitly named and not another one. Also, in both the *Scale* fragments and the *Qui Habitat* fragments the experience of God in contemplation is described as making the soul safe from slander (see 6r-6v and 51r).

<sup>78</sup> See section 2.1.2 (5). The exact significance of the compiler's repeated warnings against this vice would have to be established by comparison with 15<sup>th</sup> century sermons and other religious writings of didactic intent.

<sup>79</sup> This example that the audience are asked to "beholde" (60v) could also be interpreted as an injunction to meditation, very similar in tone to the *Qui Habitat* fragment in 7v, in which the audience is invited to meditate on very similar virtues in Christ.

### 2.3.3 "Pan is þe soule perfytly meke".

Another important virtue in the contemplative life is humility. It is both the foundation and the outcome of the contemplative life. As J.P.H. Clark points out, "the disposition of humility is the prerequisite for receiving the freely-given, infused virtue of charity"<sup>80</sup>. At the same time, this gift of God's love makes the soul even more humble. God's gracious love empties the soul of self-consciousness about its deserts and of "the disordered *amor sui* which disfigures the image of God in the soul"<sup>81</sup>. Thus the soul's initial humility is lifted up to a higher level. Clark points out that Walter Hilton does indeed distinguish between two kinds of humility.

The one is concerned in the first instance with one's own wretchedness; the second looks beyond the self to the greatness of God, as the sense of sinfulness is swallowed up in that of creaturely dependence<sup>82</sup>.

Imperfect humility, then, occurs at the moment of the soul's conversion, when the soul realizes that it lives blindly in the mire of sin, turns its back on the world and fixes its gaze on God, which has been described in the *Qui Habitat* fragments. With passages primarily selected from Book II of the *Scale*, the compiler teaches his audience how perfect humility is given to the soul. When God gives the soul the gift of Himself (or the gift of love, or salvation through the Holy Spirit, the third Person of the Trinity), the soul becomes "passive"<sup>83</sup>. It becomes emptied of itself and conforms its will to God's will completely.

we do ryght nought but suffer hym and assente to hym. for þat is þe moste þat we do. þat we assent wyfully to hym. and to his gracious wurkyng in vs. and yet is not þat wyll of vs. but of his makynge. (47v)

In this passage perfect humility is also explicitly linked to the soul's realization of the omnipotence of God<sup>84</sup>. As a result of God's gracious gift of humility, the soul sees and

<sup>80</sup> Clark, J.P.H. : "The Trinitarian Theology of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*. Book Two." p. 127. In : *Langland, The Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition. Essays in Honour of S.S. Hussey*. (Cambridge : D.S. Brewer, 1990), pp. 125-140.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>83</sup> This term stands for a non-quietist abandonment of self. "Passive", because the soul is then in a "state of selfless passivity which transcends sensuality and the idea of wanting something" (J. Bernhart : *Die philosophische Mystik des Mittelalters*, p. 83; quoted by Riehle, Wolfgang : *The Middle English Mystics*, p. 59. Non-quietist, because the soul is actively concentrated on God alone.

<sup>84</sup> See p. 10.



knows Jesus in such a way that it can take it in its limited bodily nature, and understands that "all good dedis that ar donne. and good thoughtis ben only of hym" (48r), coming from His trinitarian nature made up out of sovereign power, sovereign righteousness and sovereign goodness. Again I do not think that it is Hilton's or the compiler's intention to teach their audience an extreme predestinarian theology by insisting on the omnipotence of God. Their only aim is to teach their audience to "look beyond the self to the greatness of God". Two folios further the passivity of the soul, its perfectly humility that enables it to see God's omnipotence is described in imagery of the soul's indwelling in God that will be echoed in the *Revelations* fragments.

[The perfectly humble soul] thynkith þat he is ryght nought. and þat he can ryght nought do of hym selfe. but as it were a dedde þyng. onli / hongyng and borne vp by the greate mercy of god. he seeth well þat god is all. and he doth all þat is well donne<sup>85</sup>. (48v-49r).

Perfect humility consists in the absence of the soul's preoccupation with itself or its sins, with virtues or its fellow creatures. With the characteristic tenaciousness of the compilation, the audience is taught again that the perfectly humble soul "holdyth hym selfe and all other as nought ayens þe beyng of god. as yf þer were noo thyng but god" (50v). Two biblical authorities are quoted in support of this claim : the "prophet dauid"<sup>86</sup>, and quite a bit later in the text, in a passage that links the virtues of humility and "charite" explicitly<sup>87</sup>, Saint Paul. The quote from Paul shows how the perfectly humble soul is not weakened by the emptying of the self, but strengthened by the gift of "charite", God's gift of Himself, which fills the soul completely.

who shall departe me fro þe charyte of god. tribulacion or anguyshe<sup>88</sup>. And he answeyth him selfe and seyeth. þat þer shall no þyng put me fro þe charite of / god. (59v-60r).

<sup>85</sup> Death is, of course, the furthest abandonment of self and passivity possible. The indwelling of the soul in God is repeated in similar imagery in 64r. The soul "seeth þat it is not of it selfe. but only hangeth on þe mercy and goodnes of ihesu".

<sup>86</sup> Psalm 39 : 5, "Et gloria mea tamquam nichilum ante te". This psalm verse is briefly expounded. This short exposition is another example of the use of the first person singular in the prayer mode.

<sup>87</sup> "Charite is a free yefte of god. sente into a meke soule" (58r).

<sup>88</sup> Romans, viii, 35.

2.3.4 "He openeth the goostely eye of the soule" : the contemplative experience itself.

All the themes from the *Scale* fragments that have been discussed so far, the gifts of God, prayer and virtues, humility, are all geared towards the same one and only aim : the soul's experience of God by knowing Him or seeing Him. Again and again the compiler selected fragments in which the soul's experience of God in contemplation is described. In this section I will point out different aspects of the contemplative experience as they are discussed in the *Scale* fragments : (1) the knowledge and love of God in contemplation; (2) the violence and the ineffability of the experience; (3) the absence of the soul's preoccupation with sin and virtues through its absorption in God; (4) aversion of "bodily fervour"; (5) the seeming withdrawal of grace and (6) spiritual growth.

(1) In ff. 38r-39v, a key passage for the understanding of the compilation, the audience is taught that the contemplative life is about the recovery of the *imago Dei* in the soul, that was lost to humankind in Adam's fall<sup>89</sup>. The soul can recover its divine likeness through "reformation in feeling". This process starts by the soul's conversion and its purification. When the soul is made sufficiently humble and pure, "oure lorde ihesu of his mercyfull goodnesse [...] / [...] openeth the goostely eye of the soule" (40r-40v). The teaching of the *Bonum Est* fragments on how the soul can and should know God<sup>90</sup> is repeated here : the soul cannot know God all at once, but "by lytyll and lytyll. by diuerse tymes as the soule may bere it" (40v). The soul cannot see, that is, understand God as He is. This assertion is a repetition of the *Bonum Est* fragment assertion that the soul can not know God's deep thoughts<sup>91</sup>. The audience learns here that to know God's deep thoughts "may no creature do in heuen ne in erth" (40v). It is equally impossible for the soul to know the nature of God, "for þat syght is oonly in heuyn blysse" (40v). The soul can only see "hym þat he is vnchaungeable beyng. as souereyne myght [Father], souereyne sothfastnes [Son] and a so/uerayne goodnes [Holy Spirit]" (40v-41r). From the *Bonum Est* fragments we know that what is meant here is not seeing in the sense of understanding, but seeing in the sense of reaching through love. This is not a blind love,

<sup>89</sup> See section 2.1.3.

<sup>90</sup> See ff. 32v-35r.

<sup>91</sup> 34r. The same idea also occurs in Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*, Long Text, Chapter 33, 34-36 : "the more we besy vs to know hys prevytes [...], the ferthermore shalle we be from the knowyng".

but a true seeing. Reformation in feeling is the experience of God through understanding of His works and love of what He is :

the soule seeth god in vndyrstondynge. so þat he is confortyd and lyghtened by  
þe yefte of þe holi goost. with a wondyrfull reuerence and a pryue brennyng  
loue. and with goostly sauour and heuenly delyte. (41r)

This is in strong contrast with the way "a clarke" sees God, "nakedly and blyndly and vnsauourly [...] only through myght of his naked reason" (41r). The denunciation of the scholar here is not as strong as the *Bonum Est* condemnation of those who attempt to know God's deep thoughts, but it is equally clear that the audience should avoid this way of trying to know God. The effort to know God by reason alone will reduce the soul to blindness, the painful state of not seeing God that the soul desires to be taken up from<sup>92</sup>. The relationship between knowing and loving God, first introduced in the *Bonum Est* fragments, receives additional attention in the *Scale* fragments. God's love for the soul, defined as "vnformyd loue" (44v), makes the soul know God. The soul's love of God, defined as "formyd loue" (44v) follows from its knowledge of God. A sinful soul cannot love God of its own accord. It needs God's prevenient love that can lead it to knowledge of God and can make it love God in return. What is taught here is authorized by a quote from the Gospel of John : "Diligamus deum qui ipse prior dilexit nos"<sup>93</sup> (45r).

(2) The soul's experience of God is brief and fleeting, but so violently transcending any common experience that it becomes ineffable. Hilton used and the compiler copied the strong term "ravishing"<sup>94</sup> to describe the soul's being drawn up by God twice (41v and 48r<sup>95</sup>), and it is indicated how God comforts and illumines the soul "more clerely and more fully þan it may be wryte or seyed" (41r). This intense experience pulls the soul's affection away from sin and worldly vanity and "vanysheth þe mynde and all þe myghtis

<sup>92</sup> See 2v and 13r.

<sup>93</sup> I John iv, 19.

<sup>94</sup> The verb *ravishen* is the Middle English equivalent of the Latin *rapere*, which is also used in a mystical context. Thomas Aquinas defines *raptus* as violent ecstasy (Riehle, *The Middle English Mystics*, p.95). Without drawing any exciting conclusions about the nature of English mysticism, Riehle points out that "it is interesting that the English authors should use the verb *ravishen* so often, for it certainly contains this element of violence, as it can mean 'to carry off', 'to be passionately in love' and 'to assault sexually'." (Ibid., p.95) For the use of the term Riehle refers to Hilton, *Scale*, Book I, chapter 8, a passage similar to the one in 41r-41v.

<sup>95</sup> The wording of the f. 48r passage is very similar to the wording of the passage in 41r-41v : "loue doth more in a soule and shewyth to it the syght of ihesu wonderfully. and þe knowyng of hym as þe soule

and powers of þe soule" (41v). In this intense experience, the soul will see and understand that Jesus is both God and Man, and it will understand that God is Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Here the *Scale* fragments actually echo the closing passages of the *Qui Habitat* fragments, but, in addition, they mention the soul's appropriate responses to the Three Persons: "for than it dredyth god. as sothfastnes [Son] and wondrith in hym as myght [Father]. and louyb / hym as all goodnesse [Holy Spirit]" (41v-42r).

(3) In a so far unidentified passage the soul that is absorbed in contemplation of the divine is described as "mortyfied fro synne and all maner of passions and of rysynges of harte and cuyll wyllis of pryde. yre and envye ayenste his euencristen" (51r). The soul's dealings with its fellow-christians happen "as god and charyte wyll" (51v). The soul in contemplation ceases to be preoccupied with sins and virtues, as it is filled with God's love. God's love takes the place of the virtues, which are taken up in the all-encompassing higher virtue of "charite".

The soul that has tasted the experience of God wants to remain in recollection and devotion, and is averse to anything "þat myght lett þe fredom of spyrite fro þe thyntyng on god" (51v), even when it is comforting songs and melodies, "delyctable" for others but "vnsauoury" and distracting to the soul. After the denunciation and condemnation of scholars and people who only use naked reason to arrive at the knowledge of God, it comes as no surprise that, when the soul has experienced the divine, it does not want to listen to the "spekyng and techyng of even þe grettist clerke of þe erthe with all þe resons þat he coude sey to hym through mannys / wytte" (52r-52v). The soul only wants to listen to a great scholar "yf he coude speke felyngly and steryngly of þe loue of god" (52v), because it wants to remain absorbed in the love of God. The soul only wants to listen to what it feels will make it progress "in to more knowyng and to better felyng of god"<sup>96</sup> (52v). That scholarly approaches to God are disapproved of is here only hinted at, and the slight criticism of the "clerke" in this passage is by no means a denunciation like the ones occurring in 34r-34v and 41r.

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suffer it. and this by lityll and litill. and þat sygh he rauyshyth al þe affeccion of þe soule to hym selfe. and þan begynnyth þe soule for to know hym goostly and brennyngly for to loue hym" (48r).

<sup>96</sup> A good example of someone who took maybe even this very advice from the *Scale* zealously to heart is Margery Kempe. She drove her fellow-pilgrims to despair more than once because she only wanted to speak of God. See f.i. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Allen, Capitulum 26, 18-20: "And þei wer most displeyd for sche wepyd so mech & spak alwey of þe lofe & goodnes of owyr Lord as wel at þe tabyl as in oþer place."

(4) I have already referred to the compiler's common sense, which I believe he shares with Walter Hilton. By "common sense" I mean that the compiler disapproves, as does Walter Hilton, of an experience of God that is still tinged with the human experience of bodily sensations<sup>97</sup>. I believe one manifestation of what I call common sense, but what could also be called moderation, is the absence of highly emotionally involved meditations in the compilation as well as in the *Scale* as a whole. It is significant in this respect that the more concrete meditation from Book I, chapter 35 was not selected by the compiler, even though it is for the larger part a meditation on Christ's virtues, and only partly a meditation on events from His life. Another manifestation of the compiler's moderation is his disapproval of "bodily fervour", sometimes also called paramystical experiences, in the spiritual life<sup>98</sup>. In the *Bonum Est* fragments, the audience was taught that

he moste lough god. þat through grace is moste deperted fro þe loue of þe worlde. and þat is not for he hath moste feruour. or moste deuocion in teeris or in prayers. or in suche felable confortes. But for he hath leeste of pryde. and moste hath of mekenes. (30r; italics mine).

In the *Scale* fragments the compiler repeats this warning against trusting feelings of comfort rather than one's humility and freedom from worldly considerations. The soul that makes an effort to attain God's gift of love not through thinking that it is nothing but "as it were by bodyly strength for to haue it by bodyly feruours" (48v) will not be given the gift of love. The soul should get to know itself "through grace by syght of sothfastnes. somm tyme withoute eny feruour owtewardly shewed" (49r) and become humble in this way. As long as the soul delights in bodily experiences concomitant with its concentration on God in prayer and devotion, it is not yet completely humble. The soul has to learn that, paradoxically, "þe lesse þat it thynkyth þat it lough god. the more it neyghyð for to perceyue the gyfte of þe blessed loue of god" (49r). The soul does not

<sup>97</sup> I call this common sense because I believe Hilton's as well as the compiler's moderation to be resulting from the realization that meditation and experiences of God that are emotionally charged and felt in the body can run out of control very easily. Moreover, as the body is the seat of passions and temptations, bodily experiences are by definition not as pure as spiritual experiences and therefore more prone to be false or to be brought about by the devil.

<sup>98</sup> It is quite telling that it is often exactly because of these paramystical experiences that medieval religious women in particular are labelled hysterical by 20<sup>th</sup> century readers, but if one considers the problems such paramystical experiences caused Margery Kempe, one does see why Hilton and the compiler urge moderation, whether one credits the experiences for their religious value or not.

only have to leave behind the world and its sins, it also has to forget its own ideas of how it thinks or would like that God's love might manifest itself, as these expectations are still rooted in the body. Thus this passage conveys the same message as the fragments describing God's seeming withdrawal of His grace<sup>99</sup>.

This message is repeated 3 folios further down. Initially "felyngis lyke vnto bodily felyngis" (52v), such as the hearing of delightful song, the feeling of warmth, the seeing of light and the tasting of sweetness in the mouth, are judged unambiguously strictly. "Thees ben no goostely felyngis" (52v), because they are experiences that are felt in the imagination<sup>100</sup>. "[G]oostely felyngis" are felt in the more spiritual faculties of the soul, in knowledge and love. In a characteristic elaboration of earlier teaching and in keeping with the tendency of the compilation to first introduce an issue as if it were quite simple and afterwards complicate it, paramystical experiences are more kindly defined as, at best, "outward tokenes of þe inward grace þat is felt in þe myghtis of þe soule" (53r). Thus, it is said, the flames of fire at Pentecost were only the outward sign of the Holy Spirit's presence in the apostles' souls. As is shown in his inclusion of this eminent example, Hilton must have realized that "bodily fervour" did manifest itself in people of saintly reputation. He might disapprove of bodily fervour on practical grounds, but he could not dismiss it altogether. This seems to be the reason why the discussion of bodily fervour is closed off with a repetition of this positive assessment of it. As it was with the apostles at Pentecost,

So it is in oper soules þat ar visited and lyghtned within of þe holi goost. and haue with þat suche owtewarde felyngis in comfort and in wyttenssyng of þe grace inwardly. But þat grace is not in all soules þat ar parfyt. but there as oure lord wyll. (54r)

In spite of the positive assessment of bodily fervour as a special grace from God, Hilton's (and the compiler's) distrust of bodily manifestations of grace is obvious. At the same time, the *Scale* fragments are quite adamant in their message to the audience that they should absolutely trust their spiritual experiences of God in contemplation, because these are felt in the "understanding" of the soul, and not in the imagination. In a first passage the audience is taught that "not ayenstandynge þe bodyly kynde" (42v) it is possible for the soul to experience God. They are reassured that the power of the

<sup>99</sup> See section 2.2.2.

<sup>100</sup> See note 70.

experience will leave them in no doubt about the nature of the sight : "for he seeth it so sothfastly. þat he may not vnbeleue it" (42v). The compilation contains a second passage in which the audience is positively urged to be sure "when þou feliste þi soule stered by grace. [...] þat þou seest and feliste ihesu" (63r). Before the audience is told that they can be sure their experience is real, the most important stages of the soul's progress in the contemplative life are rehearsed again, and the importance of the way the soul feels the working of God's grace is stressed, but these conditions do not diminish the vigour with which the audience is asked to be confident that the soul does experience Jesus at different moments of its spiritual life.

(5) Another theme that the audience is invited to reconsider is the seeming withdrawal of grace. Again, the discussion of this issue in the *Scale* fragments adds to the *Bonum Est* fragments. The seeming withdrawal of grace is introduced after a brief discussion of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in which the most important point seems to be that the soul does not control the Holy Spirit's coming and going. This lack of control is closely related to the need for the soul to be humble and passive, and not to expect divine, uncreated love to manifest itself in commonly known ways. The Holy Spirit "commythe pryuyly. somm tyme when þou art leeste war of hym" (55v). In the same way he also "goeth er þou wette it" (55v). Whereas the *Bonum Est* fragments mainly imply that the withdrawal of grace is only seeming, that God lastingly keeps the soul in His grace, the *Scale* fragments point out explicitly that God does not withdraw His grace from the soul when it keeps itself pure and humble and does not fall back into sin deliberately, but He shows his grace in an unexpected, more spiritual way :

for he withdrawith / hym som what but not all. but fro exercise in to sobernes. the hyghnes passeth. but þe substaunce and þe effecte of grace dwellyth styll (56r).

It is inherent in human nature, however, that the soul will fall back into its fleshliness and will feel as if God's grace is withdrawn completely. This is a painful experience for the soul, as it is "blynd and vnsauoury" (57r), back in the mire of sin, and unable to see God's hidden face<sup>101</sup>. The audience is taught, as it was in the *Bonum Est* fragments, that this feeling of grace withdrawn is a trial of strength for the soul. Sometimes, the audience is taught, the soul is not ready to receive God's grace, and then it seeks God, but does

<sup>101</sup> Job xxxiv : 29 gives biblical authorization to the description of the state the soul is in.

not find Him<sup>102</sup>. If the soul does not keep strong in its trust of God, as it has been taught in the *Qui Habitat* fragments, it will fall into despair and become an easy prey for the devil. If the soul does keep its trust in God, "it is borne vp fro despayre and sauysd fro goostli myschef" (58v). When the soul keeps trusting in God and bears the pain of God's seeming absence, it follows Christ in the bearing of his cross. Thus the soul's suffering can be transformed into a purifying *imitatio Christi*, following Him "in to contemplacion of my manhed and he of my godhed" (59r).

(6) Maybe the most typical characteristic of the *Scale* fragments is that they systematically add the concept of progress to what the audience had been taught in the compilation before. Spiritual progress is mentioned in the *Qui Habitat* fragments once, when the audience is taught that the soul will "flee vp fro gree to gree, þat is fro bodily exercise into goostly, tyll þou comm to perfeccioun" (8v), and progress is implied, but not systematically taught in the rest of the *Qui Habitat* and *Bomum Est* fragments. The *Scale* fragments abound with references to spiritual growth. The soul can be humble, but its humility can be lifted to a higher level and can become perfect humility. God gave the soul the gift of life in its creation, but also gave it the higher gift of redemption through Christ's suffering, death and resurrection. To His chosen souls, he gives the highest gift of love in the Holy Spirit, who lifts the soul's creation and redemption up into salvation. The soul can be given concentrated prayer and can be spiritually shown every word of the prayer it says. This prayer can also be drawn to a higher level and become silent prayer, wordless, transcending reason and becoming pure love.

That the *Scale of Perfection* was very aptly named can be shown in the fragments that close the compiler's selections of this text. The fragments have all been linearly selected from Book II, chapters 43 to 46.

The passage that I will discuss starts on f. 35r, with a recapitulation of the theology / anthropology of the *imago Dei*. The soul is enabled to know God by discovering the created trinity, a mirror-image of the uncreated Trinity, in itself. In this experience of contemplation of God, the soul sees spiritual things. As the soul advances in the contemplative life, it sees spiritual things at increasingly higher levels and it gets closer and closer to God.

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<sup>102</sup> Song of Songs, iii, 1.



First the soul sees the nature of a reasonable soul and how the Trinity works in the soul<sup>103</sup>. A more spiritual experience is the beholding of God's works in "goostely creaturys" (67v). At a more advanced stage of the contemplative life, the soul will first be shown "resonable soulis boeth of chosen and reprouyd" (67v). The soul will see how God works in them when they are still in their earthly lives, and after death<sup>104</sup>. This sight is called "a lytyll beholding of holy church here in erthe" and "þe syght of ihesu. not in hym selfe. but in his mercyfull and preuy werkes" (68v). The soul beholds this with "grete delyte and wonderful / softenes of brennyng loue in god" (68v-69r). As the soul proceeds it will see "þe kynde of angels. bothe of good angels and of þe dampned" (69r). The soul sees the devil<sup>105</sup> as "a wretched caytyf bownde with þe myght of god so þat he may no thyng do. no more than a mowse" (69r), and thus learns, as Julian of Norwich did in revelation 5, that the devil is powerless and that people are cowards when they are afraid of him. The soul then "tourneth hym vpsodowne. spoyleth hym and rendyth hym all to nought. and vtterly despise hym and sett / hym at nought by his malyce" (69r-69v). The contemplative soul sees a prefiguration of the judgement of the devil, "for they fele a lytyll tastynge of þat. þat shalbe done aftirwarde of god openly" (70r). A more advanced experience still is the contemplation of the good angels and of how they minister to the soul<sup>106</sup>. The angels help the soul, "they put oute fantasies<sup>107</sup> fro þe soule. and they illumyne þe soule graciously" (71r). They fill the mind with good words and thoughts and through their fellowship the soul perceives "þe felynges and þe lyghtnyngis. þe gracis and þe confortis" (71r) that the angels perceive<sup>108</sup>.

With the help of the angels, the soul can advance still further in the spiritual life and "beholde þe blessed kynde of ihesu" (71v), first in His humanity and afterwards in His divinity. The soul can then still progress further and see "a lytil of þe preuytees of þe blessed trynyte" (71v) through the light of grace. Like the *Qui Habitat* fragments, the

<sup>103</sup> This is equivalent to Edmund of Abingdon's first way of contemplation in created beings.

<sup>104</sup> This echoes a passage from *Qui Habitat*. See 12r-12v.

<sup>105</sup> It is specified that the soul sees the devil spiritually and not bodily, a distinction of ways of seeing that occurs in Julian of Norwich's *Revelations* many times. In Hilton it is the common medieval distinction between *visio corporalis* and *visio intellectualis* (Riehl, *The Middle English Mystics*, p. 125).

<sup>106</sup> The assertion that it is the angels who bring good words and thoughts to the soul is again linked to the virtue of humility. In order to be given God's grace, the soul should become humble. It can become humble if it realizes that it cannot take credit for its good words and deeds.

<sup>107</sup> "fantasies" are the images generated by the imagination, a lower faculty. See note 70.

<sup>108</sup> This passage bears an absolutely striking resemblance to a passage in the *Qui Habitat* fragments. See 17r.

*Scale* fragments end crescendo with the soul's sight of God's trinitarian nature as it is in itself, and not as it works in the soul<sup>109</sup>. It will see that the Trinity is Three Persons but One Substance. The *Scale* fragments close with the assertion that what the soul can see here is "open", which means that in aspiring to this experience, the soul does not overstep the boundaries of what it is allowed to know and does not venture to know God's secret deep thoughts.

#### 2.4 "And this was a singular meruell and a full delectable beholding pat we be his coronn" : The *Revelations* Fragments.

The compiler's selections from the long text of Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love* stand apart from the rest of the compilation for several reasons. The text starts on a new folio (72v), leaving the blank space of half f. 72r in between the *Scale* fragments and the *Revelations* fragments. This oddity in the manuscript's layout would have alerted the readers of Treasury 4 to a break of some kind between the first 71 folios of the manuscript and the text starting on folio 72v. Indeed, it is obvious from the first lines of the *Revelations* fragments that this is a text of a quite different nature from *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est*, and the *Scale of Perfection*. The first person narrative voice of this new text is one that does not occur in the first part of the compilation at all. All of a sudden the audience is listening to someone who has seen spiritual truths as they were taught in the first part of the compilation, telling them that "[o]ure gracious and goode lorde god shewed me in party þe wisdom and the trewthe of þe soule of our blessed lady saynt mary" (72v). This is the voice of the witness, the contemplative who has truly experienced God and who teaches the audience with that experiential authority. The first person narrator refers to her own experiences repeatedly, as for instance in f. 89r, where she adds the authorizing statement of her experience to her account of the soul's feeling of barrenness and dryness when it thinks its prayers are not answered : "For þus I haue felt in my selfe". Whereas the Hilton-canon fragments are more sedate, the tone of the *Revelations* fragments is almost euphoric. Even though the compiler has streamlined the fragments to fit in with his message, maybe because of their experiential origin they seem somehow to escape his control in a way that the Hilton-canon fragments did not at all.

<sup>109</sup> In other words, it will see the uncreated Trinity and not the created trinity.

The *Revelations* fragments differ from the rest of the compilation in still another respect. In the fragments from *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est* or the *Scale* the compiler does not even do so much as hint at the fragments' original source. Only in the *Revelations* fragments does there occur a reference to the wider framework of the original text from which these fragments were taken. The selections from revelation 9 are introduced with the announcement that "[a]lso in the nyneth shewyng our lord god seyde to her thus" (83v). The contemplative's answer to God's question is introduced as well: "[a]nd she seyde" (83v). This isolated reference to the source text teaches the audience that the contemplative who speaks in this part of the compilation is a woman, and that she tells the audience about a number of "shewyngs" she received from God. I think we cannot rule out the possibility that for some readers these indications would have been enough to identify the text that forms the closing part of the compilation as Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*. If this reference to the *Revelations* was consciously intended, the compiler might have considered its female authorship worth mentioning because it was rather unusual for a Middle English religious text to be written by a woman. Also, if the compiler's audience was female, it would have made sense to point out in passing that the narrator of this closing part of the compilation was a woman, because the audience could then more easily identify with this woman's personal experience of God<sup>110</sup>.

In spite of the differences with the first part of the compilation, the *Revelations* fragments fit into the compilation wonderfully well. With the *Qui Habitat* fragments, the *Revelations* fragments share the use of the first person singular voice of God, who directly addresses the audience in speeches or the narrator's paraphrases of the speeches written in God's voice. The *Revelations* fragments are thematically continuous with the psalm exposition fragments and the *Scale* fragments. As in the first part of the compilation, a trinitarian vein runs through the *Revelations* fragments. In true 'Treasury 4 fashion, the *Revelations* fragments both repeat and expand the discussion of the themes that have been introduced in the psalm exposition fragments and that have been consolidated in the *Scale* fragments: the preparation of the soul for the union with God in prayer, God's protection of the pure and humble soul, the alternating feelings of bliss in contemplation and wretchedness when God seems to have withdrawn His grace and

<sup>110</sup> In a sense, the *Revelations* fragments could have been inserted as proof of the truth of the teaching in the first part of the compilation, as the narrator's experience shows that it is possible to experience God in this life.

the knowledge of the soul and of God the soul can attain in contemplation. The *Revelations* fragments circumscribe these main themes in still wider circles, thus inviting the audience to ponder on these themes again, and to arrive at an ever deeper and more complete understanding of what they were taught in the first part of the compilation.

In my analysis I will focus on the continuity of the *Revelations* fragments with the rest of the compilation, on their expansion of its main themes, showing that even those motifs from the *Revelations* that seem new to the compilation have been announced in the *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est* or *Scale* fragments.

#### 2.4.1 "And so in þis syght I saw ... And in þis he shewed me ..." : a visionary experience ?

(1) We have already discussed the compiler's reserve with regard to more emotional (and thus less controllable) experiences of religious fervour<sup>111</sup>. In this respect the compiler can be called a true Hiltonian. With this in mind, it is interesting to see how he as it were cuts round Julian's explicit references to her visions, an experience of a rather unusual kind that does not seem to be subsumed under the description of the different types of contemplation in the *Scale* fragments<sup>112</sup>.

The historical circumstances of Julian's visionary experience as they are related by herself have been described often<sup>113</sup> and I will not repeat them here. What interests me more is the nature of Julian's visionary experience. From Julian's account of the experience we learn that she experienced

a series of remarkably vivid visual and auditory phenomena in which, with her eyes fixed in extremis on the crucifix, she has both 'corporeal' vision of the suffering and dying Christ, and 'spiritual sight' and understanding of the teachings he conveyed to her<sup>114</sup>.

Julian herself describes at least part of her visionary experience as bodily showings, *visiones corporales*, which, according to Augustine's description, means that she saw physical things that were invisible to others<sup>115</sup>. Jantzen points out that Julian distinguishes between bodily and spiritual vision, from which she concludes that "when she says that

<sup>111</sup> See section 2.3.4 (4).

<sup>112</sup> See ff. 42v-43r.

<sup>113</sup> See for instance Jantzen, Grace : *Julian of Norwich, Mystic and Theologian*. (London : SPCK, 1992), pp. 74-75, and Baker, Denise : *Julian of Norwich's Showings*, p.15.

<sup>114</sup> Jantzen, *Julian of Norwich*, p. 75.

she saw something with bodily vision, we have to take it that she means what she says, and is not talking about spiritual illumination or her own imagination"<sup>116</sup>. Jantzen goes on to argue that the value of Julian's bodily visions does not lie in the experiences themselves, but in the spiritual understanding she derives from them and in her aim in writing down what she saw and understood : to increase her fellow-christians' love for God.

The compiler's omission of all of the showings Julian calls bodily seems an indication that the assessment of these bodily visions was as problematic in the late Middle Ages as it is now. How could it be established whether they were of God or of the Devil<sup>117</sup> ? Walter Hilton devoted chapters 10 and 11 of Book I of the *Scale* to this question. He concludes that these experiences can be brought about both by good and bad angels, therefore the soul should not desire them and use its discretion to find if they are good or bad. If the experiences are judged to be good, they should never be an end in themselves, but a means to a better spiritual life. Whether the experience is good can be judged from its outcome.

an experience of this kind<sup>118</sup> [...] may enable you to pray more fervently and devoutly, and to think more readily of spiritual things. If this be so, although it may be disturbing at first, it will later transform and quicken your heart to a deeper desire for virtue, increase your love towards God and your fellow-Christians, and make you more humble in your own eyes<sup>119</sup>.

Julian's *Revelations of Divine Love* witness to it that she regarded these "visions or revelations by spirits" as the means to deeper understanding and greater love of God<sup>120</sup>. This would definitely have been recognized by Hilton and the compiler.

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<sup>115</sup> Richle, *The Middle English Mystics*, p. 125.

<sup>116</sup> Jantzen, *Julian of Norwich*, p. 76.

<sup>117</sup> As Jantzen points out, today we would ask ourselves how we can be sure that these experiences are genuine religious experiences and no "hallucinations, drug-induced or otherwise". Jantzen, *Julian of Norwich*, p. 78.

<sup>118</sup> Referred to in Book I chapter 10 as "visions or revelations by spirits, whether seen in bodily form or in the imagination, and whether in sleeping or waking". These visions "do not constitute true contemplation". Hilton, Walter : *The Ladder of Perfection*. Translated by Leo Sherley-Price. (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1957, repr. 1988), p. 10.

<sup>119</sup> *The Ladder of Perfection*, p. 12.

<sup>120</sup> Julian specifies in the second chapter of the Long text that she "desyred a bodely sight, wher in I might haue more knowledge of the bodily paynes of our sauour, and of the compassion of our lady and of all his true louers that were lyuyng that tyme and saw his paynes" *A Book of Showings*, chapter 2, 12-15.

The true value of Julian's bodily visions can only be appreciated in her detailed account of the understanding they brought her. As the compilation is built from fragments of text that are presented outside their original context, this appreciation could have been lost in Treasury 4. This could well have determined the compiler's decision to omit the "bodily vision"-elements of revelations 1 and 2, and revelations 4 and 8. In addition, and maybe more importantly, the contents of Julian's bodily visions fall outside the scope of the compilation as it was defined by the selections of *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est*, and the *Scale*. The compiler does not at all focus on "compassion, the affective suffering with Christ [that] can be achieved through either devotional meditation or visionary experience"<sup>121</sup>. The audience of the compilation is not invited to meditate on events in the life of Christ, but is invited to follow Him by adopting His meekness and other virtues. In the *Scale* fragments, "deuocion [...] in þe passion of crist" (36r) is not God's gift par excellence at the start of the contemplative life, but one of His possible gifts. Even though the compiler does acknowledge the importance of Christ's suffering, death and resurrection for the salvation of mankind, Julian's vivid (and bloody) descriptions of the Passion are too marginal to the compiler's interests and intentions to be selected for the compilation.

(2) At first sight the visual imagery that does remain in the *Revelations* fragments seems idiosyncratic for this last part of the compilation, but for the most part even this visual imagery is a revisiting of a theme already to be found in the *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est* and *Scale* fragments. In the Hilton-canon fragments, contemplation is described in visual terms. In contemplation, the soul is given "speciall vicitacions of god [,] gracious illuminacyons and oþer goostly felyngis" (27r). God "shows" Himself to the pure and humble soul. He "openeth the goostely eye of the soule"<sup>122</sup> so that the soul can "see hym and know hym" (40v). The soul thus receives "þe syght of [God's] pryuytees" (9r) and is led "in to beholdynge of hym" (9r). In one instance these two terms are used in a tautological structure: the soul "settyth al his besynes for to kepe þat syght and beholdyng of god that he hath" (50r). Both terms are indeed synonymous with

<sup>121</sup> Baker, *Julian of Norwich's Showings*, p. 23.

<sup>122</sup> The concept of "the eye of the soul" goes back to Plato, but was first introduced into Christian language by Saint Paul, who used the term "oculus cordis" in his first letter to the Ephesians. The "eye of the soul" became an important mystical concept in the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius and Augustine. See Riehle, *The Middle English Mystics*, pp. 122-3.

contemplation, but, unlike "beholdyng", "syght" can also be used in the meaning of "understanding", which is another instance of the near-equivalence of "seeing" and "knowing" in the Hilton-canon fragments.

In the *Revelations* fragments we find this visual imagery again. What was called a description of contemplation in visual terms in the Hilton-canon fragments, becomes in the discussion of a visionary text such as the *Revelations*, in Augustinian terms, a description of a *visio intellectualis*. In this form of vision "man does not perceive anything physical, for it is a vision where perception is at a purely spiritual level"<sup>123</sup>. It is obvious that the visionary experience Julian is describing is of the same nature as the experience of contemplation described in visual terms in the Hilton-canon fragments. The main difference between the visual imagery in the Hilton-canon fragments and the *Revelations* fragments is that whereas the Hilton-canon fragments use the imagery to refer to contemplation almost in a generic way, to refer in fairly abstract terms to the experience a contemplative can theoretically have, in the *Revelations* fragments the imagery is used to describe Julian's concrete and specific experience, which, in the full text of the *Revelations*, is circumscribed by the indication of the very date and hours when it took place. The *Revelations* fragments are more concrete than the Hilton-canon fragments in teaching the audience what the soul can actually see in contemplation exactly because they refer to a particular experience. The words "syght" and "shewyng" are preceded by a demonstrative determiner in most of their occurrences: "[i]n / this syght" (73r-73v), "by whiche syght" (82r), "in þat sight" (82r), "in þis shewyng" (75v), "[t]his shewyng" (76r), ... "Syght" is not a synonym of contemplation in general here, but of a particular *visio intellectualis*, or an individual contemplative experience<sup>124</sup>. That the first person narrator experienced more than one such vision is made explicit in the reference to "the nyneth shewyng" (83v).

The vocabulary of Julian's visionary experience is continuous with the visual imagery of the contemplative experience in the Hilton-canon fragments. The only difference seems to be one of literary form (or of vantage point in the conceptualization of the experience): Julian's *visio intellectualis* that she describes as "showings" can be said to be just like a contemplative experience, the psalm commentator's and Hilton's "contemplacioun" (9v,

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

43r, 56v, 59r, 69r) can be said to be just like a *visio intellectualis*. By taking the *Revelations* fragments out of the larger context of Julian's account of her visions and her understanding of them, the compiler levelled this difference away, and made the fragments what must have been an intriguing and enriching illustration of what the audience were taught in the first part of the compilation. In the context of Treasury 4, Julian's visions come to be represented as a contemplative rather than a visionary experience<sup>125</sup>.

#### 2.4.2 "Pe custom of prayer was brought to my mynde".

In the *Revelations* fragments the compiler expands the discussion of prayer. The first person narrator teaches the audience that they should address their prayers directly to God rather than to pray to intermediaries. The soul prays through intermediaries "for vnknowyng of loue" (76v), which is yet another kind of blindness the soul can suffer from. The narrator's experience has taught her that "pough we make all þis menys it is to lytyll and not full worshyp to god" (76v) and "þat it is more worshippe to god and more very delyte. þat we feythfully prey to hym selfe" (76v). The intermediaries that the soul prays to rather than to God are mentioned explicitly. The most important intermediary is the humanity of Christ, "þe blessed kynde þat he toke of the mayden mary" (77v), subdivided into individual subjects for meditation and prayer in typical late medieval fashion: "we prayde to god for his holy fleshe. and for his precious blode. his holy passion. and his derewurthy deeth. his worshypfull woundes and all þe blessed kyndenes. þe endeles lyf þat we haue of all this" (77r). Other intermediaries are "speciall / sayntis. and all þe blessed company in heuen" (77r-77v). In the narrator's argument it is presented as absolutely logical that the soul should pray to God Himself without intermediaries, because His goodness is the intermediaries' first and only origin. She has to concede, however, that God created intermediaries to help the soul, which, as a matter of fact, the audience had been taught in the *Qui Habitat* and *Scale* passages on the

<sup>124</sup> In the phrase "as to my sygh" (73v, 80v, 81v, 90v), which is a expression of humility on Julian's part, "sygh" means "understanding". The phrase could be translated as "according to what I saw" or "as I understand it".

<sup>125</sup> It would seem that the distinction is unnecessary and irrelevant also because, as Riehle points out, Julian's visions "have an extremely intellectual character" (Riehle, *The Middle English Mystics*, p. 126). I believe that the distinction is a subtle one, as well as a necessary and relevant one. The decontextualization of the *Revelations* fragments does change the conceptualization of the experience in the *Revelations*, so that the compiler can use the decontextualized fragments to exactly make the point he wants to make in continuity with the Hilton-canon fragments.



ministration of angels. Even though "to the goodnes of god is the hygheste prayer" (78r), it pleases God that the soul seeks Him and prays to Him through intermediaries, provided that the soul realizes that God "is goodnes of all" (78r).

The selections of revelation 14 contain a sustained discussion of prayer in which a lot of issues are addressed that were touched upon or implied in the first part of the compilation. It had been taught in the *Bonum Est* and the *Scale* fragments<sup>126</sup> how important it is for the soul to trust that God keeps it, even when the soul itself thinks that God does not answer its prayers and has withdrawn His grace. The narrator knows from her own experience that "we be as bareyne and as drye often tymes afir oure prayer as we were before" (89r). She repeats that the soul should trust God. He is with the soul even when it thinks He does not hear its prayers because He Himself is the foundation and the origin of the soul's prayer.

I am grounde of þi besekyng. firste it is my wyll þat þou haue it. and I make þe to wyll it. how shulde it than be þat ou shulde not haue þi besekynge seeth I make þe to besekyng it. (89v)

That it is God Himself who "stereth þe soule for to pray" (54v) was already taught in the *Scale* fragments, but there the trust the soul should have in God was not linked to God being the origin of its prayers. In the *Revelations* fragments, the soul is told to trust God, the origin of its prayers, in words that God Himself showed to the first person narrator, which makes the message more intense. God showed these reassuring words to the narrator because He "wyll þat this beknowen of all his louers in erthe" (90v). As the soul will see "þat oure besekynge is not cause of þe goodnes and grace þat he dothe vnto vs. but his owne proper goodnes" (90r), it will recognize God's omnipotence and will become perfectly humble in its ever greater desire for God. God's statement that "I am grounde of thi prayer and of thi besekyng" (90v) leads the narrator to confirm what she taught in ff. 76v-78r: "he is þe furste resceyuer of oure prayer as to my syght" (90v).

Just as trust should be a characteristic of the soul's prayer, so should thanking be. Thanking is defined as much the same thing as the soul's perfectly humble attitude that manifests itself in silent prayer, a type of prayer discussed in the *Scale* fragments<sup>127</sup>. Thanking God "is a trewe inwarde knowyng with / grete reuerence and louely drede turnyng our selfe with all our myghtis in to þe wurkyng þat oure lorde god steryd us to.

<sup>126</sup> See ff. 28v and 35r, f. 58v.

<sup>127</sup> See f. 64r.

inioyeng and thankyng hym inwardely" (91r-91v). The soul's silent prayer "some tyme with plenteousnes [...] brekith owte with voyce" (91v). The narrator herself "brekith owte with voyce" in a prayer resulting from the soul's overflowing enjoying and thanking of God: "good lord graunt mercy. blessed mote þou be" (91v). The narrator's jubilation that could be said to underly all of the *Revelations* fragments resurfaces on ff. 83v, 91v, 92v, 104v and 109r.

By association, the narrator moves from the vocal prayer of thanking to the soul's cry to God. When it feels dry or barren, or when it is tempted by the devil, the soul "is dryuen by reason and by gracc to krye vp on oure lorde with voyce rehersynge his blessed passion and his greate goodnes" (91v). In response to this cry, "þe vertue / of our lordis worde turnyth in to þe soule and quicknyth the hart and entrith in by his grace to trewe wurkyng" (91v-92r). This passage echoes psalm 90, verse 15: "And for he cryed to me. I shall here him. I am with hym in tribulacion" (21r).

The teaching on prayer is systematically recapitulated in the enumeration of "thre thyng þat longith to oure prayer" of which "[o]ur lord wyll þat we haue trewe vndirstondyng" (92r). He wants the soul to know that He is the origin of its prayer. He wants the soul to know that it should pray by conforming its will to God's will with joy, and that the fruit and the aim of its prayer is to be united to God, having fully recovered its trinitarian *imago Dei*. In a later fragment, "our owne meke continuyng prayer" (96r), a gift of God's "swete grace" (96r), is explicitly described as a direct way to the *unio mystica* in this life and the beatific vision in the next.

#### 2.4.3 *The Incarnation and the Passion.*

It is inevitable that some references to the Incarnation and the Passion remain in fragments from a text that records an experience with the suffering of Christ and its meaning at its centre, even though the compiler has left out the descriptions of Julian's corporeal visions of the suffering Christ. These references are almost like relics of the full text of the *Revelations*. The Incarnation and the Passion cannot be said to have all at once become main themes in the compilation, but the humanity of Christ and all it entails clearly receive greater prominence.

(1) The *Revelations* fragments open with the narrator's account of her "syght" of "þe wysdom and the trewthe of þe soule of our blessed lady saynt mary" (72v). What God shows her makes her fully understand the Annunciation, her description of which echoes

Luke 1, 26-38. She quotes part of verse 38 when she is pointing out that Mary's perfectly humble disposition "caused here to sey full mekely vnto gabryell. lo me here. goddis handmayden" (73r). Of course this passage contains more than an implicit reference to the Incarnation in the reference to Mary's conception of Jesus in her marvel "þat he þat was her maker wolde be borne of her þat is made" (72v). Mary is portrayed here first and foremost as the perfect contemplative, beholding God in perfect humility. At the same time, by selecting precisely this passage from the *Revelations*, the compiler introduces the narrator herself as an exemplary contemplative who beholds the Virgin Mary<sup>128</sup>. The narrator's experience can be defined in the words of the *Scale* fragments: she is made "to see and feele ihesu in an oper maner. þat is firste to se ihesu in holy wryte" (64r).

The Incarnation is mentioned again in the discussion of the soul's use of intermediaries in prayer, implicitly at first in a reference to "his moder loue. þat hym bare" (77r). Later it is mentioned more explicitly as "þe blessed kynde þat he toke of þe mayden mary" (77v). With the fragments from revelation 9, the compiler included a reference to what Christ did for humanity "in our manhed begynnynge at þe swete incarnation. and lestyng tyl þe blessed vprysyng on ester day in þe mornynge" (85v). The Incarnation is also referred to in the discussion of the motherhood of Christ, a theme that will be discussed more fully later. Christ our Mother "toke þe grounde of his werke full lowe and full myldely in þe mayden's wombe. takyng fleshe of her" (104r).

(2) Christ's "precious passion" (76r) is described as having been instrumental for the redemption and salvation of mankind. As such, the Passion is another manifestation of God's infinite goodness, which leads the narrator to conclude that all prayers addressed to the humanity of Christ, to His flesh, His blood, His Passion and death and His wounds should really be addressed to the goodness of God<sup>129</sup>.

In the fragments from revelation 9 the salvation of mankind through His suffering, death and resurrection is described as "so grete blysse to oure lorde ihesu. þat he settith at nought all his traueyll and his hard pas/sion and his cruell and shamefull deth" (85r-85v). In the fragments from revelation 10 the wound in Christ's side is described as the safe place of the *Qui Habitat* fragments, "a feyre delectable place and large I now for all man

<sup>128</sup> I might add that the compiler introduces Julian's account of her "syght" for the audience to behold, which creates an interesting *mise-en-abîme* of the audience beholding Julian beholding Mary beholding God.

kynde þat shall be sauf to reste in pees and loue" (87r). Christ's wound, as well as "his dereworthy blod. [...] his precious water. and [...] his blessed harte euyn cloun at twoo" (87r) are not mentioned just for their own sake, but as signs of God's infinite love for the soul, "þe endeles loue þat was with oute begynnyng. and is and shalbe cuer" (87v). Thinking about the Passion should inspire the soul to pray, trusting that its prayers will be heard or, in the words of *Qui Habitat*, that God will be with the soul in tribulation :

Also to more / vnderstandynge þis blessed worde was seyd. Loo how I loue the. as yf he had seyd. beholde and see þat I loued the so meche. or I dyed for þe. þat I wolde dye for the. and now I haue dyed for the. and sufferde payne wylfully þat I may. and now is all my bitter peyne. and all my traueyle turned to endeles ioie and blysse bothe to me and to thee. How shulde it now be þat thou shuldeste ony thyng pray me þat lykyth me : but þat I shulde full gladly graunt it. þe. (87v-88r)

This reassuring passage illustrates beautifully that the themes of the Incarnation and the Passion as they are introduced in the compilation in the *Revelations* fragments do not clash with the compiler's preference for a more abstract form of meditation and contemplation, because both the Incarnation and the Passion are always described as physical manifestations of God's goodness and love. The didactic value of these references should not be underestimated. They help the audience to arrive at a deeper understanding of their relationship with God starting from the events in Christ's life that are familiar to them from the Bible, probably also from their typically late medieval practise of affective prayer and meditation and doubtlessly also from art<sup>130</sup>.

#### 2.4.4 " ... and eche of them both oper" : the reciprocity of love between God and the soul.

The reciprocity theme is not entirely new to the compilation, as it was already announced in the *Scale* fragments, where the audience is taught that "all suche gracious knowynges in holy write. or in oper writing þat is made through grace. are nought else but swete letters sendyng made betwene a louyng soule and god" (66r). The theme is elaborated to

<sup>129</sup> See section 2.4.2.

<sup>130</sup> The influence of art on religious experience and more specifically on meditation and visionary experiences and the way they were set down in texts is a problem that merits further development. It will not be gone into here, as this would lead us beyond the scope of this study.

full prominence in the *Revelations* fragments and to a large extent accounts for the reassuring nature of this closing part of the compilation.

The reciprocity of love between the soul and God is possible because God loved the soul first, a fact that has been pointed out to the audience again and again<sup>131</sup>. The soul who lives in the blindness of sin and the ignorance of God is stirred by God's prevenient love, which makes it enter into the dialectics of desire. The experience of God's love leads to desire for Him, and not vice versa.

we be nowe so blynde and so unwyse þat we can neuer seke god. tyll what tyme þat he of his goodnes shewyth hym selfe to vs. and when we see ought of hym graciously þan ar we stered by þe same grace to seke hym with grete desyre to se hym more blissefully. And þus I sawe hym and sought hym / and I had hym and wanted hym (80r-80v).

In the *Revelations* fragments God's prevenient love for the soul is intensified into God's desire for the soul. Like so much of the love imagery in mystical texts the *Deus desiderans* motif derives from the Song of Songs. In Christian mysticism the love-longing of the bride for the bridegroom of the Song of Songs became a metaphor for the soul's desire for the *unio mystica*. As "it is not always clear which statements are to be attributed to which speaker" in the Song of Songs, exegetes came to attribute the love-longing to the bridegroom, and "from this Bernard of Clairvaux developed the important theological theme that it is not only the soul who yearns for God but that God also yearns for the soul"<sup>132</sup>. According to Riehle, the *Deus desiderans* motif is "comparatively rare in English mystical prose and is limited almost exclusively to texts of female mysticism"<sup>133</sup>. It is a distinguished theme in Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love* and in the fragments from the *Revelations* in Treasury 4.

God yearns for the soul. He "shewed þat it is ful grete plesaunce to hym. þat a sely soule com to hym" (75v) in perfect humility. God is called the soul's "louer", who "desyareth þat þe soule clyme to hym. with all the myghte" (79r). That God attends to the soul's prayers is also related to the reciprocal love relationship between God and the soul: "and perfor we may aske of oure louer with reuerence all þat we wyll. for oure kyndely wyll is

<sup>131</sup> Most explicitly in the *Scale* fragments: "therfor shulde we fully desyre and aske of god þis gifte of loue. þat he wolde for / the mokenes of his loue. touche our hartis with his blessed loue. þat as he louyth vs. that we may loue hym. This seyth seynt john Diligamus deum qui ipse prior dilexit nos" (44v-45r).

<sup>132</sup> Riehle, *The Middle English Mystics*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

to haue god. and þe good wyll of god is to haue vs" (79v). The narrator's understanding of God's desire for the soul entails a consciousness of the elevated nature of the soul, which is, as the audience learned in the *Qui Habitat* fragments<sup>134</sup>, closer to God than the nature of any other creature. The pure and humble soul is called God's "blyssc. hys mede. and his wurship. [...] his coronn" (84v). This consciousness also explains and authorizes the narrator's confident voice.

By selecting the narrator's discussion of the elevated nature of the soul, the compiler also revisits the theme of the gift. In the *Scale* fragments, this meant first and foremost God's gifts to the soul, and most importantly, God's gift of Himself in the gift of grace, the gift of love, the gift of the Holy Spirit. In the *Revelations* fragments this theme is expanded again. The soul is not only the receiver of God's gifts, but itself becomes a gift from God to His Son, as a reward for His suffering. Thus the soul does not only belong to Christ because it was redeemed by Him, but also because it is given to Christ by God. To the *Deus desiderans* this gift is "so blysseful [...] þat his father myght haue yeue hym no mede þat myght haue lykyd hym better" (85r). Later on in the compilation, this imagery recurs in a more complex form. In a description of another of the narrator's "syghts" she sees that Christ "all having vs in hym. þat shall be sauýd by hym. wurshypfully presentyth his fader in heuyn with vs whiche present well thankfully his father resceyuyth" (100r). The Father courteously gives the present to the Son. This gift imagery should be understood as a metaphor for the soul's in-dwelling in God, a theme I will discuss later<sup>135</sup>.

The gift imagery is still complicated further, as Christ's suffering is another gift of God's love to the soul. The fragments from revelations 9 focus on the narrator's understanding of Christ's willingness to suffer still more for the soul, if that would be possible, which illustrates both that Christ suffered incomprehensibly much on the cross, and that "the goodnes of hym may /neuer cesse of profer" (84r-84v). Christ tells the narrator in a speech that "[i]t is a ioy. a blysse. and an endelesse lykyng to me þat I euer sufferde passion for thee" (83v). A few folios further down, Christ is compared to "a glad yeuer".

A glad yeuer. takyth but lytyll hede at þe thyng þat he yeuyth : but his desyre is and all his entent to pleace hym and solace hym to whom he yeuith it. and yf the resceyuer take the yefte gladly and thankfully. the curteys yeuer settythe at

<sup>134</sup> See ff. 14r-14v.

<sup>135</sup> See section 2.4.5.

nought all his coste and all his traueyle for ioye and delyte þat he hath. for he hath so plesed and solacyd hym þat he louyth (86v).

It is interesting that the narrator specifies the receiver's appropriate reaction, thereby making it absolutely clear that reciprocity of love can only exist between God and a soul that is pure, humble and thankful.

#### 2.4.5 *The mutual indwelling of the soul and God.*

The coherence of the *Revelations* fragments with the rest of the compilation shows once again from the fact that the discussion of the soul's indwelling in God and God's indwelling in the soul, too, has been announced in the *Qui Habitat* and *Scale* fragments. The narrator's "syght" of the mutual indwelling of the soul and God is a rephrasing of the reciprocal love relationship between the soul and God. Both themes refer to essentially the same reality in the spiritual life.

The soul's indwelling in God is synonymous with God's protection of the soul under His wings, under the shield of His righteousness and in His safe place. In the *Scale* fragments the soul was described as "hongyng and borne vp by the greate mercy of god" (49r). In the *Revelations* fragments the indwelling of the soul in God is also associated with God's protection of man's body and soul<sup>136</sup>, which protection is always associated with God's love for the soul: "he is oure clothing. þe which for loue wrappith vs and wyndith vs helpith vs and ablyth vs and hangith aboute vs for tender love" (73v). The soul is enclosed in the goodness of God, more intimately than the human hart is enclosed in the trunk, "for all þees may were and waste away. but þe goodnes is euer whole" (78v). Christ's side wound, tangible proof of the love He showed mankind in the Passion, is shown to the narrator as "a feyre delectable place and large I now for all man kynde þat shall be sauf to reste in pees and loue" (87r). Later on in the *Revelations* fragments the indwelling of the soul in God is taught explicitly: "mannys soule is a creature in god" (97v). The souls that shall be saved are enclosed in the unity between God and Christ:

<sup>136</sup> In their positive assessment of the soul, the *Revelations* fragments differ from the Hilton-canon fragments, where the body is the seat of sin, as it is prone to temptation by nature. The positive assessment of the body coincides with the positive assessment of the world, which is kept by God "for god louyth it" (74v). This does not mean that the soul can find rest in the world or in the body. The soul can only find rest in God, in the safe place. The positive assessment of the world, then, is a form of respect for creation, which is also one of God's works that come from His goodness. God keeps the body and the world because of His love for the soul. He "hath no dyspyte of þat þat he hath made. neþer he hath no disdeyne to serue at þe symplest office þat longith to our body in kynde. for loue of þe soule. þat he hath made to hys owne lykenes" (78v).

"þe dwellyng of þe / blessed soule of criste is full high in the glorious godhed<sup>137</sup>, and sothly as I vnderstand in oure lordis menyng. where þe blessed soule of criste is. there is þe substance of all þe soulis þat shalbe sauýd by criste" (98v-99r).

The soul that dwells in God is itself the dwelling place of God. Here the *Revelations* fragments understand the mutual indwelling of the soul and God in terms of the reciprocity of love between the soul and God. They echo the *Qui Habitat* fragment teaching that God "may through his grace enter / into þe substance of my soule" (14r-14v) in the narrator's assertion that "hyghly ought we to enioy þat god dwellith in oure soule. and meche more hyly we ought to enioy þat oure soule dwellith in god" (99r). As if out of an awareness that especially the first part of this exhortation is new to the discussion at this stage, the message is repeated again.

Our soule is made to be goddis dwellyng place. and þe dwellyng place of oure soule is in god. whiche is vnmade. A hyghe vnderstondyng it is inwardly to se and to knowe þat god which / is oure maker. dwellyth in oure soule<sup>138</sup>. And a hygher vnderstondyng it is and more inwardly to se and to know oure soule þat is made dwellyth in god in substance. of whiche substance<sup>139</sup> by god we be þat we be (99r-99v).

It is again made clear in this passage that all the narrator's discussions follow from her "inward sights", her understanding of spiritual things in contemplation. In describing her "hyghe vnderstondyng" and "hygher vnderstondyng" she shows the audience that the contemplative life is about the knowledge of the soul and of God.

The *Scale* fragments taught that "we shulde / know god. and goostely thyngis. by vnderstondyng of þe soule" (39v-40r). In the *Revelations* fragments, the *Scale* fragment teaching on the knowledge of God is complicated in true Treasury 4 fashion. The narrator's understanding of the mutual indwelling of the soul and God leads her to conceptualize the soul's knowledge of the soul in what seems a confusing epistemology, but what turns out to be an acknowledgement of the soul's paradoxical recognition of God's omnipresence. In contrast with the *Scale* fragments she confidently asserts that "it

<sup>137</sup> This is the high, safe place of the *Qui Habitat* fragments.

<sup>138</sup> The vocabulary of this passage closely links the soul's marvel at this reality with Mary's marvel at Gabriel's message that she would be the mother of her Creator (72v-73r).

<sup>139</sup> The word "substance" in this passage is a relic from Julian of Norwich's discussion of the two parts of the soul, its "sensualite" (the lower part) and its "substance" (the higher part). The soul's substance remains unstained by sin as it is always in God. Julian lays out this complex theology in the Long text, especially chapters 53 to 55.



is redyer to vs and more easy to comme to þe knowyng of god than to knowyng of oure owne soule" (100v). The reason for this is that "oure soule is so depe grounded in god. and so cndelesly tresored : þat we may not comme to the knowyng thereof. tyll we haue first knowyng of god" (100v). However, this confident assertion does not keep her from equally confidently asserting that "we may neuer comme to the full knowyng of god. tyll we first know clerely our own soule" (102r). The soul finds itself dwelling in God at the same time that it finds God dwelling in itself. Whichever of these two aspects of the same reality the soul concentrates on, it will find that the knowledge of God it attains is incomplete. What we have here is the narrator's attempt to grasp the omnipresence of God, and her understanding that she cannot because of the soul's limitations that make it impossible to know God as He is in this life. The narrator cannot comprehend God's omnipresence, but her account of the mutual indwelling of the soul and God does witness to the *Bonum Est* fragment teaching that "where knowyng fayleth. there loue hittith" (33v).

#### 2.4.6 "For he wolde all wholly become our moder in all þing" : the Motherhood of Jesus.

(1) The themes of the Incarnation and the Passion, the reciprocity of love and the mutual indwelling of love and the soul are drawn together in the theme of the Motherhood of Jesus<sup>140</sup>. The maternal imagery that is applied to Jesus in the *Revelations* fragments has been, again, announced in the *Qui Habitat* fragments, where the maternal imagery of the hen that shelters its chicks under its wings is associated with the humanity of Christ<sup>141</sup>. The image resurfaces in a passage where the mutual indwelling of the soul and God is discussed in trinitarian terms.

þe almighty trouthe of þe trynYTE is oure fader. for he made vs. and kepith vs in hym. And þe deepe wysedome of þe trynYTE is oure moder. in whom we be all enclosed. and þe high goodnes of þe trynYTE is oure lord and in hym we ar closed. and he is in vs. almyghty. all wisdom and all goodnes (99v).

<sup>140</sup> A detailed and standard study of this image is the fourth chapter of Bynum, Caroline Walker: *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1982). See also Bradley, Ritamary : "Mysticism in the Motherhood Similitude of Julian of Norwich" *Studia Mystica* VIII (1985), pp. 4-37.

<sup>141</sup> See section 2.1.2 (5).

From the very first occurrence of maternal imagery in the compilation and its re-occurrence in the *Revelations* fragments, it is associated with the Second Person of the Trinity, the Wisdom, the Son, who became man to redeem the world. Jesus is "verely our moder in kynde of our first making. and he is our verey moder in grace by taking of oure kynde made" (103v). Christ is our mother in the soul's creation, the soul's redemption through the Incarnation and the Passion and the soul's salvation through "the moderhed of grace" (103v). This description of God working the trinity of creation, redemption and salvation in the soul echoes the *Scale* fragments<sup>142</sup>.

Of the three "maner of beholding of moderhed in god" (103v), creation, redemption and salvation, only redemption and salvation are discussed. The Second Person of the Trinity "toke þe ground of his werke full lowe and full myldely in þe maydens wombe. takyng fleshe of her. redy in oure pore fleshe hym selfe to do þe seruyce and þe office of moderhed in all thyng" (104r-140v). In order to redeem humankind, lost through Adam's fall, God had to become man. In the indwelling imagery, Christ's soul became enclosed in a human body. This physicality is what the contemplative shares with Christ. That is why the narrator can say, in another instance of positive assessment of the body<sup>143</sup> that "that wurshypfull cite þat oure lord ihesu syttith in. it is oure sensualite in whiche he is enclosed" (101v).

Christ's suffering of the Passion resembles a human mother's suffering in childbirth, but whereas human mothers bear their children to an earthly life that will end in death, the soul's mother Jesus "beryth vs to ioy and to blysse and to endeles lykyng" (104v). The narrator "brekith owte with voyce" (91v) at this realization, as she adds "blessed moste he be" (104v). Human mothers breastfeed their children, but mother Jesus feeds His children with the sacrifice of His flesh and blood in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The discussion of "þe office of moderhed in all thyng" (104v) is implicitly linked to the gift imagery (God's gift of Himself) in the compilation. In yet another comparison of human mothers with Jesus the Passion is linked to the themes of the soul's indwelling in God and the theme of God's protection of the soul in the safe place of contemplation.

The moder may ley her chylde tenderly to her breste. but oure tender lorde ihesu  
he may homly lede us to his blessed breste by his swete open syde. and shewe vs

<sup>142</sup> See 45r-47r and 65v. In the *Scale* the working of God in creation, redemption and salvation is not associated with the Motherhood of Jesus.

<sup>143</sup> See note 136.

there in party of his godhed. and þe ioyes of heuen with goostly surenesse of endeles blysse (106r).

The discussion of the Motherhood of Jesus also implies the reciprocity of the relationship between the soul and God. The audience is taught that Jesus' "dereworthy loue of moderhed hath made hym dettoure to vs" (105v). Some folios down, this statement is complemented by the inclusion of the narrator's understanding that "all oure dettes þat we owe by godis byddyng it is to faderhed and moderhed" can be fulfilled "in trew louyng of god. whiche blessed loue criste workyth in vs" (107v). In the reciprocity of their love, the God and the soul are indebted to each other.

(2) The themes of contemplation and the seeming withdrawal of grace are also revisited within the context of the Motherhood of Jesus imagery. Like "[t]he kynde louyng moder þat wote and knowyth þe nede of her chylde" (106v), God knows what the soul needs to advance it in the spiritual life. The initial conversion of the soul from the blindness of sin into a lasting concentration on God, described in the *Qui Habitat* fragments, is rephrased in mother-and-child vocabulary. At the same time this passage can also be taken to refer to God's seeming withdrawal of His grace and His keeping of the soul.

And cuer as [the child, the soul] wexith in age and in stature so she [the mother, Jesus] chaungith her wurkyng. *but not her loue*. and whan it is waxen of more age. she sufferith it to be chastysyd in brekyng downe of vicis to make þe chylde to resceyue vertues and grace (107r, italics mine).

When the soul falls, mother Jesus "reysith vs by his louely beclepping and his gracious touchyng" (108r). As the soul increases in virtue, God gives it greater understanding and sets the soul's conscience at ease, which can be interpreted as God lifting the soul up from the imperfect humility of wretchedness because of its sins to the perfect humility of Mary<sup>144</sup> as God "lyghtith our hart and yeuyth vs in party knowyng and louyng in his

<sup>144</sup> There is another interesting definition of the condition of perfect humility in the *Revelations* fragments. The wording of the definition is again very similar to the wording of the description of Mary's marvel in the Annunciation scene (72v-73r). "[the soul] seeth god. and it beholdith god. and it louyth god : where god enioyeth in þe creature. and þe creature enioyeth in god. endelesly merueylyng. in the which merueylyng he seeth his god. his lorde. his maker so high. so grete and so good in rewarde of hym þat is made þat vnethes the creature semyth nought to it selfe. but þe clerenes and clenness of trowth and wysedom makith / hym to se and to be knowen þat he is made for loue" (97v - 98r). Also see note 138.

blessed godhed. with gracious mynde in his manhed and his blessed passion" (108r). By these experiences the soul is strengthened so that it can choose, by God's grace, to be God's servant and everlasting lover.

God also allows some of his lovers "to fall more greuously and more hard þan euer we dydde before" (108v). The soul's falling causes it to feel as if God has withdrawn His grace from the soul or, as the *Scale* fragments have it, "when I fall downe to my fraylete. than grace withdrawyth. for my fallynge is cause thereof. and not his fleyng" (58r). The *Revelations* fragments reassert that God does not withdraw His grace and love from the soul. Human mothers might allow their children to perish, but "oure heuently moder ihesu criste may neuer suffer vs þat be his chyldryn to peryshe for he is almyghty. all wysedomm and all loue" (109r). The soul's mother Jesus allows it to fall so that it might "know how feble and how wretched we be of oure selfe" (109r). The soul needs to suffer from the fall. If the soul did not suffer, the fall would not be profitable. The falling of the soul is a trial of strength that should make it perfectly "low and meke" (109r). For a second time the description of the soul's proper attitude in the tribulation caused by its awareness of its sins echoes the *Qui Habitat* fragment exposition of psalm 90 verse 15<sup>145</sup>. Instead of fleeing away from God because "we be so sore a dred and so gretely ashamed of / oure selfe þat vnnethis we wet where þat we may holde vs" (109r-109v), God wants us to be like a humble child<sup>146</sup>: "yt rennyth hastily to þe moder. and yf [it] may do no more. it cryeth on þe moder for helpe with all þe myghtis" (109v). This passage includes a prayer that the audience could use under similar circumstances. It is also mentioned that it is the explicit will of God that the soul would seek comfort in "þe feyth of holy / churche" (110r-110v) as it will "fynde there oure dereworthy moder in solace of vndirstondyng with all þe blessed commonn" (110v). The soul, broken as if through its fall, will find healing in the unbroken body of the Church "þat is criste ihesu" (110v).

The audience is reassured once again that its mother Jesus will cleanse it from sin, keep it safely and heal it in the safe place of the wound in his side and will tenderly take care of it as "akynd norse" (111r). Jesus is the soul's saviour, "and it is his wyll þat we know it. For he wyll þat we loue hym swetely. and truste on hym mekely and myghtyly"

<sup>145</sup> Also see section 2.4.2.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Matthew 18 : 1-5.

(111r). This positive teaching is so prominent in the *Revelations* fragments that the audience cannot but have got the message.

#### 2.4.7 "Sodeynly þou shalt be taken fro all þi peyne" - "My vptakar art thou".

It should be clear from my analysis that the compiler selected passages from the *Revelations* that corroborated his teaching of the contemplative life in the *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est* and *Scale* fragments, as well as expanding his teaching. In reading the *Revelations* fragments, the audience would reconsider the compilation's main themes, and develop their understanding of them.

Whereas all of the other selected fragments from the *Revelations* are on the whole a logical choice for the compilation in that they fit its content and the compiler's aim to provide his audience with an ever broadening discussion of his main themes, the compiler makes a (for the compilation) unexpected move in his selection of passages from revelation 15 that seem to indicate a specific worry he might have had about his audience. The narrator of the *Revelations* fragments witnesses to her own "desyre and longynge of godis yefte to be delyucred of þis worlde and of þis lyfe" (111v), as she sees the suffering of this life and the bliss of the next. She also describes how she is sometimes hardly able to bear the pain resulting from what she calls "þe absence of oure lorde god" (111v), the seeming withdrawal of his grace, the trial of strength for the soul. With this testimony, the almost euphoric message of the *Revelations* fragments is brought down to earth again, which might be an indication that the compiler foresaw that, after their consideration of this text about the contemplative life and in their own experiences of spiritual growth, his audience might be confronted with the same feelings of desolation and desire for death, "of godis yefte", as the narrator of the *Revelations* fragments.

The compilation ends with God's answer to the narrator's desire to be taken up from the world, a theme also addressed in the *Qui Habitat* fragments. Thus the end of the compilation circles back to its beginning. The audience can start ruminating the contents of the compilation again.

In the full text of the *Revelations*, the final exhortation, "[i]t is godis wyll þat we sett the poynt of our þought in this blessed beholdyng as often as we may and as long" (112v), refers to Julian's understanding of God's promise of safety and absence of suffering in heaven. In the context of the compilation, it can be read as a reference to God's

comforting promise, but also as a reference to the *Revelations* fragments as a whole and as a reference to the entire compilation.

This final fragment shows that God is indeed the soul's "vptakar and refute". God spoke to the narrator and speaks to the audience, promising them that their suffering will be rewarded and that through suffering, by conforming their will to God's will, they can become perfectly humble.

sodeynly þou shalt be taken fro all þi peyne. and fro all thy seykenesse. fro all þi disese. and fro all þi woo. and þou shalt cum vp a boue. and þou shalt haue me to þi mede and rewarde. and þou shalt be fulfilled of ioye and of blysse. and þou shalt neuer more haue no maner of peyne. / neþer no maner of seykenesse. no maner of myslykyng. ne no wantyng of wyll. but cuer in ioye and blysse withouten ende. What shulde it þan greue the to suffer a whyle. Sithen it is my wyll and my wurship (112r-112v).

### Chapter 3 : The Compilation in its Historical and Literary Context

In this chapter I will discuss how Treasury 4 functioned within its contemporary context. First, I will have a look at what the audience of this vernacular text on contemplation might have been. Secondly, I will try to answer the question why the compiler might have chosen to write a text using only fragments from other works, adding virtually nothing of his own. I will also examine the historical context in which the original early-to-mid 15<sup>th</sup> century compilation Treasury 4 was written. Third, I shall consider the compilation as a literary phenomenon using the concept of *mouvance*, the dynamism of the medieval text, "its essential [...] instability or fluidity"<sup>1</sup>.

#### 3.1 The Audience of Treasury 4.

(1) Treasury 4 does not contain any indications of ownership earlier than the late 16<sup>th</sup> - early 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup> and therefore we have no external indications of its actual 15<sup>th</sup> century audience. Nor is the audience explicitly defined in the text, but instead it is implied in the message of the compilation.

In the *Qui Habitat* fragments, which importantly set the tone for the entire compilation, the audience is invited to identify with the first person singular, who in his prayers addressed to God asks to be kept in his security and free from sin. Wallner equates this first person singular with the authentic, autobiographical voice of the commentator, "a solitary or one who had been so not long ago [...] a man who had fled from the sins of this world and found a safe refuge with our Lord"<sup>3</sup>. In Wallner's argument, this would have been Walter Hilton, of whom it is thought that he did try to live as a recluse for a while, but found that the solitary life did not agree with him. Wallner meets the same Walter Hilton in *Bonum Est*, which "in its praise of Holy Church and the importance it

<sup>1</sup> Millett, Bella : "Mouvance and the Medieval Author : Re-editing *Ancrene Wisse*." In Minnis, A.J. [ed.] : *Late Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission. Essays in Honour of A.I. Doyle*. (Cambridge : D.S. Brewer, 1994), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> On f. 112v, we find the names "Thomas Lowe" in four different scripts and "Frauncis Lowe" in two. Walsh and Colledge call this "pen-trials of a common kind, evidently notes made in the later sixteenth century for his will by a man named Lowe. That he used the manuscript for this purpose suggests that he did not value it." Walsh and Colledge, *Of the Knowledge of Ourselves and of God. A Fifteenth Century Spiritual Florilegium*. (London : A.R. Mowbray, 1961), p. vii. The manuscript has also been annotated and emended in two late 17<sup>th</sup>-early 18<sup>th</sup> century hands. Their marginal annotations are mostly categorizing study aids. The manuscript has also been in the possession of James Yorke Bramston (1763-1836), Vicar Apostolic and Bishop of Usulæ, which shows from his heraldic bookplate. He must have owned the manuscript after it was rebound.

<sup>3</sup> Wallner, Björn : "An Exposition of *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* in English." *Lund Studies in English* XXIII (1954), p. xl.

attaches to the Sacraments, rather suggests that its author was a priest"<sup>4</sup>. In this way, Wallner follows Hilton through his career, as it has been assumed that Hilton became an Augustinian Canon at Thurgarton some time after 1375. While it is true that the psalm expositions seem to fit in Hilton's career beautifully, a too exclusively author-centered approach obscures the essentially homiletic character of these texts. These Psalm expositions were written within a long tradition of sermons in which texts from the Bible, among which the psalms figured largely, were expounded for the congregation<sup>5</sup>. Rather than being an expression of the author's personal experiences, *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* are aimed at convincing the audience to adopt the first person voice of the text, to identify with the soul "that wonyth in þe helpe of the hyeste" (1r), to choose God and to leave the world and their old sinful self.

Book I of the *Scale of Perfection* was originally written for a "ghostly sister", a recluse who, as Hussey concludes, "may [...] have been only recently enclosed"<sup>6</sup>. A passage in which Hilton directly addresses this recluse was selected for the compilation.

I sey not þat it ys nedefull for þee and dette. for to traueyle so. ne to noon oper man. but I sey it them þat fele them stered therto by grace. as yf he were called therto of god. ffor our lord god yeuyth thee sondry yeffys. where so he wyll. (35v).

Within this passage, in the reference to "noon oper man", we see that even in a text that was originally written for a specific audience "a wider audience sometimes seems to be envisaged"<sup>7</sup>. But even lacking this phrase, the fragment would still work outside its original context. Book II of the *Scale* is generally assumed to have been written with a larger audience in mind. Treasury 4 does not show up any difference between the Book I and Book II fragments with respect to how they address the audience, which proves their adaptability and their relevance for everybody who is called to a life of contemplation.

Windeatt has shown the difference in how Julian of Norwich relates to her audience in the short text and the long text of the *Revelations*. In the short text she mostly addresses

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Aurelius Augustinus : *Opera*. Pars X, 2. *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos*. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina XXXIX. (Turnhout : Brepols, 1956) and *Sancti Bernardi Opera IV. Sermones I*. Edited by J. Leclercq and H. Rochais. (Rome : Editiones Cistercienses, 1966).

<sup>6</sup> Hussey, S.S. : "The Audience for the Middle English Mystics" In Sargent, Michael G.[ed.] : *De Cella in Seculum. Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*. (Cambridge : D.S. Brewer, 1989), p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 111.



"ilke man and woman [...] that desyres to lyeve contemplatyfelyc"<sup>8</sup>. In the long text she often refers to her fellow-christians and "vs all"<sup>9</sup>. Whereas in the short text Julian distinguishes herself from her audience through her visionary experience and in spite of her almost panicky expressions of humility and her *captationes benevolentiae*<sup>10</sup>, in the long text, after twenty years of meditation, Julian "casts aside aloof distinctness to be united with every reader or hearer" and expresses a truer humility "in explicitly limiting herself to the simple and including herself among them"<sup>11</sup>. It is not only because of their close connections in content, but also because of their universal appeal and because they were not tailor-made for one particular person that the fragments from all four texts make sense in this new setting, away from their original context.

(2) That the compilation is written in the vernacular and that it does not contain any Latin apart from the Vulgate quotations in the *Scale* fragments could mean that the compilation was written for an audience of women. Religious writings in the vernacular would generally have been intended for female audiences as male religious tended to read texts written in Latin, the scholarly language. It is interesting to turn to the works of Walter Hilton and their intended audiences for comparison. Hussey points out that one of Hilton's Latin epistles, his *De Utilitate et Prerogativis Religionis*, was addressed to Adam Horsley, a member of the Exchequer who wanted to become a Carthusian monk<sup>12</sup>. His *Scale of Perfection*, as we already pointed out, was originally written for a "ghostly sister", in English, and was translated into Latin during Hilton's lifetime<sup>13</sup>. But this is as far as the comparison fits the generalization. Hilton's *Epistle of the Mixed Life*, written in English, seems to have been originally addressed to a man who wanted to combine the active and the contemplative life<sup>14</sup>. As long as we do not have more information about where Treasury 4 fits into the textual tradition of the psalm expositions *Qui Habitat* and

<sup>8</sup> Colledge, Edmund and Walsh, James [ed] *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*. 2 vols. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), short text, Chapter iv, 41-42.

<sup>9</sup> See for instance 78r: "our god [...] þat hath vs all in hym beclosed".

<sup>10</sup> See for instance *A Book of Showings*, short text, Chapter vi, 40-56.

<sup>11</sup> Windeatt, B.A.: "Julian of Norwich and her Audience". *Review of English Studies. New Series*. Vol. XXVIII, N° 109 (1977), p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Hussey, "The Audience for the Middle English Mystics", p. 111.

<sup>13</sup> The translation of the *Scale* into Latin might not only be a "gendered" literary phenomenon, but could also have been related to the international character of the language and the envisaged continental dissemination of the work. See Hussey, "The Audience for the Middle English Mystics", p. 110.

*Bonum Est*, the *Scale* and the *Revelations*, we can only conjecture whether its intended audience was male or female.

What we can be absolutely certain about, is that the text was compiled for an audience of some theological sophistication. Walsh and Colledge describe it as a work that is "very useful for the *ex professo* contemplative, definitely not for the beginner"<sup>15</sup>. They also point out that the compilation is unique for the period during which it was written, because Treasury 4 contains just the single treatise and because the compiler did not incorporate a Latin text or a translation of a Latin source<sup>16</sup>. It is highly likely that the compiler's intended audience did not know Latin, which accounts for the virtual absence of Latin from the compilation. The compiler's relatively limited choice of source-texts reflects his narrowly and precisely focused aim, which in itself seems an indication of a specialised audience. He leaves out the long excursions on sin and temptation from *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* as well as the basic, instructive passages from the *Scale*. He also omits Julian of Norwich's vivid descriptions of her visions of the suffering Christ. These themes would all have been addressed in a compilation intended for an audience less advanced in the spiritual life.

For lack of evidence, I would only go as far as to say that the compilation that survives in Treasury 4 was written for an advanced audience with presumably no knowledge of Latin. In the cultural circumstances of the fifteenth century it is therefore likely that the compiler's audience was female and regular, but I would not entirely rule out the possibility of an intended male audience.

### 3.2 The Compilation and Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions of 1409.

We do not have a lot of "external" information about the text we find in Treasury 4. We know that it is a late 15<sup>th</sup> - early 16<sup>th</sup> C copy of an earlier, probably early to mid-15<sup>th</sup> C

<sup>14</sup> "[...] and ȝeue þee hooli and goostli occupaciouns of praiers and meditaciouns, as it were a frere or a monk or an opit man þat were not bounden to þe world bi children and seruauntes as þou art [...]". Quoted in Hussey, "The Audience ...", p. 111.

<sup>15</sup> Walsh and Colledge, *Of the Knowledge of Ourselves and of God*, p. xv.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, p. xvi. An example of a more common type of compilation is the Vernon Manuscript (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Eng. Poet. a. 1), which is a collection of poems and prose treatises, among others *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est*, the *Scale of Perfection* and *Ancren Riwe*. Another example of this type of collection or anthology is BL MS Additional 37790, which contains among other things the only extant version of the short text of Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*, the English translation of Marguerite Porete's *Mirror of Simple Souls* and a translation of Ruusbroec's *Vanden Blinkenden Steen* into English. Both compilations also contain a translation of the *Stimulus Amoris* into

text, so the text we have is not the compiler's autograph. We can also see that the scribe who copied the compilation did so mechanically. He did not modernize words that had become archaic by the end of the fifteenth century, and some misspellings show that he did not understand everything he was copying.

The exact date as well as the provenance of the manuscript are unknown. The manuscript does not contain any indication of ownership before the late sixteenth century. This means that everything we say about the compilation and the manuscript in which it survives apart from a discussion of the text itself is at this stage hypothetical<sup>17</sup>.

In the absence of information about the compilation there are several reasons why the compiler might have chosen to write his precisely and narrowly focused text in somebody else's words : of these, one relates to external circumstances, another (and rather more important) to the nature of medieval authorship, particularly of spiritual writings.

The external consideration is of Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions of 1409<sup>18</sup>. Arundel's Constitutions were aimed at rooting out Lollardy. The close connections of Lollardy with writings in the vernacular had become "a major focus of institutional concern"<sup>19</sup>, but in the process of trying to root out Lollardy the Constitutions also restricted the writing and dissemination of religious texts in the vernacular that were not in any way connected with Lollardy. Most articles of the Constitutions regulate religious instruction in the vernacular, which could be interpreted to include writings in the vernacular. The only article of the Constitutions that mentions vernacular writings and not just instruction in the vernacular is article 7 :

Item, it is a dangerous thing, as witnesseth blessed St. Jerome, to translate the text of the holy Scripture out of the tongue into another; for in translation the same sense is not always easily kept, as the same St. Jerome confesseth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred : we therefore decree and ordain, that no man, hereafter, by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatise;

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English. The Vernon Manuscript is described by Wallner, "An Exposition ...", pp. ix-xii. BL MS. Add. 37790 is described in Colledge and Walsh, *A Book of Showings*, pp. 1-5.

<sup>17</sup> The only way in which we could know anything more about the milieu in which the compilation was made and in which it was copied into Treasury 4 later on is by establishing the compilation's place in the textual tradition of *Qui Habitat, Bonum Est*, the *Scale* and the *Revelations*.

<sup>18</sup> Watson, Nicholas : "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England : Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409." *Speculum* 70 (1995), pp. 822-864.

<sup>19</sup> Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change", p. 829.

and that no man read any such book, libel or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wickliff, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or, if the case so require, by the council provincial. He that shall do contrary to this, shall likewise be punished as a favourer of error and heresy<sup>20</sup>.

Watson concludes from article 7 that Arundel's regulations "apply to writers and owners of *all* vernacular religious texts, except the simplest"<sup>21</sup>. This may be too sweeping, but there is no doubt that, particularly after Oldcastle's rebellion, the climate for vernacular religious texts, especially those for the laity, was not benign and had its effects in the "levels of circulation"<sup>22</sup> of pre- and post- constitution theological writings in the vernacular. About the nature of works that were written after the Constitutions were enforced, Watson says that "most of what is written in this period consists of translations from Latin, Anglo-French, or Continental vernacular texts or else of *compilations from earlier English material* that deal cautiously with a narrow range of topics"<sup>23</sup>.

Treasury 4 would fit this definition exactly, were it not that its "narrow range of topics" is not the one that Arundel had in mind. Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, "the first work to take advantage of the protection offered by the Constitutions"<sup>24</sup>, illustrates that one of Arundel's main aims was to stop the laity from speculating about theological questions and to advocate "a form of perfection that consists in [...] the interior, wholly unintellectual virtues of patience and strength against tribulation"<sup>25</sup>. Even though these elements figure in Treasury 4, as they did in a lot of mystical writings, the compilation differs from Love's *Mirror* as Watson describes it in that Treasury 4 "presupposes a reader capable of, or interested in, concentrated study"<sup>26</sup>, and does contain discussion of theological questions.

Both the compilation and the copy of the compilation that survives in Treasury 4 were written during the period in which Arundel's Constitutions applied. The compilation does

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by Watson, *ibid.*, pp. 828-829, note 7. Watson uses the 16<sup>th</sup> C translation by John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 3 vols. (New York, 1965).

<sup>21</sup> Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change", p. 829.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 831.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 832-833. Italics mine.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 852. This means that it was approved of, and maybe even commissioned by Arundel.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 854.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 855.

contain translated verses from the Bible as well as high-level theological thought. How could it have escaped the regulations?

Earlier writings in English, those that were written “before the rise of Lollardy and thus fall outside the period covered by Arundel’s ban”<sup>27</sup> seem to have been exempt from the legislation of the Constitutions, which could account for the compiler’s use of “other people’s words”<sup>28</sup>. The compiler might have chosen to use existing materials and not to write the text in his own words because the texts he chose belonged to the established canon of pre-constitution religious writings in the vernacular<sup>29</sup>.

Watson quotes a remark in another post-Constitution text, the *Longleat Sermons*, which indicates that “the aristocratic reader is beyond the reach of ecclesiastical interference” and that “the Constitutions would not be used to target aristocratic book owners”<sup>30</sup>. Religious works in the vernacular would also still be allowed in orthodox contexts, such as the Carthusian house of Mount Grace and the Bridgettine house of Syon. Both houses played an important part in the copying and guarding of vernacular religious texts.

If Arundel’s Constitutions determined the cultural and religious climate of the fifteenth century to the extent that Watson believes they did and for as long as he believes they did, it makes it all the more likely that the origins of both the compilation and the manuscript it survives in must be sought either in an approved orthodox milieu, such as Mount Grace or Syon<sup>31</sup> or in an aristocratic milieu. Obviously, the two milieux would combine in important monastic houses.

### 3.3 “Mouvance” and the Double Authorization of the Compilation.

This hypothesis of how Archbishop Arundel’s authority might have influenced the genesis of the compilation needs to be complemented by our consideration of the compilation as a common medieval phenomenon. The occurrence of a text like the

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 850, note 80.

<sup>28</sup> In this context Watson also mentions “the way copies of certain Lollard works circumvent the Constitutions by prominently displaying impossibly early dates for their own composition” (Ibid., p. 850, note 80). This would be a splendid explanation for the date written on f.1r of *Treasury 4* (“1368”). Unfortunately that date was written in a late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> century hand, so at a time when such precautions were no longer necessary.

<sup>29</sup> Watson ascribes Julian’s careful mentioning of the exact date of her original revelation, 13 May 1373, to indicate that the experience that led to the writing of her text took place before there was any Lollardy around. (Ibid., p. 850, note 80)

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 857. The audience of the *Longleat Sermons* lives “in swych sekynesse þat non prelat may lettin 3ou ne dischesin 3ou for connyng ne for keping of þe gospel”.

<sup>31</sup> The London dialect used throughout the compilation would favour Syon over Mount Grace.

compilation Treasury 4 is not confined to the period covered by Arundel's legislation only. That the compiler used fragments from *Qui Habitat*, *Bonum Est*, the *Scale* and the *Revelations* could also be seen as an instance of what Paul Zumthor called *mouvance*, the text's essential instability or fluidity<sup>32</sup>. In the Middle Ages, a text was seen "not as a single, completed entity, but as something more fluid and open-ended, constantly adapted as it travelled through space and time"<sup>33</sup>. For religious writings, this instability of the text was very often simply the result of what Watson called "an evangelical view, which held that the Gospel (and related messages) was too important to be 'clasp'd vp, ne closid in no cloyster,' and that truth should be available to all"<sup>34</sup>. Thus the fragments from the psalm expositions, the *Scale* and the *Revelations* probably did not only find their way into the compilation because the compiler did not want to be accused of heresy, but also because he judged them to be valuable and useful.

The authorization of a religious text in the vernacular was an important issue even before Arundel put his legislation in place. A male writer would have to justify why he did not write in Latin. A female writer would have to justify why she wrote at all. Humility topoi and other forms of *captationes benevolentiae* witness to this need for authorization. As the compiler did not write the compilation in his own words, but in the words of the psalm commentator (possibly Hilton), Walter Hilton and Julian of Norwich, his text is authorized by the use of their voices, even though he does not identify them formally. Judging from the number of surviving manuscripts<sup>35</sup>, Walter Hilton's *Scale* was an authoritative text. Julian of Norwich was famous for her wisdom and for her advice in spiritual matters<sup>36</sup>.

The *mouvance* of Hilton's and Julian's original texts into the compilation and Treasury 4 authorizes the compiler's text, adding this overall authorization to the authorizing elements already present in the fragments themselves. The fragments from *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* are authorized by virtue of their being expositions of psalms, biblical

<sup>32</sup> Millett, Bella: "Mouvance and the Medieval Author", p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>34</sup> Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change", p. 839. The quote is from a Lollard sermon, the "Sermon of Dead Men" (Ibid., p. 839, note 44), but this does not mean that this evangelical view was only held by Lollards.

<sup>35</sup> "Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* weighs in with 41 complete or nearly complete manuscripts of Book I in English and 25 of Book II – to which add 12 of Book I in Latin and 13 of Book II". See Hussey, "The Audience for the Middle English Mystics", p. 116.

texts. In addition, the psalm commentary is a genre that goes back to Augustine<sup>37</sup>. With the inclusion of fragments from psalm commentaries, the compiler inscribed the compilation within this tradition that originated with the early Church Fathers. The fragments from the Scale are authorised not by being a direct commentary on a biblical text, but by the quoting of verses from the Psalms, the Gospels, the Letters of Saint Paul and by referring to the Church Fathers. The fragments from the *Revelations* contain authorizing elements of a different kind, as this is a text of a different nature than the Hilton-canon fragments. Julian's text is authorized by the visionary experience that underlies it. The compilation contains one explicit reference to Julian's visions, which is at the same time the only implicit reference in the compilation to the text the fragments were taken from, when the compiler introduces the fragments he selected from revelation nine : "[a]lso in the nyneth shewyng our lord god seyde to her thus" (83v). The contemplative's answer to God's question is introduced as well : "[a]nd she seyde" (83v). The audience can deduce from this phrase that what they are reading in these fragments, which stand apart from the rest of the text in the layout of Treasury 4, is a woman's personal account of a visionary experience. It is by virtue of this visionary experience that the narrative voice of the *Revelations* fragments can confidently assert that "God wyll be knowen" (75r) and that "it is god is wyll" (81v) that the soul knows what God showed her in order to love Him better<sup>38</sup>. Her text thus receives divine authorization in these covert orders to write. In writing down her text, Julian is spreading the word, sharing with her fellow-christians the knowledge that God asked her to pass on.

In a very subtle move, the compiler transfers the authorizing power of God's will to his "new" text, his "réécriture d'une oeuvre qui appartient à celui qui, de nouveau, la dispose et lui donne forme"<sup>39</sup> as he ends his text with a statement that, in the full text of the *Revelations*, refers to Julian's understanding of God's promise of safety and absence of suffering in heaven.

<sup>36</sup> "and þan sche was bodyn be owyr Lord fro to gon to an ankres in þe same cyte whych hite Dame Ielyan". Meech, Sanford Brown and Allen, Hope Emily [ed.] : *The Book of Margery Kempe*. (Oxford : EETS, 1940, repr. 1993), pp. 42-43 (Capitulum 17).

<sup>37</sup> *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos. Opera. Pars X, 2. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina XXXIX*. (Turnhout : Brepols, 1956).

<sup>38</sup> A convincing discussion of the authorization of religious writings by women can be found in Peters, Ursula : *Religiöse Erfahrung als Literarisches Faktum. Zur Vorgeschichte und Genese frauenmystischer Texte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*. (Tübingen : Niemeyer, 1988). For the discussion of the authorizing elements in different genres of texts by women see pp. 184-188.

It is godis wyll that we sett the poynt of our þought in this blessed beholdyng as often as we may and as long. (112v).

In the context of the compilation, this phrase could be read as a reference to God's comforting promise or as a reference to the *Revelations* fragments as a whole. But exactly because the compiler makes this the closing sentence of his text, I think it can also be read as a reference to the compilation itself. That it is God's will that the compiler's text be read implies that it also must have been His will that the compilation was written. Thus the compiler has not only placed his text outside the reach of Archbishop's Arundel's Constitutions, but also, in the words of psalm 90, "in helyng of god of heuen" (1r), in God's protection.

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<sup>39</sup> Cerquiglini, Bernard : *Eloge de la variante. Histoire critique de la philologie*. (Paris : Seuil, 1989), p. 57. Quoted by Bella Millett, "Mouvance and the Medieval Author", p. 12.



## Conclusion

Treasury 4 is a remarkable example of how a coherent text can be constructed out of fragments from four pre-existing texts. The compiler's lucid decision-making shows in the order in which he presented the four texts he selected fragments from and in his choice of fragments that fitted in with his argument.

The compilation is a surprisingly well-balanced text. The opening psalm expositions establish the main themes of the text, anchor the compiler's teaching in the patristic tradition and give the entire compilation a biblical authorization. The *Scale* fragments consolidate the teaching introduced in *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est*. These themes are addressed again in the *Revelations* fragments, although this time in a text that originated in its author's own visionary and mystical experience.

Treasury 4 shows explicitly the extent Walter Hilton and Julian of Norwich belong to the same tradition, but it also shows how Julian's account of her visionary experience and her understanding of what she saw surpasses Hilton's systematic teaching in intensity. At the same time, the *Revelations* fragments require the preparation the Hilton-canon fragments provide in order to be understood and in order to function effectively as the testimony to the contemplative life that was taught in the first part of the compilation. It should be clear, however, that the value of the compilation does not only lie in the fact that it happens to contain the earliest extant fragments of the long text of the *Revelations*, but in its thematic unity and surprisingly coherent structure.

The compiler emerges from his text as a focused writer. He is determined not to deviate from his main themes. He does not select those fragments that would prove to be digressions from his main message. He consistently leads his audience to ascend the spiral staircase that is the structure of the compilation. As I have argued in chapter 1, I believe it would have been the audience's task to realize the thematic unity of the compilation and to overcome any perceived formal shortcomings. This ties in with the medieval concept of literary structure, which is different from our view on narrative structure and observance of formal unity<sup>1</sup>.

It is interesting to compare what emerges from the study of Treasury 4 as the compiler's activity with the discussion of *compilatio* and the *compiler* in Latin medieval texts, as

<sup>1</sup> Gradon points out that our present-day concept of structure "developed in the sixteenth century and [...] has in a greater or lesser degree influenced teaching on this topic ever since". Gradon, Pamela: *Form and Style in Early English Literature*. (London: Methuen, 1971), p. 93. See also chapter 1, note 24.

discussed by Minnis in *Medieval Theory of Authorship*<sup>2</sup>. Since Minnis only discusses texts that bear explicit marks of scholastic origin or influence, it remains to be seen whether this theory of authorship can apply to the genre of spiritual compilations. Medieval theory of authorship is discussed mostly in prologues to commentaries on Biblical texts or major theological texts, of which Peter Lombard's *Libri Sententiarum* was absolutely the *primus inter pares*, by theologians such as Bonaventure, Albert the Great, William of Lidlington, Robert Kilwardby and Richard FitzRalph. Minnis also discusses texts in the vernacular that contain explicit discussions of the status of the *auctor* and the *compiler*. However, these texts are of a different nature than Treasury 4, as they are either translations of Latin compilations, such as John of Trevisa's translation of Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*, commentaries on Biblical texts, such as Richard Rolle's *Commentary on the Psalter*, or fictional texts, such as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* or Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.

Treasury 4 differs from all of these texts in several respects. First, the compilation is a spiritual compilation, and even though it contains fragments from psalm expositions, it cannot be called a commentary. Second, the compilation does not have a prologue and does not contain any comments by the author as to how he went about the task he had in hand. Minnis repeatedly points out that, even though a compiler's activities were regarded as positive, many compilers still felt the need to justify their work in a prologue<sup>3</sup>. Treasury 4 does not contain any such justification<sup>4</sup>. This means that we do not know the compiler's thoughts on the work he was taking on<sup>5</sup>.

Still, there are some aspects of the scholastic discussions of authorship that can be used to comment on the compilation contained in Treasury 4. Many authors evaluate *compilatio* as a literary activity positively<sup>6</sup>. According to Albert the Great compilations are justified because they disseminate Scripture.

<sup>2</sup> Minnis, A.J. : *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. (London : Scolar Press, 1984).

<sup>3</sup> Minnis, , a.o. pp. 99, 100 and 113.

<sup>4</sup> *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* do not contain any explicitly justifying passages either.

<sup>5</sup> Minnis shows that for instance Chaucer's literary attitudes "seem to have been introduced by scholastic literary theory". He points out what seem to be explicit references to literary theory within Chaucer's texts. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 190-191. See also pp. 198-199.

<sup>6</sup> Both talking about Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Robert Kilwardby and Bonaventure give Peter Lombard credit for his work. In Kilwardby's prologue to Lombard's *Sentences* "[t]here is no attempt to belittle human achievement, quite the contrary." Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 97. In Bonaventure's prologue to his commentary on the same work, he concludes that "the *Sentences* is a book for which a human auctor can be given the responsibility and the credit." (Ibidem, p. 99) With the

After the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus said, "Collect the scraps ... so that nothing is wasted" (John vi.12). No scrap of inspired scripture must be wasted, for, as St Paul says, "all that is written is written for our doctrine" (Romans xv. 4)<sup>7</sup>.

Thus a *compiler* made sure that nothing of God's truth was wasted. Another, quite different, aspect of the literary role of the *compiler* is that "the *compiler* denied any personal authority and accepted responsibility only for the manner in which he had arranged the statements of other men"<sup>8</sup>. This meant that "deference to *auctores* could become a "shield and defence" for the personal opinions and prejudices implied by a compiler's very choice of excerpts and for the way in which he had handled them"<sup>9</sup>.

The compilation in Treasury 4 does indeed fulfill the function of disseminating valuable texts, and, as we argued in Chapter 3, Arundel's Constitutions may have made it necessary for the compiler of Treasury 4 to use the Hilton-canon and the *Revelations* fragments as a "shield and defence" against the risk of being "punished as a favourer of error and heresy"<sup>10</sup>. This is all we can sensibly say about Treasury 4 with reference to medieval theory of authorship. It could be argued that the approach to writing and texts we find in the vernacular texts Minnis discusses as well as in scholastic writings springs from a similar *Weltanschauung*. However, the question whether medieval theory of authorship was disseminated to such an extent that compilers of spiritual compilations in the vernacular were aware of the literary role *compilatores* were assigned in scholastic writings can only be satisfactorily answered after detailed study of many more individual compilations. Further study of spiritual compilations will definitely have to consider whether and how the compilers of these texts refer to their own literary role.

The compilation in Treasury 4 is an interesting document for literary historians because it contains what are the earliest extant fragments from the long text of Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*. The compilation could yield interesting information about the milieu in which Julian's text circulated. For the time being we have to be satisfied

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positive assessment of compilations and compilers, these theorists were actually trying to give the human author credit for his work while at the same time acknowledging God as "the source of all *auctoritas*". (Ibidem, p. 95)

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, p. 192.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 198.

<sup>10</sup> From a translation of article 7 of Arundel's Constitutions. See Chapter 3, note 20.

with the knowledge that they circulated in the same milieu as Walter Hilton's texts. Further study of the place of Treasury 4 in the textual tradition of *Qui Habitat, Bonum Est*, the *Scale* and the *Revelations* might reveal a little of how Julian's texts circulated and could even confirm or refute Jonathan Hughes' hypothesis of a connection between Walter Hilton and Julian of Norwich<sup>11</sup>. In this context it could also be worth considering the compiler's educative origins.

Further study of the compilation should inevitably focus on its place with relation to other compilations written in the fifteenth century, and earlier. In what ways does it differ from or is it similar to other 15<sup>th</sup> century mystical or spiritual compilations? If it can be proven that other compilers equally use texts by other writers to get their own message across, it will be possible to more clearly define the medieval notion of authorship with respect to theological texts in the vernacular and to get closer to an understanding of the essential fluidity of medieval texts and the realization that this fluidity enhances rather than destroys what we think of as the one and only authorized version. We can only let the compiler speak and listen to him when we do not dismiss Treasury 4 as "a collection of just fragments from famous texts and nothing more" and give him credit for the deftness with which he combined these fragments to make a text in its own right.

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<sup>11</sup> See Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries. Religious and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*. (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1988) p. 213: "[John] Thorpe's [a named recipient of one of Hilton's letters] association with Miles Stapleton, who was both a member of the family who were patrons of Rolle, and responsible for supporting Julian of Norwich, may explain Hilton's influence on this Norwich recluse, which is apparent in her *Revelations of Divine Love*." See also p. 89: "Sir Miles (of Ingham) had dealings with Julian of Norwich while acting as executor of Isabel Gifford, the countess of Suffolk and a sister of Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick." Cf. *A Book of Showings*, p. 34: "The fourth such will is that of Isabel Ufford, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who had married first John Lestrange of Blacknere, and then William Ufford, second earl of Suffolk, by whom she had no children." Colledge and Walsh do not mention the executor of the will.

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