ROLLE, HILTON AND THE AUTHOR OF *THE CLOUD OF UNKNOWING*: THE DIVINE AS FREEDOM IN MIDDLE ENGLISH CONTEMPLATIVE WRITINGS

Thesis submitted by

Cheryl Madeline Taylor BA (Hons) (Qld) MA (Leeds)

in December 1998

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

the School of Humanities at James Cook University

ELECTRONIC COPY

I, the undersigned, the author of this work, declare that the electronic copy of this thesis provided to the James Cook University Library, is an accurate copy of the print thesis submitted, within the limits of the technology available.

1 August 2011

Signature   **Date**

CHERYL TAYLOR

Name (please print)

STATEMENT OF ACCESS

I, the undersigned author of this work, understand that James Cook University will make this thesis available for use within the University Library and, via Australian Research Online, for use elsewhere.

I understand that, as an unpublished work, a thesis has significant protection under the Copyright Act and;

I do not wish to place any further restriction on access to this work.

_____   1 August 2011

Signature   **Date**

_____
CHERYL TAYLOR

Name (please print)

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any other form for another degree or diploma at any other university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references given.

Cheryl Taylor

21 December 1998

STATEMENT OF ACCESS

I, the undersigned, the author of this thesis, understand that James Cook University will make it available for use within the Library and, by microfilm or other photographic means, allow access to users in other approved libraries. All users consulting this thesis will have to sign the following statement:

"In consulting this thesis I agree not to copy or closely paraphrase it in whole or in part without the written consent of the author; and to make proper written acknowledgment for any assistance I have obtained from it."

Beyond this, I do not wish to place any restriction of access on this thesis.

Cheryl Taylor

21 December 1998

ABSTRACT

The thesis argues that the leading male-authored contemplative writings composed in England in the fourteenth century mediated many aspects of contemporary ideology, including the most conservative, but that their mediation of new social paradigms renders them liminal texts. The key contention is that the writings' social and historical creativity stems from their centring on the divine. The thesis rejects Marxist and post-structuralist constructions of the divine as the peak and ultimate determinant of an unjust social system. It does, however, adopt both Irigaray's concept of the divine as a feminist strategy, and the Shaivite conception of the divine as the ultimate source of freedom and creativity. Other theories and models applied to the texts in the course of discussion include post-structuralist and Shaivite conceptions of language and of the "reality" produced by discourse, insights into the binary foundations of language and experience developed by Cixous and Kristeva, theories of *logos* in relation to "feminine" poetic *excess*, Bynum's views on mediaeval constructions of gender, Volosinov's stylistic theory, theories of utopia and play, and Gnosticism as a model of marginality. The thesis adopts the minute reading practices proposed by David Aers, as a strategy for uncovering the writings' synchronic engagement with contemporary historical circumstances, which are outlined in preliminary chapters. A purpose of the thesis is to counter the current critical trend to merge the writings diachronically with preceding literary and ecclesiastical traditions, by emphasising their production by the ideology of their period. The basis of discussion is a detailed examination and analysis of all the known works by each of the chosen authors. Rolle's writings and *The Cloud of Unknowing* and its companion texts are dealt with in the order required by the argument, but Section Two considers Hilton's whole canon in chronological order of composition.

To Swami Chidvilasananda

Shri Gurumayi

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For haue a man neuer so moche goostly vnderstondyng in knowyng of alle maad goostly þinges, ʒit may he neuer bi þe werk of his vnderstondyng com to þe knowyng of an vnmaad goostly þing, þe whiche is nouʒt bot God. Bot by þe failyng it may; for whi þat þing þat it failiþ in is noþing elles bot only God.

The Cloud of Unknowing, Chapter 70.

Rolle, *The Cloud* and Hilton show the first examples of great English prose.

David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England.*

The revolutionary opposition to feudalism was alive all down the Middle Ages. It took the shape of mysticism, open heresy, or armed insurrection, all depending on the conditions of the time.

Friedrich Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany.*

CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

SECTION THREE: The Limits of Language:

The Cloud and Its Companions

VOLUME TWO

NOTE: Citations, punctuation, abbreviations and referencing observe the conventions of the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (4th edition). Long citations and references likely to interrupt the argument if included appear as endnotes, which also provide translations and supportive material. Unattributed translations are my own. For ease of consultation, Endnotes and List of Works Cited are bound separately in Volume Two.

VOLUME ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Genesis

Middle English contemplative writings led a subliminal life in manuscripts or rare sixteenth-century printed editions, their doctrines recognised only in conventual and monastic circles, until the late nineteenth-century revival of popular interest in esoteric thought and experience. Some early modern printings, exemplified by Horstman's two-volume collection of *Yorkshire Writings* (1896), mingled the contemplative texts with the emotional luxuriance of late romanticism, including urges to Germanic cultural supremacy. Others, undertaken with an eye to pastoral care, were true to the writings' genesis in Catholic tradition. The many disparate expressions of enthusiasm were consolidated by the publication in 1911 of Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism.* Regularly reprinted for the remainder of the century, this book still conveys the sense of delighted recognition with which early generations of mainly women readers and thinkers responded to accounts of contemplative quest written five centuries earlier.

The emotional reassurance offered by the mystical writings led to scholarly examinations of the texts and contexts, usually carried out by the enthusiasts themselves. Such commentators as Frances Comper, Dorothy Everett, Helen Gardner, Hilda Græf, Geraldine Hodgson, Dorothy Jones, Clare Kirchberger and Joy Russell-Smith exemplify a range of positions in relation to the academic establishment. The tradition of bridge-building between scholarship and spiritual enthusiasm continued in *The Fourteenth-Century English Mystics Newsletter* (later *Mystics Quarterly*), founded in 1974 by Valerie M. Lagorio and Ritamary Bradley. On rare occasions scholarship was unaccompanied by attachment to the spiritual contents of the writing, as in Hope Emily Allen's monumental palæographical and biographical studies, first published in 1910. Over the last twenty years major examinations of the literary and patristic sources, conducted pre-eminently by Nicholas Watson with reference to Richard Rolle and by John Clark in respect

of Walter Hilton and the anonymous author of *The Cloud*, have tended to merge the mystics diachronically with their traditions.[1]

This thesis reasserts the synchronic engagement of Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author as distinct from the ecclesiastical traditions to which they owe so much. The contextual summaries here prefixed to analyses of Rolle's writings in the first half of the fourteenth century, and to Hilton's and the *Cloud*-author's texts in the second, function differently from accounts of background usual in studies of Allen's time and later. They are posited instead on Bakhtin's perception that historical communities, economies and discourses "provide the collective practices, including language, out of which texts are made: they permeate the minute particulars of the writings we study" (Aers 3). The analyses which follow therefore attend to textual details in terms of the immediate discursive context. This is the limit of this study's application of Aers' approach to mediæval texts. By explicating the synchronic significance of the contemplative writings, the present study strives to achieve a more precise ideological positioning than that proposed by earlier studies.

David Aers and Sarah Beckwith acknowledge the complexities and contradictions inherent in modern responses to the fourteenth-century English mystics. They nevertheless perceive a division between mediævalists who accept without comment what they themselves regard as the conservative social assumptions of writers such as the *Cloud*-author, while critiquing and condescending to Margery Kempe, and those who view the mystical writings as "the place where a new subjectivity is evolved, through the contradictions, rather than the transcendental evasions, of the symbolic order" (Beckwith 41).

It is true that Clark and Watson, whose publications dominate present commentary, are conservative and idealist in approach. Although they have a perceptive grasp of historical event and the authors' roles and positionings within these, their interpretations are permeated by

judgments similar to those which prevailed in official ecclesiastical and academic circles when the mystical texts first came to public attention in the modern era. Their judgments are ethical and practical, and, in contemporary theoretical terms, ahistorical, in that they pay no attention to the mystical texts as instances of discourse, generated by and reciprocally influencing society.[2]

The present study departs from the current well-founded interest in female contemplative writers - in Middle English, Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe - to select as its subject the male authors, who have rarely been subjected to politically-based inquiry. It rejects both Aers' observation that the male authors are inherently conservative, and the conservative analytical methodology and assumptions applied by Watson and Clark. If authoritarianism is the thesis enunciated by English history at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the works of philosophers like William of Ockham and heretics like John Wyclif are the antithetical discursive outcome of profoundly disruptive economic and political forces, then the male contemplative writings here studied are the synthesis, not in the sense of reconciliation, but in the sense that their texts embody discourses of both authoritarianism and dissent. Recent commentary has emphasised the former. This thesis emphasises the latter.

The study traces its lineage to the early female discoverers of these mystical texts, who saw them above all as new and reassuring in a context of twentieth-century scepticism and metaphysical despair.

Approaches

The Divine in Post-structuralism

In university studies of the humanities, post-structuralist theories have added a novel intellectual dimension to this settled attitude of despair, through their insistence that what is experienced as

"reality", together with the experiencer's subjectivity and positioning, is a construction of language and discourse. Such theories posit the all-inclusive nature of the construction, with the result, distressing to many, that they deny access from the "web of words" to any autonomous reality, whether subjective or objective. The more overtly politicised of the contemporary systems and methods nevertheless find encouraging gaps, fissures and elisions in the oppressive "reality" constructed by discourse. They often identify these with madness, ecstasy or mysticism, whether thoughtfully or conventionally defined. Anthropological theory initiated by Arnold van Gennep develops the *limen* as the site where new social formations arise, as an initially oblique challenge to the endless self-reproduction of power differentials. Feminist theorists led by Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray look for the space *between* the binaries considered to be the foundation of patriarchal language and culture. Such theory seeks to intermingle or coordinate exchanges between the separated unequal components of the omnipresent dualisms privileging the "masculine."

Irigaray refers to the unregulated site of meeting and interchange between dichotomies, the *genre*, or ground of reference for an autonomous female fulfilment distinct from phallogocentric culture, as "God" and the divine (Whitford 32). In developing this terminology in her doctoral thesis, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, first published in Paris in 1974, she draws specifically on the transcendental experience of women mystics, which she renames, in a typical symbolic blending of elements commonly separated, *La Mystérique* (191).

Irigaray's Divine

In the present context, the starting point for summarising Irigaray's concept of the divine must be Elizabeth Grosz's observation that, "this is not a religious conversion, a leap of faith; it is a textual and political strategy for the positive reinscription of women's bodies, identities and future" (1986, 18). Irigaray's feminist perspective on the Church and its sexual dogma as

oppressive leads her to a negative judgment of the traditional Western conception of God as a "masculine paradigm" which allowed men to deny their debt to femininity and maternity (Irigaray 1986, 12). Her strategic evolution of an opposing conception, like most of her early insights, is initially through a deconstructive *mimesis* modelled on Derrida's methods and assumptions.

La Mystérique mimes the discourse of mystical ecstasy, to evoke that which *exceeds* and disturbs the logic of the "onto-theological" (*This Sex Which Is Not One*, qtd. in Moi 139). The notion of an *excess* to the phallocratic economy, represented as the "other woman" who resists confinement within a linguistic or theoretical system dominated by binary logic, is finally gathered into the paradox of an ateleological divine (Whitford 28). In *Speculum* the *mimesis* of mystical abandonment, centrally St. Theresa's but drawing on male mystics as well, includes techniques of paradox, formlessness and unpredictability, apophatic metaphors of darkness, night, and nakedness, and cataphatic metaphors of light and fire. Characteristics of the divine, "endless open space, hung emptily between here and there" (*Speculum* 194), include the tactile dissolution of subjectivity, the "I" (eye) of phallogocentric specular logic: "Fire flares up in the inexhaustible abundance of her underground source and is matched with an opposing but congruent flood that sweeps over the 'I' in an excess of excess" (195). *Excess*, parallelling the flow of female bodily fluids, overtakes language: "Words begin to fail her. She senses something *remains to be said* that resists all speech..." (193, emphasis in text). The evocation takes the forms of "ecstasy," "rapture," "bliss," "love" and "illumination":

> For the soul was closed up over the possession of a knowledge which made her quite obtuse, particularly in her claims to the immaculate state that no creature had yet been able to pierce or undo. And which is mixed in a jouissance so extreme, a love so incomprehensible, an illumination so unbounded that un-knowledge thereby becomes desire. Nothing has a price in this divine consummation and consumption. (194-95)

The final pairing, consummation and consumption, encapsulates the paradox of Irigaray's rendition of the divine in *Speculum*. As the silent source of phallogocentric language, and the invisible ground against which "masculine" systems define their existence and accomplishments, Irigaray's divine seems to confer freedom at the cost of women's knowledge and subjective existence. A standard critique points to the related tendency of Irigaray's thought to postulate a positive female essence, threatening to erase individual and momentary difference (e.g., Moi 139, but see Whitford 2-3).

Irigaray's article, "Femmes Divines," first published in 1985, responded to these objections. She explains that the divine is the "ideal" and the "horizon" for the perpetually open-ended accomplishment of each female subject's *becoming*:

> Becoming means to accomplish the plenitude of what we can be....This is what we need to become: free, autonomous and sovereign. There has never been any construction of subjectivity, or of any human society, which has been worked through without the help of the divine...
>
> If women lack a God, they cannot communicate, or communicate amongst themselves. The infinite is needed, they need the infinite in order to share *a little*? Otherwise the division brings about fusion-confusion, division and tearing apart in them/her, between them. (4, emphases in text)

Irigaray thus inverts the categorising and naming properties of the "masculine" divine, stemming from the latter's first imposition of divisions on "elementals." She seeks to heal the continuing damage done to women by patriarchal religion: "our destiny is rather to generate the divine in us and between us" (1986, 3); "doesn't this mean incarnating God in us and in our genre: daughter-woman-mother?" (12). Through the evolution of a "feminine" trinity, woman can perfect *her* true subjectivity, complete her own beauty, undistorted by the halfway transformations produced by conformity to the man-made ideal (6).[3] Irigaray's divine merges with the flesh, thus blending together the gender-based dichotomies: "The maternal should have

a spiritual and divine dimension, and not be relegated to the merely carnal, leaving the divine

to the genealogy of the father" (Whitford 158-59).

Irigaray's re-conception of the divine nevertheless creates the conditions needed for an

æsthetically and culturally fertile interchange between the sexes, in which *both* are autonomous,

mutually caressing, reciprocally giving and receiving, not fixed and bound together as opposing

poles. She sees this as possible in a here-and-now *parousia*, or second coming (Whitford 164).

Speaking ideally, Irigaray does not exclude men from the liberating potential of her divine:

> All men (especially according to Feuerbach) and all women, except when they remain
> submitted to the logic of the essence of man, should imagine a God for themselves, an
> objective and subjective place or path for the assemblage of the self in space and time:
> a unity of instinct, heart and knowledge, a unity of nature and spirit, a condition of the
> homeland and of sainthood. (1986, 8)

After "feminine" identity and autonomy are assured, Irigaray envisages an extension of

individual self-realisation to community (12-13). As the infinite potential which each

subjectivity imagines for herself, and as the site of interchange between autonomous subjects,

Irigaray's divine therefore becomes "the field of creativity, fertility, production. It is the

existence of something new, a (dialectical?) transcendence of the past, a projection from the past

into the future" (Grosz 1986, 14; cf. Irigaray 1993, 5, 25-29).

> Finally, Irigaray conceives of the divine essentially as the site of freedom:

> Only the divine offers freedom and imposes it on us. Only a God can constitute a place
> of coming together for us which can leave us free, nothing else. (1986, 9)

In the fourteenth century, lords and peasants, craftsmen and labourers understood this

world's freedom in terms of manumission from services and payments in kind, or as freedom

from poverty and excessive taxation, or as liberty to earn wealth through skills or trade. This

ideology of freedom is discussed below, in Chapter 13 (163). By contrast, Irigaray, like other

theorists with post-structuralist affinities, perceives the subtle but pervasive restrictions imposed

on (secular) freedom by ideology, as well as the capacity of ideology to produce new forms. Her conception of the divine is a central strategy for moving through these restrictions and forms.

Excursus: The Divine in Kashmir Shaivism

Post-structuralist theories, as applied in literary criticism, developed from questions about the relationship between language and reality frequently asked in Western philosophy. Irigaray is a psycho-political theorist who draws heavily on post-structuralist ideas. Her deconstruction in *Speculum* of works from Plato to Hegel is an unusually clear acknowledgment of the common starting point of traditional and contemporary theory. Like the contemplative writers studied here, who also draw, in differing proportions, on Platonic and Aristotelian philosophical strands, Irigaray is vitally concerned to transcend the long logocentric tradition. As a further explication of what the divine as site of transcendence might consist of, in relation to linguistically-constructed "reality," this section briefly indicates four areas of similarity between common post-structuralist tenets and a selected representative Indian philosophy, Kashmir Shaivism. Shaivite philosophy is admittedly remote from Western contemplative and philosophical traditions, including post-structuralism. However, the similar conclusions arrived at independently by two systems built on opposed premises and widely separate in their historical and geographical origins, seem to be, at a minimum, stimulating and suggestive. More liberally interpreted, the overlapping notions inspire confidence as legitimate formulations of experience.

The teachings of Kashmir Shaivism are preserved in a body of Sanskrit writings composed between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. The *Shiva Sutras* (sayings of Shiva), attributed to Vasugupta, is a key text. Kashmir Shaivism is a monistic philosophy, positing a divine - *chaitanya* or universal consciousness - which unites the whole of reality within transcendent and immanent being. *Chaitanya* is beyond time and space, without attributes, not a subject of knowledge, "but a principle of pure experience [that] can be realised only in the

ecstasy of spiritual illumination through grace" (Tejomayananda 9). Although explicatory language applies dualistic terms, and speaks of attributes, *chaitanya* is eternally perfect, one and changeless (Singh xvii). As a minimum it posits an equality of human beings as identical with Being. More accurately, it rests on an essential unity of all beings in the one love, such as is stated also in important strands of Christian thought (John 17.21-23, 1 John 4.16).

The Shaivite divine differs vitally from Irigaray's in being conceived of as real, indeed as ultimate reality, rather than as a psycho-political strategy. However, it is similar in that creativity is its essence (Singh vii) and freedom its primary attribute. The first Sutra, *Chaitanyam atma*, translates as follows:

> *Chaitanyam:* Awareness which has absolute freedom of knowledge and activity. *Atma:* Self or nature of Reality. Awareness which has absolute freedom of all knowledge and activity is the Self or nature of Reality. (Singh 6)[4]

The convergence between the Irigarayan and Shaivite divine constitutes the first of the areas of overlap referred to above.

Shaivism teaches further that Prakasha, the principle of light or self-revelation, is conscious of itself through its aspect of Vimarsha, with which it is eternally united, in a relationship of "I/This." Multiplicity of being inherent in Prakasha manifests through Vimarsha as an inevitable expansion, which neither increases nor depletes Reality. Divine bliss overflows into ecstatic play, a freely-chosen, delighted revelling in its own creativity, the dance or drama of Paramashiva (Sutra 3.9; Muktananda 39, Singh 152-54). The process of manifestation is one of involution, as supreme consciousness descends through thirty-six stages, "condensing" itself from the most subtle, simple and ecstatic states to, finally, the multiple concreteness of the physical universe. Each stage is presided over and pervaded by a *tattva*, its "Thatness" or principle (Shantananda 17). Between the sixth and eleventh *tattvas*, the Absolute cloaks its essential unity and freedom under *maya*, or the sense of duality and limitation. From this emerge

Purusha, the experiencer, the so-called individual soul, and Prakriti, nominally objective experience.

Shaivism differs from related systems such as Vedanta and Buddhism, in regarding the world appearance produced by *maya* as real, that is, as contained within and as containing Reality (Singh xxiv, Tejomayananda 23-24). However it regards the appearance as delusionary from the viewpoint of Purusha, the experiencer, since *maya* cloaks the true nature of Prakriti, which is all-pervasive *chiti*, divine consciousness. By divine free will, the true nature of Purusha - *Shivo'ham* - is similarly concealed, and subjected to the three *malas*, or impurities of perception: the primal ignorance and sense of imperfection, and the limiting of freedom of knowledge and action. "Universal knowledge becomes knowledge of the particulars...The universal power of action is reduced to a finite power" (Tejomayananda 43). This Shaivite orientation may be compared with radical post-structuralist dismantling of the humanist acceptance of the singularity and autonomy of objects and subjects.[5] It is the second of the areas of similarity between the two systems of thought referred to above.

The common ground extends to theory of language. In Shaivism, *matrika*, meaning the unknown or unrealised mother (Singh 26), is identical with Shakti, or the inseparable creative energy of Paramashiva (xxxi). As consciousness involutes through the levels of being permeated by the *tattvas*, the limiting of *matrika* gives rise to the *malas*, and their product, individual subjectivity. The fourth Sutra, *Jnanadhisthanam matrika*, states that limited knowledge (already defined in Sutra 2 as bondage) arises from *matrika*, here understood as the power of sound inherent in the letters of the alphabet. "The basis of all the three *malas* is word-bound ideas" (Singh 29). In its contracted form, "*matrika* means the collective whole of all letters and also the I-consciousness which is the *fons et origo* of all letters and thus of the entire universe of subjects and objects" (Singh xxxi). By dwelling on letters coalesced into syllables and words,

the experiencer becomes infatuated, trapped in limited knowledge (Muktananda 8; cf. Kshemaharaja, Singh 27). But by meditative observation and practice, and recourse to mantra as one of the simplifying and purifying forms of *matrika* (Sutra 2.1-3, Singh 82-96), the spiritual seeker learns to control the play of *matrika shakti*, finally tracing words internally to the stillness of the divine source (Muktananda 8-9). "*Matrika* should be known as the very form of Shiva" (Kshemaharaja, Singh 89).

The Shaivite insight, that the limiting of *matrika shakti* which produces language is the cause of the delusion of separate identity and of separated subject and object, may be seen as having similar consequences for the perceiver as the common post-structuralist premise that language produces subjectivity and "reality"-as-experienced. Both systems see the constructions of language as deceptive and as the basis of the universal experience of unfreedom. However, whereas Shaivism locates the cause in the self-limiting of the divine freedom, post-structuralism finds it in the prehistory ensconced in the unconscious,[6] or in economics, or in political power. Shaivism premises an attainable recovery of freedom through recognition of the divine, inherent as one in the experiencer and experience, and existing in absolute unity beyond them both. Such a state implies a unity in action and knowledge with what-is, a re-embracing of Shiva's primal creative playfulness and delight. By contrast, post-structuralism in its less politically proactive manifestations (which would exclude Irigaray and liminal anthropological theory) finds no hope of freedom, either within linguistically mediated "reality" or beyond it. The Shaivite doctrine, postulating a recovery of divine freedom of perception and action in creative playfulness, obviously embraces a wider area of human experience than Derrida's liberation of the signifier to "play" within language.

The fourth area of similarity consists simply in the view, common to Kashmir Shaivism, Vedanta, Buddhism and other Eastern systems, that language and the delusive "reality" it

produces stem from a primal splitting, which becomes the cause of an infinity of differentiation. Duality, and in Shaivism *vikalpa*, or the dichotomising tendency of the mind (Singh xx), are ubiquitously referred to as the sources of bondage and delusion, while liberation is the rediscovery and reassimilation of divine unity. This perception predates by centuries Cixous's formulation of a theory of patriarchal language, seen to shape reality on the basis of binary oppositions, as well as the efforts of Irigaray and others to blend, deregularise and heal these entrenched and naturalised dichotomies.

Shaivism's multiple evocations of the divine, arrived at sequentially in describing the complex process of involution, parallels Cixous's attempt to deconstruct binary oppositions by applying Derrida's conception of language as a ceaseless sequence of *différance* (Moi 106). The many linguistic representations of the divine in Shaivism are only conditionally and metaphorically male and female. Shiva and Shakti are not unequal or separate (Muktananda 77, 79, 82). The continuing interplay of the divine gender descending through the *tattvas* avoids the ideological pitfalls of the patriarchal conception exposed by Irigaray (Grosz 1986, 6-7). Nor does it accomplish a matriarchal reversal which would have left the gender categories and hierarchical systems undisturbed.

The four areas of overlapping insights between Kashmir Shaivism and post-structuralism, summarised here for the light they shed on conceptions of the divine in relation to linguistically-produced "reality," therefore consist of the formulation of the divine as freedom and creativity; radical questioning of subjective and objective "reality"; linked with the view that such "reality" is the product of language; and finally the insight that a splitting into two is the basis of both language and the "reality" it constructs.

The Divine in This Study

The present writer professes a faith, however unfashionable in academic circles, in *chaitanya atman* as ultimate reality, pervading and underlying experience as mediated by language. Accordingly, this study considers the English contemplative writings as varyingly cognisant of the divine, positioned both within and outside culture and material reality, as the site of social, intellectual and emotional freedom. The Shaivite conception has an affinity with the more circumscribed mediæval notion of the *potentia Dei absoluta*, "that sphere of divine freedom above and beyond this chosen system of salvation" (Ozment 1973, 1-2). In the fourteenth century this was the subject of intense philosophical debate (Copleston 260-62).

This linkage is another example of overlap, if not identity, between different long-standing spiritualities, such as Christianity and Shaivism. The notion of the "perennial philosophy" has been critiqued as often as it has been asserted. However, the absolute point of convergence among different systems appears to be the simple recognition of the divine in contemplative experience. The moment of recognition is also the moment of cultural transcendence.

Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author were orthodox ecclesiastical Christians, following Augustine in the belief that deification was possible only through membership in the divine nature of Christ (Bonner 157). However this study focuses on the inspiration which their writings draw in practice from the divine as the free creative centre, experienced in each human consciousness as the one love - as William Blake observed, "the human face *divine.*" Ozment refers in this connection to "a unique anthropological base" for mystical experience, tracing it through such concepts as the *synteresis voluntatis et rationis* or *Seelengrund* to the *atman*: "Mystical salvation is the discovery of the final power and authority of the Self within one's own self" (1973, 3-12).[7] This innate authority is distinguished from that of the divine as *potentia Dei*

ordinata, realised in the established Church with her doctrines and sacraments (Ozment 1973, 1-2). Under such auspices, as post-structuralist theory observes, the divine figures, not as freedom, but, on the contrary, as the peak authority, presiding over and transcending a complex pyramid of social and linguistic hegemonies.[8]

Arguing as a Marxist, Louis Althusser states that at the centre of all ideological structures, "the Absolute Subject...interpellates around it the infinity of individuals into subjects" (54). The above excursion into Shaivite thought nevertheless reveals that, just as there is no compulsion to adhere to the notion of a wholly transcendent divine, there is no essential linkage between the divine and the notion of subject. (Individual subjectivity results from a delusive limitation produced by language; the subject's realisation of its essential divine nature is liberation.) The present argument subscribes to Marxist-feminist resistance to the Church as "the number-one Ideological State Apparatus" in the pre-capitalist historical period (Althusser 25-26), and as intransigently patriarchal. It also asserts, however, that the divine is not an escape route legitimating an unequal "reality" materially produced and linguistically sanctioned and reproduced, but is the inexhaustible source of new and divergent models for individual and social freedom and completeness. My assumptions are again similar to those of Ozment, who views mysticism as a dissident ideology, the site of "the latent revolutionary possibilities of the Christian religion" (*ibidem*).

Readers of this study who find this conception of the divine problematical are nevertheless at liberty to understand the term strategically, in an Irigarayan sense, as the space in which the divisions of the social order, including object-subject positions, are dissolved in a mystical *jouissance* (bliss), the transcendental source of new forms of language and of cohesive, inspirational and unregulated social and sexual relations.

Logos

The central concept of this study impinges on the debate over the definition and significance of *Logos* (capitalised) frequently evoked in post-structuralist theory. The divine here premised resembles the Neo-Platonic and Christian understanding of *Logos*, the Word, initiated by Philo, as originating, immanent and transcendent (Louth 27-30). An important strand of Christian spirituality, recognised in St. John's Gospel and theorised by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, recognises transcendence by the generating Word, or Christ, of the word, or discursive "reality." The present study embraces this concept of *Logos*, which is a version of *matrika shakti* in its pure undescended form. It is to be distinguished from both the Judæo-Christian metaphor of, and literal belief in, a law-giving Father-God, and the post-structuralist view of *Logos* as the ultimate "transcendental signified," exerting authority over the whole discursive order from a location in a (non-existent) extra-linguistic space.

Secondly, this study uses *logos* (lower case) in the sense, frequent in feminist theory and writing, of reason and the systems of logic and philosophy descending from it. Such systems are the ultimate abstract accomplishment, the "master discourse" (Irigaray *Speculum* 72), of the Symbolic Order of language theorised by Lacan. The Symbolic Order is dominated by the Law of the Father, and by the *phallus* as the sign of lack, that is, as the symbol of separation, of split between subject and object, as the signifier of loss of the fulfilled desire of mother and child prevailing in the pre-linguistic phase of relatedness (Wright 108, 112). According to Irigaray, both *logos* and *phallus* operate within the Order as sources of positive definition against the "chaos" of the "feminine," the bodily, and the emotive (Moi 66-67). This theoretical development, given impetus by such discussions as Irigaray's feminist deconstruction of Plato's seminal analogy of the cave (*Speculum* 243-364), is a secular remaking of yet another ancient conception of *logos* as the divine *reason* "that underlies and fashions all things" (Louth 27).

The "Feminine" Emotive

Irigaray merges the "feminine" and the divine and privileges them in the structure of *Speculum* as the centre of attention, rather than the marginally positioned and functionally defining Other. They become the site of exuberant, creative play (like Paramashiva), in which the distinctions and divisions of *logos* ("masculine" specular logic), including the primary gender division, are dissolved. Irigaray identifies this "feminine"-divine nexus with Lacan's Imaginary. Her conception of the space is therefore fundamentally psycho-analytical, but her evocations combine the emotional and bodily with the spiritual.

The texts analysed in the present study bear differing, complex relationships to *logos* and the "feminine," as here defined. While Rolle, in parallel with marginalised Gnostic Christianity, privileges the spiritual over the physical, and energetically reproduces ingrained patriarchal reservations about women, he also liberally applies bodily metaphors to his contemplative experience, and conveys it in some of his works through a poetic *excess* transcending *logos*. Aspects of his writings therefore approximate to the Shaivite acceptance of physical reality as *chaitanya*, the divine. The "moderate" and "rational" Hilton warns against the excesses of Rolle and his followers, and commentary has seized upon and emphasised this orientation. The analysis which follows nevertheless uncovers a fundamental validation of Rolle's contemplative experience in Hilton's work, including a comparable adhesion to "feminine" emotive *excess* in selected texts. The *Cloud*-author is steady in his rejection of the bodily, which however he presents as not overtly but only implicitly "feminine." This is because he sees language (the word, *logos*) as bound to the bodily in a conjunction which must be vigorously transcended during the difficult passage to the spiritual and divine. Whereas Rolle has faith, concomitant with his validation of bodily metaphors, in language's ability to convey the divine through "feminine" poetic *excess*, and both he and Hilton utilise the rational resources of ecclesiastical

and vernacular discourse, the *Cloud*-author practices and preaches a willed exchange of discursive for divine reality.

Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author resort to a textual *mimesis* of contemplation as a means for bypassing or expanding the rational level of language. This latter goal is attuned precisely to Irigaray's deconstructive application of *mimesis*. However, all three writers use mimetic language as a material objectification of contemplative practice and its goal. This is an example of a general openness to creative experimentation in formal matters which the authors share, logically linked, in terms of post-structuralist analysis, with both their incomplete adherence to social paradigms and their focus on the divine.

Freedom

Some strands of commentary see fourteenth-century English contemplative literature as primarily a product of tradition perpetuated by the Church as institution. Twentieth-century readers may conclude from this that the writings are inherently unfree. The following chapters reverse this assumption, to argue that the writings retain their initial practical value: they resolve a currently widespread negative dichotomy of feeling.

The arbitrary injustice of power structures seems to be as much contemporary as mediæval, untouched by the proliferation of new theories, including Marxism. The individual is faced with reiterated choice between resistance and conformity to social pressures. The elasticity of ideology ultimately contains either or both choices and their outcomes. The unstable states of conformity and resistance are ultimately alike in being riddled with anxiety, as the leading internalised mode of social coercion.

The contemplative writers find in the divine a space which bridges the acute misery of this dilemma, and which ultimately transcends the hegemony's capacity for containing dissent. By seeking a spontaneous accord with the divine, conceived primarily as love, and the best

imaginable end in every circumstance, whether seemingly significant or not, the writers suggest an alternative to the bitter choice between conformity and resistance. They see responsiveness to the divine pulsation of love as the same as the freedom of uninhibited self-expression. For example, the *Cloud*-author implies a respect for the givens of human temperament common in spiritual writings, when he advises his pupil, "And þerfore leue to worche after oþer mens disposicions; and worche after þin owne, if þou maist knowe what it is" (*Discretion of Stirrings* 77.9-10). The reformation of the individual consciousness towards joyful spontaneity in harmony with the divine offers a chance for freedom from social coercion, and ultimately a foundation for the building of a new social order. In strictly practical terms, freedom from anxiety *is* freedom.

Surrender to the divine in its moment-by-moment manifestation is accordingly the goal of most valid spiritualities, and many conceive of this goal paradoxically as freedom. The three authors covered in the present study assume the Christian ideals of love and service, in contrast with the paranoia, or caution, or determined independence, which reduces the limitless plurality of relationships and experiences to its base in economics and politics, and so comes to judge the paradox of service as freedom to be an institutional deception, operating to reinforce power differentials. It is obvious, even if seldom acknowledged, that the risk of self-deception is at least as strong in withholding of service, as it is in courageous self-giving. The contemplative writings' advocacy of creative engagement with circumstance, and of uninhibited self-expression, both in accord with the divine, counters the charge of escapism raised against them by such commentators as Jonathan Hughes (296).

Tradition

Victor Turner states that *communitas*, the feeling released in the liminal phase of ritual, dissolves boundaries of status between human beings. This definition is relevant to community as living

and unpredictable, and as supportive of each member's access to the divine space of freedom and creativity. Over generations, community tends to be institutionalised as tradition, lending itself to authoritarianism, and impeding harmony with the present moment, as the point of meeting between sequential time and divine manifestation. For instance, Simon Tugwell uncovers the process by which in early monasticism the fluid conception of *logismoi*, or non-real thoughts and images, hardened into lists and subcategories of sins (25-29). He further reveals how the original definition of discernment (*diakrisis*) as "the virtue which allows the individual to respond creatively and accurately to the various unpredictable circumstances in which he finds himself" gave place to its opposite, the abdication of self-confidence and personal judgment in favour of minutely prescriptive monastic Rules (71-79). St. Bernard nevertheless implemented the paradox, that such obedience can engender "freedom of spirit" (Tugwell 78).

Such a dialogue between viewpoints exemplifies David Tracy's observation, that tradition is open at any moment to genuine "conversation" on present questions, and that this is an inevitable preliminary for cultural change (99-101). Furthermore, "the rich and even liberating notion of tradition" continues to point back to the luminous moment of generation, for example the Jesus of the Gospels, the essence of creative innovation.[9] The three writers studied below engage in a inventive "conversation" with tradition, adapting material from patristic and monastic writers. Commentary has so far emphasised the fact and details of their borrowings rather than their conscious selectivity and vivifying reconstructions, but these are surely of equal importance. Shared selection and/or rejection of traditional material offers insights into both the contemplative writings' relationship with ideology, and the temper of their times. The three authors return reiteratively to the perpetually creative founding moment of the Christian tradition in their sustained focus on love and simplicity.

Scope

The whole group of fourteenth-century English contemplative writers, male and female, constitute the "outstanding examples of spirituality in this period...less intimately connected," as George Holmes observes, "with ecclesiastical institutions than their predecessors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries" (177). Their marginality generally enhances the authors' interest as subjects for study. Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author nevertheless have different and complementary relationships, both to social, economically-created authority and to the unfreedom of discursive "reality," or *matrika* in its descended form.

Rolle is a liminal writer, whose works subtly challenge authority from a marginal social position. Hilton is an ecclesiastical writer, more centrally positioned, who potentially disturbs the institutional *status quo* by penetrating tradition to its radical origins. His works create a context in which the Church's ideals illuminate its current performance. The *Cloud*-author is intellectually rather than ecstatically liminal. He is the most profound, simple and transcendent of the three authors.

The thesis considers all the authors' writings in Latin and English. Rolle's most extensive, poetic, individualist, and original writing is in Latin; he turned to English most memorably in late pastoral writings, in which the spirit of prose predominates. The chronology of Hilton's known extant works, which also gradually replaces Latin by English, reveals a reverse development to Rolle's. While Hilton's Latin works are comparatively ecclesiastical and academic, his writings in English are innovative, especially in their creative evocations of the "feminine"/divine. As the most radically original of the three, the *Cloud*-author probably wrote only in English. Together, the fourteenth-century contemplative writings by men embody

a fundamental shift in language and ideology occurring over the century, as Latinate international authority yielded to fragmentation and individualism in a vernacular context.

Modern commentary tends to respond to Rolle as ecstatic, unacknowledgedly "feminine," and embarrassing. It turns with relief to Hilton as Rolle's moderate, rational, "masculine" antithesis, a writer who made mysticism respectable and recentred it in institutional Christianity. The present study challenges this binary by demonstrating that Hilton is Rolle's disciple as much as his antithesis. Historically, the ecclesiastically-minded have regarded the *Cloud*-author, together with the whole apophatic Pseudo-Dionysian tradition, with suspicion. The present study reveals how justified this suspicion is, against the construction of the author by Clark and others as a respectable heir to approved tradition.

Another approach consists in comparing the authors' self-representation. Rolle asserts an early individualism; he gives autobiographical accounts of his experiences in order to validate his authority. Watson sees validation as Rolle's primary motivation for writing. Hilton's authorial presence vanishes on the one side into the Church as he speaks ecclesiastical policy, and on the other side into humble self-abnegation leading into the divine. He thus dismantles the author as an authority principle modelled on the Absolute Subject, and in this respect certainly *is* Rolle's antithesis. The *Cloud*-author's self-presentation is not egoistic and defensive like Rolle's. He is both self-abnegating in that he conceals his identity, and inescapably and unselfconsciously himself. His writings suggest a natural authority based on an experience of inner freedom, rather than on control stemming from institutional power. They thus exemplify the definition of freedom given above, as meaning essentially freedom from socially-generated anxiety.

Mysticism fascinates the academy as much as other circles. Contemplative writings nevertheless resist containment within intellectual, as other discourses. This is because self-effort and grace are axiomatic to the comprehension of such texts, and also because of their focus on divine transcendence. The present writer realises that there are more creative and beneficial responses to the wisdom of Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author than the theoretical analyses required by doctoral dissertations. I do not doubt the truth of the *Cloud*-author's assertion, when he finally commends to his readers the contemplative "work" he has been describing, that in comparison with the ineffable vision there bestowed, "all the great learning of all the scholars of Christendom" is "obvious folly" (*The Book of Privy Counselling* 153.11-15).

There emerges from this perception a need for caution, if not humility, in academic attempts to evaluate contemplative writings. Of the authors here dealt with, Rolle in particular has been subjected to prolonged and sometimes vehement condemnation (Armstrong 4-9). Such a singer may nevertheless incorporate in his writings a level of knowledge presently inaccessible to the academic intellects which judge him. No doubt the present study will ultimately add its bulk to the critical matrix seeking unsuccessfully through interpretation to capture contemplative wisdom within discourse, if not to subordinate it to ideology. It nevertheless proceeds with the intention of maintaining an awareness of the works' own central vision, that the divine source of freedom not only interpenetrates the whole of discursively produced "reality," but also surpasses its boundaries. It is on these boundaries that the contemplative writings, most excitingly, are poised.

SECTION ONE

Rites of Passage. The Writings of Richard Rolle

Chapter One

ENGLISH SOCIETY IN TRANSITION: 1300-1350

Since their first appearance, between 1330 and their author's death on 30 September 1349 (Watson 1991, 255, 274, 278), Richard Rolle's writings have aroused uncertainty and controversy. An uncomfortable reaction by contemporaries is reflected in the many passages in the writings given over to self-promotion, self-defence, and self-explanation. A continuation of controversy into the second half of the fourteenth century[1] is seen in the *Defensorium* written by Thomas Basset against a Carthusian detractor who had doubted the spiritual nature of Rolle's feelings, and who stated that in his experience more people had been deceived by the books than had profited from them (Sargent 1981, 182-87). The detractor had even claimed that Richard was "materia quasi ruine et decepcionis" (Sargent 200). An opposite view was expressed in the *Officium et Miracula*, composed in the 1380s (Allen 1927, 51) in anticipation of Rolle's canonisation, where it is stated that his treatises and little books, "omnia in cordibus deuotorum dulcissimam resonant armoniam" (*Lectio sexta*, Woolley 32). That Rolle's accounts of his contemplative feelings of heat, sweetness and song, on which he based his standing as an *auctor*, had nevertheless produced confusion, is suggested by the efforts of Hilton and the *Cloud*-author to advise their pupils against an uncritical acceptance of such experiences.[2] The tendency of Rolle's writings to spark controversy, their resistance to easy interpretation and categorisation, point to their novelty in their own time, and account for the twentieth century's continuing interest in them. These qualities provide the focus of the present section.

That Rolle was an innovator, initiating an English tradition of contemplative literature, is indisputable, even though the writers who followed were inspired by impulses, on occasion contradictory, to promote contemplation and to qualify or reject Rolle's specific teachings. The Church, too, responded to the complex challenge posed by Rolle's writings, in one

direction by a mechanism of amoebic encirclement, which ensured that the demand of the laity for instruction on contemplation, revealed by the popularity of some of Rolle's English works, was met by official preaching and writing (Jonathan Hughes 196-98). In the opposite direction the Church's response was a typically incomplete repudiation. This section explicates the ambiguity and disruption inherent in Rolle's texts by arguing that they functioned subliminally both as representations of ideology in transition and as vehicles of social change. Despite their frequent conformity to literary and ecclesiastical norms, his works refer much of their content to the divine, as a space for the projection of possible futures. Rolle's radical spirituality found a broad, if divided, market among readers as late as the seventeenth century (Watson 1995, 9), because it mediated a desire for freedom on many levels of personal and social experience.

The following discussion is based on the common premise that history and literature are complexly inter-determined. Cultural institutions, in Marxist thought the "superstructure" comprising Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser 8-10, 16-20), are governed by the dominant economic modes of production and reproduction. However, culture, further understood as a complex textuality produced by language, exerts a reciprocal influence over economic and political change. Accordingly, the present study sets Rolle's writings in the context of contemporary economics, politics and the institutional Church.[3] It examines them in relation to radical developments in philosophy and theology which took place at Oxford University in the early fourteenth century, and to the flourishing new genre of pastoral manuals. The survey provided in this chapter draws on recent historical research, and, like its source material, is a construction determined by the preoccupations of the late twentieth century.

Later studies reinforce the view first put forward by Postan in 1950 (235), that England's prosperity had begun to decline early in the fourteenth century, decades before the economic consequences of the Black Death and of Edward III's French wars were felt. The

causes of the decline are still debated. Most frequently cited are the subsistence demands of an enlarged population, which resulted in the taking up of all viable and of some marginal land, and in the subdivision of holdings (Kershaw 85-86; Postan 1950b, 213). The livelihoods of peasant families and of village communities, on which the structures of wealth and power were built (Waugh 7), were therefore rendered precarious. They were further destabilised by agrarian crises of 1315-1322 (Kershaw 130-32), vividly reported in *Annales Johannis de Trokelowe* (Frank 96-97), and by poor harvests in the 1330s and 1340s (Titow 360-63, Bolton 182). The implications of concurrent sheep and cattle murrains were severe (Bolton 183). Frank details the sufferings caused by famines (94-97), and quotes Arnold's view, that "famine acts as a revealing commentary upon a society's deeper and more enduring difficulties" (100). Peasants displaced by the rural crisis entered the towns in search of food and employment, where they swelled the ranks of the urban poor (Frank 99). Difficulties were compounded when inflation from 1307 to 1330 was unexpectedly countered by a severe deflationary trend from 1330 to 1345 (Waugh 76). Taxation, especially of the poor, reached astronomical figures (Bolton 183-84). The period was characterised in England and elsewhere by rapid and unpredictable economic change, in which some towns,[4] social groups and individuals prospered, while others suffered hardship and often an intense struggle for survival.

The hopeful side of the economic division should not be overlooked. Opportunities increased for economic self-sufficiency and for upward mobility as rewards for efficiency and effort. As the change from a feudal to a pre-capitalist market economy continued, the commutation of labour services to rentals became normal in some districts. Some peasant families built up comfortable holdings, profiting perhaps from neighbours forced by poor harvests or falling grain prices to sell land, or from astute marriages, or from opportunistic service to a lord. Towns, specialising in small-scale commodity production for exchange, attracted those, especially women, who wished to escape from the controlled existence of rural

villages (Waugh 49-50). Although urban populations remained small (Waugh 44-45), towns were ruled by self-made oligarchies of merchants and manufacturers (Bolton 138, 205), who were prepared to defend the trade monopolies and rights to self-government which they had purchased from hereditary landlords. An aspiration to freedom attended this aspect of urban life:

> But what the townsmen wanted more than anything else was freedom to run their own affairs, freedom from the prying eyes of the lord's officials, be they the royal sheriff or the seigneurial bailiff. (Bolton 123)

The development of craft guilds during the half-century extended the principle of advancement through acquired skills. Townspeople travelled for trade or pilgrimage, and were generally more mobile than the free or unfree peasants of earlier generations (Aers 16). Ideology therefore broadened to include an enhanced sense of the rights and powers of the individual, stemming from more varied experience and opportunities (Aers 15-16, 77). Simultaneously, awareness of the consequences of economic failure deepened recognition of a need for self-reliance. An appreciation for privacy and prudence was typical of the evolving bourgeoisie (Mullett 53-54).

The variable economic trends were matched by political turmoil. Instability was endemic in the north of England, where battles, involving mutual invasions of territory, were fought with Scotland until 1346, and where private feuds and wars raged without restraint (Waugh 11). Edward II's reign was disrupted by violent conflicts with his magnates, led by Thomas of Lancaster. Rolle's first patron, John de Dalton, was one of the gentry punished for supporting Earl Thomas, who was executed in 1322 (Allen 1927, 111, 444-66; Arnould 1937, 122-24). Edward's deposition in 1327 was a dramatic symptom of the deep divisiveness and factionalism prevailing in the kingdom. It was only after the *coup* of 1330, which put Edward III unequivocally in command, that trust was restored between the king and barons, and Parliament conciliated enough to consent to new taxes. Political events nevertheless continued

to contribute to economic uncertainties, in the financial demands made by the prolonged war with France. The Commons' reluctance after 1339 to grant funds to Edward stemmed from their recognition of growing public discontent over the burdens created by the wars (Waugh 218-20). Rapid economic changes in the 1330s and 1340s matched a shift in political power, as the King was forced to negotiate with the Commons and merchant capitalists over the profits from England's main export, wool (Bolton 193-98). Edward's victory at Crécy in August 1346 briefly restored a measure of political stability.

As the major repository of official ideology, the Church became an arena for diverse and often contradictory internal forces, manifesting simultaneously in intellectual, political, economic and spiritual areas.

At Oxford the innovations of Duns Scotus and William of Ockham reversed the Thomist assimilation of Aristotle's philosophy into theological discourse and rewrote the intellectual agenda of the age (Leff 1968, 209, 295). Ockham's generation of thinkers has been described as "the most extreme and unorthodox in the history of medieval thought" (Leff 1958, 291). A wedge was driven between the world, certain knowledge of which could be obtained only through experience and the operation of reason, and a God and a revelation known only through the discourses of faith. The foundations of belief were shaken, since an attitude of intellectual neutrality towards God's absolute power would lead over time, through the stages of possibility and indeterminacy, to scepticism (Leff 1957, 127-35).

Scotus, who left Oxford at the turn of the century, had maintained confidence in reason's power, through observation of a limited number of particulars, to arrive at universal propositions, and he continued to accept the Neoplatonic correspondence between universal conceptions and real essences. In philosophical works composed between 1317 and 1324 (Adams xvi-xvii), Ockham rejected both these propositions. He replaced them with the notion that the multitude of individual existences were directly accessible to experience, and were the

proper subject of philosophical inquiry, using the tools of logic and grammar. Ockham refused to look beyond the individual entity for wider categories into which it could be taken up, an approach which helped to found scientific empiricism (Oberman 1974 14, 24).

The distinction, already customary in the thirteenth century (Oakley 143), between God's absolute power, unlimited except by self-contradiction (*potentia Dei absoluta*), and God's power as ordinarily exerted through the laws of creation (*potentia Dei ordinata*) was accompanied in Ockham's thought by a traditional emphasis on God's promises and covenant as the basis of salvation (Ozment 1974, 80). However, thinkers influenced by Ockham applied the notion of God's absolute power to the relationship between God and the individual soul, thus eliding the system of grace mediated through priests and sacraments. English philosophers such as Thomas Buckingham, Robert Holcot, and Adam of Woodham, writing in the first half of the century, emphasised the importance of human actions in obtaining salvation, and defended the freedom of the will against God's knowledge of future contingents, which they asserted could not be certain (Leff 1958, 292). Such radical views were countered by Thomas Bradwardine's equally extremist reassertion of God's prevenient grace, and power to determine human actions, in *De Causa Dei*, written in 1344 (Leff 1968, 299). Thus was initiated the dominant theological controversy of the century (Oakley 131-48), reviving in a new form the ancient debate between Augustine and the Pelagians. Strengthened resistance to dogmatic limitations on individual freedom lay at the heart of the controversy.

The political conflicts which characterised the Church in this era began with the struggle between Pope Boniface VIII and the king of France, Philip IV, over papal taxation of French clergy. The taxation debate crystallised the real issue, which concerned the relative powers of Church and State (Tuchman 25). Boniface addressed the full implications in the bull, *Unam sanctam* (1302), which was an unprecedented assertion of the papacy's supreme authority. The Pope's subsequent decision to excommunicate Philip was countered when the

King's agents abducted him at Anagni in 1303 (Oakley 24). "The outrage at Anagni" indirectly caused the removal of the papacy to Avignon by Boniface's successor, Clement V. Recent studies have moderated the view that the Avignon Popes were slavishly subordinate to the French crown (Oakley 38-44). The "Babylonian Captivity" nevertheless damaged the papacy's morale and reputation, and transformed the Pope's authority, unquestioned by orthodox intellectuals in the West since the early Christian centuries, into a subject of continuing debate. The controversy gained impetus after 1322, when Pope John XXII condemned the doctrine of Apostolic poverty, and precipitated an open conflict with the minister general of the Franciscan Order, Michael of Cesena, who was supported by Ockham (Oakley 45-46).

In Munich, where from 1327 until his death in 1347 (Adams xvi) he wrote under the protection of the pseudo-emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, Ockham pursued the subjects of papal and clerical authority. Although experts find different emphases in his works written after 1327, they agree that Ockham split scriptural from traditional authority (Oakley 153). He therefore attacked as unscriptural the priority given in Church hierarchy to a single pontiff (Oberman 1974 9-10; Price 154), and supported the jurisdiction of a general council over an heretical Pope (Oberman 9-10).[5] He further declared that the Church consisted of the whole community of Christians, not just the clergy, and that the Eucharist should be a public celebration of community membership (Price 153). In addition to Ockham's ecclesiological writings, the papacy's political problems generated a body of works which for the first time thoroughly scrutinised Church structures, and speculated on the nature and location of ecclesiastical authority (Oakley 158).

Spiritual dissatisfaction among Church members helped to motivate the reassessments which were taking place in the academy. The genuine aspirations of many churchmen to the Gospel ideals of simplicity and perfection were frequently hindered by the institutional

demand for involvement in the world (Waugh 136, 140-41). This demand was strong in England, where a majority of the early fourteenth-century bishops were bureaucrats by training (Pantin 11-18), and clerics performed most offices of the royal administration (Waugh 142-43). The spiritual quest, in so far as this was mediated by the institution, was impeded further, both in England and Europe, by complex extraneous rituals based on the cults of saints (Sumption 45-47, 231-43, 290-95; Oakley 117). The base level of the Church was commercially enmeshed with the secular public through the buying and selling of indulgences and saints' relics, while all ranks of clergy were involved in unedifying competitions for patronage, benefices and promotion. Many fell away from their vows (Holmes 41). Conflict between the parish clergy and the friars over the duties and gains accruing to ministration to the laity, especially the newly-liberated town-dwellers, was apparent from the beginning of the century (Pantin 157-58). In Europe the heresy of the Free Spirit, condemned in 1311 in Clement V's bull, *Ad nostram*, and fostered in the semi-official mystical communities of Beguines and Beghards, created a division which, despite the Church's efforts at eradication, continued into the next century, when its members merged with the followers of Hus (Leff 1967, 308-324).

Cleansed and inspired by the reformist movement led by St. Bernard in the twelfth century, monasteries had been the chief nurturers of the spiritual life throughout western Europe, but by Rolle's time strictures of the Rules had relaxed, and monastic devotion had lost much of its fervour. In England, in a major social shift, monastic life ceased to fulfil its traditional role as the chief source of religious inspiration (Myers 74-6, Knowles Vol. 2, 366). Anti-monastic satire intensified. Contemporary riots against monasteries (Allen 1927, 479) would culminate finally in the concerted resistance of the English Rising (Butcher 102-103). On the other hand, vocations to the solitary life were taken up in increasing numbers, and the Carthusian Order flourished. The individualist affective piety of the period continued

nevertheless to draw on monastic writings by Bernard, Ælred, William of St. Thierry, Anselm,

John of Fécamp, and Hugh and Richard of St. Victor (Constable 27-28; Woolf 159; Bestul

1986, 14-19), in circumstances which the authors could not have envisaged, and which on rare

occasions, such as Rolle's rebuttal of Anselm, led to controversy (see below). Although

communal life continued to support aspirants in their quest for inner truth and freedom, vital

religious consciousness and practice now focused on individual, rather than on communal

experience, in a shift which parallels the trends observed above in philosophy and in secular

economics.

Influenced as they were by spiritual, as well as economic and cultural imperatives,

Rolle and his contemporaries selected particular aspects of twelfth-century monastic culture

for emphasis and development. These included an urge to self-knowledge obtained through

inner exploration, an interest in friendship, an interest less in the eschatological destiny of the

Church than in the destiny of each believer, an energetic concern with ecclesiastical reform

expressed in satire, and the writing of lyric poetry and of autobiographies. Morris discusses

these features as evidence of a twelfth-century discovery of the individual (*passim*), but Bynum

emphasises the institutional and communal creativity of this period, and prefers the term,

"self" (1982, 85-88). I argue here that the fourteenth century saw a deepening emphasis on

individualism in the modern sense of "the uniqueness of each self" (Bynum 87). The trend

owed much to Franciscan empirical and personal devotion, which, mediated through the

writings of Bonaventure, was so pervasive that the fourteenth century has been called "the

Franciscan Middle Ages" (Oberman 81-82).

The Church in Rolle's period therefore consisted of a complex medley of moral effort

and intricate bureaucratic systems, of spiritual and worldly striving, of commercial exploitation

and power politics. The inherent conflicts were intensified by preachers and satirists, who in

England often spoke or wrote in the vernacular, and who energetically pointed out the gulfs

intruding in all directions between the Church's profession and its practice (Owst 242-86, Pantin 218, Rigg 269-76).[6]

The intellectual accomplishments of Ockham and of other Oxford intellectuals, such as the Merton College group of proto-scientists led by Walter Burley and Thomas Bradwardine (Pantin 136-39; Leff 1968, 298-99) are indeed impressive. To these may be added the original scholarship of the Cathedral schools and of peripatetic figures like Richard Fitz Ralph (Pantin 110-17, 151-55). The impenetrability of class barriers within the Church is nevertheless revealed by the fact that the accomplishments of the academy and schools were not communicated to the general mass of clerics. Some parish priests knew hardly enough Latin and theology to discharge basic liturgical and pastoral duties.[7]

The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had identified and attempted to address the problem of uneducated pastors, when, in its constitution, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, it ordered parishioners to confess all mortal sins annually to their parish priests (Robertson 171; Boyle 1985, 32). The concerns of the Council were furthered in England by the constitutions of thirteenth-century bishops (Pantin 192-95), notably John Pecham, who in 1281 instituted a programme of basic religious education, to be imparted to the laity in the vernacular four times a year. In Germany, France, Italy and England manuals were produced with the aims of educating the clergy in ministering the sacraments, especially the eucharist and confession, and of instructing and guiding the consciences and self-understanding of the laity. The schematisation of these works produced by Leonard Boyle (1985, 34-35) reveals that until about 1260 they were written exclusively in Latin, and that vernacular manuals began to appear between about 1260 and 1300. Outstanding examples in England included *Oculus Sacerdotis* of William of Pagula, written between 1320 and 1328 (Boyle 1955, 105-106). The three sections of this work instructed priests in the ministration of confessions, in a programme of basic religious knowledge to be offered to parishioners, and in the seven sacraments.

Among the Middle English manuals written to instruct and inspire lay readers were *Handlyng Synne*, commenced by Robert Manning of Brunne in 1303, and *Ayenbyte of Inwit*, completed by Michael of Northgate in 1340. *Handlyng Synne*, written in verse and enlivened with well-told stories suitable for inexperienced readers, was translated from the Anglo-Norman *Manuel des Péchés* of William of Waddington (*c.* 1260), while *Ayenbyte of Inwit* was one of the many versions of Laurent of Orléans' *Somme le Roi* (1280) circulating in European vernaculars. Most of the full-length Middle English manuals were written after 1300 (Pfander 253).

The influence of *Omnis utriusque sexus* on the proliferation of manuals has been variously assessed. Robertson attributes the literary tradition of *Handlyng Synne* to a deepened theological interest in the sacrament of penance, formalised by the Fourth Lateran Council (169-72). Boyle (1985, 36) detects the effects of the Council's decrees, not only on the whole latter tradition of pastoral manuals, but also on Langland's treatment of sins and virtues, and, following Pfander (253-4), on Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*. He further attributes the flowering of spiritual and mystical literature in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries to an emphasis on interior penitence, initiated by official documents of Church reform in the second half of the eleventh century (33, 36), and by Abelard. This emphasis he sees as also authorised by the Fourth Lateran Council and transmitted to the mystical writers through the manuals. Pantin's more moderate position is that the demands of the increasingly educated and theologically interested laity prompted the Church to encourage the interior spirituality characteristic of both the manuals and the mystical literature (189). Tentler goes further when he criticises *Omnis utriusque sexus* and the whole tradition of confessional manuals as instruments of social control (103-105). Tentler's viewpoint implies the existence of a questioning laity, or of an unlearned but resistant popular lay culture such as is postulated by Gurevich in his study of the early penitential manuals (4-5, 78-103). Broad economic and

social changes, such as we have seen occurring in the period, also contributed through the cult of individualism to the proliferation of manuals.

This survey of the historical context of Rolle's life and writings reveals that it was an era of rapid and unpredictable change. The operative concepts are those of iconoclasm, fragmentation, individualism, and uncertainty. Certainties of the agrarian economy, which had prevailed for centuries, gradually gave way to an imperative for self-reliance. The increasing independence of towns and cities strengthened a sense of the self as unique and separate from the community. In England the middle class became a new player on the field of power politics, and the era witnessed the deposition of a king. Insecurity and discontent in secular society increased as military conflicts within and outside the country intensified. In philosophy Ockham's new insights widened the split between faith and the workings of reason, and so shook the mediæval synthesis, which had been the foundation of an optimistic and harmonious world view reflected in accomplished art (Courtenay 31). His philosophy ultimately made possible a questioning of fundamental beliefs, and instituted a search for knowledge based on experience, not authority. In parallel with the attack on the Thomist system, the giant organisation of the Church came under scrutiny at all levels, to the point, as it seemed, of imminent fragmentation. Friars became embroiled in conflict with the Pope and secular clergy, while preachers vigorously exposed the failure of churchmen to live up to their Christian profession.

The view supported in the first section of this study is that Rolle's writings were determined by a complex coincidence of these historical factors, as well as by the unique personality and situation of the author. More crucially, the section argues that, despite their nominal adherence to literary traditions and conventions, and despite their professions of

submission to ecclesiastical authority, Rolle's writings helped to mediate his contemporaries' quest for inner and social freedom and to fashion the emerging consciousness of the age.

Chapter Two

MARGINALITY, LIMINALITY AND GNOSIS

The vastness and complexity of Rolle's literary production in Latin and English were first revealed to modern readers in 1927 when Allen published her seminal study, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle and Materials for His Biography*. The only comprehensive examination of Rolle's works subsequently printed, Watson's *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (1991), enhanced the impression of a hardly containable diversity, apparent both in content and in choices of literary genre and forms of expression. This diversity, or, to use a more appropriate term evocatively defined by Dollimore (xxii), this "discoherence," has inspired the three ways in which Rolle's writings are approached in this section, through the concepts of marginality and liminality, and by comparison with Christian Gnosticism as exemplification of the former. The writings are contextualised in their era, with a view to recovering what seems subliminally to have engaged contemporary readers: the articulation of a quest for freedom generated by historical change, in uneasy relationship and sometimes open conflict with accepted orthodoxies and authorised structures.

Although Rolle's writings have sometimes been approached, notably in Horstman's and Allen's ground-breaking studies, from historical and social perspectives, subsequent commentary has focused on their theological import, their relevance to personal spirituality, and their place in ecclesiastical literature. Many of Rolle's texts nevertheless seek strenuously to instruct a wide readership, and the success of this project is attested to by the survival of his works in nearly 400 manuscripts in England and over 70 on the Continent (Allen 1927, 563-68).[1] Rolle's writings were copied with unusual care (Gillespie "Vernacular Books" 328). Deanesly points out that wills surviving from between 1350 and 1500 mention his English books more often than any other vernacular texts (1920, 352), while Watson describes readers of his Latin and English writings as "men and women in many kinds of secular life as well as

solitary and coenobitic contemplatives, priests and academics." (1989, 124).[2] In the early

sixteenth century, the cataloguer of the brothers' library at Syon monastery recorded with pride

a reputed holograph of *Melos Amoris* (Bateson x, 102). Two of Rolle's English epistles, *Ego*

Dormio and *The Form of Living*, were translated into Latin, while translation into English of

Incendium Amoris (Allen 1927, 223-24), *Emendatio Vitæ* (Allen 1927, 240-43) and the parts

of *Super Canticum Canticorum* included in the compilation, *Enconium Nominis Iesu* (Allen

1927, 68), meant that even people who did not know Latin and who could not read, like

Margery Kempe, became familiar with such works through oral presentation (Meech and Allen

39.23-25; Allen 1919, 320-21). Distinctions based on education thus became blurred, and it

is valid to speak of a democratisation of Rolle's audience. The close relationship, thus

variously attested to, between Rolle's writings and the life of his times, supports a reading of

his *corpus* as a meeting place of disparate and contending social forces.

Simple connections between the history of the period, as constructed above, and

leading characteristics of Rolle's writing are readily made. Rolle's attacks on the corruption

of the clergy, his scorn for academic learning, and his exposure of the relative spiritual

standing of rich and poor are overtly iconoclastic, and in fact particularised versions of the

contemporary satirical preaching documented by Owst. The discoherence within and among

the texts of his *corpus* can be understood as a discursive symbol for the fragmentation

threatening both the Church and secular society. Rolle claimed a knowledge of spiritual life

based on unique experience, primarily of *fervor*, *dulcor*, and *canor*, which he also used to

authorise his commentary on worldly affairs. His writings are therefore inscribed both with

the empiricist spirit governing the philosophy of Ockham and his successors, and with the

individualist ideology of the emerging urban economy. Rolle's willingness to venture on new

knowledge on the basis of experience alone is further evident in his continuing experiments

with literary form. The defensive tone of much of his writing, the repetitive care with which he constructs his identity as author and spiritual adviser, an aspect central to Watson's book, suggests that Rolle's new undertaking was attended by an uncertainty which I have again argued above to be paradigmatic of his age.

On the other hand, the impetus to articulate the contemporary and to implement the future in terms of individual and social aspirations to freedom is countered in Rolle's writings by equally powerful reassertions of tradition and authority. Thus, passages in his work support the ministry of the institutional Church, in opposition both to discourses of individual spiritual quest and to satirical exposures of clerical inadequacies. Attacks on academic learning are countered on occasion by an adherence to scholastic and ecclesiastical formal conventions, as well as by borrowings from earlier devotional and instructional works. Adherence to convention also conflicts with the impulse to literary experiment and innovation noted above. The individualistic self-absorption evident in many of the Latin works, as Rolle constructs and defends his authority for a learned readership, is countered by works of pastoral care, such as *Emendatio Vitæ* and the English epistles, in which he functions pre-eminently as a member of the Christian community, both educated and uneducated. In embodying contradictions rather than merely reflecting trends, Rolle's works offer subversive insights into subordination in his society, processes normally obscured by the operations of ideology. Furthermore, the complex conflicts inherent in his writings, the inability of iconoclasm and experiment to prevail over conformity, of individualism to triumph over society's institutions, mark them as products of the margins, neither completely contained within, nor completely excluded from, his world as produced in discourse. From their place on the fringe, Rolle's writings, often exuberantly playful and creative, randomly challenge the conformities, the hierarchies and the restrictions of the centre.

Insights developed by the French folklorist Arnold van Gennep and later applied to contemporary and medieval pilgrimage by Victor and Edith Turner are used here to explicate further the precise nature and significance of Rolle's works as products of the margin. Usually designated *limina* by these theorists, margins are said to contain experimental models of future social transformations. In this respect they may be identified with the creative space *between* binary oppositions evoked by Irigaray. In Turner's theory, *limina* are the means of transition to new modes of thinking and conduct, circumventing the inevitable, instantaneous suppression of radical deviation enforced by conservative societies. Characteristics of the liminal state, derived from individual rites of passage such as birth, initiation and marriage, are generally evocative of the work of Rolle, and precise connections are argued below. Qualities considered liminal (Turner 1978, 253) are often prominent in Rolle's writings: plurality, fragmentation, experimentation, idiosyncrasy, quirkiness and Utopianism. Like some other products of the *limen* (Turner 1978, 249), his works are associated with an identifiable individual, who arguably, from a present-day theoretical viewpoint, sought to compensate himself for his comparative powerlessness in society by the reception of sacred knowledge. This study nevertheless assumes a basic validity in Rolle's contemplative experiences, beyond any social advantages accruing to them. Often difference merges into invisibility, as passages and whole works by Rolle conform with the conventions and expectations of the time. On other occasions, however, metaphors of liminal deviance, darkness and wilderness (Turner 1978, 249), can be applied appropriately to Rolle's life and writings.

A third approach to Rolle's writings adopted in this section is through comparisons with the doctrines and organisation of the early Christian Gnostics. Rudolph suggests that the formal tradition of Christian dogma first evolved, following Gnostic influences on Johannine

and Pauline scriptures (159), out of a need to controvert sophisticated Gnostic cosmologies and philosophies, and that the paradox of simultaneous adoption and delimitation of Gnostic doctrines by the Church continued in the writings of Clement and Origen (369, Filoramo 5). Augustine's theological grounding was in the Manichean heresy, an outgrowth from Gnostic beliefs which he opposed in works written after his conversion. A dependent adversarial relationship with Gnosticism was therefore transmitted to the Middle Ages through Augustine's writings (Rudolph 370). Gnosticism persisted as an undercurrent to the developing Church, merging into invisibility where traditions and ideas were in harmony, but sometimes surfacing in open resistance, in such challenges as the Catharist heresy (Rudolph 375-76, Stoyanov 71-80, 151). The movement therefore offers a model of marginality for mediæval Christianity: "One can almost say that Gnosis followed the Church like a shadow" (Rudolph 368).[3]

Direct influence from the Gnostics has been postulated for many mediæval and post-mediæval artists and thinkers, from Hieronymus Bosch to Jacob Boehme, from William Blake to Hermann Hesse, from Carl Jung to Karl Marx (Filoramo xii-xvi; Churton 141-55). The *Corpus Hermeticum* is one of the oldest literary sources of Gnostic beliefs (Rudolph 25-26), and Gnosticism has been traditionally associated with the occult and theosophy, as well as in general with visionaries and mystics.[4] However, the purpose of this section is not to suggest that Rolle (and the English contemplative writers who followed his lead) was an inheritor, whether conscious or unconscious, of Gnosticism, but to illuminate the marginality of his writings through comparisons with the constituents of Gnostic marginality. The conscious emphases of Rolle's works, analysed in the following discussion, reveal an alignment with Gnostic attitudes which is more striking than the works' technical orthodoxy.[5] The usefulness of Gnosticism as a model of divergence from the mind-set imposed by institutional

Christianity has long been recognised. The significance and validity of the model was confirmed by the discovery of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts in 1945 (Rudolph 34-43; Pagels 1979, xiii-xvii; Filoramo 1). The concealment of these Gnostic texts from ecclesiastical authority in the fourth century (Pagels 1979, xvii-xix), and the delays attending their publication and study in the twentieth (Rudolph 48-51; Pagels 1979, xxiv-xxix; Churton 8-17), illustrate the desperate struggle often attending the emergence of new social formations, a struggle represented with equal drama in Rolle's life and works.

Although study of the manuscripts is incomplete, the main features of Gnostic belief and organisation have now been established with reasonable certainty. They contain striking resonances for Rolle's works as being, like them, products of the margin.

The Gnostics' fundamental faith in a salvation to be obtained through a suprarational knowledge (*gnosis*) imparted by the divine nature inherent in human beings (Rudolph 113, Filoramo 39), led them to value spiritual experience (Rudolph 215) over complex institutional structures (Rudolph 215-26),[6] and doctrinal conformity (Filoramo 18, Rudolph 53, 320). A similar conflict between discourses of empirical inner freedom and institutional religion is present in Rolle's writings.

The dualist principle, by which Gnosticism privileged the spiritual and radically rejected the physical world (Rudolph 58, 69, 88, 109), induced a low estimation of rituals and sacraments (Rudolph 218), because of their material content or function. Under the theme of *contemptus mundi*, Gnostics likened the physical universe to a "prison," a "house," a "dark place" (Rudolph 58, 69, 88, 109; Churton 21). These ideas were embroidered enthusiastically by the coenobitic culture of the developing Church - although a more moderate ascesis is evident in the crucial Rule of St. Benedict - and they figure prominently in the writings of Rolle and his contemporaries (Moyes, Vol. 1, 92-95). My point is not that Rolle embraced the

complex Gnostic cosmologies, designed to distance the Father as far as possible from the "mistaken" creation of the material universe, or their identification of Jahweh in the Old Testament with an arrogant and ignorant Demiurge-Creator. It is rather that his repeated repudiations of worldly and physical experience, which included a passionate longing for death, reproduce an extreme Gnostic emphasis.[7] In orthodox Western Christianity, following the Council of Nicæa in 325, repudiation of the physical was modified by faith in God's creation of an essentially good universe, *ex nihilo* (Louth 75-77). This doctrine held little imaginative appeal for Rolle, though there is no reason to doubt his acceptance of it. This section argues that for the Gnostics (Rudolph 265-67) as for Rolle *contemptus mundi* was a sublimated expression of social marginalisation, dissent and criticism.

Like Gnosticism, Rolle's writings are permeated by antithesis, a rhetorical device, but indicative of an habitual thought pattern.[8] The dualist soteriology which reserved *gnosis* for the elect and destined the ignorant for annihilation (Rudolph 55-56) finds recurrent parallels in many of Rolle's texts, notably *Contra Amatores Mundi*. Elaboration of this dichotomy establishes a hierarchy of spiritual attainment, independent of visible social and economic hierarchies, and potentially subversive of them. Such a hierarchy, in which participants - those possessing *gnosis*, or in Rolle's case those who renounce the world - are ensured salvation, provided a psychic playground where notions of social justice might flourish.

Typical of Gnosticism was a delight in free literary expression and in the production of literary works of high standard (Rudolph 53, 210). Gnostic writers experimented with genre, both revitalising ancient forms like the apocalypse, and inventing new literary fictions as frameworks for doctrine (Filoramo 16-17). Their exegesis of central scriptural events, such as the Fall[9] and the Passion,[10] radically altered and sometimes reversed orthodox readings, and

exegesis in general provided an acceptable context for the presentation of original ideas. Similar literary practices are traced below in writings by Rolle.

Finally, the Gnostics focused less on historical events recorded in the Gospels than on an optimistic transportation of revealed truths into the present, where *gnosis* was to be obtained; their interest was less in the historical Jesus than in the Christ of glory, the *Logos* (Rudolph 149-59), and in recapturing for those now alive the salvific vision granted to Jesus's first followers. Rolle displayed a similar optimism about the liberating power of spiritual experience offered by grace to himself and his contemporaries.

Much basic scholarship on Rolle's works remains to be carried out. The attribution of several Biblical commentaries and a Meditation on the Passion remains uncertain.[11] While some works are adequately represented in modern editions which utilise all extant manuscripts,[12] editions of others are selective of manuscript sources or otherwise incomplete.[13] Yet others can be read only in manuscript, translation, or sixteenth- or seventeenth-century printed versions.[14] That the textual evidence in most cases is nevertheless reliable enough to support interpretation is demonstrated by Watson's book, which provides a coherent literary analysis of most of Rolle's writings, focusing on the author's representation of himself. Watson also offers a compendium of recent scholarship and a persuasive chronology of Rolle's works (273-8).[15]

In this section I focus on the writings as rites of passage to new configurations of society and of the self, and interpret them as implicit comments upon the conflicting historical trends surveyed above. I examine them further in the light of their conformity with the socio-anthropological model of liminality initiated by van Gennep, and with the model of marginal divergence from institutional Christianity provided historically by Gnosticism. Finally, I argue that Rolle's works achieve their liminal status through connection with the divine, understood

as both the (Irigarayan) space of limitless possibility cognate with the future, and as ultimate reality or Paramashiva. Except for the Latin commentaries on the Old Testament Canticles for Lauds, which remain in manuscript and are of uncertain authorship, and minor works recently proposed,[16] all of Rolle's works in English and Latin come under review. Aspects of individual works are examined as they are appropriate to the argument, on the basis of Watson's chronology as the most reliable to date.

Chapter Three

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Rolle's involvement in the life of his times is nowhere more evident than in the efforts made after his death to achieve his canonisation. Localities possessing the tomb and relics of a saint often benefited financially, especially when these were reported, as they usually were, to have worked miraculous cures (Sumption 146-67). The *Officium* attributes many homely miracles to Rolle's tomb, which was located, according to *Lectio secunda*, in the church of the Cistercian nuns of Hampole (*Miracula*, Woolley 82). The reproduction of texts of the *Officium* well into the fifteenth century (Allen 1927, 55) testifies both to a continuing popular concern for commercial advantage, and to a strong, disinterested respect in some quarters for Rolle's sanctity.[1]

Rolle's reputation among his contemporaries and among copyists and readers of later generations was a product both of the attempt to construct him as a saint, and of the clarity and accessibility of such works as *Emendatio Vitæ* and the *English Psalter*. The scholarly focus on Rolle's biography and on the *Officium* as its chief source, maintained over the century that has passed since Horstman's collected edition, is therefore justified. The reason for extending this interest in the present study is that the *Officium* illuminates Rolle's promotion of inner spiritual freedom over institutional norms, thereby confirming his liminal status.

The persistence of late mediæval efforts to make Rolle an official saint is striking. While the *Officium* is the chief surviving record of these efforts, a similar assessment is suggested by recurrent manuscript references to "venerabilis," "beatus," and even "sanctus" Ricardus (Allen 1927, 54), and by the alleged portraits in manuscripts of the Middle English poem, *The Desert of Religion*, which develop an affinity between Rolle and saints of the wilderness.[2] It is,

however, even more striking that these sustained endeavours did not succeed. He thus lingers

indefinitely, not fully received into, nor fully excluded from, institutional Christianity.

The *Officium* seems to have been composed in the 1380s from recollections of the older

nuns of Hampole, whom Rolle advised spiritually in his later years, and of his close friend, the

anchoress Margaret of Kirkby (Allen 1927, 51-52).[3] It reproduces autobiographical passages in

his writings, and reflects key preoccupations of his works so faithfully as to suggest that he

arranged for its compilation in advance.[4] Early commentators consulted the *Officium* primarily

for what they considered to be factual information contained in its narratives of Rolle's life,

although they expressed reservations which included rare acknowledgments of the effects of

genre.[5] In 1976 Alford drew attention to a conscious imitation of Christ and St. Francis in the

narrative of the young Richard's conversion: "He patterned his life after certain biblical

exemplars, and he habitually fell back upon their words to describe his own experiences" (23).[6]

Watson concluded that the biographical narratives of the *Officium* should be approached

cautiously, in recognition of their exemplary status and dependence on traditional patterns of

hagiography (1991, 40-41). The authentic individualism and narrative details of the *Officium*

nevertheless resist final absorption into such patterns, and may be attributed to other than generic

factors.

It is significant that the exemplar chosen for Richard's conversion, the most vivid and

engaging of the narratives in the *Officium*, should have been St. Francis. St. Francis and the

movement he founded are seen by some anthropologists as examples of *communitas*, manifesting

a liminal opposition to social organisation and worldly values (Turner 1969, 128-43).[7] The

radical renunciation of possessions, the casting off of parental authority, and the rejection of

ecclesiastical hierarchy seen in the conversion narratives of St. Francis, and of Rolle as his

unofficial follower, confirm this view. While St. Francis rejected the exigencies of his soldierly

class, Rolle fled the snares of speculative learning at Oxford (*Lectio prima*, Woolley 23). Both narratives can be further understood as examples of empowerment through free inner exploration leading to recognition of the divine, by which the central character asserts his independence from social expectations and constraints.

Rolle's biography became a conduit of Franciscan individualism into the early fourteenth century. Far from being readily assimilated, however, products of Franciscan thought such as the ideal of poverty and Ockham's philosophy and ecclesiology caused major disruption in this period, and prolonged strife resulted from efforts to incorporate Franciscan friars into pre-existing structures (see Chapter 1, above). In imitating St. Francis's conversion Rolle aligned himself with liminal Franciscan models of new social and spiritual formations as intensely attractive to some as they were intensely distasteful to others.

The hyperbolic details of the individuation process narrated in the *Officium*, as the young Richard assembles his hermit's clothing from his sister's tunics and his father's rain hood, quarrels with his sister and flees from his father's house, are inescapably dramatic and comic (Alford 1976, 22; Watson 1991, 41). Similar elements are present in Bonaventure's *Legenda S. Francisci*, when St. Francis strips himself naked in the bishop's palace at Assisi in order to pay his debt to his father (Lambert 61). Like St. Francis, Rolle is constructed by his biographer as a madman, a divine fool (Maisonneuve 1-5), acting on a free, suprarational knowledge (*gnosis*), divinely inspired and hidden from worldly consciousness. The comic exclamation of Rolle's sister: "Frater meus insanit, frater meus insanit." (*Lectio prima*, Woolley 24), underlines this point. The acceptability of this construction to Rolle is evident from a passage near the beginning of *Contra Amatores Mundi*, where he identifies the lover of Christ with the two (Franciscan) archetypes of madman and singer:

Quia vero oblitis aliis rebus amorem Christi canere, sive in ecclesia sive in villa, aut alibi cogitare non desinit, huic solomodo intentus, nonnulli videntes putant quod insanit, dicentes illum irreverenciam deo facere et statuta ecclesie non observare.[8]
(Ch. 1, Theiner 69.92-96)

Comedy and madness in the conversion narratives of both St. Francis and Rolle make the overturning of hierarchical expectations, within the liminal space thus created, a genuine possibility (Little 4-5). In both narratives experience of the divine disrupts and dislocates the discursive interchanges constituting culture.

The compilers of the *Officium* were by no means unique in using St. Francis' conversion as a model. Even St. Bonaventure wrote his biography of St. Francis within a tradition of saintly conversions retraceable to the early eleventh century (Weinstein and Bell 48-52). In his study of hagiography Heffernan admits that "the conservative ethos of the genre (inherent in its rhetoric and theology) tends to play down differences while extolling socially accepted paradigms of sanctity" (14). He nevertheless argues that narratives of renunciation in biographies of virgin women saints remained popular because they permitted a temporary subversive questioning of lordship, class and property as impediments to Christian virtue (271). A similar analysis can be applied to the conversion narrative in the *Officium*. The young Richard's rebellion, asserting a brief, liminal space for reappraisal of the academy, paternal authority, and ecclesiastical structures, is ultimately contained within the orthodoxies of a genre which writes its subject as an intercessor, a saint of the Church. Even so, as intercessors saints are inherently products and inhabitants of *limina*.

Finally, the present perspective suggests an internal reading of the conversion narrative as a rite of passage. Richard's dramatic departure from the structured life of a student is marked by signs of liminality highly appropriate to the later preoccupations of his literary works. Among these is a change of clothing, described in detail and involving a form of cross-dressing. The

latter is significant because gender is a basic authoritarian structure often destabilised in liminal transition (Little 2-4; Bynum 1991, 30). Following his secret meeting with his sister, according to the *Officium*, "Sanctus fugit ad solitudinem, intrat ibi celestem ordinem" (*Lectio prima*, Woolley 24). Richard drops from sight, into the mysterious darkness of the wilderness, there to be compensated for an apparent powerlessness in the secular world by reception in freedom of sacred knowledge (Turner 1978, 249). After thus living out the particularities of the *limen*, he reappears in the family chapel of the Daltons at Pickering - symbolic of the institutional Church - and commences his adult occupations of preacher, resident hermit and author: "the initiation...is completed, and the festive license fades into the common day of social structure and orderly behaviour" (Little 2).

This at least is the way Rolle's conversion is written by the hagiographer. His own writings and even other passages of the *Officium* reveal that no such easy closure was achieved, and that he had continually to counter challenges to his tenure of each of his professions. The "reaggregation" (Turner 1974, 232) so confidently reported, so to speak, in the *Officium*, as day-to-day structures reassemble around the initiand, now visibly transformed, was never consummated. Rolle's rites of transition never received more than a partial validation from his world.

Rolle's involuntary state of "permanent liminality," approximating to the way of life purposed by St. Francis for his friars (Turner 1969, 133-34), is strikingly evident in his profession of hermit (Higgs 178). The Rule of St. Paul, a primary formulation of the eremitic ideal current in fourteenth-century England, suggests that, like primitive Franciscans, hermits were expected to live apart from ordinary economic and family obligations, and to renounce participation in ecclesiastical structures (Davis 204-213). In 1389 an anti-vagrancy statute against Lollardy instituted by Richard II made it mandatory for hermits to carry testimonial

letters from their bishops (Clay 86), but before this date they were not obliged to formalise their status. In the *Officium* Rolle undergoes only an unofficial secular induction, when John de Dalton reclothes him "juxta voluntatem suam vestibus convenientibus heremite" [9] (*Lectio quarta*, Woolley 29). A liminal status is further suggested by the impromptu material support often given to hermits (Davis 212-13), in contrast with the detailed arrangements made for anchorites (Warren 41-52 and *passim*).

Research on the subject is incomplete. However, that the profession of hermit was not only liminal in conception but also marginal in its social expression, can be demonstrated by reference to a complex later document, *Piers Plowman*. The ambiguity of Rolle's well-known status as a hermit undoubtedly contributed to the later representation of hermits by Langland and other satirists. In this respect both Rolle and Langland widened the disjunction noted in Chapter 1 between aspiration and attainment in the fourteenth-century Church.

Worthy hermits are defined in *Piers Plowman* by stability of abode, bodily asceticism (*C-Text*, Prologue. 30-32), and a simplicity of life indistinguishable from that of the labouring poor (Godden 130).[10] The spiritual striving of such hermits, in the tradition of the Desert Fathers, fulfils the highest Christian ideal:

> Preyeres of a parfit man and penaunce discret
> Is the leuest labour þat oure lord pleseth.
> (*C-Text* V. 84-85; see further IX. 195-202; Godden 154-56).

Piers Plowman also reveals however that a hermit's profession provided a refuge for misfits and frauds (*C-Text*, Prologue. 51-55; IX. 187-94, 203-18, 240-55; see further Clay 89-90). Langland renews the traditional accusation of anti-eremitical satire, that false hermits forsake bodily austerity and gain rich livings by begging. Formerly poor labourers, now they take the highest place at table and eat luxuriously. They proclaim themselves scholars, members of an order, or prophets, but do not obey the law of Holy Church or take part in the services, as all are bound

to do. In the figure of Will, Langland examines, with rueful self-deprecation, the two-fold anomaly, also applied by his detractors to Rolle, of the learned hermit (Godden 154), whose proper tasks are poetry and prayer, but who is prone to shirking and to intellectual and bodily over-indulgence, to self-deception and hypocrisy: "In abite as an heremite, vnholy of werkes" (*C-Text*, Prologue 3).

Rolle's tenure of the status of hermit, represented in his writings and the *Officium*, embraces the whole complicated marginality of the role as outlined. His eschewing of the penitential focus of the hermit's life (Watson 1995, 12) was in itself a key eccentricity, exceeding tradition. The freedom for contemplation bestowed by the hermit's life is an important theme in most of Rolle's works. For example *Incendium Amoris* declares that saints Maglorious, Sampson and Cuthbert, who had all been monks and bishops, finally preferred a solitary vocation, entranced by celestial music, ablaze with divine love (Ch. 13, Deanesly 181.3-182.14). This supports the hermit's unregularised position against the formalised status of the secular and regular clergy. Later writings elucidate the same argument, which embodies the historical transference from communal to individual spirituality noted in Chapter 1 above, as well as the contemporary public perception of monastic decline.

In *Super Canticum Canticorum* and *Melos Amoris*, Rolle controverts St. Anselm to claim superiority for solitary over coenobitic life (Arnould 1937/1957, 199-203). *Super Canticum* accuses monks of taking excessive pride in external practice, "dum visibilem vanitatem veritati invisibili preponere non metuunt"[11] (Murray 25.1-2). *Melos* declares that whereas monks owe to a superior an obedience which may be feigned, a solitary is obliged to obey God alone, who cannot be deceived, and who values, not external observance, but only love:

> Sed non sequitur: iste est obedientissimus homini, ergo obedientissimus est Deo. Deo enim solo amore obedimus: ergo qui ardenciori amore in Deo figitur, Deo obedientissimus esse probatur.[12] (Ch. 47, Arnould 147.30-33).

As the ultimate deconstruction of outward regulation and hierarchy, love of God recalls the conception of the divine as freedom fundamental to this study. Rolle commends it similarly in *Super Canticum*, but maintains a hegemony of access for the solitary contemplative.[13] Much of *Melos* praises the present graces and heavenly rewards granted to those who follow this way of life.

If the idealism of the hermit's estate is well represented in Rolle's works, the negative side of the general ecclesiastical disjunction between profession and practice, as applicable to hermits (Scase 125), is also highly visible. Several passages reject charges which, although common in satiric tradition, appear to have been directed against Rolle with particular vehemence. His works respond to accusations of seeking out the houses of patrons where he would be well fed, of eating and drinking lavishly, of failing to attend services, of being too much in women's company, and, most persistently, of frequently changing his residence (Watson 1991, 45-49; Sargent 1981, 166-67). Defences against the last charge occur in *Judica A*, the first part of the early composite treatise, *Judica Me Deus* (Daly 2.2-3.1), and, more briefly, in *Incendium Amoris* (Ch. 15, Deanesly 188.6-11). Rolle distances himself from *girovagi* in both *Incendium* (Ch. 14, Deanesly 183.16) and *Super Canticum* (Murray 26.15-17). The *Officium* deals at length with the charge of unstable abode (*Lectio octava*, Woolley 39), and narrates, again in refutation of either a stereotype (*Piers Plowman*, *C-Text*, IX. 246-50) or a specific charge, that when John de Dalton invited Richard to dine, the hermit chose the lowest place, ate in silence, and tried to depart before the tables were removed (*Lectio tercia*, Woolley 25-26).

The ambiguity and disjunction inherent in the liminal profession of hermit are therefore reflected in Rolle's biography and in many self-referential passages in his writings. That he nevertheless adhered strongly to the name and status of hermit, is demonstrated by a brief attempt in *Super Canticum* to relocate the profession within institutional bounds, "dum

pastoribus obedientes in fide et unitate ecclesie irreprehensibiliter vivunt"[14] (Murray 26. 2-4).

The same impulse probably determined the tone of the following extract from *Judica B1*:

> Nonnulli nempe cum heremiticam uitam considerant, me etiam heremitam non esse inpudenter affirmare non formidant. Sed dum uirus, sub liuido corde diu concretum, in meam debilitatem tam audacter euomunt, iudicium Eterni Regis timentes perpendant.[15]
> (Daly 18.7-11)

The anger barely contained by the Biblical resonances of this passage suggests that, at this early point in his career, Rolle was seriously determined to reinforce a precarious grasp on the one social designation available to him.

Bynum critiques Turner's ideas on liminality as applied to late mediæval religious practice, on the ground that they "describe the stories and symbols of men better than those of women" (1991, 32 and 49). She argues that the drama, inversion (for example, aristocratic status transformed into poverty), or elevation (for example, childhood to adulthood), of male liminal experiences are absent from the stories of women such as Margery Kempe, "so that one has to see the woman's religious stance as permanently liminal or as never quite becoming so" (30-41).

Bynum's amendment to Turner's theory is significant for interpreting Rolle, whose story, sited unstably in *betweenness*, embraces aspects of "feminine" as well as "masculine" liminal models. His rite of passage is dramatic like men's, yet unresolved and permanent like women's. An inversion is present, in his temporary adoption of women's dress, but there is no sudden descent from aristocratic or mercantile wealth to poverty. While his conversion raises him from late adolescence to adulthood, from student status to spiritual "model" and "leader," this elevation, unlike St. Francis's, never receives official endorsement. Rolle cannot therefore be identified with the male élite of "abbots and novice masters" who, according to Bynum, resorted to liminal images of reversal and inversion in an effort to escape from "anxiety over

administrative responsibilities" (35-36). Instead his status resembles that of the ideologically excluded "feminine."

Rolle's accusers were factually correct in charging him with frequent change of residence. He journeyed back and forth between Hampole and Richmondshire, he visited Pickering, and made minor moves among his patrons' houses (Allen 1927, 501-502). His freelance peregrinations can be interpreted as participation in the new mobility of merchants and artisans attending the development of a market economy and the century's drive to individual autonomy (Aers 1988, 13-15), factors which also influenced Margery Kempe (Delany 1975, 108-112). Like the mobility of the early Franciscans, however, Rolle's wandering was another aspect of his liminality.[16] Victor and Edith Turner postulate a connection between pilgrimage, as formalised wayfaring, and contemplative life as complementary liminal experiences:

> While monastic contemplatives and mystics could daily make interior salvific journeys, those in the world had to exteriorise theirs in the infrequent adventure of pilgrimage. For the majority, pilgrimage was the great liminal experience of the religious life. If mysticism is an interior pilgrimage, pilgrimage is an exteriorised mysticism. (7)

This nexus manifests in Rolle's life and writings, as, again, in Margery's. Rolle's sense of difference from his world emerges in his frequent references, following a central Pauline (Heb. 11.9-16; 2 Peter 2.11) and Augustinian tradition, to elect lovers of God, including himself, as "exiles," on pilgrimage to the heavenly city.[17] These recurrent metaphors embody a connection between his external journeyings as a hermit and his inner contemplative pilgrimage as equal emblems of liminality.[18]

It seems like a contradiction in the *Officium*, that following the rite of passage by which Rolle commits himself to the life of a hermit, he emerges to preach a sermon, "mire edificacionis," to the congregation assembled in the Daltons' chapel (*Lectio secunda*, Woolley 25). This action is to be understood in terms of *imitatio Christi* (Luke 4. 16-20), the primary

determinant of hagiographical patterns (Alford 1976, 23; Heffernan 20), but also as a sign of Rolle's aspiration to preach. The difficulties attending this aspiration are suggested by an introductory remark in *Judica B1*: "ut quod ego nondum in publico predicando cogor dicere, saltem uobis ostendam scribendo"[19] (Daly 18.19). The cryptic verb, *cogor*, is illuminated by passages in *Melos Amoris* which suggest that the Church had denied Rolle a licence to preach in public,[20] and which repetitively reconstruct his writing as a substitute for preaching.[21] The connection in Rolle's thought between writing and preaching, and the central conception of them both as divinely inspired and channels of grace for his readers and hearers, is dramatised by the episode in the *Officium* in which Richard continues to write for two hours, while simultaneously delivering a homily on a different subject to household members (*Lectio sexta*, Woolley 32-33).[22] For Rolle himself, as for many of his readers, it was especially in inspired texts that divine creativity became accessible.

Carthusians, who were forbidden by their order to preach, considered the writing and copying of books to be a fulfilment of their pastoral obligation (Sargent 1976, 225-26). Their example is however less applicable to Rolle (Watson 1991, 185) than the consideration that his writing was a means for evading an injunction of the Church, while remaining technically subordinate. By attempting to limit his influence, without openly questioning his orthodoxy, the Church implicitly allocated Rolle a marginal role.

Gnostics occasionally displayed a reluctance to distinguish between clerical and lay status (Rudolph 215). The submergence of this key institutional boundary, also inherent in Rolle's appropriation of the preacher's office, was formalised late in the century when Lollards implemented their doctrine that laymen as well as clergy had a responsibility to preach the Gospel (Aston 1976, 287-91). Wandering Lollard "*poor* preachers," accused by their enemies

of inciting their hearers to insurrection, fought the Friars for possession of the mixed liminal role which Rolle's life and writings had helped to vitalise in England throughout the century.

The deflection of Rolle's ambition to preach into writing led to the production of a group of texts, mostly Biblical commentaries, in which, to coin a metaphor as applicable to Gnosticism as to theories of liminality, he shadowed the preacher's role. His writing finally succeeded as a preaching medium in works such as *Emendatio Vitæ* and the English Epistles, which integrate general and personal instruction. While some of Rolle's works tended to merge during his career with the mass of ecclesiastical material, others posed a shifting liminal challenge to the presuppositions of these same standard pastoral and devotional writings.

Rolle's encroachments on the role of priest paralleled his marginal relation through his writings to preaching, and further testify to his conflicting wish for social acceptance and loyalty to his own vision. Noetinger's attempt to regularise Rolle's shadowing of the priesthood, by citing evidence that he completed his education at the Sorbonne and was ordained (1926, 26-29; 1928, xvi-xxxv), was discredited, after arduous debate, by later writers.[23] That Rolle was attracted to at least some of the priest's functions is suggested by his extensive activities as spiritual adviser[24] and by his attempts to reform unfaithful and ignorant priests in *Melos Amoris* (Ch. 7, Arnould 19. 12 - 20. 11) and *Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum* (Moyes Vol.2, 200. 11 - 201.4, 230.19 - 232.2, 251. 10 - 15). His liminal relationship to the priesthood is textualised in *Judica Me*.

Rolle was one of the earliest readers of William of Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis*, the most widely known and frequently adapted of the English penitential manuals (Boyle 1955, 92-95; Potter 18). It is considered above that the proliferation of such manuals in the early fourteenth century reflects both the emergence of a resistant lay culture and the will of the Church to contain its demands. By incorporating long passages from *Oculus Sacerdotis* in *Judica B*,[25]

Rolle appealed simultaneously to ecclesiastical power structures and a broad clerical readership. It is surprising however that he presumes as an outsider to instruct priests in their duties, not only the friend to whom he addresses his work, but others as well.[26]

Hesitation about writing is expressed in the epistolary prologue to *Judica B1*, where Rolle pleads with his friend not to lend the book indiscriminately.[27] He draws strength from the Bible, and claims to have compiled the work from the words of the early fathers (Daly 18.17), omitting any reference to William of Pagula. Rolle does not acknowledge major sources elsewhere in his works, but this is an uncharacteristic attempt to mislead, to exchange a vulnerable contemporary attribution for the shelter of patristic authority, thereby overcoming "anxiety of authorship" in resistance to severe social sanctions (Gilbert and Gubar 48-53).[28]

The efforts made by Rolle to unify *Judica Me* thematically and rhetorically are explicated in detail by Watson (1989, 134-39; 1991, 76-95), who however does not claim that unity is achieved. In the prologues to *Judica A* and *Judica B1*, in the sermons, and in the addresses to solitaries who occasionally usurp, so to speak, the place of a priestly readership, Rolle fluently expresses his personal views directly to the reader. However elsewhere generic constraints commit him to an indirect and aloof instructional mode (Watson 1991, 84-85). The passages of pastoral instruction selected and adapted from William, evoking the external life of the institution, are forcibly if skilfully conjoined with the individualist spirit dominating the remainder of the work. The incurable fracturing of the text thus incorporates the ideological divisiveness of the era.

A key factor imparting to *Judica Me* such unity as it achieves is the privileging of inner spiritual values over formal practice in both the pastoral and the personal sections (Watson 1989, 136-38; 1991, 84). It was suggested above with reference to *Super Canticum Canticorum*, that focus on such inner realities results in a deconstruction of outer hierarchies. This was precisely

the position of Gnosticism (Pagels 1979, 41-43; Filoramo 173-74), and it is widely applicable

to Rolle's work. An insight threatening to surface through the textual interstices of *Judica Me*

is that the Church's formal practices are not always effective for salvation, which is finally

decided by the inner disposition of the individual. This inference could reasonably be drawn,

for example, from the peroration of *Judica A*, whose joyous display of eremitical spirituality

(Daly 15.22 - 16.16) darkens by contrast the following sober instruction on sacerdotal knowledge

and responsibilities, and the technicalities of sin and absolution. Similarly an exemplum from

Cæsarius of Heisterbach, which Rolle chose to conclude *B3* (Daly 77.20 - 78. 11), tells how a

penitent's impure motive renders formal confession ineffective. These elements obviously

exemplify the canon law which proclaimed, "Sola contricio delet peccata" (qtd. in Gradon 405).

Subtly, however, they circumscribe the authority of the sacrament and priestly office explicated

in such detail in the body of *Judica Me*.

The personal references and effusions of *Judica Me* therefore fracture the unified

purpose and orderly execution of *Oculus Sacerdotis*, to produce a work that is challenging,

idiosyncratic, and potentially subversive, to an extent which William, who compiled most of the

material, could not have envisaged. Passages alluding to external events in Rolle's life in

Incendium Amoris, Super Canticum Canticorum, Contra Amatores Mundi and *Melos Amoris*

similarly disrupt and transform the works in which they appear.

Modern commentary has not fully appreciated the literary originality and resourcefulness

of these brief autobiographical narratives, which were contemporary with Dante's confessions

in *La Vita Nuova*, and indicative of widespread ideological trends. Copies of St. Augustine's

Confessions, considered the "formal paradigm" of autobiography (Spengemann 1), circulated

freely in England (Bestul 1986, 22), but if Rolle used Augustine, he did so contentiously.[29]

There is no evidence that he knew any of the autobiographies produced on the Continent in the

twelfth century (Morris 79-86), nor the *Book of Blessed Angela of Foligno* (*c.* 1300), and except for Ælred of Rievaulx, who recorded very different personal reminiscences in *De Spirituali Amicitia*, he has no known English predecessor. Rolle's autobiographical narratives are the earliest literary embodiment of the empiricist and individualist spirit of his times, represented in philosophy by Ockham and his followers, and ultimately reflecting the far-reaching economic changes summarised above.

The fragmentary shapes of Rolle's autobiographical narratives suggest a struggle with contemporary ideology, which can be elucidated by an examination of the most sustained of the narratives in probable chronological sequence.

The private epistolary mode dominates Rolle's earliest autobiographical endeavour, the opening to *Judica A* (Daly 2.1-3.9).[30] Letters are a form of writing which encourage self-revelation, a fact which accounts for the existence of this passage as a compact, pivotal innovation in English literary history.[31] The opening is structured as a series of defences against increasingly specific charges, alluding to experiences and events in brief snatches as supportive material. Rolle assumes the special knowledge of his friend, the recipient, while concealing identities, locations and time sequence from less informed readers.

By contrast, the autobiographical opening to *Incendium Amoris* confidently foregrounds the writer's experience of *fervor*:

> Admirabar magis quam enuncio quando siquidem sentiui cor meum primitus incalescere, et uere non imaginarie, quasi sensibile igne estuare. Eram equidem attonitus quemadmodum eruperat ardor in animo, et de insolito solacio propter inexperienciam huius abundancie: sepius pectus meum si forte esset feruor ex aliqua exteriori causa palpitaui. Cumque cognouissem quod ex interiori solummodo efferbuisset, et non esset a carne illud incendium amoris, et concupiscencia, in qua continui, quod donum esset Conditoris, letabundus liquefactus sum in affectum amplioris dileccionis, et precipue propter influenciam delectacionis suauissime et suauitatis interne que cum ipso caumate spirituali mentem meam medullitus irrorauit.[32] (Deanesly 145.1-13)

This is a most engaging opening to a mediæval text, and a creative formulation of a free inner journeying as well as the new spirit of individualism. The convention of the personal epistolary opening, again in contrast with *Judica Me*, is only distantly evoked (Watson 1991, 117),[33] a mere gesture scarcely affecting the passage's originality. The evocative details of the inward fire described are without precise Biblical precedent, and exceed the conventions of saints' lives.[34] The narrative bypasses tradition, implicitly to present *fervor* as a source of knowledge of the divine (*gnosis*), not only for the recipient but also for others.

Autobiography later in *Incendium* takes the form of defences of Rolle's practices as a hermit (Ch. 9, Deanesly 170.23-27; Ch. 11, Deanesly 175.19-31). These amount to brief re-writings of the opening of *Judica A*, with cryptic allusions omitted. One experiment nevertheless (Ch. 12, Deanesly 178.24-179.12) uses rhetorical balancing devices to structure brief narratives of four encounters between Rolle and individual women. The longest autobiographical narrative in Rolle's *corpus*, in Chapter 15 (Deanesly 189.7-190.21), is introduced by yet another preparatory defence of the speaker's eremitical practice. The passage offers a vivid and detailed description, based on the same dangerous premise as the Prologue: that an individual's freely-obtained, unmediated knowledge of the divine is valid and authoritative.

In *Super Canticum Canticorum* Rolle narrates how he was visited at night by a young woman who vanished away when he invoked the cross and Jesus's blood (Murray 47.26-48.20). The tale is neatly told, with a minimal use of rhetoric, an emphasis on dramatic event, and a conventionally pious conclusion: "Ergo benedictum sit nomen Ihesu in secula seculorum." (48. 19-20) The modelling on saints' lives is confirmed by the verbatim quotation of the story in the *Officium* (*Lectio septima*, Woolley 36-37). Parallels exist even in Arthurian romance (Riddy 158), and it is clear that Rolle here keeps within conventional literary limits. The use of the first

person, introduced by the insistent pronoun "ego" at the beginning (47.26), nevertheless sounds throughout as an individualistic discord in a genre so committed to self-abnegation.

By contrast, an autobiographical passage in *Contra Amatores Mundi* (Ch. 6, Theiner 94.1-95.39), in which Rolle recounts his attendance at the death of a patroness, was rewritten in the third person for inclusion in the *Officium*. While the later version appends a contingent of devils, who leave behind burnt rushes imprinted with their cloven feet (*Lectio octava*, Woolley 37-38), the narrative of *Contra Amatores Mundi* does not refer to the miraculous, and is generally free of the hagiographical model. Instead it is informed by traditional accounts of deaths of the rich and powerful, such as scenes of the Death of Herod in the cycle plays, and draws the customary *contemptus mundi* moral: "et unde [caro] in vita rotundior et pinguior fuerit, inde in morte horribilior erit"[35] (Theiner 94.38-95.39). However, the story is ultimately distinguished from paradigms of both saint's lives and deaths of sinners by its minute concentration on the feelings of the first-person narrator.

Finally, *Melos Amoris* contains a few brief and fragmented references to external events in Rolle's life,[36] which are overwhelmed by the vibrant reduplication of spiritual experience. A passage in Chapter 7, which stylises and concretises Rolle's earlier defences of his hermit's lifestyle in *Judica Me* and *Incendium Amoris*, is striking for its literary self-consciousness and sensory realism:

> Denique inter divites demorans, pannis putridis pene deprimebar et nudus nocebar quasi per morsum muscarum; cutis quippe sine coopertorio confortabili calcabatur; pellis mea in pulvere induta squalorem scaturizabat; sed et estu affligebar inter obumbratos ab omnibus que optabant, ac frendebam frigore, dum opimis utebantur ornamentis et in superfluis salierunt qui tamen datorem Deum in hiis non dilexerunt.[37]
> (Arnould 20.33-21.4)

Considered together, the autobiographical passages in Rolle's *corpus* display wide-ranging differences in style and structure, recalling the marginalised Gnostics' passion for free

literary experimentation. When Rolle begins his unsupported search for a mode in which to express his experience in *Judica Me*, his autobiographical writing is discoherent and allusive. Other attempts merge traditional rhetoric and established narrative paradigms with a new emphasis on individual feeling, producing writing which is liminal in the full sense of that term. In *Incendium Amoris* external restraints are cast aside, and a confident autobiographical mode, simultaneously challenging and inspiring to the reader, is achieved, to be refined in *Melos Amoris* with unique literary embellishment.

Rolle's experiments in autobiography remained fragmentary. Nevertheless his example was widely disseminated through his continuing cult, through the *Officium*, and through the popularity of his texts. An effect of his narratives was to emphasize the link between an author and his particular spirituality and instructive mode, so that attribution in general became a less haphazard concern for copyists than it had formerly been (Watson 1991, 263), and an author's individual identity acquired more respect. Rolle's experiments, too, were crucial for Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe, whose autobiographical writing is extensive and coherent by comparison, but who, as women contemplatives on the margins of a patriarchal Church, had to contend with even more powerful and entrenched ideological sanctions.[38]

Chapter Four

RECEPTION

As a marginalised religion, Gnosticism was the site of an ideological struggle sustained from ancient to modern times. Rolle's writings too were a ground on which new social formations struggled to assert themselves against traditional notions and literary forms. Therefore they too were fought over by opposed ideological factions, whose views crystalised in eras when the works were read: the late Middle Ages and the twentieth century. That there was a comparable reception which bridged the gap of centuries, with attendant ideological shifts, between the mediaeval and the modern, is persuasive evidence for the liminality of Rolle's writings. Their resistance to appropriation by diverse discursive pressures proclaims their access to the divine as the free space for ever between and beyond cultural dichotomies.

From the early stages of manuscript transmission abbreviated versions of Rolle's texts were produced, and excerpts were arranged in compilations. Several reasons have been advanced for the extensive editing that was carried out. For example, Jonathan Hughes finds a praiseworthy motive in the widening pastoral mission of the York diocese under Thomas Arundel, increasingly aware of the laity's demand for spiritual instruction (209, 221-26), and concerned to promote social stability (228).[1] From a practical point of view, long and amorphous productions, such as *Incendium Amoris*, *Melos Amoris* (Arnould 1957, lxxv-lxxvii, lxxxii-lxxxiii) and the *English Psalter* were vulnerable to abridgment, interpolation or selection by editors probably as much committed to encouraging readers as to promoting particular aspects of Rolle's thought.

While allowing due weight to complexities in the immediate motives of Rolle's late mediaeval and Renaissance editors, the argument here is that a polarisation of viewpoint and response is readily perceived in the early reconstructions of Rolle's *corpus*. At one extreme, the ideological effect of compilations was to relocate his powerful influence within the bounds

of conventional religion. But at the other, selections and interpolations carried out by heretics delineated models for new social formations inherent in Rolle's writings.

Oleum Effusum, extant in nine manuscripts (Allen 1927, 64), is an early and fairly popular example of compilations made up exclusively of texts by Rolle or dominated by them. Its purpose was to foster devotional practice, since the inspirational first-person narratives from Chapters 12 and 15 of *Incendium* are followed by the second half of *Super Canticum Canticorum* (Murray 41.14-80.26), which includes sequences of private prayers to the Holy Name (Wilmart 272-73).[2] Such prayers, which function to still the movement of *matrika* (syllables coalesced into words), by a simple focus and repetition, can be understood in Shaivite terms as a means of purifying the intricacies of discourse masking divine reality. The striking novelty of the autobiographical passages included in *Oleum Effusum* has already been discussed, and Watson explicates *Super Canticum*, especially the concluding section selected for *Oleum Effusum*, as an audacious bid for authority on Rolle's part (1991, 147-59). In ideological terms, however, the linking of these individualistic claims with popular modes and standard teaching within the devotional programme implied by *Oleum Effusum* would have reassured readers as to Rolle's reliability as a spiritual guide, while simultaneously reclaiming his writing for ecclesiastical tradition.

Devotion to the Holy Name was deeply ingrained in Church customs and rituals from New Testament times (Cabusset 46-59), and formalised at the Council of Lyon in 1274 (Noetinger 1928, lxxiii). Many of Rolle's works advocate or exemplify this devotion, and his popularity as one of its leading exponents in England is confirmed by Moyes' examination of marginalia in fifteenth-century manuscripts (Vol. 1, 86).[3] The selective editing of Rolle's works in such a way as to centralise Holy Name devotion reflects conservative ideological

trends, operating subliminally: the reinvented works are finally rendered indistinguishable from the mass of conventional religious writing.

Rolle's alignment with devotion to the Holy Name was supported by the separate circulation of an excerpt from the fourth section of *Super Canticum* (Murray 41.14-48.20), now usually known as *Enconium Nominis Iesu*. This text survives in Latin in ten manuscripts, and in English in four (Allen 1927, 67-68),[4] and so probably had wider currency than the complete text of *Super Canticum Canticorum*, extant in three manuscripts only (Murray xli).

A compilation found in Cambridge University MS. Kk.vi.20 (Allen 1927, 400), and recently edited by Watson (1995, 69-87), also denies by implication the non-conformity of Rolle's writings. The compiler converted excerpts, here gathered under the title, "Orationes excerpte de diversis tractatibus quos composuit beatus Ricardus heremita ad honorem nominis Ihesu," into private prayers to Jesus and God the Father by minor verbal adaptations (Moyes Vol. 1, 83-84; cf. Watson 1995, notes). The same trend, towards repossession of Rolle's writings by ecclesiastical discourse, is evident in larger compilations intended for a wide clerical or popular readership, such as *Cibus Anime* (Gillespie 1982, 100, 107-113) and *The Pore Caitif* (Sargent 1979, 535-39; Brady 1980, 327-28; 1981, 20-31; 1983, 456-65). In these collections excerpts from Rolle, often focused on the Holy Name or selected from passages of pastoral advice in such works as *Emendatio Vitæ* and *The Form of Living*, are combined with similar excerpts from other writers, including Hilton (Gillespie 1982, 100, 102-107).

At one extreme of the polarisation induced by the liminal status of Rolle's writings, conservative ideological forces were therefore seeking to relocate them within an orthodoxy now reorganised to offer instruction on spirituality. Simultaneously, at the other extreme, heretics were editing and transmitting Rolle's texts in ways which accentuated their inherent potential for disruption and change.

The *English Psalter* was written, late in Rolle's career (Watson 1991, 278), on the foundation of Peter Lombard's *Gloss*. That Rolle shared the enthusiasm for divine songs featured in both Gnostic (Rudolph 222) and orthodox Christianity, is seen in his early hymn to the Virgin, *Canticum Amoris*, and in his other commentaries on Biblical songs: the Magnificat and the Canticle. The Prologue to the *English Psalter* accentuates the value of the psalms as song and music (Newton 3.3-8, 4.3-7), and suggests that one of the purposes of the translation and commentary is to increase devotion in those who recite the Office (Prologue. Newton 1.1-2.4). Following the promulgation of the Oxford *Constitutions* in 1409, Rolle's *Psalter* became the only authorised Biblical translation (Deanesly *Lollard Bible* 304), a factor which greatly increased its popularity.[5] Although the *Psalter* thus variously served the interests of the institutional Church, it was also, as the first long Biblical commentary written in English (Deanesly *Lollard Bible*, 144; Watson 1991, 242), a totally new departure, a major and original response to the developing private spirituality of the laity, mediated through its first recipient, Margaret of Kirkby.[6] Its production was aligned ideologically with Ockham's coincident separation of scriptural and traditional authority (see above, Ch. 1).

The liminal status of the *Psalter* is as evident in its textual history as in the circumstances of its production. Lollard versions deleted, expanded, interpolated and reworded Rolle's text,[7] but, except on the subjects of the adornment of churches and images of saints (Everett 1923, 387, 390-1), and the validity of sacramental confession (Hudson 1988, 261), the revisions, in so far as they were specifically Wycliffite, merely strengthened and extended views already present.[8] Rolle anticipates his Lollard editors, for example, in criticising the inadequacies of priests and prelates (Psalm 54.10, Callanan 190; Psalm 78.1-4, Bramley 290-91; Psalm 82.11, Bramley 304; Psalm 113. 21, Markert 224.1-2); like them, he insists on sorrow of heart as the basis of true confession (Psalm 68.19, Rodriguez 112.2); and

frequently alludes to the spiritual failures of the rich and powerful (Psalm 21.27-32, Bramley 81-83; Psalm 88.27, Bramley 323; Psalm 104.28, Carney 127-28).

The Lollards persevered in their attempt to appropriate the *English Psalter* by citing it as a respectable precedent in the fierce debate over Biblical translation.[9] A rear-guard action is nevertheless to be seen in a metrical prologue appended to the fifteenth-century text in Bodley Laud Misc. 286, printed by Bramley (1-2), which defends Rolle as a holy man true to the faith, and condemns the "wykked waryed wyles" (Bramley 2.55) of Lollard copyists.

A further attempt by heretics to capture Rolle's texts, in opposition to orthodox efforts to construct his works as aids to devotion on various levels,[10] is seen in the fifteenth-century Lollard compilation in Trinity College Cambridge MS. 333. This selects a passage condemning neglectful priests from *Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum* (*Lectio* vii, Moyes Vol. 2, 110-12; Allen 1927, 401), which hardly represents the usual concerns of this commentary. *Incendium Amoris*, the *Latin Psalter* and *Emendatio Vitæ* are also found in manuscripts often containing Wycliffite material exported to the Continent and copied by Hussite scribes (Allen 1927, 39-43, 167-69, 239-40; Doyle 110, 115).

The battle waged over the liminal territory represented by Rolle's writings continued into the sixteenth century, when *Emendatio Vitæ* and a wide selection of the Latin commentaries were printed by the Dominican, Johann Faber of Heilbronn, in 1536, in a volume intended as a weapon against Lutheranism (Moyes Vol. 1, 72). On the Protestant side of this struggle, John Bale, in his *Scriptorum Illustrium* printed at Basle in 1557-59, continued the Lollards' admiration for Rolle's anti-clerical polemics, which, like them, he illustrated by quoting a passage from *Expositio super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum* (*Lectio* vi. Moyes Vol. 2, 113-14).

Modern commentators on Rolle and his writings display a range of individual responses more complex and unpredictable than those of his mediaeval and Renaissance editors. The unsatisfactory state of scholarship in attribution, editing and source study increases the difficulty of delineating major trends. Critical biases are sometimes obscured by scholarly procedures, which in Rolle's case are obviously required. An ideological polarisation, parallel to those of the late Middle Ages and Reformation, can nevertheless be discerned among the modern interpretations and evaluations of Rolle's work.

Rolle was progressively rediscovered in the late nineteenth century through the editions of his works by Perry, Bramley, Harvey and, above all, Horstman. The latter presented him as a joyful ascetic, typically Anglo-Saxon, who, in the course of a wandering life, evolved a free, affective spirituality opposed to the worldly corruptions of his time and to the dry intellectualism of Duns Scotus and the Oxford schools (Vol. 1 xiii-xiv; Vol. 2 xiv-xx, xxxv). Horstman's construction held wide appeal for Protestants[11] and nationalists[12] of the early twentieth century, and for those seeking an independent spirituality under the impetus of such books as Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism*.[13] Allen modified Horstman's view, by seeing Rolle, whom she seems to have disliked (Watson 273), as a psychological oddity. She nevertheless retained an appreciation for his divergence from institutional norms, referring to him in a letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* as "a rather eccentric hermit," "a rare exception - a man full of idiosyncrasy" (July 1932, 516). A thin stream of publications into the 1970s in general agreement with Horstman and Allen invented and reinvented Rolle as a rebellious outsider (Watson 1991, 35; cf. Russell 153).

Criticism and commentary since the 1920s have nevertheless been dominated by a backlash against the "degenerate Romanticism" (Moyes Vol. 1, 7) of Horstman's construction, and against Allen's authority in textual and historical scholarship. The purpose

of many publications, usually unspoken and perhaps unconscious, has been to recapture for

Catholic tradition the spiritual insight and joyousness, or the didactic and pastoral utility of

Rolle's writings.[14] Noetinger's attempt, opposed by Allen and others, to remake Rolle's

biography by transforming him into a conventionally educated scholar and priest (see Chapter

3, above),[15] stands at the head of this mainstream, defining its direction.[16] Later scholarship

has often taken the form of particular or general studies of sources, with emphasis on Rolle's

indebtedness, and on the occurrence in his texts of traditional ideas, rhetoric, genres and

structures.

The discovery of sources and models is indeed an essential prelude to any persuasive

evaluation of Rolle as thinker and writer, and scholars working on this assumption continue

to make valuable contributions to an exacting field.[17] However, if the work of Horstman and

Allen and their followers entails the danger, now more than adequately documented, of over-

emphasising Rolle's uniqueness, constructed in an array of fanciful shapes engaging to modern

times, an equal and opposite danger also exists. This danger is that uncritical or speculative

pursuit of sources and literary models will damage appreciation of Rolle's contribution and

the innovatory challenges posed by his writings. Perhaps it is less important, for example, to

uncover Rolle's piecemeal borrowings from non-Biblical authorities than to see that the

contexts in which he places these borrowings are imbued with a different spirit, and that his

writings represent a breaking down of the patristic synthesis between individual spirituality

and institutional mediation.

Watson's survey, which is likely to remain definitive for some time, offers textual

support for the earlier rejection of Rolle as a spiritual guide by Church-based scholars such as

Sitwell and Knowles,[18] and also harmonises with entrenched academic scepticism towards

spiritual writing and experience. In seeking to understand the complex challenge which

Rolle's works have posed to dominant religious and academic discourses in his age and our own, this thesis takes up a contrary reading position, aligned with those who have turned to his works for edification and insight.

The central debate between orthodox and heterodox interpretation in modern scholarship and criticism of Rolle (Moyes Vol. 1, 25) strikingly parallels the polarisation evident in the editing strategies of the late Middle Ages. These reduplicated patterns of reception testify to the liminal mixture in his works of the traditional and the new.

Chapter Five

MOVING TOWARDS AND AWAY FROM THE CENTRE: UNITY AND MULTIPLICITY IN ROLLE'S TEXTS

The few published literary analyses of Rolle's writings attempt to allay feelings of confusion and disorientation experienced by some readers (Watson 1991, 118-19), by searching out coherencies in texts, such as rhetorical or scholastic structures apparent to mediaeval readers, and various kinds of thematic unity. While Watson discusses many digressions and diversities, he nevertheless uncovers not only inner direction and a degree of unity in most of Rolle's works, but also a chronological development in his literary persona (7), and increasing proficiency in his instruction to others. Many readers will have been reassured.

The present study does not follow the critical model of setting limits to the discoherence of Rolle's texts, but seeks to emphasise limitations to the coherencies discovered by Watson and others. Discoherence bears a special significance for the times in which Rolle was writing. I argue here that the basic coherency found in Rolle's works is the single radical idea, love of God, the simple heart of Christianity.[1] In Shaivite or Irigayan terms, the divine, the single essential component of which is love, is the central signifier in Rolle's texts. Rolle defends love of God against its antithesis, love of the world, in an hierarchical dualism designed to enhance the status of the central idea. These, however, are the limits of cohesion, since the practice of loving God is exemplified and encouraged by a jumble of discourses, complementary and contradictory, occurring unpredictably and repetitiously, and making up the bulk of Rolle's texts. These discourses speak with the varying voices of contemporary ideology.

The structural paradigm just described is clearest in *The Commandment*, which elaborates Matthew 22.37, translated at the beginning, in passages borrowed from Hugh of

Strasbourg's *Compendium Theologicæ Veritatis* (Ogilvie-Thomson 34.2-5), and from Richard

of Saint Victor's *De Quattuor Gradibus Violentæ Caritatis* (34.25-35.41). Patterns of imagery

relating to courtship (35.42-48), to vision and blindness (34.18-19), to gold and rust (38.185-

86), and to vessels (36.114-37.117) and dwelling-places (37.118-121) further explicate the

commandment to love God. Meditation on the Passion is recommended as a practice for

fulfilling the commandment (38.175-77). A conventional peroration assumes that the reader

is aware of Rolle's special fame, in urging devotion to Jesus' name, again as an expression of

love for God (39.214-224). Love of the world is rejected in satirical condemnations of

chatterers and backbiters (34.15-20), of worldly busy-ness (36.76-79, 109), of elaborate

dressing (36.101-104), and of hypocrisy (37.150-52), as well as in warnings about damnation

(39.198-208). References to fire (38.185) and sweetness (38.182-83) and to sitting and

stability of practice (35.58-60) nevertheless represent Rolle's individualistic spirituality.

Sitting, which is mentioned also by Hilton and the *Cloud*-author,[2] is significant because it

implies a focus on an indwelling divine, rather than on submission to a divine enmeshed in the

Church's pyramidal structures. Since it was usual to stand or kneel at services, Rolle's

advocacy of sitting detaches himself and his followers from physical involvement in

hierarchised ritual.[3] Marginal discourses in *The Commandment* privilege inner love over

outward penance (35.65-66), identify obedience to Holy Church with inner virtues of truth and

hope and charity rather than with sacraments or ritual (36.93-95), and suggest that the way of

poverty leads to Christ (36.98-99).

Rolle's repeated insistence, beyond the point of excess, on love of God as the

centripetal force and the focus of the Christian life places his work within a radical tradition.

The Cloud of Unknowing and other texts of apophatic theology describe advanced

contemplation in terms of unification and simplicity, a profound denial of the mind's ability

to create long chains of reasoning and elaborate verbal structures (cf. Louth 174). Rolle's texts parallel this movement of the mind in meditation, allowing spaces for secondary notions and verbal embellishment, but always returning to the divine as focal point. Although the elaborations and divergences can be extreme, the returns to the centre are just as consistent, as the detailed analyses of *Ego Dormio* and *Melos Amoris* in Chapters 12 and 13 below demonstrate. Rolle's texts therefore typically undergo a reiterated process of construction and deconstruction. The sentence concluding *Contra Amatores Mundi*, for example, collapses the whole argument into the single central thesis: "Ama Deum et sufficit; non querit a nobis quicquam nisi ut amemus illum"[4] (Ch. 7, Theiner 106.191-92).

The unelaborated Christianity to which Rolle's texts continually return can be identified in Shaivite terms with the ubiquitous centrality of *chaitanya-atman* and in secular terms with Irigaray's divine as the field of the creative and the new. The texts can also be seen as "radical" in the looser current sense of "challenging to the established order." If Rolle sometimes emulated the intricate rhetorical and administrative structures of the Church in rococo verbal performances, and if his works often embodied the threatened fragmentation of those structures in the clash of conflicting discourses, yet his consistent returns to the central idea of loving God presented a challenging contrast to elaboration and conflict. By implication his works offered those disenchanted with the Church an alternative simple approach to the divine.

The antithesis to loving God which is steadfastly rejected in Rolle's works - love of the world - is also given radical and constant emphasis.[5] Social life is seen as perilous. Social pleasures, even of the most ordinary kind, such as family affection and friendship (*The Commandment* 35.52-53, 36.83), are fleeting and corrupted by sin, and most people enjoying them are destined for hell. The only certain hope of salvation is through total renunciation of

the world, total submergence in God's love. Rolle's longing for death follows logically from his premise, his vision of the desperate extremity of worldly life (*Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum*, Moyes Vol. 2, 206.11-14).

The extremity of Rolle's position does more than reflect the strong contemporary convention of *contemptus mundi* (Moyes Vol. 1, 92-94). A radical simplicity is again evident in his logical rejection of worldly life, posing a challenge to elaborate intellectual systems and to the Church's intricate bureaucracy. The emphatic excess of his rejection of the world parallels that of the Gnostics (see Chapter 2 above), and he even adopts the Gnostic metaphor of a "prison" (*Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 8, Deanesly 166.12, Ch. 35. 245.10). In returning so constantly to this theme, Rolle repudiates not only the world, but also the social conditions under which he lived, and specifically the discrepancy between outward profession and inward practice in those exercising secular or ecclesiastical authority.

Rolle's brief radical argument, fundamental to his extant *corpus*, takes powerful shape towards the end of *Incendium Amoris*. Chapter 38 opens with a passionately lyrical celebration of the speaker's love-longing for Jesus, experienced now as the sweetest of songs and as joyful heat, fulfilled after death.[6] A contrast with lovers of the world is then introduced: their love is decay and uncleanness; they will meet a fierce Christ at the Judgment. This theme is consummated in a *tour-de-force* of violent oxymorons, epitomising the sense of a disjunction between inward reality and outward appearance found everywhere in Rolle's writings,[7] and displaying a lively perception of social injustice in references to oppressive or incompetent leaders and kingdoms:

> Habet enim mundus mendax delicias miserarum, diuicias uanitatum, blandimenta uulnerancia, delectamenta pestifera, felicitatem falsam, uoluptatem insanam...amiciciam horribilem matutinem mulcens, uesperum pungens...ducem seducentem, principem deprimentem. Habet et gementem gemmam, et laudem ludibrium, lilium liuorem, cantum clangorem, speciem putridinem, discordem concordiam, niuem ingredinem, solacium desolatorium, inopem regnum. Habet et

philomenam magis uacca mugientem; merulinam uocem, melum nescientem; ouem uulpinam pellem induentem; et columbam, plus fera furientem.
(Deanesly 259.19 - 260.2)[8]

The overcharged rhetoric of this passage with its strained, apprehensive fantasies, twisting the natural world under the imperatives of art and argument, evidences the effort required to exceed attitudinal and literary conventions.[9] Another important aspect of Rolle's radical stance is to be found in his works' persistent returns to the Biblical text.

Rolle's writings have been presented as a late articulation of the long and authoritative Augustinian tradition which judged the Bible as the fount of wisdom and therefore of eloquence (Alford 1973, 5-7). The case argued here, however, is that while his works were "naturalised" and gained acceptance under that tradition, they are in fact marginal to it, and that they often interpret the Bible innovatively, if not rebelliously. While Rolle did not adopt an openly antagonistic stance, like that of the Lollards and Hussites who argued that the authority of the Bible should supplant that of the Church, his view approximates to Ockham's separation of scriptural from traditional authority (see above, ??8). Rolle's writings show a tendency, not fully realised, to engage creatively and directly with the Biblical text, bypassing the authorised exegetical tradition.

The presentation of the Bible in Rolle's *corpus* can be briefly categorised as follows. First is a group of early Latin commentaries, heavily but not slavishly dependent on the standard *Gloss* or other exegesis: *Super Orationem Dominicam*, *Super Apocalypsim*, and *Super Threnos* (Clark 1986, 165, 179, 183). A second group of later commentaries is not specifically indebted to earlier work: *Super Mulierem Fortem*, the Latin and English commentaries on the *Magnificat*, *Super Psalmum Vicesimum*, *Super Canticum Canticorum*, and *Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum* (Clark 1986, 173-75, 181-87, 198, note 18). Finally, there is a group of treatises which are not formal commentaries, but are pervaded by Biblical *imitatio*

and quotation: *Incendium Amoris* (Alford 1973, 12-16), *Melos Amoris*, *Emendatio Vitæ*, *The Commandment* (Alford 1973, 17-20), *Ego Dormio*, and *The Form of Living*. The *Latin Psalter* and *English Psalter* draw on Peter Lombard's *Major Gloss*, often independently of each other, and each contains innovations by Rolle.

The manner in which Rolle's formal commentaries sometimes merge invisibly with exegetical tradition, at other times randomly adopt and adapt it, and finally confront it in a free play of meaning, can be illustrated by an examination of his commentaries on Psalm 20 in the *English* and *Latin* Psalters and in *Super Psalmum Vicesimum*.

The *English Psalter* reproduces the outlines of the typological exegesis found in the *Gloss* (PL 191:219-226), identifying the king introduced in the first verse as Christ, and explaining verses 2-7 in terms of Christ's life on earth and heavenly glory, and of the salvation granted to those who love him. Commentary on verses 8-10 summarises the traditional exegesis dealing with the punishment of Christ's foes. The concluding commentaries however depart from the source. The commentary on verses 11-12 is original in imagining the false confidence of the damned and the vindication of the saints whom they have formerly despised, and that on verse 13 in capturing and developing the theme of joyful singing of the wonders of the Lord. It is noteworthy that where the *Gloss* refers to those saved as *Ecclesia*, the *Psalter* speaks of "haly men" or of Christ's "lufers" (verses 3 and 4). These small signs of an intransigent individualism are nevertheless not as significant as the overriding pastoral intention of this late work, apparent both in the word-for-word translations and in the simplification and summarising of the source. Rolle's work here is that of a populariser and follower: his commentary is mostly contained within the parameters of the larger original.

By contrast, the compact commentary on Psalm 20 in the *Latin Psalter* begins by replacing traditional typology with an anagogic exegesis, identifying the king with "quilibet

sanctus supra mundanas concupiscentias constitus"[10] (Porter 87). Verses 1-7 are thus transformed into an account of the saint's experience of spiritual sweetness and joy.[11] The second half of the commentary reverts to the traditional emphasis on Christ as judge of the worldly, the saviour of those who love him.[12]

If the commentary on Psalm 20 in the *Latin Psalter* departs notably from tradition, *Super Psalmum Vicesimum* represents an extreme of idiosyncratic exegesis. This work was designated by its sixteenth-century editor, "tractatus quidam peculiaris," while its twentieth-century editor concludes, after an exhaustive examination of possible sources, that it was without precedent or parallel (Dolan xxii-xxxi).

Rolle follows the unsettling procedure of raising the identity of the king as a question, in defiance of tradition (Dolan 2. 2-5). A sequence of radical propositions follows (Dolan 2. 9-16): neither king nor slave can rejoice in the Lord unless they faithfully carry out their respective duties. God is preparing a place in his sweetness for the poor man, who therefore deserves to be called not a pauper but a king. The rich man who neglects the poor is "infelix et maledictus": "In divite honorat stercus, in paupere contempnit Christus" [13] (Dolan 3. 6-7). The servant of Christ, irrespective of rank and wealth, is the true and just king. The criterion of spiritual merit is here used to level class distinctions, to admonish rulers and to protest the lot of the poor, "quem nimirum in hoc seculo maxime [Deus] videt humiliari"[14] (Dolan 2. 10-11). In giving a special prestige to the poor and in identifying holy men, including himself, with them in many different contexts, Rolle again follows the liminal example of St. Francis.

Super Psalmum Vicesimum continues in an allegory of the just king as righteous governor of the world, flesh and devil, and as the servant of Christ supremely rewarded by joy in this life and in heaven. Special emphasis is placed on the experiences of heat and sweetness, and latterly of song, and on the personal feelings of the speaker, which reach a

climax in a prayer to Jesus in the commentary on verse 6.[15] With reference to verse 7:

"Quoniam rex sperat in Domino; et in misericordia Altissimi non commovebitur," the last

phrase is made the basis of Rolle's longest argument in support of sitting as a contemplative

posture. Running, standing and sitting are allegorised as contrastive spiritual states, in an

unprecedented personal appropriation of the Biblical text, accomplished however without

overt reference to personal experience (Dolan 13. 28-14. 32). The remainder of the

commentary dwells on the eternal punishment of "tiranni, perversi divites, pauperum

oppressores, iniqui principes et alii quam plurimi seu predones"[16] (Dolan 17. 16-17), thus

developing further the issues of social rank and responsibility raised at the beginning.

An overview of Rolle's *corpus* and an examination of the commentaries on Psalm 20

both support the conclusion that Rolle's writings span the distance between a close

dependency on Augustinian tradition and an idiosyncratic rejection of it. Overt conformity in

some texts to patristic commentaries establishes credentials and generates opportunities

elsewhere for free and innovative interpretation. These partially concealed experiments in

Rolle's works match the definition of liminality given above: a reservoir of models selectively

providing the means of transition to new social formations.

The style of Rolle's radical returns to Scripture, by which he poses a challenge to the

complex equivocations of his place and time, is even more striking and evocative in works

which are not formal commentaries. Alford analyses and exemplifies "the typical

commentary-like structure of [Rolle's] writing: a network of submerged biblical texts, joined

by association and transformed by substitution and amplification" (1973, 12). The

interweaving of lines from the Bible with Rolle's own words excludes the possibility of a

medial, institutionally-approved interpreter, and may be compared to his evident reluctance

to acknowledge other authorities whom he cites or adapts. The latter is a highly significant

omission, which sets a precedent for *The Cloud of Unknowing* and related texts. Its effect on Rolle's works is to submerge the ubiquitous presence of patristic, theological and contemplative authorities, thereby captivating the casual or lay reader with an impression of spontaneous inspiration, and reassuring the informed reader by a modestly veiled erudition and submissiveness to tradition.[17]

For Rolle reading the Bible was primarily an activity for individuals, the leading purpose of which was to experience the joy of God's love.[18] Christian monks practised *lectio divina* from earliest times (Casey 67), from a wide variety of motives, some of which would subsume Rolle's. However, in a context of spiritual individualism his objectives appear as similar also to those of the Gnostics, who freely interpreted Scripture as a path to personal illumination. The one Biblical interpreter to win wholehearted approval from Rolle is a *modernus*, namely himself, whose claim to authority is founded on God's special revelation.[19] Thus Rolle further resembles the Gnostics in the precedence which he gives to the spiritual fulfilment of individuals in the present.

Finally, the principle of disruption in Rolle's writings may be examined through application of the linguistic theories of the Russian formalist writer, Valentin Volosinov. The manner in which Rolle incorporated scriptural quotations into the substance of his writing can be read as symptomatic of the fragmentation threatening authoritarian structures in the early fourteenth century, as described above.

Volosinov argues that in societies governed by "authoritarian dogmatism," exemplified by the Middle Ages, reported speech is transmitted in a "linear style," a basic tendency of which is "to construct clear-cut, external contours" (120). By contrast, societies of "realistic and critical individualism," such as the Renaissance, transmit reported speech in a "pictorial style." A tendency of "pictorial style" is "to obliterate the precise, external contours of

reported speech," which is "individualised to a much greater degree," and permeated with the intonation of the author's context - "humor, irony, love or hate, enthusiasm or scorn" (120-23).

Although Volosinov claims a wide applicability for his theory, listing acceptable contexts of reported speech as "a work of fiction, a polemical article, a defense lawyer's summation, or the like" (118), he is unlikely to have considered Biblical quotation as an example, and the mediaeval genre of Biblical commentary as a context. Rolle's formal commentaries, mostly preserving the external contours of the Biblical texts, nevertheless invite comparison with "linear style," while "pictorial style" is evoked by the substantial appropriation of Biblical quotations occurring in Rolle's books, tracts, and treatises. The sustained presence of both styles in his *corpus* again suggests liminality.

The dynamic tension existing between Biblical quotations and their contexts in Rolle's writings, as the latter threaten to invade and possess the former under the notion of "pictorial style," can be seen by reconsidering examples adduced by Alford in support of his thesis of Biblical *imitatio*.

Alford traces the occurrence of Apoc. 2.17 in Rolle's accounts of *canor* (8-9). His examples demonstrate a weakening of the boundaries of the reported text, "quod nemo scit, nisi qui accepit,"[20] which appears in almost unrecognisable shapes, and with the enigma of the Biblical reference to "manna absconditam" and "calculum candidum"[21] subsumed in an equation with Rolle's contemplative experience. Alford quotes from *Contra Amatores Mundi*:

> Mirabar quippe quod aliquis mortalium aliquando ad tantam melodiam caperetur, sed iam vere scivi per experimentum quod vera est dileccio apud Deum. Alii autem, qui illud donum nesciunt, nec illud ideo ab aliis percipi putant.[22]   (Ch. 2. Theiner 72. 82-85)

This example demonstrates "pictorial style" also in that the Biblical quotation is permeated with the contextual intonation of enthusiasm, love and joy, a characteristic equally evident in Alford's quotation from *The Form of Living* (Ogilvie-Thomson 17. 578-81), and one which

could be illustrated indefinitely from Rolle's texts. An instance of unusually strong tension

between quotation and context occurs in an admonition to ignorant parish clergy in *Melos*

Amoris:

> Audi, insipiens, quid tibi dicitur: *Medice cura te ipsum*. Es etenim sicut indoctus
> phisicus qui infirmi curam audacter accipit et tamen quali medicina eum sanaret
> nondum didicit.[23] (Ch. 7. Arnould 20. 6-9)

The quotation which Jesus applies to himself in Luke 4.23 is here made uncomfortably

subservient to its satirical context. Similarly, in *Contra Amatores Mundi*, the donation of the

poor widow (Mark 2.43) is paralleled with the gifts of the rich and powerful in a passage

which strives against the spirit of the Biblical narrative.[24] Again, at the beginning of *Super*

Canticum Canticorum, Rolle initially delineates his pilgrimage on earth by analogy with Cain,

only later transforming the analogy into a contrast (Murray 3. 2-4).

The domination of "pictorial style" in the ubiquitous presentations of Biblical

quotations in works other than formal commentaries confirms the historical positioning of

these works in an era of accelerated change and conflict, when authoritarian structures of all

kinds were threatened with disruption.

Despite their devotion to elaborate rhetoric, and the tensions produced by contradictory

discourses, Rolle's writings are therefore founded on the central Christian premise of love of

God, to which they constantly return. In terms of secular society, their centripetal focus is

Irigaray's divine, the space for what is new or as yet unthought. Rolle's texts demonstrate a

radical simplicity also in the reiterated argument that love of the world is extremely hazardous

to the soul: therefore love of the world must be repudiated totally. The supreme authority and

attention granted in the writings to the Bible, and their marginal relationship to the

Augustinian tradition of exegesis, are a final demonstration of their obsessive returns to the

source of Christian authority. The radical simplicity underlying the evident complexity and discoherence of Rolle's *corpus* must have posed a challenge to the intricate, conflict-ridden structures of his Church and society. His works point reiteratively to the field of creative freedom identified in Shaivism with the divine, simultaneously transcending and informing the complex mental matrix produced by discourse.

Chapter Six

THE LIMITS OF COHESION:

DISCOURSES OF AUTHORITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Rolle's writing is viewed above as a means by which he partially usurped the ecclesiastical

office of preacher. Here it may be observed that his relationship with preaching was textually

as well as biographically marginal for much of his career. Instead of occupying naturally and

without comment a metaphorical pulpit, the construct of an authoritarian culture, the speaker

in many of Rolle's texts constructs his own position, based on the divine gift of an uncommon

gnosis. By claiming the indeterminate space beyond culture, Rolle attains the liminal role of

intercessor, welcome to others as well as to himself. As products of a meeting between the

personal and the divine, his writings bypass the need for institutional authorisation.

Furthermore, Rolle adopts disguises for his authority, the most notable of which is that

of singer, or God's minstrel. This Franciscan identity democratises his spiritual mission and

spiritualises his art. Minstrels are liminal figures, and singing is an art practised in intervals,

when daily concerns subside:

> Singing in the pub is one of the few times the family is free of physical and emotional
> violence. This is the moment of peace, of expressing unconditional love, of being free
> from resentment and recrimination, from the burdens of history or anxieties about the
> future; of being, simply, and for the moment, free. (Lohrey 181)

When language is sung, its powers of delusion and entrapment diminish: "So the best plan is

to abstain from all discourse, to keep quiet, or else utter only a sound so inarticulate that it

barely forms a song" (Irigaray *Speculum* 193).

Rolle's attraction to the identity of singer is evident in such works as *Canticum Amoris*,

the English lyrics, prose Meditations and the *English Psalter* (Pollard 257; Watson 1991, 230,

233). These invite reading, not only as instruction on or motivation for contemplation, but also

as open doors to contemplative experience. The speaker appears as singer, transmitting *canor*

mimetically in his texts, sharing his joy and *gnosis* with others in the manner of a song or chant (Gillespie 1982, 210-24). Readers are encouraged to join in the all-pervasive melody which is Rolle's leading metaphor for divine action, creating and sustaining the universe (Vandenbroucke 83, 284). He here offers a unique adaptation of a tradition of thought beginning in the West with Pythagoras, in whose thought it was related to the Vedic view of *rita* as the primal divine harmony behind existence, the source of all the arts (Mahony 58).

Alliterative lyrical passages in *Incendium Amoris* similarly promote readers' participation.[1] Pollard perceives a *mimesis* of repetitive musical themes in the whole structure of this work (1985, 254). A culminating exemplum adapts the ancient literary motif of the nightingale, singing all night in love-longing and joy, to the contemplative speaker, languishing in love for his soul's spouse, Jesus Christ (Ch. 42, Deanesly 277.5-21).[2] Lyrical samples interwoven in the text encourage the reader to join in the song. In *The Form of Living* Rolle utilises the same exemplum, again accompanied by a sample, to convey the highest degree of love (Ogilvie-Thomson 17.572-84, 18.598-609). Finally, in *Melos Amoris* the speaker describes himself, "ut philomena, que, concinens continue ad mortem in melos, diligit dulcissime"[3] (Ch. 55, Arnould 178.26-27).

The pervasive alliteration, contrived rhythms, and ostentatious rhetoric of *Melos Amoris*, like the lyrical samples in *Incendium* and the English works, enact a *mimesis* of Rolle's highest contemplative experience (de Ford 1980, 174; 1983, 60; Rosamund Allen 1984, 42; Pollard 1985, 260; Copeland 65, 71-72; Watson 1989, 174-80 and 1991, 178). Rolle regarded *Melos* as his most valuable gift to his readers (cf. *Melos*, Ch. 1, Arnould 4.29-5.1). He explains his motivation as follows: "Urget igitur amoris habundancia ut audeam aperire eloquium ad informacionem aliorum, ostendens altitudinem amancium ardissime..."[4] (Ch. 1, Arnould 3.4-6) The results of an individual quest for *gnosis* are to be transmitted to

other individuals, in the form of instruction ("informacionem") and example ("ostendens"). The pre-eminence of the latter determines the structural opacity of much of the text (Watson 1991, 178).

From the present perspective *Melos Amoris* exhibits also a thematic fracturing. Although the descriptions of damnation and powerful rejections of lust are a descent from the exalted tone of the introduction, they can be regarded conventionally as subjects relevant to spiritual advance. The attacks on such features of secular and ecclesiastical life as courtly love and its poetry, monks, women, rich people, and corrupt priests and prelates, must however be viewed as severely disruptive of the single sublime purpose announced at the beginning. The project of the text is to distil and transmit the accomplishment of Rolle's solitary life, of his exile from worldly vanities, but these intrusions relocate *Melos Amoris* on the margins of contemporary society. The work simultaneously transmits an ineffable spiritual experience and functions, disturbingly and irreconcilably, as social satire.

As they exceed the radical simplicities discussed in the preceding chapter, most of Rolle's other texts are fractured by similar tensions, embodying a conflict typical of the *limen* or social transition, between institutional authority and individual freedom. This struggle reflects rear-guard action by the Church and aristocracy against entrepreneurial capitalism, as economic hardship produced new institutions allowing more scope for personal effort and ideas (see Chapter 1 above). In *The Form of Living* Noah's Ark is reinterpreted, following Bonaventure (Allen 1931, 161; Ogilvie-Thomson 202), as the stable love of a true contemplative. An element of Franciscan spirituality (Ogilvie-Thomson 22.767-70) thus supplants the venerable exegesis of the Ark as the Church in its saving role (Danièlou 69, 98-102). The change epitomises the moment of historical transition arrested in Rolle's *corpus*.

The contending assumptions which fuel the deep internal tensions in Rolle's works may be classified as four separate discourses. The first is a discourse which endorses the Church's mediation and its control over spirituality. The second is a discourse implying the irrelevance of sacraments, liturgy, outward office or profession in the Church compared with individual *gnosis*. The third is a discourse of incipient but ultimately repressed rebellion against the clerical establishment and economic injustice. The fourth is a dominant discourse of independent spirituality aligned with individualism and a (Gnostic and Ockhamist) faith in experience and discovery.

Although it is often assumed that respect for the Church was an inherent part of Rolle's inner world, naturalised in his thinking as in that of his orthodox readers, the discourse endorsing ecclesiastical mediation receives less overt attention than might be expected, occurring persuasively only in early commentaries and in pastoral writing. Rolle rarely advocates official spiritual direction. His heretic readers may have been attracted to his works precisely because of their minimising of ecclesiastical authority, which also resonates with the contemporary challenges to papal and priestly power outlined above. Examination of *Judica Me, Tractatus Super Apocalypsim, Incendium Amoris, Contra Amatores Mundi, The Commandment* and the *English Psalter* supports the conclusion that Rolle sometimes found the discourse endorsing institutional mediation difficult to reconcile with the simplicity of his central teaching on the love of God, and his assumption of freedom in each individual's spiritual quest.

Judica B2 is Rolle's most sustained endorsement of ecclesiastical mediation, instructing priests on hearing confessions and imposing penance, and affirming institutional authority. Disobedience to prelates is listed among the sins of pride (Daly 46.3). Pastoral

guidance nevertheless co-exists in this work in dynamic tension with individualist discourses and the privileging of spiritual values (see Chapter 3 above).

Tractatus Super Apocalypsim, assigned to early in Rolle's career (Watson 1991, 278), follows the exegetical tradition of the source, the commentary of Pseudo-Anselm of Laon (Clark 1986, 166, 183), in presenting the Church as the repository of holiness and spiritual power (Ch. 2, Marzac 136.9-11; Ch. 4, 162.12-14; Ch. 5, 166.34-37), and in endorsing its apostolic authority (Ch. 1, Marzac 124.32-34). *Super Apocalypsim* expounds the seven stars, angels of the seven churches, as "prelati uel custodes" (Ch. 1, Marzac 136.3). Rolle follows Pseudo-Anselm in confirming the efficacy of baptism for salvation and forgiveness (Ch. 1, Marzac 131.16-18; Ch. 6, 172.19-20). However he develops independently an interpretation of the Apocalyptic "sea of glass" (4.6) hardening to crystal as baptism, "sinceritate fidei lucidum et clarum," which, he argues, "facit solidos in uirtute et inuincibiles christianos contra nequicias demonum et hominum ympiorum."[5] (Ch. 4, Marzac 160.4-11).

The exposition in the *Tractatus* of the seven golden candlesticks of Apocalypse 1.12 nevertheless vacillates over the separation of institutional and individual authority:

> *Et conuersus uidi septem candelabra aurea*, id est uniuersas Ecclesias donis septiformis Spiritus repletas, quia sicut candelabra portant ignem et aliis lumen prebent, sic Ecclesia uerum lumen quod est Christus portat, et aliis predicando demonstrat. Uiri ergo sancti candelabra sunt, sed aurea, quia fulgent caritate et sapiencia.[6] (Ch. 1, Marzac 130.31-35)

"Ergo" in the last sentence is ambiguous: whether the "holy men" referred to, presumably preachers, are included in the Church is uncertain, although saints are represented as sustaining the Church from within (Ch. 1, Marzac 132.7-8). The undefined ecclesiastical status of "sancti" in Rolle's works is significant, particularly in contrast with Hilton, for whom the apostles and martyrs of the early Church exemplify sanctity.[7] For Rolle, the concept of saint is liminal, in that it implicitly or potentially transgresses institutional boundaries. A later

definition of the third estate as, "et sacrificatorum, tam sacerdotum quam contemplatiuorum, qui orant pro suis et aliorum peccatis,"[8] similarly merges and distinguishes institutional office and the role of contemplatives, whether official or unofficial (Ch. 5, Marzac 170.16-18).

Incendium Amoris gives unqualified endorsement to the Church's authority in a passage evidently abstracted from Rolle's early commentary on the Athanasian Creed. Heretics, blinded by an inordinate appetite for their own excellence, are condemned for breaking Christian unity, for fighting against God, and resisting truth (Ch. 6, Deanesly 160.13-25). The intemperate language used here, and in a parallel passage in the *Latin Psalter* (Psalm 21.16. Porter 94),[9] suggests that Rolle is defending what was subliminally a weak point in contemporary ideology, namely ecclesiastical solidarity (see Chapter 1 above).

Later in *Incendium* (Ch. 21, Deanesly 206.13-27) an insistence similar to that in *Melos Amoris*, that love of God determines spiritual status, undermines a conventionally Pauline exposition of diversity of office in a unified Church. Rolle presents contemplatives as supreme lovers, the golden backrest in Solomon's palanquin (Cant. 3.9), while bishops are secondary, the silver columns (Deanesly 206. 4-12).[10] The passage clarifies ambiguities in the candlesticks commentary of *Tractatus Super Apocalypsim*, and is typical of Rolle's mature views. His awareness of the radical bent of the chapter is revealed by an attempt at a conservative closure, which concedes that a contemplative might rarely yield to the obligation to accept office in the Church (Ch. 21, Deanesly 207.9-17). *Incendium Amoris* here seems to suppress knowledge of Pope Gregory, the outstanding *exemplum* of mixed life, who can hardly be categorised as one of the "minores...sancti" who, according to Rolle, prefer ecclesiastical office to contemplation. The argument addresses directly, if unhelpfully, the unfulfilled aspirations to contemplative simplicity cherished by many contemporary churchmen.

A passage in *Contra Amatores Mundi* again tries to fashion a link between ecclesiastical and individual authority, but succeeds only in dramatising their disjunction (Ch. 4, Theiner 80.118-81.134). Rolle seeks to justify his publishing of his gift of *canor* by reference to Church history. He argues that St. Paul, "caught up to the third heaven" (2 Cor. 12.2-4), chose to conceal the secrets which God revealed to him, to help him defend the early Church against heretics and schismatics. Such secrets perhaps did not need to be revealed "to more saints and to us," because now the Church is protected on all sides against "poisonous" teachings by God's guidance and protection. The glaring illogicalities of this argument are subsumed into a non-sequitur, an individualist assertion of Rolle's intention to show *canor* to others:

> Sive ergo sic fuerit, sive aliter, ad laudem Dei et profectum Christianorum, illud et verbo et exemplo conor ostendere quomodo et sine modo in eius amore michi donavit Christus iubilare.[11]   (Theiner 81.131-34)

The discourse endorsing ecclesiastical authority therefore resides in Rolle's texts in an uneasiness often sign-posted by verbal ambiguities and failures in logic. This is seen again in *The Commandment*, where it is explained (following St. Gregory and others) that just as the Virgin found the young Jesus in the temple, so Christ is now to be sought in Holy Church. But the phrase used, "*inwardly*, in trouth and hope and charite of holy chirche" (Ogilvie-Thomson 36.94, my emphasis), complicates an institutional endorsement with an irrepressible insistence on personal responsibility.

In the *English Psalter*, too, the subject is declared to be, following the *Gloss*: "Crist and his spouse, þat es, Haly Kirke, or ilk ryghtwise mannys saule" (Prologue, Newton 7.6-8). The announcement promises a thematic coherence not fulfilled in the commentary to follow, because of the intrusion of a purpose unknown to an exegetical tradition developed in centuries when only churchmen had been able to read: instruction of the laity in written texts. This

primary concern, expressed fundamentally in the choice of the vernacular, as well as in the linguistic and stylistic simplicity of the *Psalter*, allows the reader an unspecified degree of spiritual self-determination. It therefore exists in tension with the frequent endorsements of the Church, sacraments and the priesthood, at least in their founding purity.[12]

The *English Psalter* was probably a late work, but these endorsements are derivative, and written in a dutiful tone not markedly different from the explication of "sanctam ecclesiam catholicam" in the early commentary, *Super Symbolum Apostolorum*.[13] Although the Church is referred to pervasively in Rolle's *corpus*, it is not a theme to which he typically devotes creative energy.[14] Furthermore, its expression is hindered by the presence of other, more or less antagonistic, concerns.

The opposite discourse implying the irrelevance of ecclesiastical offices is seen in the frequent assertions that sin is purged by the fire of love of Christ,[15] and that this love establishes the lover in virtues (*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 14, Arnould 42.25-27), so that he or she is unlikely or even unable to commit mortal sins.[16] The latter view featured in the Catharist heresy, and was a ground for condemning the Beguines (Leclercq, Vandenbroucke, Bouyer 355-56). However Rolle's writings maintain a marginal orthodoxy by contrary discussions such as that in *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 19 (Deanesly 202.1-17), where it is pointed out that, unlike pilgrims *in patria*, pilgrims *in via*, including the speaker, are always capable of sinning.[17]

Rolle's texts further evade the necessity for institutional intervention by accentuating the Augustinian doctrine of the centrality of the will in avoiding sin (*Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 8, Deanesly 165.10-16), and by recommending constant attention to the Holy Name as a purifying measure (*The Form of Living*, Ogilvie-Thomson 18.616; cf. Higgs 178). The issue submerged under these proposals for dealing with sin is that of the usefulness of the sacrament

of penance. Their recurrence, even in combination with theoretical endorsements of the sacrament such as those outlined above, has the effect of alienating spiritual power from the institution and of relocating it solely in Christ, who directly inspires love of God in the individual. The divine thus resumes its free, originating role. By choosing to promote one aspect of orthodox doctrine at the expense of another, Rolle creates a significant imbalance. The centripetal return of his argument to Christian simplicity, away from the multiplicity of discourse, is once again evident. Watson comments adversely on the general trend away from the subject of penitence in Rolle's writings (1991, 55-56). It could be argued quite simply, however, that penitence is replaced by a focus on spiritual attainment and joy.[18] This major orientation in Rolle's *corpus* banished it in the fourteenth century to the borderlands of institutional discourse, but enhanced the appeal his writings held for individual readers, whether ecclesiastical or lay.

In Rolle's writings random endorsement or lack of endorsement of the sacraments is exemplified on different occasions by his commentaries on the crossing of the Red Sea. While the *English Psalter* repeats the traditional patristic allegory of baptism and penance (Psalm 105.10. Carney 141-42; Psalm 135. 13-15. Bramley 458. Cf. Danièlou 220), the crossing is expounded in *Melos Amoris* as the heavenly homecoming of the elect contemplative, inspired by the fire of love and divine song (Ch. 13, Arnould 40.17-26).

The irrelevance of accompaniments to ritual, if not of ritual itself, is an inference invited by Chapter 31 of *Incendium Amoris*. The opening reveals that liturgical singing could not be reconciled with *canor*, so that Rolle was unwilling to take part, when present, in the singing of the Mass, and that he was criticised for this. This introduces a tension between his critics' unexamined approval of the liturgy and Rolle's studied commitment to individual *gnosis*. Instead of adjudicating between liturgy and *gnosis*, Rolle asserts his spiritual

superiority to those who rebuked him (Deanesly 233.6-9, 15-19). God exceeds the measure of these critics, in that he freely chooses recipients for his spiritual graces (233.9-15). This argument in turn diverges into a personal exposition of the value of sitting in solitary contemplation, when this is inspired and authorised by Christ's grace (233. 29-31). Rolle concludes by declaring that he now rejoices in an inner melody (234.12-13). The sequence again entails a transference of authority from the institution to the individual, when the latter has access to the freedom of the divine.

Finally, the discourse implying the irrelevance of ecclesiastical mediation is seen in Rolle's ubiquitous arguments for the superiority of the eremitic life, traced above. These suggest that true love and joy are attained in a privacy removed from secular or ecclesiastical office. For example *Incendium Amoris* points out that contemplatives, who are compared with rare precious stones, and whose spiritual lives are like gold and the clear heavens, "nec officiis uel prelacionibus exterioribus debent elegi, necque ad aliquod seculare negocium uocari"[19] (Ch. 14, Deanesly 186.24-25). Such statements imply that the institution is spiritually impotent to a degree, since it is pre-eminently the individual who rejects office who attains to the goal which the institution professes.

Occasionally what is repressed comes close to being uttered, as in a discussion of the counsel proper for the contemplative inspired by the joy and glory of the Holy Spirit:

> Nullus mortalis potest ei dare tam salubre consilium, quemadmodum est illud quod in se habet ab immortali Deo. Alii uero si consilium ei dare uoluerint, sine dubio errabunt, quia non nouerunt illud. Ipse autem non errabit quia etsi uoluerit assensum prebere persuasioni eorum non permittetur a Deo qui constringit eum ad suam uoluntatem, ut non illam pretereat. Unde de talis dicitur *Spiritualis omnia iudicat et a nemine iudicatur.* 1 Cor. 2.15.[20] (*Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 11, Deanesly 176.17-25)

Here rejection of counsel, principally, it is to be assumed, counsel authorised by the Church, is justified by appeal to divine authority and to that of Scripture.

The discourse implying the irrelevance of Church and sacraments thus pervades Rolle's texts in various subtle shapes, deriving its power as much from silence as from utterance. As a marginal discourse, it exhibits striking similarities to aspects of Gnosticism, in its valuing of personal spiritual experience over sacraments, ritual, and institutional mediation, and in its faith in a contemplative elite, the recipients of a knowledge and insight denied to others.

Repressed rebellion against the clerical establishment and economic injustice is the third of the competing discourses embodying the debate between institutional authority and individual freedom concealed in Rolle's writings. Once again a comparison with Gnostics, some of whom radically challenged earthly hierarchies, is appropriate (Rudolph 267-68). Rebellion against the clerical establishment is repressed, because in Rolle's texts it is mostly limited to attacks on spiritually imperceptive or downright corrupt clergy. As in other satire of the period, such as *Piers Plowman*, the divinely-instituted Church itself is not censured. There is however overt questioning of monasticism, an important institutional substructure, and its contribution to spiritual life. Expression of rebellion against economic injustice is licensed but ultimately thwarted by a merging of spiritual and secular categories, and by the placing of conservative closures.

Attacks in Rolle's writings on monasticism as inferior to the solitary life clearly match the paradigm of a liminal conflict between institutional authority and individualism. As already suggested, the object of these attacks, rehearsed in detail in *Melos Amoris*, Chapter 47, is the ideal of a spiritual life mediated by such institutional arrangements as ritual and singing in community (Arnould 145.22-146.2; 146.29-147.12), a programme of education (147.15-26), and above all a vow of obedience to superiors (147.27-148.11). Although monks are censured elsewhere in Rolle's writings,[21] in these passages he comes closest to attacking an organisational wing of the Church. Neither the personal terms of the attack (145.10-12, 23-29;

147.13-26; 148.5-11, 19), nor the glowing representations of the solitary life (the alleged subject) can modify or wholly conceal its anti-institutional force. There are signs of authorial insecurity near the end of the chapter, where Rolle attempts, as he does elsewhere in his writings, to commit contemporary criticism of his life to God's judgment. But even in the course of forming this closure (which under a different interpretation is an opening to the freedom of the divine), an attack on the spiritual authority of secular and ecclesiastical rulers surfaces through the text.[22]

Apart from monks, the ecclesiastical targets of abuse in this discourse are clergy, including prelates,[23] who do not fulfil their pastoral responsibilities. If souls in the cure of corrupt clergy are lost, the pastors, Rolle argues, will incur the same punishment (*Judica Me*, Daly 20.12-21.1; *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 39, Deanesly 264.10-19; *Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum*, Moyes, Vol.2, 251.17-19). The *Latin Psalter*, quoting Peter Lombard (Psalm 49.16), even suggests that a bad conscience should not offer praise or teach, a notion which, when applied later by Lollards to the priesthood, transformed the very meaning of the office (Porter xxv-xxvi, xcv-xcvi). Rolle condemns priests who amass fortunes at the expense of the poor (*Incendium Amoris* Ch. 10, Deanesly 173.16-20; *Melos Amoris* Ch. 7, Arnould 19.29- 20.6; *English Psalter* 82.11, Bramley 304), or who excommunicate parishioners for non-payment of tithes (*Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum*, Moyes, Vol. 2, 251.12-15), or who plead ignorance as an excuse for neglecting their duties (251.15-17), or who corrupt women, especially those who "pay out the goods of the poor in the brothel."[24] Concern for the vulnerable and uneducated, which is subsidiary to such passages, is an attractive feature of Rolle's writings (cf. *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 7, Deanesly 164.20-32).

The discourse of repressed rebellion is most clearly marginal, in that it repeatedly argues that spiritual authority overrides the authority of the institutional office, but avoids

stating that the latter is invalid without the former. The following passage exemplifies the delicacy of Rolle's position:

> Proinde patet quia non propter pietatem parochianorum, sed propter possessionem pecuniarum, gregis Christi custodiam concupiscunt. Unde et in introitu illorum a principali Pastore excommunicati apparent [qui ait]: *'Qui non intrat per ostium in ovile*--hoc est per Christum in Ecclesiam--sed ascendit aliunde--id est per potenciam principum vel per preces magnatum vel per munera vel per humanum favorem pocius quam [per] sinceram conversacionem et eleccionem--*hic fur est et latro* [*Iohan. X. I*]'.[25]
>
> (*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 7, Arnould 19.19-27)

Thus Christ spiritually excommunicates unworthy pastors, whose ecclesiastical office and functions remain unimpaired.[26] The passage thus divorces divine from institutional authority.

The merging of secular and spiritual concepts in Rolle's *corpus* simultaneously licenses and limits expression of rebellion against economic and social inequalities. "Pauperes" is used in a worldly sense, and injustices and sufferings are deplored,[27] but "pauperes" are identified more frequently with those who have embraced voluntary poverty so as to offer love to God in solitude.[28] Christ is the supreme exemplar of this group - "Christum pauperum pauper" (*Tractatus Super Apocalypsim*, Ch. 3, Marzac 156.10-11),[29] but Rolle himself as its spokesman receives most attention. His sympathy with the sufferings of the poor therefore stems from identification. Especially in *Emendatio Vitæ*,[30] his discussion of poverty reflects the subject matter and complexity of the Franciscan debate (Fleming 73-109; see Chapter 1 above). Poverty nevertheless remains a marginal phenomenon, condemned by implication as a symptom of injustice, and yet accepted, even sought after, for the potential spiritual growth and reward adhering to it: the sufferings on earth of the righteous poor will be recompensed by bliss at the Judgment. The latter view, of course, denies a voice to any revolutionary potential in these same sufferings.

Similarly, the rich, with their attendant vices of pride, covetousness and lechery, are frequently condemned outright in Rolle's writings.[31] Wealth is presented unequivocally as

a major hindrance to the spiritual life.[32] In such radical adherence to the Gospels,[33] the texts

sustain their affinity with primitive Franciscan views. Gnostics also condemned wealth, which

like Rolle, they sometimes associated with illicit sexuality.[34] Nevertheless, on rare occasions

Rolle states or implies a disjunction between those of the rich who are corrupted and lost by

devotion to their possessions, and those who despise their possessions and devote themselves

to love of God.[35] This distinction, a repetition of common dogma, is another conservative

closure, conceding the continued existence of individual and institutional wealth, under

conditions policed by the conscience of the wealthy.

The liminal intermingling of the secular and the spiritual in the discussions of poverty

and wealth which pervade Rolle's works is developed further in *Melos Amoris*. Here the

terms, "king" and "kings" carry their usual secular meanings and stand as well for the baptised

and the elect,[36] and "tyrants" represent both earthly tyrants and devils.[37] The effect of the

merging of categories is again to make criticisms of society sayable but innocuous. Divine

justice will ultimately punish the failings of earthly rulers; the exalted ranks of kings and

nobles are, in a reality not yet apparent to all, the birthright of spiritual men;[38] the depredations

of tyrants are deplored, but their faults are to be understood spiritually, and not (it is to be

concluded) in terms of action on earth. Many of these effects can also be observed in the

following extract from *Incendium Amoris*:

> Proinde liquet quod cupiditas in futuro exulat; caritas autem regnat, econtra in presenti
> a plerisque agitur, immo pene ab omnibus, quod cupiditas eciam in aulam regiam
> introducitur; caritas, quasi esset perdicioni consenciens, incarceratur, immo a regno
> eicitur in exilium. Sed tamen habitaculum inuenit in cordibus electorum.[39]
> (Ch. 34, Deanesly 242. 26-32)

a substantial point of social criticism applicable to the reign of Edward III (see above ??5-6),

that greed has found its way into the royal court, and that charity has been banished from the

kingdom, here merges with spiritual reflections on the perpetuity of charity and its ultimate triumph.

The historical conditions outlined above in Chapter 1 illuminate the discourses of repressed rebellion, against the Church as institution and against social and economic inequality, found in Rolle's writings. Individualist resistance to ecclesiastical power, internal dissension and dissatisfaction threatening Church unity, as well as the era's intense moral and spiritual striving, are all represented there. Rolle's obsessive returns in his writings to the rich and poor, either as subjects or as metaphors, reflect the instability produced in society by new opportunities for upward mobility, and, conversely, by the famine and displacement suffered by the poor.

The fourth and dominant discourse of Rolle's writings, advocating an independent spirituality and an individualistic search for *gnosis*, might well be identified with Macherey's theory of a significant literary project (162), since it is not perfectly adhered to. Accomplishment is disrupted by the tangential and contradictory discourses already examined, as the works produce their version of ideology in transition.

A leading feature of the discourse of independent spirituality is its foundation in experience, narrated in the autobiographical writing already illustrated. Rolle's works exhibit exceptional faith in the authority of individual feeling as a guide to spiritual truth. His fervour of contemplative insight overflows into passages of lyrical intensity. That Rolle saw the love of God as a passion of the heart rather than of the mind is indicated by the imagery of erotic love, in the tradition of St. Bernard's sermons on the Canticle, which dominates this discourse. The imagery draws extensively on the paraphernalia of languishing for love, wounding and healing, torture and ecstasy, delay and fulfilment, as in the following extract from *Incendium Amoris:*

Sed desunt que dilectum languenti ostendant, ut langueam uulnerant, et langorem nondum plene sanant, immo magis augent quia crescente amore langor augmentatur. *Sic deficit in dolore uita mea et anni mei in gemitibus*quia differor a dilecto, et differtur mortis desiderium et moratur medicina miserorum; et clamoribus consurgo et aio: *Heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est.* Amor est quod cruciat, amor quod delectat. Cruciat: quia non cito tribuitur quod multum amatur; delectatur: quia et spe reficit, et inestimabilem consolacionem in ipsis ardoribus infundit. Accrescit etenim langor uehemens quando per amoris gaudium inest anime carmen canticorum, et estus exuberans dulci dileccioni prebet incrementum; nec ita iam libet, quemadmodum mortem uitam cogitare.[40] (Ch. 38, Deanesly 257. 24-258.4)

Such passages forge a direct link between feeling and expression, anticipating both George Herbert's model of divine poetry, as a "copying out" of the sweetness of love ("Jordan II"), and Wordsworthian notions guiding the extreme development of individualism in the Romantic movement.

The supreme importance attached in Rolle's writings to inner motivation and attitude over outward forms and actions is a further manifestation of this discourse, which finds a truth at the heart of each individual's experience. A focus on human uniqueness is evident again in the sequence in *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 12, where the narrator depicts himself as rebuked by four women, each for a different reason, and in Rolle's defence of friendship in the same work (Ch. 39, Deanesly 261.1-265.27).

Moyes argues for correspondences between these views on friendship and those in Ælred's *De Spirituali Amicitia*, maintaining that Rolle "found his inspiration" in Ælred's work (Moyes, Vol. 1, 56-58; cf. Watson 1991, 327, note 2). Important differences in emphasis should nevertheless be acknowledged, since they elucidate historical trends intervening between Ælred and Rolle, as well as Ælred's position inside the institution and Rolle's marginal position.

Ælred is chiefly concerned, as the title of his dialogue suggests, with a friendship begun in Christ and serving as a continuing channel of grace: "Quid enim sublimius de amicitia dici potest, quid verius, quid utilius, quam quod in Christo inchoari, et secundum Christum

produci, et a Christo perfici debeat probetur?"[41] (Dubois 12, 662c). Although Ælred allows for the existence of non-spiritual friendship (Moyes, Vol. 1, 56), he argues essentially for the worth and attainability of a holy if intimate friendship (Squire 102-03, 106-11), and assumes the monastery as a context. By contrast Rolle's chapter discusses, and seeks primarily to justify, "human affections" (261.7-8), a "purely natural friendship" (262.28-29): "et habet eciam secum magnam delectacionem annexam, in qua eciam nec meritum nec demeritum"[42] (262.30-32). Such a friendship can be called holy if it is founded in God's grace, and not perverted by transgressions. Chaste friendship between the sexes is then positioned within the category so precisely described, on the ground that men and women, even saints, find a natural delight, instituted by God, in each other's company (263.29-37). At last an endorsement is given to "sancta amicitia," of a kind which Ælred would have approved (264.35-265.5).

The fundamental difference between *De Spirituali Amicitia* and *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 39, is contextual. Ælred writes of an orderly world, where the passions of the individual are subordinated to a community at once restrictive, supportive and joyful. He describes his own delight in fraternal communion as a recreated Paradise (Dubois 150-2, 691 a). Rolle, on the contrary, assumes an inconstant world, where the individual must find emotional and physical sustenance for himself, and where important rules governing conduct have to be worked out subjectively. He writes, probably with indirect reference to his patrons (Watson 1991, 327, note 2), of the rarity of disinterested friendship (263.4-11). A more embattled and therefore more intense individualism than Ælred's characterises this chapter of *Incendium Amoris*, which expresses Rolle's leading discourse of independent spirituality in the form of a commitment to human uniqueness: "Est enim uere amicitia: cum amicus se habet ad amicum sicut ad seipsum, cum amicus sit alius ipse, et ipsum amat propter ipsum, non propter utile quod se sperat ab eo percepturum"[43] (Deanesly 261.13-16).

Thus, beyond the coherency imparted by the single radical idea, love of God, many of Rolle's texts exist precariously as jumbles of discourses embodying the conflict, fundamental to his era, between authority and individualism. Each of the four discourses examined, whether representative of the *status quo* or challenging to it, meets resistance, disruption or contradiction from competing discourses. The discourse endorsing ecclesiastical mediation and authority is therefore uneasily conjoined with discourses which imply the irrelevance of priestly offices, which promote individual *gnosis*, and which raise the possibility of rebellion against ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies. This structural discoherence is echoed in verbal ambiguities and failures in logic, especially prevalent in the pro-clerical discourse. Because of the discoherence which it exhibits on more than one textual level, Rolle's *corpus* persists as a literary after-image of an era of iconoclasm, individualism and barely contained fragmentation.

Chapter Seven

PERSPECTIVES ON THE PASSION

Attempts to save Rolle's writings for established religion have tended to focus on the representation of Christ as fully orthodox and conventional, and on the Passion as the "core theme of [Rolle's] concept of the spiritual life" (Madigan 176). Both these views have been disputed, the latter notably by Rosemary Woolf.[1] New grounds for challenge are suggested by the present perspective, which reveals that Rolle's representation of Christ has affinities with Gnosticism as an ideology of the margins, and that it is fractured like much of his writing by the converging contemporary discourses of authority and individualism.

Because the notion of an historical redeemer was a secondary importation under Christian influence, the Christ of Gnosticism tended to be mythologised, in conformity with the pattern of pre-Christian redeemer figures (Rudolph 132, 149, 151; Perkins 99-108). Both orthodox Christianity and Gnosticism emphasised the divinity of Christ as a present reality, but, because of their contempt for the physical world, Gnostics down-played Jesus's humanity and the events of his earthly life. From her study of the Gnostic Gospels, Pagels concludes that Gnostics rejected an understanding of the resurrection as a physical reality, viewing it instead as symbolic of the spiritual experience of Christ's presence, open to all. She argues that this conception entailed a repudiation of the authority of the institutional Church, said to originate in the Apostles' experience of the physically risen Christ. This experience, permanently inaccessible to other Christians, was used to create an exclusive hegemony (1979, 10-27). In terms of the present study, the divine was subjected as biography to the delusionary "reality" produced by discourse.

Gnostics similarly attached little importance to the physical realities of the Passion. Under Docetism some postulated that Christ possessed only the appearance of a human being,

and therefore "neither suffered nor was really crucified" (Rudolph 157; cf. Pagels 1979, 72-75), while others responded to the crucifixion, as to the resurrection and other events of Christ's life, as the "occasion for discovering the divine self within" (Pagels 1979, 95). The division between Christian and Gnostic Christology remains controversial (Rudolph 159). Major emphases are nevertheless clear enough to permit a conditional application to priorities implied by Rolle's writings, some of which suggest a limited alignment with Gnostic views.

This is seen first in the fact that, despite the countless references to scriptural texts as the basis of contemplative experience, there is comparatively little recreation of Biblical narratives as physical events. Rolle refers most frequently to ideas, and to feelings generated by books like the Canticle and the Psalms, and by hymns like the *Magnificat*.[2] Although a weighty exception exists in his descriptions of the Passion, central to the Meditations and to four lyrics, and significant in tracts and commentaries in Latin and English, these are often generically pre-determined. Glasscoe demonstrates that an assumed liturgical frame helped determine the form and content of Passion meditations (1990, 141-44). In Rolle's case the expectations of genre are violated in specific instances by intruded elements of individualist spirituality, displaying affinities with the Christology of the Gnostics.

This can be exemplified from the Middle English "Meditation A" (Ogilvie-Thomson 64-68),[3] a work which demonstrates the conventional development of its genre in the fourteenth century, emphasising the human suffering of Christ, extrapolated from hints in the Gospel accounts, and encouraging identification with the Virgin. Imperatives and addresses in the second person are a further generic feature, promoting the reader's emotional involvement in the scene (Bennett 35). Conversely, the repeated exhortations to "consider" can be shown to

divide the reader's attention between her own position and reflections and the events described, so that some distancing occurs, even at the most moving moments of the Passion narrative: "Umbethinke the than how [thei] toke him oute [fro] prisone, and bonde his hondes behinde him that the blode brest oute at the nales...Sithen how thei fest a rope to his riȝt fote and drowe him oute to it come to the hole...Sithen how..." (Ogilvie-Thomson 66.85-67.123).

Conviction of sin in "Meditation A" is confined to Latin prayers extracted from the York litany (lines 7-11, 82-84), and to an ending which urges contrition and examination of conscience and may refer to sacramental confession (lines 152-60). Christ's sacrifice is seen not only as redeeming the meditator from sin and guilt, but also in relation to eschatology: humanity's salvation and the Judgment to be faced by the meditator, who depends on Christ for salvation from the horrors of hell (lines 161-67), and to Christ's everlasting joy (line 55). [4] While these are all traditional in literature on the Passion, the slight orientation away from personal guilt and contrition disrupts generic expectations, while the promise of Christ's spiritual joy recalls Gnostic preoccupation with Christ's divinity. [5]

Elements of Rolle's individualistic world-view may also disrupt the conventionalities of "Meditation B." Ogilvie-Thomson prints as "Meditation B" (69-83) the longer version of the Meditation published by Allen in a shorter (Text I) and longer version (Text II) (1931. 19-35), [6] but strengthens doubts of Rolle's authorship in both cases (xciv, 213). [7] The shorter version of "Meditation B" (Text I; printed in full in Horstman, Vol. 1, 83-91), shown by Morgan to be translated from a series of Anglo-Norman prayers extant in a Book of Hours (1953, 95, 97-99), responds to the Passion penitentially. It differs from the longer version derived from it (Morgan 1953, 99), in that it does not refer to the sacraments or Holy Church, to the saying of the Hours,

or to good works, and it omits an elaborate sequence of metaphors describing Christ's body found in the longer version (Ogilvie-Thomson 74.195-75.248).

The most striking difference between the long and short versions of "Meditation B" is in the accounts of the crowd accompanying Jesus to the place of execution. The shorter version vividly describes an excited and marvelling crowd, while the longer is less graphic and perhaps more disparaging - the people "gawren" (gape).[8] The following passage in the shorter version has no equivalent in the longer:

> Somme þere were of þe comown peple þat sysched sore and grette for þi wo, þat wysten þe so turmentyd and þat it was for envye, for þe princes and þe byschopys þat ladden þe lawe, þei dyden þe to þe deth for þi soth sawes, whann þou of here erroures wolde hem repreue. Þei knewe it was owtrage and wrong þat þou soffrede, and folwyd þe wepyng and syschyng sore. (Horstman, Vol. 1, 85; cf. Allen 1931, 22.86-93)

Responsibility for Christ's death is thus taken from the common people, who recognise the truth of Christ's teaching and the injustice of his suffering, and imposed on princes and prelates, who act maliciously and out of pride. The contemporary satire is of a kind congenial to Rolle, recalling attacks in his other works on incompetent or corrupt rulers, and the frequent contrasts between the spiritual status and prospects of rich and poor.

These differences support Morgan's hypothesis, that Rolle was the translator of the shorter version of "Meditation B," while the longer was a revision by another hand (1953, 101).[9] Like the devotional compilations considered in Chapter 4 above, the longer version relocates Rolle's thought within institutional ideology. The shorter version, however, resembles "Meditation A," in unsettling the rigidities of genre with elements of individualist spirituality. The daring reference to "þi blisse of þi blood" (Horstman 91), which accomplished our "soule-hele," is an extreme example of a discursive clash in interpretation of the Passion. Conventional devout sympathy for Christ's suffering - "þi blood" - collides with contemplative awareness that the Passion is the path to spiritual joy - "þi blisse."[10]

Four lyrics[11] containing substantial reference to the Passion may confidently be attributed to Rolle as either original compositions, compilations, or translations. They are: "My kynge þe watyre grete, and þe blod he swete";[12] "Ihesu, Goddis son, Lord of mageste" (Ogilvie-Thomson 44-45);[13] "Heyle Jhesu my creatowre"(Allen 1931, 48-49);[14] and "Ihesu swet" (Ogilvie-Thomson 50-63).[15] These texts embody a tension between conformity with generic expectations, seen in standardised descriptions and responses, and an emphasis on specifically contemplative experience and the divinity and freedom of the crucified Christ. Specifically, the Passion narrative is not elaborated in any detail. Instead, features of the poetry limit physical and human aspects, so that realism is reduced, and the lyrics assume a symbolic focusing function, like that of a crucifix.

A distancing from Christ's human suffering is achieved by redeploying easily recognised conventions. For example variant translations of the well-known meditation, "Candet nudatum pectus," comprise a substantial proportion of the descriptions in "My kynge..." and in "Ihesu, Goddis son...." "My kynge..." also presents a version of the famous text, "Respice faciem Christi." Another commonplace, the struggle of Life and Death from the Easter liturgy, occurs in "Ihesu, Goddis son..." (Ogilvie-Thomson 45.43, 46-47). In these cases, a reader's imaginative and sensitive response is likely to be blunted by familiarity.

Narrative detail is further reduced by rapid transitions between event and personal application. This is a recurrent feature of "Ihesu swet," where the whole incarnational narrative appears in outline. The urgency, emphasised in Gnosticism, to "discover the divine self within" through meditation on the incarnation is seen in such lines as, "As þou was borne in Bethleeme,/ þou make in me þi loue dreme" (Ogilvie-Thomson 51.19-20). Details are also avoided through a simple use of the figure of *occultatio*, in which an author declares his deficiency when faced with a high or complex subject:

> Ihesu, for loue þou suffr[ed]est wronge,
> Woundes sore and peynes stronge;
> Þi peyn rewful was ful longe,
> Ne may hit telle tunge nor songe.
> (Ogilvie-Thomson 52.5-6).

Whether introduced in paradoxical opposition to Christ's suffering, or presented as a separate feature of the scene, the effect of emphasising Christ's divinity is to inspire thought removed from the physical details of the Passion. Rolle encourages the reader to look for the joyful essence of the event, which forms the model of human suffering and sacrifice. The aligning of Rolle's lyrics with Gnostic perspectives is seen especially in the epithets applied to Christ in "My kynge...": "oure gostly good," and "God of mageste." Woolf regards it as an innovative emotional heightening:

> In the ordinary Passion [verse] meditation this kind of splendour would have daunted the familiar tenderness which the writer wished to evoke, for only ecstatic love is the fitting response to it. (16)

A tension is often sustained between conventional recognition of personal sin and guilt, and a view, orthodox, but activating the Gnostic priority by which the Passion provided access to the inner love of God. Under a definition of the divine as freedom, this is a significant discursive transformation. Vacillation between guilt and love is seen in passages in "Ihesu swet" and other lyrics,[16] including the following lines from "My kynge...":

> Thou mak me clene of syn and let vs neuer twin.
> Kyndel me fyre within, þat I þi loue may wyn,
> And se þi face, Ihesu, in blis þat neuer may blyn.
> (Ogilvie-Thomson 31.198-200).

Wavering is resolved by the prose passage following "My kynge" in *Ego Dormio*, where it is made clear that contemplative insight is the response hoped for.[17]

"Ihesu, Goddis son" and "Heyle Jhesu" open with stanzas of longing for experience of divine love, predetermining a response to the Passion infrequent in other Middle English

religious lyrics,[18] but similar to marginal Gnostic treatment of the events of Christ's life primarily as inspiration for a believer's inward pilgrimage towards the divine. The first five stanzas of "Ihesu, Goddis son" recount the contemplative's progress from renunciation to union, in parallel with the structure of *Ego Dormio*, and the evocation of union is continued in stanzas 6 to 8 (Rogers 73-76). "Heyle Jhesu" sets the Passion in a context of contemplative joy: "þi luf es byrnand als þe fyre"; "þou art joy þat lastes ay, al delyte þou art to se." (Allen 1931, 48.11 and 14). The mood, though not the content, is comparable to Jesus's joyous evasion of physical suffering in the Nag Hammadi texts, *Apocalypse of Peter* and *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (Pagels 1979, 72-73). The orientation of Rolle's Passion lyrics towards joy and the contemplative quest further exemplifies his leading discourse of individualist spirituality, and introduces innovations unprecedented except in Franciscan literature.[19] In a further overriding of convention, "Ihesu, Goddis son..." and "Heyle Jhesu" contain few references to sin and guilt, mainly in the form of acknowledgments of redemption by Christ's blood (Ogilvie-Thomson 44.5,6, 45.44, 47; Allen 1931 49.21, 23-24).

A final example of the tension in Rolle's Passion lyrics between generic conformity and an emphasis on individual contemplative experience is provided by the ambiguous epithets, "angels brede," "[halowes food]," "angels foode," used in translations of "Candet nudatum pectus" in "My kynge..." and "Ihesu Goddis son..." (Ogilvie-Thomson 30.189, 191 and 45.33, 44). The institutional association of this epithet, derived initially from Wisdom 16.20, was with the body of Christ in the Mass, but it had a personal significance for Rolle, who identified it with *canor*, or angels' song (Rogers 77-79).[20] This is explained in *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 32 (Deanesly 237.11-16), and both associations are evoked in the *English Psalter*, Psalm 77.29 (Bramley 281). The opaque suggestiveness of the epithets in the lyrics could well stand as a symbol for the plurality of discourses assembled in these brief and ostensibly simple

productions. Like Rolle's longer and more complex writings, the Passion lyrics demonstrate convergence between discourses of institutional authority and individualism.

Descriptions of and responses to the Passion elsewhere in Rolle's *corpus* exhibit tensions similar to those in the lyrics, ranging between the conventional and the strikingly experimental. Meditation on the Passion is recommended as an exercise for those newly converted in *Emendatio Vitæ*, Ch. 8, but the goal, contemplative love of the godhead, provides the focus of the discussion following.[21] A parallel passage in *Ego Dormio* invites a similar complexity of response (Ogilvie-Thomson 29.120-29). The commentary in the *English Psalter* on the traditional Passion Psalm, 21, expands references to physical and mental suffering in ways which recall the prose Meditations.[22] However, an awareness of redemption from sin derived from the *Gloss* again mingles with original reflections. *Incendium Amoris*, the *English Psalter* and *The Commandment* link conventional Passion laments with the individualist spirituality of the fire of love.[23]

Rolle's most daring explication of the Passion, in *Melos Amoris*, Chs. 30-32, opens up new vistas of possibility to his readers (cf. Pezzini 44-50). Conventions, including the notion that the Passion inspires renunciation of sin and the deceptive sweetness of the world (Arnould 89.18-90.2), and a list of physical sufferings in the traditional form of reproaches from the cross (96.23-97.24),[24] are placed in tension with a presentation of physical aspects of Christ's humanity in paradoxical union with his divinity:

> In cunabilis clauditur qui cuncta complere cognoscitur...Organum [angelorum] obriguit inter impios et Psalterium sanctorum subticuit cessando, sanguine suffusam...[25]
> (91.5-6, 16-17)

Such contrasts are also traditional, but here they generate an extreme emotional exaltation through an accumulation of succinct examples and metaphors. The feeling extends into a radical re-interpretation of the Passion as supreme love and bliss:

Sed inter hec et alia, quid aspicimus nisi amorem et infinitam fecunditatem efferbere intelligimus et ex hoc gemitu iuvenibus iugis iubilus generatur?[26] (91.34-36)

The speaker claims these feelings as his personal contemplative response: "Insuper et meror quem multi meminerunt in mente mea mutatur in melos mellifluum..." (92.22-23).[27] Both the emphasis on Christ's divinity and the appropriation of the Passion to personal spiritual experience, to "discovering the divine self within," replicate Gnostic views.

Within the limits imposed by generic and other conventions, Rolle's texts therefore deal with the physical and human realities of the Passion; but they seize opportunities to move away from narrative details, to emphasise instead the divinity, the spiritual joy of the crucified Christ, as material for contemplation in the quest for the divine. Although these perspectives are found in traditional Christian writing, Rolle's chosen emphasis is similar to that of the Gnostics, whose views are used in this study as a paradigm of marginality.

Rolle's accounts of the Passion exhibit a plurality of viewpoint theorised by Victor and Edith Turner as characteristic of liminality. In the prose Meditations minor violations of genre permit the incorporation of elements of individualist spirituality. In the Passion lyrics a range of devices results in a distancing from narrative and description, and conventional penitential responses are again diverted to contemplative purposes. Finally, in prose works in English and Latin, culminating in *Melos Amoris*, accounts of the Passion exhibit plurality of response in the tension between discourses of conventional penitence and sorrow, and discourses which seek to adapt the narrative to contemplative love and joy. Traditions endorsed by the Church thus clash in these accounts with the evolving individualism characteristic of the period. Feelings of guilt and anxiety evoked by the Passion are taken up into the inner joy and freedom of contemplative experience.

Chapter Eight

SIGNS OF UTOPIA

Victor and Edith Turner associate liminality with utopianism, but the widening pool of theoretical writing has produced much subtlety of definition for this term. For example, Mumford, whose approach is historical, accepts both "utopias of escape" and "utopias of reconstruction" (Ricoeur 270-71), but Delany defines "utopian thought or writing" as "that which offers alternatives to the way we live now" (1990, 4). Like Mannheim (Ricoeur 273), she limits application of the term to feasible proposals for the present improvement of life in society (6). Rolle's work displays affinities with contemporary millennial and Apocalyptic literature, often interpreted as discourses of social discontent (Cohn 13, Du Boulay 65, Oberman 91). However Delany argues that such literature usually has other purposes than the utopian: "to account for the status quo, to reconcile us to it, to teach us about it or transcend it: anything but to change it" (4).

This chapter nevertheless finds signs of utopia, including elements of both escape and reconstruction, in Rolle's *corpus*. Aspects of his writings defined by theorists as utopian include "a kind of deviation or split," a radical non-congruence between the "real" and the utopian order; association with "ascending groups" or "the lower strata of society" (Mannheim, qtd. Ricoeur 272-77); and the development of models for future social transformation, as features of the *limen*. Transposition to heaven allowed scope in Rolle's writing for the fantasising of a just social order, in what Ricoeur regards as utopia's "most basic function...one of the most formidable contestations of what is" (16). Such a alternative perspective was excluded by ideology and otherwise unsayable in England, except in equally liminal Franciscan terms,[1] before the period of Langland and Wyclif.

Biographically speaking, Rolle's preoccupation with divergences between reality and appearance is readily explained as resulting from his sense of intrinsic but unacknowledged

worth, in a social context which allocated to secular clergy and monks a respect not always personally deserved, on the basis of their external office. This meant that Rolle identified himself with the "ascending groups" in society. In pastoral contexts in his works the dilemma expresses itself in admonitions to avoid formalism. For example, in *The Form of Living* Rolle advises Margaret of Kirkby that her outward conversion to God as an anchoress should be perfectly matched by an inner burning in love for Christ and a hatred of sin,

> For I wold nat þat þou wene þat al ben holy þat haue þe habite of holynesse and be nat occupied with þe world, ne þat al bene il þat ocupien ham with erthly bisynesse. (Ogilvie-Thomson 9.236-38)

The personal dimensions of the primary "deviation or split" between appearance and reality are clarified in contexts where Rolle's idiosyncrasy is allowed greater play. "Nigra sum sed formosa" (Cant. 1.4) is applied in *Melos Amoris* to the elect soul, whose beauty is obscured to earthly sight by penury, persecution and constraints.[2] These are imposed by those who have pretensions to governing the people, but cannot ensure even their own salvation, "inordinate ordines assumentes."[3] Rolle's deviance is evident here in his transposition to himself of the "blackness" and invisibility of liminal status. For St. Bernard, by contrast, the one "nigra...sed formosa" is the sinner whose brightness has been restored by repentance and grace (*In Cant. Cant.* III.1-2, *Works* Vol. 2, 17).[4]

On a deeper level, Rolle's preoccupation with divergence between appearance and reality points to a pervasive affirmation of the potential for inner freedom over controlling outward forms. Signs of Utopia in his *corpus* consist of his creation of a spiritual sub-world as a just hierarchy, contrary to, and ultimately destructive of, the unjust structures visible in society. The anticipated dismantling of these structures is illustrated by the same comment in *Melos*, which predicts the damnation of those who unjustly usurp earthly authority (see endnote 4).

Rolle represents the spiritual sub-world most frequently by the image of the poor man, Lazarus-Rolle, devoted to virtue and contemplation, whose life is the reverse of that of the rich man, Dives, corrupted by love of the world (Luke 16.19-31). Despite his obvious sufferings, the poor man, in terms of the present argument, is the liminal receiver of sacred knowledge. He therefore possesses a secret freedom from his rich oppressor, in his experience of spiritual peace, joy and love. He already takes part in the angels' song of praise, and enters the kingdom of heaven (*Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 7. Deanesly 164.20-25; *Contra Amatores Mundi*, Ch. 7. Theiner 104.104-06; *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 9. Arnould 26.30-27.10; Ch. 13. 41.13-15; Ch. 14. 42.11-15). As Rosamund Allen states: "As in a medieval great hall, heaven [for Rolle] is a place of warmth, security, light, food and mirth, where each individual has his seat (*setel*) reserved for him" (1984, 29). These are the signs of a hierarchy of the spirit from which the worldly rich man is excluded, although, self-deceived, he may have pretentions to present spiritual bliss (*Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 1. Deanesly 148.18-149.3; Ch. 30. 231.35-232.2).

The hierarchy of the spirit is elaborated in metaphors of rank in *Melos Amoris*, where the spiritually elect, especially contemplatives, are identified with kings and nobles, who serve with joy in the court of the supreme Emperor, Christ. The subversive human spiritual hierarchy, determined by intensity of love for God, is paralleled by the hierarchies of angels. The seraphim, identified with contemplatives in *Super Canticum Canticorum* (Murray 69.2-6), are most burning in love and so nearest God (*Ego Dormio*. Ogilvie-Thomson 26. 20-24; *The Form of Living*. 15. 499-504).[5] An inner Utopia of absolute justice is thus created, to comment ideologically on the external hierarchies of institutional power to which they are directly, in inverse order, related.

Rolle's texts dwell lovingly, to an extent unprecedented in Anglo-Latin poetry of visions (Rigg 127-8), on the coming victory of the world of the spirit, when the corruptions

of earthly hierarchy will be displaced by the elect, when the rich and worldly will be cast into

hell, and their comfort and happiness possessed by the poor and devoted. In *Incendium Amoris*

and *Melos Amoris* these accounts use concrete metaphors of earthly hierarchy and the

trappings of power, usually spiritualised by borrowings from the Apocalypse, and shaped by

Rolle's experiences. The imaginative portrayals of the destiny of the powerful at times take

on an earthly, revolutionary colouring, mediated by the conventions of Apocalyptic writing:

> Reges a [regnis] ruent, quia sanguis sceleribus sarcinatus duces et divites inaniter
> decepit. Tirocinia tirannorum tradentur in exterminacionem et strate in sterquilinio
> stragule cum sericis et qui subtilia texuerunt putrescent, perdita pulchritudine
> quemadmodum non putabant.[6]   (*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 4. Arnould 14.20-25)

The triumph of the poor and despised is similarly presented in terms of appropriation of earthly

power. The elect souls enter the royal court of the King-Emperor (*Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 9.

Deanesly 168.36-169.2; *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 11. Arnould 33.17-21; Ch. 12. 37.6-11). This is

a palace from which the impure are excluded (*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 9. 27.9-10). The elect are

confirmed in their true-born nobility (*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 10. 28.21-23) or kingship (*Melos

Amoris*, Ch. 12. 37.34-36). They are reclothed in the livery of angels and of immortality

(*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 13. 38.27-34), and partake of the triumphal banquet (*Melos Amoris*, Ch.

12. 37.33-37). In heaven the earthly injustices of the elect poor receive poetically appropriate

recompenses (*Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 14. Deanesly 184.14-25).

Among the signs of a nascent utopianism in Rolle's writings, therefore, is the creation

of a spiritual sub-world counterpointing the unjust hierarchies of the world of common

experience, governed by ideology. The sub-world, in which the sufferings and triumphs of

rich and poor are reversed, in accordance with the principles of divine justice, springs

ultimately from the space of contemplative knowledge and love. Experience of this space

represents freedom in the present from an unjust social order. However, Rolle reserves the

visible triumph of the just order for a time determined by God, thereby excluding the utopian, defined as a feasible human goal or accomplishment. Rolle's references to the sub-world and descriptions of the era of ultimate justice nevertheless accompany powerful recognitions and constant reminders of present economic and social injustice. Like the satires referred to in Chapter 1, these discourses were instrumental in producing and mediating the deepening social consciousness which attended the radical insecurities of Rolle's era.

Chapter 9

THE INTELLECT, LEARNING AND KNOWLEDGE

When, in a belated imitation of the pre-scholastic preference for spirituality over philosophy,[1] the young Richard Rolle departed so dramatically from Oxford, he carried with him assumptions, mediated by history, which the arch-intellectual, William of Ockham, was at the same time developing abstractly in tracts, expositions and *Questiones*.[2] These works led philosophy and theology along paths not travelled before. A segment of Ockham's mantle as prophet of change descended to Rolle, and it is significant that contemporaries named both thinkers *moderni*, with mingled connotations of admiration and indignation.[3]

Among the Ockhamist notions represented, probably unconsciously, in Rolle's writings is an acute awareness of the separate distinctiveness of each human being.[4] Personal experience is the foundation of the world-view he so vigorously asserts, and if he departs from Ockham in applying empiricism to God as well as to the world, his works adhere to the Ockhamist propositions which made paramount a potentially unmediated relationship between God and the human being (Leff 1957, 194). A Rollean discourse implying the irrelevance of institutional mediation was examined in Chapter 6, above.

When Ockham's works insisted that there was no pre-existing direct correspondence between concepts and real essences, they substituted a pluralism for the elaborate metaphysical systems produced by scholasticism. This pluralism is paralleled by the contending discourses which constitute Rolle's texts.

Ockham argued that God could not be known by reason, an idea which probably contributed later in the century to the flowering of apophatic contemplation in *The Cloud of Unknowing* and associated works. This argument surfaces in Rolle's writings as a pervasive emphasis on a *gnosis* of love rather than intellect. Without overtly acknowledging the patristic

background in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, some passages subtly recommend the *via negativa*:

> Ille autem Deum perfecte cognoscit, qui ipsum incomprehensibilem esse deprehendit...
>
> Si uis scire proprie loquendo, "quid est Deus": dico quod nunquam solucionem huius questionis inuenires. Ego non noui, angeli nescierunt, archangeli non audierunt. Quomodo ergo tu uis scire quod inscibile est et indoctibile? Deus, enim, cum omnipotens sit, non potest te docere quid ipse est...
>
> Laudabile ita est, Deum perfecte, scilicet incomprehensibilem esse, cognoscere; cognoscendo, amare; amando, iubilare in eo; iubilando, in ipso requiescere; et per quietem internam ad requiem peruenire sempiternam.[5]
>
> (*Incendium Amoris*. Ch. 6. Deanesly 161.18-19, 28-33; 162.8-11)

Through a combination of independent logic, scriptural reminiscence and devotion, this passage, like others in Rolle's *corpus*, advocates a non-intellectual contemplation. The conception approximates to Ockham's view that matters of faith lie beyond the province of reason.

Despite these many reflections of Ockham's thought and the historical trends embodied in them, an important difference nevertheless exists in the minor place which Rolle's works allocate to speculative discourse. His originality was pre-eminently that of a literary creator (Hodgson 20). From his place in the *limen*, the site of new social formations, he took up the task of conveying knowledge and insight to an increasingly literate laity, whose demands were central to fourteenth-century cultural development (Oberman 93). This fundamental orientation of Rolle's writings emerges in their treatment of light.

Rolle shows little awareness of the intense investigations into divinity as light, and into corporeal and incorporeal light which characterised Christian metaphysics from Augustine. These culminated, at the height of the scholastic movement, in the sometimes irreconcilable formulations of Thomas Aquinas,[6] Robert Grosseteste (Crombie, Ch. 6), the *Liber de Intelligentiis*,[7] and Bartholomew of Bologna. A distant allusion to these debates may be

present in *Emendatio Vitæ*, a basic explication of Rolle's theology, which imposes order and restraint on his usual effusiveness. *Emendatio Vitæ* further explains the role of the intellect in contemplation: the spiritual light which illumines the contemplating mind cannot be seen in itself, except imperfectly, since it is identical with "ineffable glory".[8] The orientation is still clearly empirical and not speculative.

Elsewhere, for example in the English lyric, *Canticum Amoris*, within *Ego Dormio*, imagery of light shares the simplicity (although not the universality) of St. Francis's *Cantico del Sole*.[9] A second passage in *Ego Dormio* prefigures the poetic terms of C.S. Lewis's "mediæval Model".[10] It achieves this by expressing in images the abstractions of metaphysicians like the Pseudo-Dionysius: for example, the view that hierarchy of being is expressed in relative intensity of light, since light is the first of the divine emanations:

> In heuyn ben ix ordres of angels...and þat ordre þat lest is bright is sevyn so bry3t as þe son. And as þou seest þe son brighter þan þe candel, þe candel brighter þan þe mone, þe mone brighter þan þe sterris, also ben þe ordres of angels in heuyn euery brighter þan oþer, fro angels to seraphyn.
> (Ogilvie-Thomson 26.16, 20-24)

Many similar passages in English and Latin use metaphors of light poetically to evoke divinity, heaven and the elect. Simplicity of concept and emotive appeal testify to a governing endeavour to inspire newly-educated, individual readers.

Despite occasional passages which suggest the *via negativa*, such as that just quoted from *Incendium Amoris*, the contemplation constantly described and advocated in Rolle's writings is non- rather than anti-intellectual. *Calor, dulcor* and *canor* are not apprehended through the intellect, "the eye of the spirit". Rolle seems to have inclined naturally rather than through intellectual processes to the idea of the non-visual spiritual senses.[11] Illumination of the intellect is nevertheless examined logically, as illustrated above, in *Emendatio Vitæ*. In *Contra Amatores Mundi* it is delineated by a striking empirical analogy.[12]

Love and joy always remained the significant experiences for Rolle. They were constantly evoked in his writings, and defined with lyrical intensity in *Emendatio Vitæ*: "Michi videtur quod contemplacio sit iubilus diuini amoris susceptus in mente suauitate laudis angelice."[13] Intellectual sight is preliminary to *iubilus*, or the sound of the soul's rejoicing transcending words (Clark 1986, 185), and of a lower order.[14] Similarly, in *Incendium Amoris* the "opening of the heavenly door" precedes the initiation of *calor* (Ch. 15. Deanesly 188.24-189.6; cf. Watson 1989, 170). In *Contra Amatores Mundi* Rolle simply states that he has not seen heavenly things clearly (Ch. 5. Theiner 90.244-46). He insists that intellectual sight is always limited during life, allowing spiritual vision "through a glass darkly", which can be perfected only after death. Here he repeats a commonplace of the tradition of spiritual writings initiated by St. Gregory (Butler 93-95). This conventional argument that intellectual contemplation is limited, balanced with his vivid evocations of *iubilus*, again show Rolle's work to be the liminal meeting place of the accepted and the new.

On the other hand, Rolle saw that wisdom, the *gnosis* of contemplation, excelled any achievement of the reason or the intellect (*Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 33. Deanesly 240.22-27). In passing through the doorway of wisdom, the contemplative gained insight of a different order from any mediated by the Church or academy (*Incendium Amoris*. Ch. 32.237.21-25). In fact, the contemplative transcended the accepted limitations of the intellect by the same means as the hermit transcended concerns of social justice, of wealth and poverty - by renunciation. The doorway to wisdom was located at the point of crossing of the *limen* into outer darkness, beyond language, and beyond conventional knowing.

Rolle's view of the intellect therefore is complex and to a degree inconsistent. His departure from Oxford, which suggests an anti-intellectual stance, was followed paradoxically by a literary career which unconsciously reflected the iconoclastic and innovatory philosophy

of the academic William of Ockham. These intellectual affiliations however are challenged by the poetic imagery constantly used in articulating them. Rolle's writing also privileges appeal to a wider range of understanding than is usually sought by speculative discourse. Marginal comments advocating apophatic contemplation are to be expected in a non-intellectualist argument, but the recommendation of affective contemplation in Rolle's *corpus* is overwhelming. This kind of contemplation is not anti-intellectual, since Rolle is careful to explain that the intellect has a minor initiatory function, and he also attempts to define intellectual illumination. The complexity of his views, constantly verging on self-contradiction, suggests the bitter ideological struggles inherent in liminality.

This ideological tension is also evident in the extensive comments on knowledge and learning in *Incendium Amoris*. The Prologue offers the book for consideration, "non philosophis, non mundi sapientibus, non magnis theologicis infinitis quescionibus implicatis, sed rudibus et indoctis, magis Deum diligere quam multa scire conantibus" (Deanesly 147.9-12).[15] Other examples of anti-intellectualism (here used in an academic and not a contemplative sense) express the century's radical popularist trend. Although Richard Misyn translated *Incendium Amoris* into English early in the fifteenth century (Allen 1927, 223-24), it was composed in Latin, the language of the learned; it is theologically competent throughout (Clark 1983, 109-20), and contains long passages of standard, scholastically-argued theological discourse. There is thus a striking divergence between the tract's professed anti-intellectualism and its practice, which is another sign of a liminal work.

The divergence between profession and practice on the subject of the intellect can be illustrated more specifically from Chapter 6, which begins with a strident condemnation of heresy, arising from "the initiation of new ideas" ("nouas opiniones gignere"), but continues with a well-argued orthodox explication of the co-eternality of the Son, utilising the scholastic

method of question and answer (Deanesly 160.13-161.19). Rolle's argument is clear: he wants to limit knowledge of God to Church doctrine and to God's revelation of himself to individuals. Nevertheless, the conflict between his scorn for academic speculation and his application of academic method to abstract doctrine is symptomatic of broadly-based ideological tension in the society which produced *Incendium Amoris*.

Attitudes to learning and knowledge expressed in Rolle's writings comprise an unstable blend of the individual and the conventional. The ultimate authority for his inconstant rejection of academic learning is 1 Cor. 8.1: "Scientia inflat, charitas autem ædificat", quoted in *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 5 (Deanesly 157.13-15), in *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 47 (Arnould 147.21), and a favourite text of mediæval monastic writings (cf. *Scale 1*, Ch. 4 and *Privy Counselling* 172.2). Rolle's insistence on the point is marked (Leclercq 1974, 256-57), sometimes assuming the intensity of the primitive Franciscans:

> Proh pudor, uetula plus experitur de Dei amore et minus de mundo uoluptate quam theologus, cuius studium uanum est, quia pro uanitate studet ut sciatur et gloriosus appareat, ut redditus et dignitates adquiret qui stultus non doctus meratur reputari.[16]   (*Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 5. Deanesly 160.8-12)

The doctor here appears as the obverse of the Franciscan "divine fool" (a point perhaps relevant to the present undertaking). The notion of the truly learned old woman has antecedents in St. Augustine, St. Anselm and others, and the references to academic vanity are conventional moralisms.[17] The targeting not only of speculative knowledge, but also of scholars,[18] and the specific ground adduced for the attack - the valuing of the expertise of the heart over that of the mind - are an independent development of St. Paul.[19]

Rolle's attack on speculative learning in works such as *Incendium Amoris* is qualified in other writings. *Super Canticum Canticorum* recommends reading of the Bible and "other writings and teachings", as helpful to the attainment of divine wisdom (Murray 21.8-13). *Judica Me* and *Melos Amoris*,[20] advocate learning in a pastoral context, again testifying to what

Rolle felt to be his mission to the laity. *Judica B1* follows William of Pagula to teach that

priests should be versed in canon law, skilled in administering confession, informed about the

inner lives of parishioners, and above all knowledgeable about Scripture. This discourse of

pastoral theology, supportive of ecclesiastical guidance and authority, is summarised

independently of *Oculus Sacerdotis* in the admonition: "Diligenter ergo stude et perscrutare

libros in quibus quod ad salutem anime tue et aliorum pertinent poteris inuenire" (Daly 25.11-

26).[21] But the contrary discourse of independent spiritual questing is represented by the next

sentence, which concludes the section: "Nam procul dubio, si delectacionem in Sacra Scriptura

niteris querere, etiam in Diuino Amore rapieris iubilare" (Daly 26.1-3).[22]

By rejecting in a youthful gesture the learning offered by the academy, by fostering the

piety of lay people, and by adopting, however unconsciously, as assumptions in his work some

of the key concepts of the century's most original thinker, William of Ockham, Richard Rolle

promoted change. His rejection of the academy is seen further in the non-speculative character

of his writings. The contemplation there described is of a non-intellectual kind, with

occasional apophatic elements. Contemplative wisdom is seen to transcend all kinds of

institutionally mediated knowledge.

The anti-intellectualist bent of Rolle's *corpus* nevertheless accommodates the plurality

typical of *limina*. This is demonstrated by the text of *Incendium Amoris*, where vehement

critiques of academic learning are juxtaposed with passages redolent of that same learning.

In *Incendium Amoris* and other texts, conventional disapproval of the pride of academics, and

an equally conventional approval of pastoral learning, moderate the innovatory potential of

Rolle's position.

The complexities and near-contradictions in Rolle's views on the intellect, knowledge and learning reveal themselves under analysis, but may not have been obvious to contemporaries. The debate on learning and salvation developed in *Piers Plowman* in recensions dating from the 1360s to the 1380s brought many of these ideas into open contention.[23] Rolle's work therefore contains liminal "experimental models" of issues which were to be overtly declared and examined in the intense ideological conflicts of the later fourteenth century.

Chapter 10

WOMAN THE TEMPTRESS, WOMAN THE FRIEND

A comparatively liberal attitude to women was characteristic of Gnosticism, and helped to define its marginal relationship to orthodox Christianity. Gnostics maintained a fundamental male hegemony, which reflected contemporary patriarchy (Filoramo 177; Pagels 1979, 49, 66). Nevertheless, like Kashmir Shaivism, they accepted an androgynous concept of the divine, in which the female element, identified with the Mother as universal creator, with the Holy Spirit, and with Sophia or Wisdom, the enlightener of human beings, was on nearly equal terms with the complementary male element (Pagels 1979, 48-56).[1] Orthodox polemicists, Tertullian and Irenaeus, protested at Gnostic women's roles as prophets, teachers, debaters and healers, and at their presiding over baptisms and the eucharist (Pagels 1979, 59-61; Rudolph 211-212; Filoramo 176; Perkins 164-65).

The most typical stance of Rolle's writings duplicates, and even extends, the view of women as dangerous distractions from the love of God which had characterised institutional Christianity since Augustine (Ruether 156-57, 162-4). However, the very vehemence with which he defends this position is symptomatic of the powerful allure of fresh and liberal attitudes, which by their shadowy presence tend to align Rolle's thinking with Gnostic views.

The authoritarian discourse relevant to women in Rolle's *corpus* is paradoxically male-centred, as it had been in orthodox tradition since Jerome. Female subjectivity is disregarded. Instead women are viewed externally as temptresses: their beauty is fragile and transient but dangerously fascinating, the epitome of everything in the world the spiritual man is called upon to despise. Classic passages develop these views in *Incendium Amoris* (Ch. 17. Deanesly 195.19-28; Ch. 23. 210.23-211.7; Ch. 24.211.29-213.20), *Contra Amatores Mundi* (Ch. 6. Theiner 98.194-202, 100.256-101.285), *Melos Amoris* (Ch. 4. Arnould 14.10-14; Ch. 34. Arnould 104.10-11; Ch. 36. 111.13-112.2), and *Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum*

(Moyes vol. 2, 276. 10-16). That such passages are culturally predetermined is affirmed by their resort to standard anti-feminist metaphors, such as that of the scorpion,[2] and to standard exempla, such as that of Solomon, the wise king corrupted by his wives.[3]

In *Incendium Amoris* Rolle heightens his warnings by negative analyses of female nature: women are divided creatures, who love immoderately, yet sting those who love them (Ch. 29. Deanesly 228.3-5); they know no moderation in loving or in despising (Ch. 12. 179.13-14). Marriage is good in itself, but sexual love for one's wife and the exhaustion resulting from sexual love of any kind are evil, and it is wrong to marry for money (Ch. 24. 211.12-212.4).[4] Satire of extravagant or seductive female fashions of dress in *Incendium Amoris* (Ch. 39. Deanesly 266.10-32), *Super Canticum Canticorum* (Murray 2.5-6), *Contra Amatores Mundi* (Ch. 7. Theiner 102.14-18), *Ego Dormio* (Ogilvie-Thomson 30.161-66) and *The Commandment* (Ogilvie-Thomson 36.101-104) is similarly spoken by the voice of tradition, here a tradition which acquired unprecedented vigour in sermons and literature of the fourteenth century (Owst 1966, 390-404).[5]

The gap between these clerical voices and an approximation to the liberal views of some Gnostics on women is bridged in Rolle's *corpus* by evocations of the author's subjectivity. Awareness of himself as a subject precipitates a complementary recognition of women's subjectivity. This progression can be observed most clearly in *Melos Amoris* Chapter 43, where Rolle defends himself against the charge that he has been excessively familiar with women. He claims here, in an interesting rebuttal of St. Bernard's view that to be always with a woman and not to have sexual relations with her is more difficult than to raise the dead (Bynum 1982, 145), that God threw him in the fire but did not permit him to burn (Arnould 133.28). The harmony of the heavenly lute has so enchanted him, that he cannot be seduced by the gay music of the harp or by the songs which fleshly lovers compose for women (133.35-

134.11). On the contrary, he has exhorted women he has known to avoid earthly loves, to delight ceaselessly in Jesus as their lover and husband, and so to find eternal honour among the angels (133.1-13). The focus has thus shifted, almost imperceptibly, to women's spiritual lives. Rolle nevertheless bolsters his reputation in this chapter with further samples of anti-feminist ecclesiastical discourse: women are fragile creatures (133.15); their attractions are powerful and deadly traps (133.21-27); the pleasure they offer is as transient as grass (134.8-9).

The balance between Rolle's and women's subjectivity varies on different occasions when the two are juxtaposed. In *Contra Amatores Mundi* (Ch. 6, Theiner 94.1-95.39) his account of a patroness's death pays no attention to the woman's inner experience, but is entirely deflected into an analysis of his own reaction to the realities of physical decay (see above, 50). On the other hand, three of the four women whom he describes as rebuking him in *Incendium Amoris* (Ch. 12, Deanesly 178.24-179.8) are shown to be in the right and mediators of God's teaching. These narratives acknowledge women's difference (defended by Irigaray), as well as differences in individual women's subjectivity. They display an openness of private response which defies tradition.

Rolle's condescension to women potentially or actually in receipt of his spiritual counsel is predetermined, like the limitations to the liberal views of the Gnostics, by his era's acceptance of women's inferiority. In *Melos Amoris* he articulates his role as adviser in relatively neutral terms (Ch. 43. Arnould 133.2-6), but he argues in *Incendium Amoris* that if women realised they were despised by men, they might despair of salvation. (This passage is tactless at best, and at worst hazardous.) Because of the comparative weakness of their reason (Bynum 1982, 137), and their special susceptibility to sins of the flesh, "multum indigent consilio bonorum" (Ch. 39. Deanesly 263.19-27).

An assertion of masculine ascendancy therefore obtrudes into Rolle's extended affirmation in *Incendium Amoris* of the moral neutrality and spiritual benefit of friendship between men and women. This radical departure from Ælred's idealisation of spiritual friendship between monks was discussed above in Chapter 6. Rolle celebrates the subjectivity of the female friend as the goal of the male friend's seeking. Recognition of a spiritual and emotional complementarity has crept in, implicitly to contradict the overt assertions of male hegemony:

> Nescio autem quo infortunio iam accidit, quod uix aut raro inuenitur fidus amicus...
> Est et quedam naturalis dileccio uiri ad mulierem, et mulieris ad uirum, qua nullus caret nec eciam sanctus, secundum naturam a Deo primo institutam, per quam simul existentes et inuicem concordantes, naturali instinctu socialiter letantur. Que quidem dileccio eciam suas habet delectaciones ut in mutuis colloquiis et tactibus honestis, grataque cohabitacione...[6]
> (Deanesly 263.4-5, 29-35)

The intimacy of individual connection implied here is paralleled in the evocative opening to *Ego Dormio*, where the speaker represents himself as a messenger, bringing the soul of the female recipient, Margaret of Kirkby, to the marriage bed of Christ, Son of the king of heaven (Ogilvie-Thomson 26.6-9; cf. Watson 226, 230-31). The same intimacy is encountered in the narrative in the *Officium* of Rolle's healing of Margaret, while she sleeps trustingly on his shoulder (*Lectio octava*, Woolley 40).

In these examples Rolle's insistence on the reality of his own subjectivity provokes an acknowledgment of a parallel subjectivity in a woman disciple and friend. The mere fact that he directed such a quantity of writing in English to women disciples is a tribute to their individual subjectivity or "soul".[7] Women as well as men were caught up in the century's inexorable trend towards individual autonomy (see above, 5, 13), and it was in their spiritual lives that women first claimed independence. This is exemplified in Rolle's lifetime by the many women who continued to join specialised religious communities, such as the Beguine

movement in Brabant and northern France (cf. Bynum 1982, 14-15). Later in the century St.

Catherine of Siena and St. Brigitta of Sweden exerted an influence over Church hierarchy

unprecedented for women. By nourishing the subjective experience of his female friends,

Rolle's influential writings helped produce in England a discursive site where the spiritual and

literary accomplishments of a Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe might flourish. Late

fourteenth- and fifteenth-century treatises, such as *The Twelve Fruits of the Holy Ghost* and

The Chastising of God's Children, follow Rolle's lead in representing male and female

religious as equal partners in spiritual quest and effort (Bartlett 136-37).

This chapter has demonstrated that a liminal clash between discourses of authority and

individualism determines Rolle's writing on women, as on other subjects. Now it may be

further observed that a deconstruction of the fundamental binary opposition between masculine

and feminine, comparable to the androgynous concepts of divinity found in both Kashmir

Shaivism and Gnosticism, occurs in Rolle's texts precisely at the point of encounter between

the contemplating mind and the divine.[8] Beyond this point, according to Irigaray (1985, 165),

the mystic escapes from language as social representation and control.

Rolle's writing on the Virgin Mary includes both gender reinforcement and gender

disruption. *Canticum Amoris* imparts a new autobiographical specificity to the first-person

lover of the Virgin (Watson 107-108), but conforms to the gender distinctiveness fundamental

to the long tradition which mingled together courtly and Marian worship (Liegey 376-79).

The Latin and English commentaries on the *Magnificat* encapsulate in their short spans

many of the generic differences between Rolle's Latin and English writings. They appear to

have been intended respectively for male and female readerships. The Latin commentary uses

what is for Rolle the rare term of address, "fratres" (Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson C.397,

fol. 1ra). The English commentary warns against the folly of worldly maidens, and further

suggests that worldly women are wretched, since, in contrast to our Lady, they worship created beings (Bramley 523, 524). Where the Latin commentary is diverted into idiosyncratic themes, such as details of punishments of the worldly and rewards of the elect, the English remains connected to the scriptural context, and to generalised devotion. For example, the Latin commentary looks forward to "ineffabiles visiones" (fol. 1vb), but the English speaks of "the ioy of heuen" (Bramley 526), and evokes the experiences of *fervor*, *dulcor*, and *canor*, without however attributing them to the author (Bramley 523).

What is most relevant here is that the Latin commentary replaces the Virgin as singer of the *Magnificat* with the "person of the true lover of Christ", specifically the contemplative soul, "ad seipsam conuersa, immo et supra se quandoque eleuata"[9] (fol. 1ra). The Biblical words, "anima", and later "spiritus", permit a transcendence of gender categorisation, at the point where contemplation of the divine replaces earthly concerns as a subject. Rolle here exemplifies those male writers who saw the image of the "female" (virgin, bride or mother) as an image for the male self when it escaped from social ranking (Bynum 1991, 36).

A parallel onslaught on gender boundaries is mounted in a commentary on Proverbs 31.10, "Mulierem fortem quis inveniet?", contained within *Contra Amatores Mundi*. A standard exposition, derived through St. Bernard and others from the Song of Songs, of the devoted soul melting into the bliss of her Creator-spouse, forms the prelude to some aberrant notions:

> Nempe et hoc priusquam sentiret solacium, [variis] probatur insidiis multisque, et incognitis vexabatur temptamentis. Sed, quia viriliter hostium expugnavit iacula, devicit regna, castra destruxit, turrim edificavit, ista placuit altissimo; victrix ad patriam redibit. Dicit scriptura: *Mulierem fortem quis inveniet? Procul et de ultimis finibus precium eius.* Purpura et bisso se induit, sed et vestem strangulatam sibi fecit: Hec mulier non est mollis in moribus femineis, nec se prebuit verbis iuvenum pestiferis; sed fortis robore, divina capta dileccione, ut vir stetit in viribus, et gaudebit hostibus devictis.[10]
> (Ch. 3. Theiner 75.118-76.129)

Rolle often applies martial imagery to spiritual struggle and reward, but in this passage such imagery, clearly male to medieval people (Bynum 1982, 139), is audaciously redeployed to refer to a female soul, suggesting the irrelevance of gender to this field of experience. The early commentary, *Super Mulierem Fortem*, uses the valiant woman as its key symbol of contemplative life.[11]

Representation of the questing contemplative soul in Rolle's *corpus* similarly hints at an inconsequentiality of gender in the context of spiritual attainment. This is seen in the bridal imagery of *Incendium Amoris*, which adapts its arguments effortlessly to the demands of grammatical gender, randomly developing concepts of the "anima fidelis sponsa Ihesu Christi" and "electi" (Ch. 29. Deanesly 226.1, 17); of the "dilecta...anima" (Ch. 29. 229.23) and the "electus", "[iste] cuius speciem rex concupiscit" (Ch. 32. 235.19, 238.8).[12] Gender is disregarded too in *Contra Amatores Mundi*, where the speaker urges his *brothers* to follow the example of the woman in the Song of Songs, who invites her lover, Christ, to her bed, "dilecto floribus redolentem suavique placentem mollicie preparatum" (Ch. 5. Theiner 348-49).[13] Similarly, in *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 48, Rolle refers to himself as giving birth: "Predicator perfectus pueros parturit ad pacem portandam" (Arnould 152.12-13).[14] Bynum has found precedents for such examples of gender inversion in twelfth-century authors (1982, 113-29). However, the existence of models does not explain why Rolle chose to adopt and adapt them (cf. Bynum *ibidem* 128).

Rolle's evocations of the divine also display an occasional indifference to gender, discursively similar to the androgynous concept of the Gnostics, or even to Shaivism's unstably "masculine" or "feminine" Self, transcending languistic binaries. Some passages slide freely between the notion of Sapientia, grammatically feminine like Sophia, and acknowledged as a feminine principle in Ecclesiasticus (24. 24-26; Bynum 1982, 125), and

commonplace references to the godhead as the Trinity, Christ, or the Creator (*Super Canticum Canticorum*, Murray 22.22-24; *Contra Amatores Mundi*, Ch. 1, Theiner 68. 41-75, Ch. 6, 99.238). Other passages develop the physical aspects of an established patristic and twelfth-century theme[16] by attributing a mother's nurturing love, her womb and breasts, to Christ, as in the following exegesis of "meliora sunt ubera tua vino" (Cant. 1.1) in *Super Canticum Canticorum*:

> Quemadmodum namque antequam in mundum nascimur corporaliter in matris utero portamur, et priusquam ambulare vel currere vel aliquem cibum forte sumere possumus necessarie est ut lac ab uberibus matris capiamus; ita, spiritualiter, ante baptismum vel ante penitenciam, in utero Christi, id est, in paciencia sua, ne vel abortivi suffocemur, vel diversis sceleribus dampnati simus, gestamur. Cum vero per baptismum vel per penitenciam a carcere infidelitatis vel iniquitatis parturiente nos deo extracti fuerimus, opus habemus ut lac quo nutriamur sugendo ad ubera pendamus.[17] (Murray 30. 2-11)

Commentators have rightly deplored the misogynist diatribes in Rolle's *corpus* (Kelly 320-21; Bynum 1987, 106). Certainly the authority of traditional discourse in his texts usually presents women as a threat to male spirituality, as worldly and inferior, as the archetypal Other. But it is sometimes opposed by an implicit respect for women's subjectivity, an openness towards their spirituality, and a defence of their friendship as a channel of grace. Furthermore, Rolle's works sometimes open the door to a space where gendered oppositions are transcended, when his lexicon and grammar swing casually from feminine to masculine to feminine, representing the divine as indifferently both and neither. In these moments Rolle's writings harmonise with Shaivism and with marginal Gnostic traditions in their valuing of "femininity," as well as "masculinity," as a divine attribute.

Chapter 11

FORMAL EXPERIMENTS IN ENGLISH IN THE NEW AGE:

EGO DORMIO

Detailed examinations of Rolle's texts, such as those conducted by Rita Copeland, Sarah de Ford, Lois Smedick and Nicholas Watson, reveal the influence of many rhetorical, structural and generic models and theories. What is equally apparent from these studies, although less often acknowledged,[1] is that Rolle's variegated writings select, adhere to and abandon models *ad libitum*, in an exuberant spirit of play. A love of experimentation, congruent with both liminal status and with Gnostic attitudes to literature, is evident within and between his works. The texts' variable submission to established literary paradigms, their brave reaching out for new forms and styles in a spirit of creative freedom, produce and reproduce the era's uneasiness with established structures, its increasing openness to new social formations.

Eloquence, according to St. Augustine, follows divine wisdom "unbidden...like an inseparable servant" (*De Doctrina Christiana* 4. 7. 21). Rolle's adherence to this seminal priority is the basis of his literary and linguistic originality. This point can be elucidated by a deeper consideration of his purposes in producing his many texts.

In his reassuringly coherent outline of Rolle's literary development referred to earlier (63), Nicholas Watson argues that Rolle's motivation to write was a need to invent and defend his literary and spiritual authority. Watson nevertheless concedes that Rolle's experiences as a solitary and a mystic are central to all his writings (5).[2] No grounds in fact exist for challenging the simple assumption of earlier theological and literary commentators, that Rolle wrote to transmit *gnosis* granted in contemplation, the way God appeared to him. Defence of his authority can be understood as secondary to this purpose, as a means of authenticating his vision for readers seeking spiritual insight.

Rolle often gives the traditional disclaimer that his experiences, especially *canor*, are ineffable (Alford 1973, 8-9; Clark 1983, 113), but it is a point which receives frequent mention rather than detailed explication (see Watson 1989, 179). In practice, Rolle seems perversely to have maintained a belief in the power of poetic language in particular to convey spiritual concepts and experience. His texts are committed to constantly varying arrangements of words, rhythm and metre as instruments for communicating *gnosis* to receptive readers and listeners. Rolle's faith in the aural properties of language as an approximation to *gnosis* is a logical extension of his devotion to the Holy Name, and his knowledge of *canor*.[3] It is the basis of the continuing experiments which constitute his linguistic and literary originality.

The first section of the present study has analysed rational exegesis, instruction, and theological discussions which describe and defend insights arising in Rolle's texts from his contemplative experience, but remaining peripheral to it. Rolle's originality as a writer does not reside in these ordinary expressions of his literary faith, but in attempts to textualise states of heightened spiritual perception. The preceding chapter demonstrates how the basic binary opposition of gender is deconstructed in his texts at the point where the contemplating mind encounters the divine. The domain beyond language, and therefore beyond culture, is the source of Rolle's originality. His texts can be thought of as a pilgrimage, winding upwards to the linguistic heavenly citadel in which ineffable experiences paradoxically find expression.

Rolle accomplishes this by mastery of the Latin and vernacular traditions of literary prose which mingle inextricably in his writings.[4] English alliterative conventions may have influenced the Latin works (Liegey 1956, 379; 1957, 16-18; de Ford, 1986, 60), while devices readily traceable to textbooks of Latin rhetoric pervade the English writings, on a foundation of simplicity and directness characteristic of contemporary vernacular eloquence.

R. W. Chambers' valuable insight of 1932, that Rolle holds a supreme position in the history of English prose as the preserver of a continuing tradition (ci-ciii), can now be

extended. Rolle transformed tradition by freely adapting it to the demands of his vision. His work is poised at the transitional moment in literary history when writing in Latin for an ecclesiastical, mainly male audience gave place to English writing for a mixed group of individuals, clerical and lay.[5] Even though his English epistles are formally addressed to nuns or anchoresses, Rolle writes primarily as an *electus*, a hermit, for an audience which likewise often evades precise social definition. Both writer and reader are exposed to the winds of the spirit, undefended by institutional constructs.

The desire to transmit interior states gave rise to the radically experimental autobiographical writing discussed in Chapter 3. The evocations of hell and heaven in *Judica Me* and *Melos Amoris*, which have been considered above in relation to outward social conditions, can be further interpreted as innovative poetic representations of states of mind attainable in the present. They serve the same purpose as the cosmologies enacted in their poetry by Milton, and (to choose an analogy more in sympathy with Rolle) by Blake. Interior states are further embodied in the structure and vocabulary of Rolle's texts, in their application of rhetorical principles, and in their aural potency, enhanced by alliteration, rhyme and rhythm. Analysis reveals a pervasive originality on these detailed textual levels.

Ego Dormio is a literal textualisation of spiritual states. The opening quotation, *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat.* (Cant. 5.2), heralds the interior orientation of the work, which ignores outward experience irresistible to the ego in order freely to articulate inner affectivity. The second sentence promises: "The þat lust loue, hold þyn ere and hyre of loue." (Ogilvie-Thomson 26.1-2). The vivid command, "hold þyn ere", in the authoritative Longleat MS. 29, replaces the less graphic admonition to "here" found in the familiar Cambridge MS. version edited by Allen. It draws attention to the aural functioning of the text. The reader who listens attentively will indeed hear of love: "loue", as noun and verb, "louest", "loueth", "loved", "louer", "louynge", are resoundingly repeated throughout. The opening promise is fulfilled

literally in *Ego Dormio*, and a similar repetition of the word "love" - *amor* and its equivalents - pervades many of Rolle's mature works. The textual embodiment of affective spirituality in *Ego Dormio* is supported by repetition of words of "feminine" inner longing (Astell 6, 11): "hert", "desyre", "luste", "langynge", and "brennynge". The awakened heart speaks through the text.

Ego Dormio strives not only to actualise a desirable inner state, but also to capture and embrace textually the divine goal of love and longing. Like the other English epistles and *Emendatio Vitæ*, it attempts this on a structural base of traditional triadic symbolism, seen in the explications of the three times three orders of angels, the three degrees of love opposed to the profane triad of the world, flesh and devil, and the three lyrics which exemplify each degree. Again, the fundamental technique of the Holy Name passages often extracted from *Super Canticum Canticorum* (see above, 42-43), is extended in *Ego Dormio* by constant repetitions of the names, "God" and "Ihesu Crist", in various inflexional forms. The aural configuration of the text, apart from its intellectual meaning, is thus transformed into a spiritual practice. The copyists who decorated Jesus' name in their transcriptions of Rolle's works may or may not have preserved Rolle's own habit. They were certainly true to their author's fundamental aspiration to textualise divinity.[6]

Although *Ego Dormio* refers to "rising" through the degrees of love until the highest is attained (Ogilvie-Thomson 27.66-67), a holistic spiritual state is in fact transmitted instantaneously through the text's formal and aural properties. Watson censures Rolle for directing his literary efforts to a spiritual aristocracy (203), for exercising his authority "in a practical way for the benefit of others" (186) only in works written after *Melos Amoris*, where sin and penitence are discussed at length, and the needs of ordinary lay readers are addressed (215). This judgment, which is similar to Clark's,[7] is founded on a Procrustean attitude to

Rolle's message, specifically on the expectation that conventional paradigms of spiritual progress will be followed.

The radically simple thematic foundation of Rolle's writing has already been discussed. It is paralleled by the formal functioning of many of his texts, designed, through and beyond their surface complexity, to transmit a unified apprehension of divinity and of the appropriate response of love. According to Augustinian tradition, love contains instantly in itself all spiritual stages: "Ama et fac quicquid vis." Modern readers, often in unconscious imitation of mediæval predecessors, have found the transmission of love to be the most valuable gift of Rolle's unique literary forms (del Mastro 23, 28-30).

Other innovative formal features of *Ego Dormio* also suggest a connection with a dimension of experience transcending language and culture.

The intensely personal opening sequence, in which the speaker offers himself as go-between for Christ and the addressee (see above, 104), supports the traditional assignment of the work to the genre of epistle. However the structure of *Ego Dormio* is indistinguishable from that of postils, extended commentaries on scriptural texts offered to a general readership. *Super Canticum Canticorum*, *Melos Amoris*, and *Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum* are shaped wholly or partly as series of postils. *Ego Dormio* follows the essential pattern of the commentary, *Super Mulierem Fortem*, in that it opens by quoting a text which later provides the closure. A generic ambiguity, fashioned as an interweaving of personal and general instruction, is therefore evident, and in this way *Ego Dormio* further embodies the age's tentative individualism.

Despite the personal opening imagery, reinforced by the assertion, "To þe I writ þis speciali" (26.33), and the statement in Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. v. 64 that *Ego Dormio* was written for a nun of Yedingham, the audience is sometimes envisaged as including individuals beyond the original addressee: "þou or another þat redeth þis" (31.218).

The possibility of redirection was realised historically when Rolle included *Ego Dormio* in the archetype of MS. Longleat 29, a collection of his English writings he made for Margaret of Kirkby on the occasion of her enclosure as an anchoress (Watson 248-49). The fractured concept of readership as simultaneously closed and open constitutes another assault by example on the genre of epistle.

Ego Dormio makes constant use of alliteration and assonance, and of formal rhythms, including *cursus planus* ("mad þe and boght þe," 26.8; "be at þe heghest." 27.67), *cursus velox* ("loue of his name Ihesu." 29.145, *cursus trochaicus* ("name Ihesu." 29.145)[8] and *similiter cadens* ("bitterer þan galle, sowrer þan attyre," 28.83). Among the devices categorised by Geoffrey of Vinsauf as figures of speech, *traductio* is exemplified by the repetitions considered above. Other frequent figures of speech include *conversio* ("for he wil wed þe if þou wil loue hym. He asketh þe no more bot þi loue, and my wil þou dost, if þou loue hym." 26.9-10); *articulus* ("standynge, sittynge, goynge" 26.4); *contentio* ("Also sone as þi hert is touched with þe swetnesse of heuyn, þe wil litel luste þe myrth of þis world;" 27.48-49); *adnominatio* ("compassioun of þe passioun of Ihesu Criste," 27.45); and *compar* ("on hym wil euer be þi songe, and [in] hym al þi rest." 31.234). Among Geoffrey's figures of thought, the discussion of the angelic orders in *Ego Dormio* is organised as *distributio* (26.16-20); *similitudo* is used to delineate sin which slays the soul as analogous to the sweet poisonous bite which slays the body (28.79-82); *sermocinatio* occurs in: "þan may þou say 'I slepe and my hert waketh...'" (31.235). Tropes, which Geoffrey limits to the high style, are also present: the "go-between" passage is an elaborate example of *translatio*; *nominatio* (onomatopoeia) is exemplified by: "þat loueth to be [onely] withouten ryngen or dyn and syngynge and criynge" (31.225).

Such devices permeate the texture of *Ego Dormio* as they do all of Rolle's mature works. They seem to enact an ingrained habit of thought, derived from theories and examples of Latin writing, but naturalised in English, where they reached an apotheosis early in the

thirteenth century in *Ancrene Riwle*. In *Ego Dormio* the flow of rhetoric is nevertheless interrupted by occasional passages of almost monosyllabic vernacular immediacy, for example:

> What good hopis þou may come þerof, if þou let þi tonge blaber on þe boke, and þi hert ren about in dyuers steddes in þe world, whar hit wille? Forþi set þi þoght in Crist, and he shal reue hit to hym, and hold hit fro þe venym of worldis besynesse. (29.135-38)

It seems incongruous to associate the directness of the first sentence with *interrogatio*, while in the second sentence, the resounding phrase, "þe venym of worldis besynesse", embellished with *translatio*, detracts from a forceful conclusion. A similar example, almost crudely direct, occurs later:

> The wil þynke two clothes or on ynogh, þat nowe hath fyue or six; forthy gif sum to Crist, þat goth naked and pore, and hold nat to þe al, þat wot nat [if þou] li[ue] til þai be half gone. (30.163-66)

A vagrant underlay of vernacular simplicity thus threatens to tear away from the practised richness of Rolle's rhetorical composition. This tendency is exemplified further in an obvious split in *Ego Dormio* between imagery used naturally and repetitively, for example in references to battle, brightness and burning, and self-conscious elaborations, especially of the imagery of courtly love (Ogilvie-Thomson 33.280-81, and note). The same stylistic division can be observed in the later epistles, *The Commandment* and *The Form of Living*, and most clearly in the *English Psalter*, where baroque ostentation in the Prologue contrasts strikingly with a pedestrian simplicity of style in most of the translations and commentaries which follow.

Rolle's English style never achieved full harmony and integration. Much of its technical and æsthetic interest stems, on the contrary, from passages which depend for their impact on the writer's and reader's familiarity with a common spoken language, and which randomly interrupt the flow of Latinate rhetorical prose. Rolle lived at a point of maximum

contest between the Latin culture of the universal Church and the developing vernacular cultures of secular individualism. The likelihood that sermons were often delivered in English but written down in Latin (Wenzel 86) is symptomatic of this contest, which finds a further reflection in the divided texture of Rolle's English prose.

A third genre to which *Ego Dormio* may be compared is that of prose sermon. The account of three degrees of love follows the basic technique of sermon division explicated by Robert Basevorn. Each division ends symmetrically with a rhymed lyric, inviting the reader sequentially to participate in renouncing the world, in the Passion, and in love-longing for God.

No parallels have been discovered for the fusion of vernacular prose preaching and long rhyming lyrics in *Ego Dormio*. A close connection, not yet fully researched, nevertheless existed between fourteenth- and fifteenth-century preaching and lyric poetry. English lyrics occur in the manuscript texts of Latin sermons, often as summaries of *divisiones*, and in English rhythmical prose sermons the line of demarcation with internal verse is not always beyond dispute (Wenzel 3-4, 80-100).

Although the lyrics are not therefore an unequivocal violation of sermon conventions, they epitomise a crucial tension in *Ego Dormio* between restraints imposed by rhetorical structure and the fundamental explication and transmission of spiritual states. In the account of the second degree of love, sermon structure temporarily disappears under an accumulation of instructions (29.139-30.174). The lyrics on the Passion and on love-longing, with their prolonged exemplifications of affective spirituality, represent a final blowing-out of the formal structure. The text's structural tensions, most obvious at points where spiritual experience is embodied in emotive lyricism, suggest an incomplete submission to received cultural codes.

The theorizing of a feminine language by Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous, and other feminists engaged in remodelling the theories of Freud and Lacan is applicable to this aspect

of *Ego Dormio*, as it is to much of Rolle's other writing in English and Latin. Irigaray writes of poetry and poetic devices, when they invade prose fiction or "serious" theoretical writing, as possessing the capacity to destabilise the phallocratic economy of such texts.[9] By confining significance to the simple dualism of masculine and not-masculine, sense and nonsense, this economy operates to reduce language to a tool for communicating a single and exclusive strand of ideas between one subject and another (Grosz 129-30). However, when poetry and poetic devices invade the prose field, they create an *excess* which, according to Irigaray (1985, 78), reminds the reader of the polysemous quality of language, and of its role in producing, rather than merely mediating meaning. The incursions of poems and of pervasive poetic devices into Rolle's prose texts therefore imply a transcendency of the reality manufactured by language. By suggesting that language produces a limited or closed reality, these devices, occurring incongruously, point to Irigaray's divine as the dimension of unlimited possibility: "Alone, always alone, the poet runs the risk of venturing outside the world and of folding back its openness to touch the bottom of the bottomless" (Irigaray, ed. Whitford 213). Compendia of theological content or of literary influences, valuable as they are as guidance and clarification, confine Rolle's works within a phallocentric framework of signification. Such studies denounce or repudiate the destabilising tendencies in his writing, its *excess* to generic and linguistic conventions. Yet these elements, highly appreciated by Rolle himself, are precisely those which embody the social and spiritual innovation of his writings.

Chapter Twelve

MELOS AMORIS: ON THE BORDERS OF LATIN CULTURE

The theory that the "feminine," in the form of poetic *excess*, transcends a phallogocentric language and tends to the freedom of the divine is literally applicable to Rolle's *Melos Amoris*. Here a *mimesis* of divine song constantly disrupts and expands the logic of doctrinal discourse. As concept, *canor*, here regularly referred to as *melos,* is explicitly identified with divinity and Christ (Ch. 46, Arnould 141.13-23, 32-34; Ch. 30, 91.16-20). A central sequence of Christian thought affirms the contemplative experience embodied in *Melos Amoris*.[1] However, the text's insubstantial and shifting alliance with *logos*, that is, with rational, didactic and authenticating argument, implicitly rejects such discourse as it had been prioritised in scholastic tradition since Augustine, and in this respect *Melos* is indisputably marginal. In the following passage, which is thoroughly applicable to *Melos*, Irigaray evokes the *excess* of poetry-song to the phallocratic economy:

> Yet the breath of he who sings, mingling his inspiration with the divine breath, remains out of reach. Cannot be situated. Faceless. He who perceives it sets off. Obeys the attraction. Goes to encounter nothing - only the more than all that is. (Ed. Whitford 218)

Related contemporary theory refers to the upsetting of a traditional complementarity or balance, so that feminine *melos* presides over masculine *logos* (Cook 197-98). Kristeva's comprehensive system posits readmissions of the repressed Semiotic pre-Oedipal phase associated with maternal presence into the Symbolic Order of phallic logic. These take the form of "rhythms, intonations, melody accompanying all representation," in other words, poetry (Grosz 1989, 44). Such features receive unprecedented emphasis in *Melos Amoris*. Although Rolle would not have thought of *melos* as "feminine," the weakness of *logos* in this text, seen in repetitiveness and fragmentation of argument, repeatedly affirms a cognition

which transcends language. This can be understood as occurring "from below" in a Kristevan sense, or "above" in the sense of aspiring to the actual divine.

The formal properties of *Melos Amoris*, which exemplify *excess* probably beyond any other literature produced in the Middle Ages, become a literal embodiment of *melos* as the divine. This applies, whether the divine is conceived in the Shaivite terms explained at the beginning of this study, or in those of Irigaray's theory, as a "genre" for situating a quest, never to be fulfilled, for the perfection of (female) subjectivity (Irigaray 1986, 3-6).

Excess to the norms of expository prose, however radically these are defined, is endemic to differing levels of composition: structure, rhetoric and vocabulary. In Anglo-Latin literary tradition, a mild precedent for verbal imitation of music as a source of spiritual joy is found in John of Howden's poem, *Cythara* (Rigg 212-13), which Rolle probably knew. However, the *mimesis* in *Melos* is directly of a unique spiritual experience, and far exceeds Howden's measured alliterative stanzas on Christ, the Virgin, and Biblical *exempla* of repentance. As in much of Rolle's writing, a reluctance to apply categories and other forms of orderly naming is evident, and the author's self-references, as well as his imagined audience, are variably explicit and indistinct. Poetic *excess* expands phallogocentric discourse especially through the superabundant sequences of alliterating words (Vandenbroucke 53; Liegey 1957, 20), decorated with rhyme and assonance, arranged in long sentences and further adorned with metaphor. That some twentieth-century critics attribute an assumed rejection of the work by fourteenth- and fifteenth-century readers[2] to the alliterative strings, suggests that these have retained their disruptive force. *Melos* functions as a compendium of tacitly resistant forms, occurring widely but irregularly in most of Rolle's Latin and English writings.

The *excess* endemic to the voluminous alliterative passages in *Melos* implies that they were composed partly out of a childlike enjoyment of ingenuity for its own sake. Such

passages offer the reciprocal challenge of a creative word game to translators who attempt to replicate their aural effects. A metaphor of play, with its connotations of freedom and delight, and therefore again redolent of the Shaivite conception of the divine, is applicable however, not only to these passages, but to the other poetic and rhetorical devices which *Melos* so lavishly displays. Rolle's enchantment with formal possibilities is comparable to Gnostic experimentation with literature of doctrine and vision. The fact that *Melos* refers to God most frequently as Conditor, Factor and Auctor further supports an underlying fascination with artistic creation.

The textual *excess* involves not only an unforseen swamping of prosaic expectations with poetic devices, most obviously alliteration, but also an interweaving of generic codes, freer even than in *Ego Dormio*. Most of the text exceeds definition except as Rolle's invention, that is, as the highest conjunction of high rhetoric with poetic prose. However, passages of satire (see above, Ch. 6, 86), of scholarly argument and of Biblical commentary in which alliteration is severely reduced or even abandoned, occur with increasing frequency towards the end.

Whatever the generic code predominant in a selected passage, the playfulness of *Melos* is seen principally in its textualising of divine song. The highest alliterative passages radically extend a traditional nexus ultimately based on Proverbs 8.30-31, where divine Wisdom is said to "play" during or before creation, in the double sense of "rejoice" and "play musically" (Cook 198). The text "plays" constantly in both these senses as Rolle presents and re-presents his repertoire of tried themes onomatopoeically, as identical with *melos*. His spiritual perception, as invoked through style, encompasses not only the benefits of solitude, the virtues of the poor man who shuns worldly recognition, the resolution of the chaste, and the joys of the saints in heaven, but also the shortcomings of earthly rulers and prelates, the deceptions

of wealth, the dangerous allurements of earthly beauty, and the judgment and tormenting of the damned. The ornamental language challenges the closed logic of binary oppositions evoked on the text's rational level, fundamentally good and evil, virtue and sin, reward and punishment, misery and joy. The textual replication of *melos* points insistently to a space in which these are transcended, to an *excess* of lasting love and joy free from and finally subversive of, the coercive anxiety produced by social hegemonies in Rolle's time, as in our own.

This analysis is applicable to much of *Melos Amoris*, but can be supported by a consideration of the following passage, in which typical binary poles appear in close proximity:

> Nunc [Christus quesitus, quem carissime concupivi, quem amans inveni,] veniens ut vivam in animum assumptum dum mens moderata in melos moretur, clanculo compellit ut scribam clamando quod concito carnales cadunt in chaos et cupidi in cassum querunt conscendere culminis caminum, dilatari desiderant diviciis ditati, de quibus decepti digne a Deo dure delebuntur; pusillus profecto, plangendum non petens, potenciam percepi ut porter ad polum pietatis propagine, impuris proiectis in puteum penalem fetentem in fulgure funeris ferventis.[3] (Ch. 23, Arnould 69. 6-14)

The speaker's spirit, received by Christ, and his mind, absorbed in *melos*, creates a liminal space from which to shout a warning of present and future destruction to carnal and avaricious souls. This space, the moment of meeting between human and divine, is evoked in playful and excessive literary shapes, primarily alliteration, but also recurrent antithetical devices, violent imagery ("in fulgure funeris ferventis"), unique vocabulary ("caminus"),[4] and the piling up of syntactical constructions with minimal logical pauses. The language aspires to an experience beyond language, one which contains and *exceeds* both the speaker's imagined victory "ad polum," and the lost souls' projected ruin "in puteum."

As replicated divine song, the extensive passages of dense alliteration which make up most of *Melos Amoris* resist both critical analysis and ordinary readerly involvement more

strongly than *Ego Dormio*. In modern times the alliterative patterning has frustratingly eluded definition (Arnould lviii; de Ford 1986, 60-61, 65; Rigg 250), and the alliterative sequences have resisted categorisation as rhetoric or poetry, as well as secure placement in the traditions of English poetry or prose (Liegey 1956, 385; 1957, 17-23; Watson 1989, 174, note 14; 1991, 172, note 3).

Watson comments that the surface pattern of ideas and images in the alliterative passages "holds eye and ear while the mind slides off in confusion" (1991, 172). A reader whose purpose was contemplation might nevertheless welcome the opportunity for disengagement from mental processes which the text presents: "cogitatio convertitur in canticum"[5] (Ch. 14, 43.35-36). The passage quoted above sees *melos* as a means for restraining ("moderata") the mind. The pervasive aural effects, perhaps influenced by Rolle's technique of spontaneous vocal composition documented above (Ch. 3, 56), renders the underlying method of the *chant* of love analogous to actual chanting, where the purpose can be mental focus and simplification. This effect may be less obvious to readers now than it would have been to Rolle's early audiences, who habitually read aloud, and therefore responded readily and connectedly to the musical and poetic dimensions of language as part of the communication offered. Smedick's analysis of pointing in manuscripts of *The Form of Living* confirms the sensitivity of contemporary readers to aural textual features, including cadence and alliteration (411-67). De Ford's coinage of the descriptive generic term, "ecstasy," is appropriate (1986, 60). It recalls Irigaray's application of "ecstasy" to her strategic conception of the divine, and Lohrey's view that singing impinges on ecstasy (198).[6] *Melos* simultaneously mimes ecstatic joy and offers practical help for attaining it, in its repetitive aural and bi-polar thematic patterns.

The stylistic extremities censured by some modern critics as unreadable can therefore be understood as a rare innovation, achieved by over-playing the prescriptions of a dominant rhetorical tradition. Similarly, the structure of *Melos* is a verbal rendition of Rolle's pervasive liminality, his comparative freedom from cultural prescriptions, in that the text is neither structured nor entirely structureless. This is evident if one considers the general development; the division into chapters, which was certainly Rolle's own work;[7] and the frequent shifting between exegetical, lyrical and argumentative modes.

Arnould, the editor of *Melos*, comments: "Taken as a whole, it appears, and to a large extent is, prolix and orderless" (xvii); but Vandenbroucke divides the text into major exegetical and minor autobiographical sections, and subdivides the former according to the Biblical passages selected for comment (48-51). This imposes a cohesion not wholly justified by the evidence. However some chapters do form clusters around Biblical citations placed, sometimes seriatim, at the beginning, and repeated wholly or in part in the course of discussion, as in traditional commentary. Other chapters comment on isolated citations, again placed at the beginning.[8] Commentary, predominantly on the Canticle, is the skeletal frame on which *Melos* hangs its varied passages of argument and evocation. Watson shows that the first ten chapters vastly expand the opening postils of *Super Canticum Canticorum* (1991, 173-74). The commentary on the Canticle climaxes at the end of Chapter 55, so that the beginning and end of the whole work, as Rolle originally envisaged it, coincide, a pattern demonstrated above in other works. *Melos* pays lip-service to scholastic and rhetorical norms, but its organising principle is *mimesis,* and its impetus is the explication and transmission of *melos*.

Astell discusses Rolle's climactic position in the tradition of commentaries on the Canticle (107), but scholars have not noticed the significance of *Melos* as an audaciously aberrant development of this tradition. In particular, *Melos* differs from its predecessor and

partial source in Rolle's *corpus*, *Super Canticum Canticorum*, in being not only a commentary on the Song of Songs, but also song itself. The quotations from the Song of Songs, which provide the text with discontinuous points of focus, merge with the pervasive *mimesis* of divine song, and contribute to the elevation of the whole: Biblical inspiration blends with Rolle's.

This interpretation implies a presumptuous deviation from the revered commentary tradition (Smalley xxvii), but the embattled assertiveness which Watson detects at almost every turn in Rolle's writings supports it. Rolle consistently presents his spiritual experiences as exemplary companion-pieces to scriptural narratives and saints' lives, and this practice is no less brazen than the implication that his song-text shares in the divine inspiration of scriptural song. The merging in *Melos* between citation and text can be further understood as an extreme development of the permeative interaction already discussed, under Volosinov's theory of "pictorial style," as a discursive reflection of the era's trend to disruption and fragmentation.

The manner in which *Melos* blends Canticle citations with its specific notions, and the Bride-singer with Rolle as divine minstrel, is exemplified in the extended reverie in Chapter 41 on Canticle 2.3, "Sub umbra eius quem desiderabam sedi."[9] Here the Bride's seated posture ("non stare vel ire aut currere,"[10] 127.7-8) is identified with the highest contemplative state, attained by a process of purification similar to Rolle's accounts of his own. Heavenly wisdom *sits* in such a contemplative, who also experiences celestial sweetness and the fire of love (127.21-24).[11]

Structural analysis reveals that Psalms form the basis of commentary and argument almost as frequently as the Canticle.[12] *Melos* quotes from Psalms more frequently than any other Biblical book, thus further extending the text's implied identification with scriptural

song. The identity of the speaker shifts among the first-person Biblical singers, most frequently the Bride and the Psalmist, but also includes Job in his brief self-characterisation as a musician (30.31),[13] and the Virgin Mary as singer of the *Magnificat* (Ch. 45, 139.26-29). Finally, the speaker's identification with the singers of New Jerusalem supplies the crescendo in the major climax of the whole work (Apoc. 14.2-3; Chs. 44-46). The merging of the text with the focal samples of Biblical song literally enacts the purpose announced at the beginning: "Quatinus quisque...non dicat deinceps quia non dignatur Deus...magnificare modernos in melliphona multitudine sicut solebat sanctos qui antiquitus ambulabant"[14] (Ch. 1, 3.10-14).

Thus, from the beginning until Chapter 46, when its inherently climactic style attains its highest peak, *Melos*, through its mimicry of Rolle's experience, exemplifies divine song, in pervasive tones of joy and love. In the twelve remaining chapters, this exemplification, reinforced by repeated intellectual allusions to *melos*, provides a foundational contrast with examples of earthly *vox*. There emerges a sense of the limitations of socially-evolved literary genres, and of language itself. Rolle's distinction between "argumentis artistarum et sophismatibus sine sanctitate" and "operibus electis...in fervore fidei cum digna dileccione"[15] (Ch. 40, 124.8-9) is embodied in his text. *Melos* points repeatedly to an experience which is affective, but which extends to a depth beyond ordinary feeling, and which can be represented in a language partially deflected from the task of mediating concepts. While Rolle's premise is the distinction between wisdom (*Logos*) and knowledge (*logos*) fundamental to the Biblical sapiential tradition, his method for imparting this is radically new.

Arnould (1937/1957, 196-8) analysed part of Chapter 47 (144.27-147.37), the contents of which are discussed in Chapter 6 above, as an example of scholastic argument, to the effect that solitary contemplative life is the highest spiritual grade. From near the beginning (145.7-11) to the concluding summary (147.27-37), and beyond the section analysed by Arnould

(148.36), the argument encompasses a negative commentary on aspects of monastic life, including learning, instrumental music, psalmody, ceremonies, indolence, and obedience (see above, Ch. 3, 52). Finally, those saints who love Christ with a true inner love, and who have received, however imperfectly, an intimation of heavenly glory while still *in via*, are distinguished from "cantantes et tumultuantes et disputantes in congregacione" (148.29-30), who have not received this blessing.

Most of this argument is presented with what is for *Melos* moderate alliteration and sentence length, although rhetorical usages persist. However, the attack on monastic life is introduced through a digression (146.3-28), extant in two manuscripts only, which describes the heavenly reward of the saints in opulent detail, with an abundance of alliteration, long sentences and aureate diction, and a culminating account of heavenly *calor, dulcor* and *melos* (146. 19-25). Similarly, those who "sing, disturb, and dispute in congregation" are contrasted with others inspired by almighty God, "ut libenter sustineant penitenciam solitudinis et deinde delectentur sedendo in simphonia celica, in suavitate carminis canori iubili iocundissimo se iugiter ingerente"[16] (148.31-34). The oscillating styles in Chapter 47 adhere to the alternating subject matter of heavenly and contemplative song as against monkish learning, music and disputation: the limiting configurations of scholastic discourse emerge against the contrastive brightness provided by *melos*.

Other chapters in the concluding section present *melos* as the reward of solitaries on earth and of saints and angels in heaven (see especially Ch. 54, 174.28-175.2). They repeatedly affirm its difference from earthly din and clamour (Ch. 48, 149.31-33; 151.27), and from "sonitum corporalem" (Ch. 47, 148.15), in the varied forms of instrumental (Ch. 47, 146.29; Ch. 48, 151.4; Ch. 58, 190.37-191.1) and vocal (Ch. 48, 155.10-13) music, of "mundialis melodia" (Ch. 58, 187.22), which is transitory, and of the speaking voice ("ab

omnibus profecto psallentibus et loquentibus", Ch. 47, 146.33-34; cf. Ch. 49, 156.26, "vocibus

humanis").[17] The pervasive intellectual distinction continues to be textualised in the stylistic

alternation of mimed scholastic discourse and *melos*.[18]

If the latter chapters of *Melos Amoris* reflect implicitly on language as the basis of a

limited socially-determined *episteme*, they also use *mimesis* inventively to present familiar

themes. Chapter 50, which is the first of three chapters commenting loosely on Canticle 2. 4:

"Ordinavit in me charitatem," contains few examples of extended alliteration.

The chapter begins with a scrupulously orderly and therefore for *Melos* conspicuously

aberrant account in rhetorical prose of legitimate loves sequentially arranged, beginning with

God and ending with our enemies. The argument is summed up in a sentence which

reattributes the Biblical text to the Church in the traditional role of the Bride: "Ait igitur

Ecclesia: *Ordinavit...*"[19] (159.8). From here Rolle moves to the familiar ground of inner love

as the determinant of spiritual rank: the nine grades of angels in the Church triumphant are

paralleled by nine grades of earthly lovers in the Church militant. However, this carefully

engineered system of hierarchies is suddenly dismantled when the patristic trope of a love for

God which exceeds measure and order is introduced (Vandenbroucke 182): "Sed cum

loquamur de ordinata charitate, videtur pocius quod debeat esse sine ordine, sine mensura et

sine gradu"[20] (159.20-22). The pages which follow, expanding the paradox of an "ordo

charitatis...sine ordine" (159.26-27), pile up eloquence in an onomatopoeic rendition of the

exponential leap in thought:

> ...ut videlicet amor noster in Deum sit flagrans, vehemens, estuans, impetuosus,
> invincibilis, inseparabilis, singularis, totum hominem ad se trahens, totum in se ipso
> [transformans], totum in eius servitutem redigens.[21] (159.40-160.2)

The pattern of *Ego Dormio*, in which the hierarchy of love is subsumed in an holistic

attainment, and both hierarchy and attainment are embodied textually, here finds a precedent

in Rolle's Latin writing. The patterning of both texts in respect of hierarchies parallels the conditional submission to the external power structures of Church and State which I suggested above was a distinctive feature of the age.

The destruction of hierarchies exemplified in *Ego Dormio* and *Melos Amoris* can also be read as a sign of resistance to phallogocentric categorisation and naming, irregularly apparent in Rolle's Latin and English writings, which has been recorded in different terms by earlier commentators.[22] *Judica B2* follows William of Pagula in explicating all seven of the deadly sins, together with their inner and outer manifestations (Daly 45.1-55.9). However other works submerge the categories of the sins in generalised advice on interior attitude, as when warnings against pride, envy and fleshly sins blend with Rolle's perpetual theme of love of God. This pattern is repeated in *Incendium Amoris* (Ch. 29, Deanesly 226. 2-25) and *Contra Amatores Mundi* (Ch. 6, Theiner 99-100. 218-249).[23] *Melos* associates the seven columns of Proverbs 9.1 with virtues, but without specification (Ch. 55, 176. 19-24). A tendency to merge categories in *Melos* has already been observed in Chapter 6 (97). The *English Psalter* fails to explicate the wooden frame and ten strings of David's psaltery according to the categories provided by Augustine and Joachim de Fiore (Boenig 1995, 79, 82-83). Naming, as is obvious from colonial contexts, is often a form of possession through language, while categorisation imposes an obscuring linguistic grid over the depth and variety of experience. That Rolle should intermittently resist the phallogocentric imperative to name and categorise is thoroughly compatible with his liminal status.

Like *Ego Dormio* in its actualisation of the promise that the reader will *hear* of love, Chapters 50-52 of *Melos* again and again repeat *amor, charitas, dileccio* and their many cognate forms, thus literally textualising the central idea.[24] The next three chapters interweave a commentary on Canticle 2.5 with expositions of dangers threatening the carnal and worldly,

and the joys of the elect. The phrase, "Amore langueo," and other selections from the Biblical text are repeated through these chapters with increasingly overt personal reference to the speaker, until the experiences of *calor*, *dulcor* and *melos* are consummated in a love united with its divine source. "Quia amore langueo" provides a closure to Chapter 55, and probably to the whole work as Rolle first envisaged it, a tiny but crucial pivot on which the vast branching weight of *Melos* revolves.

The merging of scriptural citation with inspired commentary reaches its extreme development in the three concluding chapters (56-58), considered by Arnould to have been an afterthought, when an abundance of citation, preeminently from the Apocalypse, almost subsumes the speaker's voice. Alliteration in this epilogue is moderate, as the text functions simultaneously as Scripture, commentary and materialised inspiration.[25] The paragraph-long closure returns to a *mimesis* of the *melos* which is its subject in a final blossoming of alliteration: "nam pene perfudi gressus gravantes, ut calcans contagium in cantico consummer"[26] (191.30-31).

The final twelve chapters of *Melos Amoris* therefore flow through scholastic argument, orderly preaching, and scriptural exegesis, referring them in a free play of meaning to a literal textualising of *melos* and *amor*, and at last merging all generic streams in the ocean of the Scriptural text. The prevalent principles of play and *mimesis* demonstrate the limitations of *logos*, while they assert simultaneously the reality of a transcendent cognition.

Melos exemplifies in an extreme form Rolle's tendency to invent words and to employ rare forms. To the extent that the work's vocabulary, liminal in the sense that it utilises but also extends beyond ordinary discourse, results from a requirement for alliterating homonyms, it is an adjunct to this work's most obvious exhibition of *excess*. *Melos* also makes aberrant

application of common words. A final manifestation of its active mimetic principle consists in a general elevation of vocabulary towards the splendidly poetic, and ultimately the divine.

The authoritative Cambridge University Library Ms. Dd. v. 64, dated to the fifteenth century, concludes with a glossary of "verba difficilia" in *Melos*, "expounded by various doctors" (Arnould lxxii). The glossary, of which only the letters *a-d* survive, testifies to a perception of textual difference among early readers familiar with ecclesiastical Latin. Despite the colophon's claim, some of the words selected for glossing, for example, "anus *i.e.* vetula," "attonitus *i.e.* stupefactus, territus," "calamitas *i.e.* miseria," are relatively common. Others, however, are unusual ("alare *i.e.* spirare," "autumare *i.e.* putare," "bacare *i.e.* insanire"[27]) or poetic ("anceps *i.e.* gladius") words or syntactical forms.[28] Yet others, which tend to be associated with Rolle's characteristic experiences, are rare or even unique ("anelare *i.e.* anxiari," "cauma *i.e.* incendium," "almiphona *i.e.* vox sacrata"[29]). The glossator grapples with the problem of specialised or adapted sense, which any translator of Rolle's Latin (or, on occasion, English) encounters.[30]

These instances of liminal vocabulary attested to by mediæval readers are matched generally in *Melos* by forms to date unrecorded in dictionaries.[31] More often, recorded words are used in contexts which require extended, sometimes unprecedented, meanings.[32] In addition, Rolle deploys a large group of rare synonyms to convey *melos*. Many are of Greek origin, and convey a poetic elevation of feeling tending to *excess*.[33] Some synonyms for "to sing" or "song" neutralise or extend the sense of words recorded in other contexts with specific meaning.[34] Rolle's verbal divergences recreate *melos* as uniformly elevated, but with variation within the range established, like physical hymnody or chant.

Readers who approach *Melos Amoris* and others of Rolle's writings from an academic perspective appreciate Watson's acuity in uncovering signs of the author's defensive egoism. However, the most detailed scholarly study of *Melos* after Arnould's fully-collated edition is the facing French translation, with introduction, notes, commentary and tables of scriptural citations, themes and synonyms, published in 1971 by François Vandenbroucke, O.S.B., and the nuns of Wisques. This production, seldom referred to in commentary, celebrates a dimension of positive meaning in *Melos* radically opposed to the usual academic judgments. The present chapter applies a version of spirituality and literary theory to this same dimension of meaning, arguing that *Melos* subscribes only nominally to the tradition of pastoral instruction governed by *logos* and rhetorical convention. The playful, "feminised" poetic *excess* of the writing, demonstrated in the preceding analyses of alliteration, interchangeable generic codes, organisation, and vocabulary, demonstrate the text's striving against social restraints incorporated in language and perpetuated in approved literary modes. *Melos* is simultaneously instruction and chant, Rolle's song and Biblical song, ecstasy and the divine. It speaks of love and joy and replicates them in its aural effects. By eluding definition it produces unity. Hierarchies, categories and naming, together with *fervor*, *dulcor* and *melos* itself, merge into love as the ultimate holistic attainment. By raising its readers and listeners above binaries, including the primary duress of anxiety or ambition, *Melos Amoris* creates a free perspective on subjectivity and society, and ultimately an inner state from which the renewal of both might be envisaged.

SECTION TWO

Walter Hilton's Pilgrimage

Chapter Thirteen

ENGLISH SOCIETY IN CRISIS, 1350-1400

G. M. Trevelyan's thesis, that the Black Death, the Rising, and the emergence of Wyclif and Chaucer formed a watershed dividing the English Middle Ages from the modern era (202), has been regularly revisited for nearly a century. The issue of historical consequence raised by Trevelyan's work is however ultimately insoluble, as each generation proceeds with its transiently relevant constructions of events and issues.[1] The purpose of the outline which follows, compiled from selected historical writing on the later fourteenth century, is not to add to the pronouncements on the period's significance, but to summarise events which invoke the underlying presence of severe tensions in the English social fabric. It is argued here that these tensions were mediated by the mystical writers of the period, including Hilton and the *Cloud*-author, as they participated in the rapid ideological changes in their era.

The fragmentation and uncertainty traced above as threatening secular and ecclesiastical hegemony early in the century finally erupted in the Rising of June 1381. In May 1382 condemnation of Wyclif's leading ideas by the Blackfriars Synod was the first formal acknowledgment of a split in organised religious life in England (Hudson 1988, 175). Wyclif's sermons in London contributed to the revolutionary ideas of John Ball and Wat Tyler (Hudson 67-69), and the Rising precipitated in its turn the decisions of the Synod. Some historians deny direct cross-influence between the two events (Aston 273). Whether or not this occurred, the coincidence demonstrates the decisive power of merging ideological trends which had developed over the century in the diverse spheres of rural and town life, Oxford University and the Church.

The violent confrontations may have contributed to Hilton's decision in the early 1380s to abandon his career in canon law at Cambridge for the life of a hermit (Emden 306). In a further parallel with Rolle, it was as a hermit, and not as a scholar and canon lawyer, that

Hilton began to write works which his contemporaries considered worthy of preservation. The earliest of these, *De Imagine Peccati*, addressed to a fellow-solitary, deals with the issue of inner struggle against sin, but the second, *Epistola de Utilitate et Prerogativis Religionis*, already participates in the Church's mission proclaimed at Blackfriars against Wycliffite rejection of "private religion." Both elements - a spirituality specific to the individual, originating in patristic and twelfth-century contemplative writers and servicing contemporary individualism, and an advocacy of the Church as the only valid mediator of Christian doctrine and spirituality - persist throughout the seventeen letters, translations and treatises comprising Hilton's extant canon.

Varied economic, political and religious factors generated the ideological trends which came together in the Rising and the formation of Lollardy. Although historians have not reached consensus on the relative significance of these factors (R. H. Hilton 3-7), they agree that the catastrophe of the Black Death was pre-eminent in expediting social change (Holmes 136). Rolle's, Ockham's, and Bradwardine's deaths in the same year, probably as a result of the first outbreak of pestilence, coincided with a significant historical moment.

Plague-deaths destabilised both secular and ecclesiastical hierarchy in England because survivors often inherited wealth or position for which they or their subordinates were unprepared (Butcher 88-100). Labour shortages improved the bargaining position of waged labourers and of villeins, who evaded feudal obligations by fleeing to other agricultural districts or to towns (McKisack 335-38, Holmes 146). Many became vagrants or outlaws (Tuchman 285-86). Statutes of 1349 and 1351 (Horrox 287-89) failed to hold wages at pre-plague levels, and served rather to frustrate rural workers and landholders competing for labour. Disturbances were frequent and widespread (McKisack 336). Despite a prohibitive constitution by the Archbishop of Canterbury, first published in 1350 and reissued in 1362,

stipendiary and chantry priests enjoyed much higher salaries than before the plague. These induced curates and even some beneficed clergy to desert their parishes (Horrox 304-309).

Because of delaying factors like the young age of many of the plague victims, the full impact of declining population on patterns of supply and demand was not felt until the late 1370s. Wages then rose steadily as grain prices declined (Bolton 60-72). Although liberation from landowners attending the extension of markets and a money economy accelerated throughout the century (Aers 77; Delany 1975, 110; Holmes 146), the economic effects of reduced population opened up new dimensions of individual autonomy for workers, tradesmen and craftsmen in the towns. Such groups, who were "inextricably entwined" with country dwellers in "a regional social structure" (Butcher 110; cf. Dobson 13), resented taxes and duties administered by the leading citizens on behalf of the king, the clergy and the aristocracy (Butcher 100-10).

The downward redistribution of wealth and prestige in the plague years encouraged initiative and independence. In the economically buoyant city of York the spirit of innovation created a vigorous cycle of mystery pageants, first mentioned in 1376 (Beadle xx), and produced and performed by a long list of guilds. In York news of the Rising sparked a violent confrontation between the lesser craftsmen and the merchant oligarchy which was unrelated to the grievances of rural and town workers in the south (Dobson 13-14, 284-89). Such events testify to diverse destabilising pressures operating upon a volatile social order.

Authorities later credited guilds with providing a cover for seditious gatherings (Tuck 210). The urban context of "lively self-consciousness" (Holmes 140), consummating the century's individualist trends, was highly compatible with Lollardy: "As effectively as later Protestant theology, Wyclif's views forced the individual christian into making his own judgments" (Hudson 1988, 316; cf. Aston 1976, 285). Guild members and aldermen were

susceptible to these views, including even the ideal of a Christian communism (Aston 301-302).

At the centre of secular power, the weakness of the monarchy in Edward III's later years and in Richard II's minority, when John of Gaunt's actions created widespread resentment, exacerbated social tensions. Magnates' demands for taxes to fund war with France were a continuing grievance, at a time when the memory of Crécy and Poitiers contrasted bitterly in the popular mind with current mismanagement of both campaigns and defence. In 1376 the "Good Parliament" under Sir Peter de la Mare resisted the corruption and financial importunities of the dominant court party in a dramatic confrontation which crystallised the social realities of middle-class individualism and autonomy into a durable ideological shape. Poll taxes, granted by the Lancaster-dominated Parliaments of 1377, 1379 and 1380 and rigorously monitored and enforced, provided a final provocation (Dobson 21-22).

The split produced in the English Church by Lollardy was the most obvious symptom of a crisis in anti-clerical feeling, the causes for which were already apparent in Rolle's time (see Chapter 1 above). In the second half of the century the Church's enmeshment in indulgences, relics and pilgrimages proliferated to the point where permeation of religious consciousness by the mentality of the market was naturalised into invisibility. Later, Margery Kempe was spontaneously to apply mercantile imagery to the themes of God, the soul, redemption and penitence (Aers 78-83). In circles not initially Wycliffite or rebellious, ecclesiastical wealth, commerce and venality gave rise to an extensive literature of complaint (Scase 1-14).

The Great Schism of 1378 was another example of ideological serendipity. Edward III had acted through Parliament against a papacy resident in Avignon by promulgating the Statutes of Provisors (1351) and Præmunire (1353). These limited the Pope's right to appoint

clergy to English benefices (Pantin 47-54; McKisack 273-74, 280-82). Conflicts over the issue continued through the 1360s and 1370s (Ormrod 127). In 1390 and 1393 Parliament under Richard II passed laws which sought to banish from England all papal correspondence dealing with patronage (McKisack 282). Wyclif's writings both exemplified an incipient national autonomy in ecclesiastical affairs and endorsed it as doctrine, especially in their crucial advocacy of Bible translation.

Seen retrospectively by Wyclif and the Lollards as confirming their worst suspicions about the papacy (Hudson 1988, 333), the Schism materialised the threat of the Church's fragmentation which had persisted through the years of the Avignon captivity and earlier. It was the most visible outcome of disintegrating pressures on the Church, affecting the core of the institution.[2] In finally healing the Schism in 1417, the Council of Constance lastingly altered the conception of the papacy, when, in a tacit implementation of the ecclesiology of Ockham and others, the Pope submitted to conciliar authority (Tuchman 591). Wyclif's ideas split the Church, not only in England, but in Bohemia, where the Hussite movement which they helped inspire persisted, to merge finally with Protestant doctrine (Holmes 174). Wyclif's followers mediated on the margins of Christendom centrifugal pressures which continued to operate from the divided core into the indefinite future.

Wyclif came to Oxford in about 1354, succeeding Ockham as the most eminent English academic of his day, and epitomising the era's intellectual interests. Philosophically, he was an extreme realist who reasserted that universals dwelt eternally in the divine nature, accessible to reason and unaffected by particular momentary conditions (Courtenay 351; Leff 1967, 501-502). He reaffirmed God's omnipotence and omniscience, as well as grace and predestination as determinants of human actions, thus approximating to Bradwardine's position in *De Causa Dei*. Although Wyclif's metaphysics were conservative, both in essence

and in comparison with Ockham, they had the effect of blurring, according to Leff, "the due distance between the divine and created," and making the latter "share in the eternity and necessity of God's own movements" (1967, 503).

The series of works attacking the Church's authority, which Wyclif composed from 1376, therefore supports the present thesis, that a necessary connection exists between closeness to the divine, and freedom, however these terms are defined. Other perspectives on the genesis of Wyclif's radical polemical writings from his conservative metaphysics have however been cogently argued, including the incentive of Gaunt's political patronage.[3] From a post-structuralist viewpoint, the divergence of Wyclif's writing from scholastic forms (Courtenay 355) appears as a sign of deep-seated dissidence.

Wyclif pressed Ockham's separation of scriptural and ecclesiastical authority to an extreme, and extended speculations by Ockham's contemporaries on the powers of the Pope (see Chapter 1 above). Wyclif's reconstitution of the Bible as an authority opposed to the Church, his attacks on ecclesiastical wealth and privilege in favour of temporal lordship, his insistence that priestly office be supported by merit, and his rejection of transubstantiation, are well-known features of his doctrine. Preached by his followers, they appealed to all social ranks from magnates and knights to the humble poor, whose rights they defended by developing liminal social discourses already familiarised by St. Francis, Rolle and Langland (Hudson 1978, 88.2-91, 203-208).

The threat which Wycliffite doctrine posed to the Church in England - the most serious before Henry VIII - had been averted by the time of the Rising (Holmes 173). The difficult categorisation of the mass of anti-clerical writing as Wycliffite was seldom attempted in years immediately following the Blackfriars Synod (Hudson 393-98). However, in the 1390s, when Hilton and the *Cloud*-author were composing their mature works, heresy touched on common

concerns, such as lay appropriation of Church endowments (Aston 1976, 292-95), and legislation against Lollards was extended. By 1401, when *De Heretico Comburendo* introduced the death penalty for unrepentant heretics, it was believed that Lollards planned to overthrow secular as well as clerical authority. In this context of resolute defence of privilege against a danger perceived as pressing, Hilton's pro-ecclesiastical writings appear as notably marginal and restrained. The *Cloud*-author is forceful but unspecific in his condemnation of heretics. In 1409, Arundel's *Constitutions*, the impact of which in the reception of Rolle's *English Psalter* is noted above (Ch. 4), was the last major weapon to be added to the Church's legal arsenal for eliminating Wycliffite views (Hudson 15).

Secular crises following the Rising took the form of diplomatic and actual warfare among Richard II, his magnates and Parliament. After one such crisis, in 1388, the King was forced to submit to the demands of the "Merciless Parliament," but continuing intrigues led to his confrontation with Bolingbroke and deposition in 1399. These events had no perceivable effect on the monarchy as an institution. Richard's central personal role in dissipating the energy of the Rising nevertheless supports a perspective on his deposition as a closing symbol of the century's iconoclastic trends.

Actual iconoclasms, committed in the heat of the Rising, included the slaying of the Chief Justice of England, the Chancellor, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. During their march on London, in separate acts of protest against clerical landholders and a legal system which ensconced villeinage and immunised clergy from civil prosecution, the people looted monasteries, attacked lawyers and destroyed records (Schlauch 1956, 207). The establishment paid limited attention to the message. Punishment of participants was comparatively restrained (Tuck 200-202). The Commons refused to impose further poll taxes, to alter the basis of taxation, or to vote taxes for the French war (Tuck 203-204, 209; Dobson 304). The Rising

probably hastened the disappearance of villeinage from England (Dobson 342-44, Schlauch 1956, 208). The most significant outcome was ideological, as the estates adjusted their concepts of their role and status.

Galbraith states that a longing for freedom attended the first imposition of serfdom (53). His argument points towards the Shaivite insight noted above, that, as the primary quality of the divine, freedom is basic to human nature as an aspect of a monistic reality. Writing in historically specific terms, R. H. Hilton refers to "a widespread ideology of freedom," which preceded the upheavals of 1381, and continued long after their cessation. He sees this as endemic among peasants, rural wage workers and artisans in both town and country, having been founded in traditions of law and of continuing struggle against seigniorial impositions (1981, 4-5).[4] The ideology of freedom sank deeply into the national psyche during the most critical moments of the Rising, in the demands which the rebels presented to the King at Smithfield, "that there should be no villein in England or any serfdom or villeinage, but all to be free men and of one condition" (qtd. Holmes 144).

Less dramatically, but just as lastingly as the Rising, the contemplative literature of the period, like the romances, *Pearl*, the devotional and secular lyrics, *Piers Plowman* and *The Canterbury Tales*, Lollard tracts and orthodox sermons, proclaims the shifts occurring in ideology. Written and expanded between 1373 and 1393 (Colledge and Walsh, part 1, 33), Julian's *Shewings* are the earliest surviving book by an Englishwoman, and by this fact alone a token of ideological transformation. An affinity with the contemporary ideology of freedom governs the deeper structures of Hilton's writings. Just as villeins commonly looked to the Domesday Book to legitimate their demands for freedom, Hilton's works seek to recreate in the contemporary Church the purity of ancient tradition, enshrined in the earliest Christian documents.

The transformed discursive climate is clarified by the contrast which Hilton's works and *The Cloud of Unknowing* and its companion texts make with the perfected literature of the monastic writers, St. Bernard, William of St. Thierry, and the Victorines, which they use as sources. Without exception Hilton's writings address the actual problems and aspirations of himself and his fellow Christians, either with reference to particular cases or, as finally in *The Scale of Perfection*, Book 2, in summary form. They can therefore be claimed as a product of the individualist trends just outlined. The vigorous English style of the *Cloud*-author builds paradoxically on reiterated assertions of the limitations of language as a medium for defining both existence and essence. The author applies a vernacular rhetoric, strikingly different from the high-flown abstractions and complexities of earlier monastic culture. Ultimately he looks beyond even this living language to find the source for his writings' topical creativity in the freedom of the divine.

Rolle, Hilton and the Author of *The Cloud*: Interconnections and Dates

Commentators on the fourteenth-century English contemplative writers often turn from Rolle to Hilton with relief, as moving from the irrational and aberrant to their antithesis. The discussion which follows in Section 2 challenges this binary, by charting extensive interchanges and overlaps between the two bodies of work. Gardner argues that Hilton was Rolle's disciple in his adoption of a solitary vocation (1937, 110).[5] Compilations and fifteenth-century manuscripts containing works and extracts by both authors suggest that early readers were less aware of difference than of similarity in their teachings.[6] Writing in the period when Rolle's influence was strongest, when in fact the nuns of Hampole were preparing the Office for his canonisation (Gardner 1937, 103), Hilton accepted Rolle's bodily contemplative experiences as valid and desirable gifts of grace. He nevertheless categorised

them as less worthy than spiritual or intellectual insight and knowledge. Although Hilton's works generally resort to *logos* as their determining formal and stylistic principle, they sometimes privilege the "feminine" emotive in a manner comparable to *Ego Dormio, Melos Amoris*, and Rolle's Meditations and lyrics.

Far from remaining liminally poised, like Rolle, on his era's as yet undefined dividing line between orthodoxy and heresy (Hudson 429), Hilton openly defended the Church's temporal and spiritual authority against the threats of Lollardy and civic unrest. The failings which Hilton's contemporaries recognised in the Church led him to uphold ecclesiastical tradition in its primitive purity, in a stance which was fundamentally renewing and reformative. Although his passionate humility and the Church's authority limited individual expression in his works to a degree not possible in Rolle's case, Hilton is far from being, even in his early Latin writings, a mere compiler of institutionally-mediated arguments and literary styles. A complex and conscious subject position controls his works. This variously exercises and renounces the traditional authority of spiritual adviser. In his last works Hilton followed the example of Rolle and the *Cloud*-author, turning away in his writings from ecclesiastical concerns and discursively-produced "reality," to focus on the freedom of the divine.

The verbal and doctrinal connections between Hilton's writings and *The Cloud of Unknowing* and its companion texts are strong enough to have generated the theory that Hilton wrote both groups of works.[7] This was cogently disproved by Gardner as early as 1933 (129-47), but sporadically revived by later authorities, including Gardner herself (1947, 41-42).[8] An alternative older theory supported by Gardner (1933, 146) is now widely accepted. This accounts for verbal similarities and signs of a continuing doctrinal dialogue between the *Cloud* texts and Hilton's writings in terms of a shared milieu and a common heritage in the Bible and earlier literature. Dialectal evidence in the earliest manuscripts locates both groups in the

north-east Midlands.[9] Clark recently refined Walsh's suggestion (1981, 3-9), that the *Cloud*-author was a Carthusian of Beauvale Priory in Nottinghamshire, in contact with Hilton in residence during the last ten years of his life at the nearby Augustinian priory of Thurgarton.[10] Hilton encouraged his friend Adam Horsley, formerly an eminent official of the Exchequer, in his decision to enter Carthusian life at Beauvale in 1386. Observations and deductions based on the premise of Hilton's and the *Cloud*-author's reciprocal environment flow through the critical literature, and are referred to as relevant in the following chronological analysis of Hilton's writings.

The strong dialogic connections just outlined among the three bodies of writing, reinforced by the lived community of two of the authors, reveal an enclave tending to detach itself from the givens of its originating culture. Verbal links between Hilton and the *Cloud*-author, which do not always extend to the deeper textual levels of theology, metaphysics, or spiritual practice, are explained by their participation in an oral tradition of devotional preaching and teaching common to Thurgarton and Beauvale Priories. Thus, the connection between Hilton and the *Cloud*-author was realised culturally (and beyond culture), as well as intellectually. The enclave participated in by all three authors mediated the secular and ecclesiastical disorders of the fourteenth century in terms of a variable relationship with authority. It is comparable in ideological terms to the creative community shared by the Gnostics, and to that enjoyed by New Testament Christians before the imposition of Church structures.

Manuscript, historical and internal evidence allows no more precise dating of the *Cloud*-author's *corpus*, considered separately, than the second half of the fourteenth century. However, researches conducted chiefly by Russell-Smith established several of Hilton's important dates and locations.[11] From these, from his further historical finds, and from

comparisons which assume that similar issues, forms and source material surfacing in different works indicate contemporaneity, Clark deduces approximate dates for Hilton's writings.[12] He dates *Scale 1* to *c.*1390 and confirms the traditional scholarly dating of *Scale 2* to shortly before Hilton's death on 24 March 1396. By tracing their successive interchanges with Hilton's works, Clark arrives at approximate dates for the major *Cloud* texts. Because *The Cloud* probably refers to, and on one occasion critiques *Scale 1*, Clark argues for the priority of the latter. *The Cloud* and *The Book of Privy Counselling* use paradoxical language: "li3ty derknes," "nou3t," which Hilton explicated in his own terms in a revisionist spirit in *Scale 2* (cf. Hodgson 1982, ix and Epilogue, below). *Scale 2* also appears to take the criticism of *Scale 1* in *The Cloud* into account. Thus the major *Cloud* texts seem to have been written in the years separating *Scale 1* and *Scale 2*.[13] Clark dates the writing of *The Cloud* "to the very early 1390's, and *Privy Counselling* to the middle years of the same decade" (1995, Vol. 1, 92).

Clark and others have pointed out that Hilton's late English letter, *Of Angels' Song*,[14] and the late Psalm commentaries, *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est*,[15] whose ascription to Hilton is likely but unproven, also seem to have been composed in knowledge of *The Cloud*. As a contribution to dating, it is observed here that in *Eight Chapters on Perfection* (ed. Kuriyagawa 1971, 22-23), definitions of true and false liberty of spirit, which probably refer to the contemporary heresy of Liberty of Spirit, may entail an explication and revision by Hilton of the *Cloud*-author's *Discretion of Stirrings*, where liberty of spirit is valorised (70.13-71.2).[16] Hilton compiled *Eight Chapters* in the same period as *Scale 2* (Clark "Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology" 5-6). This supports a dating for *Discretion of Stirrings* with the rest of the *Cloud*-author's canon, to between 1390 and Hilton's death.

Although relatively unknown, Hilton has much to offer modern readers. Section 2 surveys his works in order of writing, in the first detailed complete analysis to build on the

factual foundation and general outline of his thought established by Clark.[17] The focus is on

the literary and linguistic properties of Hilton's texts and their social and ideological

implications. The survey also defines doctrinal developments over Hilton's twenty-year

productive period, developments which in some respects ran counter to his exchanging of a

solitary vocation for life as an Augustinian canon. Thurgarton Priory, outwardly a site of

ecclesiastical conformity and submission, finally became for Hilton a threshold to the freedom

of the divine.

Chapter Fourteen

IN THE WILDERNESS: LETTERS OF A SOLITARY

Introduction

This section examines the whole of Hilton's known canon in likely chronological sequence. From textual analyses and the few known external facts, it proposes a perspective on the author's inner journey, not a continuous biography, but a multi-layered and refracted pilgrim's progress. It seeks to do for Hilton what Rolle constantly did for himself - and contrived for others from mediæval to modern times to do on his behalf - narrate his life's story.

Unlike the other authors in our study, Hilton has not inspired critical or religious controversy. Instead, commentators, who themselves are steeped inevitably in the continuing intellectual values of Western culture, praise his lucid, well-structured exposition, and the moderation of his ascetic and mystical theology, often in contrast with Rolle. [1] In this they follow a binary judgment instituted over a century ago by Horstman, whose introduction to a group of edited texts states:

> The style and manner of these pieces is so different from the other writings of R. Rolle that the authorship of W. Hylton becomes more than probable. I insert them, however, here to show at once the difference between the two great writers: the one all poetry, heart, inspiration, the other (who goes by 'trouthe principally', and not by 'feeling', see end of *Angels' Song*) a prosaist, logician, strongly putting his arguments in easy and well built periods, but without a spark of feeling. (Vol. 1, 173)

In repeating Horstman's assessment, sometimes in so many words (Takamiya 1977, 8), but usually in more temperate terms (Allchin viii), modern commentators emphasise features connecting Hilton's writings with *logos*, the rationality dominant in phallogocentric cultures, rather than with *Logos* as the transcendent and immanent creative principle. Clark's proposing of monastic sources for much of the material presented in Hilton's canon consolidates the modern scholarly view of him as a mediator of the official culture, "a pastor" or "pastoral

writer" (Clark 1990, 125; Watson 1991, 59),[2] who interpreted received doctrine for the benefit and correction of a varied body of readers.[3]

A consideration of Hilton's entire canon nevertheless reveals a reiterated, if sporadic, enthusiasm for "feminine," emotive and poetic *excess*, which confirms his status as Rolle's disciple, as well as critic. This manifests itself most strongly in the imaginative devotional compilation, Þe *Prickynge of Love*, but disseminates widely through Hilton's *corpus* in an increasing structural prominence given to analogies and images. Key doctrines simplify the multiple notions of theology and psychology, tending towards the unity of the divine. His writings in order of composition shift in stages from an authoritarian, ideologically centrist position towards the *limen*, as the site for experimenting with new social formations. The following textual analyses support these views by tracing in Hilton's *corpus* the themes of the institutional Church, of desire, intention and the divine likeness, individualism and authority, and traditionalism.

In the realised crises constituting English history in the last two decades of the fourteenth century, Hilton was overtly a spokesman for the forces of cohesion, specifically the Church as it sought to reassimilate Lollardy, lay piety, secular and ecclesiastical discontent, evolving vernacular and national distinctiveness, and other centrifugal forces. His writings look to the divine as the source of temporal and spiritual authority, but centralise the Church as a clear medium of the divine will. In this they differ from Rolle's works and *The Cloud of Unknowing* and associated writings, which defer to ecclesiastical authority in assumptions, stated or inferred, on the textual borders.

His writings nevertheless reveal that Hilton's loyalty to the Church was more than a polemical defence against the Wycliffite and centralised schismatic forces just described. He was primarily a Christian idealist, who found support for the Church's authority in its divine

foundation. For a time he adopted the life of a solitary, instituted by the Desert Fathers, but fostered in England by Rolle's example and middle-class affirmations of privacy and individualism (see Chs. 1 and 3 above). For Hilton as for Rolle, choice of solitary life implied a free approach to the divine, outside institutional boundaries. Later Hilton came to reassert, and, as it appears, to live, the ideal of a loving Christian community, striving for perfect charity. [4]

This ideal, which had operated uncritically and with mixed results for centuries (Mullett 45-46), had both conservative and Utopian relevance. While it implied an authoritarian recalling of individualists and heretics to the institution, it also provided a standard for the present Church. Hilton had too much humility, was too concerned to abjure judgment of fellow-Christians, to state this openly. His ecclesiology is overtly political and conservative in those arguments which controvert incipient and actual heresy, but subtly political and reformist with reference to the present state of the Church. Contemporary observers could not fail to contrast the ideal simplicity of Hilton's conception with the schisms, divisions, and overwhelming complexities obvious in the Church militant.

His theology of intention is a compelling example of his paradoxically radical conservatism. Clark regards intentionality as a primary emphasis of Hilton's writings, "characteristic of the older Augustinian tradition, in contrast with the reflective and deliberate juxtaposition of reason and will, intention and act, which we find in St. Thomas" ("Intention" 73-75). Hilton thus prefers a primitive unity of thought to a later, more subtle mode of spiritual and psychological analysis, which typically engages itself in multiplying polarities. The concept of a focused intention promotes simplification of doctrine throughout Hilton's *corpus*. In parallel, wholeness of intention functions as a dynamic centre of being in the spiritual aspirant, tending to unification of subjectivity. Hilton identifies it with charity and grace (Clark "Intention" 69-70), implying that this deep centre is each subject's conduit to the divine.

Integration of the individual will with the divine will is a vital principle and goal of most spiritual systems, reiterated by Rolle. For Hilton, obedience is the paradoxical path to freedom, defined not in political terms, but as joy, love and service of God and others. He thus evades the coercive dichotomy of anxiety and ambition, and shows others how to do so too.

However, like *The Cloud* and most of Rolle's writings, *The Scale* and other works by Hilton seek further unification through passionate, "feminine" desire, fixed one-pointedly on the divine. This too can be traced to St Augustine, who, as the *Cloud*-author recalls (Hodgson, ed. *The Cloud* 1958, 133.1-3), makes desire central to spiritual life.[5] Astell shows how later commentaries on the Canticle vitalised it as "the principle of emotive love, attraction, and (therefore) motivation" (13). Desire is as powerful in Hilton's thought as "masculine" intentionality.

In writing of and to the individuals he counselled and supported, Hilton chooses the key terms, *re-forming* in faith, *re-forming* in feeling. In a backwards Utopianism also developed from Augustinian tradition (Bonner 154-55), he longs to recover Paradisal perfection, the image and *likeness* of the divine in human form. His writings thus provide a platform for the reforming of Church and society. Their thrust, reversing Chaucer's and Langland's satire, is towards positive change, towards singleness and cohesion of profession and action, of inner and outer orientation and experience.

Hilton's relationship to his role as author diverges from Rolle's, who, as we have seen, bases his credentials on repeated narratives and poetic evocations of his contemplative experience. Acknowledgment of Hilton's voice and subjectivity comes and goes in his writings. Sometimes, influenced by the *dictamen* genre, he evokes spontaneous relationship with the recipients of his letters. Elsewhere his voice merges with the defensive political voice of the Church, or, in late works, implicitly derives authority from contemplative attainment. Hilton's

shifting authorial presence resists the modern sense of the individual already obvious in Rolle's self-presentation. However, it also fails to implement the pyramidal conception of author (parallel with the post-structuralist view of the divine as Author), fundamental to Western hegemony (Barthes 170).

Hilton's most appealing feature as a writer on contemplation is that he begins by attempting to reform himself. Often severe in pointing out the sins of others, he writes first for his own inspiration, to "stir myn oun negligence forto do better þen I haue don" (*Scale 1*, Ch. 92, Clark and Dorward 160, C 361a).[6] No wonder readers over so many generations have been uplifted by the uncontroversial Hilton, as his works provide idealised solutions to human ills, both personal and general.

Beyond the doctrines of intention and the divine image, his relaxed authorial stance, and his recourse to the Gospel foundations of the Church and the Pauline conception of Christian fellowship, Hilton's challenging adherence to tradition takes various forms. His theology is a "deliberately conservative Augustinianism," influenced by the intellectual climate of the University of Cambridge, his *alma mater* (Clark "Image and Likeness" 204; Emden 305-306), and oblivious to the radical philosophy of Ockham and his successors at Oxford. When in *Scale 2* he introduces apparent innovations to his view of contemplation, research reveals these to be a new synthesis of hints found already in an older tradition of monastic writers (Clark "Action and Contemplation" 259).

Tracy points to the "chasm" between authority and authoritarianism in the interpretation of tradition, between "obedience to an external norm" manifested as unmindful repetitions of "the shop-worn conclusions of the tradition" and "an acceptance based on a risk and a personal recognition of the authority of a living religious tradition" (99). Hilton's texts work out the implications of tradition for himself and his contemporaries in an age of crisis. Clark's notes

tracing patristic and monastic analogues reveal, not quotation, but a fluid adjustment of ideas and metaphors to a contemporary frame.

A further modification of a frequent judgment of Hilton argued here emphasises the intermeshing of works with specific circumstances and personalities, so that even the earliest texts are open to the spontaneous appropriateness of the divine. Hilton's letters and external evidence reveal that some recipients were caught up in the doctrinal and moral confusion generated by crisis. Hussey's argument in respect of *Mixed Life* (1980, 11-16) can therefore be expanded to the whole canon: Hilton variably adapted traditional materials in a genuine, free responsiveness to individuals and his community.

Publications by Gardner (1936, 13-15), Russell-Smith and Clark examine developments in Hilton's thinking on contemplation, as practised by actives and contemplatives. Their arguments deal mainly with *Scale 1*, *Scale 2*, and *Mixed Life*.[7] The present section traces these and other developments through the whole canon, analysing their significance in the immediate and broad social and economic context.

Chronological consideration of Hilton's writings uncovers strands of continuity as well as strands of difference. Conservative ecclesiology persists even in late works, such as *Eight Chapters on Perfection* and *Scale 2*. However, teaching on contemplation increases in scope throughout the *corpus*, and includes an element surpassing language-based "reality," mediated in part by the Church militant. As the texts open more and more to the divine, in response to the author's deepening *gnosis*, spontaneity in composition and content tends to displace formal structures and adherence to hierarchy.[8] There is less emphasis on external states of life, and more on inner attainment. The paradoxical view of freedom as service is progressively illuminated, as the writings delineate a flexible surrender to God's will, manifested moment by moment in the changing conditions of life.

In its occasional openness to feeling and "feminine" *excess*, in its defence of the Church as an ideal, in its valorising of wholeness of intention and desire in the individual, in its deconstruction of authorial authority, and its translation of traditional material into specific contemporary relevance, Hilton's canon often migrates to the borders of *logos* and socially determined "reality." Continuing conservative elements nevertheless reveal that his writings mediate the conformist, as well as the dissenting, modes of contemporary ideology.

Canon Lawyer to Solitary: *De Imagine Peccati*

In 1371 Hilton qualified at Cambridge as Bachelor of Civil Law. Progressing to the study of canon law, in the mid-1370s he probably enjoyed the patronage of the Bishop of Ely, later Archbishop Arundel (Jonathan Hughes 180; Clark 1992, 2-4). During the century canon law replaced theology as the preferred university discipline for those seeking financial reward or "prestige and high office in church and state" (Courtenay 40). This change broadly suggests an ideological retreat from the challenges posed to hegemony by free philosophical inquiry, led initially by Ockham and later by Wyclif. As seen, the rebels of 1381 singled out lawyers as a special target of resentment, while Wyclif's followers rebuked canon lawyers for being over-concerned with money and for supporting papal power (Hudson 1988, 379). On all these grounds, Hilton's chosen profession appears as an inherently conservative political stance (Clark, "Image and Likeness" 204). However, in 1381 or 1382, at the zenith, it may be noted, of national discontent, when he could have been qualified to incept as Doctor of Canon Law (Clark 1992, 3), Hilton left Cambridge to take up the life of a solitary.

This abrupt beginning to his inner pilgrimage, entailing renunciation of both ambition and anxiety, could have resulted from an intense conversion experience, as evoked in some of

his writings.[9] Hilton was nearly forty when he followed the transitional Franciscan paradigm which Rolle had implemented at eighteen. Even so, the parallel deserves more attention than it has received. As a solitary Hilton's status was probably similar to Rolle's - living without formal recognition on the borders of the ecclesiastical world, yet able to function as a confessor and spiritual director.[10] In Hilton's case these roles were probably facilitated by ordination[11] Although his earliest Latin letter surviving from this period is outwardly a conventional product of the phallocratic economy, its adaptation to circumstance and focus on central simple ideas, tending to the freedom of the divine, bespeak its genesis on the social margins.

Hilton chose the image of sin, basically the inordinate self-love which distorts the image of God as the true human form, as his subject (14-21).[12] This was a well-worn patristic topic,[13] but no source chronologically close to Hilton has been found.[14] He later re-envisages the *imago* as the *body* of sin (38, 278-81), to which, later still, he opposes the Church as Christ's mystical body (332). Hilton's motive for deploying these vivid traditional conceptions was probably pastoral (Gillespie "Idols and Images" 102-103), but he was also moved by a growth in self-knowledge consistent with an early stage of pilgrimage: "In consciencia propria ydolum reperi de meipso"[15] (11-12). Here, as often in *De Imagine Peccati*, he spontaneously applies traditional material to present cases.

Elaboration of the image or body takes the predictable form of a linear commentary on its members, the deadly sins, but small disruptions compromise the archetypal design.[16] Bloomfield's comment on the treatment of the sins in *The Scale*, that it is in "both familiar and unfamiliar fashion" (180), is broadly applicable to Hilton's *corpus*. Since confession under the categories of sins was arguably a key support of hegemony from 1215 (see Chapter 1 above), Hilton's frequent reformulations of the sins are a sign of authoritarian uncertainty when faced with the powerful subversive forces already described.

De Imagine Peccati has the appearance of a relatively uncomplicated ecclesiastical composition, lucidly argued under the conventions of *logos*, and a product of the author's prolonged academic training.[17] This orientation is privileged thematically, as in much of Hilton's writing, by the pre-eminence given to the reasoning faculty, described as "quod summum est"[18] (438). Hilton opposes reason to the body and imagination as sources of sin (114, 445-58), but also associates it with spiritual understanding (394-97). The long negative discussion of the sins leads into an exploration of the contrary operations of the bodily and spiritual senses (376-458), culminating in a series of solutions. These reformulate the image or body of sin which Christ will transform by grace, as promised in the opening sentence.[19] Both the aptness and the hopefulness of the ending, dotted with the phrases, "Confido...Non diffidas ergo...Confido...certissime spero...non diffidas"[20] (495, 502, 508, 534), are typical of Hilton's structures. An assemblage of Biblical quotations and reminiscences (474 ff.) confirms the encouragement offered, as the text expands beyond its entrenched dichotomies.

These dichotomies - image of sin, divine image; love of self, love of God; carnal and spiritual senses - nevertheless persist in rhetorical antitheses and balances. Other tropes or figures are chiasma and rhyme: "Dimisisti materiam, sed superbiam non vicisti"[21] (43-44); word-play: "cuius forma est informis et materia deformis"[22] (15); frequent *interrogationes*, which are however often answered, in a blending of rhetorical and scholastic modes (14, 15-16, 125-29, 185, 237, 301-302, 357-60, 407, 460 463, 479-80); *sermocinatio* (103-109, 505-506); and *exclamatio* (265-66, 367-68, 432, 466-67). Recurrent images enhance textual unity. Biblical passages function as "hooks" for imaginative sequences based on intense reading and meditation, as in the authoritative monastic exegetical tradition (Leclercq 1974, 90-93). *De Imagine Peccati* can therefore be accurately, though not adequately, described as monastic exegesis in a scholastic frame.

Its conventionality, however, may be questioned. The context refers to the dilemma of affluent but spiritually questionable clerical office, such as Rolle had habitually rebuked from the margins of the institution, and which Lollards were now beginning to criticise from a site well outside (Hudson 1988, 344-46). The recipient, whose name is unknown, has renounced just such status: "beneficia ecclesiastica, honores et diuicias"[23] (40-41), which seem to have stemmed in his case, as in Arundel's (Aston 1967, 6-7), from exalted family connections: "edificia magna et superflua contempsisti"[24] (285; cf. 49-50). *De Imagine Peccati* therefore advises its reader on how to negotiate an abrupt transition from wealth to poverty, from an engaged, active life to a detached contemplative one. A pragmatic purpose exerts a pressure potentially opposed to literary refinement as a feature of the *dictamen* genre.

The contextual specificity is increased by a sense that Hilton's accusations, which so vividly illuminate self-deception, are addressed as much to himself as to his pupil: "amas teipsum illicite, excusas te apud te, blandiris tibiipsi, et consentis suggestionibus tuis"[25] (31-32). Imaginative renderings of the recipient's (or the author's) habitual thinking reinforce such accusations.[26] For example, Hilton exemplifies gluttony and its effects from personal experience (368-75).[27] His subjectivity encompasses the text, obliterating the formal hierarchical distance between adviser and pupil in an overlapping or coincident identification. Deconstruction of writerly authority takes a more conventional shape in disclaimers of spiritual accomplishment, seen in references to Hilton's spiritual blindness (4) and his entertaining of the sinful idol (11-13).

The specificity of writer's and recipient's situation and the control exerted by Hilton's subjectivity give an innovative twist to the discussion of covetousness in *De Imagine Peccati*. This opens with an extended definition of true poverty - not only renunciation of riches, or of the expectation of a moderately comfortable security, but a willingness to endure physical

wretchedness patiently, "et cum necesse est gaudere de illa"[28] (284-300). Hilton always maintained his admiration for the severe Franciscan ideal frequently praised by Rolle, an ideal which transcended both the Church's determination to uphold its possessions and Wycliffite pressure for disendowment. The account of covetousness continues with an attack on spiritual pride incident upon solitary life.[29] Hilton's longing for a more human and social spirituality is obvious, and there is a reversal of the traditional evaluation of contemplative over active life (Butler 232-36, 250-53): "Timendum est nobis ne proiciamur vbi nullus est ordo, sed sempiternus orror" (327-28).[30] Adjectives applied to contemplative status continue to be negatively poised (341-43), and the assertion that all who are humble, whether contemplatives or actives, belong to the Church (343-44), is strong enough to suggest an unstated contrary possibility.

The imagery used in *De Imagine Peccati* to convey the subtle shapes of sin and the deceptively simple concept of spiritual progress,[31] includes strands which depict a movement from servitude or bondage to freedom. References to the tyrannical idol of the self, and to the yoke of sin adhering to the bones, are frequent in earlier sections.[32] The imagery of the yoke, which refers implicitly to its obverse, the yoke of Christ (Matt. 11.30), is finally readjusted to the parable of the reluctant guest with the five yoke of oxen (Luke 14.19). Hilton here varies the traditional exegesis of the oxen as the physical senses (435, notes 355-56; cf. *Scale 1*, Ch. 82, 152, C 352b), by insisting that the heavy yoke of sensual sins is borne both involuntarily as a result of the Fall, and voluntarily through consent (432-44). The main emphasis, summarising the whole discussion of the spiritual and bodily senses, is nevertheless on the possibility of freedom: "Magna esset libertas mentis si istis sensibus spiritualibus continue habundaret" (428-29).[33] The images of idol and yoke are fused in the letter's conclusion ("pro graui iugo ydoli

huius"[34] 503), when Hilton promises his reader that both will be shattered, "Gracia Dei per Ihesum Christum" (494-507).

In fact, in a work predominantly gloomy and denunciatory, full of passionate scatological imagery for sin and the body worthy of Rolle, and reflecting, as Gardner (1937, 110) and Clark (intro. 69) suggest, Hilton's unhappiness at the time of writing, spiritual joy and freedom provide an unexpected but powerful sub-theme. This surfaces in rhetorical praise of the violent desire which storms heaven (271-77), the remedy of *accidia*. The discussion of spiritual senses contains a precise and heartening definition of *melos*, utilising Rolle's vocabulary, and presupposing identification with his experience:

> Audires eciam laudes Dei sine sono corporis, puro intellectu mentis, ab omni creatura dulci modulamine decantatas. Non mireris hoc. Si enim omnis creatura Deum laudet, non dubium quin si tuus intellectus foret purgatus, harum preconia laudum intima suauitate velut melos celicum aure cordis quam liquide perciperes.[35] (399-403)

Language applied to spiritual taste similarly recalls Rolle's references to *dulcor* (408-412), and the account quotes a favourite Rolle text - 1 Cor. 2.15 - on the spiritual person who judges but is not judged (419-20; see above, Ch. 6, 93). In terms of the current analysis, both writers imply that such a person is ultimately free from social construction.

The descriptions of illumination through the spiritual senses culminate in the assertion: "Nichil Deo presencius nobis est."[36] (425), and finally in a supremely encouraging identification of individual being with the divine: "Ipse enim esse tuum est, vita tua est, sensus et racio tua est"[37] (427). The concepts of freedom and spiritual joy thus develop in tandem through *De Imagine Peccati* to culminate in the possibility of human realisation of the divine nature. The argument is not monistic or pantheistic in intention, but the shape of the text produces striking parallels with Shaivite philosophy. Hilton applies the nexus between freedom and the divine to individuals sharing his experience of solitary life.

Some features therefore justify a view of *De Imagine Peccati* as a product of *logos* and ecclesiastical culture. Opposed to these features are others, less obvious but accessible to analysis, which mark the work as composed on the social margin inhabited actually and discursively by Rolle. The letter refers with approval to Rolle's characteristic experiences of song and sweetness. Hilton partially deconstructs his own authority as author and spiritual adviser, thereby departing from a fundamental social paradigm. His discussion of the sins actively adapts tradition to his own and his correspondent's circumstances as solitaries. Finally, an important strand of imagery and argument presents spiritual progress as a movement to freedom, to joyful spirituality and the divine, as realities which traverse institutional bounds.

Solitary to Augustinian Canon: *Epistola de Utilitate et Prerogativis Religionis*

Written between 1382 and 1386, while Hilton was still a solitary, *Epistola de Utilitate et Prerogativis Religionis* nevertheless anticipates his decision to exchange indefinite status for the recognised role of an Augustinian Canon. *De Imagine Peccati* is arguably a personal letter, but *Epistola* is an overtly official work, intended for a wider readership than the named recipient, Adam Horsley (463-64).[38] Its survival in thirteen manuscripts, approaching the totals for *Mixed Life* and *Þe Prickynge of Love*,[39] and exceeding those for Hilton's other Latin writings,[40] suggests that a reasonable number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century readers resorted to it for guidance. This invites questioning of Gardner's comment that *Epistola de Utilitate* "is not very interesting in itself" (1937, 111).

An official intent is confirmed by formal aspects, including complex but orderly and well sign-posted arguments (see Clark 1985, 2-9), sometimes introduced through imagined objections

(699, 741) and presented, more often than in *De Imagine Peccati*, in long, formally-constructed sentences.[41] An elevated introduction celebrates Horsley's discovery of his Carthusian vocation in a burst of fire and light metaphors, but later scriptural analogues and images are conventional, and fewer than in *De Imagine Peccati*.[42] Scholastic imperatives prevail over the emotive aspects of *dictamen*. Preconceived authoritarian instruction limits the imaginative range (see further Gardner 1933, 144-45).

The instruction is nevertheless articulated in an interplay between official and personal voices, and shifts produced by addressing different audiences make *Epistola de Utilitate* a complex text to site ideologically. In response to immediate circumstances in the form of a letter received (2), Hilton specifically addresses Horsley and his Carthusian vocation.[43] He writes more generally to those like himself, in transition to other orders, or already professed, and points to the essential identity of orders, despite differences in external observances (163-66). Finally, in a passage reminiscent of the preamble to the Augustinian Rule (Dickinson 8), he addresses the opponents of "private religion." He defends regular orders as a re-creation of Apostolic purity and devotion (96-133, notes 365; cf. 888-90), and attributes error and heresy to spiritual pride (286-87). "In malicia nostrorum temporum,"[44] he places his hope for the recovery of Apostolic perfection, not, like Rolle, in solitary saints, but in religious orders founded in charity, which always persists perfect in itself (151-60). The whole argument is orthodox, but references to spirit, love and grace enliven and enlighten rigid structures and complex logical systems.

The long opening assertion of the value of vowed religious life (41-94) subsumes Hilton's voice in repetition of the Church's teaching, partly as mediated by Pope Urban II: "Hec enim verba sunt ecclesie militantis"[45] (94-95, cf. 42 and 80). It is typical of Hilton's ecclesiastical idealism that his only specific papal reference is to Pope Urban, a respected

reformer of the eleventh-century Church. The opening contrasts with Hilton's exposition of his own perspective, centrally placed between an account of the origins and utility of "religion" (95-449) and a list of counsels on attitudes to adopt upon entering a religious order (512-849).

Hilton's indeterminacy at a transitional period in his life here stands out clearly. He admits the insecurity of his authorial role, as someone recommending communal religious life without having experienced it (459-68), but explains that he does not feel "that spiritual and fervent desire to enter, inspired by divine grace" (471-72), in the way it needs to be felt. He desires to be the servant of the least religious in God's Church, hoping that God's grace will make him a participant (477-79). Later, however, he asks rhetorically why he should not persevere in the vocation of solitary, if God has ordained this for him (504-507). In its refusal of closure, matched by the primacy it gives to divine inspiration, the discussion contrasts vividly with the interleaved scholastic arguments and official discourses. An intensely personal logic in fact predetermines the official framework of the whole epistle. Hilton sequentially sets out the value of religious life, dramatises his current indecision before entry, and forecasts the need for purification of intention and solutions to difficulties attending the transition.

From a modern perspective Hilton's orientation to community offers an attractive counter to Rolle's elitism, which catered, as shown above, to the evolving bourgeois individualism of his era. *Epistola de Utilitate* details a Pauline and Augustinian ideal of the Church (479-91). Just as it describes men working at different vocations in the mystical body, finally merging in the perfect man, "in mensuram etatis plenitudinis Christi"[46] (491), so references to saints and solitaries, seculars, Carthusians and other monks, bring together a variety of callings within the bounds of the text. It is this emergent ideal of the Church as a community founded by and having its end in Christ which makes *Epistola de Utilitate* a powerful institutional document.

However, the text contrasts this ideal with intricate contemporary rankings and divisions. It brings ideological polarities together by presenting the Church as both heavenly and maternal.

Specific arguments support ecclesiastical powers, such as remission of sin and indulgences (366-89), and observances, such as the vigils, prayers, and psalmody prescribed by religious orders (687-98). Many of these were currently subject to Wycliffite attack. Hilton reminds his readers that decisions of the Church militant are ratified by the Church triumphant (80-81, 413-26). By insisting on this aspect of common doctrine, which a central Wycliffite strategy rejected (Hudson 1988, 315), *Epistola* forestalls incipient Utopian longings for transcendental justice, such as are evident in Rolle's writings. Not love alone, but also formal profession in the Church militant determines status in heaven. Hilton nevertheless reveals that in his case adherence to the Church is a matter of faith, thereby reducing, in parallel with Ockham, complex rationality to the singleness of personal choice: "Credat qui velit, ego fateor me simpliciter credere verbis ecclesie hoc dicentis, que neminem fallit"[47] (390-91).

Other aspects of Hilton's ecclesiology are only ambiguously official. The epistle's thesis states that, subject to vocation and grace, no nearer means for perfecting humanity in love of God and neighbour exists than the order and state of regular religion (41-43). As precisely the view which Rolle denied in his writing against monks (see Chapter 3 above), this supports a reading of Hilton's imminent profession as a retreat to the centre. However the statement also implicitly repeats opposition in *De Imagine Peccati* to the pre-eminence given to the solitary contemplative state. *Epistola de Utilitate* later judges this view in practical terms, exemplifying the challenge which the lively pastoral genesis of Hilton's work could pose to traditional categorisations.[48]

Although Hilton is more orderly and comprehensive than Rolle in his methods of argument, the epistle resembles Rolle's works in its frequent returns to the cultivation of love

of God as the one essential thing. A comment on formalism, which is one of the few implied criticisms of contemporary Church life in Hilton's works, clarifies this orientation.[49] Hilton's practical effectiveness as a spiritual director is again evident in a sequence which encourages the reader to understand and correct impurity of intention.[50] The letter's formal conclusion collapses the subsidiary arguments, against which purity of intention is to be tested, into advice on love and salvation.[51]

Against a bishop's withholding of permission for Horsley to join the Carthusians, *Epistola de Utilitate* argues that the Holy Spirit's leading of the individual to such excellent works (80-91) takes precedence over episcopal authority. The point is again relevant to Hilton, who may have anticipated opposition to his own change in status. As in *De Imagine Peccati*, his emphasis is on spiritual freedom.[52]

The epistle's first major section, on the uses of formal religious profession, argues for obedience as an antidote to pride (184-88), and as a defence from despair and the spiritual presumption which leads to errors and heresies, fantasies and even madness (256-339). That obedience is nevertheless primarily a means for obtaining heavenly joy, is revealed in the second major section, on intention, where it is united with love through the sustained, semi-comical simile of the ass, "currens voluntarie ad triturum omnium laborum corporalium et spiritualium tibi iniunctorum...cum gaudio spiritus ex pura mentis affeccione et feruore dileccionis, iudicans temetipsum quasi bouem vel asinum"[53] (653-57). The effect of such advice on the broad groupings of regulars, seculars, and potential heretics addressed in the letter's first section might well be considered socially retrogressive, in that complaint and resistance are denied. However, in the focused context of spiritual progress emerging in the second half, the idea of a paradoxical freedom to be won through such surrender is persuasive and alluring. This notion, which is foreshadowed in the epistle's opening sentence,[54] is reinforced by the powerful application of

a second traditional exemplum of humility, when Hilton judges David's dancing and leaping before the Ark in self-forgetfulness, "tanquam vnum de scurris,"[55] as more admirable than his many great works in freeing his people (808-815; 2 Sam. 6. 14-23, notes 377). Both analogies propose a passage through ordinary social consciousness into the freedom of the divine.

Epistola de Utilitate anticipates Hilton's decision to migrate to the centre of Church life as a regular canon in its predominantly scholastic form, its adaptation of patristic theology and exegesis, and its enthusiasm for the Church as an ideal congregation, founded by Christ. Despite its central defence of religious orders, the argument is not dominated by anti-Wycliffite polemic, since it interleaves circumstantial, personal addresses with official doctrine. Hilton's acknowledgment of authorial insecurity, and his indecision, which determines structure, both deconstruct authoritarian paradigms. His emphasis on the value of communal religious life challenges traditional ecclesiastical privileging of solitary contemplative status. Aspects of the analogies and arguments adduced, including those on intention and obedience, penetrate sophisticated logic, to arrive at the singleness and freedom of Spirit, faith, and love. Like *De Imagine Peccati*, therefore, *Epistola de Utilitate* contains elements which reflect its author's liminal social positioning at the time of writing.

Chapter Fifteen

ATTAINING THE PALACE BEAUTIFUL:

LATIN WRITINGS AT THURGARTON PRIORY

Hilton entered Thurgarton Priory as an Augustinian canon between 1384 and 1386. The nature of the canonical orders has been much debated, and the grounds for his choice were probably complex.

Pragmatically, he may have felt an affinity with the canons' interest in canon law, which they used to safeguard their place in the ecclesiastical structure (Bynum 1982, 30). Their view of their origins, where they "sought to revive something that went behind the [Benedictine] Rule, behind even the organized church - back to the Bible" (Southern 1970, 241), in fact, to the apostles, prefigured by Aaron and the Levites (Bynum *ibid.* 29), would have appealed to Hilton's radical traditionalism. Some writers refer to canons as chiefly interested in sacraments and ecclesiology, and praise the Augustinian order for its "judicious, undogmatic temper" and for its involvement in parish work (Dickinson 178, 227; Jonathan Hughes 211). According to Southern, the reasonableness of the canons' rule enabled them to merge unobtrusively with ordinary Church life, despite their large numbers (1970, 247-49), a factor which would have appealed to Hilton's humility. Underhill cites evidence that Thurgarton was "intimately concerned with local affairs; and its inhabitants would have ample opportunity for contact with secular life" (1923, vii-xi). If these views are correct, Hilton's choice of an order would have fulfilled the impulse to service of the Christian community evident in his earliest Latin letters.

On the other hand, *Epistola de Utilitate* admires the heroically austere, semi-eremitic Carthusians as spiritual leaders (32-34), and their order as pre-eminent (571-74). Given his earlier commitment to liminal solitary life, Hilton is unlikely to have chosen a religious community which did not encourage contemplation, and it is significant that canons were

described as hermits in clerical habits (Bynum *ibidem* 32-34). Referring to the twelfth century, Bynum deduces that their lifestyle was similar to monks', but transformed by an enhanced concern for the moral and spiritual upliftment of others (57-58), seen in a continuing tradition of vernacular pastoral writing.[1] Hilton's works reflect these priorities. They reveal that, living as an Augustinian canon, he still participated in eremitical liminality.

The five works now usually dated to Hilton's early years at Thurgarton in the late 1380s[2] build on his earlier writings in that *Epistola de Leccione, Intencione, Meditacione et Aliis* and *Mixed Life* continue the genre of letters written for individuals, while *Scale 1* is a schematic reworking and extension of the Latin letters.

Hilton conducted literary experiments during this period. He adapted the mode of a scholastic *quæstio* in a mildly polemical anti-Wycliffite work, *De Adoracione Ymaginum*, and translated the devotional compilation centred on James of Milan's *Stimulus Amoris*, under the title, *Þe Prickynge of Love*.[3] The formal diversity and innovation displayed in the writings of his seminal middle period reveal the spontaneity of divine flow.

Also probably to be included among the writings of these years is a Latin letter written to a Gilbertine nun. The contents of this are known only through an English commentary composed soon after the letter itself and preserved uniquely in British Library MS. Harley 2406.[4] The commentary's existence suggests that the choice of Latin for the original may not have been entirely appropriate.[5] Hilton's habit of writing in answer to aspects of his own spiritual progress supports a dating of "Lost Letter" to early in his life as a canon, since it deals with the theory and practice of a conventual novitiate. There are also similarities of argument with *Epistola de Utilitate*.[6]

Since Hilton would have applied to himself the advice on religious obedience which he gave to Horsley and the nun, he is likely to have composed some of his writings in this period

at the request of ecclesiastical superiors. There is strong presumptive evidence that the Prior of Thurgarton, who, in response to the presence of the noted Lollard, Nicholas Hereford, in Nottinghamshire, had received a secular warrant in 1388 for "the arrest, examination and imprisonment of persons holding heretical opinions" (Russell-Smith 1954, 203), ordered the writing of *De Adoracione* (Clark 1991, 16). Whether or not Hilton's epistles and tracts of these years were ordered by the Church has implications for his subject position as author. The possibility of appropriation by the institutional "voice," allied with Hilton's authorial self-abnegation prompted by humility, makes the continuing strong influence of subjective experience on the shape and content of his writings all the more noteworthy.

De Adoracione Ymaginum

As an argument against a specific Lollard doctrine, *De Adoracione Ymaginum* is Hilton's most overtly institutional work, providing a bench-mark against which his personal and contemplative writings may be measured. His other Latin works from this period display a decreasing interest in external ecclesiastical forms. Official status is confirmed by the preservation of *De Adoracione Ymaginum*, separately from other works by Hilton, in manuscripts of pastoral instruction for priests and codices of anti-heretical writings.[7] Textual annotations in Trinity College Cambridge MS. B. 15.23 reveal that the tractate participated in the discursive interchange between the orthodox and heretics into the fifteenth century, when official persecution of Lollards was most intense (Clark and Taylor 60).

The representation of the Church in *De Adoracione* is both authoritarian and idealised. Hilton refutes a list of six propositions against images, initially and principally through the "auctoritas et consuetudo ecclesie vniuersalis."[8] The Church can be mistaken about facts

reported by the senses, but cannot err in matters of faith, law and reason (123-31). References to St. Gregory's defence of images (253-71), and to miracles associated with them (272-77) further support ecclesiastical authority. The tractate approves incidentally official veneration of saints and sacraments (237-39, 247-52), apparently against Lollard attack.[9] In responding to the objection that simple people hazard their salvation when they worship images instead of the spiritual reality they represent, Hilton maintains that such people are excused by their belief that they are following Church teaching (530-58). This reinstates the institution as a refuge from individual responsibility. The argument finally recommends all forms of authority as God-given, when it defines *dulia* as service owed to, "the Pope, bishops and other prelates, kings and princes and other temporal lords," whether (in an anti-Wycliffite aside) these are good or bad (652-60).

Hilton's adherence to the radical, transforming aspect of tradition surfaces in his recreation in *De Adoracione* of an ideal foundational Church, setting up images as a meaningful record of things past and absent, Christ's deeds and those of the saints (155-85).[10] Although liberal views on the issue were current,[11] Hilton reasserts a pre-Thomist view (Clark and Dorward 178 note 251) in seeing no salvation for Jews or pagans, however righteous (*De Adoracione* 79-91). His return to strictest doctrine reflects the embattled position of the Church in the 1380s, and is another example of his faith in the primitive ideal, under which the Church was nothing if not a defence against paganism.

The conception of physical images as representations of longed-for ideals parallels Hilton's repetition of Augustine's notion of the triune soul as the *Imago Dei*, obscured by the image of sin, but still the dwelling-place of the hidden Christ (Clark "Image and Likeness," 207-10). *De Imagine Peccati* (14-36), *Epistola de Leccione* (26-56), and *Scale 1* (Ch. 43) all emphasise different aspects of this nexus of ideas. The key significance for Hilton is the reforming of the soul, through the grace of Christ's redemptive love, to a likeness (a "schadue,"

he writes in *Scale 1*, Ch. 46) of the divine image occluded at the Fall. The ending of *De Adoracione* opens out, with typical Hiltonian optimism based on St. Paul, into the foretelling of a future in which signs (presumably all levels of *similitudines* and *figuræ*) will be done away, when "we will see Christ as he is, after we are transformed into the image of the invisible God" [12] (693-95). This recalls the purification of *matrika*, in its descended form the delusionary power of language, leading to realisation of the divine, envisaged in Kashmir Shaivism. The concept of the divine image in humans, foundational to Hilton's representation of Augustinian theology, is the main creative link between *De Adoracione* and his other writings, explaining why he chose to focus on this facet of heretical belief.

A deliberate adherence to the purity of tradition is also evident in the method adopted in *De Adoracione* for sequentially rebutting the exaggerated false *contras* listed in scholastic fashion at the beginning. This is the ancient method of monastic exegesis, by which the New Testament perfects the Old through a process of evolution.[13] Thus *De Adoracione* rebuts the *contra* citing the Decalogue's prohibition of idol worship by referring to the Incarnation, which enabled the Church's images to represent not God, but God's assumed human nature (379-94). The heathen idol worship condemned in the Old Testament is shown to differ fundamentally from the Church's altruistic worship of God incarnate (441-52). Four of the six *responsiones* make the Incarnation a final point of reference, thus merging scholastic form with monastic principle.

De Adoracione further evokes the ideal institution in its only effective and developed images, which again are profoundly traditional.[14] The dominant metaphor presents the Church emotively as a dutiful mother, anxious to care for the weakest and smallest of her children (170-76, 191-204). In this she acts like Christ, her husband, who calls the weak and carnal, as well

as the sound and strong, to his banquet (206-213). The passage represents a "feminine" expansion of the tractate's predominantly scholastic spirit, directed by *logos*.

The idealised logic of Hilton's arguments is further clarified by reference to their context in the literal practices of the Church, by which statues of saints were painted in luminous, vision-like colours, clothed, and fitted with mechanical devices, so that they could bleed, change expression, talk, or move limbs (Wakelin 1985, 76-86). Some Church governors clearly encouraged faith in the images themselves rather than in what they represented. *De Adoracione Ymaginum* opposes such practices by recalling the pure form of doctrine, at the same time as it rejects holistic Lollard opposition to images. The attitude to "simplices et laici," reverted to in the tractate's conclusion (676), has a markedly Franciscan appeal. It restates Hilton's maternal care for the whole community of Christians, tacitly recalling those in charge to a higher sense of their duties.

That Hilton did not regard the careful scholastic form of *De Adoracione* as fixed is shown by his apparently casual late insertion of Ch. 89 (ed. Buytært) from John Damascene's *De Fide Orthodoxa* (296-369; notes 385-86), to bolster arguments from authority intervening between the *contras* and *responsiones*. The addition attests the tractate's primarily practical purpose. It joins with the traditional exegetical mode, emotive imagery, and the concluding reference to the divine as the final objective of both images in churches and human images of God, to exert an expansive pressure on the scholastic shape of Hilton's most blatantly official writing.

Lost Letter to a Gilbertine Nun

The commentary preserved in British Library MS. Harley 2406 offers guidance on both the contents of Hilton's original Latin letter and the contemporary reception of his writings. The

expositor opens by referring to "my worschipfulle fader Water Hilton" (2), a terminology which, by contrast with habitual designations of Rolle as "hermit of Hampole," implies Hilton's containment in an ecclesiastical role. In his short independent introduction and conclusion (1-6, 22-26), the expositor employs balance, antithesis, a doublet, metaphors, a proverb, a paradox, and *diminutio* - an orientation to rhetoric which seems to have affected his representation of Hilton's work. Thus the neatness and aptness of the metaphors and similes employed in the central report[15] are more characteristic of Hilton's writing than is their precedence over argument, even though an adequate outline of a logically ordered discussion is given. That the expositor indeed "expone[s]" (1) rather than merely translates or summarises is seen in the comparatively frequent occurrence of Latin (7, 21-22, 26) and English (63, 74) proverbs, which reduce the thought of the original for easy assimilation in an everyday context.

Hilton's letter evidently contained a strong institutional bias, seen in references which the commentary retains to differences of state within the Church: ordinary baptised (11-14), professed religious (14-15), and priests (69-73); in the importance given to baptism, confession (65-79) and priestly office; and in the warnings against "errores and mysbyleue" (79), being "singulere ne to soleyne" (108), finding out "new tydinges" and defending "new oppynyounes" (112-113). However the expositor's statement that the five rules of good living are "acordyng to þe persone þat þis letter was mad to" (28-29), is borne out by a warning against over-scrupulous confession (73-79), and an explanation of when judgment of others is innocent, or venial or mortal sin (89-101). An element of adjustment to circumstances, and even spontaneity, is therefore present. Extended chivalric imagery and reiterated referral to Christ of the individual and general spiritual issues raised are typical of Hilton's idealism, further justifying the inference that his letter as written offered more than mere "rules."

Epistola de Leccione, Intencione, Oracione, Meditacione et Aliis

From his official position within an established order, Hilton addresses *Epistola de Leccione* to

a recipient who, like Horsley and the unnamed Gilbertine nun, was negotiating at the time a

major life transition. However, unlike Horsley and the nun, the priest for whom he wrote

Epistola de Leccione had had extensive experience of liminal conditions, and had probably been

for a time a heretic (Clark and Taylor 215). This letter thus has a special interest as a first-hand

commentary on the *limen*, which, as the undefined area on the edges of orthodoxy from which

heresies arose, was a major threat to the political and economic supremacy of the "universal"

Church in the late fourteenth century.[16] *Epistola de Leccione* is concerned with confirming the

recipient's loyalty to ecclesiastical ideology, following his repositioning within Church

structures as an enclosed anchorite or a Carthusian.[17] The institutional aim is nevertheless

contained within the epistle's central purpose, which is to advise the recipient on his spiritual

development. Because the recipient is an acknowledged dissident who recently adopted

contemplative status, *Epistola de Leccione* becomes the first work in which Hilton refers to most

spiritual stages. Its successful adaptation to these circumstances preludes the accomplishments

of *Scale 1* and *Scale 2*.[18]

A similar idealising of the Church through tradition occurs as in earlier letters. Just as

Epistola de Utilitate advises readers to consult Gregory, Bernard, Anselm, Hugh of St. Victor

and Thomas Aquinas on the efficacy of professed religion (453-61), so *Epistola de Leccione*

recommends Richard of St. Victor and Bernard on how to elude diabolic deceptions in

contemplation (125-29). The epistle validates priestly recitation of the canonical Hours, which,

like the sacraments of baptism and ordination, derives its efficacy from the faith and merits of

the Church, phrases often repeated (301-61). Hilton directs this teaching specifically against

heretics (347-51) and against any contemplative "qui spiritum libertatis adeptum se putat"[19] (351-52). This may refer, as Clark argues, to the heresy of the Free Spirit associated with the Beghards and Beguines.[20] The letter gives a new institutional twist to Hilton's reservations about solitary life, by pointing out the spiritual dangers inherent in the recipient's solitary state (159-65). It adds the traditional analogy of the woman of Canaan to the accumulation of maternal imagery idealising the Church (notes 411), and mobilises even more powerful metaphors against his correspondent's flirtations with error: "in monte similate uirtutis spiritualiter incestans inebriatus absinthio erroris fragiliter corruisti"[21] (7-8).

As author in *Epistola de Leccione*, Hilton begins at a marked emotional distance, not rejoicing over the recipient's contemplative vocation as in *Epistola de Utilitate*, but pleading, "in visceribus Ihesu Christi"[22] (1-2), that he will walk in it worthily. He then proceeds, as spiritual director, to reprove the recipient's faults: instability, pride, self-exaltation, singularity, curiosity, inordinate self-love, fleshly affections, fear and shame (57-115). The list is enlivened by reference to their last conversation, in which Hilton was "not fully pleased" by his pupil's high-flown imagination in seeking out other matters than the well-defined way of truth (85-91). The discussion implies a *Cloud*-like suspicion of curiosity (see Section 3 below). Although the recipient has taken up a solitary vocation out of shame, he may, like St. Paul, redeem a poor beginning and win salvation (65-82). From this point Hilton begins to exchange his authoritarian ecclesiastical role for that of fellow-sinner (118, 130, 224, 393-96, 438). The specificity of his advice plays against the numerous institutional discourses active in the letter.

The evolving relationship between author and recipient just outlined governs the whole argument, which consists of sequential denials of complexity and separation, and an intensifying focus on radical simplicity, preliminary to deep contemplation and union with the divine. The goal is announced in the first sentence: "ut digne ambules *Deo*"[23] (2), and *Epistola* repeatedly

advocates a referral of complex feelings and singular notions to Christ and the Church. Especially if the recipient feels "a fire burning in his inward parts," he is neither to believe nor reject, but submit his feeling to the Church's faith (153-59). Later the epistle contrasts divine with diabolic fire (191-223). Experience of both is to be referred, simply and repetitively, to Christ: "ad Christum redeas" (192); "Redeamus ad Christum" (224); "recurre ad Christum" (229); "humiliter subieceris te Christo"[24] (236). The climax is an exhortation to awaken Christ, so that the indwelling Christ may be perfectly formed and strengthened (450-51), reactivating the organising principle of *Epistola de Utilitate*. Hilton finally commits his "multa uerba...sed modicam sentenciam - Christo meo"[25] (470-75).

Hilton's view of Rolle's characteristic experience remains open, but he voices more caution than in *De Imagine Peccati*. *Epistola de Leccione* emphasises the simplicity "and as it were stupidity" of a faith which knows nothing but Jesus Christ (232-33), as a defence against intellectual illuminations "producing opinions and heresies," perverse dogmas or fantasies (139, 159-72). Such advice protects ecclesiastical authority, but simultaneously advocates progress to a point of unity beyond the divided hegemonies inherent in language and society.

Many passages confirm this interpretation. Following Matthew and the Song of Songs, the letter defines the goal of contemplation in terms of naked simplicity.[26] The primary instrument is wholeness of intention, which must seek its rest in God, "intensa et extensa in Deum"[27] (253), and not in any intermediate end (254-57). Reason will then be transformed into wisdom (265-66). Withdrawn from the multiplicity of temporal things, the "point of the mind"("aciem mentis") is directed towards God, "[velut in quoddam summum quod non]dum uides per intellectum nec sentis per affectum"[28] (290). The end of this "ceca palpacio"[29] (429) is rest and freedom in prayer and meditation (296-97), outstripping words (299-300).[30] The deceptiveness of language-based "reality" is further suggested by Hilton's earliest use of the

paradox of the false light of carnal and worldly experience, which is truly recognised on first entering into contemplation to be, "fossam abissum, scilicet proprie cecitatis - chaos magnum mentem tuam a vera luce diuidens"[31] (24-25; cf. 26-39).

Epistola de Leccione repeats the paradoxical Christian insight, associating private prayer with a deceptive liberty (305, 335, 351-52), but affirming obedience to the Church in recitation of the Hours as the path to true freedom. The image of the yoke of sin, repeated from *De Imagine Peccati*, conveys a passionate longing for such freedom (393-95). The goal is confirmed in a metaphor from Isaiah which crowns the letter's pervasive emphasis on spiritual effort: "Assume pennas oracionis et me[d]itacionis, agnicionis et deuocionis, ut aquila superiora petens. Sic labora et non deficies"[32] (468-69).

Despite derivation of some of their doctrine and expression from his earlier writings, the Latin works which Hilton composed soon after joining the Thurgarton community mark a distinct evolutionary stage in his *corpus*. Consideration as above, in a likely order of composition, reveals a declining interest in external ecclesiastical forms, linked with a growing emphasis on the inner life. *Epistola de Leccione* textualises the contemplative progression from complexity to simplicity, finally to posit a free transcendence of linguistic and institutional structures. Despite its composition as an ecclesiastical text, aimed at recalling a wanderer to institutional obedience, *Epistola* contrasts in this respect with *De Adoracione* which pervasively supports such structures. All three works refer contemplative experience, and even (*Epistola de Leccione*) textuality itself, to Christ, as the divine omega point. Although they retain a clear academic shape, adaptation for pastoral purposes increases through the writings in the order discussed, and the imaginative dimension expands: imagery is a significant vehicle of doctrine in "Lost Letter" and *Epistola de Leccione*. The changes mediated by the Latin letters reflect

Hilton's inward pilgrimage, as he explored potentialities and limitations inherent in his churchmanship. From this point he often wrote in English, for an audience of unordained and lay devotees and contemplatives, situated both within and beyond formal Church boundaries.

Chapter Sixteen

IN SIGHT OF THE DELECTABLE MOUNTAINS:

ENGLISH WRITINGS AT THURGARTON

Probably in response to the spiritual needs of women excluded from Latin education, Hilton chose English as the language of major works composed in his early years as a canon. In *Scale 1* he travelled the route charted by *Ancrene Wisse*[1] and familiarised by Rolle's English epistles. *Scale 1* is nevertheless innovatory in its literary and historical context as an expression of Hilton's maturing moral and spiritual philosophy. Although it is an epistle addressed to an anchoress, he intended it for other readers as well, including those in active life. As the earliest English work to deal schematically with the whole course of an aspirant's spiritual development (Russell-Smith 1959, 142; Clark 1991, 33), it expands the *dictamen* genre beyond the changes instituted by Rolle and by Hilton in earlier Latin letters. Extant in English in forty-five manuscripts, *Scale 1* catered for lay and clerical readers of differing ranks and occupations (Jonathan Hughes 101-102), many of whom were learning self-reliance in spiritual as in other matters, as a result of structural uncertainties in society and the Church.

Hilton may have written *Scale 1* partly in response to an invitation from superiors to schematise doctrines expounded for individuals in *De Imagine Peccati*, *Epistola de Utilitate*, "Lost Letter" and *Epistola de Leccione*. Jonathan Hughes argues that, following Arundel's translation to the see of York in 1388, Hilton joined a circle of northern clerics assisting in the administration and pastoral care of the diocese (175, 184-86; 209-14). It is inconceivable however that his other English works of this period, *Mixed Life* and *Þe Prickynge of Love*, were composed at ecclesiastical request. Although dissimilar, both these works are new, unofficial and liminal in conception and form.

The Scale of Perfection, **Book 1**

Scale 1 retains the orderly scholastic frame of Hilton's Latin letters, dividing discourse and impeding flow in a series of sections and brief chapters, a reverse of Rolle's method in *Melos Amoris.*[2] Further features of *logos* include a predilection for balance and moderation; a valorising of reason; and a goal of completeness in addressing a subject. The latter is obvious in the opening section, which describes the stages of contemplation. *Scale 1* provides in simple language a comprehensive theological foundation for contemplative practice.[3]

Other features evade *logos,* some by lateral movement. These consist of circumstantial elements, including direction to a female recipient, who, in contrast with Hilton's other correspondents except the Gilbertine nun, was one of the unlearned and disempowered of the Christian congregation.[4] "Feminine" emotive features associated in this study with Rolle enliven and disrupt the text. Also among humanising elements resistant to *logos* are aspects of Hilton's self-representation, which indicate a deeper dimension to his authorial personality than the roles of spiritual director and ecclesiastical apologist. Yet other features, more radical because they imply limitations to language itself and to cultural control, transcend *logos* by upward movement towards the divine. Thus, although Hilton's most popular work is outwardly a product of an academic education, of *logos* and the Church, analysis reveals it to be a not fully acquiescent product. By implementing Christian doctrine as declared in the Gospels and mediated by the Fathers, *Scale 1* implicitly tests the restrictions these forces impose.

Chapter 4 models the book's dialectic processes. The opening defines precisely *logos* against the expansive principle just outlined, in that it identifies its subject, the first part of contemplation, with intellectual knowledge of God acquired by reason, and so especially suited

to learned men. Standard reservations about learning are then introduced in a neutral tone,[5] to be transformed by adjectives in the concluding self-reflexive summary of the chapter's key contrast: "þat is forto sey, [oure Lord] schuld turne þe vnsauerie knowyng in to wisdom, and þe cold, naked resone in to gostly ly3t and brennand loue by þe gyft of þe Holy Gost" (80, C 280b-281a). Chapter 5 describes the second part of contemplation, the sweet affection of the heart experienced by "symple and vnlettred men," before proceeding to intellectual definition and dissection. *Scale 1* therefore oscillates between on the one hand definitions, distinctions and warnings, and on the other expansive flights into feeling, associated with the simple people of Christ, and into the supra-rational, associated with the perfect (Ch. 11, 85, C 286a).

Hilton's attitude to bodily manifestations associated with Rolle and his followers is remarkable, not for the rationality and moderation emphasised in modern commentary, but for its liberalism and openness. Ecclesiastical writings from Origen, and the works of Rolle and Hilton in different contexts, denigrate the body as a (tacitly) female entity opposed to patriarchal self-definition under *logos*. In a notably dissident restoration of the body to the domain of the spiritual as defined and claimed by patriarchy, *Scale 1* concedes that bodily feelings such as the fire of love can be a source of spiritual benefit, a sign and furtherance of grace (Chs. 11 and 31).

The book later validates also the "feminine" emotive, by approving Rolle's writing on the Holy Name, which it associates with *melos* (Ch. 44, 115-117, C 316a-317b). Although authorial, this passage was omitted from some early manuscripts (Gardner 1936, 17-23), perhaps by ecclesiastical censorship. Hilton deploys *logos* to defend Rolle's emphasis on feeling in contemplation, his "goostly gladnesse" and rejoicing in heavenly melody, as signs of perfect charity, leading to the highest of heavenly rewards.[6] Passages attending these validations

nevertheless apply scholastically precise classification to Rolle's disorderly inspiration,[7] thereby adjusting the popular image of English contemplative practice.

A balance between promotion and demarcation is apparent also in Hilton's treatment of spiritual joy, shown above to be an unqualified feature of Rolle's writing.[8] Hilton's traditional view of the spiritual as cognate with levels of experience residing beneath bodily, emotional or intellectual knowing is seen in his declaration that he would rather have a true desire for Jesus in spiritual blindness than any angelic visions, songs, sounds, burnings or bodily sensations - "and schortly forto sey all þe ioyes of heuen & of erth whilk I myȝt haue withouten þis desire" (Ch. 47, 120, C 320a). This marks his ultimate intellectual divergence from Rolle.

In delineating the image of sin and its members (Chs. 52 to 91), *Scale 1* replaces the harsh personal accusations of *De Imagine Peccati* with a gentler account. Whereas the epistle begins by emphasising the servitude, sickness and blindness of inordinate self-love, finding goodness only in Christ (3-7, 14-36), *Scale 1* recognises "þe dignite, þe state and þe worschipe" of human beings as created and redeemed (Ch. 43, 114, C 314a; cf. Ch. 53, 124, C 324b-25a). This is the *Imago Dei*, preserved according to Augustine in the Trinitarian formation of memory, understanding and will, which is never lost to human beings. The tonal difference of *Scale 1* is especially evident in the accounts of covetousness and gluttony (Clark and Dorward 181, note 306). Such a development towards contentment implies Hilton's spiritual progress, which is confirmed by the tendency of related passages to submerge internal Church divisions in a oneness of spirit.[9] Discussion of the sins turns away from the grind of moral choice, towards the singleness and freedom of a good will, grace, or charity, tending to the divine. Humility and charity rule and measure bodily choices, in restfulness and gladness of conscience (Ch. 77). Hilton finally presents desire for God as the ultimate ethical guide:

Þis desire, if þu kepe it, schal wel tell þe whilk is synne and whilk is noȝt and whilk is gode and whilk is bettere gode. And if þou wilt festen þi thoȝt þerto, it schal kenne þe all þat þe nedeȝ, and it schal gete þe all þat þe wanteȝ. (Ch. 90, 159, C 359b-60a)

This is matched by an earlier passage (Ch. 81, 151, C 351b-52a) which temporarily deconstructs the hierarchising of sins. The conclusion, that everything is sin (singular) which is not good and which hinders love of God,[10] later appeared in *The Cloud* as a premise, that sin may be viewed as a "lumpe." The textual breaks, when Hilton surveys dichotomies and categories from a higher perspective, are moments when *Scale 1* escapes linguistic and social containment.

Scale 1 elsewhere teaches a contemplative practice leading to transcendence of "reality" as textually produced and shared. A schematisation of three parts of contemplation (Chs. 4-8) with three levels of prayer (Chs. 27-32) is prefaced by a recommendation which cultivates simplicity, "þat þi desire myȝt be as it were bare and naked fro all erthly thynges, ay vpward stiȝand in to God, whom þou may neiþire se bodily ne by bodily liknes in ymaginacion" (Ch. 25, 98, C 298a). The language, resembling that used soon after in *The Cloud*, exemplifies the impetus to the divine in *Scale 1*.[11]

An ecstatic ascent from words to the Word sets the tone for the book's most emotive section, on seeking Jesus (Chs. 46-51):

> I schal tell one word for al whilk þou schalt seke, desire and fynde, for in þat word is all þat þou has lost. Þis word is Ihesu. I meene noȝt þis word Ihesu peynted upon þe wal, or writen by letters on þe boke, ne fourmed by lippes in soune of þe mouth, ne feyned in þe hert by trauaile of þe mynde, for in þis manere wise may a man out of charite fynde hym. Bot I meene Ihesu al godenes, endles wisdome, loue & swetnes, þi ioye, þi worschipe, and þin ay lastand blisse, þi God, þi Lord, and þi sauacione.
> (Ch. 46, 119, C 319a)

The piling up of verbs, and the periodic list of alliterating negative clauses oppose the singleness of "þis word Ihesu," miming the multiplicity of discursive "reality" pervaded and transcended

by ultimate reality. Once achieved, unity opens out again in an accumulation of epithets for joy and the divine,[12] miming free creativity in a fresh dimension of experience. The rhetorical *excess* recalls Rolle, whose devotion to the Holy Name the passage also emulates. The chapters which follow extend the display of "feminine" *excess*, developing the theme through expansive Biblical analogues, and employing a leisurely, imaginative method, with reduced theological content.

Given the overtly analytical form of *Scale 1*, the merging of distinctions into one, mystically transforming the multiplicity associated with *logos*, occurs surprisingly often.[13] The book's fundamental dichotomy, between the image of sin, developed throughout the latter part to Chs. 84-85, and the image of Jesus (Ch. 86, 155-56, C 356a-357a),[14] is finally dismantled, and the divisions of Hilton's world view are gathered together in another return to the singleness of spiritual desire. Throughout the short Chapter 90 this opens out into divine transcendence: "and þat thyng is noȝt elles bot a gostly desire to God forto plese hym, forto loue hym, forto knowe hym, forto se hym, and forto haue him bi grace here..." (Ch. 90, 159, C 359b).

Among the lateral forces disrupting *logos* in *Scale 1* is a circumstantial emphasis on the recipient.[15] The frequent references indicate that the anchoress was as actual as the recipients of the Latin letters and *Mixed Life* (Underhill 1923, xliii-xliv; Warren 103), and that, whatever the persuasions of Hilton's ecclesiastical superiors, her inability to read Latin (Ch. 15, 88, C 288a) inspired the selective reshaping of the Latin letters as *Scale 1*.[16] *The Scale* continued to attract women readers into the sixteenth century.[17] However, apart from the minor concession of references to "men and wymen" or "a man or woman" appearing alongside inclusive masculine usages, *The Scale* is not obviously adapted to a generalised female readership. In this respect its choice of imagery departs from its predecessor, *Ancrene Wisse*.[18] Nor does it offer specifically "feminine" counsel, unless occasionally harsh emphases can be interpreted as such.[19]

The edification found in *The Scale* by generations of diverse women readers may therefore be attributed to the textual transcending of *logos* just outlined.

In radical contrast with Rolle, who founded his authority as spiritual *auctor* unilaterally on experiences of the divine recorded in his writings, Hilton denies personal knowledge of advanced contemplation in *Scale 1* (Ch. 9, 83, C 283b). He resolves the issue of authority by a combination of standard and non-standard self-representations.

The first of these is as a compiler of teachings from "þe writyng of holy men" (Ch. 9, 83, C 283b), or the learned (Ch. 56, 127, C 327a), or the Fathers (Ch. 16, 90, C 290b), specifically Sts. Augustine, Gregory and Bernard, whose names appear as sources.[20] Elsewhere he provides authoritative doctrine without ascription, aligning *Scale 1* with the teaching of the Church, as if the speaking position were a pulpit. Finally, however, Hilton directs the authority of tradition and the Church towards an upward liberation, when he attributes his words to God's grace. His method tends to obliterate the text as text, and to bring the reader into contact with the divine: "And þerfor if any worde be þerinne þat stereȝ þe or comforteȝ þe more to þe loue of God, þanke God, for it is his ȝift and noȝt of þe worde" (Ch. 92, 160, C 361a-b). He further empowers the reader with freedom to "take [þe worde] as it wil come, and noȝt all at ones," encouraging a grace-directed reading which further denies closured, authoritarian textuality.

A lateral evasion of *logos* may be observed in Hilton's frequent self-representation as struggling with the same spiritual issues as beset the recipient. He identifies himself as likewise a sinner,[21] and claims that he does not fulfil in feeling the spiritual progress which he speaks.[22] He partly undermines his intellectual authority by implying that he cannot guarantee the truth or completeness of some expositions, and by involving the reader in fictional collaborations.[23] Extensive imaginary dialogue, in which the anchoress raises questions and objections in direct

(Ch. 53, 124, C 325a) or indirect (Ch. 83, 152-53, C 353a) speech, enhances the impression of fluidity and openness. All these features moderate Hilton's authority as author and spiritual adviser (Mueller 1991, 2), as well as any potential rigidity and lifelessness of *Scale 1* as a reformulation of official doctrine.

By combining and extending material from *De Imagine Peccati, Epistola de Utilitate* and *Epistola de Leccione, Scale 1* nevertheless mounts a defence of "all holi kyrk" (Ch. 21, 94, C 295a). As mediator of the divine will, the Church escapes by implication discursive construction and critique, to participate in the supra-rational dimension of heaven: "...ffor God and holy kyrk aren so oned and acorded to gedre, þat whoso dos aȝeyns þat one, he dos aȝeyns boþe" (Ch. 58, 129, C 329a). Hilton advises his reader to blend her faith with that of the Church, and to resist as from the devil any impulse to question the sacraments, articles of faith, or laws and ordinances made by prelates (Ch. 21, 94, C 294b-95a), or by "þe hede and þe souereyn in gouernaunce of all Cristen men." The latter phrase elides the realities of schism (Ch. 58, 129, C 329a). *Scale 1* affirms veneration of saints, transubstantiation (Ch. 37, 108, C 308b), and observation of the canonical Hours (Ch. 27, 99, C 299a).[24] In a departure from the reservations set out in his Latin epistles, Hilton defends the superiority of Mary's contemplative "partie" (Ch. 45, 118, C 318a), and reserves parts of his teaching for those formally contemplative (Ch. 92, 160, C 361b).

Scale 1 also activates the discourse censuring heretics for pride and linking them with hypocrites (Chs. 4, 20 and 58). Its most rigidly defended division is between Church members and heretics (Chs. 66 and 67), who lack charity, whatever their outward appearance of good works (Ch. 67, 137, C 337a-b). The sins of Jews and pagans are seen as more culpable than those of Christians (Ch. 56, 127, C 327b).

However, *Scale 1* does not treat internal Church divisions, even between lay people and ecclesiastics, with uniform respect. While it spells out the distinctive roles of actives, prelates and contemplatives in rebuking sinners (Ch. 17, 90, C 290b-291a), the hierarchy depends on spiritual rather than institutional merit (Ch. 61),[25] and is subject to God's free bestowal of "loue and charite" (Ch. 68, 138, C 338a). Thus, "it may be þat þer is mony a wife and mony a worldly woman schal be nerre God þen þou, and more schal loue God and bettere know hym þen þou for al þi state" (Ch. 62, 133, C 334a). These ideas contradict the unity of will between the Church and the divine affirmed in Chapter 58. Hierarchy is set aside also in the advice that the anchoress should welcome anyone who wants to speak with her, of whatever rank, with the same gladness she would feel if an angel came from heaven: "þou schalt finde [God] and haue hym and se him in þin euencristen als wel as in þi preyer" (Ch. 83, 153, C 353b).[26]

Scale 1 departs from Hilton's earlier writings in not applying Biblical imagery, such as the spouse or body of Christ, to the Church, nor evoking the idealism of its foundation[27] or its role as a diverse community.[28] The omission of such poetic idealism in favour of counsels of submission underlines the book's official function.

Most images in *Scale 1* are adapted from the Bible, ecclesiastical writing,[29] or Hilton's Latin letters.[30] However, some expansions add elements of originality or contemporary colouring,[31] while other long[32] or short[33] images and analogies stem from Hilton's observation of the vernacular context. These are moments when *Scale 1* steps sideways out of ecclesiastical discourse into poetry.

The rationality and moderation of *Scale 1*, emphasised by conservative modern commentary, reflect its orientation as an official text, tacitly supporting social and ecclesiastical hegemony. Despite its popularist choice of English and its wide dissemination, the book extends defence of the Church in Hilton's earlier Latin writings. Other features, such as the attitude to

learning, nevertheless reveal an awareness of limitations in *logos* and the Church. *Scale 1* endorses with reservations the nexus of emotive-"feminine"-body found in Rolle's contemplative experience. Dichotomies, such as the image of sin and the image of Jesus, and divisions, such as the seven deadly sins, control the book's sections, only to merge in the powerful concept of unified desire, leading to the joy and freedom of the divine. *Scale 1* evades *logos* laterally by a pervasive recalling of the female recipient's situation, and through elements in Hilton's self-representation which dismantle his authorial and ecclesiastical authority.

Mixed Life

Russell-Smith wrote of *Mixed Life* as a new departure for Hilton and "a remarkable work in its period" (1959, 135).[34] As the first writer to expand the concept of mixed life to include secular middle-class experience, Hilton responded generously to the growing demands of lay piety.[35] *Mixed Life* guides the autonomous practice of lay devotion and contemplation within a loose ecclesiastical frame. It is by no means excessive to see his English epistle as a quiet revolution, adapting to a decrease in institutional control amidst the era's continuous noisy discontent and sporadic explosions of violence.

The modified conception of the "lives" in *Mixed Life* is a leap beyond the reservations concerning contemplative life, and the adherence to an active and communal Christianity, traced above in the Latin epistles. Hilton's sustained exploration of the issue is symptomatic of *betweenness*, a site for the invention of new forms, which Irigaray considers to be inherently disruptive of discursive and therefore of social hierarchy. Since the dichotomy of active and contemplative is ancient and perennially renewed in Western cultures (Steele 2-53; Beale 382-83, 388-90), its breaking down and intermingling in *Mixed Life* is ideologically highly

significant.[36] Such an assault on a basic discourse exemplifies the focus on fundamentals characteristic of the contemplative writings of this study, which centre on the divine as the source of freedom from rigid, socially constructed forms.[37]

Hilton's attention to mixed life, and to active life as preparation for contemplation, reflects his situation as an Augustinian canon who had experimented with solitary status. At Thurgarton he would have widened his pastoral experience by participating in the unobtrusive services which the canons provided for "well-to-do townsfolk" and "practical men in this period of rapid growth" (Southern 248-49). Friendship for just such a man inspired the forward leap in Hilton's thinking embodied in *Mixed Life*.

Mixed Life survives in manuscripts and early prints in a short and a long version, distinguished by the presence of opening and closing sections (Ogilvie-Thomson 1986, x-xi). Ogilvie-Thomson argues that texts of the short version descend from a defective archetype, and that Hilton composed only the long version (xxxix-xli). However the manuscript evidence admits of other interpretations,[38] and stylistic features support Russell-Smith's view, that Hilton added the introduction when he adapted a personal letter for general use.[39]

The slippage from the binary foundation of language and thought mentioned above is exemplified by the three definitions in the long form of *Mixed Life* of Christian "states," "manners of working," and "lives," in varying dual and tripartite patterns.[40] By combining active and contemplative, mixed life occupies the apex of triangles so produced, despite formal acknowledgments of contemplatives' superior spiritual status. The supreme value of mixed life as a choice for some is evoked in the example of Christ, taken from St. Gregory (177-95). The interweaving of different perspectives on the hierarchy of states into the orderly argument of *Mixed Life* ultimately opens the issue to the intervention of grace.

Grace, the first word of the short text, governing and transcending *logos* and external circumstances, is in fact a key to *Mixed Life* as the first work of Hilton's spiritual maturity. Manifested in circumstance, grace determines an individual's state and manner of working, mixed for some and contemplative for others (223-37, 308-10). The rule of life which Hilton provides for his friend opposes the fixed progression from bodily to spiritual working explicated in the long text's attached introduction. Instead *Mixed Life* advocates a "glad" responsiveness to alternating active and contemplative demands (312-325), since these reflect the divine will:

> What aren alle þyn werkes worþ, wheþir þei ben bodili or goosteli, but ʒif þei ben doon riʒtwiseli and resonabli to þe worschipe of God and at his biddynge? Soþli, riʒt nouʒt. (258-60)

The epistle's later account of spiritual working repeats the need for co-operation with grace (e.g., 733-36, 741-49), and the consummation is similarly the gift of grace (803-807, 836-37). This is a major instance of how sensitivity to personal and immediate circumstance, seen as embodying the free activity of the divine, can transform the structured and institutional in Hilton's mature writing.

The long section originally opening *Mixed Life* theorises the title concept and shows how Hilton's correspondent might apply it (63-393). The order of charity, founded in "þe desire of þyn herte" for God, is used here repetitively to resolve resistant dualisms (73-89, 116, 166-76, 214-15-222). Hilton's emphasis on "ordre," "rule" and "resoun" in following charity contrasts with Rolle's collapsing of order into a love which knows no limitation (see above, Ch. 12). However, the second half (394-814) extends the emphasis of *Scale 1* on desire as the instrument of spiritual work. Such longing is a "fier" to be nourished by good works, prayer, and reading the Bible (394-449), an intention maintained in the will, cognate with God himself (450-60). Transformed into love, it effects union between God and the soul, partial in this life but perfect

in heaven (461-62, 505-519). *Mixed Life* thus follows Augustine (472) and Rolle to extend the concept of spiritual desire as passionate and unitive, neglectful of orders and boundaries.

In a striking departure from Hilton's Latin works of this period and from *Scale 1*, *Mixed Life* does not defend the Church as a means of grace, except in a warning against false contemplation in the attached ending (814-21). The advice to meditate on "apostelis, martires, confessours and hooli uirginis" (651-52) is not obviously directed against Lollard objections, and Hilton's tendency to idealise less controversial periods in Church history appears only when he evokes "þise hooli bischopis [here] bifore," as examples of mixed life (196-222). The Pauline notion of the Church as the body of Christ, central to *De Imagine Peccati* and *Epistola de Utilitate*, is skewed from an institutional or communal to a personal focus, when members of the body, here crucified, "ragged and rente" (267), are identified as "þyn children, þi seruauntes, þi tenauntes, and alle þyn euene-Cristen" (280-82). When Hilton urges his friend to care for these in the active deeds of mixed life, he participates briefly in the mediæval victory over bodily fragmentation celebrated by Bynum (1991, 239-97). The marginalising of the institution in *Mixed Life* confirms it as indeed a "remarkable" member of Hilton's canon, resembling works by Rolle and the *Cloud*-author.

The epistle's developing focus on the personal entails a divergent social comment. *Mixed Life* represents the recipient's temporal authority in unacknowledgedly "feminine" terms, not as power and privilege, but as a nurturing responsibility for dependants, broadening into a Franciscan concern for the poor (281-83). The letter follows *De Imagine Peccati* and *Piers Plowman* in paying special attention to the sin of covetousness (long text, 52-58; and 711-732; *C-Text*, Passus 6. 196-349). Conversely, it lists expenditure and proper care of worldly goods among the important duties of active life (107-111, 243-44, 251-53). The exercise of economic power is understood primarily as lack of freedom for contemplation (136-37, 162, 171, 207, 213-

14, 227-28), to be submitted to as a way of revitalising desire for God (394-97). Hilton thus

follows St. Gregory and the Desert Fathers in reversing the common evaluation of renunciation

in contrast with ambition for worldly authority, an ideological paradigm particularly relevant to

men in Western societies.

Mixed Life further insists on a benevolent implementation of authority, as opposed to the

authoritarianism which often disguises an egoistic will for power. Hilton's idealism, aspiring

to profound self-monitoring by individuals, with a goal of experiential freedom for all, is more

radical than the liberal idealism which seeks to establish an egalitarian political order. In an era

of expanding opportunities, his vision encompasses the inevitable relativity of the individualist

goals normal in capitalist societies, whether nascent or developed:

> Many men aren couetous of wordli worschipes and erþeli richesse, [and þenken
> ny3t and day], dremyng and wakyng, howe and by what meenes þei my3te come
> þerto...Soþli þei aren not wise; þei aren like to children þat rennen aftir botirflies, and,
> for þei loke not to her feet, þei falle sumtyme doun and breken heer legges. What is al
> þe pompe and þe worschipe of þis world, in richesse or in iolite, but a botirflie? Soþli
> not elles, and 3it moche lasse. Þerfore I praie þee, be þou couetous of þe ioies of heuene,
> and þou schalt haue worschipes and richesses þat euere schal laste. (711-721)[41]

This analogy exemplifies the expanded, homely and material images appearing for the

first time in Hilton's *corpus* in *Mixed Life*. They differ from their emotionally more distant

counterparts in earlier Latin writings, in being independent of Scripture and simply phrased,

following natural speech rhythms.[42] A further example, enlivening the inert opening of the long

text, describes an inability to bear the intensity of spiritual light, "n[o] more þenne we mai wiþ

oure bodili i3en whanne þei aren sore biholde þe [l]i3t of þe sonne" (26-27). Contrasting

treatments of the analogy of the absent friend in *De Adoracione Ymaginum* and *Mixed Life*

encapsulate the increased intimacy of the English work.[43] English traditions of poetry and poetic

prose, involving alliteration and alliterative doublets, are used strategically for emotive effect.

The theme of heavenly joy, confined to conclusions in the Latin writings, is frequent in *Mixed Life*, and Hilton deploys the convention of negative description frequent in homilies and in Latin and Old English poetry (702-10).[44]

Gardner notes that in Hilton's early English writing, "we find a freedom, an originality and a freshness, which the other works do not contain," and that "only in *The Scale*, the dead wood astonishingly puts on leaves and blossoms" (1933, 144). The widened imaginative dimension in contrast with Hilton's Latin letters and tractate, is, however, more evident in *Mixed Life* than in *Scale 1*. The personal and immediate, always an important factor in his writings, here functions as a determinant of doctrine, and emotive elements in relationships, contemplation and eschatology, all areas of experience marginal to *logos*, are given free play. Hilton writes as a friend, rather than a spiritual advisor scrutinised by a Latinate ecclesiastical culture. However the leading challenge to *logos* in *Mixed Life* is what Gardner refers to as its "greater mysticism" (1933, 143) - in terms of this study, its focus on the divine as the unifying goal of the ethical and spiritual practices which it teaches.

Þe Prickynge of Love

That Hilton produced the Middle English translation of the popular devotional work, *Stimulus Amoris*, is accepted by Hussey (1973, 470), argued by Clark (1984, 79-118), and supported by the following consideration of the translator's additions, expansions and omissions. Exactly why Hilton chose to carry out this work remains conjectural. It is clear however that, whatever encouragement he received from Church authorities or aspirants who turned to him for counsel, *Þe Prickynge* allowed him to centralise elements which had hitherto been marginalised in his writings, and presumably his life. These elements abound in the composite text of *Stimulus*

Amoris, built around the work of James of Milan, on which Hilton based *Þe Prickynge.* They include an affirmation of the nexus of "feminine"-emotive-body observed above in *Scale 1,* and associated in Rolle's works with poetic creativity and *excess.* They also include aspects of liminal Franciscan culture, such as adherence to the ideal of poverty (Ch. 10, Kane 75. 3-14). Hilton expands appeals in *Stimulus* to care for the poor and the sick as Christ's representatives. [45] Some of the additions which he made in translating are oriented to *logos,* which thus comes to occupy the margins of a predominantly "feminine" text. The reversal of hierarchy makes *Þe Prickynge of Love* of key significance, both for the shaping of Hilton's *corpus* and as further evidence of a major advance in his inner pilgrimage. The fusing of a predominant "feminine" emotive orientation with elements of *logos* creates a work which is both literary and extra-literary. It functions, as the title suggests, to raise readers' feelings and intellect to contemplation of the divine.

This discussion assumes that Hilton used a version of the long text of *Stimulus* similar to that edited by Peltier in 1868. Because "the history of the fluctuations and expansions of the Latin text in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has yet to be worked out" (Clark 1984, 79), certainty on points of detail in drawing comparisons with the English translation is unattainable. However, the trends perceived are supported by a quantity of textual evidence cited from more than one location throughout *Þe Prickynge.*

"Feminine" Emotive and "Feminine" *Excess*

Numerous features of the widely-disseminated long text of *Stimulus,* which Hilton selected for translation, [46] justify the designation, "feminine" emotive. A second stream contributing to the emotive and lyrical richness of Hilton's language in *Þe Prickynge* consists of the English alliterative, metrical Passion meditations based on Anselm, Bernard and Hugh of St. Victor

(Thompson xvii). Initiated in Middle English by the early thirteenth-century Wooing Group, this tradition surfaced again in the Meditations ascribed to Rolle.[47]

Þe Prickynge retains the "feminine" poetic *excess* of *Stimulus* with minimal modification. It finds equivalents for the hyperbolic language of meditation used in chapters attached to the beginning and end of the composite original.[48] A preference for abundant *exclamatio* over *interrogatio*[49] symbolises the transition from scholastic to poetic mode. The following extract exemplifying such language occurs in the central chapters based on James of Milan:

> A ihesu loue & desir of oure herte. softnesse and swetnesse of souleʒ. brennynge & kyndelynge of brestis./ liʒte & briʒtenesse of þe *inne[r]* yʒe. *myrþe* and melo[dye] of oure *goosteli* ere. A swete-smellande offerynge to þe fadir of heuene. A hony-flowande tastynge of þi precious blood. A my soule. my lifee. þou art. my witte & myn vndirstondyng *my felynge & my likynge.* & þe gladnesse *of my herte. I preie þe þat þou be.* A whi am I not al turned. in-to þi loue.[50]
>
> (Ch. 11, Kane 83.12-20; italics indicate Hilton's additions).

A repetitive imaginative richness, literally excessive in its multiplication of words and images beyond the strict demands of sense, pervades large areas of the text, enhanced, as here, by alliteration, doublets,[51] and rhyme.[52] Lists of parallel similes (Ch. 6, Kane 55.20-24), and elaborate sequences of paradoxes and antitheses on the Passion and other themes[53] are further features of *excess.* Sometimes the writing approaches an incantatory *mimesis* of ecstasy similar to that textualised in *Melos.* This occurs especially when the content represents the speaker or reader as foolish, joyful, drunken,[54] or mad - "for loue sterith me & no reson" (Ch. 2, 20.9). The evasion or transmutation of *logos* in such passages, literalised in the assertion that the Passion shall be "my boke and my clergie my studie & my meditacioun" (Ch. 6, 60.8), attains to a Rolle-like lyrical intensity.[55] The culminating account of the state of the blessed in the heavenly

Jerusalem is poised, like *Melos* and many other sections of *Þe Prickynge*, on the knife-edge separating linguistic *excess* from the ineffable.[56]

Þe Prickynge often poeticises the regularity of scholastic structures, so that lists of topics announced in introductions are transformed into anthems, as in the triumphal ending to Chapter 4.[57] Although individual chapters in the opening appended Passion sequence are built around such lists,[58] creative energy finds an outlet in the ingenuity of the parallels evoked, rather than in the development of ideas, so that the orientation remains poetic rather than scholastic. However, Hilton twice inserts summary conclusions to chapters, phallogocentric dams against the "feminine" flow (Ch. 7. 62.21-63.4; Ch. 33. 170.7-17). In the central section Chapters 13-15 revert to an orderly scholastic mode, summarising, and raising and answering objections.[59]

Appeal of *Þe Prickynge* for Women Readers

The mediæval provenance of the sixteen manuscripts containing partial or complete texts of *Þe Prickynge*, where known, is exclusively female.[60] Margery Kempe enjoyed hearing readings from it as much as from *The Scale*.[61] By adapting, beyond the female orientation of *Stimulus*, to a female audience, *Þe Prickynge* follows a convention adopted by the Wooing Group (Thompson xiii), *Ancrene Wisse* and Rolle's Meditations, but new to Hilton's *corpus*.[62] Unlike *Scale1*, the work as translated selects material for "feminine" appeal, such as the large group of often passionate or tender marital[63] and maternal[64] images, which Hilton sometimes embellishes. The appeal of *Þe Prickynge* for women readers can be further understood by reference to obvious and less obvious textual features.[65]

The obvious features include passages and whole chapters of Marian devotion: meditations on our Lady on Good Friday, and on the anthems, *Ave Maria* and *Salve Regina*, attached to the beginning and end of James's treatise. As in so many texts of this period, Mary models both the perfect female devotee and a maternal love object as doorway to the divine.

Also among obviously "feminine" aspects of *Stimulus Amoris* translated in *Þe Prickynge* is a deconstruction, more radical than in Hilton's other writings, of an authoritative speaking position. This is replaced by a Passion drama, as the text enacts interchanges between divine compassion and human weakness. The opening and closing chapters flow out of a devotion shared by author and readers, embodied in first-person pronouns and in addresses to Jesus and Mary, God the Father, and the Trinity. Advice under the dualised construction of adviser-pupil, "I-you," interweaves in the meditative chapters with a rich variety of addresses and imaginary dialogues.[66] Multiple presentations of speaker and audience and their relationship create lively, fluid exchanges.

Less obviously, *Þe Prickynge*, like Rolle's *Super Canticum Canticorum* (see Chapter 10 above), is an archetype for the discursive construction of the body of the crucified Christ as, among other signifiers, female and maternal. Building on Bynum's work (1982, 113-146; 1989, 176-79), Ash theorises that in the devotional movement of *Corpus Christi*, symptomatic of a major cultural shift in the late Middle Ages, a psychological transference took place by which women re-valorised their own and their mothers' bodies, denigrated and feared as Other and *excessive* to the Symbolic Order, through a loving, longing devotion to the body of Christ. Emphasis on the bleeding wounds, from which the devotee sucks sweetness, and on the wound in his side which she seeks to enter, endowed Christ's body with female characteristics of bleeding, lactating, and enfolding (Bynum 1982, 117-26; Ash 76-89). Ash argues, in the Lacanian terms extended by Irigaray and Kristeva, that Christ's body on the cross thus encoded female psychic pain, as in the exaggerated bodily resistance of hysteria (91-95). Devotion nevertheless became a means for rebuilding unity with the mother, and of regaining the lost Imaginary. On this basis, the devout woman reconstituted her identity in an ascetic excess

beyond the boundaries of phallogocentric discourse (Ash 96-97). "Her excess was ecstatic, an

ex-stasy, a being beyond herself where she might meet with the Divine" (Ash 96).

Þe Prickynge of Love adheres, with a few significant variations, to the paradigm of

psycho-cultural phenomena proposed by Ash. The opening addendum of chapters on the Passion

prays to dwell in the "tabernacles" of the wounds in Christ's heart, hands and feet (Ch. 1, 7.18-

8.17), or to enter through the wound made by the spear (Ch. 2, 21-25), or that Christ will open

his side for the speaker (Ch. 9, 69.10-11). Similar notions occur in the translation of James's

central section.[67] Among the strikingly specific examples of feminising and maternalising of

Christ's body in *Stimulus* as translated is a sequence in which the meditator enters through

Christ's wounds,

> til I come to þe innerest of his herte...now he voucheth-saf to bere my soule as his child.
> with-inne his blessid sides...Certeynli ȝif he caste me ouȝt. he shal neuerþeles. as my
> modir ȝef me sowke of his pappis. & bere me in his armes.[68] (Ch. 1, 9.18-10.4)

The open gates of Christ's body lead to heaven (Ch. 1, 10.11), to paradise regained (Ch.1, 11.22-

23; Ch. 2,17.1-2), and to the divine, "ihesu goddes sone. souereyne god selcouthe witenesse. &

endeles shynynge" (Ch.1, 12-14). The Passion thus gives access to joy that "may not wel be

declared þourȝe wrytynge of a penne" (Ch. 2. 15.6-7). It leads to a divinising of the (female) self

through the devotee's identification with Christ's suffering body which she ingests as eucharistic

food.[69] This identification is further posited in the plea to be wounded with Christ (Ch. 2, 15.2-

7; 18.13-20; 19.11). As feminised, Christ's body merges in the text with the body of his mother.

Mary shares in the wounds of the crucifixion and, like Christ, brings the speaker to share in them

too.[70]

Þe Prickynge finally presents its central Passion theme as an according of contraries, and

as a joining together of those parted in a oneness of joy. Humans regain their unfallen status as

companions of angels: "þer is now in heuene & in erthe on shepherde ihesu crist & on folde of aungeles & of men" (Ch. 4.32, 25-33.8; cf. Louth 1982, 190-93). Hilton creates a unification independently of *Stimulus*, when he repeats the traditional interpretation of the angel's greeting to Mary as the joining of heaven and earth (Ch. 37,189.22-24). Mary's maternity, too, merges literally in *Þe Prickynge* with the maternity of her Son: "& þus shal I tempore to-gidere þe swete mylke of marie þe virgine. With þe blood of ihesu. And make to myself a drynke".[71]

The flowing quality of this metaphor applies the universal association of femaleness with water, as in birth fluids (Moi 117). It is matched by the liquid unpredictability of the meditative form in the opening and closing sections, as well as in some of the central chapters based on James (Chs. 11, 17, 26, 30, 32), where similar metaphors appear.[72] *Stimulus* as translated later refers to Mary's womb as "welle of pite þe lake of clennesse...& þe flood of godenesse" (Ch. 38, 208.11-13), a theme embellished by Hilton's addition, "and þe see of merci" (Ch. 38, 208. 13). Hilton occasionally introduces his standard connection of sin with water (Ch. 15, 95.16; Ch. 38, 206.14-15), but water is overwhelmingly associated in *Þe Prickynge*, in both translated and added passages, with the divine. For example, there are references to the purifying water, spring or dew of grace (Ch. 3, 25.5-6; Ch. 18, 110.19), or baptism (Ch. 15, 95. 9), or God's love (Ch. 37, 188.16). Christ's blood is a precious, sweet and intoxicating drink (Ch. 6, 38.23-39.4), the out-flowing of his love (Ch. 34, 171.16-20). Mary is "welle of pite. and of mercy" (Ch. 33, 168.23) and star of the sea.[73] Metaphors of melting: "Mylke and hony./ meltteþ in my mouth whenne I seyȝe. Fadir" (Ch. 36, 178.13-14), or the notion of melting *into* Christ (Ch. 4, 33.22-34.12; Ch. 36, 183.25-184.1; Ch. 37, 192.5, 10), often combined with references to tears,[74] further extend this network of divine and female associations.

Ultimately *Þe Prickynge* follows its original to merge all differences, including those of degree and state, in contemplation of the divine:

> he þat were þus filled with feruour of cristes loue./ wolde make no gret difference bitwixte gree & gree./ *woche were better þan oþer*. ne bitwene stat and staate. or lif & life or persone & persone. [or] place & place. and suche oþer. *as many men maken mykel adoo abouȝte hit*. but what maner wyse he myȝte knowe.wat were more plesaunt to good. *sauand þe [degree] þat he standith inne*. with al þe myȝte of his soule./ þat wolde he do./ *For-whi. þe lasse þat creatures are onyd to god & brouȝte into oon. þe more are þei scatered from hem-self*. And þe more þat þei are oned in god. þe more are þei oned to-gidere./ bitwene hem-seelf./...ther-fore he þat gederith all þynges in-to oon. & kestiþ him all in god *and forȝethiþ þe ouerlokynge of hem alle./* & only biholdeth in hem./ god þe maker of alle...*soþeli he were contemplatife*. ȝee a blessid man were he. þat myȝte in actife life serue oure lorde with martha/ and ȝitte neuerþeles reste at oure lordis feet sittande with maria.[75] (Ch. 16, 103.8 - 104.6; italics indicate Hilton's additions)

The qualifications which Hilton introduces, suggesting that recognition of external degree should continue even in accomplished union, tend to reposition the passage in phallogocentric culture.[76] However the translation endorses James's argument, and builds on qualifications introduced in *Mixed Life* to the seminal active-contemplative binary. Further independent and translated passages strengthen resistance in *Þe Prickynge* to the dualised consciousness on which language and culture rest.[77]

The translation nevertheless follows the ancient dichotomised body/soul tradition which culminated in Rolle, to suggest an occasional revulsion against bodily existence. Metaphors of pig food, re-deployed independently from *De Imagine Peccati* (353-56; Ch. 28, 139. 21-25), and scatological imagery, referring to privies (Ch. 20, 116.18), droppings (Ch. 29, 154.22-23) and turds (Ch. 6, 32.7; Ch. 24, 125.21-126.8), are widely applied to fleshly sins and sinners.[78] Ultimately, however, *Þe Prickynge* rehabilitates the body through a sympathetic personification. In a passage supplied by Hilton, modelled on genre of Body/Soul debates, Body, speaking as the deserted lover of the soul, tells God the Father, that "þou madist me als wel as [my sowle]. þi

creature I am as sheo is" (Ch. 34, 173.25-174.1). In the Father's reply, Body's destiny is shown to be eternal reunion with Soul (Ch. 35, 176.17-19). This is a rational, as opposed to "hysterical," reversal of the culture's repudiation of the (female) body (cf. Bynum 1989, 194).

Hilton's Work as Translator

Hilton's treatment of *Stimulus Amoris* entails both stiffenings achieved through the addition of phallogocentric pastoral and theological elements, which are often presented schematically, and slides into endorsement of the poetic, "feminine" and contemplative source, in transit to the free space of the divine, beyond discursive "reality." Hilton's presentation of the composite *Stimulus* appears to be consciously ideological, diverging in this respect from the common explicatory purpose of Middle English translation of religious writing.

Despite his endorsement of the strand of acceptance for the body in *Stimulus*, passages new in Þe Prickynge also emphasise, in a manoeuvre typical of *logos*, that the body's "onrewli" resistance to the soul's dominion transgresses the divine order.[79] Other phallogocentric additions, taking the form of practical explanations[80] and distinctions,[81] refine the theology of sin, or introduce variations to standard lists of sins.[82] An independent citation of 1 Cor. 2.15, on the spiritual person who is not judged by others, returns the verse to an ecclesiastical frame, implying both a caution against Rolle's use of it and a retraction of Hilton's exegesis in *De Imagine Peccati* (see Chs. 6 and 14 above).[83] The translator also extends recommendations to virtues, especially charity and humility.[84] Emphasis on the stabilising of rational effort, and of will or intention,[85] sometimes moderates the privileging of feeling in the source text (Clark 1984, 90-91). Þe Prickynge, Chapter 27, translates James's teaching on spiritual drunkenness attended by bodily movements, but interweaves additional defensive references to Christ, and elaborates James's warnings against deception.[86]

On the other hand, a long addition later in the same chapter confirms rapturous sweetness "only turned in-to criste," beyond sensual experience and the pictorial imagination, and over-passing "þe comune & þe resounable maner of þinkynge of þis life." Hilton presents this as the culmination of the contemplative way (137.11-16). Yet other additions maintain the bodily devotion of the original, while emphasising the divine as its ineffable goal: "Gostli shal þi loue be. ȝif þou kan loue þat swete fleshe [of Christ] (Ch. 1, 6.2-3); "thorow þe blodi woundes of his flesh. entre in-to the ioie *of his godhede*" (Ch. 1, 10.13-14, italics indicate Hilton's addition).[87]

The translator extends the pastoral concerns of *Stimulus* with many additional admonitions against despair, some of which reaffirm the goal of moderation in spiritual life seen as typical of Hilton.[88] Others, which parallel inherently anti-heretical doctrines inserted elsewhere in *Þe Prickynge*,[89] seize the opportunity to rebut Wycliffite theology of election (Ch. 33, 167.1-2 and 169.12-170.3). *Þe Prickynge* adheres to the dichotomies typical of *logos*, creating a distinction between Jews, stereotyped as crucifiers of Christ, and "cristen man," duty-bound to feel compassion for Christ's innocent suffering.[90] As often in Hilton's works, the radical ideal of the Church admonishes heretics and church members alike, for example in an account of the Christ-like obedience of the early Fathers (Ch. 31, 159.15-160.9).

The complex representation of the Church in *Þe Prickynge* contrasts with the simple polemics of *Scale 1*. Elements of the latter remain, however, in additions by Hilton affirming the Church's authority beyond the validations already present in *Stimulus*.[91] Chapter 28 embellishes, and supports from Scripture, the restatement in *Stimulus* of the differential Pauline ideal of the Church as bestowing nourishment, status and duties according to gifts. However the same chapter imparts the notion, disrupting traditional hierarchy of the lives,[92] but already affirmed in *De Imagine Peccati* and *Scale 1*, that contemplatives should revere actives who by

grace fulfil onerous vocations (140.23-142.8).[93] Þe Prickynge retains a passage in *Stimulus* which simultaneously reasserts secular and institutional divisions and hierarchy, and eclipses distinctions of office in the divine unity.[94] Transgressing the boundaries of discursively-produced "reality," the argument lengthens into advice on reproving sin which overturns worldly, in favour of spiritual, hegemony:

> rewarde not þe *worldli* gretenesse of any man *in þis cass.* but holde hym greet þat is nyʒe god & in so moche more he is nerre./ but for to dred a wikkyde leuande man./ & worshepe hym as a gret on & sette no deynte bi a sothfaste goddis seruaunt *þat is pore and despised./ in þe worlde.* hit is a gret folie.[95]
> (Ch. 28, 145.17-21; italics indicate Hilton's additions).

Þe Prickynge extends the imagery of ploughing and harvest which *Stimulus* uses to lament contemporary monastic practice in a more openly reformist manner than any such commentary in Hilton's original compositions (Ch. 31, 157.20-158.13). Against this, it repeats the affirmation of *Epistola de Utilitate*, that obedience "is grounde. of al religioun" (Ch. 31, 158.5). The examples of Christ and the apostles again affirm the paradox of religious obedience - not "þral drede," but "fre reuerent drede" (162.8-9) - as being the ground of freedom, the means of living an angel's life in a mortal body (161.15-162.19), based on the premise that such obedience transcends restriction through focus on the divine.[96]

Hilton's translation occasionally reduces the "feminine" poetic *excess* of *Stimulus* (Chs. 20, 22, 30, 37),[97] but is more often seduced into participation and expansion. Sometimes the slide into the source's psychic and cultural space takes the form of participation in the transforming of Christ's body into a maternal icon.[98] Hilton's changes render the already fluid speaking positions of *Stimulus* even less authoritarian.[99] Þe Prickynge meticulously adapts James's Chapter 22, on priestly preparation for the mass, to the theme of *receiving* the sacrament. Expansions to *Stimulus*, Pars I, Cap. XV, in Þe Prickynge, Chapter 9, employ simple, direct language, rhetorically arranged in balances and repetitions, in an exemplary prayer.

Intensely personal and emotive, this communicates a subjectivity far removed from the academic and ecclesiastical (67.25-69.10; 73.7-25).

Additions much increase the range of images of *Christus medicus* which already in *Stimulus* (e.g., Ch. 14, 96.7-8) complement the images of *Christus mater*[100] or *Maria mater*.[101] Some of Hilton's embellishments of the theme are graphically physical (Ch. 12, 85.20-86.7) or closely observed (Ch. 22, 122.14- 123.2). They confirm Kirchberger's suggestion that he practised the arts of healing or nursing (*Goad* 42), and support a reading of his pastoral care as Franciscan-maternal as well as paternal. The healing metaphors in *Þe Prickynge* therefore possess a contextual significance beyond the Augustinian tradition of *Christus medicus* traced by Arbesmann (7-25). Other added metaphors and similes similarly capture contemporary observations in idiomatic English, continuing the trend to vernacular innovation first observed in Hilton's *corpus* in *Mixed Life*.[102]

Some of the material which Hilton added to *Stimulus Amoris* supports the Church's authority and the presuppositions of *logos*, as mediated by the academy. However these elements are marginal to the radically "feminine" and liminally Franciscan orientation of *Þe Prickynge*. Apart from such implicitly political concerns, *Þe Prickynge of Love* is a work of subtle spiritual teaching. Its simplifying instruction to focus on the divine in thought, feeling, work and associations (Chs. 18 and 19) carries the possibility of accomplishing a transformative relationship with the multiple divisions of language and culture.

The major works analysed in this chapter are obviously innovatory, in that Hilton chose for the first time to write in the spoken language of ordinary people, rather than in Latin as the language of the governing institutions. Although *logos* and the Church primarily determine the shape of *Scale 1*, in *Mixed Life* and *Þe Prickynge of Love* the "feminine," the emotive, the

poetic, and the personal prevail. This major shift no doubt stemmed from a mellowing and broadening in Hilton's spirituality, attained in the course of his pilgrimage.

Chapter Seventeen

THE COUNTRY OF BEULAH: LATE LETTERS

The Latin and English letters which Hilton probably composed at Thurgarton Priory in the mid-1390s alternately challenge and defend limitations imposed by *logos* and the Church. At the same time, they reveal their author's literary development, corresponding with progress on his inner pilgrimage. As he grew away from major life transitions, from canon lawyer to solitary, and from solitary to Augustinian canon, Hilton wrote less often in defence of the Church, and attended to the spirituality of individuals, including himself.

Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem modifies the generic pattern established in Latin epistles by Hilton and others, in order to respond to the needs and capacities of the recipient, who was probably the priest, John Thorpe.[1] Hilton and Thorpe trained at Cambridge as canon lawyers at about the same time,[2] but comments in the epistle on the life they shared reveal the inner distance Hilton had since travelled. Like *Mixed Life*, and in accordance with individualist trends then strengthening under the impact of crisis, *Epistola ad Quemdam* is shaped by the recipient's uniqueness. It positions the Church as mediator externally to interactions between individual consciousness and the divine.

Points of contrast with *A Pystille Made to a Cristene Frende*, a translation, probably not by Hilton, of the epistle's central section on confession, highlight the original's divergence from ordinary pastoral writing. The two fragmentary discussions constituting *Firmissime Crede*, also adapted in part from *Epistola*, in this case by Hilton,[3] similarly draw together multiple issues for resolution in the divine unity. *Of Angels' Song*, Hilton's only English work surviving from this period, builds on the transcendental and "feminine" *excessive* modes established in his immediately preceding English writings.

Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem

Hilton probably wrote this, his longest extant Latin work, following *Scale 1* (Clark and Dorward 17) and after negotiating the major spiritual transition textualised, as argued above, in *Mixed Life* and *Þe Prickynge of Love*. Only *Firmissime Crede*, which reapplies a selection of the epistle's teachings on confession to a priest friend's participation in the liturgy (34-35, 45-49), is known to be a later Latin text in Hilton's *corpus*. The epistle's focus on the personal and circumstantial is enhanced by poetic features which link it with *Þe Prickynge*, while the reduced ecclesiastical content diverges from Hilton's earlier Latin letters. *Epistola* features the external functioning of the Church militant, in discernible detachment from the divine source.

Hilton repeats many of the standard forms and doctrines established in his earlier epistles. Patterns of Biblical analogies comprise almost the whole image content.[4] Augustinian definitions of virtue and sin are reiterated from *De Imagine Peccati* and *Scale 1*,[5] and the centrality of intention to moral and spiritual life is reaffirmed.[6] Counsels against despair are again linked with the principle of moderation.[7]

The radical privileging of the personal emerges in the many references to Thorpe's circumstances,[8] while the content and style conform, more narrowly than in *Mixed Life*, to the recipient's knowledge and skills. Both the detailed distinctions which Hilton draws between vows and resolutions (622-846), and the rational dissection of restitution (915-67), assume Thorpe's knowledge of canon law, to which they openly refer: "Istud tibi satis notum est" (946; cf. 628-30, 694, 803). The language of these explications is only too obviously legalistic.[9] Long sentences strain to pronounce on lists of contingencies,[10] while Hilton surrenders authorial speaking position to "doctors of theology and law" (636, 825) and to Gratian (694, 803).[11] The recipient's qualifications and circumstances thus inscribe themselves conspicuously on a large

portion of the text. The Paston letters, written between 1440 and 1486, became the secular, vernacular consummation of individualist discourses which Hilton here deploys in an unlikely ecclesiastical context.

Images of *Christus medicus*, some again physically specific,[12] enliven the comparatively pedestrian, logically arranged, central sections of *Epistola*, while fervent exhortations to meditate frequently on the Passion, to enter Christ's wounds and wash in his blood (562-76), connect with the "feminine" psychic space of *Þe Prickynge*. However, while *Þe Prickynge* remains a centrally "feminine" work, *Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem* restricts "feminine" emotive elements to the opening and closing sections, thereby producing a literal marginalisation. Connections with *Þe Prickynge* within this structural frame are nevertheless significant.

Like Rolle and the speakers in *Þe Prickynge*, Hilton first constructs his subjectivity in terms of *excess*. On reading Thorpe's letter, "great spiritual joy suddenly penetrated [his] heart," "as if [he] had heard an angelic messenger" (14-17). He burst into tears (18) at this gratification of his feelings of love and friendship (23). The energy of the opening recalls the joyful lyrical flow of *Þe Prickynge*. The emotive textual level is supported by repetitions, such as "Desiderio desideravi...desiderium...desiderii" (25-26; cf. 19, 24); "gauderem...gaudere...spiritualiter epulari" (29-30), by references to the flowing forth of grace ("profluam Domini Ihesu graciam", 45), and to the Lord's running to meet the penitent (42, 47).

The closing section similarly privileges feeling, in its concentration on the theme of renewal, chorically recalled in repetitions of the stem, *nou-*: *nouus, renouabitur, renouaberis, innouabit, nouitas, noua, nouum, nouitate, etc*. A sequence of Biblical images illustrating this theme boosts the imaginative dimension, extended by Hilton's re-formulation of Augustine's analogy of the old eagle which renews its youth by striking its beak, grown heavy and hooked,

against the rock, Christ.[13] There follows an evocation of the "new song" of love of God and neighbour, recalling the *mimesis* of song in *Melos Amoris* (990-91). The conclusion reshapes the theme of renewal as a drawing together of wandering faculties, as a fixing of the "desiderium" featured in the opening on the kingdom of heaven, "quod est Deus" (1020-30). Thus, like *Scale 1*, the epistle finally transcends the domain of *logos* through the "feminine" faculty of desire.

Transcendence is foreshadowed in challenges which oxymorons pose to commonsense judgments of well-being.[14] In *Epistola* (166-88) Hilton develops further the paradoxical analogy of the blinding light, the false "reality," of worldly engagement first used in *Epistola de Leccione* (see Chapter 15 above). In addition, the four central discussions often create a distance between ecclesiastical forms and the individual's relationship with the divine.

The first discussion follows Rolle and others in viewing penance as an external sign - *sacramentum* - of forgiveness - *res* - received at the moment of divinely-infused contrition (349-73). This is when the "feminine" feeling component, with an abundance of tears, is strongest (360-65), not necessarily during the sacrament (389-90). Hilton's idealist orientation to the Church's foundation emerges in his standard application of *res* to Jesus's raising of Lazarus, and of *sacramentum*, or the penitent's readmission to the Church militant, to the disciples' exhibition of Lazarus to the people (401-07, 415). The account endorses an older theology, against the prevailing Thomist view of absolution as conferring freedom from blame (*culpa*) (note on 366ff.). Hilton's hedging as he affirms the necessity for *sacramentum* (382-84, 416-24) indicates his argument's converse capacity, stemming from its recognition of the bestowal of grace as free, to marginalise ecclesiastical power.

The trend towards freedom as a goal extends to a freeing of confession from dependency on words: "Non enim verbalis est Deus sed realis, nec est spes ponenda in verborum expressione,

nec attendit multiloquium vbi sibi offertur cor purum."[15] Hilton balances this by reaffirming the validity of verbal prayer (455-56), but the privileging of the "feminine" emotive - "cor purum" - as the route to a non-verbal divine, has potentially negative implications for ritual and dogma. The perception of linguistic limitation contrasts with defence of monastic observances and recitation of the Hours in *Epistola de Utilitate, Epistola de Leccione*, and *Scale 1*, and tends to align Hilton with the *Cloud*-author.

In dealing, in the second of the epistle's internal divisions, with Thorpe's concern over vows made in the fervour of conversion and not kept, Hilton further stresses the visible nature of the Church's role. Unfulfilled resolutions are typical of God's servants, but only resolutions publicly solemnised attain the force of vows (636-78). Release from these can be obtained by papal or episcopal dispensation, or the greater good of entrance to a religious order (702-56). However, the Church militant does not judge what is hidden; God perceives the inner intention (757-62). *Epistola ad Quemdam* explains that Thorpe's concern with such external sins is misdirected (811-39), again suggesting a degree of irrelevancy in ecclesiastical function.

Hilton's response to Thorpe's third question, on entering a religious order, begins by praising the spiritual advantages of such a life (847-50, cf. 875-83), but goes on to explicate the liberating concept of a diverse Christian community (851-61), much as in *Epistola de Utilitate* (see Chapter 14 above). His conclusion, following St. Thomas and others (note on 872 f.), that a firm intention can lead to fullness of charity, as much outside as within a religious order (862-74), extends the epistle's downplaying of institutional functions as external. The argument dissolves the important binary of formal and non-formal religious commitment, supporting inter-penetration of the "spiritual" by the "worldly," and of the "worldly" by the "spiritual."

Hilton's examination of Thorpe's final question further privileges inner spiritual realities over external forms. Writing in Rolle's liminal Franciscan mode, Hilton complains that

"indiscreti confessores et predicatores pecuniosi" have wrongly interpreted Augustine on restitution (920-22). Such men readily dismiss grave sins except when money is involved (923-28), but God forgives debts when there is sincere penitence and a full intention to repay, even when the capacity is lacking (934-45). As in the other arguments, a restrictive institutional attitude is rethought against inner experience of the divine.

Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem frequently reaffirms Hilton's loyalty to the structures and functions of the Church militant. However Church polemics are modified by their place in a discussion which repetitively empowers the individual's inner disposition in relation to the divine. Affirmations of external Church observances therefore appear as over-determined and non-organic. The letter's single rebuttal of heresy, which is irrelevant to Thorpe, jars in its context, as Hilton apologises for offering only a shadow of the Truth: "Vmbram vero falsitatis hereticis derelinquo"[16] (635).

A Pystille Made to a Cristene Frende

Like the summary exposition in English of Hilton's lost letter to a Gilbertine nun, this translation survives in only one manuscript. Both works nevertheless testify to recognition by early readers of the wider pastoral applicability of doctrine which Hilton directed to individuals.[17] The translator retains the epistle's opening address, "To þe, dere brothir in Criste" (4), but minor additions suggest that, like "Lost Letter," *A Pystille* was compiled for devout women readers.[18]

The work adheres to the usual clarifying purpose of Middle English translation from the Latin. Thorpe's questions, providing the framework for this section of the *Epistola*, are extracted to provide an introductory survey of contents (15-52), then recalled later in references added by the translator (145-46, 214-17, 243-46, 283-84, 364-65). Points made concisely by Hilton are

explicated in additions.[19] Other additions and adaptations displace the epistle's characteristic orientation to a particular recipient,[20] and align *A Pystille* with popular pastoral teaching.[21] These changes parallel the English text's tendency to substitute simple or clichéd expressions for compact Latin syntax.[22]

More noteworthy divergences from the source highlight the individual integrity of Hilton's writing. *A Pystille* assumes, rather than argues, habitual performance of the institutional aspect of confession. It omits Hilton's repeated argument that the sacrament is an act of humility and obedience, fulfilling divine justice (*Epistola* 395-98, 416-24), but adds the simple explanation that Holy Church will bestow the sacrament on those whose sins have been forgiven by Christ, if they have done what they can to seek absolution (240-42). It also adds general advice to trust the sacrament (350-51). *A Pystille* explains *culpa* and *pena* in the less than ideal but standard terms of the deathless worm and fire of hell, which it opposes to the finite punishments of purgatory (262-65). In general, the translation reveals the significant ideological distance which separates Hilton's tightly reasoned and deeply committed approach to ecclesiastical mediation, from an accepting and popular approach.

Firmissime Crede

In its brief sixty lines *Firmissime Crede* exemplifies a privileging, already foreshadowed in some earlier texts and typical of Hilton's later writings, of inner over outer, of the heart over words, and of oneness over multiplicity.

The first fragment summarises warnings given in *Epistola* against multiple confession of sins, advocating the surrender of feelings of guilt to "the Lord's hand" (22-28). Hilton advises the recipient, who shares some of Thorpe's concerns, to persevere in the simple practices of

celebrating and receiving the Eucharist, despite a complex array of inner and outer impediments.[23] In parallel, the second fragment refers the recipient's external lapses to the singleness of a heart and will directed unwaveringly to the divine. Slips in reciting the liturgy and fulfilling all the words of the statutes "ad litteram" are venial sins, "dum tamen non despicias quoad mentem"[24] (46-49). Multiple bad motions of the mind are venial, as long as the intention is fixed on God (49-62).

Of Angels' Song

Commentators agree in accepting Hilton's authorship of the English letter, *Of Angels' Song* (Clark "Problem of Authorship" 1983, 22-24). While Clark decides that dating "should perhaps be left open" (Clark and Dorward 16), he adduces evidence which supports placement with late works composed near *Scale 2*.[25] As a contribution to the issue, it is noted here that only *Of Angels' Song* (Takamiya 69-81), *Qui Habitat* (Wallner 1954, 37.13-38.15) and *Scale 2* (Ch. 46, 300-301, C 138v-139r) discuss the ministration of angels as a serious concern. In the light of Irigaray's strategic understanding of angels as symbols of mediation between the discursively polarised "feminine" body and "masculine" spirit, and between the earthly and the divine,[26] this suggests that Hilton was nearing the goal of his pilgrimage. Points of contact with *The Cloud*, probably written, as shown above, after *Scale 1* in the early 1390s, confirm a later dating for *Of Angels' Song*.

Commentators are also united in acclaiming the (phallogocentric) clarity, balance, and orderly "good sense" of *Of Angels' Song*, which they sometimes contrast, as shown in Chapter 14 above, with Rolle's use of emotional and bodily language. Consideration of *Of Angels' Song* in the context of Hilton's whole *corpus* nevertheless reveals a reversion to the "feminine" *excess*

of *Þe Prickynge*, parallel to that found in *Epistola ad Quemdam*. *Of Angels' Song* assumes the individualist spirituality which flowered in Hilton's canon in *Mixed Life*, but differs from *Epistola* in not being comprehensively adapted for a particular recipient.[27]

The question which Hilton addresses is that of discernment between true and false manifestations of "angels song and heuenly sowne" (3-4), presumably *melos*. After definitions (3-8), he devotes the longest section (24-112) to a favourable evocation of genuine *melos*, graded by reference to "þe ende and þe souerante of perfeccioun," true union with God in "perfit charity" (12-13). Through spiritual practice sustained by grace, aimed at destroying concupiscence and "clothing" itself in virtues (34-41), the soul rejoices in "hys awne pryue substance" through love of God, "in lyght and gastly brennyng of hym." During its gradual transmutation into the divine, the soul receives "comforthes, sauours, swetnesses and wonderful felynges on ser maners" (41-46).

In a remarkable passage, *Of Angels' Song* then proceeds to evoke an experience of bodily redemption, as if from the inside, "and þe flesch be felow in ioy and comforth with þe saule, noght fleschly, bot gastly" (58-59). The contradictions inherent in this and other statements - "þe saule es mad gastli in þe sensualite" (64-65) - as Hilton struggles to describe what was evidently for him an actual event, challenge the boundaries of rational discourse. By blending the polarities of body and spirit, these contradictions fulfil Irigaray's strategic politicising of angels, and implicitly challenge centuries of logical denigration heaped on the body as a threatening, "feminine" Other.

The whole section overwhelms the rational style so appealing to modern commentary. "The well-formed periods, balanced, logical and cleanly ordered" (Matthews 127) in fact labour under a "feminine" *excess* of multiplied and often alliterating nouns, verbs and adjectives, which combine to produce an emotional exaltation and lyrical assertiveness: "Þan sothly may [he]

synge a new sang" (101-02). The parallel with *Epistola ad Quemdam*, and the genealogical connection with *Melos Amoris* are plain. The massed linguistic luxuriance finally collapses, not in the neatness of a logically sanctioned conclusion, but in recognition of a pervasive divine "anhede," identified with recovery of Paradisal freedom (60-64) and a total simplicity of focus:

> And þat es, when al vayn luf and drede, uayn ioy and sorw, es castyn oute of þe herte, þat he lofs naþyng bot God, ne dredes nathyng bot God, ne ioys, ne sorwys nathyng bot in God, or for God. Whaso myght be grace of God ga þis way, he suld noght er. (108-112)

The next section (112-143) reverts to institutional warnings against diabolic deceptions.[28] A coda, on experiences emanating from recitation of the Holy Name (144-90), neatly repeats the pattern of the main discussion, dealing first in mimetic, lyrical fashion with genuine "comforts"[29] and secondly with deceptions. In contravention of Rolle's view, Hilton declares that such experiences chime with the psalms, hymns and anthems of the Church, which the heart sings, "swetly, deuotly and frely, withoutyn any trauel of þe saule, or byternes" (163-64). An infusion of "feminine" feeling thus uplifts liturgical prescriptions.

In an extended deconstruction of his authority as ecclesiastical adviser, Hilton ultimately leaves the letter's central issue open. He foreshadows his position in the introduction (8-10) and elaborates it in the conclusion:

> Lo, I haue tald þe in þis mater a litel als me thynk; noght affermand þat þis suffys, ne þat þis es þe sothfastnes in þis mater. Bot if þe thynk it otherwyse, or els any other man sauour be grace þe contrary herto, leue þis saying and gyue stede to hym. (190-94)

We have seen that the final sentence, which follows: "It suffys to me for to lif in trouth principali, noght in felyng" (194-95), is often quoted with approval in modern commentary. Granted that Hilton thus repositions *Of Angels' Song* within the faith of the Church,[30] the disconnected, forceful closure betrays to post-structuralist perception the potential for runaway freedom in the preceding accounts of feeling and spiritual intuition leading to the divine.[31]

As the only English work composed by Hilton in this penultimate period of his literary production, *Of Angels' Song* displays a strong commitment to the bodily, the emotional, the poetic, and the transcendent. Such features, disregarded in earlier commentary, confirm the letter's significance as a text freer from the restraints of *logos* and the Church than *Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem* and its offshoots, extant from the same period. The whole group of writings nevertheless displays notable developments in form and argument from letters and translations composed during Hilton's early years at Thurgarton Priory, developments which may be attributed to their author's increasing spiritual maturity in relation to the divine.

Chapter Eighteen

AT HOME IN THE CELESTIAL CITY:

LAST ENGLISH WRITINGS

The culminating works of Hilton's *corpus* depart from the textual groupings discussed above, in their wholly English composition and increased openness to generic and formal experimentation. Post-structuralist reading would identify such features as a challenging of discursive boundaries, implying an expansiveness towards ideological shift. I contend further that the attitude is redolent of Hilton's approach to the divine, as the site of ultimate freedom from linguistically and institutionally mediated "reality." To adopt the phrase which Marguerite Porete, a memorable earlier victim of ecclesiastical authoritarianism, applied to her spiritual pilgrimage, it seems that in his last works Hilton approached the "Country of Freedom."

These works build on innovations introduced to Hilton's *corpus* through his earlier English writings, *Scale 1*, *Mixed Life*, and *Þe Prickynge of Love*. His choice of English embodies an acceptance of an identity in some respects distinct from that of the Church. Hilton's composition of least one commentary involving Biblical translation during this period, when such translation was central to the Church's conflict with Wycliffites, is emblematic both of this sense of distinction, and of his continuing commitment to the spiritual welfare of his "even Christians."

The writings demonstrate a mature independence in material chosen for translation and commentary. *Eight Chapters on Perfection* is a partial translation of a lost Latin treatise written at Cambridge by the Aragonese Franciscan, Magister Luis de Fontibus (Hudson 1969, 97; Clark 1985, 1-2 and 1992, 5-6). Hilton reverts to some of the ecclesiastical concerns and the semi-polemical, orderly formats developed in *De Adoracione Ymaginum* and the Latin letters of his early Thurgarton years. Contemplative love of Christ is nevertheless pivotal to the work, and

evidently the main criterion under which Hilton selected chapters for translation. Their ordering liberally disregards æsthetic unity and logical coherence in favour of pastoral practicality.

Hilton was almost certainly the author, in what was for him another generic experiment, of the Psalm commentary, *Qui Habitat* (Clark "*Qui Habitat*"), but authorship of *Bonum Est* and *Benedictus*, which accompany *Qui Habitat* in the manuscripts, is unresolved. It is argued here that they contain elements of the sober and logical Hilton, as well as of his "feminine" emotive side. Both are illuminated by contemplative concerns.

The second book of *The Scale of Perfection*, written shortly before Hilton's death on 24 March 1396,[1] has long been recognised as a striking doctrinal advance on *Scale 1*. Inspired by the vigorous originality of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, Hilton here produces a *summa*, in which he further adapts his experience of epistles to the genre of spiritual handbook.

Eight Chapters on Perfection[2]

That Hilton translated the eight chapters "founden" in Master Lewis's book some time after 1393 (Hudson 1969, 97; Clark 1985, 2 and 1992, 6) is confirmed by resemblances to *Scale 2* adduced by Clark. As with *Of Angels' Song*, a minor verbal and conceptual indebtedness to *The Cloud* and its companion texts further supports this conclusion.[3] The opening colophon preserved in five manuscripts reveals that Hilton selected chapters for translation in response to moral and spiritual difficulties raised by readers.[4] The author's subjectivity is concealed in *Eight Chapters*, without being wholly elided.[5]

A responsiveness to readers' perceived needs, combined with an institutional bias similar to that which produced *A Pystille Made to a Cristene Frende*, influenced the transmission of *Eight Chapters* into the fifteenth century. Five manuscripts and the compilation, *Disce Mori*,

contain only the more practical chapters - 2, 3, 5 and 8 - apparently by mutually independent choice.[6] Chapter 8, which is the most frequently copied of all, reverts to the older ascetic misogynist tradition in its warnings about mixed sex communication, against the more liberal trend initiated by Rolle (cf. Bartlett 136-37).

The ecclesiastical content of *Eight Chapters* is limited to the chapters most frequently copied.[8] The fore and aft placement of the extracted chapters gives *Eight Chapters*, when read as a whole, the appearance of bristling with warnings against "periles." It is not surprising that Cottle observes that "it is not a warm and inviting treatise" (297-98), or that Allchin upholds it against predicted negative reactions (viii). Internal features underline the sectional discreteness obvious to the early copyists.[9] Love or devotion for Christ nevertheless provides a unifying focus for all the chapters.

The recommendations to imitate Christ in poverty and simplicity (22-25, 86-89) and charitable deeds (132, 144-47) extends Hilton's demonstrated sympathy for liminal Fransciscan spirituality. However, Luis's work must have also complied with the Franciscan propensity, epitomised in St. Bonaventure's writings, to order discussion hierarchically. Most of Hilton's eight chapters, including the accounts of mystical ascent in Chapters 4 and 7, adhere internally to such an ordering. St. Bonaventure's rhetorical *divisiones* were nevertheless complexly harmonious and imaginative (Fleming 200), and elements of these qualities persist in *Eight Chapters*. For example, divisions in Chapter 2 advocating prayer, reading of scripture and confession, intertwine with repeated advice to continue in prayer.[10] A synchronous miming of the simplicity of the single crucial practice weaves together the complex strands of the discussion.[11]

Eight Chapters appears superficially to retreat from Hilton's validation of a "feminine" bodily and poetic *excess* in Þe *Prickynge of Love*, and his recreation of vibrant spiritual feeling

in *Of Angels' Song*. Closer inspection nevertheless reveals that the disconnected chapters deal with varying levels of spiritual attainment, and that they endorse emotional and bodily experience at an "advanced" contemplative level.

In dealing with ordinary affective experience, Hilton insists on judgment and control by reason, measure and discretion. His writing does indeed function antithetically to Rolle's when he emphatically rejects the notion of heartfelt particular love between devout friends.[12] Conventional anti-body discourses determine the whole discussion of friendship in Chapters 5 and 8 of *Eight Chapters*, sometimes surfacing in automatic phrases, like "the venemous dartes of all flessheli loues" (373-74). The part played in prayer and contemplation by "the slowe flessh" is treated with suspicion (68, cf. 425-29).

"Measure" remains an inhibiting factor in the translation, even in some of the discussions of contemplation (127, 360-61), and freedom tends to be associated negatively with a polemical rejection of the heresy of the Free Spirit.[13] However, feelings and the body are redeemed by association with higher experience of the divine in the following passage which positively recalls, *via* the Franciscan source, Rolle's version of ecstasy:

> The thridde degre is a staat of wondreful swetnesse, of softnesse, and of gladnesse, of reste and of clennesse. For in that cometh the grace of the Hooli Goost doun into a soule. And thanne it lightneth and purifieth so the soule with oile of goostli gladnesse and turneth it all into charite of Crist; so that it thenketh that alle the lymes of the bodi and all the makynge of the worlde with alle the creatures as a melodie of the harpe. (256-64)

Although considerations of order, rule and measure pervade the remaining discussion, imagery of light occasionally raises it to a brief poetic transcendence.[14] Word-free contemplation is vividly evoked and finally upheld (396-406).

Eight Chapters is more committed to *logos* and ecclesiastical discipline than other works that Hilton composed at about the same time. Central chapters nevertheless recall the goal of devotion and contemplation of the divine with enthusiasm and joy.

Authorship of *Qui Habitat, Bonum Est,* and *Benedictus*:

Logos and the "Feminine" Emotive

None of the manuscripts unambiguously ascribes to Hilton *Qui Habitat* or *Bonum Est*, respectively Middle English commentaries on Psalms 91 and 92 (Vulgate), or *Benedictus*, a commentary on Zacharias's prophecy (Luke 1. 68-79). Jones first promoted the attribution in her modernised edition of texts contained in Lambeth MS. 472 (xl-xli). Two dubious early ascriptions,[15] and proximity of the commentaries to his authenticated works in Lambeth and other early manuscripts,[16] support Hilton's authorship.

In reviewing Jones' edition, Underhill argued for Hilton's authorship of *Qui Habitat*, and against his authorship of *Bonum Est* (1929, 906). Wallner's critical edition of both commentaries upheld Underhill's view (1954, XLII). In 1961, Walsh and Eric Colledge vigorously supported attribution of *Bonum Est* to Hilton,[17] but Clark rejected it on the basis of source study and theological comparison with Hilton's known writings ("*Qui Habitat*" 1982; "*Bonum Est*" 1983, 15-21). Clark adduces no textual evidence to disprove Hilton's authorship, but finds none of his distinguishing characteristics in what is a moderately long composition. He finds many such characteristics in *Qui Habitat*. Scholars opposing attribution to Hilton explain resemblances between *Bonum Est* and his other works by reference to a milieu shared by the authors, which also included the author of *The Cloud*.[18] Signs of intertextuality with the *Cloud*-group become increasingly frequent through Hilton's canon. Their presence in *Bonum Est* could therefore be interpreted, conversely, as favouring Hilton's authorship.[19] Like most writings certainly by Hilton, *Bonum Est* also displays points of contact with Rolle.

Although a shared milieu seems able to account for the persistent manuscript pairing of *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est*, similarities in subject matter and expression, especially in

unconscious minutiæ of words and phrasing,[20] add weight to Hilton's claim. Clark shows that the commentaries use somewhat different sources ("*Bonum Est*" 21; Clark and Dorward 18), but this could be explained by the existence of St. Bernard's collection of sermons on *Qui Habitat*. While *Qui Habitat* draws extensively on this collection (Clark "*Qui Habitat*" 235-253), no such resource was available for *Bonum Est*. A hitherto unconsidered factor supporting the evidence of the manuscript pairings in favour of single authorship, is the presence of an introduction in *Qui Habitat* (1.2-2.1) similar to that which opens *Benedictus*.[21] The absence of such an introduction from *Bonum Est* suggests that its author designed it to be joined to *Qui Habitat*.

This study's reconsiderations of Hilton's texts have revealed a "feminine" emotive and poetic *excess* complementary to the "orderly," "moderate" and "rational" Hilton discerned by earlier commentary. Considered from this new perspective, *Bonum Est* appears as a likely member of Hilton's canon.

Walsh and Eric Colledge quote the paradoxical light-darkness, morning-night imagery in *Bonum Est* as illustrating "all that is best in English fourteenth-century spiritual writing" (xi). This poetic imagery entered Hilton's writing in *Epistola de Leccione* (24-39) and *Epistola ad Quemdam* (166-88), where, as in *Qui Habitat* (Wallner 1954, 16.8-9), darkness or the night is associated with a penitent's first true recognition of sin and worldliness. Clark rejects similar imagery in *Bonum Est* as support for Hilton's authorship.[22] However, *Bonum Est* conforms with all applications of the imagery in Hilton's known works by including the notion of spiritual advance.[23] Both *Bonum Est* and *Scale 2* employ the paradox of light apprehended as darkness (*Scale 2*, Clark and Dorward 235, 237, H 90r, 91r), and, like *Epistola ad Quemdam*, confidently evoke the coming of day.[24] All four texts display different emphases in applying this image, and *Bonum Est* does not stand out as exceptional. In any case, such differences do not negate the relevance of the image's recurrence to considerations of authorship.[25]

Bonum Est shares such standard metaphors as "brennynge loue" (54.3, 90.1 and 6; cf. *Qui Habitat* 22.5), pilgrimage (86.9, cf. *Scale 2* Chs. 21-29), and "veile of merknes" (87.8, cf. *Qui Habitat* 49.10-11) with works conclusively written by Hilton. The term, "liht of grace," and associated conventional images which, as in *Qui Habitat*, occur often, add weight to the evidence favouring Hilton.[26] Other occasional imagery not derived from Psalm 91 is graphic enough further to support the attribution.[27] Lists and doublets occur in *Bonum Est* as frequently as in *Qui Habitat*.[28] *Bonum Est* differs, however, from most of Hilton's works, including *Qui Habitat*, in not imposing a scholastic frame on its material.[29]

Both phallogocentric and "feminine" emotive elements otherwise support Hilton's authorship of *Bonum Est*. Among the former is an assertion of the limited, confirmative function of sacramental confession (52.6-7, cf. *Epistola ad Quemdam* 413-15).[30] Reverting to an institutional ideal, *Bonum Est* evokes a continuum of "a-Postuls, Martires, Confessours and holy Virgines, and alle oþure rihtwys men wiþoute noumbre," who founded and served the Church militant and now flourish in the "chirche of heuene" (88.6-10). *Bonum Est* also resembles Hilton's earlier canon in its laudatory analogies for Holy Church, "whit in grace, with-outen spot or wrinkel, as þe apostel seiþ" (85.9-10; Ephes. 5. 27).[31] The commentator abdicates authorial responsibility by attributing eschatological points to "holy doctoures" (89. 12). These features, which occur independently of the source, Peter Lombard's *Magna Glosatura* on the Psalms (*P.L.* 191: 855-62), are frequently matched in Hilton's attested writings.

Bonum Est departs from the *Gloss* to affirm the "feminine" emotive, when it interprets "et psallere nomini tuo, altissimo" (verse 1) as the joyful song of the soul's unconditional love (53.11-54.4, 59.3). The commentator adopts the persona of the righteous man, the chaste lover, who longs for freedom from bodily life (60.2-61.10). In singing to the ten-stringed harp of obedience to the commandments (verse 3; Lombardus *P.L.* 191: 857), such a man "ioyeþ to vre

lord in muynde of his werkes with swetnes of loue" (61.6-7; cf. *Eight Chapters* 256-64, quoted

above). "Þe hiȝore song" is love of God in himself, without intermediary of God's words and

works (62.2-6). A parallel with both Rolle's self-presentation and his contemplative lyricism,

tending through *melos* to the divine, must have been obvious to early readers.

Bonum Est further privileges the poetic and the "feminine" emotive in its unificatory

deployment of seasonal imagery. The repetitive and descriptive richness of this imagery much

elaborates the frame provided by the *Gloss*, which pivots on reinterpretation of the verb,

"florere."[32] Towards the end, "louers of þis world þat florisschen as hay" (83.3-4) are contrasted,

in a connection not found in the *Gloss*, with "the righteous man," likened to the palm (verse 12),

who,

> florisscheþ be gode wordus & bereþ fruit of gode werkes. And so florisscheþ...bi grace
> here in alle vertues. And þerfore schal he florisschen fully bodi & soule in ioye of
> endeles blis. (84.9-12)

This is the final metamorphosis of the seasonal imagery, but the poetic *excess* of *Bonum Est*

expands further in exegesis of verse 13: pilgrims, who through the sacraments of the Church, the

"winter hall," have kept themselves safe on earth from the devil's "cold," "schal florisschen in

þe heiȝe somur halle of vre God" (87.5-6). So Hilton (if the commentary is his) images his own

homecoming.

Organisation of the latter portion of *Bonum Est* hinges on the contrast developed in the

pattern of imagery just outlined, between lovers of the world and lovers of God. This is a

constant emphasis in Rolle's writing at all levels of structure, and a recurrent theme of Hilton's

later works, including *Qui Habitat* and *Scale 2* (Clark "*Qui Habitat*" 254, note 5).

Clark styles *Benedictus* as "unremarkable," but admits that its "particular sources are

elusive" ("*Bonum Est*" 21). The opening dramatises the Biblical context, in which Zacharias

regains speech at the birth of John the Baptist. The subsequent commentary is an outpouring of thanksgiving for the incarnation, Passion and resurrection, the inspired utterance of a prophet, spoken (in Gnostic mode) "wiþ greet gladnesse of spirite" (3.13-17; Luke 1.67).

The notion of Christ's flesh and the flesh of the redeemed as having been transformed by infused divinity, challenging to the phallocratic binary of soul-body, recurs in *Benedictus* in a variety of forms. They include an extended metaphor of the hardened "horn" of spiritual life, [33] and the Augustinian *Christus medicus* motif,[34] which pervades this work as it does *Þe Prickynge* and other writings ascribed to Hilton. These images co-exist with ordinary rejections of the flesh (4.13-14, 17.11). *Benedictus* adds the Church to the list of divinised bodies through Hilton's favourite ecclesiastical metaphor of Christ's body (6.3-5). The oil of grace flowing from the "horn" is available only to Church members (5.18-6.2). The commentary poeticises the Church as the house of the spiritual David, the Son of Mary, in parallel with the "winter hall" of *Bonum Est* (5.17-6.9).

Conventional elements in *Benedictus* associated with Hilton include a reference to ordered love for God and fellow-Christian (12.4-5), and an exposure of vainglory and hypocrisy (12.13-13.2; cf. *Qui Habitat* 17.5-19.6). Exegesis builds to an emotional *excess* representing the joyful freedom of contemplative living (11.3, 11. 12-17) and heaven (13.6-7), through an accumulation of standard images, such as the "way" (18.4-7), and light and darkness (16.22-18.3), based on the final verse (Luke 1.79).[35] Although predictable, the imagery is enlivened through a strategic deployment creating *excess*. A receding vista of Hilton's own *via*, viewed from a point not far from the end, may again inform the text.

The "feminine" emotive and the poetic tending to *excess* thus find a place beside the rational and institutional in both *Bonum Est* and *Benedictus*, reproducing a pattern discerned throughout this study in Hilton's authentic writings. In accord with the external and with the

new internal connections with Hilton's known works adduced above, discursive analysis of content and form strongly supports Hilton's composition of these commentaries.

Qui Habitat

From the biographical viewpoint informing this sequential analysis of Hilton's canon, what is most interesting about the Psalm commentary, *Qui Habitat*, is its inclusion of a flexible account of the whole contemplative path, offering insights presumably appropriate to an advanced practitioner. This outline of inner pilgrimage counterpoints with exegeses of Biblical quotations, so that both are illuminated.

The subjectivity of the "righteous man" dominates *Qui Habitat* through thoughts and attitudes often recorded in the first person. The same subjectivity pervades *Bonum Est*, culminating, as shown above, in a poetic evocation of the righteous man's "flourishing" in heaven. In thus fulfilling the expectation set up by the prologue to *Qui Habitat*, the two commentaries achieve an overarching unity consonant with single authorship.

The central unifying subjectivity opens to readerly participation in shifts between first- and third-person speaking positions. These blend the pastoral poles of adviser and aspirant in a manner more sustained in *Qui Habitat* than in Hilton's earlier works. Implicit reliance on Hilton's experience thus does not render the exegete's consciousness a final authoritative repository of meaning. Rather, Hilton offers the fruits of his contemplation to his readers, while remaining concealed behind the mask of the righteous man.[36]

The detailing of contemplative progression in *Qui Habitat* backs and fills across the various stages, in a manner possibly abhorrent to *logos*, but miming the apparent unpredictability of grace. The discussion begins with conversion, contrition, and subsequent temptations (4.1-

5.3). Then, in a section influenced by Hilton's counselling of Thorpe (8.2-10.9),[37] revisits the spiritual ignorance preceding conversion (7.10-8.2), conversion itself and attendant temptations. After outlining devotion to Jesus's humanity as revealed in Scripture (10.15-12.12), discussion culminates in Mount Syon (12.13-13.3), the "shield" of Jesus's divinity, and the "shield" of contemplation (14.1-12). Explication of five temptations roughly tied to progress from conversion to perfection, and concluded by a summary probably original with Hilton,[38] comprises the centre of the commentary (15.4-25.6). The remainder oscillates between the theology of sin and damnation, including detached components of the seven deadly sins (Bloomfield 182), profound evocations of contemplation, the help of angels and the joy of heaven. The divine is poetised by convergence, as in St. Bernard, with the "refugium" of the Psalm and "þe kyndom of heuene...with-inne ʒou" (31.13-32.5).

Much of *Qui Habitat* transcends theological concept and intellectual division. For example, as Hilton recalls conversion and contrition from his persona's perspective (4.3-11), he refers, not to the image or categories of sin, but to the vision illuminated by grace which revealed "þe horiblete of my synnes" (4.9). Later he perceived "þi gracious worchynge in me," "as I seo þe sonne & fele þe hete of hit beo schynyng of þe beem" (5.8-9). Such Franciscan simplicity diverges from Hilton's sophisticated academic and legal background, as well as from his place in a complicated institution. When, now in pastoral mode, the righteous man recreates the persuasions of those who seek to deflect the newly converted,[39] Hilton seizes the opportunity to prove the limitations of such words, in contrast with the inner uplifting word of grace (9.9-10.6), and with the inspired words of Scripture. The latter "beren vp þe soule from al eorþlich fulþe in-to heuenly conuersacion as feþeres beren vp fro þe eorþe in-to þe eir þe bodi of a brid" (12.8-10). We have seen that such ærial imagery recurs in Hilton's writings. In *Qui Habitat* it is one

of many representations of a supra-physical, supra-intellectual mode of perceiving and being, tending to the freedom of the divine.

Hilton's awareness of words in opposed relationship to contemplation may have developed further after a reading of *The Cloud*. *Qui Habitat* evokes contemplation through rhetorical repetition of adverbs and present participles, aided by alliteration (14.1-10), to arrive at a definition similar to the *Cloud*-author's:

> Þis is þe scheld of contemplacion þat is a-bouen al oþur armuyre. ffor hit is a-boue all þe wittes & þe vertues of mon and alle bodilich worching, only wrouht be þe liht of grace in a meke soule. (14.10-15.1; cf. *Cloud* Hodgson 1958, 61.16-62.15)

The texts meet in the space of the divine, specifically "above" intellectual working and ethical choice.

As in *Bonum Est*, Hilton as righteous man defines himself in *Qui Habitat* in opposition to lovers of the world, who,

> coueiten grete worschipus and muchel richesses. & þat þei miȝte haue hem, þei set heore hope in fauour of lordes or in pouwere of riche frendes....Bot I schal hope in god, askyng of him my bodeli sustinaunce only, as me neodeþ... (6.3-7.2)

Such passages demonstrate the resilience of the Franciscan model transmitted by Rolle. Hilton incorporates it into *Qui Habitat* without adjustment or critique, encouraging identification from both authorial and readerly perspectives. He also indulges in a Rolle-like exposé of "blind" hypocrisy and "sick" ambition both inside and outside the Church, in a social commentary unprecedented in earlier works (19.10-20.5). The comment on verse 9, the subject of which is trust in grace as an antidote to pride in self-effort, reproduces first-person prayer in the "feminine" emotive manner of both Rolle and *Þe Prickynge* (29.9-32.7).

Polemical defence of the Church and its structures is muted in *Qui Habitat*, as in *Bonum Est*, being confined to a splitting of "alle chosen soules in holy chirche" from "reproued soules" (28.12-13) and to warnings against heresy (*e.g.*, 3.11). There are no references to sacraments,

nor to distinctions between the lives, as if these were irrelevant to the text's focus on inner reality. Readership is subtly undefined as between cloistered and uncloistered, suggesting that contemplative practice is open to all (Clark *"Qui Habitat"* 248).

Hilton's attractive emphasis on an equality in "þe comuyn liuing of oþur goode men" in the Church (22.3) is brought to bear against the heresy of the Free Spirit, arising, as he says, from a proud claim to superiority in contemplation (Clark *"Qui Habitat"* 244). This is the "midday fiend," the last temptation of those nearing perfection (21.5 - 23.8), but good angels defend the soul (37.13-38.15). Incontestable references to this heresy are therefore confined to late works in Hilton's *corpus*, including his two translations from Franciscan writings, *Qui Habitat*, and *Scale 2*, in a distribution which may reflect the Church's response to a deepening threat. In a polemical application of the objectification of language discussed above, *Qui Habitat* later identifies heretics' words with the venomous "blowing" of the Basilisk (41.3-13).

As one of Hilton's last works, *Qui Habitat* is notably free from logistical structuring techniques and institutional concerns. The ending bestrides the subtle border between slightly divergent and true spiritual working, "shearing away" misconceptions of spiritual gifts, in order to describe the advanced contemplative's refined perception of bodily existence and venial sin (46.17-48.1). Transcendence of sequential syllables (Lacan's Symbolic Order or *matrika* in its descended form) is evoked in the "cry of desire in the heart" (46.3-6). A reference to transcendence of sequential time in the oneness of eternity follows (48.17-49.3). Finally, for the righteous man reason is transcended in love: "His loue toucheþ me nerre þen his siht doþ; ffor whon knowyng fayleþ for weiknes of resoun, þen is loue mihtiest and hiȝest in worchyng þorw enspiring of my grace" (49.13-15). The whole composition leads into a *Cloud*-like evocation of unregulated communion between the righteous man and the divine.

The Scale of Perfection, Book 2

Scale 1 and *Scale 2*

Gardner's finding, based on her research for a planned critical edition of *Scale 1*, that the two books of *The Scale* were originally separate works is now widely accepted (1937, 115).[40] Russell-Smith built on Gardner's discovery, to show that *Scale 2* "is in some ways a new type of spiritual writing." It abandons the exclusion in *Scale 1* of those of active state from the "full use" of contemplation. Instead of being written to an individual vowed to solitary life, *Scale 2* addresses a generalised "thou."[41] It implies, as Hilton had already suggested in *Epistola ad Quemdam* (Clark and Taylor 248), that God's love, humility, and the simple cultivation of desire for Jesus opens contemplation to all bodily or spiritual degrees and states.[42] While granting this major distinction,[43] Clark stresses "a very real continuity of subject-matter...Time and again, *Scale 2* takes up a point made in *Scale 1*, developing at a deeper level the teaching given in the earlier book" (Clark and Dorward 19). Clark's metaphor of a diptych conveys the sense of a repeated doctrinal and structural design, interrupted by a hinge which (it is argued here) gives a fresh ideological direction to the later book.[44] *Scale 2* reasserts some traditional external distinctions, but demolishes others, to reveal an inner unity of love in contemplative practice.

In opposition to Russell-Smith, who perceives a "firmer organisation and greater clarity and precision of statement" in *Scale 2* (1957, 141), Hussey, who produced the only fully-collated edition, follows Gardner in alluding to the book's "more discursive manner," with longer chapters and "at least" a central section, "which does not appear to have the coherence and conciseness of much of Book I" (Gardner 1936, 114; Hussey 1964, 78-79). Manuscript evidence leads him to infer that "Book I was better known and more popular than Book II" (79). This suggests that *Scale 2* was a liminal work, comparable in its limited distribution with *Melos*

Amoris. Gardner's and Russell-Smith's insights, repeated with varying emphases and qualifications in subsequent commentary, support the thesis of Hilton's developing intellectual and spiritual freedom, manifesting variously throughout his *corpus* and culminating in *Scale 2*.

Many of the innovations of *Scale 2*, especially those displaying this freedom, can be traced to intertextual exchanges with *The Cloud*. The Epilogue below considers these in more detail. *Scale 2* nevertheless rejects the almost Gnostic elitism of *The Cloud*, to mediate aspects of the latter's doctrine to all interested Christians. The distance travelled from the pastoral context of Hilton's early and middle epistles, where content is largely determined by questions from individuals, is indicated in Chapter 42. Hilton here advises: "Þe þar not neden for to renne aboute here & here & aske questions of ilk gostly man what þu schalt don." He contrasts such busy outward questioning with an inner focus on prayer, in which the feeling of grace teaches wisdom, "soþfastly withouten feynynge or fantasie" (Clark and Dorward 291, H 131v-132r). In his last extant work, to the extent that his writing is non-institutional, Hilton's mature spirituality commands both material and approach.

Structural Development

Scale 2 utilises the definitions, hierarchies and divisions of *logos* partly as preparation for an impending escape. Russell-Smith's and Hussey's opposing statements on structure and style can be reconciled by observing that the opening chapters are brief, organising discussion in tight academic divisions and lists, and frequently resorting to the long, legalistic sentences familiar from Hilton's Latin letters and tracts. The method is appropriate to the theological and ecclesiological subject matter.[45] From Chapter 20, however, *Scale 2* gradually abandons institutional concerns and scholastic frames, as it seemingly seeks through form and doctrine to expand the confines of discursively constructed "reality."

The prose of split and exclusion is not confined to the opening chapters, though it predominates there. The heading to Chapter 1 claims that "a man is þe image of God after þe soule and not after þe body" (193, H 63r). Chapter 2 approaches the Passion theologically, rather than devotionally, while Chapter 3 excludes Jews, pagans, and false Christians from its blessings. Hilton asserts ecclesiastical authority by threatening "mikil more payne" in hell to false Christians, "as þei had þe trowþ & kepid it not" (197, H 65v). He reiterates support for the negative side of the salvation of the righteous heathen debate given in *De Adoracione Ymaginum* (197, H 65v). Whereas *Scale 1* merely denies that the outward good works of heretics are signs of charity (see above, Ch. 16), *Scale 2* ominously rejects the idea that heretics who joyfully suffer great bodily pain and even death for their beliefs can be inspired by the Holy Spirit (Ch. 38, 276, H 120r).[46] This is the nadir of Hilton's institutional servitude.[47] The book recaptures the phrase, "liberty of spirit," for orthodoxy, thus textualising the Church's continuing strategy of encirclement of disruptive elements.[48]

Polemical imagery found in earlier works is redeployed in Chapters 1-20. Mother Church exacts obedience from her children (Ch. 7, 202, H 68v), but is also tender and loving (Ch. 10, 206-207, H 71r-v). Visionary sight, "þe gracious openyng of þe gostly eye," reveals the Church labouring on earth: "how blak and how foule it semiþ in soules þat are reprofed, how faire and how lufly it is in chosen soules" (Ch. 45, 299, H 137v). This confirms mystically the ecclesiastical ideal validated throughout Hilton's writings. Any contrary perception is a sign of sinfulness!

The attitude to moral issues is also uncompromising throughout *Scale 2*.[49] Chapter 39 treats love of father and mother under the heading of covetousness and love of the world, which are to be cut from the heart of the lover of Jesus, "with þe swerde of gostly lufe" (277-78, H 121r). Such rigorous strengthening of antitheses poses a different challenge to the stereotype of

Hilton as moderate and rational, even though the middle way is an ideal which *Scale 2* persists in promoting: "Þerfor go in þe mene and hald þe in þe middes and trowe as Holy Kirke troweþ" (Ch. 10, 206, H 70v; cf. Ch. 17, 220, H 79v). The book's emphatic dichotomised polemics in distinguishing carnal and worldly lovers (Chs. 14 and 15) from those open to reforming in faith or feeling again align it with Rolle.

However, more frequently than others of Hilton's writings, the latter part of *Scale 2* duplicates the tendency of *The Cloud* to blend dichotomies and transcend hierarchies in the undefined space of the divine. Clark notes an expanding Christological emphasis from Chapter 20 (Clark and Dorward 57). Rational boundaries are thereafter subjected to a range of restrictions, and to an impulse which, if it does not dismantle, renders them permeable or conditional.[50]

For example, the soteriology of Chapter 3 distinguishes holy, spiritual and wise men from children and "oþer symple and lewd soules...þat ar norschid in þe bosom of Haly Kirke" (196-97, H 65v). This reproduces a gender and education/class binary fundamental to European culture. The conception is challenged in the expansive latter part by the argument that in the interpretation of Scripture central to knowledge, the grace of the Holy Spirit turns "alle resouns and wordes þat are bodily seide into gostly vndirstandynge....And þis grace may be and is as wel in lewde as in lettred men" (Ch. 43, 295, H 134v). The passage asserts a unity of spirit indifferent to the social order. Ultimately, Hilton opens up moral divisions to indeterminate divine action, by restating St. Augustine's doctrine, that God's gift of love, or the Holy Spirit, is what distinguishes "a reproued and a dampnable" from a "chosen" soul (Ch. 36, 269-70, H 115r). The body-soul dichotomy forcefully asserted in theological language in the opening is merged experientially in the latter part, which harmonises the two under the leadership of the soul, as an ultimate attainment.[51] More official in this respect than *Þe Prickynge of Love* and

Of Angels' Song, *Scale 2* gives limited approval to bodily experiences like Rolle's, categorising them as less worthy than an enlightened understanding and reformed feeling.[52]

Elsewhere *Scale 2* nevertheless transforms standard categorisations. The sins are vivified by satirical reference, and by Hilton's first use of traditional animal associations (Bloomfield 180, 245-49).[53] He achieves a more radical transformation by viewing the categories from the free perspective of a contemplative (Ch. 27, 243-44, H 95v-96v). By entwining each sin with its opposite virtue for the first time, he evokes a spontaneous wholeness of being, liberated from the duality of moral decision.[54] He finally finds a remedy for each sin, and a rest from dichotomised virtuous "wrestling"(Ch. 36, 271, H 116r), in the soul's ecstatic entrance into Jesus-Love (Chs. 37-39). Hilton's gift of autonomy is obvious, when he encourages the reader to prefer "þe best mete and most of prise þat is vndir sunne" to fasting on bread and water, if the former is less of a hindrance to love.[55]

The tripartite structure of *Scale 2*, foreshadowed in Chapter 5, intensifies the development-to-victory format frequent in Hilton's writings. He seems to have responded primarily to inspiration or grace, as he composed the longer chapters of the second and third sections, dealing with partial and full reforming in feeling. Although the academic *quæris-respondeo* format persists,[56] the treatment is appropriate to a monastic colloquium. The following passage, which further illustrates the merging in this part of *Scale 2* of meanings separated under *logos*, is a remarkable reconstruction, suggesting a lived validation of Augustine's doctrine of the "co-inherence of the Persons of the Trinity" (Clark and Dorward 325, note 364):

> Bot perchaunce þou bigynnest to wundre whi I sey o tyme þat grace wirkiþ al þis, and anoþer tyme I sey þat loue wirkiþ, or Iesu wirkiþ, or God wirkiþ. Vnto þis I sey þus, þat whan I sey þat grace wirkiþ I mene lufe, Iesu and God. For al is one and not bot on: Iesu is lufe, Iesu is grace, Iesu is God; and for he wirkiþ al in vs bi his grace for lufe as

God, þerfore may I vsen what worde of þese foure þat me list, after my sterynge in þis writynge. (Ch. 42, 292, H 132v-133r)

The extract's simple vocabulary and brief sentences, using parataxis and repetition in ways less relevant to rhetoric than to simplification of thinking, exemplify formal innovations apparent throughout the latter part of *Scale 2*.

The Divine Image

Hilton's early Latin letters, notably *De Imagine Peccati*, delineate the image of sin as a gross deformation and seemingly immovable obstruction, adhering to the bones. *Scale 1* and other texts of his middle period emphasise the counter-presence of the divine image, identified, following St. Thomas, with reason (*Logos*).[57] While the early chapters of *Scale 2* refer lovingly to Jesus as Redeemer, they most frequently represent the divine as image, sullied in humans at the Fall, and reformed for individuals by the Passion, on a foundation of obedience to the Church and faith in its doctrines. However, from Chapter 20, a transformation of the Augustinian conception of the divine image, central to the doctrinal changes in the latter part of the book, becomes apparent. An ambiguous reference (Ch. 20, 224, H 82r) to "þe first party of þis wrytyng" may refer to *Scale 1* (Hussey 1964, 77). Alternatively, however, it may acknowledge the innovatory expansion taking place, as *Scale 2* opens out into an account of spiritual practice aimed at realising the divine image in each soul: "Þe luf þat a soule feliþ in þinkynge and beholdynge of þe godhed in man" (Ch. 30, 254, H104r).

The fundamental theology of the image thus realises its potential, in a form specific to Hilton's time and place. The divine descends as it were from the top of an economically founded, socially-constructed and theologically-supported pyramid, to become the image realisable in each person. The conception resembles the geometrical paradox by which the

divine pervades physical and psychic experience as the centre of infinite circles which are simultaneously concentric and apart.

The personal nature of the image-becoming-realised is captured in the latter part of the book in a quasi-liturgical repetition of the holy name, Jesus, as a pre-eminent verbal sign, in which heaven and Jerusalem are merged. *Scale 2* thus consummates the "feminine" and Franciscan traditions of personal devotion which we have traced from Rolle through *Þe Prickynge, Epistola ad Quemdam* and *Of Angels' Song*.

Reason

The symbolic transcendence of *logos* in the structure of *Scale 2* is further paralleled doctrinally in its representation of reason. Hilton presents reason as the defining human quality (Ch. 24, 234, H 89r; Ch. 41, 288, H 129r), and *Scale 2* exemplifies the authority of rational argument, underlined through repeated terminology, "þis skil," "skilfully."[58] However, Chapter 13 introduces the concept, associated in Christian tradition with St. Augustine (Bundy 350), of understanding as an "ouer party" of reason, the following of which is synonymous with reforming in feeling (213-14, H 75v). In Eastern philosphies like Buddhism and Kashmir Shaivism, this is *buddhi*, the higher human faculty through which divine wisdom descends to the mind (Chatterji 61-67). The development of this concept in *Scale 2* parallels the expanding presentation of the *Imago Dei*. The paradox of this "vnresonable" perception, founded on "a gostly siȝt of soþfastnes" is explained in Chapter 20 (225-26, H 83v). Understanding in this sense is the ground of contemplation (Ch. 30, 253, H 103r). It is experienced as spiritual "feeling," a vibration of love independent of thoughts and words.[59] In *Scale 2* the concept of understanding - elevated feeling or insight - heals the hierarchised dichotomy of "trouþ" (faith) and (bodily) "feeling" which concludes *Of Angels' Song*.[60] Later developments of the topic affirm the

freedom and delight of transcending "mans resonable vndirstondynge" and, in a *Cloud* echo, "curiouste of kyndly wite," especially in the interpretation of Scripture (Ch. 43, 294 and 295, H 133v and 135r-v).

Hierarchies of Progress and External State

Summaries repeated towards the end of the book suggest that the notion of progress in realisation of the divine image through contemplation is an artifact of language, which operates as syllables in sequential time. Although *Scale 2* refers to traditional hierarchies, such as beginning, profiting and perfecting, and to degrees of reforming (Ch. 30, 253-54, H 103r), it also regards these divisions as conditional. For example, in introducing the third section, on full reforming in feeling, Hilton explains:

> For if [oure Lorde Iesu] wil gif o soule on o day þe ful grace of contemplacioun and withouten any traueil, as he wel may, as gode is þat to þat soule as if he had ben examined, pyned, mortified and purified twenty wynter tyme. (Ch. 31, 257, H 106r)

Chapter 40 similarly collapses beginning, profiting and perfecting into a continuum "quickened" throughout by the same grace (284, H 126r). Teaching on prayer in Chapter 42 asserts the hierarchised dichotomy of actives and contemplatives, but goes on to recommend the highest level of holistic prayer as a goal for the newly converted, without differentiation of state (291, H 131v).

The metaphor of the ladder, which concludes Chapter 17 just ahead of the turning point in *Scale 2*, supplied both books with a title inconclusively supported by the manuscripts.[61] The metaphor is not applied to doctrine, except in so far as Hilton admits the necessity for spiritual work - otherwise there can be no "flying up" to the highest (220, H 79v). Although the notion of an ascent persists, it is conditional upon humility and grace. Finally, "þe inspiracioun of Iesu makiþ soules liȝt as hertes þat stirten fro þe erthe ouer buskes and breris of al wordly vanite"

(Ch. 46, 302, H 140r). Written at the historical moment which implemented mercantile capitalism, and money as the reward for labour (Delany 1975, 110), the treatment of spiritual work in *Scale 2* displays a dissident radical adherence to the parable of the vineyard:

> If þere were o certene dede bi þe whilk a soule miȝt come to þe perfite luf of God, þan schude a man wene þat he miȝte come þerto bi his own werk and þurwȝ his owne trauail, as a marchant comeþ to his mede by his owne trauail only and bi his owne werk.
> (Ch. 20, 224, H 82v)

However, the contrast between Hilton's speaking position, as inferred in this passage, and the domestic exploitation and anxiety over money informing so much of Margery Kempe's *Book* (Delany *ibidem* 109-111) testifies to the comparatively luxurious space for spiritual and intellectual development which Hilton's position as a regular canon afforded him.

The idea of progressive ascent in *Scale 2* is further disrupted by the argument that there are many subtle ways and degrees of being reformed in feeling, depending on individual grace and effort. In contrast with the top rungs of institutional ladders, the delights of free variation persist even in the highest contemplative experience. The paradoxical constancy of freedom and flow at all levels of contemplative attainment provides a genuine alternative to the defined hierarchies of social existence.

The tendency of *Scale 2* to "fly up," past the rungs of the ladder into the freedom of the divine, is exemplified by the advice that the aspirant should not bind himself to any bodily or spiritual "maner of wirkynge," where these are morally neutral, but should preserve "þe fredam of þin herte for to luf Iesu if grace wolde visite þe specialy" (Ch. 21, 230, H 86v; cf. Ch. 19, 222, H 81r-v). Hilton presents the grace of contemplation conventionally, as acting in freedom from the aspirant's sin and worldly and fleshly engagement (Ch. 27, 243, H 95v), but this involves a transcendence of dichotomies such as praise and blame (Ch. 37, 273-74, H 118r), and value and worthlessness, as socially constructed. When love slays covetousness, "[þe soule] haþ no

more deynte in hafynge of a precious stone þan in a kalk stone; ne no more lufe haþ he in an

hundred pounde of golde þan in a pounde of lede" (Ch. 39, 277, H 120v).[62] Culminating

accounts of attainment define contemplation itself as "þe free wirkynge of luf": "Þe lesse lettyng

þat it haþ withouten of veyn iangelynge, or within of veyn þenkynge, þe more free it is in gostly

biholdynge, and so is it in pryuete of hert" (Ch. 40, 283, H 125v).[63] The implied transcendence

of linguistically-constructed "reality" later extends into paradox, with the thought that obedience

to the stirrings of contemplative grace is the essence of freedom (Ch. 42, 289, H 130r).

Extended Metaphors and Analogies

Commentators frequently praise the vitality of the long metaphors and analogies in *Scale 2* (e.g.,

Gardner 1937, 120). Sequential study reveals that these consummate major strands of imagery

in Hilton's *corpus*. Their precision and emotional richness, based on his surroundings and

minimally dependent on the Bible and the Fathers, are a significant innovation, foreshadowed

in the briefer homely analogies of *Mixed Life* and *Eight Chapters* referred to above. Long

analogies cluster in the transitional chapters of *Scale 2*, at the point where the theme of attaining

the divine begins to displace ecclesiastical concerns. The analogies confirm Hilton's mature

confidence in his creativity, inspired by grace, and in his physical and social context, as distinct

from the Latin-based ecclesiastical frame.

Medical analogies are relevant to both the points argued. *Scale 2* applies the healing of

the paralysed man to reforming the image of sin,[64] but a vivid, non-Biblical analogy preluding

the textual turning point compares spiritual recovery following penance with the slow recovery

of a man from a mortal illness (Ch. 17, 219-20, H 79r-v). This crowns the specific deployments

of medical imagery in earlier texts. The notion of "a gode leche" in the analogy possibly reflects

Hilton's experience of a mixed vocation, by combining physician and spiritual adviser. The

same knowledge of healing arts is later applied traditionally to Jesus as *medicus* (Ch. 20, 224, H 82v).

In a further reflection of an advanced stage in Hilton's journey, his frequent colourless imagery of wayfaring peaks unexpectedly in the *exemplum* of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Riehle 1981, 67). As the only narrative of any length in his *corpus* (Ch. 19, 223, H 82v-Ch.29, 251, H 101v), this is a notable generic shift, confirming the creative accomplishment of later chapters in *Scale 2*. The *exemplum* enlivens traditional allegorising of the Good Samaritan,[65] and the ancient symbolism of Jerusalem as the monastery and the monk's spiritual goal,[66] with details from contemporary life. Hilton's enthusiastic development of pilgrimage as a metaphor, confirmed later by his view of Christ as a pilgrim (Luke 24.13-31; Ch. 43, 293, H 133v), promotes the uncertainties and rewards of transitional states. *Epistola de Utilitate* (29, 333-35) and *Epistola de Leccione* (5) recommend the city of Segor as a stable monastic refuge, but *Scale 2* circles back symbolically to the liminality evident in Hilton's first choice of a hermit's life.

The peak pilgrimage *exemplum* intertwines with the climax of the food and eating imagery, and of the imagery of light pervading Hilton's canon, to convey the subtleties of spiritual transition. When the spiritual wayfarer arrives weary, hungry and thirsty at an inn in the evening, "Þan oure Lorde...sendiþ it amonge his gostly fode" (Ch. 29, 251, H 101v), in the form of bodily devotion. Among other analogies involving light,[67] Chapters 24 to 27 explicate the paradox of the luminous darkness. The true light that follows the "gode niȝt and liȝty mirknes" (Ch. 24, 235, H 90r) is at last perceived to shine from the city of Jerusalem (Ch. 26, 242, H 95r).

Scale 2 contains other analogies based on acute observation. Affective imagery, derived from St. Bernard's and Gilbert of Hoyland's sermons on the Canticle and popularised by Rolle,

predominates towards the end, for example in the paradoxical "waker slepe of þe spouse" (Chs. 40-41, 284-85, H 126v-127r). Standard accoutrements of religious courtship imagery, including message-sending and gift-giving, occur in these chapters, alongside elaborations of the fire of love as spark, incense and boiling pot (Chs. 41-42, 290, H 130v-131r). Such images confirm the triumph of the "feminine" emotive.

A Freedom Beyond Words

A new proliferation of paradoxes in *Scale 2* strains language in an effort to convey subtle experience. However, Hilton fully recognises for the first time that words merely circle the divine silence which they are unable to capture. An unmasking of metaphors and paradoxes as interchangeable, fallacious representations of the freedom of the divine occurs when they are grouped, as if for reader selection, in Chapter 40, following the disclaimer, "I drede mikel to speke ouȝt of it, for me þinkiþ I kan not" (280, H 123r-v). Holy men write diversely "in schewynge of wordes, nerþeles þei arne alle in on sentence of soþfastnes." Possession by grace of this single truth is (paradoxically) possession of the whole (Ch. 40, 281, H 123v). Diverse statements in *Scale 2* consequently entail a desire for freedom to be achieved through simplification of words and speaking. The drive of the text, involving its ultimate self-cancellation, is towards a submergence of the multiplicity of language in the divine unity.

This is summed up in the sequence which the pilgrim bound for Jerusalem repeats as a defence against the "veyn iangelynge" of his spiritual foes: "I am noȝt, I hafe noȝt, I coueite noȝt, bot only þe luf of Iesu." Woven into the pilgrimage *exemplum*, and merging it with the "lightsome darkness" through the unity asserted between Jesus and desire-for-Jesus (Ch. 24, 234, H 89r), this repeated sequence operates as a subliminal sanctification of the text.[68] It resembles the *mantra* repetition recommended in Kashmir Shaivism as a means for recovering the pure

form of *matrika*, behind the fracturing which produced its limited manifestation as letters, syllables and words, the basis of delusive "reality." Hilton's insight in *Scale 2* into language's distracting multiplicity reformulates a central insight of *The Cloud*.[69]

Especially towards the end, *Scale 2* offers a complex, negative evaluation of language and its effects, contrasted with the divine unity. Hilton reacts against mental noise, the "iangelyng" of fleshly affections and vain thoughts (Ch. 11, 203, H 72r). In dealing in Chapter 39 with the power of love of Jesus, "freely and restfully" contemplated in the heart, over sins and the "veyn likyng" of the five senses, he pays most attention to hearing and speaking. He prefers a singular inner focus to "þe spekynge and þe techynge of þe grettest clerke of erþ, with alle þe resouns þat he coude seyen to him þurȝ mannes witte" (280, H 122v).[70] He identifies the inspired inner state of silence and virtue, of restful labour "in þe fre gostly wirkynge of lufe," with Jesus's voice.[71] Another metaphor, which equates the prayer of actives with two (dualistic) words and contemplatives' prayer of the heart with one word, sums up the theme of linguistic parsimony (Ch. 42, 291, H 131v). Finally, *Scale 2* turns its new insight into language against itself: the feeling of Jesus's presence in the soul is better known by experience than by any writing (Ch. 41, 288, H 129r), "for a soule þat is clene, sterid bi grace to vse of þis werkynge, may see more in an houre of swilk gostly mater þan myȝt be writen in a grete book" (Ch. 46, 302, H 140r).[72]

Speaking Position

Although early in *Scale 2* Hilton seems to speak as Church official, his authorial role later emerges mostly in frequent brief references to technicalities of composition. In contrast with writings up to *Of Angels' Song*, in *Scale 2* he does not disavow personal experience of the contemplative teaching given,[73] but claims to write "after [his] symple felynge" of one of the

many ways in which grace works (Ch. 31, 257, H 106r). His evanescent, authoritative but non-authoritarian, presence authorises the contemplative reader to develop his own empirical understanding of the doctrine offered. Hilton even encourages such a reader to work tangentially to the doctrine, in a procedure which post-structuralist critique would label "open-ended":

> And I hope wel þat [oure Lorde Iesu] wirkiþ oþerwise also, þat passiþ my wit and my felynge. Nerþeles, wheþer he wirke þus or oþerwise by sundry menes...if al come to on ende, þat is to þe perfit luf of him, þan is it good ino3. (Ch. 31, 257, H 106r)

The authorial *persona* adopted from Chapter 20 in *Scale 2* reveals Hilton's mature confidence as a writer of spirituality, as he renounces control over readers and text. Descending from the peak of a socially-constructed figurative pyramid, he mingles with the pilgrim traffic below.

Summary

In the opening chapters of *Scale 2* Hilton reverts to his early polemical role, defending conformity to the Church against outsiders - Jews, heathens and heretics - and enforcing a moralistic distinction between lovers of the world and those open to reforming in feeling. However, from Chapter 20 he begins to overturn such divisive conceptual patterns. Through contact with the notion and experience of Jesus-love, he dismantles the social hierarchy of learning and simplicity, the distinction between bodily and spiritual contemplation, and the categories of the sins. The latter part of *Scale 2* extends teachings of *Scale 1* and other earlier works to encompass new concepts. Emphasis in the doctrine of the divine image shifts from its deformation in humanity to its reformation in each person; reason is uplifted to contemplative understanding; hierarchies of outward state and of spiritual progress are made to depend on humility, grace and "þe inspiracioun of Iesu."

From Chapter 20, by evading or expanding scholastic structures, *Scale 2* opens itself to inspiration. Hilton uses contextually influenced, "feminine" emotive analogies, based on

medicine, pilgrimage, light-darkness, eating and human love. The formal innovations support the ideological changes evident in doctrine. Finally, probably influenced by *The Cloud of Unknowing*, *Scale 2* develops a full understanding, unprecedented in Hilton's work, of the inadequacy of language's multiplicity as a medium for containing or conveying divine unity.

SECTION THREE

The Cloud of Unknowing and Related Writings

Chapter Nineteen

INTRODUCTORY

Contexts

The last section of this study is based, like many of its predecessors in the field, on an independent recognition of "the excellence of *The Cloud*" and its companion texts.[1] By considering the writings in the context of history and contemporary ideology, I hope to arrive at a new understanding of their excellence. The crises outlined in Chapter 13 above revealed the vulnerability of the established order, and cleared a space for the imagining of new social forms. The outstanding English writings of the 1390s participated, in differing ways and degrees, in a spirit of innovation flowing from heightened autonomy and responsibility among citizens and rural dwellers. With Hilton, Chaucer, Gower, and the followers of Wyclif, the *Cloud*-author shared in the decade's intensely creative discursive environment. The *Cloud* texts are nevertheless unique in their awareness, acquired by applying the negative theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, of the limitations of language and discourse. Beyond their decade's literary fruitfulness, they look to the divine as the source of individual and social freedom.

The *Cloud* texts join with contemporary writings, notably Hilton's, in exploring the potential of English prose beyond the parameters set by Latin rhetoric. However they also embody a contrary project, in a *mimesis* and explication of apophatic contemplation, of minimising language in the interests of clarity. A premise is that God can be known on a suprarational level: "& as sone as a soule is touchid wiþ verrey contemplacion, as it is in þis noble nouȝtnyng of it-self & þis hiȝe allyng of God, sekerly & verrely þan diȝeþ alle mans reson" (*Privy Counselling* 150.13-15).[2] The texts are based on an awareness, both of the physical and ratio-imaginative "reality" unreliably mediated by discourse, and of the divine reality existing beyond and yet pervading discursive "reality" as existence itself (*Privy Counselling* 136.16-23).[3]

Their originality resides in their centring on this space, which offers a refuge from, and a site of resistance to, the competing authoritarian and dissenting discourses of an era of crisis.

The compact *corpus* comprising *The Cloud* and its companions is antithetical to Rolle's sprawling productivity, which testifies to his opposite faith, evident throughout his writing, in the efficacy of language as a medium for communicating experience of the divine.[4] We have seen this faith demonstrated in *Melos Amoris*, which conveys contemplative experience by a maximising of language, the development of an extravagant poetic *excess* to its communicative function. Rolle's canon reproduces the iconoclasm and impending fragmentation of its era in a jumble of complementary and contending discourses, thus creating an untidy, incurable discoherence. By compressing pluralities and dualities, even in the form of orderly, officially sanctioned paradigms, into unity, the *Cloud* literature consummates a pattern already found in Hilton. An example is the collapse of the intricate branches and sub-branches of the sins into the advice repeated in *The Cloud* that the contemplative apprentice should "fele synne a lumpe, þou wost neuer what, bot none oþer þing þan þi-self."[5] This is a vigorous extension of a conclusion stated more circumspectly in *Scale 1* (see Chapter 16 above). Thus, where Rolle's works embody the threat of social dissolution, the *Cloud* texts resist actualised external crisis in simplifications focused on inner experience.

In contrast with Hilton, who thoughtfully reformulates ideas and images from work to work, the *Cloud*-author engages in a mechanical, exact repetition of words and phrases, both within and between works. Hilton's mature writings utilise long analogies and metaphors, but *The Cloud* reiterates the metaphoric status, both of these devices and of language itself.[6] These differences suggest that whereas Hilton continues to regard language functionally, although with a growing awareness of its limitations, as a transparent, compliant vehicle for thoughts, for the

Cloud-author it is opaque, and potentially, if not inevitably, recalcitrant - in Shaivite terms, the delusive aspect of *matrika*.[7]

Author

Since the first printed edition of *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling* in 1871,[8] their author's anonymity has been a fruitful source of speculation. This has ranged from the pragmatic view that he chose anonymity in order to escape ecclesiastical persecution for heterodoxy (Progoff 21-22),[9] to the proposal that his anonymity implemented the idealised self-abnegation taught in his books. Most questions relating to the author's identity in fact remain open.[10] However, it is worth observing that his anonymity is a further point of contrast with Rolle, who regularly appended his name to his works,[11] and who used his name and writings for mutual ratification. Where Rolle seeks primarily to transmit his joy and fulfilment to his readers by literary means, the *Cloud*-author gives direct practical advice, founded intellectually on his unique adaptation of theology. The authority of personal experience is nevertheless implicit and sometimes explicit in his writing, and, like Rolle, he imprints his works with the signs of a powerful individuality. This is almost always energetic, often warm, encouraging, or reverent, and sometimes abrasive.

A central distinction between Rolle, Hilton and the writer of *The Cloud* is the degree of self-consciousness evident in each authorial subjectivity. Where Rolle is frequently aware of judgment by others of his experiences and himself, the *Cloud*-author only rarely displays such an awareness. Hilton's ephemeral presence sometimes merges with that of Augustine or other authorities, or he adopts the speaking position of Church polemicist, but at other times he combines, by contrast, with the reader, in an implicit deconstruction of the advisor's authority.

His late works follow the example of the *Cloud*-author, in their unselfconscious recourse to the authority of personal experience.

The *Cloud*-author's freedom from concern about others' judgement speaks well for the success of his system. He writes of a final transcendence of self-consciousness, or the sense of self as a burden or a cross, when the contemplative is "cloþid wiþ þe gracyous felyng of God self" (*Privy Counselling* 156.14-15). The subjectivity emerging through his texts is therefore, despite its distinctiveness, unusually transparent, indicating that he is freer from social coercion and constraint than Rolle or Hilton. His only visible role-play is that of spiritual director, and from time to time he interrogates even this:

> Lo! Here maist þou see þat I coueite souereinte of þee. & trewly so I do, & I wol haue it. I trowe loue steriþ me þerto more þen any abilnes þat I fele in my-self in any heiȝt of kunnyng, or ȝit of worching, or degree of my leuyng. God amende þat is amys, for he wote fully, & I bot in party! (*Privy Counselling* 153.6-10)

The author concentrates on the task in hand: the precise explication of contemplative attitude and technique, dealt with in an order which responds to inner prompting rather than to rhetorical or scholastic patterning.

Despite differences in their speaking positions, Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author are united in the honesty of their self-presentations, which contrast with the elusive, comically self-deprecatory literary personæ of Chaucer and Langland. In terms of discursive analysis, they implement their eras' increased scope for individual self-expression. However it can be argued further that they display a paradoxical outcome claimed by Johnston for steady recourse to the divine - the enhanced differentiation produced by union (1973, 15).[12]

Texts and Canon

Scholarly investigation of the *Cloud* literature has mostly dealt with the texts as provided, and the canon as fixed, in Hodgson's editions of 1944 and 1955, revised in a single volume in 1982.

However, recent work by Sargent, Ellis and Clark reveals limitations in Hodgson's editing procedures, and confirms some of her doubts regarding the canon. A survey of these issues is a necessary prelude to the present consideration of the *Cloud*-author's work.

In 1989 Clark published the Latin translation of *The Cloud* in MS. Bodley 856, which is based on an earlier English text than any now extant. It contains many amplifications of Hodgson's edition based on British Library MS. Harley 974, including an additional chapter which reiterates the need to examine thoughts so as to avoid sins (Clark, Vol.1, Ch. 11, 47-48). Clark also edited an imperfect descendant of the English text on which this Latin version is based: British Library MS. Harley 959. The second translation of *The Cloud* into Latin, completed by Richard Methley, a Carthusian of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, on 12 August 1491, and extant in Cambridge Pembroke College MS. 221, contains many readings which "obviously derive from an original(s) superior to any recorded by H[odgson]" (Walsh 1988, 15). No edition of Methley's translation is available.

This section quotes from revised versions of Hodgson's editions of 1944 and 1955, which are preferred over her 1982 edition because they provide more complete textual variants. Further emendations made by Hodgson in 1982 on the basis of the textual tradition represented by Cambridge University Library MS. Kk vi 26 are included in citation. Hodgson's texts are the most reliable available, but recent scholarship supports the need for a detailed reconsideration of the manuscript evidence. In 1994 Ellis critiqued (309) Hodgson's decision (*The Cloud* 1958 xxiv) to record variants from only six of the Middle English copies of *The Cloud*, not including MS. Harley 959 (cf. Sargent 1984, 230-34). Clark explains, and addresses in his recent commentary, other limitations in Hodgson's editions, based on his study of manuscripts of *The Cloud* in English (1995, Vol. 1, 100-108). Citations in this section have been checked against Clark's corrections in his 1996 commentary to Hodgson's texts. Further research on the

manuscripts and dialectal affiliations of the *Cloud* texts, respectively by A. I. Doyle and Angus McIntosh, is in progress.

The *Cloud*-author provides some facts about the canon of his works and their order of composition. A passage in *The Book of Privy Counselling* (154.12-18) indicates that he wrote it after *The Cloud*, *An Epistle of Prayer*, and *Denis' Hidden Divinity*. The prologue to *Denis' Hidden Divinity* (2.5-8) reveals that it followed *The Cloud*. In addition to these four works, the author certainly wrote *An Epistle of Discretion of Stirrings*, which is similar to *The Cloud* in subject matter (Hodgson *Cloud* 1958, xxxvi-xxxvii),[13] and always appears in manuscripts and early printed versions with other *Cloud* texts (Ellis 1992, 194).

Doubts remain as to the ascription to the author of *A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits*, the sixth text provisionally included by Hodgson in the *Cloud corpus*. This appears with canonical works in six of its total of eight manuscripts. Its doctrine, as Hodgson observes, can be seen as supplementary to the themes of *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*,[14] while its structure is in some respects similar to that of *An Epistle of Prayer* and *Discretion of Stirrings* (Hodgson 1982, 200). Hodgson also points to specific doctrinal and stylistic connections with other works in the *corpus* (*Deonise Hid Diuinite*, 140-43; 1982, 200-202). However none of these arguments is conclusive. Usages in *Discretion of Spirits* apparently repeated in *Cloud* texts also lend questionable support to common authorship.[15]

Evidence adduced by Ellis tips the balance of probability against attribution to the *Cloud*-author of the last of Hodgson's edited texts, *A Treatise of the Study of Wisdom* (Ellis 1992, 193-221 and 1994, 307-317). Previous attempts to interpret this work assumed the translator's use of a complete text of the original, Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin Minor*, now usually referred to as *The Twelve Patriarchs* (Hodgson 1982, 195-99; Walsh 1988, 36-47). However, Ellis's suggestion that the translator was working from an already curtailed Latin version, such as that

found in British Library MS. Arundel 507 (1992, 215-17), has major, as yet undetermined, consequences for evaluating his work. Minnis's analysis of the treatment of Richard as a source in *Denis' Hidden Divinity* and *The Cloud* lists theological and other differences (1982, 66-70) which support Ellis's removal of *The Study of Wisdom* from the *Cloud*-author's canon.

As this study seeks to position the *Cloud* literature in its discursive context, each text considered contributes a body of evidence affecting results. Thus, whereas ordinarily the Hodgson's grouping might be discussed with little regard to authorship - especially since I subscribe to Barthes' reservations about the author as the final repository of textual meaning (Barthes 171) - uncertainty over the canonical standing of *Discretion of Spirits* and *The Study of Wisdom* poses a dilemma for this project.

Consequently, the following discussion initially considers *Discretion of Spirits* as part of the canon, but weights any evidence adduced which is relevant to the argument in accordance with the text's uncertain standing. *The Study of Wisdom* is treated as not belonging to the *Cloud* group. However, I examine as appropriate formal and doctrinal differences between it and the author's attested works, in support of Ellis's textual and palæographical arguments.[16]

As a final comment on the constitution of the *Cloud corpus* it may be observed that a strong intertextuality and a continuing dialogue between the author and his apprentice(s) feature in the five works whose authorship is not in doubt. This includes even the translation, *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, composed to confirm "al þat is wretyn" in *The Cloud* (2.7-8).[17] While the two translations of doubtful authorship do not participate in such linkages, their relevance to the central group as satellite compositions is not in question, and explains their placement in the same manuscripts as central *Cloud* texts.[18]

Twentieth-Century Reception

Of the three strands of interest in *The Cloud of Unknowing* and its companion texts, that of scholarship and textual criticism was until the 1980s the least vigorous (Minnis 1982, 61). The above account confirms a continuing need for textual analysis and investigation (cf. Ellis 1994, 307-10). Academic study in the second strand, the *Cloud* group as literature, began in 1932, when Chambers traced a continuity in English prose through the Middle English devotional writings. Literary analyses of *The Cloud* and its companions have however been relatively few, and have tended to follow Hodgson's lead (*Deonise Hid Diuinite* xlvii-lvii) in focusing on stylistic devices, including imagery, and their effects. Lees's examination of the tradition of negative language, beginning with Gregory of Nyssa and culminating in *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, is an exception. By far the bulkiest strand of published commentary extends the priority established by Father Collins' first modern edition of *The Cloud*, in seeking to explain the author's message for readers engaged in spiritual quest. Accordingly, *The Cloud* has appeared in a sequence of modern English editions,[19] and continues to encourage and teach readers in the present.[20]

Within this third strand of spiritual interpretation, however, there is a double pattern of expansionary impetus and impulse of recall. Many commentaries draw the text out of its mediæval context, to explicate its doctrine in the wider community, often in relation to Eastern spiritualities. These include Catholic writers, such as Verrier Elwin, C.S.S., who in 1930, from the unique perspective of a mission in Poona, used *The Cloud* to set up a dialogue on contemplation with Hinduism (vii-ix); and William Johnston, S.J., whose book, first published in 1967, analysed points of contact with Zen (18-25, 207-10 and *passim*).[21] At the level of cultural icon, the expansionary movement in twentieth-century response is epitomised by Eliot's

The Four Quartets, a poem which incorporates many Christian and non-Christian insights,

including that of the limitations of language as a medium for reality, and the paradoxes of

apophatic contemplation, as described in *The Cloud*:

> In order to arrive at what you do not know
> You must go by a way which is the way of ignorance.[22]
> ("East Coker," 1940, *Collected Poems* 201)

Some fifteen years later, Huxley published a pithy introduction to *The Cloud* in *Grey Eminence*,

a study of Cardinal Richelieu (61-88). This recognises the author's orthodoxy (63) and his place

in a continuing tradition of Catholic contemplative writers, while finding a "close family

resemblance" between his concept of union with God and aspects of oriental mysticism (62).[23]

Probably encouraged by Huxley's example, Progoff presented his perspective on *The Cloud* as

a precursor of "modern scientific psychology" (17). His account, which misunderstands the long

tradition of ecclesiastical thinking behind *The Cloud*, as well as its Christian assumptions,[24]

marks the limit of the expansionary movement in modern *Cloud* commentary. Thoughtful

readings seeking validly to connect the *Cloud* texts with other spiritualities and with twentieth-

century religious experience continue to the present day.[25]

The contrary impulse of recall, which aims to re-centre the *Cloud* group in its mediæval

Christian context, often appears together with signs of the expansionary impetus in the same

works, particularly those written by Catholics such as Johnston, who often mentions "the great

fact of tradition" (1967, 9-11 and *passim*; 1973, 14, 29-31). The gesture of containment takes

a polemical form in a passionate, pointed response to *Grey Eminence* written by Ethelbert

Cardiff, O.F.M., who emphasises the *Cloud*-author's references to Jesus (308) and the

qualifications protecting individual existence which he places on his theology of union (309-

10).[26] Will Fowler writes to confute parallels drawn between *The Cloud* and Buddhist teaching

and practice (1995, 289-308). In academic writing the conservative effort to reclaim *The Cloud* and related texts focuses on their indebtedness to patristic and monastic tradition.

The tracing of sources and influences for the *Cloud* group has been difficult and contentious. This is illustrated by research by Clark and Minnis, published at about the same time, in which the former traces "the warmer and more affective bent" of *The Cloud* to the broad Augustinian tradition, with input from Gallus (1980, 86-99), while the latter attributes the notion in *The Cloud* that "love is the highest cognitive power" specifically to Gallus (1982, 65; cf. Denys Turner 187-88). While Clark mostly discusses the *Cloud*-author's indebtedness to Richard of St. Victor, Minnis emphasises significant points of contrast, in which the author presents his own version of Gallus's adaptation of Richard (1982, 65-70).[27] Because of the interdependency of patristic writing, these findings are not contradictory, but considered together are inconclusive. Sources have been traced in Ælred of Rievaulx (Conner 88-98), William of St. Thierry (Clark 1980, 104-05), Eckhart (Hilditch 37), St. Gregory, Aquinas, and the Carthusian writers, Hugh of Balma, Guigo (or Guido) de Ponte, and Guigo II, ninth Prior of the Grande Chartreuse.[28] Again these findings are often inconclusive, in that they uncover an abundance of traditional connections, which the author may have gathered from his devotional circle, or, as Emery suggests, from *compendia* of contemplative texts, rather than from specific readings.[29]

Commentators have continued to acknowledge the individuality of the *Cloud* group (e.g., Hodgson 1982, 1 and lvii), and source-study is a traditional scholarly occupation. Nevertheless, the difficulties encountered, and the infrequency in *Cloud* texts of precise verbal borrowings[30] except in the case of commonplaces,[31] supports the judgment that the author had fully assimilated the traditional material he uses to his own experience (Emery 70).

In a similar way, but on a deeper level, he had, like Rolle and Hilton, assimilated the Bible as the foundation to his world view, so that it forms a verbal underlay to most of his writing. There are, however, fewer explicit Biblical quotations than in Rolle and Hilton, "and those are usually incorporated into the author's own words" (Ellis 1992, 200). As in Rolle, the destruction of boundaries between quotation and composition reflects, under Volosinov's theory of "pictorial style" and in terms of ideology, the anti-authoritarian movements of the era (see above, Ch. 5). Unlike Rolle and Hilton, the author produced no dedicated Bible commentaries, which would tend to relocate his *corpus* within the "authoritarian dogmatism" of "linear style." (This assumes that *The Study of Wisdom* is not an authentic *Cloud* text.)

That the author's recourse to the Fathers was a secondary factor in his composition is suggested first by his partial acknowledgment of sources, secondly by his claims to simplicity, "boistouste" and "lewidnes,"[32] and thirdly by his free manipulation of translated material in *Denis' Hidden Divinity* and *Discretion of Spirits*, if this is his. Minnis's account of the author's adaptations of Richard of St. Victor in selective conformity with Gallus demonstrates the extent to which he was in control, and the primacy he accorded to his own message. Internal evidence of the *Cloud* texts therefore calls into question the critical emphasis on the author's indebtedness to tradition.

A way of accounting for this emphasis, which entails a validation of the author's orthodoxy and position in the Church, is as a continuing resistance in ideology to the non-Christian appropriations of *The Cloud* by such commentators as Huxley and Progoff.[33] Alternatively, its persistence may stem from a recognition, whether conscious or not, of some aspects of *The Cloud* as departing from *logos* and from common institutional Christianity.[34] Briefly, *The Cloud* teaches non-discursive prayer, at a level of experience where dogma loses its significance (Huxley 89).[35]

In being repeatedly taken beyond, and reassimilated within Christian orthodoxy, *The Cloud* and related writings reproduced in the twentieth century the pattern of reception accorded to the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius at all historical periods except the Middle Ages.[36] The uneasiness and indeterminacy apparent in the reception of both bodies of work proclaim the challenge which they each posed at different historical periods to the doctrines and structures of institutional religion.

Fourteenth-Century Reception

Early responses to *The Cloud* and its companion texts were similarly divided. The Prologue to *The Cloud* restricts readership to committed contemplatives, with an emphatic solemnity and legalistic attention to detail which contrast strongly with Hilton's brevity in appending a similar caveat to *Scale 1*.[37] The reason the author gives for excluding the reader of active life is that "[þis book] acordeþ noþing to him" (2.8). The probability that actives had stated their disapproval while the author was still revising and was open to dialogue, is supported by a passage in the Prologue repeated at the end of Chapter 74 (2.19-24, 130.18-23). In this he forcefully disparages the excluded readership as "praisers" and "blamers," "fault-finders" and the "curious." The self-consciousness of the passage is atypical of the *Cloud* texts, but comparable with some passages by Rolle. The modern ecclesiastical opinion approving it as a wise precaution is surprising, except in that the exclusion reaffirms the conservative active-contemplative dichotomy merged by Hilton.[38] When, late in *The Cloud*, the author cites Dionysius as his source, over-simply as has been noted,[39] he is obviously seeking corroboration,[40] and the same purpose informs the reference back to this statement in the Prologue to *Denis'*

Hidden Divinity (2.7-8). In addition, *The Cloud* claims crucial Gospel support for the contemplative practices taught.[41]

That disapproval by his contemporaries continued after the composition of *The Cloud* and *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, is revealed by a passage in *Privy Counselling*, in which the author defends his writing and its subject against the charge that they are subtle and over-complex (137.6-25; cf. Walsh 1981, 5). His detractors were educated, "clerkes [& men] of grete kunnyng" (137.8), who in the context of Lollardy may have spoken with official sanction. The author's defensive statements contrast with his advice to his apprentice to forgive misunderstanding by actives and allow Christ to answer for him (*Cloud* 50.23-51.15, 56.11-15).

Finally, the author's defensiveness is seen in what appear to be calculated reconciliations of his teaching with tradition and the Church, conspicuous against an assumption of orthodoxy and conformity of doctrine. Examples are occasionally awkward introductions of the need for confession according to ecclesiastical ordinances (*Cloud* 43.21-23, 65.11-12, 65.21,131.8-9; *Privy Counselling* 138.20-23), when the work of contemplative love in itself is seen to go further and destroy the "ground and root" of sin (*Cloud* 38.15-16); the claim that contemplatives worship the prayer of the Church above all others (*Cloud* 74.1-5), when the whole subject of the major texts is non-liturgical prayer; and the structure of *Privy Counselling*, which opens with an expansive burst of apophatic instruction, later recalled and contained within institutional religion.

Despite the author's reactions to what must have been criticism, it is obvious that early readers found the *Cloud* group beneficial. The two works most regularly entitled "letters" in the manuscripts, *An Epistle of Prayer* and *An Epistle of Discretion of Stirrings*, give detailed replies to personal queries from contemplative apprentices. Early manuscripts are carefully written and easy to handle, like works of devotion, and corrected against other texts by later users (Hodgson

1982, xvii). Hodgson traces copying of *Cloud* manuscripts among religious in England, and, following the dissolution of the monasteries in 1535, on the Continent. Father Augustine Baker's *Secretum*, a commentary on *The Cloud* composed between 1624 and 1633 for the English Benedictine nuns at Cambrai (cf. Spearitt 289-92), reveals the continuing high esteem in which the book was held. Notes of ownership testify to the widening circulation of manuscripts in England into the eighteenth century, among prelates, merchants, priests, doctors, and even Protestants (Hodgson *ibid.*; cf. Norquist 284-308).

The attention which readers of both the mediæval and modern periods have given to defining the politics of the *Cloud corpus* confirms its liminal standing as a site of resistance to discursive pressures seeking either to contain it within or to exclude it from institutional Christianity. While the first recipients of the author's teaching and their successors in the religious life probably accepted his writings' place within tradition and the Church as axiomatic, the texts reveal that the author felt externally compelled from the beginning to spell out his doctrinal conformity.

Chapter Twenty

APPROACHES TO *THE CLOUD*: LIMINALITY AND THE DIVINE

Liminality

To the extent that the ideological placement of *The Cloud of Unknowing* and its companion texts within or beyond common Catholic experience and perspectives, whether mediæval or modern, is problematical, these works share the confirmed liminal status of Rolle's writings, and the sporadic liminality of Hilton's. However, the signs of liminality in the *Cloud* texts differ from those in Rolle's and Hilton's works.

One difference concerns readership. Rolle's writings considered as a *corpus* had a large and varied fourteenth-century readership, which involved them in the discursive interplay of their time. Readership of Hilton's works varied from limited, as in the Latin epistles, to popular, as in *Þe Prickynge* and *Scale 1*. However, contemporary readership of *The Cloud* and its companions was select: excluding *The Study of Wisdom*, the *corpus* is extant in only sixteen fifteenth-century English manuscripts.[1] Like *Melos Amoris* and *Scale 2*, the *Cloud*-texts were therefore positioned liminally to the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century literate public, circling inward to the divine as a site of freedom from discursive pressures.

The likely Carthusian provenance of the *Cloud* and its companions, discussed above in Chapter 13, in some sense supports their liminal status, even though the history of the Carthusians as an order sanctioned by the Church since 1084 would seem to deny this. Hilton's *Epistola de Utilitate et Prerogativis Religionis* testifies to the respect sometimes accorded to a Carthusian vocation by the *Cloud*-author's contemporaries. While this respect was less equivocal than that given to wandering hermits like Rolle, Carthusians frequently experienced the criticism normally attending contemplative lifestyles. This is attested to in *The Cloud* (48.17-49.11). Furthermore, both temporal and spatial features of Carthusian life suggest liminality. Individual

English monks, such as Adam of Dryburgh in the twelfth century (Thompson 71-76) and Hilton's friend, Adam Horsley (Clark and Taylor, Vol. 1, 103), who finally fulfilled his vocation "laudabiliter," exemplify Turner's view of contemplative monastic life as "an interior salvific journey" (see Chapter 2, above). Both men evidently regarded Carthusian life as a rite of passage, in the course of which limited "reality" was cast off, and sustained prayer and contemplation prepared for emergence at death into full illumination. *The Cloud* sums up this aspiration in its account of the fourth, perfect degree of life, which "may bi grace be bigonnen here, bot it schal euer laste wiþ-outen eende in þe blis of heuen" (13.12-13).

The individual hermitages adjoining communal areas in the charterhouses, and the lives of the monks, divided between solitary and communal existence, declared transition in spatial as well as temporal terms. The fourteenth century, when six new charterhouses including Beauvale were founded, was the period of Carthusian expansion in England (see above, Chapter 1). The sites of new charterhouses in Smithfield, north of London, and in Hull, attached to the northern defensive wall of the city (Thompson 172-73, 202), extended the symbolism of liminality, since these "deserts" interacted with ordinary society, as the transactions necessary for the monks' physical support became more complex (Hogg 1978, 127-28).

The growth in Carthusian vocations, even though the numbers involved were not large,[2] and the composing of supportive pastoral works, such as *The Cloud* and *Epistola De Utilitate*, testify to the appeal an officially acknowledged life of devotion, which nevertheless encouraged individual spiritual quest, exercised in an era of crisis. The quest was liminal, contending in Shaivite terms with the authoritarian reductionism of *matrika*, in an effort to return to the source. The Carthusians' openness to guidance from liminal writings is confirmed by their ownership of the extant manuscripts of the Middle English translation of Marguerite Porete's *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, for which she was condemned and burned for heresy in 1310 (Babinsky 22-24).[3]

Carthusian involvement in the translation, transmission, annotation or criticism of works by Rolle (see above, Chapter 1 and Doyle 108-20), Hilton and the *Cloud*-author (Sargent 1976, 228, 231-38) is relevant to the liminal status of all three writers.

The Cloud and related writings exhibit the same radical focus on love of God as do the works of Rolle and Hilton. In the *Cloud* texts, this is enhanced by the singleness, simplicity and instantaneous character of "þat priue loue put in purete of spirit" (*Privy Counselling* 15-16, cf. *Cloud* 34.9-10), which is the sum of the contemplative practice taught. The texts emphasise that liturgical prayer and ecclesiastical practices, such as meditation on the Passion and sacramental confession, are essential preparation for contemplation. Although sometimes awkwardly introduced, these are approved as "þe comoun doctrine & þe counsel of Holy Chirche" (*Cloud* 104.6), and "þe comoun plein wey of Cristen men" (*Privy Counselling* 160.11, 20).

A mountain of theological learning and a labyrinth of institutional practice are nevertheless elided between the works' centring on the love of God, and the grace-assisted striving of the individual contemplative towards that centre. Hilton's defence of images in churches, of religious orders, the sacraments and priestly office against Wycliffite attack highlights the range of ecclesiastical concerns which the *Cloud*-author omits. His writings compress ecclesiastical structures into a repetitive recourse to the spiritual advisor as the single representative of the Church's authority in the aspirant's life.

Their mediæval and modern reception shows that *The Cloud* and its companions are liminal in the terms of popular ecclesiology, even though mature consideration under *logos* of their doctrinal orthodoxy and indebtedness to tradition repositions them within the institutional bounds. Their emphases, that is, their balance of discourses, rather than their intellectual content as narrowly defined, render *The Cloud* and related writings liminal to the societies which received them.

The Divine

Representations of the divine in works by *The Cloud* author support the thesis that this is the source of the vivid energy and resistance to ideology frequently displayed in the authenticated *corpus*. The originality which led Gardner to describe *The Cloud* as a "work of genius" (1947, 36) stems from the author's attempt to mediate the freedom of the divine in the volatile discourses of the crisis-ridden 1390s. Furthermore, the author's central metaphor for the divine, the cloud of unknowing, embodies the notion of liminal transition, thereby uniting two important post-structuralist conceptions of sites outside linguistically-determined "reality" (see General Introduction above).

The sources for the cloud or darkness,[4] metaphor available to the author are the Biblical narratives of the Transfiguration (Mark 9.2-10)[5] and of Moses and the cloud on Sinai (Exod. 19.9, 16);[6] occasional imagery in Guigo II's *Scala Claustralium* (Hodgson 1982, xlix); Sarracenus's Latin translation of the Pseudo-Dionysius' *De Mystica Theologica*, and Gallus's commentaries on the same text (see Hodgson *Deonise Hid Diuinite* xxxix, 94-99); and in *Benjamin Major* (*The Mystical Ark*), Richard of St. Victor's development through allegory of the Pseudo-Dionysian paradox of a cloud of ignorance which is simultaneously the "fire of an illuminated understanding" (Zinn 303). Closer to home, Hilton advises the contemplative who desires to find Jesus to toil in the spiritual darkness of the image of sin (*Scale 1*, Ch. 54, 125, C 325b).[7] In most of the post-Biblical sources, the significance of "cloud" or "darkness" is intellectually and imaginatively challenging, but fixed, in the sense of being singular. However, *The Cloud* introduces innovative shifts in significance, which have been traced by Forman (188-90; cf. Tixier 1997, 122).

At first the cloud is seen as a barrier between the contemplative apprentice and God (16.19-17.5; 47.17-20), but it later becomes a ground of meeting, pierced by God, who sends out "a beme of goostly li3t" (62.14-15). Then, in an unprecedented leap of the imagination, the cloud is identified with the outwardly Nothing of contemplative experience, which to true inner perception is the All; it is felt *to be* God (123.21). Still, the apprentice will always find it "a cloude of vnknowyng þat is bitwix hym & his God" (123.22-23).

These shifts triumphantly present the divine as actual, and yet transparent (invisible) to intellectual investigation (Corless 130-31). Smart comments that the stripping away of attributes, including the sense of the personal, from the divine was a radical step within the Aristotelian and Pseudo-Dionysian substance-metaphysic of *The Cloud* (110-12). He identifies this aspect of the cloud's representation with *nirvana* (117). Shaivism would see the cloud-darkness metaphor as sequentially removing the cloaks of ignorance imposed on *chaitanya*, divine consciousness, by the *tattvas* associated with *maya*, so that the essential oneness of all things can be perceived. In the terms of Irigaray's divine, the elusive imagery of the cloud preserves the notion of contentless, limitless potentiality. It always remains what it was conditionally when first encountered: "as it were a cloude of vnknowyng, þou wost neuer what" (16.20-17.1).

The image is liminal, in that its transient, never-completed significances match another of Irigaray's concepts: that of the sites of interchange, occluded in discourse, between the binaries by which language reflects and preserves social hierarchy. Earlier I compared the binaries with the Shaivite concept of the primal dualism which produces an infinity of differentiation. Because of its shifting denotations the title metaphor of *The Cloud* never ceases to be what Irigaray describes as "that which stands *between*," the third term "that permits progression: from poverty to wealth, from ignorance to wisdom, from mortality to immortality."

This unending transition heals duality and undoes linguistic certainty (*matrika* in its limited aspect): "All entities, substantives, adverbs, sentences are patiently, and joyously, called into question." Irigaray further identifies the site of transition between binaries with love, specifically the fecundity of Eros when relationship between the sexes is referred to (1993, 20-23).[8] The cloud of unknowing is therefore both an evocative representation of the divine, and a key to the resistance to binary oppositions repeated in a variety of contexts throughout the *corpus*.[9]

The paradoxical and slippery terms which the author employs as signs of ubiquity and transcendence in evoking the divine contrast with the sensory realism of Rolle's imagery of *calor*, *dulcor* and *canor* (or *melos*). Rolle's mimetic, excessive play with the concept of *melos*, analysed above in Chapter 12, nevertheless complements the author's ingenious use of the cloud as a non-signifying signifier. Both writers are most original and experimental in their use of language, precisely at the point where language impinges on the divine as the creative source.

By selectively validating some of the conventional descriptive statements of cataphatic theology, *The Cloud* and its companions modify the Pseudo-Dionysian axiom that the divine transcends language and thought. Something of the richness of the overall representation is suggested initially by the title, *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, rendering *De Mystica Theologica* of the translations of Dionysius' work, and exploiting in a typical word-play the ambiguity of *diuinite*, so as to suggest both "a theology of contemplation" and "the hidden divine" (Lees, Vol. 2, 258).[10] A passage not indebted either to Sarracenus or Gallus embodies the theory of the divine as freedom, affirmed by Shaivism and central to this study:

> For we moten be in þis werk as it were men makyng an ymage of his nakyd, vnmaad, & vnbigonne kynde; þe whiche, þof it be in itself & to itself euermore free--wiþinne alle creatures, not inclusid; wiþouten alle creatures, not schit oute; abouen alle creatures, not borne up; bineþe alle creatures, not put doun; behynde alle creatures, not put bak; before alle creatures, not dreuen forþe--neuerþeles ʒit, to mans vnderstondyng, þe whiles it is knittyd to þis corumpid bodi, he is neuermore cleerly schewid... (6.12-17)

The *Cloud*-author's focus on the divine predetermines his unique, three-tired epistemology. Since the divine is experienced through love, he deplores, especially in *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*, intellectual activity and quest, which impede advanced contemplative practice, although grace may at last illumine the intellect. Most of his references to the intellect are therefore more or less scathing. Such phrases as "coriouste of witte" run through his major writings like a refrain,[11] often linking the intellectual "wittes" antithetically to the senses, the "bodily wittes," and opposing both to true spiritual working.

Similarly, his attitude to the imagination, with attendant notions of fantasy and opinion, follows the austere Augustinian tradition that it is a source of error (Bundy 165-72, 177). He agrees with Gallus's view that the imagination must be left behind in spiritual ascent (Minnis 1983, 341), but his denunciations, beyond a recognition that the imagination was created good, exceed anything found in Gallus.[12]

Together with his rejection of the "bodily" intellect and imagination in the context of contemplation, the author's negative attitude to academic learning - "corious kunnyng of clergie" (*Privy Counselling* 145.18) - can be understood as contributing to a general repudiation of *logos* in his writings. However, in the political context of a heresy initiated in an academy which simultaneously encouraged and contained new ideas,[13] his approach appears conservative. Chapter 56 of *The Cloud* condemns precisely the sequence of events which gave rise to Lollardy.[14] The author's rejection of book-learning can also be related to the popularist trend of the century, which influenced Rolle and Hilton, and reached fruition in Langland's satire of learned fools. In using the phrase, "þees corious lettred *or* lewed men" (2.24), *The Cloud* temporarily obliterates the hierarchy of educational privilege which was an important support of middle-class economic and social aspirations. *Privy Counselling* contains a provisional consent to the use of "mans clergie & his kyndely kunnyng" in active life, such as prelacy (*Privy*

Counselling 162.19-163.9), but the goal ultimately proposed is a wisdom which transcends the limitations of both language and learning:

> Bot now (for to make aseeþ to þi proude witte) in comendyng of þis werk, trewly I telle þee þat ȝif a soule, þat is þus ocupied, had tonge & langage to sey as it feliþ, þan alle þe clerkes of Cristendome schuld wondre on þat wisdam.
> *(Privy Counselling* 153.11-14)

The second tier of the author's epistemology approves true knowledge of contemplation, including that which prevents or corrects "wrong working," since "oft-tymes vnknouing is cause of moche errour" *(Discretion of Spirits* 88.8-9, cf. *Cloud* 50.8, 16 and 51.2-7). He views such knowledge as a means for reinstating love of God as the purpose of life, thus regaining a prelapsarian perfection.

The politics of the author's disparagement of scholarship, the intellect and the imagination on the first tier, and of his approval of accurate knowledge of contemplation on the second, can only be understood fully in terms of the primary purpose of these *epistemes*, which is to be the means for experiencing the one truly worthwhile object of knowledge, the divine. The divine comprises the third tier of the author's epistemology. We have seen that in *Denis' Hidden Divinity* supra-rational knowledge of the divine is synonymous, among other concepts, with freedom. Thus, while the author's epistemology largely bypasses social comment and social action, it does indicate a fundamental method by which individuals can overcome anxiety as a primary form of social coercion.

Freedom from anxiety is particularly clear in the notion of play, in Shaivism the central metaphor for divine creative action. Of course on a foundation of Christian assumptions and traditions (Clark 1996, Vol.2, 175-77), this enters the *Cloud* texts by several routes. The author encourages the contemplative to use stratagems ("sleiȝts"), invented in the course of his own spiritual practice (Norquist 1995, 37): he should appear not to desire God, to pretend to cower

to spiritual foes, and so to surrender to God's care (*Cloud* Ch. 32). In contrast with *Scale 1*, which insists soberly that the anchoress should regard her unfitness for active life as "soþ and no lees" (Ch. 16, 89, C 289b),[15] the *Cloud* texts recommend benign pretence, in the forms of both playing like a child and play-acting. *Denis' Hidden Divinity* imbues even the standard concept of contrition with a sense of enthusiastic discernment, by attaching the adjectives, "sleiȝ" and "listi," not found in the sources (3.1). The spontaneity and joy of contemplative play in relation to the divine is seen further in metaphors appearing throughout the *corpus*.[16] It is movingly expressed in the following simile:

> Þis is childly & pleyingly spoken, þee þink, parauenture. Bot I trowe who-so had grace to do & fele as I sey, he schuld fele good gamesumli pley wiþ hym, as þe fadir doþ wiþ þe childe, kyissyng & clippyng, þat weel were him so. (*Cloud* 88.1-4)

As with Rolle, who, as we have seen, often uses language in an exuberantly playful manner, understanding of the link between play and creativity in the *Cloud* texts is deepened by application of aspects of Winnicott's psychoanalytic theory. This proposes (5) that infants grow by using *transitional objects*, perceived simultaneously as external to the self and as an aspect of inner experience. Play with such objects occurs in the liminal psychic time or space between mother and baby which is the foundation of healthy development and creative living (41).

The above quotation from *The Cloud* and metaphors of play throughout the *corpus* can therefore be understood as use of primary memory to convey the essence of creative freedom in relation to the divine. The connection made in both anthropology and psychoanalysis between transitional phenomena, and what is creative for society and the individual, enhances the value of the liminal writings of Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author for readers in the present.

The author's chosen modes of affirming the divine support suggestions already made as to the positioning of the *Cloud* literature in relation to contemporary discourses. Thus, the texts'

role as a refuge from critical social tension is enhanced by their free adaptations of Augustine's presentation of God, in the famous opening to the *Confessions*, as the heart's only true resting-place (cf. Ps. 76.2, Matt. 11.28-29, Heb. 9-11). *The Cloud* imports a paradoxical dimension into the common description of contemplation as rest, by insisting on its alternative status as "werk" (110.19-111.2), a dynamic activity of the will, by which the aspirant comes to rest eternally in God (116.17-19), who is likewise experienced as "pees & rest" (123.21). These ideas have precedents and are developed elsewhere in the *corpus*.[17] In *Discretion of Stirrings* love of God alone is seen as the ultimate rest from the imposition of dichotomised choice, theorised above as the basis of the unfreedom produced and governed by language: "Bot louely and listely to wilne haue God is grete & passing ese, trewe goostly pees, and erles of þe eendles rest" (76.18-20).[18]

We have seen that in the terms of Shaivite theology and of Irigaray's secular feminist theory, the divine, identified above all with love, is the field of creativity, fertility and production. These take various expressive forms in human life. The culmination of the Christian mystical path, defined as a union through love with love, is also associated with these qualities.[19] *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling* describe some of the fruits of advanced practice. These include an effortless love for friends and foes, relations and strangers alike, attended by a dismantling of such dichotomies (*Cloud* 59.5-14);[20] a transformed and attractive outward bearing and personality, as the contemplative becomes an unobstructed channel for grace (*Cloud* 100.5-13); spontaneously virtuous behaviour to fellow Christians (*Cloud* 100.14-22; *Privy Counselling* 146.18-20); and a capacity for total self-giving (*Privy Counselling* 142.9-22). *Discretion of Stirrings* explains further how "a reuerent stering of lastyng loue" (75.11) continuously maintained in the will guides the contemplative in decisions about outward austerities (75.15-76.5), and in fact "schal gouerne þee discretly in al þi leuyng withouten any errour" (75.16-17.

Cf. *Cloud* 81.2-8, 92.14-16).[21] By implication, the contemplative who fosters "þis meek steryng

of loue" (*Cloud* 93.12) will be led moment by moment in a spontaneous appropriateness in all

activities.

This sheds light on the interior process by which the *Cloud* texts themselves arose, as

suggested by the following passage, where the author justifies his use of a metaphor of play to

describe the apprentice's activity towards God:

> Loke þou haue no wonder whi þat I speke þus childly, & as it were folily & lackyng[22] kyndly discrecion; for I do it for certeyn skyles, & as me þinkeþ þat I haue ben sterid many day boþe to fele þus & þink þus & sey þus, as weel to som oþer of my specyal freendes in God, as I am now vnto þee. (*Cloud* 88.5-9)

The writings associated with *The Cloud* can therefore legitimately be regarded as an emanation

from the divine, mediated by the author, and constantly declaring their origin, their primary

freedom from the dictates of language and society, in a vivid stylistic and conceptual freshness.

In resistance to the dominant trend of present scholarly comment and criticism, I am seeking

here to re-establish these qualities as a central focus in the reading of these texts.

Chapter Twenty-One

MINIMISING LANGUAGE IN *THE CLOUD*

AND RELATED WRITINGS

Just as the author of *The Cloud* draws on assimilated patristic traditions as a basis for his experiential and individual instruction, so he uses rhetorical conventions, derived from both Latin and English sources, as the basis for a novel use of language. Novelty resides primarily in techniques of minimisation and constriction.[1] The present chapter examines the interface between innovative, energised features of the *Cloud* texts, involving a minimising of language, and automatic or conventional aspects, where the devices of rhetoric are nevertheless skilfully employed. I believe that the author speaks the innovative passages from a point of inner meeting with the divine creative energy. By contrast, the conventional passages speak him, and allow him to be heard, within the "reality" (*maya*) produced when the same creative energy (*matrika*) takes on limitation as language.[2]

This chapter therefore resists the critical trend which analyses stylistic and structural features of the *Cloud* group in terms of rhetorical convention, which in the late Middle Ages chiefly involved amplification and decoration. Some of the *Cloud* texts' formal properties do not respond to theorising as rhetoric, while others, governed by the author's negative, Pseudo-Dionysian understanding of language, are diametrically different in that they oppose elaboration. These features usually refer to mystical ascent or the divine. They elicit attention as moments of dissent from language as the instrument of a restrictive and coercive ideology, when the texts compress the intricate competing discourses of a decade of crisis into radical simplicity. Chapter Twenty-two, following, considers specific formal instances of the major interface between innovative and conventional aspects outlined here.

The impetus behind the author's minimising techniques is a radical distrust of language's capacity to mislead, in Shaivite terms, the delusionary power of *matrika*. His insight is radically opposed to Ciceronian rhetoric's affirmation of clarity as an attainable goal (Dixon 34). He understands the danger in language as stemming from, and reciprocally promoting, confusion between "goostli" and "bodili" meanings. In maintaining an awareness of language's inability to express the divine, he follows his mentor, the Pseudo-Dionysius, as well as more accessible sources such as Hilton. However, his own writings drive the principle of language's deceptiveness, resulting from its submergence in bodily existence, much further:

> For þof al þat a þing be neuer so goostly in it-self, neuerþeles ȝit ȝif it schal be spoken of, siþen it so is þat speche is a bodely werk wrouȝt wiþ þe tonge, þe whiche is an instrument of þe body, it behoueþ alweis be spoken in bodely wordes. (*Cloud* 114.6-9)

Doubts about language emerge in mundane contexts, such as the author's self-censoring in *Privy Counselling*: "Lo! Here many wordes & lityl sentence" (164.7),[3] and in the connections he regularly makes between speaking and sin or folly: "he wil þus jangle euer more & more til he bring þee lower..." (*Cloud* 27.6-7); "my blabryng fleschely tonge" (*Cloud* 62.20).

Further evidence of a fundamental distrust of language is the encouragement given to the reader in some of the *Cloud* texts to pass through and beyond the written words into contemplative practice (cf. Tixier 1997, 136). The ending of *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, considered in relation to its sources, demonstrates this vividly. Sarracenus's Latin translation, closely imitated by Gallus's Paraphrase (*Extractio*), concludes with a climactic over-straining of language in the effort to express transcendence. The ensuing silence is eloquent, both with language's failure and an implied suprarational perception:

> Ipsam neque ponimus neque auferimus; quoniam et super omnem positionem est perfecta et unitiva omnium causa, et super omnem ablationem est excessus ab omnibus simpliciter absoluti et super tota.[4]

The English translation further over-burdens expression by repeated explicit references to the failing of the intellectual powers, so that the following silence is even more persuasive:

> Hym we mowe neiþer set ne do awey, *ne on any vnderstondable maner afferme him, ne denie him.* For þe parfite & þe singuleer cause of al *most nedelynges be wiþoutyn comparison* of þe *moost hiӡe* heiþt abouen alle, boþe settyng & doyng awey. And his *not-vnderstondable* ouerpassyng is *vn-vnderstandabely abouen alle affermyng and deninge.* (10.17-23; repetitions and additions unsourced in Sarracenus or Gallus are italicised.)

Similarly, the ending to *An Epistle of Prayer* brusquely curtails textuality in favour of contemplative practice:

> No more at þis tyme, bot Goddes blessing haue þou & myne. Reed ofte; forӡete it not; sett þee scharpely to þe profe; and fle alle lettyng and occasion of lettyng, in þe name of Iesu. Amen.   (59.14-15)

Encouragement to the reader or hearer to move quickly through *logos* and into *Logos* is given also in *The Cloud*. The opening prayer initiates a method of *lectio divina*, recommended by Guigo de Ponte as *degustatio* (Tixier 1987, 6, note 2 and 13-14). This invites the apprentice to ponder the text deeply in short bursts ("rumination"), and to practise briefly any contemplative exercise described, as a means of awakening love (Tixier 1987, 15; cf. Leclercq 1974, 90). The carefully formulated chapters and detailed, prefaced tabulation, as well as the many brief, rhetorically-structured units which *The Cloud* contains,[5] imply and support this method. Subordination of explanation to experience is seen further in the author's hope that the knowledge of perfect humility which his writing imparts will in itself make the disciple more humble (*Cloud* 42.14-20). These are instances of liminality, as the *Cloud* texts cross and re-cross the border between words and the "werk." As *Privy Counselling* concedes, "siþen we mowe not speke it, lat us speke *of* it" (153.21, emphasis added).

The tendency to minimise language is seen in the *Cloud*-author's choice of English as the practical medium for instruction in all his known writings, in preference to Latin as the more

self-consciously literary, educational, and ecclesiastical medium. The choice is supported, especially in *The Cloud*, by a colloquial spontaneity which, by opposing formal æsthetic aspects, further undermines the literary status of the writing. The impulse to linguistic frugality is further evident in the author's obsessive self-corrections and in his use of paradox. As he avails himself, inevitably, of the hierarchised dichotomies, stemming, according to Shaivism, from *maya* as the primal illusion of duality, and encapsulating fundamental power differences in language and society (Cixous, "Sorties" 90-91), the author uncovers, surprisingly and for his readers' benefit, permeability of boundaries and fluid transitions between states of life. Finally, his advice to reduce multiplicity of words in contemplation, is paralleled by a move in his texts to compress the intricate hierarchies of thoughts and words into unity.

The choice of English over Latin, following the developments in Hilton's *corpus*, is the primary sign in *The Cloud* and related writings of the dominance of a pastoral purpose over any ambition to produce literature. The contrast between these works and the literary striving of some of Rolle's Latin writing of fifty years earlier demonstrates the ideological distance travelled. It is a leading paradox of the *Cloud* group, that the most innovative formal features stem from subordinating literary purpose and technique to practical aspects of contemplation.

Various signs indicate that the author's target audience obliged him to write in English. In *The Cloud* he distinguishes his apprentice from "þees greet clerkis, & men & wommen of oþer degrees þen þou arte" (86.26-27), and in *Privy Counselling* defends his teaching against learned detractors, again differentiated from his immediate readership: "my writyng to þe & to oþer" (137.9). *Denis' Hidden Divinity, Discretion of Spirits*, and *The Cloud* stand out among devotional works of the period, except for *Scale 1*, in their scrupulous avoidance of Latin. They present Biblical and other quotations wholly in translation,[6] and even explain: "Lesson, Meditacion, & Oryson...to þin vnderstondyng þei mowe be clepid: Redyng, Þinkyng & Preiing"

(71.12-14).[7] Presumably the author translated *De Mystica Theologica* for readers who did not know negative theology or apophatic contemplation, because they could not read Sarracenus and Gallus for themselves.

However, in the end the author educated the learned as well as the unlearned, in a more general sense than he expected.[8] Although not a university graduate, the Carthusian Methley was an "impressive Latinist" who, a century later than *The Cloud* and its companions, composed works on contemplative prayer (Hogg 1984, 107 and 112, note 3). However his translation of *The Cloud* reveals that he had no direct knowledge of Dionysius or his Latin interpreters (Walsh 1988, 18-19). In the century following the writing of *The Cloud*, when Latin hegemony over preaching and secular writing in England was eroded as never before (Rigg 242), most contentiously through Wycliffite sermons and Bible translations, the *Cloud*-author facilitated this process within the narrower discursive setting of monastic life.

The Latin translations of *The Cloud* carried out for English, and not Continental, readers (Hogg 1984, 114, note 34) indicate the respect in which the text was held. Such translations were considered a necessary preliminary for intensive study by Latin-educated readers (Courtenay 15-18). On the level of society the translations nevertheless invite further interpretation as attempts, widely separated in time, to alleviate ideological tension attending the original choice of English. This tension was still current when Methley responded to the Mount Grace vicar's request for a translation. Hogg speculates that the vicar, Dom Watson, made his request in part because "theological writings in English had not yet achieved full respectability in conservative circles" (1984, 107). This renders the *Cloud*-author's use of English even more innovatory in the context of the 1390s.

Although the *Cloud corpus* comprehensively exploits Latin rhetorical forms, a departure from the æsthetic imperatives of ecclesiastical culture is implied, especially in *The Cloud* itself,

by the colloquial immediacy of much of the writing. The text appears as a living entity, governed spontaneously by the author's intuiting of his reader's needs, based on his own contemplative practice. The adaptation is more subtle than that of Hilton's letters, which tune in to the material and spiritual circumstances of recipients, overtly delineated in the texts.

A liminal merging with circumstance is illuminated by the probability that the disciple's adoption of solitary life, following his spiritual progress as detailed in the first chapter (14.10-15), was the occasion for the writing of *The Cloud*: "Þerfore schal I not lette, ne it schal not noye me to fulfille þe desire & þe steryng of þin herte, þe whiche þou hast schewed þee to haue vnto me before þis tyme in þi wordes, & now in þi dedes" (91.24 - 92.2). Later the author offers to amplify any matter on which the disciple requires further advice (130.14-17). Such a request presumably led finally to the writing of *Privy Counselling* (Windeatt 78), the opening sections of which exemplify the quality of free responsiveness referred to.[9] In *The Cloud* this appears again in a division occurring between Chapters 26 and 27, where a climax is achieved, and an ending apparently made, before a fresh beginning: "First & formest, I wil telle þee who schuld worche in þis werke..." (63.1).[10] Probably this is a point at which, after ending his work, the author responded to a request to recommence. Yet further examples of structural spontaneity include the insertion of the account of the faculties of the soul from *The Twelve Patriarchs* in Chapters 63 to 66, where they elucidate the levels of spiritual working; and, broadly, the many briefer passages apparently incorporated from *Scale 1* (Clark 1996, Vol. 3, 103-106). The notion of a responsive compilation of his own and others' adapted material goes some way towards delineating the author's organisational method in *The Cloud*. Rhetorical or scholastic conventions are secondary to his inspired sense of momentary appropriateness.

The living, vernacular quality of the text, contending against the formal perfectionism assumed by the handbooks of Latin rhetoric assimilated by the author, is seen further in his

willingness to enter into honest dialogue with his apprentice. In the course of this he reveals that he has been an habitual sinner (43.13-14, 51.2-8), and that he is still a learner in contemplative practice (67.15-19). The warmth of their relationship peaks in the conclusion, where he identifies himself with Bezaleel, the maker of the Ark of contemplation, and his disciple with Aaron, its priestly keeper. The author's humility and self-revelation contrast with the categorisation of mystical experience retained by his source:

> Ecce nos in hoc opere quasi Beseleel officium suscepimus qui te ad contemplationis studium instructionem reddere et quasi in arcæ operatione desudare curavimus. Longe tamen meipsum in hac gratia præcedis, si ex his quæ audis adjutus intrare prævaleas usque ad interiora velaminis, si illud quod quasi in propatulo laboramus et juxta communem usum comprehendimus et assignamus, tu prævalueris per mentis excessum perspicere, et quasi intra velum videre.[11]
> (*The Mystical Ark*, or *Benjamin Major*, Lib V. Caput I. *P.L.*196:169)

> Lo! goostly freende, in þis werk, þof it be childly & lewdely spoken, I bere, þof I be a wreche vnworþi to teche any creature, þe ofice of Beȝeleel, makyng & declaryng in maner to þin handes þe maner of þis goostly arke. Bot fer betir & more worþely þen I do, þou maist worche ȝif þou wilt be Aaron: þat is to sey, contynuely worching þer-in for þee & for me. Do þen so, I prey þee, for the loue of God Almiȝty. & siþen we ben boþe clepid of God to worche in þis werk, I beseche þee for Goddes loue fulfille in þi partye þat lackiþ of myne. (*Cloud* 129.4-12)

These passages demonstrate the author's independent adaptation of sources referred to above. While Richard remains aloof, referring to himself mostly in plural first-person pronouns and verbs, the *Cloud*-author annihilates distance between himself and his disciple by acknowledging their shared vocation, divinely given. Like Hilton, he deconstructs his authority and draws them into unity, resolving, if only momentarily, the hierarchised opposition supporting his text.

The author's egalitarian impulse, here as on other occasions, goes beyond a mere rhetorical stance (Morris 13-16, 19). The opening to the passage quoted fuses the "werk" of writing with the "werk" of contemplation, and points to a basic complementarity, of both using and transcending language, in the author's experience. The reference to *The Cloud* as "spoken"

confirms the likelihood of mixed oral and written composition and transmission (cf. 1.12-13, 71.20-22, 114.6-9).[12] This appears also in the shaping of the text so as to engage the ear (Hodgson *Deonise Hid Diuinite* li); in the constant references to the author as composer in such phrases as "me þinkeþ," "I telle þee," "I mene," "I trowe," "I sey nat," "I sey þat"; and in the alliteration, which accords with English poetic and devotional tradition (Mueller 72). Such features enhance the sense of personal communication conveyed by the frequent use of dialogue, which hardly in this context recalls the rhetorical figure of thought, *sermocinatio* (John of Garland 132; but cf. Morris 14-15). The passage opens out into the hope and promise of the disciple's contemplative attainment, thus challenging once again the boundary between words and the "werk."

A similar deconstruction of the author's position as teacher in favour of a contemplation shared with the reader is seen in *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, in two phrases which amplify the sources: "as it is possible to me for to speke & to þee to vnderstonde, loke þat þou rise wiþ me in þis grace" (3.9-10; Sarracenus: "sicut est possibile, ignote consurge"[13]); and "us alle þat ben practisers of þis deuinite" (6.32, unparalleled in Sarracenus or Gallus).

The author's warning in the prologue to *The Cloud* (2.9-18) against partial reading, which may diverge deliberately from Hilton's advice at the end of *Scale 1* (see Chapter 16, above), is the most immediate manifestation of his concern for clarity. Like his choice of English and colloquial spontaneity and approachability, this concern can be ascribed to a pastoral care for a readership uninformed about his subject matter. His warning requests concentrated attention and comparison within the text, rather than an associative or imaginative recalling of sources, and so encourages minimising of language.

The most pervasive manifestation of the author's doubts about language is his custom of negative definition or explanation. Much of his doctrine in *The Cloud* consists of lengthy

rebuttals of possible misconceptions. These progressively constrict semantic possibilities, before

the text expands, on the other side of the linguistic interface, into briefer positive formulations.

The basic paradigm is exemplified in the initial extended explanations that the cloud and

darkness are not physical, and so are not accessible to the imagination. These lead to brief

assertions: "when I sey derknes, I mene a lackyng of knowyng...& for þis skile it is not clepid

a cloude of þe eire, bot a cloud of vnknowyng" (23.13-24).

The following is a more complex development of the paradigm, in which the reduction

of semantic possibilities is somewhat suborned by rhetoric:

> ȝe, & ȝif it be cotesye & semely to sey, in þis werk it profiteþ litil or nouȝt to
> þink of þe kyndenes or þe worþines of God, ne on oure Lady, ne on þe seintes or
> aungelles in heuen, ne ȝit on þe ioies in heuen: þat is to say, wiþ a special beholding to
> hem, as þou woldest bi þat beholding fede & encrees þi purpos. I trowe þat on no wise
> it schuld be so in þis caas & in þis werk. For þof al it be good to þink [a]pon þe kindenes
> of God, & to loue hym & preise him for hem: ȝit it is fer betyr to þink apon þe nakid
> beyng of him, & to loue him & preise him for him-self. (*Cloud* 25.4-12)

The emphatic repetition, "in þis caas & in þis werk," eliminates mistaken application of the

teaching to spiritual life in general; and "þat is to say" introduces the proviso that particular

focus on aspects of God's goodness is to be avoided. Both are examples of semantic

constriction. The constriction intensifies sequentially in the list of thoughts to be denied, the

qualities of God with adjuncts, leading finally into an affirmation of the single, most profitable

activity: love of God's "nakid" being. Expression mimes contemplative practice. The whole

passage might be regarded as a prolonged *contrarium*, the figure of speech which denies the

contrary of an idea before affirming it (Geoffrey of Vinsauf 1118, ed. Nims 56), but this view

nullifies the adaptations and extensions that support the author's individualistic teaching. In fact

the most forceful rhetoric occurs at the end, conventionally the point of greatest emphasis, in the

contentio (antithesis) which introduces the key assertion, after the interface between the

constrictive and expansionary modes has been crossed. The constrictive trend controls most of the space and energises the brief expansionary conclusion.

The operation of the constrictive-expansionary paradigm is seen on a larger scale in the warnings about bodily and spiritual understanding of prepositions which recur, supported by a range of negative and positive *exempla*, in Chapters 51 to 61 of *The Cloud*. These qualify in advance the extended application of such terminology in Chapter 62 and other expansionary passages near the end, for example the climactic references to Moses' ascent of the mountain (126.25-127.2, 128.3-5). Mostly, however, they retrospectively restrict the meaning of "up," "down," "above," and "below," which are constantly applied to spiritual working in preceding chapters.[14] This vindicates the author's recommendation of repeated reading of the whole treatise (129.18-21). The references forwards and backwards are a primary example of self-correction and of his general effort in *The Cloud* to contain the physically associative tendencies of language.

Paradox, which has no equivalent Latin word, is not defined in Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, nor, consequently, in the many mediæval handbooks directly or indirectly derived from it, including those by Geoffrey of Vinsauf, John of Garland and Robert Basevorn. However, both paradox and oxymoron as its shorter form are sometimes used in an expansionary or "literary" manner, to startle a reader or hearer who suddenly recognises a broader truth in an ingenious contradiction, as frequently in Donne's poetry: "Death, thou shalt die!" Alternatively, these devices are used, as often in mystical writing, to frustrate the attempt to make rational sense of two opposed but conjoined notions, as in the phrase, "blinde beholdyng" (*Cloud* 32.7). With the failure of *logos*, the mind is led to the undefined creative space *between* the opposites, as defined by Irigaray, or raised to the divine, "above" the syllabic "reality" produced by *matrika*. In the *Cloud* texts, paradoxes and oxymorons evoke either the practice of word-free,

imageless contemplation, as in "blinde beholdyng," or (fail to) represent the divine as transcendent subject, as in "þis souereyn-schining derknes" (*Denis' Hidden Divinity* 5.27; Sarracenus: "In hac superlucenti caligine"). In such cases the power of language is turned against itself.[15]

Apart from playful paradoxical statements in *An Epistle of Prayer* (49.11-12) and *Discretion of Spirits* (87.19-21, 90.16-17), paradoxes and oxymorons in the *Cloud* group, ultimately based on *De Mystica Theologica*, are designed to achieve what *Denis' Hidden Divinity* refers to succinctly as "þe schortyng of wordes" (8.13-14). In *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, the author translates Dionysius' paradoxes concerning the intellectual knowing which is in effect "vnknowen" (5.22), and conversely his hope of clearly knowing "þat vnknowyng" (7.5-6). He also faithfully renders Dionysius' references to the divine darkness which is essentially light (3.17, 5.27, cf. 7.7-8). He adds an anti-intellectualist reference to "þees vnwise men ʒit wonyng in here wittys" (3.19-20), and imposes his oxymoron from *The Cloud*, "blynde beholdynges," on Sarracenus's "circa mysticas visiones" (2.32).

References to "blynde beholdyng" flow steadily through *Privy Counselling*, where they counteract any tendency to break down the being of the contemplative (139.12), or creation, (142.9-12), or God (143.22, 144.1-3) into multiple parts, however worthy or unworthy, which are subject to thought (139.12). As the contemplative sleeps "in þis blinde beholdyng of þi nakid beyng, þus onyd to God" (147.17-18), he carries out his activities and resists the world, flesh and devil (147.24-29, 151.24-26). The author explains later that the "blynde werk" of the soul is accompanied by "a maner of goostly siʒt" (165.5-11), and the paradox remains in use with a different referent, even after the contemplative has attained to the state of chaste love. He then sees his God and his love "bot blyndely, as it may be here" (169. 17-20). In this way the

oxymoron of "blinde beholdyng" transports the failing of language to the key ideas explicated in *Privy Counselling*.

It is a further sign of the author's independent attitude to sources which he has thoroughly assimilated, in this case the Latin interpreters of Dionysius, that, apart from the formulation of "blinde beholdyng" referred to above, and continuing generalised play on the theme of a knowing which remains an unknowing (Johnston 1967, 17), *The Cloud* itself contains no technically-developed oxymorons or paradoxes.[16] However, the transformations undergone by the cloud of unknowing, seen repeatedly for most of the text as an opaque barrier or point of connection, and then unexpectedly transformed into a "Nothing" ultimately discovered to be "All," combines the dramatic quality of literary paradox with the transcendency of its anti-linguistic partner.[17] The author's later experiential application of this paradox in *Privy Counselling* (149.6-19) has no known precedent.[18] As Keller observes:

> Mystics will often negate a proposition at a climactic point of a discourse whose development seemingly had not prepared us for semantic or syntactic puzzles. Typically, the negated proposition is a semantic paradox whose effect is to reveal the ambiguity of the discourse we have been reading. (3)

In the case of *The Cloud*, the revelation of paradox suddenly reaffirms the metaphorical quality of the many preceding accounts of activity and experience in the cloud of unknowing, thus challenging the reader to move through imaginative perception (the delusions of *maya*), into "goostli" working.

Discretion of Stirrings exemplifies another important aspect of the minimising of language in the *Cloud* texts, since its primary focus is on the reduction of a dualism: whether or not to engage in self-chosen asceticisms. The work is simultaneously playful and hard-hitting, arriving at illumination through benevolent trickery. Close consideration reveals the erroneous basis of the disciple's question, and leads to a sequential destruction of the delusive "web of

words," in which he is caught up. The opening repeats the disciple's dualisms five times, in a *mimesis* of the state of "stuckness" in dichotomies. This is equivalent in Shaivite philosophy to the mistaken sense of duality, and, in post-structuralist thought, to the deceptive constructions of language, founded on the separation of subjectivity (62.2-5, 6-10, 18-20; 63. 3-6, 6-10). In *Discretion of Stirrings* a masterly discussion brings in the suggestion that the disciple should find, through his heart's love, the thing hidden *between*: God, who is the source of all free choice (71.8-11, 22-24).[19] The tedious dichotomies are dismantled and fused in oxymorons at the same instant that "stuckness" dissolves in flow: "Chese þee him; and þou arte silently spekyng & spekingly silent, fastyngly etyng and etyngly fasting; and so forþ of alle þe remenant" (71.26-72.2).

The *Cloud* texts reproduce four traditional hierarchies of spiritual life, but in doing so they emphasise, not the static determinism of the levels, but rather the permeability of the boundaries which separate them, as well as the possibilities for ascent and (less often) for descent. The author's optimistic view of spiritual hierarchy is symbolically related to the widening opportunities for individual social advance which were an outcome of contemporary upheavals.

The first of the hierarchies, of common, special (or monastic), singular (or solitary) and perfect life, is confined for its expression to the first two chapters of *The Cloud*. The focus is on the crossing of boundaries. The disciple's love of God has drawn him through to the third level, so that now he can learn to step towards the fourth. The close of Chapter 1 leaves him in a condition of open-ended *betweenness* (14.12-15), which, as it transpires, is maintained for most of the book, as the disciple continues to work in the undefined area *between* the equally undefined clouds of forgetting and unknowing.

Privy Counselling applies the term, "common," to active life and "special" to contemplative. However, the focus is still on the permeability of the division between the two states, which is at the free disposal of grace (164.15-168.9, *passim*). As the apprentice attempts to cross, he enters the *limen*, figuratively "þe goostly see...schipping ouer fro bodelines into goostlines" (167.15-16).

The common hierarchical division between salvation and perfection, ultimately based on Matt. 19.17-21, does not occur in those terms in *The Cloud*, and is rarely referred to in *Privy Counselling*. On these occasions, the interest is again in unfinished transition: the good deeds of active life lead to salvation, but the contemplative's sacrifice of himself by a common intent for all "deseruiþ not only saluacion bot *ledeþ to* þe grettist perfeccion" (143.1-2, my emphasis). Later the focus is on Christ as the true door to the house of perfection in contemplation, which again is neither intransigently open nor closed (161.8-162.7). In *An Epistle of Prayer*, a further slippage in the levels of hierarchy occurs, by which a concern for salvation differentiated from perfection (49. 22-50.1) gives place to a division between "comoun" perfection and "þe pointe & prik of perfeccioun" (54.13-21). By contrast, the translator of *The Study of Wisdom*, probably not, as we have seen, the author of *The Cloud*, adds to *The Twelve Patriarchs*, as represented in Migne, a passage which identifies salvation with love of God in the affection, and perfection with an enlightened reason (22.1-4).[20] The emphasis on fluidity in the *Cloud* group, and on stasis in *The Study of Wisdom* further supports separate authorship.

Slippages between levels occur also in the third of the author's hierarchies of attainment, confined to Chapters 35 and 36 of *The Cloud*. He departs from his possible source in Guigo II's *Scala Claustralium*,[21] where there is a neat correlation of duties and levels, to lump together "biginners & profiters" (71.18) with the duties of reading and meditation as preliminaries to prayer. However, even this progression is subsumed in the account which follows of the "sudden

conseites...wiþ-outen any menes" (73.1-3; cf. *An Epistle of Prayer* 55.21-22) which is the form

meditation takes in those who are "parfite, ȝe, as it may be here" (71.19).

Finally, *The Cloud* departs significantly from the dichotomised patristic tradition in expounding the upper degree of active life and the lower degree of contemplative life as a third term, interchangeably divided (31.6-14) or single (47.8-12), negotiating the space *between* the lives: "In þis partye is contemplatyue liif & actyue liif couplid to-geders in goostly sibreden & maad sistres, at þe ensanple of Martha & Mary" (53.19-21). This is an abstract rendition of Hilton's practical exposition of mixed life in his English letter of that title. *The Cloud* states further that each life, active and contemplative, even advanced contemplative life, contains elements of the other (31. 8-14).[22] Cixous's theory, that the interleaving of dichotomies is essential for new creation,[23] supports the conclusion that *The Cloud* here activates forces promoting ideological change.

Like Shaivite philosophy, the *Cloud* texts ultimately identify the liberating "third term" existing between the dichotomies (and bridging them all in the primal union of Shiva and Shakti) with the divine. In *Discretion of Stirrings* that which the contemplative seeks *between* fasting or not fasting, *etc.* is revealed to be the "o þyng" which Mary sought, her "optimam partem" of contemplative life, located between the good and better choices, "Almiȝty Iesu" (73.7-74.10); and in *Discretion of Spirits* "þe best partye of contemplacion" is again said to be to "liue in loue and in siȝt of þe hiȝe pees of þe Godheed" (85.10-12).

By tying the notion of three *parts* inventively to Jesus's validation of Mary's "best part," the author is able to reassure readers of his compliance: "þre *lyues* ben þei not, for Holi Chirche makiþ no mynde bot of two - actyue liif & contemplatyue liif" (53.4-5). The existence of this explanation betrays ideological tension, and it is significant that St. Gregory, the central figure

in the evolving tradition of the lives, offers a different resolution: "Nor does He say that Mary hath chosen 'the good' part, but 'the best,' that Martha's may also be shown to be good" (*Homilies on Ezechiel* 2.ii, qtd. in Butler 247). Other significant departures from St. Gregory show how the author's treatment of the lives freely adapts traditional material.[24]

The Cloud repeatedly contrasts the multiplicity of active with the singleness of contemplative concerns, the "o þing... nessessary" (31.18-20, 52.1-23). The trend climaxes in Chapter 67, in a passage which brings together "onyd," "one," "onheed," and "only," with reference to the divinising of the contemplative (120.6-20). Such repetitions are an important aspect of the minimising of language in the *Cloud* texts. By reducing variety, they reduce the multiplicity of words, in a textual *mimesis* of the contemplative process. In Shaivite terms, the repetitions are mantras used to purify and simplify *matrika*. The words which the author most typically repeats are "meek" and "blynde," applied to the "steryng of loue"; and "nakid," applied to the being of the contemplative or of God. They function in an opposite manner to the repetitive tropes and figures which the author uses so skilfully to please the ear and the æsthetic sense. Instead, they approach sequentially the singleness of contemplation, as well as its activity on a level of being "beneath" *logos*, or the rational level of language. The repetitions also mime persistence of effort in successive acts of contemplation, emanating from and showing the way back to the singular divine space.

A specific example of such *mimesis* is the passage (*Cloud* 28.10-29.6) which recommends attaching a single word to the divinely-inspired "steryng of loue" which is the essence of the "werk." The "steryng of loue" finally combines in a single linguistic unit all the dichotomies, hierarchies and multiplicities in the author's doctrine.[25] The passage itself displays both his characteristic pusillanimity about language: "take þee bot a litil worde of o silable" (28.11-12), and his drive to unity: "sey him þat þou wilt haue it al hole, & not broken ne vndon"

(29.3-4). It is in fact unified on repetitions of "worde," and encapsulates the argument of the present chapter, the interface between expansionary rhetoric and minimising of language in the *Cloud*-author's writings. "Worde" is linked at first with warrior metaphors to create *repetitio* (*anaphora*) (28.17-20), but later mimes the repetitive practice being taught, designed to merge with the stillness of the divine (29.1-4). The many repetitions in the passage exemplify the futility of too many "wordes."

Chapter Twenty-Two

SPEAKING AND NOT SPEAKING IN THE *CLOUD* TEXTS:

TECHNICAL DEMONSTRATIONS

Structure: Free Compositions

Those works of the *Cloud* group, in which the author has determined structure without reference to a translated source, combine linear sequences skilfully based on rhetorical prescriptions with freer, spontaneous formats which sometimes disrupt rhetorical progression. The complex structures enact the major interface outlined above, between a declining Latinate literary consciousness directed to elaboration, and the vigour and experiential immediacy of concise new vernacular forms. The latter arise particularly when the subject is the divine, or such approaches to the divine as transcend language or means. They reveal the texts' free engagement with the creative space simultaneously "behind" and pervading the contending discourses of an era of crisis.

While some critics find a linear development through sections in *The Cloud of Unknowing*,[1] others see its structure as indeterminate or whimsical. Textual support can be adduced for both observations. It is argued here that *The Cloud* meets the minimal prescriptions of the rhetorical text books by a linear plan of sections which conforms superficially with the view of contemplation as a progression through stages.[3] However because *The Cloud* in fact concentrates on the unitive way, a lively confrontational structure, mixed with dialogues and supported by narrations, randomly disrupts the linear development. This powerful sub-structure mimes the unpredictable operation of grace on the individual psyche. In the form of freely-bestowed love of God, grace is the chief governor of the "werk."[4] The substructure in relation to the linear plan parallels the play of the divine in the context of social hierarchy. The disruption of sequence by the sub-structure ultimately supports the doctrine prominently placed

at the beginning of *The Cloud*, that the whole contemplative process is accomplished in an "athomus" of time coterminous with each impulse of the will (17.14-18.7).

Each of the four principal sections comprising the rhetorical linear plan ends with reference to progress or perfection. The first section is enclosed by exhortations repeated in Chapters 2 and 26 (15.21-16.1 and 62.4-5). It climaxes, as noted above, with the possibility that "þe beme of goostly liʒt" will penetrate the cloud (62.14-15). Section Two (Chapters 27-44) begins by reconsidering preliminary questions, and ends by expressing the hope of union with God in perfect charity (85.7-8). The third section (Chapters 45-67) is predominantly negative in tone, analysing deceptions and dominated by the confrontative structure, but thematic continuity and elements of linear sequence are present.[5] This section, too, is rounded off with the hope of perfecting the "werk": "to be onyd to God in spirit & in loue & in acordaunce of wille" (120.6-7). It heightens by contrast the rhetorical consummation of the linear plan in the final section.

Section Four begins by reversing preceding negative teaching on a bodily misconceiving of such prepositions as "up" or "down," "in" or "out," through the explanation that "noʒwhere bodely is euerywhere goostly" (Ch. 68, 121.14-15). Chapter 69 offers a fictive fulfilment of the hope of penetrating the cloud evoked at the end of the first section, when the cloud itself is discovered potentially to *be* God (123.21). These positive transformations lead rapidly into the emotional and rhetorical climax of the whole work, the exegesis of Moses on the mount in Chapters 71 and 73, which poeticises all the preceding evocations of attainment. These chapters utilise the emotive power of the figurative parallels developed in *Benjamin Major* (*The Mystical Ark*), in contrast with the elimination of such parallels in the adaptations from *Benjamin Minor* (*The Twelve Patriarchs*) in Section 3. The identification of the cloud of unknowing with the

cloud on Mount Sinai, implicit through tradition from the first mention in Chapter 3, is explicitly

evoked for the first time. The stirring of love towards the cloud, the essence and fulfilment of

the prosaic "werk" repetitively evoked in earlier sections, is identified with the mythical

splendours of the Ark of the Covenant, in an intruded passage taken from the beginning of

Benjamin Major:

> & weel is þis grace & þis werk licnid to þat arke. For riȝt as in þat arke were contenid
> alle þe juelles & þe relikes of þe temple, riȝt so in þis lityl loue put ben contenid alle þe
> vertewes of mans soule, þe whiche is þe goostly temple of God. (126.21-24)

The operation of the confrontative structure, in which one argument is qualified or

disproved by another, as in academic debates of the period (Courtenay 59), is demonstrated in

Chapter 21 above. The structure operates most powerfully in Section 3 of *The Cloud*, where

brief and often subtle positive formulations contrast with many passages of negation and

descending argument. In Chapters 51 to 53, a series of structural descents pile deception on

deception and condemnation on condemnation,[6] until the indecorous deportments of those

deceived are finally represented as signs of instability and restlessness, "& namely of þe lackyng

of þe werk of þis book." (100.1-2). In Chapters 55 to 57, negative formulations spiced with

ridicule explain that the devil, vanity and "corious worchyng," and a physical interpretation of

the Ascension and saints' visions, mislead those who understand too literally the advice to lift

up their hearts to God. The powerful negative portraits and analyses are finally countered by a

single assertion, "a beme of goostly liȝt": "For whi oure werke schuld be goostly, not bodely, ne

on a bodely maner wrouȝt" (106.14-15).

The fictional dialogues, or occasionally dramatic debates, which support the

confrontational structure are multi-vocal, enlivened not only by the "author" and "disciple," but

also by such speakers as Christ (45.1, 52.2-4, 11-12, 24;109. 18-24) and the thought which in mimicry of distraction persists in questioning the disciple (26.13-27.2).

The narratives of the disciple's spiritual history at the beginning, and of Moses, Bezaleel and Aaron at the end support the linear plan of *The Cloud*. The digressive impetus produced by other narratives is seen primarily in the psycho-drama of Martha and Mary which runs through Chapters 16 to 22. The moving rhetorical *encomium* of the mutual love between Mary and Christ in Chapter 22 contrasts in the confrontative structure with careful explications and qualifications going before. Narrative diverges again in Chapters 37 to 39, on prayer, which are linked by an *exemplum* of an emergency of fire.[7]

A similar interface of structural modes is apparent in the letters, *Discretion of Stirrings* and *An Epistle of Prayer*, where rhetorical linear structures, more orderly than in *The Cloud*, mime controlled logical thought in introductory and concluding sections. These frame central, freely-ordered recommendations of a contemplation governed by grace, having the divine as its object, and consisting of "a reuerent stering of lastyng loue" (*Discretion of Stirrings* 75.11) and "chast loue" (*An Epistle of Prayer* 53.8-9).

Discretion of Stirrings begins by proposing that the recipient should follow the leading of grace. The introduction then sets out two queries which are answered sequentially in the body of the letter. The answers follow a similar pattern: each begins with an avowal of the author's unworthiness to offer counsel, and goes on to develop arguments on the basis of elaborate analogies. The conclusion summarises the main points, proclaims, "And þis suffiseþ for an answere for alle þi lettre" (77.14), and gives a blessing.

As in *The Cloud*, the rhetorical framework holds a strong æsthetic appeal. Blake comments that it "is quite perfect in its way" (23). More striking however is the subordination of the framework to a particular situation, and a doctrine of contemplation indifferent, and even

antagonistic, to rhetoric. At specified points the author sacrifices perfection of structure to vivid, unselfconscious, and honest statement, approaching the simplicity of the divine.

The analogies, which are rhetorical and yet suggest a transcendent deconstruction of dichotomies, exemplify the divergent dedication of rhetoric in *Discretion of Stirrings* to the supra-rational. The ship of the soul passes through fallings and risings, through storms of tribulations and calms of spiritual comfort, through flows and ebbs, before reaching the harbour of self-knowledge which is true discretion (64.7-20). The turrets of the *fleur-de-lys* on the crown of life represent love of friends on the right, love of enemies on the left, and in the centre, "one euen up unto God, abouen mans vnderstondyng" (66.4-10). Of the two eyes of the soul, love strikes the target because of its singleness, after a wounding of the eye of reason (Cant. 4.9), by which "þe siȝt were sondrid in beholding of many þinges" (73.2-3). The analogies thus prefigure or reinforce the pattern of searching for the thing hidden *between* rational choices - the divine, through which those same choices are made "in fredom of spirite" (71.9-10). A powerful passage, seemingly targeting the limited knowledge produced by multiple syllables through forceful opposing repetition of the singular, "God," is the heart of instruction in *Discretion of Stirrings* (71.12-72.2).[8]

The rhetorical analogies of the first half of *Discretion of Stirrings*, defining true spiritual attainment, contrast with an interim conclusion of uncompromising honesty, in which the author tells the recipient that he thinks him "gredely disposid" to singular asceticisms (67.8-11), and that he suspects that his motivation is external imitation of others, "on ape maner" (68.7-10, 25-69.1). The transition from highly-wrought imagery to frank engagement with circumstance vividly demonstrates the primary structural interface of the *Cloud* texts.

An Epistle of Prayer likewise transcends dichotomies through analogy. Dread of death and hope of God's mercy, polarised thoughts comprising the root and trunk of the tree, engender, in a reversal of the Genesis myth, the single fruit of reverend affection,[9] which leads to the "mede" of everlasting life (55.23). The fruit is parted from the tree when God is loved for himself and not for his gifts, and so transformed into "chaste love," which is open-ended, surpasses intellectual cognition, and "may vnnoumerable tymes in one oure be reisid into God sodenly wiþouten mene" (55.25-56.1). The centre of the treatise, which is loosely organised, uses nuptial imagery from the Canticle to extend the unity of "chaste loue" into union with God (53.10-58.15), but dichotomised patterns resume towards the end (58.16-59.5). Rhetorical structure thus supports activities of the human reason and will, while "þe sience of deuenite and of Goddes loue" (55.20-21) is freely conveyed.

The Book of Privy Counselling initially demonstrates involvement in an actual situation, when it defines the audience as a particular disciple or others similarly disposed (135.7-9). Two approximately equal sections follow. The first advises the disciple to stretch his naked intention to God, without any consideration of the properties of being (135.13-155.4). The second (155.5-172.18) corrects this by pointing out that God and not the disciple is the worker, and that the goal is not after all awareness of the disciple's being, but of God's (156.9-15). This corrective structuring technique confirms the author's commitment to his pupil's progressive enlightenment, which takes precedence over any formally planned or rhetorical perfection.

The first section nevertheless follows a rhetorical pattern, determined by two exegeses of Proverbs, with divisions marked by quotation of the Vulgate texts (140.10-14 and 145.7-14), and concluding with imaginary objections and responses, in a characteristically confrontative structure. A rhetorical climax is achieved when various designations of the "werk" used in the

Cloud texts are brought together: "þis same werk...is þat reuerent affeccion...þis is þe cloude of vnknowyng...þe Arke of þe Testament..." (154.11-20).

Following its corrective introduction, the second section of *Privy Counselling* offers further exegeses, of John 10.9 and John 15.5, again indicating division by Latin quotation. [10] Like the first, the second section concludes with imaginary questions from the disciple, and responses, some of which are subdivided. A second climax is achieved, referring back to the corrective proposition of the opening of the section: the paradoxically blind sight and the feeling beyond "þees sensible felynges," of "þi God & þi loue" (169.17-26). Such phrases as "chaste love" (cf. *An Epistle of Prayer* 53.8-9) and "þe sovereyn poynte of þi spirit" (cf. *Cloud* 2.3, and Hodgson 1982, lv) signal a deliberate intertextuality, encouraging interpretation of the passage as a summation of the author's works. A final distinctive structural feature of *Privy Counselling* is the unity imparted by references to Christ, featured in all the major sections. [11] The book extends the creative independence of *The Cloud*, in that rhetorical structures are subordinated to the author's commitment to his subject and his disciple's welfare.

Structure: Translated Writings

The translated works attributed to the *Cloud*-author vary greatly in structural, as in other kinds of dependency on their sources. While *The Study of Wisdom* applies a uniform technique of abridgment and explanation, *Denis' Hidden Divinity* displays a free selectivity, actively strengthening connections with the teaching and style of *The Cloud*. *Discretion of Spirits* reproduces the major interface between linear and spontaneous organisation in contrasts between translated and freely-composed sections.

The Study of Wisdom simplifies and emphasises the framework of *The Twelve Patriarchs*. It entirely omits[12] or radically curtails[13] allegory tangential to Jacob's wives and their servants and to the successive births of their children. Passages of philosophy, ethics and psychology are treated similarly.[14] The translation often selects material from the source at the rate of only one or two sentences per chapter, and sometimes reorders in the interests of coherence.[15] Additions, such as the summary of contents further explicated in the diagram appended in most manuscripts (13.19-16.3), signpost the allegory or its immediate significance with a repetitive simplicity infrequent in authentic *Cloud* texts.[16]

If, as Ellis suggests, the Middle English translator of *Wisdom* worked with an already abridged Latin version, his approach, which primarily involves the cultural transference of a rhetorical text to a less sophisticated vernacular context, differs profoundly from the translator's method in *Denis' Hidden Divinity*. In the latter the *Cloud*-author's mastery of his material is seen, not only in the decision announced in the beginning (2.5-12), to clarify the difficulties in Sarracenus's translation by selecting from Gallus's exposition (and in fact he chooses actively from among Gallus's Paraphrase, Commentary and Gloss), but also in the energetic remaking of the Latin originals in the image of *The Cloud*. Thus the confirmation of the earlier text by the later promised in *The Cloud* and reaffirmed in the Prologue to *Denis' Hidden Divinity* is enhanced by the author's decisions as translator. Although the changes made are minor, having no effect on the structure of the Pseudo-Dionysius's text, which is faithfully mediated by Sarracenus and Gallus, they are also pervasive.[17] By introducing affective, experiential, personal and explanatory elements, they humanise the remote intellectuality of the original, and suggest the immediate relevance of the divinity expounded.

The interface between rhetorically prescribed and spontaneous formats recurs in *Discretion of Spirits*, in contrasts between translated and independent sections.[18] The freely-

composed centre of the treatise exhibits the spontaneity and personal immediacy of the intensely individual passages in *Cloud* texts already discussed. This is underlined by the contextualising of the teaching in "devout congregations," and by the use of second-person singular pronouns. These take the place of St. Bernard's formal "we"and "oure," which are retained in sections translated from the sermons (81.20, 82.1, 2). The fact that the freely-organised central section deals directly with the divine and the possibility of attainment (85.9-15) supports the linkage between freedom and the divine central to this study. As in most of the author's works, whether translated or original, references to grace as a variable but crucial factor tend to undercut rhetorical triads or dichotomies, which are, however, given more scope here than in other *Cloud* texts. The handling of sources, comparable in its freedom with *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, although the method applied is different,[19] confirms the initial assumption of this study, following Hodgson and others, that *Discretion of Spirits* is rightly placed in the *Cloud*-author's canon.

Imagery

The Cloud and its companion texts use metaphors, similes, symbols, and allegory often within a discussion of apophatic contemplation, where spiritual signification tends naturally to dominate the physical. Some images are nevertheless amply expressed and vividly evocative of the physical world, while others short-circuit imaginative associations and limit verbal expression. The former represent elaboration and the latter constriction of language in the major interface exemplified in this chapter. A qualitative difference exists between the two kinds of image use, in that whereas the former participates in the hierarchised and unfree "reality" which in Shaivite terms is the limited manifestation of *matrika*, the latter seeks a simplification,

tending to recover the primal purity of *matrika* as divine mother. In its contest with language the constrictive imagery is both more energised and more culturally creative.

Studies of the imagery of *The Cloud* in isolation from the companion texts come into contention along the line of demarcation just described. Some commentators emphasise non-physicality or non-specificity. Brian points to the presence of "sunken" images, which are visual but not pictorial; to the superimposition of incompatible images; and to the linking of simple images with terms of epistemological negation in what is almost an anti-metaphor, for example, "cloud of unknowing" (69-70). Riehle states that the author, "is almost painfully obsessed with his attempts to make the reader aware of the improvised, provisional character of mystical imagery" (1981, 9). Caldwell traces a progression in *The Cloud* from literal, through abstract images, to finally, the paradoxical pseudo-image (13).

A second development of critical opinion emphasises the physical, visual and imaginative quality of the book's images. Burrow states that the author's exposition of contemplation "teems with unpurged and creaturely imagery of a very solid and physical kind," as a means of underscoring his key distinction between physical and spiritual (293-96). Minnis extends this view by asserting that "the experiential and concrete quality of the imagery and symbolism contributes greatly to the affective appeal of the work" (1983, 350). He places the imagery under the anagogical principle, by which images of the physical world were rehabilitated ("upraised"), notably by Grosseteste and Gallus, as media for communicating the divine (1983, 342-43). However, the continued subordination of physical symbolism in mediæval thought is indicated by the goal of anagogy stated by Grosseteste (Minnis 343), which is to experience the divine on a level beyond symbols and images. To praise the physical images of *The Cloud* for what they are in themselves may be to superimpose a late Romantic criterion on a mediæval principle. The approval given to the sensory realism of selected *Cloud* images in

twentieth-century literary commentary suggests that these are among the more accessible and ideologically respectable aspects of the text.[20]

The author's repeated theorising of the spiritual as "above" the physical confirms his allegiance to the anagogic priority.[21] Rovang traces attempts in *The Cloud* to demythologise metaphors: "The *Cloud*-author ...prefers to eliminate mythologising language; but where he cannot, he is careful not to let it occlude his spiritual meaning" (137). *The Cloud, Denis' Hidden Divinity*, and *Privy Counselling* devote much creative energy to inhibiting the physical associations, and to recollecting the figurative status of images. The effort to transcend words and images in the "werk" of contemplation therefore extends mimetically to yet another linguistic practice of the central *Cloud* texts.

The essence of instruction in *The Cloud* is conveyed by the recurrent metaphors of cloud, darkness (or light), blindness and nakedness. These are striking for their non-specificity, which suggests the openness of their tenors and invites the reader to enter into the mystery of loving relationship with the divine, and ultimately into the divine mystery. Visualisation is thwarted by an interweaving of intangible referents (Brian 31), in a procedure which radically rejects the rhetorical classification of metaphor (*translatio*) as a decorative trope (*ornatus difficilis*) (John of Garland 237, 240): "þou fyndest bot a derknes, & as it were a cloude of vnknowyng" (16.20-17.1); "nakid entent" (17.2); "a meek blynde stering of loue" (22.18); "cloude of forȝetyng" (24.3); "þe nakid being of God him-self only" (32.7-8); "blynd werk" (33.18); "a nakid minde" (34.23); "nakyd sodein þouȝt" (35.20); "lityl blynde loue" (58.8); "a nakid wetyng & a felyng of þin owne beyng" (83.3). *The Cloud* draws attention both to the figurative status of its central metaphors, and to the technique for "sinking" metaphors: "it is not clepid a cloude of þe eire, bot a cloude of vnknowyng" (23.23). The beam of light which pierces the cloud is "goostly" and

the ineffability of the experience is immediately acknowledged (62.14-17). The spatial content of the imagery is also purged: "for in goostlines alle is one, hei3t & depnes, lengþe & brede" (75.2-3). As the text progresses towards its final recommendation of negative contemplative practice, darkness is redefined as a superabundance of spiritual light (122.11-13; cf. Ch 21, above, endnote 16). In this way the affective content is transformed, while the visual content remains undefined.[22]

This usage is an idiosyncratic development from Hilton's conventional, negative employment of the metaphors of blindness, darkness and nakedness, to convey the deceptive rapture of pride,[23] or to destroy an illusion,[24] or to designate Church members' limited understanding,[25] or withdrawal of the sense of grace.[26] However, *Epistola de Utilitate* employs this imagery more positively, to describe the stripping away of worldly concerns in preparation for entering monastic life,[27] and *Scale 1* uses "naked" in a way which anticipates *The Cloud*.[28] *Scale 2* advises the contemplative to make himself "naked of alle his good dedis" as he strives for humility (Ch. 20, 225, H 83v), and finally, in imitation of *The Cloud*, in striving towards Jerusalem, to "make þiself nakid fro...boþe gode dedis and badde" (Ch. 21, 229, H85v).

More fundamentally than its complex contemporary connections with Hilton's writings, the nexus of cloud-darkness-light imagery central to the structural development of *The Cloud* is an ingenious extrapolation from traditional elements in the Bible and writings of the *via negativa*. In *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, the author translates the paradoxical essence of negative theology in compact form, "where alle þe priue þinges of deuinitee ben kouerid and hid vnder þe souereyn-schinyng derknes of wisest silence" (2.19-21); but, apart from stray references in *Privy Counselling* (136.7, 154.17), transposed darkness-light imagery does not reappear in other freely-composed or translated works. The experiential aspect of the imagery recurs in *An Epistle*

of Prayer and *Discretion of Stirrings* in metaphors of blindness : "blinde abiding of his wille" (49.3), "blinde schote with þe scharp darte of longing loue" (72.12-13), "a blinde stering of loue unto God" (76.6).

Both blindness and nakedness metaphors abound in *Privy Counselling*, but the author does not theorise the imagery of this late work as he does that of *The Cloud*. The ubiquitous references to blindness and nakedness nevertheless function in practice as anti-metaphors, obstructing the connotative properties of language, not only through paradox, as outlined above in Chapter 21, but also through the denial of pictorial or tangible referents. As Smart comments, "Bare being differs not a whit from bare nonbeing, save that it signals the commitment to a certain style of ontology" (119). The imagery captures the freedom from theological determinism latent in the author's view of the divine.

The anti-metaphors in *Privy Counselling* are often transposed in relation to their referents, or fused together, doubling their impact and further inhibiting the imagination, as in, "þe nakid siȝt & þe blynde felyng of þin owne being" (141.24); "be as blynde in þe louely beholdyng of þe beyng of þi God as in þe nakid beholdyng of þe beyng of þi-self" (144.1-3). The allegorical exegesis of Proverbs is deflected from its traditional base by interweaving with the anti-imaginative system of imagery, which identifies first fruits and substance with the contemplative's being, "nakedly seen" and "blindly felt" (141.23-26). The conceptual emptiness of "naked" is further enhanced in *Privy Counselling*, as never in *The Cloud*,[29] by oppositional clothing metaphors, which, however, also follow St. Paul into linguistic transcendence:

> For þof al I bid þee in þe biginnyng...lappe & cloþe þe felyng of þi God in þe felyng of þi-self ȝit schalt þou after...nakyn, spoyle & vtterly vncloþe þi-self of al maner of felyng of þi-self, þat þou be able to be cloþid wiþ þe gracyous felyng of God self. (156.9-15)[30]

Anti-metaphors thus mediate transition at a pivotal point in the structure of *Privy Counselling*, as described above. The sense of a playful interaction with the divine is again evident, in the implied view of figurative unclothing and reclothing as contemplative "slei3ts."

In the first thirty-two chapters of *The Cloud* an innovative group of kinæsthetic metaphors,[31] unparalleled elsewhere in the *corpus*,[32] describes the work of treading, putting, beating, smiting, and bearing down, thoughts, beholdings, impulses and sins, often under the cloud of forgetting, and of smiting, beating and putting upon with love, and of lifting love up to, the cloud of unknowing. The anagogic principle, by which the physical serves the spiritual, persists, in that the imaginative content of the verbs is limited by their association with intangible objects or instruments. The author theorises this when he warns against a physical misconceiving of such advice as "how a man...schal clymbe abouen him-self" (95.21-23). The cluster converges on a single phrase at the structural turning point which is Chapter 68, when the kinæsthetic metaphors reach the extreme of "wrastlyng," and the contra-visual metaphors attain their consummation: "wiþ þat blynde nou3t" (122.3).

The *Cloud*-author's remaking of the Pseudo-Dionysius' sculpting analogy, which is the most substantial single change made to sources in *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, adapts the analogy to the teaching and vocabulary of *The Cloud*, and simultaneously theorises a distrust of physical imagery and the imagination. The English text inflates Gallus's simile with experiential details,[33] but radically questions its validity at the point of application: "Ri3t so we must haue us in þis hi3e deuyne werk, as it is possible to be comyn to in vnderstondyng by soche a boistous ensaumple of so contrary a kynde" (6.9-11). The text then proceeds to spiritualise or "sink" the physical simile, first by revealing the inability of any terminology to define the form hidden at the centre of the block, the divine, which is never clearly revealed to human understanding (6.18-

19); and secondly by interpreting the surrounding obstructions as fantasies and concepts (6.20-23). The transformation and implied rejection of the analogy concludes by insisting on the ineffability experienced by those who succeed in paring away the "kombrous clog" of bodily and imaginative knowledge (*maya*, or discursively mediated "reality"), "by sleiȝt of grace in þis deuine werk" (6.24-26).[34] None of this is paralleled in the sources.

When the author blames heretics for being like madmen who always cast the cup of physical signification to the wall after drinking the spiritual contents (*Cloud* 107.17-19), he reaffirms both the sacramental nature of the world as a medium for divine truth - in Shaivite terms as a manifestation of divine reality - and the validity of the Church's sacraments as vehicles of grace, against specifically Lollard objections (Hudson 1988, 290-301). Images tending to the elaboration of language exemplify his position in all *Cloud* texts, where they often co-exist with the images of linguistic constriction just analysed.

Most images utilising the associative properties of language are extrapolations from well-known Scriptures, filtered to the *Cloud*-author through patristic and monastic tradition. They are frequently attached to less challenging aspects of his teaching than the primary apophatic instruction. Some normalise imagery elsewhere used "negatively," as when *Privy Counselling* contrasts the bright sun of divine illumination with the workings of the natural intelligence, "þe derknes of þe moneschine in a mist at midwinters niȝt" (145.30-146.5).[35] Many de-energised commonplace images also occur.[36] Formal passages of allegorical exegesis, such as the innovative readings of Proverbs in *Privy Counselling*, contrast with the unadventurous exegetical style of *Wisdom*.[37]

Imagery in the authentic texts often uses language without overt contention or reservation to remake the source material. For example, the author provides an individualistic rendering of

the exegetical commonplace of defending the windows of the senses against temptations (Jeremiah 9.21), when he describes the devil as "bussching & betyng on þe walles of þin house þere þou sittest" (*Privy Counselling* 148.14-15), and when he advises his disciple in *The Cloud*, "& kepe þou þe windowes & þe dore for *flies* & enemies assailyng" (16.19-20, emphasis added).[38] An idiosyncratic imagination is also at work in the instruction to "Take good gracyous God as he is, plat & pleyn as a plastre, & legge it to þi seek self as þou arte" (138.28-29). Such a simile suggests that the divine infuses physical experience. It functions to involve the reader in the drama of the inner life, and is far from being merely rhetorical.[39]

This applies to many images in the *Cloud* texts, which use language enthusiastically in detailed pictures of right working. Textual *jouissance* thus impinges on the bliss of divine contemplation. Readers are invited to imbibe the images, to call upon them in contemplative practice, and to use them as tests.

The culminating exemplification of this is the sea voyage analogy in *Privy Counselling* (167.17-168.9). By contrast with its formally arranged parallel in *Discretion of Stirrings*, which preserves a thoughtful distance from events, this subordinates the devices of rhetoric, such as *exclamatio* and *dissolutio* (omission of connective words), to mimicry of baffling, moment-by-moment changes in the sense of grace:

> For sodenly, er euer þou wite, alle is awey, & þou leuyst bareyn in þe bote, blowyn with blundryng, now heder now þeder, þou wost neuir where ne wheder. Ʒit be not abascht, for he schal come, I behote þee, ful sone, whan hym likiþ to leþe þee & douƷtely delyuer þee of alle þi dole, fer more worþely þen he euer did before. Ʒe! & Ʒif he eft go, eft wol he come aƷeyn... (167.25-168.6)

The analogy ends, not with landfall as in *Discretion of Stirrings*, but with the open-ended possibility of further "pleying": "& alle þis he doþ for he wil haue þee maad as pleying to his wille goostly as a roon gloue to þin honde bodely" (168.7-9; cf. Tixier 1987, 10).

Originality, precision and applicability in imagery used to convey abstract and difficult concepts and contemplative states are therefore among the outstanding technical features of *The Cloud of Unknowing* and its companion texts. These qualites are undeniable, both in images which utilise, and those which reduce, the connotative properties of language and the multiplicity of words.

Vocabulary and Rhetoric

A subordination of Latin vocabulary and rhetoric to an imaginative evocation serviceable to contemplation is evident in the sea voyage analogy in *The Book of Privy Counselling* just considered. As a logical extension of the primary choice of English over Latin in the *Cloud corpus* discussed above in Chapter 21, this is the key to rhetorical function in both *Privy Counselling* and *The Cloud*. The major technical interface between expansive and constrictive language use demonstrated in the present chapter can be traced at the basic level of style and vocabulary in the authentic writings of the group.

Generally, "expansive" equates with "rhetorical," and "constrictive" with "practical," but like other dichotomies, this is subject to partial reformulation. A reading of rhetorical textbooks current in England in the period confirms the claim made above that the impetus of mediæval rhetoric was towards amplification.[40] However, devices found in *Cloud* texts which minimise language use, such as paratactic constructions (Nims 41) and aphorisms (Nims 56), were also theorised by the rhetoricians. A holistic transfer of the term "rhetorical" to the *Cloud* group nevertheless remains inappropriate, since other than rhetorical criteria, which are primarily æsthetic, predominate. Rhetorical analysis can sometimes produce absurdity. For example, Geoffrey of Vinsauf's assertions that a proverb makes a "brilliant" beginning and

"adds distinction" to a poem (Nims 20-22), hardly seem applicable to the homely wisdom of *The Cloud*: "For þei sey þat God sendeþ þe kow, bot not by þe horne" (57.10); "bot wirche more wiþ a list þen wiþ any liþer strengþe" (87.6-7).[41] The *Cloud*-author probably imbibed rhetorical training at school or university, and may not have shared Chaucer's affectionately patronising literary awareness of Geoffrey.[42] Instead, he employs rhetoric in the same foundational manner that he applies the teachings of the Fathers.

The issue of rhetorical analysis in relation to the *Cloud* texts crystallises in respect of alliteration, which is pervasive, and which, according to context, either supports rhetorical constructions and repetitions, or contributes to vernacular and contextual realism, as in the passage just quoted: "bareyn in þe bote, blowyn wiþ blundryng." *Nominatio* (onomatopoiea) in these phrases appears less as a rhetorical trope than as a customary extension of English poetic and oral devices into prose. Similarly, alliteration in instructive passages throughout the *Cloud* group is not primarily decorative or designed to impress (as it is superlatively in *Melos Amoris*), but contributes to practical and experiential goals. It often appears as an automatic rather than contrived aspect of the *Cloud*-author's expression. Like alliteration, doublets, long habituated, superlatively by Hilton, in both English (Stone 93, 122-23) and Latin prose traditions, also occur frequently in the *Cloud*-texts in both expansive and constrictive passages.

The alternation and convergence of linguistically expansive and constrictive writing are nevertheless easy to distinguish, according to the following criteria. Expansive passages are typified by decorative rhetorical devices often involving syntactical repetition, as in balances and antitheses. They include long and grammatically complex sentences, often Latin/ecclesiastical or French vocabulary, and decorative or repetitive adjectival and adverbial usages. Expansive writing generally prepares for, expounds, elaborates or qualifies points, or imposes or confirms ideological conformity. Thus it often appears slow-moving or static.

The contrasting passages of linguistic constriction breach the literary limits of the text in a preliminary *mimesis* of contemplative practice. In Shaivite terms *matrika* is purified in such passages, beginning the process of a return to the source. As the text moves the apprentice to *act*, various forms of verbal simplicity and directness temporarily prevail. In the *Cloud*-author's works, these are associated with the personal, with experiential immediacy, with the imperative mood of verbs, with vigorous exhortations and homely examples. Repetitions encapsulate major points rather than function rhetorically. The nexus of "naked," "blind," "feeling," and "being," usually occurring in linguistically constrictive passages in *Privy Counselling*, is an example. Vocabulary is predominantly Anglo-Saxon/Scandinavian and words are brief. The oral dialogue component of the text is evident in references to the author as simultaneous composer and speaker: "me þinkeþ," "I telle þee," "I mene," "I trowe," "I sey nat," "I sey þat."

Hodgson traces many probable neologisms in the *Cloud corpus*, and concludes that the language is "fresh and up to date" (*Deonise Hid Diuinite* xxxi). In contrast with Latinate rhetoric and erudition, such factors produce a Julian-like "homlynes" in the *corpus*. The minor textual strategies associated with "homlynes" testify to ideological involvement by the *Cloud* group in the new English vernacular and popularist trends of the preceding twenty years.

The interface of expansive and constrictive language use at the level of rhetoric and vocabulary configures itself differently between texts. While *Privy Counselling* and to a lesser extent *The Cloud* demonstrate a relaxed mastery of syntactical complexity and of tropes and figures, alternating with informal or briefly expressed passages, *Discretion of Stirrings* gives little, and *An Epistle of Prayer* almost no scope to non-rhetorical utterance. *Discretion of Spirits* mixes comparatively informal (or less careful) rhetorical passages with others of more brevity and force. Of the full translations, *Denis' Hidden Divinity* both adds emphatic rhetorical devices and displays a loyalty to Anglo-Saxon vocabulary and non-scholarly usage; while *Wisdom*

replaces the lyrical and flexible rhetoric of *The Twelve Patriarchs* with a sober, utilitarian and predictable eloquence suited to a basic representation of Richard's thought. Consequently, the interface just delineated disappears, in a further demonstration of this text's extra-canonical status.

The interface as outlined will be illustrated initially by considering selections from the many instances of circumstantial realism in *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*, in relation to their contexts of rhetorical expository prose. Hodgson's editions extensively analyse and exemplify the author's mastery of rhetoric (*Cloud* 1958, xlviii-xlix, lxxxi-lxxxii; *Deonise Hid Diuinite* xxx-xxiv, xlvii-lvii). The following discussion does not therefore examine passages of expansive rhetoric in detail.

The Prologue to *The Cloud* opens with two immensely long sentences, complex in syntax and rhetoric (1.8-2.8; 2.9-15),[43] leading to: "& þerfore, in eschewing of þis errour boþe in þi-self & in all oþer, I preye þee par charite do as I sey þee" (2.17-18). The admonition uses alliteration and French vocabulary, but the native English intonation of the final clause points the reader towards external action, beyond the text. Immediacy and circumstantiality extend into the English vocabulary of the alliterating list of excluded readers, which follows (see Chapter 19, above). The list is mimetic, both replicating the sound of whispering (Hodgson *Deonise Hid Diuinite* li), and suggesting large numbers through accumulating synonyms: "ianglers", "tiþing tellers, rouners & tutilers of tales." There follows a further capturing of unpolished vernacular speech tones: "For myn entent was neuer to write soche þing unto hem. & þerfore I wolde þat þei medel not þer-wiþ, neiþer þei ne any of þees corious lettred or lewed men" (2.21-22).

The opening of Chapter 3 similarly exemplifies "schortyng of wordes":

> Lift up þin herte vnto God wiþ a meek steryng of loue; & mene him-self, & none of his goodes. & þerto loke þee loþe to þenk on ouȝt bot on hym-self, so þat nouȝt

worche in þi witte ne in þi wille bot only him-self. & do þat in þee is to forȝete alle þe creatures þat euer God maad & þe werkes of hem, so þat þi þouȝt ne þi desire be not directe ne streche to any of hem, neiþer in general ne in special. Bot lat hem be, & take no kepe to hem. (16.3-9)

The consciously liturgical opening, and the echo of Romans 12.18 in "do þat in þee is" ("si fieri potest, quod ex vobis est") locate the practice being taught concisely within tradition. Vocabulary and rhythm are Anglo-Saxon and everyday. Alliteration and doublets ("worche in þi witte ne in þi wille," "þouȝt ne desire," "directe ne streche"), appear as automatic textual features. Repetition of "him-self" is a simple but memorable mimesis of the contemplative focus advocated, supporting the practical dynamics of the passage. A stylistically complex paragraph following lists the benefits of "þis werk," with decorations of *repetitio* (anaphora), *contentio* (antithesis), *traductio* (repetition for emphasis), *frequentatio* (accumulation of facts or arguments) and emphatic inversion, thus producing an interface.

Constriction of language is evident in the following extract from *Privy Counselling*:

> þat meek derknes be þi mirour & þi mynde hole. Þenk no ferþer of þi-self þan I bid þee do of þi God, so þat þou be on wiþ hym in spirit as þus, with-outyn departyng & scatering of mynde. For he is þi being, & in him þou arte þat at þou arte, not only bi cause & bi beyng, bot also he is in þee boþe þi cause & þi beyng. & þerfore þenk on God as in þis werk as þou dost on þi-self, & on þi-self as þou dost on God, þat he is as he is & þou arte as þou arte, so þat þi þouȝt be not scaterid ne departid, bot onid in hym þat is al; euermore sauyng þis difference bitwix þee & hym, þat he is þi being & þou not his. (136.7-16)

Apart from two-language confirmatory doublets - "departyng & scatering" - and common words of French extraction - "mirour," "difference" - or theological - "cause" - the language is Anglo-Saxon and largely monosyllabic. A sense of vital, intimate communication results, strengthened by reference to the speaker: "I bid þee," and by reiterative second-person singular pronouns. Heavy alliterative metaphors in the first sentence convey the intellectual darkness in which the perceiving subjectivity will merge with the object perceived. Far from being decorative,

repetitions of the nexus, "he/hym"- "þou/þi"- "beyng"- "cause," create subtle and complex connections, establishing union as both a textual and a contemplative goal. The passage is nevertheless notably unselfconscious, deflecting attention from itself towards the reader's practice. Writing of this kind interfaces (137.4-25) with the author's defence of the simplicity of his teaching, conducted in complex, parenthetic and periodic sentences, with a blossoming of the adverbs, adjectives and alliterating antitheses usual in expansive passages.

The expansive passages comprising a large proportion of *An Epistle of Prayer* and *Discretion of Stirrings* are more predictable and formal than those in *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*. Governed as they are by rhetorical structures and developed analogies, they recall the static perfection of manuscript art. In both works sentences are typically long and complex, and, even at the points where dichotomies are deconstructed, language is lyrical and decorative in the manner of St. Bernard or Richard of Saint Victor.

Powerful brief assertions nevertheless occur at a point of climax in *An Epistle of Prayer*: "Þis is chaste loue. Þis is parfite loue" (55.13). Towards the end a homely addition to the analogy of the tree points out that green fruit sets the teeth on edge (57.21-22). A proverb repeated in *The Cloud* (58.2) renders the writing more immediate and experiential, and brevity of expression and natural English rhythms resume in the close (59.9-17). In *Discretion of Stirrings*, the interface between the analogies and the following passage of uncompromising frankness mentioned above is enhanced by "schortyng of wordes" in the latter.[44] Further passages of direct advice, simply expressed, occur later in this work (68.24-69.1, 73.7-14, 74.11-14, 77.9-15). The conscious eloquence and polished structures prevailing in *An Epistle of Prayer* and *Discretion of Stirrings* may indicate that these works were composed before *The Cloud*, where rhetoric is more consistently ancillary to the author's individual voice.

Discretion of Spirits adds tautological alliterative doublets[45] to St. Bernard's text. Some independently composed sections referring to the divine or to contemplative union are lyrical in tone and rhetorically structured (84.19-85.2, 85.9-15). Other added or amplified passages are predominantly polemical, containing complex sentences and many repetitions (86.9-18, 87.5-8, 87.5-8). However, a few brief sections display the conciseness and force typical of what I have called constrictive language (89.15-21, 92.22-93.3).

The ending of *Denis' Hidden Diviinity* quoted above in Chapter 21 proves that the translator's priority was clarity rather than æsthetic effect. His only additional stylistic elaborations emphasise the limitations of *logos* with a doublet: "þe whiche is þe termes & þe boundes of mans vnderstondyng" (5.1-2), and sum up God's transcendence of discourse in a vigorous *complexio*: "And ȝit he in hymself is abouen boþe alle spekyng & alle vnderstondyng" (8.34-35). Elsewhere, the treatment of Latin vocabulary suggests a related priority of simplifying abstract conceptions for English readers, resulting in a constriction of language (cf. Lees, Vol.2, 232). For example, "summum verticem" is translated as "height" (2.18); "simplicia et absoluta et inconversibilia Theologiæ mysteria" becomes, with an injection of vocabulary from *The Cloud*, "þe priue þinges of deuinytee" (2.19-20, emphasis added); and "intelligibilibus summitatibus sanctissimorum locorum" becomes "to mans vnderstondynges" (5.10).[46] Additional minor changes introduce further elements associated in the *Cloud corpus* with constriction of language.[47]

The Study of Wisdom, or its intermediate Latin source, retains and occasionally enhances some rhetorical balances and antitheses in *The Twelve Patriarchs*,[48] but removes others, apparently for the sake of simplicity.[49] Richard's commonly employed figures of *interrogatio*[50] and *exclamatio*[51] are sometimes transformed into statements, and periphrastic formations and

complex verbs are simplified.[52] These and other consistent changes adapt the lyrical intensity of the original to the linguistic conventions of Middle English religious prose.[53] They do not produce vital passages of linguistic constriction, but tend to reduce Richard's "high" style to a "middle," accessible level.

The interface between rhetorical and constrictive, practical language use is therefore demonstrable at a basic level of composition in all the *Cloud* texts except *The Study of Wisdom*.

Conclusions

This chapter has traced the technical interface between constrictive, or energised, and expansive, or conventional, language use in *The Cloud of Unknowing* and associated writings, from structure to the lower compositional levels of imagery, rhetorical tropes and figures, and vocabulary.

In the freely-composed works, conventional structures comprise progressive accounts of contemplation, rhetorical *divisiones* reinforced by elaborate analogues, and patternings based on sequential exegeses of Scripture. Energised structures, embodying vernacular and circumstantial immediacy and employing techniques of confrontation, dialogue, narrative, and internal correction, intertwine with and disrupt the conventional structures. Major analogies chosen to reinforce conventional rhetorical structures in fact entail an ideological resistance to the linguistic dichotomies supporting social power.

Of the translations, *Wisdom* simplifies the structure and enhances the signposting of its source, while *Denis' Hidden Divinity* renders the original more affective, experiential and personal by a myriad of minor adjustments. The interface between conventional and energised structures recurs in *Discretion of Spirits* in contrasts between translated and original sections.

The *Cloud corpus* employs non-pictorial metaphors of cloud, darkness, blindness and nakedness, to convey contemplative activity and experience of the divine. In *The Cloud* itself the imaginative content of a series of metaphors based on vigorous movement is limited by association with intangible referents, while *Denis' Hidden Divinity* remakes and partially rejects a physically evocative analogy found in its source. Both the original images and the adaptations contribute to the texts' constriction of language, as a preliminary to the offering of "a meek blynde stering of loue" to God at a point "above" the imagination. Other images in the *corpus* use traditional material either conventionally, or as an expression of joyful, individual creativity, subordinated to a practical instructional purpose.

Although rhetorical tropes and figures, and Latinate or French-derived vocabulary pervade the writings of the *Cloud*-author as an ingrained mode of expression, some sections, longer in *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*, briefer in the other texts including the translations, constrict language to vernacular, direct, and circumstantial forms. It is particularly in such energised and innovative sections, as in the non-evocative metaphors and the vivid, spontaneous structures, that the free creativity of the divine enters the texts.

Epilogue: The *Cloud* Texts and *Scale 2*

Dialogue with *The Cloud* and its companions contributed substantially to the final textual rendition of Hilton's spiritual attainment. Section 2 above demonstrates that such a dialogue is increasingly significant in Hilton's writing from *Of Angels' Song*. From Chapter 20 of *Scale 2*, a shadowy correspondence develops with chapter-groupings in *The Cloud*, as Hilton weaves a sequential commentary on the author's teaching into the unfolding of his argument. Analysis of the intertextual exchanges promotes an understanding of the synchronic circumstantiality of the writings, contrasting with their debt to diachronic lines of descending tradition.

In a departure from the continuing dichotomised responses to the Pseudo-Dionysian heritage outlined above, *Scale 2* is complex and balanced in its treatment of the *Cloud*-author's doctrine. Inspired probably by recognition of aspects of his own mature contemplative experience, Hilton adopts paradoxical imagery of darkness, nakedness, and nothingness. Hilton's knowledge of *The Cloud* explains the elevated understanding of contemplation in *Scale 2*, no longer as an optional blessing attending strenuous obedience, but, "as if [it] were itself the gift which is of decisive value in making the service of God joyful and spontaneous" (Clark "Action and Contemplation" 264). This is a crucial change, introducing to the inner pilgrimage already traced in Hilton's writings elements which transcend ethics, doctrine and the institution, which in fact occupy the same discursive margin as *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*. However, as Gardner, Sitwell and Hodgson perceived, and as Clark documents extensively,[1] Hilton maintains the theology of the *via positiva* against the influence of *The Cloud*, and continues to contextualise contemplation within Augustinian moral theology. This "fundamental divergence" (Gardner 1933, 139) does not preclude a convergence between the *Cloud* texts and *Scale 2* in significant aspects of instruction and *praxis*. Finally, Hilton exercises a right of disagreement

and amendment. His varied objectives in response to the *Cloud*-texts emerge in the sequential analyses of *Scale 2* which follow.

"Shadowing" of *The Cloud* is first apparent in the meditations in Chapters 21 and 37 on imperfect and perfect humility. The discussion of humility in *The Cloud* resolves dichotomies generated by self-judgment into a "preue loue put...upon þis derk cloude of vnknowyng" (42.14-16). Hilton's parallel resolution evokes a joyful freedom from feelings of personal worthiness or guilt:[2]

> For whan þe Holy Gost liȝteneþ þe resoun in-to þe siȝt of soþfastnes, how Ihesu is al and þat he doþ al, þe soule haþ so grete luf, so grete ioy in þat gostly siȝt, for it is so soþfast, þat it forȝetiþ it-self and fully leneþ to Ihesu with al þe lufe þat it haþ for to beholden him. It takiþ no kepe of vnworþines of it-self, ne of synnes before done, bot settiþ at noȝt it-self, with al þe synnes and alle þe gode dedis þat euer it did, as if þer ware noþinge bot Ihesu. (Ch. 37, Clark and Dorward 272, H 116v-117r)

The simple repetitions, focusing on attainment not practice, as in Hilton's earlier writings and *The Cloud* at this point, consummate his ubiquitous teaching on humility, in a textual *mimesis* of the contemplative path. The passage unravels the *Cloud*-author's skilful paradox of Nothing and All. Its ecstatic *excess* contrasts with the *Cloud*-author's more strictly explanatory account.

Chapters 30 to 35 of *Scale 2* draw on Chapters 52 to 62 of *The Cloud*, to reaffirm the distinction between bodily and spiritual understanding and practice. Hilton presents the author's doctrine in an accessible form, for a readership no longer limited, as in *Scale 1*, to contemplatives. He utilises specialised definitions in *The Cloud* of the prepositions, "within" and "above" (cf. Hodgson 1955, 400-401), as well as the author's recognition of the deceptiveness of the imagination. He follows *The Cloud* in exemplifying the former by the turning of the thought inwards to the body, and the latter by visions of Jesus in heaven (Ch. 30, 252, H 102r; cf. *Cloud*, Ch. 52, 96.15-24, Ch. 57, 105.9-11). He draws on the psychology adapted by *The Cloud* from *The Twelve Patriarchs* (Ch. 31, 258-59, H106v-107r), to assert that

only Jesu-God's divine nature is "above" "þe kynde of a soule" (Ch. 32, 261, H 108v-109r; cf. *Cloud*, Ch. 62, 115.3). Phrase patterns and descriptions used to expose deception echo satiric evocations in *The Cloud*, but with greater tolerance and human sympathy, for example:

Cloud: Þees men willen sumtyme wiþ þe coriouste of here ymaginacion peerce þe planetes, & make an hole in þe firmament to loke in þerate. (Ch. 57, 105. 9-11)

Scale 2: Not as summe wenen, þat þe opnynge of heuen is as if a soule miȝt seen by ymaginacioun þurȝ þe skies abouen þe firmament... (Ch. 32, 261, H 108v)

Cloud: Þei schul loue God so longe on þis maner þat þei schul go staryng wood to þe deuil (Ch. 53, 98.16-17); to streyne þin ymaginacion in þe tyme of þi preier bodely upwards, as þou woldest clymbe abouen þe mone. (Ch. 59, 111.7-8)

Scale 2: Þe hiȝere he stieþ aboue þe sunne for to see Iesu God so bi swilk ymaginacioun, þe lowere he falliþ bineþ þe sunne. (Ch. 32, 261, H 108v)

Hilton further mitigates the rigour of *The Cloud* by an escape clause which characteristically licenses imaginative sight "to symple soules, þat kunne no better seke him þat is vnseable" (261, H 108v).[3]

Chapter 32 explicates the limited knowing of God which is possible on earth, as specifically a sight and a knowing of Jesus, from which love flows. This is "reforming in faith and feeling," ineffable but still "dark" in comparison with full knowing in heaven (259, H 107r-v). Continuing in dialogue with the apophatic theology of *The Cloud*, Chapter 34 repeats the scholastic axiom that knowledge must precede love. Hilton distinguishes "love unformed," the Holy Spirit, from "love formed," the created human capacity to love, and asserts that humans love God through his gift of himself as love unformed. *Scale 2* diverges from *The Cloud* in a correction which replaces the work ethic, symbolically promoted in *The Cloud*, with the unconstrained bestowal of divine love as insight.[4]

In Chapter 37, *Scale 2* achieves what Clark regards as Hilton's closest explicit approach to the teaching of *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling* (272, H 117r; Clark and Dorward 321, note 276). Equivalent passages in Chapters 43 and 44 of *The Cloud* deal with discovery and

forgetfulness of personal being in the presence of the divine in terms of dramatic experience. Hilton omits the author's vivid details, but summarises the kernel doctrine in simple language and with Biblical support, again providing a bridge between the author's insights and the wider Christian world. *Scale 2* normalises these insights within discourse, and thus extends the project (in a Machereyan sense) of the *Cloud* texts.

The spiritual-bodily dichotomy in contemplative understanding is expanded in Chapter 40, where *Scale 2* again utilises psychological terminology characteristic of *The Cloud* (Ch. 62, 114.17-18), to promote "hei3e herte," or perception of the divine above the "þraldom" of worldly love, in which the soul is "beneþ alle creatures" (282, H 124v-125r). Analysis reveals therefore that Hilton's method of working with the stimulus provided by *The Cloud* involves both pastoral reassurances and theological precisions.

The Light-Darkness Analogy

The analogy of the luminous darkness, already present in *Epistola de Leccione, Epistola ad Quemdam, Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* (see Chapters 17 and 18, above), unfolds in *Scale 2,* Chapters 24 to 27, with a Franciscan lucidity and simplicity which attest the writer's contemplative attainment. Various features suggest that Hilton also intended these chapters as a helpful revision of the powerful contemplative practice taught in *The Cloud.*

Clark crisply asserts that "Hilton's use of 'darkness' has no apophatic overtones at all" ("The 'Lightsome Darkness'" 98). In *Scale 2* "darkness" stands for realisation of sinfulness, an interpretation not precluded in *The Cloud,*[5] and for a forsaking of worldly and carnal love, leading to illumination of the reason. However, if this illumination is "knowing" by definition, then implications of "unknowing" must cling to "darkness." A less specious point is that Hilton approves it as "a gode ni3t and a li3ty mirknes" (Ch. 24, 235, H 90v). In conjunction with "a

riche noȝt" (237, H 91r), such paradoxical terms suggest a *Cloud*-like transcendence of discursive "reality" appropriate to their purpose, which is to encourage persistence in the apparent darkness of renunciation. As in the *Cloud*-texts, this entails freedom from "noise and dynne of fleschly affecciouns and vnclene *þoȝtes*" (235, H 90v, emphasis added).[6] Although Gardner's statement, that Hilton "is using the terms *night, nought* and *darkness* not for the cloud of unknowing, but for the cloud of forgetting" (1933, 139) is correct under *logos*, the poetic and contemplative connections between *Scale 2* and the *Cloud* texts are compelling at this point. Furthermore, the distinction between the two clouds maintained in *The Cloud* is lost in *Privy Counselling*, in a progressive blending of dichotomies already shown to be typical of the author's thought. Consequently, Hilton's teaching merges with the author's in the divine space where language manifests as silence.

Scale 2 goes on to explain that the night "stondeþ only in desire and longynge to þe luf of Iesu with a blynde þingynge on him" (Ch. 25, 238, H 92r). This summary of a teaching already explicated in Chapter 24, repeats, except in its personalising reference to Jesus, the love offered in unknowing which is the essential programme of *The Cloud*.[7] Like the *Cloud*-author too, Hilton advises the reader to adopt an easeful attitude ("suffre esily") to the memories of fleshly and worldly sins which "*presen* so oppon him": "be not to heuy ne strife not to mikel, as þawȝ þu woldest þurwȝ maistrye put hem out of þi *þouȝt*" (236, H 90v; cf. *Cloud*, Ch. 46). Both authors adapt the well-used Gregorian metaphor of the "chink," when they describe divine self-revelation as a beam of light:

Cloud: "a beme of goostly liȝt, persyng þis cloude of vnknowing" (Ch. 27, 62.14-15)

An Epistle of Prayer: "a soule...illumined in þe resoun by þe clere beme of euerlastyng liȝt, þe whiche is God, for to se and for to fele þe louelines of God in himself... (54.5-8)

Scale 2: "smale sodeyn liȝtynges þat glideren out þurgh smale caues fro þat citee" [Ierusalem] (Ch. 25, 238, H 92v); "bemes of gostly liȝt" (Ch. 27, 247, H 98r).

The *Cloud*-author's terminology proves that even under *logos*, he does not subscribe to Pseudo-Dionysian thought to the extreme of arguing that no intellectual understanding of the divine can be attained in earthly life (cf. *Cloud* 122.11-17). While he mostly adheres to the paradox of an unknowing which is yet a knowing, he sometimes recognises a non-paradoxical illumination. Knowledge of "sum of [Godes] priuete" is a blessing bestowed on those who persevere in the cloud, even though it cannot be retranslated into language (*Cloud* 62. 16-21).

Both authors prioritise knowing of God through feeling (Riehle 1977, 36-37). Hilton defines a true experience of the darkness as a restful "fredam of spirit," "for it is a felynge of hemself first and a risynge aboue hemself þurwȝ brennande desire to þe siȝt of Iesu, or elles if I sal say more soþly, þis gracious felynge is a gostly siȝt of Iesu" (Ch. 27, 242-43, H 95r-v). This appears as a responsive personalised reformulation of the progression in *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*, by which the advanced contemplative encounters the cloud as an intense awareness of his own being, and finally as the divine. These are examples of a major convergence between the two bodies of work, manifesting in *Scale 2*.

The light-darkness imagery in *Scale 2* differs from that in *The Cloud* in its leisurely presentation, as Hilton applies it meditatively to the explication of a subtle practice. Thus, in a passage conceptually similar to Henry Vaughan's poem, "Night," he associates night with rest from bodily business and temptations (Ch. 24, 235, H 90r; cf. Gardner 1933, 141-42). He explicates transition from this false day to the night paradoxically cognate with knowledge of the divine in a homely analogy of someone passing from sunshine into a darkened house (Ch. 27, 246, H 98r). True to the *via positiva*, Hilton draws on Isaiah to poeticise the dawn of

spiritual understanding: "And þan schal oure Lord Iesu fulfil þi soule with schynynges" (247, H 98r; Isa. 58.11). *Scale 2* dwells lovingly on contemplative attainment in terms of light imagery, in a notable expansion of the stylistics of the *Cloud*-author, who almost never forgets the deceptiveness of metaphors.

In their urgency to discount the erroneous attribution of the *Cloud* texts to Hilton, Gardner and the approved line of scholarship which followed her constructed an unnecessarily strict dichotomy between Hilton as cataphatic, and the *Cloud*-author as apophatic. Although Clark and Minnis demonstrate that the author's discipleship of Pseudo-Dionysius was moderated by the dominant affective tradition, they do not sufficiently acknowledge that the author's commitment to unknowing itself is incomplete. This was argued by Riehle (1977, 35-36), whose article has been discounted because it supports Hilton's authorship of the *Cloud* texts. Mainstream scholarship has similarly submerged the persistent apophatic elements in the language and contemplative counsel of *Scale 2*, where earlier women commentators rightly perceived parallels with *The Cloud* and its companion texts (Underhill 1960, 348-49; Græf 208-209).

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Post-structuralist and Marxist theory views the divine as the ultimate referent justifying the oppressive ideologies which produce and support unequal political and economic structures. This study is based on the opposing Shaivite and Irigarayan conceptions of the divine as freedom, as the actual, or, according to Irigaray, strategic, site where the delusory reality constructed by language is transcended, and socially-engendered anxiety overcome. The study has adopted the post-structuralist procedure of "reading between the lines" in fourteenth-century male contemplative texts, for the ideological significance of literary and linguistic features, omissions, contradictions and trends.

Research and writing for the study have been a pilgrimage, liminal as pilgrimage is reputed to be, sequentially exploring layers of meaning in the texts' concept of freedom. The widespread reverberations of Rolle's writings, continuing into the seventeenth century, stemmed from their mediation of his contemporaries' subliminal quest, energised by developing individualism, for political and economic freedom. Hilton's works demonstrate the Christian paradox of freedom as service. Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author are alike in finally identifying freedom with the divine. In *Melos Amoris*, Hilton's last writings, and the *Cloud*-author's major works, this identification attends an implicit recognition, paralleling insights in the widely separated fields of post-structuralism and Shaivism, of language's embodiment of the unfreedom of social structures.

In attempting to expand the contemplative writings beyond confinement in current phallogocentric literary discourse, I occasionally oppose Clark's and Watson's academic authority. Publications by these scholars tend to submerge the texts in preceding ecclesiastical and literary traditions, especially at points where these harmonise with attitudes still common in mainstream mediæval textual studies. Their discoveries, illuminating in themselves, have

sometimes problematised further creative engagement with the contemplative writings. In explicating the challenge which the contemplative writings pose to some of our controlling metaphysical and emotional assumptions, this study attempts to re-open debate in a form which I hope the originating authors would approve.

The Early Fourteenth Century: Richard Rolle

Section One analyses Rolle's writings as textual transmitters of the iconoclasm, fragmentation, individualism and uncertainty of his era, which are documented in the opening chapter. Within the overarching Shaivite and Irigarayan frame, approaches are through socio-anthropological theories of liminality, and the model of marginality provided by Christian Gnosticism.

In the *Officium* preserved by the nuns of Hampole, the narrative of Rolle's conversion follows a liminal Franciscan paradigm, in which the divine gift of *gnosis* disrupts cultural hegemony. Rolle's rite of passage at conversion is shown as being indefinitely prolonged, both in his marginal, semi-respectable status as a hermit, and in his aspirations to sainthood, never ratified by the Church. His writings emphasise the superior spiritual rank of solitaries, and defend him, implicitly and explicitly, against stereotyped accusations. His external wanderings, reprehensible in a hermit as his detractors claimed, combine in his *corpus* with metaphors of spiritual life as pilgrimage, thereby recalling the liminal status of contemplation itself as an "interior salvific journey" with a divine goal. Rolle's works further reveal his liminal relationship with the defined ecclesiastical functions of preacher and priest, comparable with Gnostic reluctance to distinguish between priestly and lay status. Like the external remnants of biography, autobiographical passages in Rolle's writings are a seminal articulation of the century's new individualist trends.

Their parallel receptions in widely separated historical periods provides further insight into liminality as it applies to Rolle's writings. Clerical editors intent on erasing difference, and Wycliffite interpolators and later Protestant anthologists, who selected and developed dissident elements, fought over the *corpus* as a no-man's-land. In the century which has passed since Horstman's edition of *Yorkshire Writings*, approaches have polarised similarly. Some commentators responded to Rolle, with varying degrees of romance and rejection, as an outsider, while others sought to contain his writings within Catholic tradition.

Liminality is endemic in the centripetal returns in Rolle's works to love of God, contrasting with the intricacies of ideology operating in other textual areas, including Biblical representation and commentary. In the ideological battlefield of the texts, contending discourses occupy a spectrum, ranging from endorsements of institutional authority to assertions of individualist or empiricist spiritual freedom. Defence of particular friendships with women strikingly exemplify the latter. In the prose Meditations and lyrics attributed to Rolle, emphasis on the physical reality of the Passion, aligned ideologically with insistence on the Resurrection as physically actual and the foundation of ecclesiastical authority, clashes with a Gnostic-like realisation of divine joy and freedom as the central significance of the Passion.

While Rolle's works are not utopian under the strict definition of this term, they contain embryonic utopian signs, in their formulation of a subversive spiritual order of divine justice, in which the relative social roles and rewards of rich and poor are reversed.

His *corpus* exhibits complex, competing attitudes to the intellect and academic learning. Some of the works' empiricist and apophatic assumptions align with the philosophical innovations of Ockham, the century's most iconoclastic thinker. However, Rolle's writing on the subject of light demonstrates that his approach is poetic and popular rather than speculative. His characteristic contemplation is non-intellectual, again with a central emphasis on love and

joy. He supports the *gnosis* of contemplation beyond any intellectual attainment of the schools, which on occasion he vigorously disparages. But elsewhere he repeats traditional recommendations of study as an aid for sacerdotal office and contemplation. These attitudes occupy both conservative and innovatory positions in ideology, further supporting liminality as the works' leading feature.

Although many of Rolle's writings repeat, and even embellish, the dominant patristic anti-feminist discourse, others respect women's complex subjectivity, both personally and as a channel of grace. Commentaries on the *Magnificat* and on Proverbs 31.10, "Mulierem fortem quis inveniet?", as well as some evocations of the divine, display an indifference to gender symptomatic of discursive marginality. Analysis of *Ego Dormio* and *Melos Amoris*, exemplifying respectively Rolle's English and Latin styles, reveals further signs of ideological instability. These are pre-eminently an openness to generic experimentation, an application of *mimesis* in structure and vocabulary as a means of liberating language from servitude to *logos*, and a playful deployment of "feminine" poetic *excess* in such features as alliteration and sentence length. Rolle centralises the commonly marginal capacities of language, in order to textualise the divine in contemplative experience.

The Late Fourteenth Century: Walter Hilton

Because of the vagaries of manuscript production and distribution, mediæval readers probably encountered Hilton's writings haphazardly. Renaissance readers knew *Scale 1* and *2*, printed as a unified work. In modern times only Kennedy and Hughes have considered most of Hilton's writings in single studies. Section 2 above is a sequential interpretation of his whole *corpus*, applying textual and contextual knowledge developed by Gardner, Russell-Smith, and Hussey,

and recently extended by Clark. Hilton's habit of repeating ideas means that after the Bible his greatest single resource is his own work, a factor which further encourages detailed chronological consideration.

The participation of Hilton's texts in the cataclysmic historical events which attended their composition is evident in their internal tensions. They are caught between defence of an ancient institution and the spiritual needs of individuals, whose increasing detachment from the institution was a product of complex social and economic forces. The writings' radical traditionalism points paradoxically to inadequacies in the contemporary ecclesiastical *status quo*. Hilton forcefully rejects heretics and their ideas, but strives simultaneously for a goal of freedom, envisioned as attainment of the divine. He wrote during the early development of capitalism, but his goal of reforming, finally formulated in detail in *Scale 2*, comprehends the central significance of freedom from socially-generated and controlling *feeling*.

The progress of Hilton's *corpus* over time is non-linear and unpredictable, like inner pilgrimage itself. Written while he was still a solitary, *De Imagine Peccati* is an unstable product of *logos* and the Church, because of its a naive identification with Rolle's experience of *melos*. *Epistola de Utilitate et Prerogativis Religionis* was written to encourage Horsley and others in formal religious profession, yet develops an interplay between official and personal voices.

In their sustained defence of the Church in the light of its founding principles, the Latin works of Hilton's early years as a canon at Thurgarton Priory enact his real-life retreat to the institutional centre. However, *De Adoracione* already hints at a purification of signs and figures (*matrika*), preluding transcendental experience. "Lost Letter" evidently adapted itself spontaneously to pastoral circumstances, over and above its explication of "rules," while

Epistola de Leccione evolves through a complex author-reader relationship and intricate liminal opinions towards the simplicity of the divine.

"Lost Letter" and two English works of this period - *Scale 1* and *Þe Prickynge of Love* - are the first in Hilton's *corpus* to cater for women's spiritual needs. Favourably oriented as they are towards the nexus of "feminine"-emotive-body, and sometimes exhibiting poetic *excess*, the English writings are pivotal to Hilton's literary pilgrimage.

Scale 1 develops the notion of a potential transcendence of linguistically mediated reality in the divine freedom - the one Word, Jesus. Although it extends the defensive ecclesiology of earlier Latin writings, some features, such as a negative attitude to learning and attention paid to the female recipient's particular circumstances, suggest an awareness of limitation in *logos* and the Church. The book reaffirms the traditional priority of contemplation in the ancient contemplative-active dichotomy, which *De Imagine Peccati* and *Epistola de Utilitate* had tended to reverse. However, *Mixed Life* brings the two poles together in a secular context, thus valorising an inherently subversive state of *betweenness*. *Mixed Life* further asserts the primacy of a moment-by-moment responsiveness to the workings of grace. It avoids ecclesiastical polemics, and develops a nurturing, "feminine" concept of secular authority. The "feminine" emotive emerges in the first appearance in Hilton's *corpus* of long analogies derived from the contemporary vernacular context. *Þe Prickynge of Love*, a translation implicitly directed to women readers, achieves a more startling reversal of priorities than *Mixed Life*, by marginalising *logos* around a central evocation of "feminine" *excess* and the "feminine" emotive. This is attended by a culturally-based feminising of the body of the crucified Christ as a devotional focus and gateway to the divine, conveyed in the book's fluid dialectics and female water metaphors.

Letters composed later at Thurgarton mostly consolidate innovations accomplished in *Mixed Life* and *Þe Prickynge*. However, *Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem* consummates the personal emphases of earlier letters in a detailed modelling to the circumstances of Hilton's legal colleague and friend, Thorpe. The thoughtful precision of Hilton's ecclesiology is highlighted by contrast with *A Pystille Made to a Cristene Frende*, a popularised adaptation of the epistle's discussion of confession. A second offshoot, *Firmissime Crede*, strengthens the epistle's focus on simplicity of intention. Like *Scale 1*, *Mixed Life* and *Þe Prickynge*, the English letter, *Of Angels' Song*, displays greater freedom from ecclesiastical control than Latin writings which Hilton composed at the same time. *Of Angels' Song* concentrates on a lyrical evocation of *melos* and a rehabilitation of the "feminine" body in terms comparable with the emotive and poetic *excess* of *Þe Prickynge*.

As Hilton nears the goal of his pilgrimage, he writes wholly in English, and in increasing freedom from cultural and institutional constraints. Although *Eight Chapters* reasserts the body-spirit dichotomy, and warns against spiritual friendship between women and men, it comes at last to celebrate a Rolle-like ecstasy, which unites body, as well as soul, in divine love. "Feminine" emotive elements, such as the paradoxical light-darkness imagery which finds detailed parallels in Hilton's attested writings, support inclusion in his canon of the commentaries, *Bonum Est* and *Benedictus*. Scholarly tradition accepts Hilton's authorship of *Qui Habitat*, a work which in its simplicity of imagery and concept often diverges from Hilton's academic training. He here draws on the whole experience of his inner pilgrimage, bringing together the pastoral poles of adviser and aspirant in creative cooperation. Defensive ecclesiology is muted, while social critique appears overtly for the first time. Although the opening chapters of *Scale 2* revert to a ferocious version of Church polemics, from Chapter 20 an expansive movement to freedom determines both form and doctrine. Hilton's final writings

generally derive their effectiveness from a focus on the divine goal of pilgrimage, synonymous, as both *Qui Habitat* and *Scale 2* explain, with the New Jerusalem.

Contention against generic constraints, frequently displayed in Hilton's *corpus*, is a sign of incipient recalcitrance in respect of ideology. In *Scale 1* the *dictamen* genre is expanded to include a whole treatise on active life in relationship to contemplation, while *Mixed Life* and *Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem* introduce a quantity of circumstantial detail unparalleled in twelfth-century monastic *dictamina*, which were the examples which defined the genre. The circumstantiality of such works as *De Adoracione Ymaginum* and *Eight Chapters*, in which passages are selected and abandoned in accordance with immediate pastoral requirements, and the parallel textual conditionality of *Scale 1*, challenges Augustinian notions of rhetoric and literature as formal media for doctrine.

Section 2 above applies the liminal metaphor of pilgrimage to the spiritual progress which can be extrapolated from Hilton's extant writings. Hilton's inner life is readily formulated in terms of a transition from an old set of known circumstances to a new and unknown set. Even though his external circumstances after arriving at Thurgarton Priory were not liminal, analysis reveals expanding liminal elements over the fifteen-year period of his writing there, including an evolving recognition of the limits of language itself.

The Cloud and Its Companions

Section 3 concentrates on what I see as the outstanding independence of the *Cloud*-texts. This quality, and the texts' adherence to the Pseudo-Dionysian *via negativa*, a system as often debated as accepted by the Church, account for the author's defensive alignments of his instruction with sacraments and hierarchy, and for the controversial reception of his writings in both the

mediæval and modern periods. Recent academic commentary seeks to reposition the *Cloud* texts within the frames of orthodox theology and patristic and monastic tradition. The present analysis, however, has found them to be liminally positioned, both to ecclesiastical norms and to the discursively produced and maintained power structures of the crisis-torn 1390s.

The innovative qualities of the *Cloud*-author's writings are considered above in relation to the individualist trends, newly emerging from extreme economic and political uncertainty, which gave rise to the works of Langland and Chaucer. His commitment to the vernacular, and the circumstantiality and immediacy of much of his instruction, affirm his connection to this aspect of contemporary ideology.

More deeply considered, however, *The Cloud* and its companions appear as a site of resistance to intense conformist pressures, in their focus on the divine. The *Cloud* texts view the divine in a fully orthodox manner, but with significant emphases on love, freedom, play, and rest. Applying negative theology, they instruct in attaining this space through a transformation and transcendence of discursively produced "reality." This focus is the source of their originality.

The primary textual strategy for attaining the divine freedom is "schortyng of wordes." In an extended *mimesis*, constriction of language in the writings exemplifies and precedes denial of words and images in contemplation. The process can be equated with purifying *matrika* through linguistic simplification and repetition. Throughout the *corpus*, minimising tendencies contrast with conventional, expansive language use, just as exhortations to transcend ideological constraints in contemplation co-exist with affirmations of orthodox doctrine and institutional values.

Section 3 situates constriction of language in the *Cloud* group in an extensive dismantling of dichotomies; in evocations of states of never-completed *betweenness*; in paradoxes which turn the power of language against itself; in anti-metaphors and anti-similes which inhibit the

imagination; in vivid confrontational structures; and in language addressed with brevity and immediacy to particular circumstances. Expansive, Latinate structures, tropes and figures frequently occur, but rhetorical analysis is not always appropriately applied to the *Cloud*-author's work. Like his recourse to the Fathers and twelfth-century monastic writing, such features often appear as automatic and assimilated.

Evidence adduced during the discussion supports the inclusion of *Discretion of Spirits* among the *Cloud*-author's authentic writings, but confirms Ellis' rejection of *The Study of Wisdom* from the canon.

The study has uncovered the frequent presence in these male-authored writings of a poetic, "feminine" *excess*, transcending and merging the dichotomies of *logos*, in the sense of rationally privileged "masculine" discourse. The contemplative works thus straddle the gendered binary, which is arguably the discursive foundation for the multiple hierarchies of late mediæval Church and society. The material form which this binary takes for me is the line of coloured stone in the floor of Durham Cathedral used to separate the male from female worshippers, with the latter being placed farthest from the altar. The conclusion that the male contemplative writings operate on and across the line of demarcation imparts a symbolic dimension to Rolle's inadvertent occupancy, following his conversion, of the place in the church in Pickering where John de Dalton's wife was accustomed to pray (*Officium*, *Lectio secunda* Woolley 24).

Rolle claims the highest spiritual status for his experiences of *fervor*, *dulcor* and *melos*, but persists in using physical metaphors to describe them. While it is not accurate to identify him broadly with "bodily" experience, his ready adaptation of the physical to the spiritual crosses and re-crosses the basic "masculine"-spirit/ "feminine"-body hierarchical division. Both Hilton and the *Cloud*-author explicitly re-establish the body-spirit difference, without overt

reference to the dichotomy's gendered aspect. However, they develop other strategies equally expressive of cultural and social dissent. Hilton sometimes deploys the language of "feminine" *excess* in a manner comparable to Rolle. Other strategies consist of an innovative exploitation of the non-rational properties of language, including *mimesis*, and devices tending to constrict words and meaning as a prelude to the silence of the divine, encountered in contemplation.

The fourteenth century was dominated by ecclesiastical power, but there were signs of widening dissent and accelerating change in both England and continental Europe. Contemplative experiences and writings are marginal phenomena, which, it is argued here, fascinated the late mediæval consciousness because they flirted with a radical freedom from socially engendered power, pain and fear. They penetrated the Church's intricate authoritarian structures, to find a simplicity and love transcending restrictions which seem to us in the late twentieth century to have been worse than our own, but may not have been so. The writings of the study display complex discursive interconnections with rapid social transition and crisis.

Automatic academic despair seems almost as much opposed to the hope of freedom as to the concept of ultimate reality in the Shaivite or Christian sense. "Real," "realism" and "reality" are much-abused words. Writing in 1942, C. S. Lewis demonstrated the propensity, disguised as intellectual honesty or courage, to judge the physically unpleasant or disgusting as "real," and joyful responses to pleasant circumstances or to intuitions of the Real as "subjective" (*Screwtape Letters* 154-55). In metaphysics academics above all seem honour-bound to choose the least hopeful possibility on the ground that it is "real." This thesis takes issue with this propensity, and reasserts the potential for hope which motivated the mostly female contingent of scholars who first brought the fourteenth-century English contemplative writings to the notice of twentieth-century readers.

VOLUME TWO

Endnotes

SECTION ONE: Rites of Passage: The Writings of Richard Rolle

General Introduction, Pages 1-22

1. Clark approves Knowles' earlier observation, that "for all the apparently esoteric quality of some of its instructions, [*The Cloud of Unknowing*] is, in fact, a manual of traditional ascetic and mystical teaching" ("Monastic Elements" 246). Clark's immense scholarship is often published as line-by-line commentaries, a method which tends to elide novelty in reformulations of "commonplace" material. Even small verbal changes in the contemplative writings are significant for ideological interpretation, while selection and conjoining of material from different sources makes each work æsthetically and ideologically unique. Texts repay investigation as holistic products, in which varied contemporary discourses collide and intermingle.

2. These points can be demonstrated by reference to Watson's most recent published analysis, introducing his edition of Rolle's *Emendatio Vitæ* (1-2, 4, 10-16). Watson situates Rolle historically within the "newly specific sense of the complex interior world of individual human consciousness," a major cultural shift which took place between 1000 and 1400. While acknowledging his "dramatic originality," the discussion focuses on Rolle as a populariser and synthesiser of eremitical tradition and twelfth-century monastic literature.

3. This appears to be an essentialist argument, but Grosz reminds us that Irigaray is offering a linguistic and political strategy: "devices of writing and representation whose function is inter-discursive rather than referential" (9-10).

4. Kshemaharaja's respected twelfth-century commentary, *Vimarshini*, further emphasises freedom:
   > *Sutra 1.* The activity of consciousness is universal throughout. A conscious being (*cetana*) is one who conscires (i.e. thinks), who is absolutely free in all knowledge and activity. *Chaitanya* or consciousness is the state of one who is *cetana* or conscious. (The *syan*-suffix in) *chaitanya* shows relationship. *Chaitanya*, therefore, connotes absolute freedom in respect of all knowledge and activity (*paripurnam svatantryam*). The great Lord, Highest Shiva alone has that (absolute freedom). (Singh 7)

5. "What we have is a world constructed in and through discourse, meaning and representation, and the people in that world are constructed in the same way. The semiotic and psychoanalytic and post-structuralist and now feminist story that rewrites the liberal humanist and capitalist narrative of individualism sees subjectivities, too, as a function of their discursive and bodily histories in a signifying network of meaning and representation. This means, among other things, that there is no way for those subjects ever to be outside that network as 'objective observers'" (Threadgold 3).

6. Like Vasugupta, Lacan refers to "letters," by which he means "that material support which concrete speech borrows from language." This exists prior to the child's entrance as speaking subject into the Symbolic Order. "Reference to the 'experience of the community' as the

substance of this discourse settles nothing. For this experience has as its essential dimension the tradition which the discourse itself founds. This tradition, long before the drama of history gets written into it, creates the elementary structures of culture. And these structures reveal an ordering of possible exchanges which, even unconsciously, is inconceivable outside the permutations authorized by language" (Lacan 82).

7. Ozment explicates the transcendental identity in freedom of God and the individual in Christian terms, as follows: "Just as God has retained - as a sovereign deity must - an area of freedom above and beyond his covenantal commitments to the church, so the soul knows - as an immortal being must - an area of freedom above and beyond its necessary and chosen responses in the visible world. It is this "supra" dimension, this superabundant structural freedom of God and the soul, which makes mystical experience and theology both possible and necessary" (1973, 6).

8. "A God outside time and language and history is inviolable to change, the perfect legitimation of the system of which He is the transcendental centre and support" (Beckwith 40). However, some contemporary strands of Christian thought equate faith in God with existence in freedom (Ogden 49).

9. Gründler refers to Mircea Eliade's analysis in *Myth of the Eternal Return* of a cyclical pattern in the history of religion: *"Homo religiosus* has always believed in the necessity of a regular periodic return to the origins, the primordial beginnings, so that the fragile fabric of man and society, worn and torn by time and corruption, may be renewed and its original form restored" (27-28).

Chapter 1: English Society in Transition, 1300-1350, Pages 24-36

1. The *Defensorium* survives uniquely in Uppsala University MS. C. 621, copied in England by the Bridgettine monk, Katullus Thorberni, between 1408 and 1421, and once in the possession of Wadstena, the mother house of the Bridgettine Order (Taavitsainen 1990, 58).

2. *The Cloud* warns specifically against *fervor* (Hodgson ed. *Cloud* 1958, 86.8-12) and *canor* or *melos* (105.8-9, 14-16), as physical experiences (90.20-91.7). Its author recommends the offering of love to God over heavenly visions, or "hering of alle þe mirþe & þe melody þat is amonges hem in blisse" (34.9-14). He nevertheless admits that God's inflaming of the body of a devout servant "wiþ ful wonderful swetnes & coumfortes" can be a genuine foretaste of heavenly reward (90.18-91.6). Hilton warns against deception by the fire of love and other physical sensations in *Scale 1*, Chs. 10 and 26 (Clark and Dorward 83-84 and 98, Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 6686, 284 a-b and 298b). In Chapter 11 he discusses means for discriminating between good and evil spiritual feelings (Clark and Dorward 84-85, MS. 285 a-286a). See further Sargent 1981, 176-82; Boenig 1990, 29; Clark 1996, 91-93, 179-80; and Section 2 below.

[Chapter 1: English Society in Transition, 1300-1350, Pages 24-36, Cont.]

3. Early contextual studies of Rolle's works, such as those by Deanesly (1915, 91-131), Geraldine Hodgson (1926, 19-75), Comper (1928, 3-45) and, pre-eminently, Allen (1927, 430-526), focus on the relevance of particular historical events and circumstances to Rolle's life. The issue invites a systematic reappraisal in the light of recent theory, and the present study adopts a broader historical perspective. A contextualising of Rolle's writings in Yorkshire was attempted by Porter (iv-xv) and, in England and Europe, by Ryder (199-204).

4. Bolton contrasts the unforeseeable prosperity of such towns as Coventry, York and Hull, with the equally unforeseeable downturns suffered by Leicester and Southampton (201-203).

5. Oakley (1979, 169-71) explains some of the variety in conciliar thought, and points out that Ockham was a moderate conciliarist.

6. According to Leonardi, "the historical Church was at its lowest ebb in the whole of its medieval existence" (17).

7. Drawing on early fourteenth-century sermon literature (Owst 278-79), Sleuthe, in *Piers Plowman, C-Text*, VII, 30-31, confesses: "I haue be prest and persoun passynge thritty wyntur/ ȝut kan y nother solfe ne synge ne a seyntes lyf rede." Pantin comments on the sharp division between learned churchmen and the clerical proletariat (218).

Chapter 2: Marginality, Liminality and Gnosis, Pages 37-45

1. Moyes, Vol. 1, 17-23, Vol. 2, *passim*, and Marzac, *passim*, supplement Allen's lists of manuscripts containing Rolle's writings.

2. An earlier generation of scholars, led by R. W. Chambers (ci), also noted Rolle's popularity.

3. Cf. McManners, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, 27: "In one form or another Gnosticism has permanently remained an underground concomitant of the church."

4. This study reserves "mystic" for those who claim direct personal experience of the divine. I agree with Milosh's analysis of modern usage of the term, and with the strictures he applies (20-23).

5. Noetinger declares: "Pour sa part, [Rolle] resta toujours parfaitement soumis au Pape et à l'Eglise, et son orthodoxie est complète" (1928, xxx). While questioning the authenticity of Rolle's mysticism (1965, 54), Knowles nevertheless reassured a later generation of readers, that "[Rolle] is entirely orthodox, and his thought moves wholly within the limits of the common teaching of the Church" (1965, 55).

[Chapter 2: Marginality, Liminality and Gnosis, Pages 37-45, Cont.]

In typically adversarial style, Rolle asserts his orthodoxy in *Contra Amatores Mundi*: "Quia vero oblitis aliis rebus amorem Christi canere...non desinit, huic solomodo intentus, nonnulli videntes putant quod insanit, dicentes illum irreverenciam deo facere et statuta ecclesie non observare. Sed ille profecto Christo in omnibus et ecclesie reverenciam obtulisse probabitur, quando illi presumptores, nequam tanquam irreverentes quia incaute iudicantes, punientur" (Ch. 1. Theiner 69. 92-99).

"Because, forgetting other things and intent only on this, he does not cease to sing the love of Christ, some who see him think that he is mad, saying that he commits irreverence towards God and fails to observe the statutes of the Church. But indeed, he will be proved to have shown reverence to Christ and the Church in all things, when these presumptuous ones, worthless themselves and as it were irreverent because they judge incautiously, will be punished."

6. Filoramo characterises Gnostic organisation cautiously as "anti-institutional" and "egalitarian," although as recognising different levels among the *perfecti*. He quotes Tertullian's attack on the fluidity of ecclesiastical ranks in Gnostic groups, "And so, today one man is a bishop, tomorrow another. Today one is a deacon who tomorrow will be a lector. The presbyter of today is the layman of tomorrow "(173-5). The Marcionite church was exceptional in cultivating clarity of hierarchy and uniformity of doctrine (Filoramo 163-4). The trend against hierarchical structures seems generally to have prevailed in Gnostic groups.

7. Noetinger (1928, li-lii) comments on Rolle's indifference to the physical creation.

8. The following antitheses are constantly referred to in Rolle's work: worldly and contemplative life, the former leading to hell, the latter to heaven; outer and inner experience; sorrow and joy; darkness and light; multiplicity and singleness; travail and rest; rich and poor.

9. See Rudolph 99, 132 and Pagels 1988, 57-77. *The Testimony of Truth* condemns God as envious in expelling Adam and Eve from Paradise, and commends the serpent as a teacher of divine wisdom, who tries to awaken Adam and Eve to their creator's malicious nature (Pagels 1988, 69-70). Other Gnostic texts allegorise Adam as the psyche, "while Eve represents the higher principle, the spiritual self" (66). When the serpent tempts Eve to partake of knowledge, he does so as indued with the Female Spiritual Principle, which Eve also represents (67).

10. See Rudolph 162-69 and Pagels 1979, 89-101. Some Gnostic texts insist on the reality of Christ's sufferings, and, like Irenæus, Tertullian and other orthodox Christian writers, advocate martyrdom as a sharing in the Passion and an expiation ensuring salvation (Pagels 1979, 89-91). *The Testimony of Truth* and *The Apocalypse of Peter* reject this view of martyrdom, and insist that Jesus's suffering were limited to the physical: "He whom you saw being glad and laughing above the cross, he is the living Jesus" (91-94). Valentinian texts develop the paradox of Jesus's simultaneous participation in and transcendence of human nature (94-96).

11. Attribution is uncertain for Latin commentaries on six Canticles for Lauds from the Old Testament, which follow the *Latin Psalter* in manuscript tradition (Clark 1986, 166), and for English commentaries on the same Canticles, together with an English commentary on the *Magnificat*. Clark supports the English commentaries as Rolle's (1986, 168). *Super Symbolum*

[Chapter 2: Marginality, Liminality and Gnosis, Pages 37-45, Cont.]

Athanasii is tentatively attributed to Rolle by Watson (1991, 96 and 277-78). Rolle's authorship of "Meditation B" (Ogilvie-Thomson 69-83) is uncertain (see Ch. 7 below). (I refer to Ogilvie-Thomson's texts of Rolle's English writings, rather than to Allen's, for reasons explained in my review, 1990, 161-63. The authority of Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. v. 64 remains strong (Watson 1995, 25-26).

12. Works available in adequate modern editions are: the English prose Meditations (except for the shorter version of "Meditation B"), *Ego Dormio*, *The Commandment*, *The Form of Living*, *Judica Me*, *Super Apocalypsim*, *Canticum Amoris*, *Super Psalmum Vicesimum*, and *Melos Amoris*. See List of Works Cited below for details of editions referred to here.

The selection of works and excerpts recently edited by Windeatt from a limited choice of manuscripts in *English Mystics of the Middle Ages*, are consulted but not cited in the present study. Windeatt prints Rolle's English epistles, selections from *The Cloud of Unknowing* and *The Book of Privy Counselling*, as well as Hilton's *Mixed Life*, *Of Angels' Song*, and *Eight Chapters on Perfection*, excerpts from *The Scale of Perfection* Books 1 and 2, *Qui Habitat*, and *Þe Prickynge of Love*.

13. Works as yet inadequately or incompletely edited include the *English Psalter*, English lyrics, English commentary on the *Magnificat*, the short prose pieces: "The Bee and the Stork" and "Desire and Delight," *Incendium Amoris*, *Super Canticum Canticorum*, *Contra Amatores Mundi* and *Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum*. The multi-volume edition of the *English Psalter* prepared by a team of scholars at Fordham University collates most of the whole and uninterpolated manuscript versions for sections of the *Psalter* covered to date. Hussey queries whether Lollard interpolations can be identified with sufficient confidence for Rolle's work to be distinguished unequivocally in a modern edition (1982, 165), a point subsequently developed by Kuczynski (184). Sargent reveals the need for an extensive collation of texts of *Incendium Amoris* (1976, 233-34). Moyes indicates limitations in the modern editions of *Incendium Amoris* and *Contra Amatores Mundi* (Vol. 1, 20-21). Moyes' transcript of *Super Novem Lectiones* from Oxford, Balliol College MS. 224A is supplemented by reference to two other manuscripts, and accompanied by a comprehensive account of the manuscript tradition. Watson's recent single-manuscript edition of *Emendatio Vitæ*, an important text which survives in over a hundred manuscripts, is a helpful interim measure.

14. The following texts are not available in modern editions based on manuscripts: *Latin Psalter*, *Super Symbolum Apostolorum*, *Super Symbolum S. Athanasii*, *Super Orationem Dominicam*, *Super Threnos Ieremiæ*, *Super Magnificat*, *Super Mulierem Fortem*, the Latin and English commentaries on six Canticles for Lauds. The *Latin Psalter* was edited in 1929 by Mary Louise Porter from Faber 1536 without reference to the manuscripts. Clark, who has consulted five early manuscripts of the *Latin Psalter*, notes that the Faber edition "has a mass of further variations and developments" beyond the manuscript tradition (1986, 166-68).

15. Watson's views on chronology generally accord with suggestions made by Clark (1986, 166, 168, 174, 175, 196-97). Rigg finds Watson's chronology "much more convincing" than Allen's (377, note 20).

[Chapter 2: Marginality, Liminality and Gnosis, Pages 37-45, Cont.]

16. The English "Lessouns of *Dirige*" in Aberdeen University Library MS. 243 is a likely new attribution to Rolle (Hargreaves 311-19). The English Ave Maria and Pater Noster meditations in British Library Royal MS. 17C XVII are the work of a follower (Taavitsainen 1991, 31-37 and 1992, 57-66).

Chapter 3: Biography and Autobiography, Pages 46-63

1. A disinterested motive may be attributed to the scribe who copied for Swedish readers an abridged version of the *Officium*, together with prayers for Richard's intercession, into Uppsala University MS. C. 621 (Lindkvist 22, ed. 73-77; Allen 1927, 53-54).

2. British Library MSS. Add. 37049, 37r, 52v (Freemantle 164) and Cotton Faustina B. vi, Pt.ii, 8v (Comper, frontispiece). The illustration in a third manuscript of *The Desert of Religion*, Stowe 39, 16v, is of a different kind, and the subject is not named (Comper 204). See Allen 1927, 306-11 and Watson 1991, 302, note 5.

3. Noetinger nevertheless points out that the *Officium* "was not intended for a monastic choir, but for the secular clergy" (1926, 22).

4. This is supported by the fact that the *Officium* was composed from an autograph compilation of Rolle's works found after his death (Allen 1927, 58).

5. E.g., Allen, 1927, 55-61; Noetinger 1928, xi-xii, xxxvi. Noetinger states that the *Officium* emphasises "what may be expected to appeal to pious readers, while a good many facts and circumstances are left in obscurity" (1926, 22). The Preface to his annotated translation of *Incendium Amoris, Le Feu d'Amour*, often resists the authority of the *Officium* as a nearly contemporary biographical source (xi-xii, xxxvi). Features of the narrative therefore seem to have challenged sensitive Catholic conceptions of saintliness, even in the twentieth century. Noetinger nevertheless honours Rolle as a contemplative who had attained the highest level of loving union with God (xxxvii, xxxix-xl, liii, lxxx, civ-cv and *passim*).

6. Watts foreshadowed Alford's view in an article published in 1916 (799, 801). Horstman first suggested Rolle's connection with Franciscan themes, describing him as "the English Bonaventura" (Vol. 1, XIV), a notion with which Allen concurred (1931 frontispiece). Moyes summarises the development of Horstman's idea in later criticism (Vol. 1, 3-4, 10).

7. Such a view is extended in Alexander Murray's notion of saints such as Francis as "socially amphibious" and "without social class" (386-93). See Bynum (1991, 306-307) for studies which refine Turner's conception of Franciscan liminality.

[Chapter 3: Biography and Autobiography, Pages 46-63, Cont.]

8. Theiner translates (149-50): "Because he has forgotten other things and does not stop singing the love of God, either in church or in town, or because, intent only upon this love, he does not, in some other place, cease to meditate, some who see him think that he is mad, and say that he offers irreverence to God and does not observe the laws of the Church."

Piers Plowman similarly identifies wandering "lunatyk lollares" with "Godes mynstrals and his mesagers" (*C-Text*, IX: 105-33).

9. "According to his desire, in clothes suitable for a hermit."

10. This is supported by Davis who considers that most hermits were illiterate and used to manual labour, which they continued after induction in their occupations of subsistence gardening and bridge and highway repair (212-13).

11. "Not fearing to prefer visible vanity over invisible truth."

12. "But it does not follow: that man is most obedient to man, therefore he is most obedient to God. For it is only by love that we obey God: therefore he is proved to be most obedient to God who is more burning in love for God."

13. E.g., "Denique, in quocumque gradu sit, sive monachus, sive secularis, ille pre aliis Christum diligit, qui pre aliis in divino amore dulcedinem præsentit. Set proculdubio, cum quis quietem mentis et corporis appetens ad solum Christi amorem desiderandum amplectendumque se accingere nititur, ad magnum eterne dileccionis gaudium pre omnibus non sic facientibus sive monachi sint sive alii celitus rapietur" (Murray 26.4-10).

"Finally, of whatever rank he may be, whether a monk or a secular, he loves Christ more than others do, who feels sweetness in divine love, more than others do. But I do not doubt that when someone, seeking quiet in mind and body, strives to equip himself to desire and embrace only the love of Christ, he will be quickly seized by the great joy of eternal love, more than all who do not do this, whether they are monks or others."

14. "While, obedient to pastors, they live blamelessly in the faith and unity of the Church."

15. Daly translates: "For indeed when some consider the eremitical life, they boldly and fearlessly insist that I am not a hermit. But when they spew forth their poison, held for a long time in their spiteful hearts, so shamelessly against my weakness, let them weigh carefully and fearfully the judgment of the Eternal King."

16. His wanderings further connect Rolle with mediæval heretical sects, which were typically more mobile than the general population (Aston 1976, 291). Catherine of Siena, who, as a prophetess, advised the Pope and censured ecclesiastical corruption, "behaves scandalously by wandering the world surrounded by male devotees" (Leonardi 19).

17. E.g., *Incendium Amoris*, Deanesly 145.16, 146.17, 152.5, 158.2, 166.10-13, *etc*; *Melos Amoris*, Arnould 11.26-27, 35.2-3. Gnostics had a similar sense of themselves as strangers and aliens in the world (Churton 24).

[Chapter 3: Biography and Autobiography, Pages 46-63, Cont.]

18. Cf. Vandenbroucke, 78: "La vie errante de Rolle fut comme le signe de son pèlerinage spirituel."

19. "That what I am not yet *forced* to speak in public preaching, I may at least convey to you in writing."

20. "...tamen non liber a linguis ludendo in laude letabundus propter invidiam errancium in abditis aiebam et hactenus exterius [vix] semel ad alios erumpere audens" (Ch. 23, Arnould 69.2-5). "...however I am not free to speak cheerfully, rejoicing in prayer, on account of the envy of those in error, and thus far I have scarcely dared once to break forth to others."

"Putebant quod non potui pure predicare nec sapere ut ceteri qui sancte subsistebant" (Ch. 38, Arnould 117.7-8). "They considered that I could not preach truly, nor offer wisdom as others did who lived holy lives."

"Sed errant nunc undique miseros qui oracula ignorant clause Scripture et integrum non habent Altissimo amorem; ac prohibent precipuos proferre sermonem, et alios admittunt qui a Deo non mittuntur" (Ch. 48, Arnould 152.18-20). "But now they send everywhere wretches ignorant of the hidden meanings of Scripture and lacking a heartfelt love for the Most High; they forbid those with special gifts to speak, and permit others who are not sent by God."

21. "Studeat quoque si habeat intellectum Scripturarum, et videat Spiritum Sanctum se inflammantem hec et alia plura scribere que in publico non potest predicare" (Ch. 48, Arnould 154.24-26). "Let [the aspirant to preaching] also consider, if he possesses understanding of the scriptures, and feels himself inflamed by the Holy Spirit to write these things and more, which he is unable to preach in public."

22. Relative assessments of contemplation and preaching are given in *Melos*, Ch. 48, Arnould 154. 5-33. Rolle sees contemplation as "surer and sweeter" than preaching as an occupation, but follows St. Gregory's view, that someone who can attain to both at once is more praiseworthy than someone who is wholly contemplative. The sweetness of divine love should be experienced in contemplation, before being passed on to others through preaching. See discussion below, Chapter 12.

23. E.g., Allen 1932, 202. In April and July 1932, following Noetinger's death, Allen and Heseltine heatedly contended Rolle's priesthood in the correspondence columns of the *Times*. Even after Arnould's conclusive findings against (1939/1957, 210-38), the issue was persistently re-opened, until settled again by Sargent (1988, 284-89; Watson 1991, 37; however, see Hirsh 91-94). A parallel erroneous claim of a Paris education was applied to Hilton in a late but reputable manuscript (Russell-Smith 1954, 204-205).

24. Rolle was spiritual adviser to Margaret of Kirkby, for whom he wrote the *English Psalter* and *The Form of Living*, and to the Cistercian nuns of Hampole. According to Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd. v. 64, he wrote *The Commandment* for one of the Hampole nuns, and *Ego Dormio* for a nun of Yedingham. The *Officium* records occasions when Rolle acted as spiritual adviser to patrons and their households.

[Chapter 3: Biography and Autobiography, Pages 46-63, Cont.]

25. *B1* derives about half of its material from the beginning of *Dextera Pars*, where William deals with the pastoral duties of the priest, in particular his duty to instruct his parishioners. *B2* abridges William's *Pars Oculi*, taking the reader through a model of confession. *B3* is a model sermon on the Last Judgment, derived in part from William's *Dextera Pars*.

26. Such a reversal of rankings had become naturalised by the early fifteenth century, at least in some quarters. Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 528 depicts a cleric praying to Richard Hermit (2v).

27. "Cupienti mihi peticioni uestre satisfacere occurrit ex una parte inuidencium malicia, ex alia caritas diuina. Pugnant itaque ista duo in me sed ut patebit: *Sapientia uincit maliciam, attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponens omnia suauiter.* [Sap. vii: 30, viii. 1] Unde et uobis habenda est discrecio non modica ne dum cuicumque hunc libellum indifferenter ostenditis iuuentutem meam inuidorum dentibus acerbiter corrodendam exponatis" (Daly 18. 1-7).

Daly translates: "Although I wanted to satisfy your request, I debated the matter, urged to it, on the one hand, by divine charity, but held back, on the other, by the harm the envious will do. Therefore, these two [reasons] fought within me, but as is clear, *Wisdom overcometh evil, and reacheth from end to end mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly.* (Wis. vii: 30; viii: 1) Then too you must have sufficient discretion lest, when you show this booklet indiscriminately to anyone, you expose my youth to be savagely chewed by the teeth of the envious" (98).

28. Watson (1991, 81) points out that Rolle's disavowal of authorial responsibility is a literary *topos*, but does not explain why Rolle acknowledges a debt to the fathers while omitting reference to William.

29. A brief reminiscence of Augustine's penitential tone is present in *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 12: "Domine Deus meus miserere mei: infancia mea stulta fuit, puericia mea uana, adolescencia mea immunda" (Deanesly 178.14-15: "Lord God have mercy on me: my infancy was foolish, my boyhood vain, my youth impure"). However Rolle's autobiographical passages usually defend or celebrate his past actions, and the opening of Chapter 15 (Deanesly 187.10-14) reads like a repudiation of the Augustinian priorities: "Cum infeliciter florerem et iuuentus uigilantis adolescencie iam aduenisset, affluit gracia Conditoris, qui petulanciam temporalis forme restrinxit, et ad incorporeos amplexus desiderandos conuertit, animamque ab immis eleuans, transtulit ad superna..." ("While I flourished unfortunately and young manhood arrived for the adolescent who watched for it, the grace of the Maker poured forth. He restrained the wantonness of my temporal form, converting it to desire incorporeal embraces; raising my soul from the depths, he transferred it to the heights...")

30. Sargent translates the passage (1981, 167), and Watson translates and discusses it in detail (1991, 45-47).

31. Abelard's innovatory autobiography, *History of My Calamities*, also took the form of a private letter.

[Chapter 3: Biography and Autobiography, Pages 46-63, Cont.]

32. "I was more surprised than I can say when first I felt my heart grow warm, and blaze up with true heat, not imaginary, as if it really were on fire. Truly I was astonished at the way the heat exploded in my spirit, and at the unfamiliar solace, an abundance which I had not experienced before. I kept feeling my breast to see if by chance this heat was from some external cause. But once I knew that the fire of love had flared up only from inside, that it was not physical, and that the longing in which I constantly lived was the gift of the Creator, I melted in bliss [and] in desire for greater love. This was mainly on account of the sweetest delight and the interior sweetness, which sprinkled with this spiritual flame the innermost parts of my mind."

33. Watson (1991, 115-16) argues that *Incendium* opens with an *exemplum*, one of the "artificial" ways of beginning advocated by Geoffrey of Vinsauf, and here introducing the book's central theme. The focus of the opening on an autobiographical narrative is nevertheless rare.

34. Watson describes Rolle's experiences of mystical love as "highly original," and points to "the fact that they have no significant predecessors in mystical tradition," while claiming at the same time a framework of reception which would render Rolle's early readers "less startled by (and less suspicious of) the experiences than we might expect them to be" (1991, 21). However, Rolle himself implicitly compares his experience with Ps. 39.3: "Concaluit cor meum intra me: et in meditatione mea exardescet ignis" (*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 21, Arnould 61.19-20), which is an exact, if generalised, Biblical parallel. Wakelin (1975, 198) adduces Exodus 3.2 and Acts 2.3-4 as sources, but they seem somewhat remote from the experience Rolle describes. Noetinger cites a range of scriptures as precedents for *fervor* (1928, 87), and finds the phrase, *incendium amoris*, in Augustine (1928, 9). Wakelin traces the *metaphor* of the fire of love to Jacopone da Todi. Clark states that the fire of love is related to St. Bernard (1986, 184). Arnould finds a later parallel in Pascal's ecstasy (1965, 141).

Precedents for *canor* and *iubilus* occur, as Clark demonstrates, in the Psalms and St. Bernard (cf. Boenig 1995,80-81). Underhill sought a precedent for *dulcor* and *canor* in Bede's story of St. Chad (1933 181-82). Butler finds parallels for *dulcor* and *canor* in St. Augustine and St. Gregory (33, 106). Noetinger develops Butler's suggestions, finding references relevant to *canor* in Hugh of Saint Victor (1928, 65) and Augustine (1928, 80).

35. Theiner translates: "and the portlier and fatter the flesh was in life, the more horrid it will be in death." (180). *Contra Amatores Mundi* is preoccupied with death, e.g. Ch.4, Theiner 79.62-80.101 and 82.163-89. The latter passage focuses on the death of the rich, again evoking the trope developed later in such works as *Piers Plowman, Everyman* and *The Castle of Perseverance*.

36. E.g., Ch. 55, Arnould 177.31-35.

37. "Finally, residing among the rich, I was nearly pressed down with rotten rags, and was gnawed in my nakedness as by the biting of flies. Indeed my skin was trampled upon, deprived of comfortable covering; my hide, clothed in dust, was flowing with filth; I was tormented by heat among those shaded by everything they desired, and chattered with cold while they enjoyed opulent ornaments, and abounded with joy among bounties, but without loving God as their giver."

[Chapter 3: Biography and Autobiography, Pages 46-63, Cont.]

38. Margery reduplicated both Rolle's experience of *fervor* and the opening account of it in *Incendium Amoris* quoted above (Meech and Allen 88.26-34, with Allen's note 302). Like Rolle, early women writers often availed themselves of the authority of experience (Barrett 8). Rolle's popularity helped make this procedure acceptable.

Chapter 4: Reception, Pages 64-71

1. Deanesly focuses on particularities of the early editing procedures, such as the character of John Newton, who, as she thought, reconstructed the long text of *Incendium Amoris* in Emmanuel College Cambridge MS. 35 with the help of a Rolle holograph (1915, 63-78). She was however mistaken in identifying John Newton with the treasurer of York Cathedral in the 1390s, and MS. Emmanuel 35 is probably of Carthusian origin (Sargent 1976, 233-34).

2. The name, *Oleum Effusum*, is here applied to the compilation comprising: *Incendium Amoris*, Chs. 12 and 15; the opening to Ch. 8 of *Incendium*, dealing with the power of *fervor* to allay temptation and the need to avoid sin; a discussion of the will by pseudo-Anselm (*PL* 159: 167); and the final four sections of *Super Canticum Canticorum*. The latter contain sketches of Jesus's life, a rare passage in praise of the Virgin, devotions to the Holy Name, negative commentary on the external observances of monastic life, the narrative of Rolle's night-time visitation discussed above, and references to penitence and the Church. Love of God and Christ predominates as a subject, and a progressive discussion of *fervor*, *dulcor*, and *canor* is introduced near the end. The subjects and their treatment are a blend of conservative and new discursive styles, typical of Rolle's liminal exposition.

   Oleum Effusum, as here defined, is not extant in English translation. Allen gives the title, *Oleum Effusum* to section four of *Super Canticum Canticorum*. For clarity, this excerpt is discussed below under the title, *Enconium Nominis Iesu*.

3. Nevertheless, the view (Cabusset 57; Moyes, Vol. 1, 86) that in Rolle's writings the Holy Name is central to his spirituality is open to challenge (Kallistos 173). The same claim has been made for *fervor*, *dulcor*, and *canor* (e.g., Pepler 85). It could be argued further that whereas the Judgment (Watson 1991, 56), for example, or the pre-eminence of inner truth over external appearance, are referred to often and in most texts, the Holy Name tends to emerge as a subject in specialised contexts. Thus it is found in *Super Canticum Canticorum*, where Rolle follows St. Bernard, in *Emendatio Vitæ*, Ch. 11 (Watson 1995, 58.52-53) and the English epistles, where again his effusions are usually triggered by a source. In *The Form of Living* (Ogilvie-Thomson 18.610-21), the source is Hugh of Strasbourg's *Compendium Theologicæ Veritatis* iv, ca. 12, also based on St. Bernard's *Sermo in Cantica Canticorum* (Ogilvie-Thomson 200). The references in *Ego Dormio* (Ogilvie-Thomson 29.139-147), like those in *Emendatio Vitæ*, concern the second degree of love. An exhortation to "foryet nat his name Iesus" forms the peroration to *The Commandment* (Ogilvie-Thomson 39.214-24).

[Chapter 4: Reception, Pages 64-71, Cont.]

In the *English Psalter* and *Super Magnificat* the devotion surfaces in comments on verses referring to God's name. E.g., Psalm 5.14: "Et gloriabantur in te omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum..."; Psalm 8.1: "Domine dominus noster: quam admirabile est nomen tuum in uniuersa terra"; Psalm 9.10: "Et sperant in te qui nouerunt nomen tuum..."; Psalm 90.12: "Propter nomen tuum Domine, propiciaberis peccato meo..." Kallistos, however, presents an opposing reading (174-75), and see further Clark 1986, 184-85. (Psalm and verse numbers given here are those of the *Vulgate,* which Rolle's Psalm commentaries of course follow.) *Super Magnificat* comments on Luke 1.49, "et sanctum nomen eius": "Digne dicitur nomen Ihesu sanctum, sine quo salus in terra non speratur, per quod angelica ruina restauratur, per quod humanum genus saluatur, per quod et eternaliter sanctificatur." (Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson C. 397, 1rb): "Jesus's name is rightly said to be holy, without which wholeness is not hoped for on earth, through which the loss of the angels is restored, through which the human race is saved, through which also it is eternally made holy."

4. *Enconium* was translated twice into English, once in a text printed by Horstman (Vol. 1, 186-91) and once for inclusion, together with extracts from *Form of Living* and *Emendatio Vitæ*, in the popular late fourteenth-century compilation, *Pore Caitif* (Allen 1927, 63, 406; Brady 1983, 456-57).

5. Rolle's *Psalter* continued in regular use in monastic circles into the sixteenth century. The anonymous author of *The Mirror of Our Lady* recommended it to the nuns of Syon in 1530 (Bateson xiv).

6. MS. Laud Misc. 286 states that the *English Psalter* was written for Margaret.

7. See Everett 1923, 382-86; Allen 1927, 173-76, 188-92; Hudson 1988, 259-64, 424-25, and Kuczynski 177-78.

8. Lollard rejection of transubstantiation is not among the interpolations, nor is there any attack on the mendicant orders, characteristic of Lollards as of others (Everett 1923, 390).

9. See Hudson 1985, 154. Deanesly (*Lollard Bible* 437-45) attributes to John Purvey a text in Trinity College Cambridge MS. 333 supporting translation and referring to the *English Psalter* (442-43). Hudson questions most of Deanesly's attributions to Purvey (1985, 105-108).

10. The compilation, *De Excellentia Contemplationis,* survives in five manuscripts from the Bridgettine house of Syon and the Carthusian house of Sheen, and, in contrast with *Oleum Effusum* and *Enconium Nominis Iesu,* was probably intended for advanced contemplatives (Sargent 1984, Vol. 1, 37-43).

11. E.g., Porter (1929) iv-vi, xxv.

12. E.g., Geraldine Hodgson (1926) 167.

13. E.g., Comper (1928): "Religion and mysticism must last so long as this earth remains inhabited, and just because Richard's mysticism is individual and free from artificiality, it naturally appeals most strongly to his compatriots. We have dwelt already upon his prevailing note of Love, and on his delight in song and his joyousness. A mystic, indeed, enjoys as no other man can enjoy; for every moment that passes is fraught with the will of God. Like the yellow primrose, the passing moment contains for him all the wonders of heaven" (201). Comper's book offers valuable insights and information. See also Benson's novel, *Richard Raynal, Solitary* (1906), Owst (1926, 114) and Patch (1928).

14. E.g., Clark (1983, 129). Watson points to limitations in Rolle's usefulness as a pastoral writer (1991, 59-60), but approves "the way the narrative voice in *Emendatio Vitæ* draws readers step by step up the spiritual ladder with it, rather than (as in so many of the Latin works) merely shouting encouragement from the top" (226).

15. Amassian follows the lead of Noetinger and Comper, in considering the education which Rolle might have received as schoolboy and at Oxford (1967, 72-98). See also Meadows (1928) and Patch's review of *Writings Ascribed* (1929).

16. Clark's articles on Rolle (1983, 1986) are outstanding for the details they give on patristic and other sources; and Clark also acknowledges Rolle's individualism (1983, 120). Watson's book, articles and edition sometimes refer to Rolle's originality. An early comment by Woolf recognises "the double current of the individualistic and the traditional in Rolle's writings" (160). Moyes (Vol. 1, 25-53) develops a suggestion of Norman Blake, to provide a persuasive account of Cistercian literary activity in Yorkshire from the twelfth century as background to Rolle's work. However, while some specific connections are made, notably through *Dulcis Iesu Memoria* and John of Howden's *Philomena*, much of the monastic history discussed is only generally relevant to Rolle. Bynum's comment is applicable: "We need both a broader picture of twelfth-century religion and a description of its relationship to the later Middle Ages that stresses discontinuity as well as influence and parallels" (1982, 108).

17. "Rolle's writings are not important for the contribution which they make to spiritual literature, but they tell us a good deal about himself...the whole of the very curious work called the *Melos Contemplativorum* is really a defence of himself and the way of life he had adopted" (Sitwell 88-90). Watson extrapolates from and refines this position. See also Knowles 1965, 54.

Chapter 5: Moving Towards and Away from the Centre: Unity and Multiplicity in Rolle's Texts, Pages 72-83

1. Gillespie (1982, 207): "Thus burning love for God becomes the most resounding cliché of devotional literature. For Rolle it was central not only to his own mystical experience but also to the affective strategies in his writings for others." Rygiel analyses Rolle's mature writing in similar terms: "In particular, *The Form of Living* holds together because of Rolle's deep abiding

[Chapter 5: Moving Towards and Away from the Centre: Unity and Multiplicity in Rolle's Texts, Pages 72-83, Cont.]

sense of what is important and essential in the kind of life he is describing: love of God. By holding to this one thing and continually referring everything to it, Rolle gives a coherence to the whole work that would otherwise be lacking" (11).

2. Rolle defends sitting as his personal contemplative posture in *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 14 (Deanesly 185.4-15), referring to Aristotle (*Physics*, I.7.3) in support. In *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 42 (Arnould 130.6-13), he refutes those who had claimed that over-eating gave him the capacity for long, restful sitting.

   The Cloud of Unknowing mentions casually "a man þat sat in his meditacions" (32.22); and requests that contemplatives be allowed to "sit" in their rest and in their play (55.5); *Scale 1* refers similarly to those who are pleased "to sitte stille in rest of bodie" for prayer and meditation (Ch. 7, Clark and Dorward 81, Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 6686, 282a).

3. Aston documents hierarchised positioning of congregations, based on clerical or lay status and gender, from earliest Christian times (1990, 237-48). She comments further: "Attending Mass entailed standing or kneeling, with the possibility for the old, infirm or lucky, of leaning against a wall (something John Mirk reproved), or resting on a stone bench. This does not mean that - long before the days of pews - there were no seats, or individual claims to particular places" (250). Seats in the chancel and the east end of churches were reserved for clergy, while segregated seating for women was available from the mid-fourteenth century (Aston 1990, 238-39, 263-64).

   That sitting is a liminal aspect of Rolle's teaching is confirmed by its having been raised as an issue by modern Catholic commentators. After concluding from Tertullian and Origen that kneeling or standing for prayer was traditional, Sister Mary Arthur Knowlton comments: "That Rolle should adopt such an emphatic and uncompromising opinion in view of the traditional practice of the Church is indication of his excessive self-esteem and independence" (37-38). Noetinger justifies Rolle's preference for sitting by citing Augustine's commentary on 2 Kings 7.18, and by claiming that Rolle's austere life had weakened him (1928, 87-88).

4. "Love God and that is enough; he seeks nothing from us except that we should love him."

5. Watson (1991, 59-60) points out that although Rolle's works technically acknowledge the existence of the *mediocriter boni*, they deal pervasively and almost exclusively with the antithetical groups of the *electi* and *reprobi*. Rejections of carnal life and worldly lovers pervade Rolle's texts, so that specific exemplification seems superfluous. A typical nexus of imagery is however found in *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 4, where earthly life is described in terms of poison, contagion, darkness, heaviness, slumber, and, inevitably, damnation.

6. Riehle summarises the origins of the tradition of love-longing in the Song of Songs, and exemplifies its occurrence in late mediæval mystical writings in England and on the Continent (1981, 42-44).

7. This is a common concern, found also, though rarely, in *The Cloud* (64.21-26, 104.19-105.2). Rolle reiterates the point exponentially.

8. "For this lying world has its miserable joys, its vain riches, its harmful allurements, its destructive delights, its false felicity, its unhealthy pleasure...its fearful friendship, soothing in the morning, stinging in the evening...its misleading leader, its oppressive prince. It also has its dismal jewel and mocking praise, its leaden lily, its jangling song, its corrupt splendour, its discordant concord, its muddied snow, its desolate comfort, its destitute kingdom. And it has its nightingale bellowing louder than the cow; its blackbird's voice, knowing no song; its sheep in wolf's clothing; and its dove fiercer than a wild beast."

9. An equally violent rejection of the world, also using antitheses and oxymorons, opens *Contra Amatores Mundi* (Theiner 67.6-21).

10. "Any saint established above worldly desires."

11. E.g., "*Quoniam præuenisti eum misericorditer in benedictionibus dulcedinis* id est, in promotione de virtute in virtutem, in qua magnam dulcedinem spiritualis gaudij sensit...*Quoniam dabis eum* glorificatum in corpore *in benedictionem in seculum seculi* id est, vt in æternum benedictus habeatur: et tunc *lætificabis eum in gaudio* corporis et animæ *cum vultu tuo* id est, vt te semper præsentem videat oculo intellectuali" (Porter 88-89).
    "*For you have mercifully forestalled him with the blessings of sweetness*, that is, by advancing from virtue to virtue, in which he experienced the great sweetness of spiritual joy...*For you will give to him* in a body which has been glorified *blessing for ever and ever* that is, that he might be blessed for eternity: and then *you will delight him in joy* of body and soul *with your countenance* that is, that he may behold you ever present with his intellectual eye."

12. E.g., "*Pones eos vt clibanum ignis* id est, constitues eos ardentes intrinsecus conscientia impietatis suæ *in tempore vultus tui* id est, manifestationis tuæ quando iudicaturus es, et tunc *dominus in ira conturbabit eos* improperans eis: Esuriui et non dedistis mihi manducare *et deuorabit eos ignis* infernalis quando dicit: Ite maledicti in ignem æternum" (Porter 89).
    "*You will place them as an oven of fire* that is, you will establish within them the burning conscience of their impiety *in the time of your countenance* that is, of your appearance as Judge, and then *the Lord will throw them into confusion in his anger* reproaching them: I was hungry and you did not give me to eat *and the fire of hell will devour them* when he says: Go, you who are accursed, into eternal fire."
    Rolle's relishing of the sufferings of the reprobate on Judgment Day, which is condemned by Watson (e.g., 1991, 60), has at least the modest justification of conformity with Thomist theology, and the notion is repeated by Hilton (*Scale 2*, Ch. 45, British Library MS. Harley 6579, 137v, Clark and Dorward 299).

13. "Unhappy and accursed. In wealth he honours dung, in the poor man he scorns Christ."

[Chapter 5: Moving Towards and Away from the Centre: Unity and Multiplicity in Rolle's Texts, Pages 72-83, Cont.]

14. "Whom [God] surely sees to be grievously degraded in this age."

15. "O Jesu bone, quis michi det ut sentiam te, infunde te in visceribus anime mee! Veni in cor meum et inebria illud dulcore tuo. Reple mentem meam fervore amoris tui ut, omnia mala obliviscens, te solum complectar; certe tunc gaudebo" (Dolan 16.4-7).
    "O good Jesus, who grants that I may perceive you, pour yourself into the innermost parts of my soul! Come into my heart and intoxicate it with your sweetness. Fill my mind with the heat of your love, so that, forgetful of all ills, I may embrace you alone; certainly then I will rejoice."

16. "Tyrants, corrupt rich men, oppressors of the poor, unrighteous princes and such a mass of others, even robbers."

17. Noetinger suggests that Rolle fails to cite sources because he had no access to books at the time of writing (1928, xxxi), a view refuted by Watson (1991, 296-98). Rigg argues that by "narrow[ing] the reading matter necessary for religious contemplation," and in dispensing to some extent "with scholarship and the paraphernalia of glosses and interpretations," Rolle "has tried to free the contemplative from the burden of the past" (253).

18. In *Emendatio Vitæ*, Ch. 9, Rolle summarises the benefits of Bible reading for a community of Christians: such reading fosters virtues and allows us to recognise our imperfections and avoid the devil's snares. Above all, the Scriptures inflame us with God's love; they sting us to tears; they prepare a table of delights for us (Watson 1995, 54-55). Standard moral benefits are stated conventionally in this chapter, but spiritual and anagogic advantages are also lyrically displayed, in a deployment of personal imagery which Rolle had developed to the highest pitch in *Melos Amoris*.

19. That this was a challenging idea is suggested by the opposition it evidently encountered, and which Rolle refuted in *Expositio super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum* (Moyes, Vol. 2, 195.15-196.12). Cf. Clark 1986, 178.

20. "Which no one knows except the one who receives it."

21. "Hidden manna"; "white stone."

22. Theiner translates: "Truly, I was amazed that any mortal should ever be carried away to so great a song, but now in truth I know through my own experience that true love is with God. Nevertheless other people, who know nothing of this gift, do not realize that it is received by others" (153).

23. "Hear, you fool, what is said to you: *Doctor, heal yourself.* You are like an unlearned physician who boldly undertakes the cure of a sick man, but who has not yet learned what medicine might heal him."

[Chapter 5: Moving Towards and Away from the Centre: Unity and Multiplicity in Rolle's Texts, Pages 72-83, Cont.]

24. "Dum autem constet plurimos in gazofilacium dominicum paupercula vidua dona nimirum magna posuisse quia magni et divites qui ponunt, ego utique de paupertate et parvitate mea hoc quod habeo et sencio sine invidia et contencione pono" (Ch. 3, Theiner 73.1-5).

Theiner translates: "Yet, while it may be true that many men have, along with the poor widow, given truly great gifts to the Lord's treasury because they are great and wealthy men, I do indeed give, from among my few humble possessions, what I have and know, without envious striving" (155). However, see Watson's different reading of this passage (1991, 162-63).

Chapter 6: The Limits of Cohesion: Discourses of Authority and Individual Freedom, Pages 84-101

1. E.g., Ch. 35, Deanesly 245.1-247.36.

2. Although this passage has been said to resemble both John of Howden's *Philomena* and John Pecham's *Philomela* (Allen 1927, 419-20; Watson 1991, 139), Rigg points out that Rolle's adaptation is in fact individual, and that it also differs from Alexander Neckham's symbolism of the nightingale in *De Naturis Rerum* (Rigg 378, note 33). The divergence from so many available models is typical of Rolle's tangential thinking.

3. "Like the nightingale, which, delighting continuously in its song until death, loves most sweetly."

4. "Abundance of love constrains me to venture, to display eloquence for informing others, demonstrating the sublimity of those who love most fervently..."

5. "Shining and clear in the purity of the faith"; "makes Christians solid in virtue and invincible against the wickedness of devils and impious men." An alternative interpretation of the sea as penitence, which follows, focuses on contrition, not on the sacrament of penance.

6. *"And being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks*, that is, all the Churches, filled with the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit; because just as a candlestick bears fire and offers light to others, so the Church bears the true light which is Christ, and displays it to others by preaching. Therefore holy men are candlesticks, but candlesticks of gold, because they shine with charity and wisdom."

7. *Scale 1*, Ch. 44, Clark and Dorward 117, Cambridge University Library MS. Ad. 6686, 317a-b. *The Book of Privy Counselling* nevertheless asserts faith in the grace given freely to contemplatives "now, in þe tyme of pees," which makes them equal to the early martyrs in spontaneous love of God (151.1-18).

8. "And of those offering sacrifices, as much of priests as of contemplatives, who pray for their own sins and those of others."

[Chapter 6: The Limits of Cohesion: Discourses of Authority and Individual Freedom, Pages 84-101, Cont.]

9. "*Circumdederunt me canes multi.* Id est, heretici et falsi Christiani qui contra Christum et ecclesiam ore et opere blasphemantes quasi canes latrant consilium malignantium."

   "*Many dogs compassed me round about.* That is, heretics and false Christians who blaspheme against Christ and the Church in word and deed, barking like dogs the counsel of the spiteful."

   The commentary continues in this vein (Porter 94-95), praising the apostles and saints of the Church, defending its unity, "deo dilecta," and condemning heretics for dividing the Church by false interpretation of Scripture.

10. Noetinger cites sources for this exegesis in Gregory, *Hom. in Ezech.* and in Hugh of St. Victor, *Miscellanea* (1928, 129).

11. "Therefore, whether for this reason or some other, for the praise of God and the advancement of Christianity, I am trying by word and example to show how, and how beyond measure, Christ has granted me to rejoice in his love." (The passage as quoted emends Theiner's punctuation.)

12. Cf. Psalm 113 (Markert 205-28), which characterises the Church as "wrestland agayn syn"; confession as purification and sanctification; those baptised as turned to God; the order of priests as trusting in God as its helper; bishops as blessed by God; and "larfadirs" (patristic writers) as blessed in many spiritual sons.

13. "*Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam.* Et est sensus: Credo in Spiritum Sanctum sanctificantem vniuersalem ecclesiam. *Ecclesiam,* id est congregacionem fidelium. *Catholicam,* id est vniuersalem. *Sanctam* esse posicione virtutum et remissione omnium viciorum. Ecclesia dicitur sponsa Christi. Hosea 2: *Sponsabo te michi in sempiternum.* Est eciam domus Dei cuius fundamentum est Christus. Ecclesia est regnum Christi, et Christus est rex. Quicumque ergo turbat regnum et regem. Preterea Christus est caput ecclesie et ecclesia membra eius et corpus. Qui leditur in aliquo membro angustat caput. Vnde infideles qui verbis impugnant ecclesiam, et peccatores qui malis corrumpunt ecclesiam quantum est in eis, et tiranni qui persecuntur et affligunt ecclesiam Christi, persecuntur et astringunt Christum." (MS. Bodleian 547, 107v-108r)

   "*Holy Catholic Church.* The sense is: I believe in the Holy Spirit sanctifying the whole Church. *Church,* that is, the congregation of the faithful. *Catholic,* that is, universal. [I believe] that the Church is *holy* by its possession of virtues and by its remission of all sins. The Church is called the bride of Christ. Hosea 2.19: 'I will betroth you to me for ever.' It is also the house of God, the foundation of which is Christ. Therefore whoever annoys the kingdom also [annoys] the king. Moreover Christ is the head of the Church and the Church makes up his limbs and body. Any wound to a limb constricts the head. Hence those unfaithful ones who attack the Church verbally, and sinners who, as much as they can, defile the Church with their evil deeds, and tyrants who persecute and cast down the Church of Christ, persecute and confine Christ himself."

[Chapter 6: The Limits of Cohesion: Discourses of Authority and Individual Freedom, Pages 84-101, Cont.]

14. Nevertheless, in the account of the "three things which cleanse us" of sin, translated in *The Form of Living* (Ogilvie-Thomson 13.403-406) from *Compendium Theologicæ Veritatis*, Rolle adds an authoritarian admonition to the advice in his source to make a full confession to one priest: "sey al þat þou wost to oon, or al is nat worth."

15. The automatic metaphor of the "rust" of sin usually accompanies this assertion, e.g. *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 8 (Deanesly 166.15-19); *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 2 (Arnould 7.7-9), Ch. 8 (Arnould 22.22-26), Ch. 14 (Arnould 44.1-3, 30-32); *The Commandment* (Ogilvie-Thomson 38.185-87); and *The Form of Living* (Ogilvie-Thomson 25.885-87). Passages of similar meaning not employing the metaphor are: *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 28 (Deanesly 222.28-223.2) and Ch. 40 (Deanesly 269.20-25); *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 14 (Arnould 42.33-43.9).

   Hilton refers similarly to "rubigo illa illiciti amoris" (*Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem*, Clark and Taylor, Vol.2, 837).

16. *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 42, Deanesly 277.21-24; *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 12, Arnould 36.32-35 and Ch. 13, Arnould 39.26-29.

17. Cf. *Contra Amatores Mundi*, Ch. 6, Theiner 94.25-27: "Unde pensandum est nobis quod dum mortales sumus, miseri sumus; et dum peccare possumus vel venialiter, ab omni timore libertatem non habemus." "From this we ought to consider that as long as we are mortals, we are wretched; and as long as we are able to commit even a venial sin, we do not possess freedom from every fear" (Theiner 179, adapted).

18. Rolle's rejection of conventional sorrow in favour of joy, which reproduces an emphasis of the Gnostics, can be exemplified from *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 40, where he writes that while tears are not improper in the time of prayer, he admires the one whose prayer has been transformed into song: "Cumque doctores nostri asserant perfectos debere lacrimari...Mihi quidem langor mirabilis in diuino amore affluit." (Deanesly 270. 11-15) "Our scholars claim that the perfect ought to weep...Yet for me a wonderful languishing has abounded in divine love." The statement specifically denies a standard negative attitude.

   A simpler and more powerful declaration concludes Rolle's short alliterative evocation of "Ghostly Gladness": "Loke þou lede þi life in lightsomnes; and heuynesse, hold hit away. Sorynesse let nat sit with the, bot in gladnes in God euermore make þou þi glee" (Ogilvie-Thomson 41.8-10).

   Hilton acknowledges Rolle's orientation to joy, in probably referring to his teaching on the joy of the Holy Name (*Scale 1*, Ch. 44, Clark and Dorward 117, Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 6686, 317a).

   Cf. Knowles: "The contemplative life, as Rolle saw it, or at least as he has recorded it, is singularly joyful" (1927, 84); Morgan: "Rolle's mysticism is distinguished by the constancy of his joy" (1952, 102); and Phyllis Hodgson: "Rolle's outstanding message was one of assurance: *joy, solace, comfort* are his keywords" (1967, 17).

[Chapter 6: The Limits of Cohesion: Discourses of Authority and Individual Freedom, Pages 84-101, Cont.]

19. "Ought not to be chosen for offices or external preferments, nor called to any secular occupation."

20. "No mortal can give him such wholesome counsel as that which he has in himself from the immortal Lord. Indeed, if others wish to give him counsel, without a doubt they will err, because they have not known God's counsel. He himself however will not err because even if he wishes to agree to their persuading, he will not be permitted by God, who constrains him to his will so that he may not transgress it. Therefore it is said of such people: 'The spiritual person judges all things and is judged by no one.'"

21. E.g., *Contra Amatores Mundi*, Ch. 5, Theiner 85.68-71 and *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 12, Arnould 36.2-4. The long attack on monastic life in *Super Canticum Canticorum* (Murray 24.17-26.17), asks, "Nonne sancti presbyteri divine contemplacioni dediti immo, quilibet bonus christianus, seipsos totos in ortum dei transferunt, dum pastoribus obedientes in fide et unitate ecclesie irreprehensibiliter vivunt?" (Murray 25.27-26.4). "Cannot rather a priest dedicated to divine contemplation, or any good Christian at all, transfer themselves wholly into the garden of God [the monastery of the spirit], as long as they live irreproachably, obeying their pastors in the faith and unity of the Church?" This attacks an institutional structure while seeking to affirm a pro-institutional stance. The complex attitudes indicate ideological tension.

22. "Quippe si divites et prelatos de hac re constituam iudices, timeo ne favore vel timore corrumpantur aut forsitan, secularibus implicati actibus et subditis suis servientes, in magno amoris monte non sederunt ut omnem gradum recte discernerent." (Arnould 149 11-14) "Indeed, if I were to appoint rich men and prelates judges in this matter, I fear that they might be corrupted by bribes or threats; or perhaps, engaged in secular activities and servants to their responsibilites, that they might not sit on the high mountain of love, in order rightly to perceive all levels of spirituality."

In *Super Canticum Canticorum* the attack on monasticism concludes, as in *Melos Amoris*, with a self-conscious assertion of the speaker's authority, based on experience and a divine calling (Murray 26.17-20).

23. E.g., *Melos Amoris*, Chapter 7, the most sustained satire of clerical corruption in Rolle's *corpus*. He condemns "Custodes in Ecclesia," as well as ordinary priests responsible for parishioners. Cf. too the emphatic ending to Chapter 11: "...et cremabuntur continue perversi prelati utique et omnes putridi peccatores." ("...and prelates who have gone astray and all corrupted sinners will be consumed by fire ceaselessly.") Further attacks on prelates are made, as shown above, in the *English Psalter* and in the *Latin Psalter*, e.g., Psalm 9.12 (Porter 41) and Psalm 21.12 (93).

24. "Videant ne bona pauperum expendant in protibulo meretricum" (*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 7, Arnould 21.29-30). Cf. *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 39, Deanesly 264.10-19.

25. "Accordingly it is clear that they desire guardianship of Christ's flock, not for the sake of their parishioners' piety but in order to possess wealth. Therefore even in their entrance they appear to be excommunicated by the supreme Shepherd, who says: *He who does not enter the sheepfold by the door* - that is, he who does not enter the Church through Christ - *but climbs in by another way* - that is, by the power of princes, or by the entreaties of magnates, or by gifts, or by human influence - *this man is a thief and a robber* [John 10.1]." *The Book of Privy Counselling* explicates this passage in less overtly political terms, seeing Christ as the door to contemplation (159.5-160.23).

26. The Church traditionally forbade priests living openly with women to say mass (Cohn 39), but staunchly opposed the Lollard (Donatist) view that sacraments administered by unworthy priests were invalid. *English Psalter*, Psalm 78.1 (Bramley 290) censures priests who obtain benefices by simony and influence for defiling baptised souls, who are Christ's dwelling-place.

27. Often in discussions of the sins of the rich and powerful, where Rolle evokes the Bible and condemns with authority, e.g., "Igiter, cum iam pauperes quotidie in contemptum cadant et pre calamitate confusi eciam inter epulantes egeant, plurique profecto pauperes premia percipient, perversos principes populorum in iudicio iudicabunt" (*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 9, Arnould 25.25-28). "Therefore, the poor, who now every day are treated with contempt and brought into confusion because of their adversity, and who suffer need even among those who banquet, will for the most part receive their rewards; in the judgment they will judge the wicked princes of the people." (Cf. Luke 16.20-26.)

   Similarly, "...ut pereat per penas qui, premendo pauperes, putavit se potentem" (*Melos Amoris*, Ch. 13. 38.21-22): "...so he perishes in torments, he who thought himself powerful in the oppression of the poor." (Cf. Ecclesiastes 5.8.)

   Direct statements also occur, e.g. *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 9: "Moretur iugiter in memoria mendicorum quia Deus non salvat impios et iudicium pauperibus tribuit." (Arnould 26.9-10): "Beggars should continually keep in mind that God does not preserve the wicked, and he grants justice to the poor." (Cf. Job 36.6.)

28. Examples are numerous: *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 16 *passim*, Ch. 27, Deanesly 219.29-220.3; *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 9 (Arnould 26.30-34), Ch. 10 (30.1-4), Ch. 13 (38.22-27).

29. Cf. *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 18, Deanesly 199.17-20; *The Commandment*, Ogilvie-Thomson 36.96-109.

30. Rolle considers the decision of those able to sustain only a moderate poverty to be lawful, but less worthy than those who relinquish everything. Nevertheless, such people can attain to the heights of contemplative prayer if they persevere, and if they do not love their possessions, but relinquish them in possessing them ("atque ea que habent non amando possideant, et possidendo relinquant") (Cambridge University Library Dd. v. 64, fol. 4r; Watson 1995, 41.70-71).

[Chapter 6: The Limits of Cohesion: Discourses of Authority and Individual Freedom, Pages 84-101, Cont.]

31. *Super Psalmum Vicesimum*, Dolan 3.24-4.4, 9.18-22, 17.15-19; *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 1 (Deanesly 148.18-21), Ch. 24 (211.16-20), Ch. 30 (231.1-15). The last passage is a significant condemnation of the pride, lust and covetousness of "potentes...et diuites seculares," elucidating the spiritual trap of covetousness in old age, thereby contributing to a tradition memorably preserved in later vernacular texts, including *Piers Plowman* and *The Castle of Perseverance*.

32. "Turpe itaque est honorare stercora, quod est amare terrena. Hinc est quod diuites auari vilissimis fetoribus se servos constituunt..." *Emendatio Vitæ*, Ch 2. Cambridge Univ. Library, MS. Dd. v. 64, fol 2v; Watson 1995, 37.8-10. "And thus it is a shame to honour excrement, which is to love earthly things. Hence it is that greedy rich people make themselves slaves to the vilest filth..."

33. E.g., Matthew 19.1, 24, Mark 10.25, Luke 18.25. *Judica Me* (Daly 11.26-12.13) quotes the authority of Matthew 19.21 and Luke 14.33.

34. *The Gospel of Thomas* denies entrance to the Pleroma to businessmen and merchants, while *The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* "denounces the preferential status of the rich" (Rudolph 270).

35. E.g., *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 8, Deanesly 224.29-34; *Melos Amoris*, Ch.52, Arnould 166.15-19 and 167.20-30; *Emendatio Vitæ*, Ch. 3, Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. v. 64, fol. 4r, Watson 1995, 40.60-62: "Qui autem mansuetudine et humilitate pollent, quamuis multas diuicias possident, tamen ad dexteram Christi cum iudicat statuentur." "However those who are strong in mercy and humility, even though they possess great riches, will yet be stationed at the right hand of Christ when he comes to judge."

36. Those established in sanctity are compared with kings, Ch. 14, Arnould 44.13-15 - cf. *Super Psalmum Vicesimum*, discussed above, and *Tractatus Super Apocalypsim*, Ch. 1, Marzac 124.24-27. The punishments of evil or deceptive kings (and queens) are mentioned, *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 4 (Arnould 14.18-22), Ch. 9 (27.20-26), Ch. 14 (44.25-26).

37. The punishments of earthly tyrants are referred to in *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 10, Arnould 28.27, and Ch. 14, 44.18-19. Earthly tyrants are characterised as proud rulers and carnal and worldly men, *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 57, 182.28, 183.14-16. Satan and his demons, rulers of this world, are named "tyrants," Ch. 57, 182.23-24, 183.17.

38. *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 10 (Arnould 28.21-23), Ch. 12 (33.32-35), Ch. 13 (38.27-30), Ch. 20 (59.34-35). The Latin commentary, *Super Magnificat*, summarises Rolle's views:

[Chapter 6: The Limits of Cohesion: Discourses of Authority and Individual Freedom, Pages 84-101, Cont.]

"*Deposuit potentes de sede.* Subito de sede deponendi sunt, qui in mundi pompa pro inani gloria se potentes faciunt, de quorum interitu scriptum est: potentes potenter per tormenta pacientur. Quanto enim quis in malicia huius mundi potencior fuerit, tanto in calamitate Gehenne profundior erit. Et si multi sunt qui se in hoc seculo vltra mensuram male viuendo extollunt, aliqui tamen sunt sed et pauci sunt, qui se recte viuendo humiliant, qui cum humilitate exaltabuntur, vt fiat quod sequitur: *Et exaltauit humiles.*" (Oxford MS. Rawlinson C. 397, fol. 1va)

"*He has put down the mighty from their seat.* They ought quickly be put down from their seat, who make themselves mighty in worldly display for the sake of empty glory. It is written concerning their destruction, the mighty will suffer mightily through their torments. For as a person has been more powerful in the evil of this world, so will he be deeper in the ruin of hell. And if there are many who lift themselves up beyond measure in ill living in this world, yet there are others - though they are few - who humble themselves in right living, who in their humility will be exalted, so that what follows may be fulfilled: *And he has exalted the humble.*"

39. "Accordingly it is clear that in the future greed will be banished, and charity will reign, contrary to what is charged by many - or rather, by almost all, at present - that greed is even introduced into the royal court; charity, as if it were colluding with destruction, is imprisoned, or rather thrown out of the kingdom into exile. Yet it finds a home in the hearts of the elect."

40. "But those things are lacking which reveal the Beloved to the one who longs for him. They wound me so that I am consumed with longing. As yet they do not fully relieve my longing, but rather increase it, since as my love grows, so does my longing. *My life is wasted with grief and my years with sighs* [Ps. 30.11], because I am parted from my Beloved. My desire for death is deferred and the medicine for my unhappiness delays. I rise up with shoutings and say: *Alas for me, because my habitation in foreign lands is lengthened out!* [Ps. 119.5]. It is love which tortures [me], it is love which brings [me] joy. It tortures, because that which is much loved is not quickly granted. It brings joy, because it refreshes by hope, and pours into [me] a measureless consolation with these fires of love. For ardent longing increases when, through the joy of the soul's love, the song of songs is in the soul, and abounding heat augments sweet delight."

41. "For what can be said about friendship more sublime, more true, or more useful, than that which is begun in Christ, and grows in obedience to Christ, ought also to reach its fulfilment in Christ?"

42. "And it is accompanied by great delight, in which there is again neither merit nor demerit."

43. "For it is truly friendship, when one friend behaves to the other as he would to himself, when his friend is his other self, and when he loves him for what he is, and not because what he hopes he will gain from him will be useful."

Chapter 7:Perspectives on the Passion, Pages 102-110

1. "In his own thought as a contemplative Rolle was scarcely concerned with meditation on the Passion; but, as an adviser to women in religious orders he taught meditation on the Passion according to the method that had become traditional" (Woolf 160).

2. Rolle's English commentary on the *Magnificat* refers to the narrative context evoked in the Bible, but his Latin commentary ignores the context entirely.

3. "Meditation A" was first printed as part of the Rolle canon in 1988 by Ogilvie-Thomson. A brief extract attributed to Rolle in MS. Longleat 29, Ogilvie-Thomson's base manuscript, was found to match a passage in a complete Meditation attributed to Rolle in Cotton MS. Titus C xix, from which the full text was subsequently edited (Ogilvie-Thomson xciv, 213).

4. "Meditation A" vitalises eschatology in a complex interchange between Jesus, God the Father and St. Michael on the Mount of Olives, for which there is no parallel in "Meditation B."

5. Using different premises, other commentators reach similar conclusions. Glanz perceives in Rolle's Meditations an enactment of Richard of St. Victor's psycho-spiritual theory, by which images of the Passion "bring the senses into the spiritual realm so that the contemplative may concretely experience the presence of the Divine" (59). Glasscoe reads them paradoxically, as "powerful works in which [Rolle] enacts a sense of the gap between the experience of sour sterility which is a concomitant of what St Paul calls 'the body of this death' (Romans 7:24) and the joy and creativity of God" (1990, 147).

6. Allen publishes only selections from each text. References are therefore given here to Horstman's printing of the complete text of the shorter version.

7. Allen recognized that the manuscript attributions of this Meditation to Rolle were not confirmed by internal evidence, but rightly asserted that no internal evidence positively excluded Rolle's authorship (1927, 281, 284-85). Some internal features are however atypical of Rolle, e.g. the idea that Christ's physical face is the embodiment of bliss in contemplation (Ogilvie-Thomson 72.139-42), and the paucity of scriptural cross-references. Passages supportive of his authorship are inconclusive. The prayer to avoid pride in attire reflects a characteristic concern, but this was a frequent satiric target. Although one of the concluding prayers, for the meditator's heart to be kindled by a spark of love and pity from the Passion, "þat I be brennynge in þy loue ouer al þynge" (Ogilvie-Thomson 82.525-27), resembles the frequent references in Rolle's authentic works to the fire of love, it is joined with a conventional prayer to be bathed in Christ's blood, which is uncharacteristic of his writing. *Þe Prickynge of Love*, ascribed to Hilton, evokes the Passion in its opening chapter, and similarly describes the one so meditating as, "kyndelid with a gret brennynge of loue" (Kane 8.2).

Morgan argues that the shorter and longer versions of "Meditation B" "show more kinship" with the tradition of meditations than with "the fully authenticated works of Richard Rolle" (1952, 102), and that, "the general nature of the Meditations is unlike that of any work belonging to the accepted Rolle canon." (1953, 101). She does not, however, entirely rule out Rolle's authorship.

[Chapter 7:Perspectives on the Passion, Pages 102-110, Cont.]

8. *Shorter Version:*

"Þe cyte is so noble, þe pupyl is so mychel, þe folk comyth rennynge owt of iche a strete, þanne stondyth vp þe folk, and þe grete reke, þat wonder men may þat þereonne thynke. With swyche a processyoun of worldely wondrynge, was neuere no thef to þe deth lad" (Horstman, Vol. 1, 85; cf. Allen 1931, 21.81-22.86).

Longer Version:

"Al þe pepil comyn and folwen and gawren vpon þe and wondreth; with suche processioun was neuer thef led to his deth" (Ogilvie-Thomson 77.323-25).

9. Further confirmation perhaps lies in the fact that I evolved the hypothesis before reading Morgan's article. Wilson supports Morgan's view by a stylistic comparison (92-94). Glanz supports Rolle's authorship of both versions of "Meditation B" on the basis of her theory of imagery (64).

10. Cf. Schmidt 175 and Glasscoe 1990, 147.

11. Woolf (163, 381-82) accepts Rolle's authorship of the additional Passion lyric, "My treuest tresowre," but Allen's textual, stylistic, and æsthetic grounds for doubting Rolle's authorship are convincing (1927, 295).

12. This lyric occurs in *Ego Dormio* (Ogilvie-Thomson 30.175 - 31.211). It is partially translated from two Latin sources, and lines 180-84 and 199-200 are parallelled in *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 27 (Deanesly 221.33-222.8; cf. Ogilvie-Thomson 205). Woolf (28-29) discusses the source of the popular passage beginning, "Naked his white brest..." ("Candet nudatum pectus").

13. The description of the Passion in "Ihesu Goddis son...," lines 33-44, parallels a section of "My kynge þe watyre grete...," in *Ego Dormio*, lines 180-91. Rogers documents further parallels with *Ego Dormio* lyrics (73). Gillespie reads "Ihesu, Goddis son..." profoundly, as an aid to affective contemplation (1982, 218-20).

14. Allen (1931, 142-43) found a source for line 12 in a lyric ascribed to St. Edmund of Canterbury, adapted in a lyric attached to the *Manuel des Pechiez*.

15. Rolle did not compose the two separate parts of "Ihesu swet," but he probably compiled the lost recension in which they were first brought together (Ogilvie-Thomson lxxxv-xci, especially xc).

16. "Ihesu swet":

> Ihesu dere, me reweth sore
> Of my mysdedes I haue done yore;
> Foryeve me, Lord, I wil no more,
> Bot I þe aske m[ercy] and ore.

> Ihesu good, lord myne,
> My l[if], my soule, is al thyne;
> Vndo myn hert and lyth þerjnne
> And saue me fro wicked engyne.
> (Ogilvie-Thomson 53.77-84)

A similar wavering of response is found in "Al vanitese forsake..." (Allen 1931, 50.29-32); "I sigh and sob..." (Ogilvie-Thomson 46.10-11); and in a brief rhymed passage in *The Form of Living* (Ogilvie-Thomson 15.512-16.515).

17. "If þou wil þynke þis euery day, þou shalt fynd gret swetnesse, þat shal draw þi hert vp, and mak þe fal in wepynge and in grete langynge to Ihesu: and þi þoght shal be reft abouen al erthly þynges, abouen þe sky and þe sterres, so þat þe egh of þi hert may loke in to heuyn" (Ogilvie-Thomson 31.212-15).

18. "One is tempted to see Bernardian influence in the enormous charge of love longing and desire for mystical union with God in the lyrics. This is characteristic mainly of the lyrics of the School of Richard Rolle" (Gibinska 108).

19. Cf. the following lyric by Jacopone da Todi:
> Brother, I find such flowering in the cross
> That I have dressed in its forget-me-nots;
> It has no wound I have yet come across,
> Rather, my joy is its delightfulness.
> (Trans. Peter Dronke 60).

20. Cf. *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 38, Deanesly 260.21 and *Contra Amatores Mundi*, Ch. 6, Theiner 95.79. Like St. Bernard in his sermons on *Canticum Canticorum*, I. V. 9, Rolle also refers to the "panis spiritualis" of Scripture (*Latin Psalter*, 34.9, 37.5, 104.14, 147.17). *The Cloud* satirises contemplatives who sit gaping for "angels' food," following its attack on those deceived by "angels' minstrelsy" (105.14-21).

21. "Cum enim iam mundum cor habere ceperit et nulla corpore rei ymago sibi illudere poterit, tunc certe ad alciora admittitur vt in amore deitatis uehementer glorietur" (Cambridge University Library, MS. Dd. v.64, 9v; Watson 1995, 52.22-25).
  "For when he has begun to have a pure heart, so that no image of fleshly things can deceive him, then certainly he is admitted to higher things, that he may glory intensely in love of the godhead."

22. E.g., verse 7: "I am reproue of men. in spittynge buffetynge and pungynge with the thornes. and outkastynge of folke..." (Bramley 78).

23. The list of Christ's sufferings in *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 27, derived from "Respice in Faciem Christi," is appropriated for Rolle's personal spirituality in the closing lines: "Egredimini ergo ab illecebris et concupiscenciis uestris, et uidete quid pro uobis sustulit Christus, ut penitus eicantur scelera, et ad incendium amoris erudiantur corda" (Deanesly 222.6-8). ("Leave behind

then your unlawful desires, and see what Christ suffered for you, so that your sins may be cast out from your inmost parts, and your hearts refashioned in the fire of love.") Rolle's comment on Psalm 21. 14 is similar: "me thynke gret wondire that oure hard hertis meltis noght with the fire of his luf. that swa mykill lufid vs" (Bramley 79).

The Commandment is unique in attempting a paradoxical, pseudo-psychological reconciliation between the conventional recognition of sin and contemplative love, in the thought that tears of contrition originate in the heart, where the fire of love will also be kindled (Ogilvie-Thomson 38.183-87). The ultimate responses to the Passion in *The Commandment* are given as contemplative fervour and heavenly joy: "Hit wil rer þi thoght abouen erthly lykynge, and make þi hert brennynge in Christis loue, and pur[chace] in þi soule delitabilte and sauour of heuyn" (Ogilvie-Thomson 38.191-92).

24. The quotation in *Judica B3* of William of Pagula's version of St. John Chrysostom's reproaches from the cross confirms Rolle's familiarity with the convention (Daly 72.1-8).

25. "He is enclosed in a crib, who is known to fill the universe...The instrument of angels has faded among godless people and the psaltery of saints has died away into silence, bathed in blood..."

26. "But among these events and others, what do we notice if not love? We comprehend an infinite fertility welling over, and out of this cry of agony there is born for the generations to come an everlasting song of joy."

27. "Besides even the misery which many mention is transmuted in my mind into honey-dropping song..." Cf. *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 1, Arnould 3.22. Watson (1989, 178-79) demonstrates that Rolle's summation of his spiritual progress was as a transition from *meror* (misery) to *melos*.

Chapter 8: Signs of Utopia, Pages 111-115

1. In a chiliasm which was utopian under even the strictest definition (Ricoeur 276), Franciscan thought of the period looked for the imminent dawning of the Third Age, when the hierarchies of the Church on earth would be replaced by the elect (Oberman 89-91).

2. Cf. *Contra Amatores Mundi*, Ch. 4, Theiner 79.51-61.

3. "*Nigra sum sed formosa, filie Ierusalem*. Nigra nimirum electa anima exterius apparet in oculis intuencium, eo quod in pluribus probatur penuriis et presencialiter punitur pressuris et diversis aggravatur dogmatibus, propter plurimorum perfidiam qui sine sciencia se proferunt principare populis, et se ipsos ad salutem servare nesciunt nec disciplinam in domo Dei didicerunt, sed velud insensati et frenetici pondus sponte percipiunt quo premuntur et, inordinate ordines assumentes, aliquid habent in hoc exilio quod optaverunt, et in futuro ad flammas fetentis inferni feruntur, quia falsi fuerunt, quod promiserant non perimplentes." (Ch. 7, Arnould 19.1-11)

[Chapter 8: Signs of Utopia, Pages 111-115, Cont.]

"*I am black yet beautiful, daughters of Jerusalem.* Black, surely, the elect soul appears externally to the eyes of those who gaze upon it, because it is proved by many penuries, presently punished by persecutions and depressed by diverse doctrines. [This is] on account of the treachery of most of those who, in their ignorance, advance themselves as principles among the people, when they do not know how to attend to their own salvation, and have not learned the discipline taught in the house of God. On the contrary, like fools and madmen, they seize of their own accord upon the burden which presses down upon them, and, out of order in arrogating orders to themselves, obtain in this exile something of what they desired, and in future are brought to the flames of the foetid inferno, because they were false, not fulfilling their promises."

4. In *De Imagine Peccati* Hilton builds similarly on the traditional simple association of "nigredo," or blackness, with sin (Clark and Taylor, Vol.1, 89.294-95, with Clark's note, Vol. 2, 347).[1] The exegesis of the same text in *Scale 2*, that the soul is "Foul withouten as it were a beste, faire withinne like to an aungel...Foul for þe fleschly appetite, faire for þe good wil," also follows St. Bernard in keeping within tropological limits (Ch. 12, Clark and Dorward 211-12, British Library MS. Harley 6579, 73v-74r).

5. Louth shows how identification of levels of contemplation with the angelic hierarchies, culminating in the seraphim, began with Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and continued in the writings of Richard of St. Victor and Thomas Gallus (1982, 190-92).

6. "Kings will tumble down from their kingdoms, because their blood burdened with crimes vainly deceived rulers and rich men. The good intentions of tyrants will be consigned to destruction, and their precious coverlets with their silks to the dung-pit, and the weavers of delicate stuffs will putrefy, their beauty lost in a manner they could not have imagined." Cf. Ch. 9, Arnould 27.20-24: The fall of kings "qui nunc resident reprehensibiles et racione non reguntur" will be accompanied by fearful thunder. All the reprobate will be reduced to spoils, and condemned for their obstinacy by the true King. See further Ch. 10, Arnould 28.27-29.

Chapter 9: The Intellect, Learning and Knowledge, Pages 116-23

1. This refers to the values of St. Bernard and St. Anselm, opposed to the brilliant rationalism of Peter Abelard.

2. Comper suggests that the nominalism which Ockham helped to evolve underlies much of Rolle's thought, that Ockham's independence would have been congenial to Rolle, and that he may have been among Rolle's Oxford instructors (37-45). The most recent attempts to calculate birth dates for Ockham (1285: Leff 1975, xvi; Adams xv) and Rolle (1305-1310: Watson 1991, 278) do not rule out the latter suggestion. Ockham left Oxford for the papal court at Avignon in 1323. If the *Officium* is correct, Rolle abandoned his formal studies between 1324 and 1329.

[Chapter 9: The Intellect, Learning and Knowledge, Pages 116-23, Cont.]

3. *Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum*, Moyes, Vol. 2, 195.15-19. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century nominalists were named *moderni*, and this term later distinguished Ockham's followers from the adherents of the *via antiqua*, basically the Thomist synthesis and realist philosophy (Gilson 499). Gründler considers connotations of "moderna" in relation to the *devotio moderna*, a movement which began in the Netherlands in the late fourteenth century and quickly spread to Germany. He interprets it as a renewal and revitalisation of tradition (28-30) through a return to beginnings, a view which parallels Rolle's insistence that the experience of the saints is still available to *moderni*. The terms, *antiqui* and *moderni*, were variously applied in monastic and academic contexts throughout the Middle Ages (Bredero 53-60).

4. While Scotus had attempted to bridge the gap between the universality of the objects of thought and the singularity of everything which exists by arguing that in an individual the common nature of things was *formally* distinct from the individuating principle, Ockham took the unprecedented step of arguing that the common nature was *really* distinct.

5. "He nevertheless knows God perfectly, who perceives that he is unknowable....If you wish to know, in the strict sense of the words, 'what is God,' I say that you will never find an answer to this question. I have not learned, the angels do not know, the archangels have not heard. Therefore how can you wish to know what cannot be known or taught? For God, even though he is almighty, cannot teach you what he is in himself...Thus it is praiseworthy to know God perfectly, that is, to know that he is unknowable; in knowing this, to love [him]; in loving, to rejoice in him; in rejoicing, to rest in him; and through inner quiet to arrive at eternal rest."

6. Aquinas' most comprehensive treatment of light metaphysics is in his commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, Bk. 2, lectio XIV.

7. Ed. C. Bæumker, *Witelo: Ein Philosoph und Natürforscher des XIII Jahrhunderts*, Band III, Heft 2, of his *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Münster, 1908.

8. "Si enim oculus intellectualis nititur in lucem spiritualem, lumen illud ut in se est non uidet, sentit tamen se ibi fuisse, dum saporem et feruorem incircumscripti luminis secum retinet. Unde in Psalmo dictum est, *Sicut tenebre eius, ita et lumen eius*. Quamuis enim ab anima sancta tenebre peccatorum euanuerunt, obscura recesserunt et impura mens purgetur ac illuminetur, adhuc tamen dum in carne mortali manere cogitur, illa ineffabilis gloria perfecte non uidetur."
(Ch. 12, Cambridge University Library, MS. Dd.v.64, 15r; Watson 1995, 65.80-88)
"For if the intellectual eye rests in the spiritual light, it does not see that light which is in itself. Yet it feels itself to have been there, for as long as it retains within itself the taste and fervour of uncircumscribed light. Hence it is said in the Psalm, *As his darkness is, so also is his light* (Psalm 138.12). For although the darkness of sin has vanished from the holy soul, the shadows have retired and the mind, impure before, is purged and illumined, yet for as long as it is forced to stay here in mortal flesh, that ineffable glory is not perfectly seen."
The passage is indebted to the widely disseminated notion of uncircumscribed light originating with Gregory the Great (cf. Clark 1983, 139, note 122.).

[Chapter 9: The Intellect, Learning and Knowledge, Pages 116-23, Cont.]

9. *Cantico del Sole*: "Be thou praised, O Lord, for all thy creatures, especially our brother the sun, who brings the day and with it gives light. For he is glorious and splendid in his radiance and, Most High, signifies thee." (Cf. G. Sabatelli, O.F.M., "Studi Recenti sul Cantico di Frate Sole," *Archives of Franciscan History* 51 (1958): 3-24.)
    Canticum Amoris:

> My songe is in seghynge, my lif is in langynge,
> Til I þe se, my kynge, so faire in þi shynynge.
> So faire in þi fairhede, in to þi light me lede,
> And in þi loue me fede; in loue make me spede,
> That þou be euer my mede.
>   (Ogilvie-Thomson 32.267-71).

10. "The medieval synthesis itself, the whole organisation of their theology, science, and history into a single, complex, harmonious mental Model of the Universe" (*The Discarded Image* 11). Lewis's whole book explicates the Model, which was evolved by thinkers, but especially useful to poets (17). Lewis argues (18) that spiritual writers such as St. Bernard, Hilton and Thomas à Kempis were not interested in the Model, or were out of harmony with it, but this does not apply to Rolle or the *Cloud*-author.

11. Origen began the notion of the spiritual senses. Cf. Rahner 263-99.

12. "Sicut enim siquis inter solem et seipsum pannum spissum et nigrum teneret, nequaquam solem videret propter obstaculum quod oculos eius claudit, licet forsitan de sole sentire possit. Sic sancti gracia superna illuminati, eterno amore succensi, calorem eterne lucis in se senciunt; sed tamen quamvis in contemplacionem per excessum mentis evolent, nondum propter carnem quam inhabitant illud incircumscriptum lumen videre possunt." (Ch. 5, Theiner 89.230-37)
    Theiner translates: "For if one were to hold a dark and heavy cloth between himself and the sun, he would not see the sun at all on account of the obstacle which blocks his vision, although he may perhaps be able to feel something from the sky. Likewise the saints, illuminated by heavenly grace and kindled with eternal love, feel in themselves the heat of eternal light; nevertheless, although they take wing in contemplation through mental ecstasy, they cannot yet, because of the flesh which they inhabit, see that light undiminished." (173-74)

13. Ch. 12, Cambridge University Library, MS. Dd. v. 64, 14r; Watson 1995, 63.27-29: "It seems to me that contemplation is the joyful song of divine love, received into the mind with the sweetness of angelic praise."

14. Noetinger identifies the *iubilus* with the neum, or prolongation of notes on a syllable in plain-song, interpreted by ancient authors as an expression of the inadequacy of words to express devotion (1928, 18).

15. "Not by philosophers, not by those wise in the world, not by great philosophers entangled in everlasting questions, but by the simple and unlearned, those striving to love God rather than to know many things."

[Chapter 9: The Intellect, Learning and Knowledge, Pages 116-23, Cont.]

16. Cf. *Privy Counselling* 172.2 and *Scale 1*, Ch. 4, Clark and Dorward 80, Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 6686, 280b.

17. "Alas, for shame! An old woman is more experienced in love of God and less in worldly lust than the theologian, whose study is vain, because he studies for the sake of vanity, for glory and renown, and so that he may acquire rewards and honours. He deserves to be known, not as doctor, but as fool."

18. See further, *Incendium Amoris*, Prologue (Deanesly 147.9-12), Ch. 33 (Deanesly 240.22-27), Ch. 34 (243.2-4); *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 1 (Arnould 4.14-18), Ch. 12 (37.16-18); and *Emendatio Vitæ*, Ch. 9, Cambridge University Library, MS. Dd. v. 64, 10v; Watson 1995, 54.19-20: "Immo magis debemus occultare scienciam nostram quam ad laudem nostram ostendere." ("We ought rather to hide our knowledge [of the scriptures] than show it off for our own praise.") *Contra Amatores Mundi*, Ch. 6, expresses most of the ideas of the present passage in different terms (Theiner 98.177-84). Alexander Murray exemplifies early mediæval satire of pride in learning (230-33).

19. The occurrence of the second part of the Prologue to *Incendium Amoris* (Deanesly 146.12-144.20) in a few late manuscripts of Bonaventure's *De Triplici Via* led to the occasional erroneous ascription of the comments on learning and theologians to this work (e.g. Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey 63). The sentiments and expression are, however, original with Rolle (Deanesly 50-51).

20. *Melos Amoris*, Ch. 7, insists that priests should be learned in order to fulfil pastoral duties (Arnould 20.7-11), and that they should know the scriptures in order to preach (21.27-28).

21. "Study diligently therefore, and carefully examine books in which you will be able to find what pertains to the salvation of your own soul and that of others."

22. "For I do not doubt at all, that if you strive to find delight in Holy Scripture, you will also be enraptured to rejoice in Divine Love."

23. Like Rolle, Langland is concerned with the intrinsic worth of academic learning, as well as with its efficacy for salvation. He debates the relative value of academic and scriptural knowledge, and reflects Ockham's interest in the relation between faith and reason. (*C-Text*, Passus 11-14). It is interesting to note the contrast with Chaucer, who promotes the ideal of learning in such figures as the Clerk of Oxenford, with only a mildly humorous recognition of possible excess.

Chapter 10: Woman the Temptress, Woman the Friend, Pages 124-31

1. Pagels 1979, 59-61; Rudolph 211-212; Filoramo 176; Perkins 164-65.

2. *Incendium Amoris*, Ch. 38, Deanesly 260.3-5:
"Fugiamus ergo corporeum immundialemque amorem, cuius dorsum habet aculeum, etsi facies blandiatur; cuius flos fellitus est, et uber uiperueum, quamuis lateat, gerit." ("Therefore let us flee fleshly and unclean love, whose tail has a sting, however flattering its face; whose flower is gall, and whose breast bears hidden vipers.")
This draws on bestiary interpretations of the scorpion, and on traditional iconography which represented the Eden serpent with a woman's face, e.g. Bertram of Minden, Grabow altarpiece: "The Punishment of Adam and Eve."

3. Cf. Gawain's misogynist reproaches, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Fitt 4, lines 2416-26.

4. Kelly hints at the manner in which Rolle's own voice is possessed and replaced by clerical discourse: "When speaking of the bad uses of marriage, Rolle suddenly moves from a condemnation of lust and immoderate *ardor* for one's wife to a denunciation of excessive *love* for women in general" (323).

5. Rolle's complaints of women's "horns," his view that such adornments are an insult to human nature, instituted by God, that they offend decency and lead to hell, are all common in sermons. Also conventional is the implication in *The Commandment* that the nun addressed insults Christ, the poor man, by her long train. Langland and Chaucer presented imaginative variations on the theme of extravagant female fashion, for example, in the figures of Lady Mede and the Wife of Bath.

6. "They much need the counsel of good men."

7. "I do not understand how the misfortune comes about, but a faithful (male) friend is rarely or scarcely ever found...
There is also a certain natural love of a man for a woman and of a woman for a man, which no one is without, not even the saint, first instituted by God according to nature. By this love they exist and agree together, and take delight in each other's company by a natural instinct. This same love has its special delights, as in mutual conversation, and virtuous touching, and joyful dwelling together..."

8. Watson comments on the second part of *The Form of Living*: "Nonetheless, what is most striking here is the depth, complexity and implied respect for the reader's [Margaret of Kirkby's] intelligence found in every part of this treatment of the solitary's special gift, love" (1991, 252); "[Rolle] considers almost his whole mystical system to be of direct pastoral relevance to his outstanding female disciple" (255).

9. It is perhaps worth pointing out the distinction, that whereas Astell writes of a Jungian integration of *anima* and *animus*, an internal marriage of *affectus* and *ratio* in male contemplatives like Rolle (5-11, 105-118), the present discussion focuses rather on a dismantling of gender constructs in Rolle's *corpus*.

[Chapter 10: Woman the Temptress, Woman the Friend, Pages 124-31, Cont.]

10. "Turned intensely inwards to itself and sometimes raised above itself."

11. "To be sure, before she might feel this solace, she is proved by many and various assaults, and troubled by many trials. But, because she has conquered manfully the darts of the enemy, has overcome kingdoms, destroyed encampments, built towers, she has pleased the Most High; she will return as a conqueror to her native land. Scripture says: *Who will find a valiant woman? Her price is [fetched] from far away and from the ends of the earth.* She clothes herself in purple and fine linen, but makes for herself also garments tightly woven. This woman is not soft in feminine ways, nor did she offer herself to the destructive words of young men; but valiant in her strength, seized by divine love, she has stood as a man among men, and she will rejoice over conquered foes."

12. The commentary begins: "*Mulierem fortem quis inveniet? Quanto aurum argento est preciosius, tanto contemplatiua vita quam actiua subtilior estimatur*" (Emmanuel College Cambridge, MS. 35, 23r) :"*Who will find a valiant woman? Just as gold is more precious than silver, so contemplative life is considered to be of finer texture than active.*"

13. "The faithful soul, spouse of Jesus Christ" and "the elect"; "the beloved soul" and "the elect," "[he] whose beauty the king desires." Complex alternations in the gender of the loving soul occur in the opening to Ch. 37 (Deanesly 253.9-15).

14. "Fragrant with flowers and made pleasing to the Beloved with pleasant softness."

15. "The perfect preacher gives birth to boys, bearers of peace." Bynum finds precedents for gender inversion in twelfth-century authors (1982, 113-29), but these are not necessarily relevant to Rolle (cf. Bynum *ibidem* 128).

16. Clark states: "The literature on the theme of Christ's maternity in patristic and mediæval theology is immense" (1986, 201, n. 55). See further, Bynum 1982, 110-46 and *passim*, and Boenig 1984, 171-74.

17. "For just as before we are born in this world we are carried in our mother's womb, and before we are able to walk or run or eat solid food we must take milk from our mother's breasts; so, spiritually speaking, before baptism or repentance, we are carried in Christ's womb, that is, in his patience, so that we are not lost through miscarriage, or damned through various sins. But when God gives birth to us, and we have been taken from the prison of faithlessness or unrighteousness by baptism or repentance, we have the task of sucking milk to nourish us from the breasts at which we hang."
Similar imagery is applied to Christ more briefly in *Super Canticum Canticorum* (Murray 20.24-25 and 23.16-19), *Super Apocalypsim* (Marzac 132.1-2), and *Incendium Amoris*, Ch.26 (Deanesly 218.27-33).

Chapter 11: Formal Experiments in the New Age: *Ego Dormio*, Pages 132-140

1. A notable exception is A. G. Rigg, who after a painstaking survey of Anglo-Latin literature, comments that although Rolle shares some features with earlier writers, "he marks an entirely new departure, in several ways" (249); and that he "has gone much further" than the meditative poets of the thirteenth century, whose purpose was to evoke affective responses to the lives of Christ and the Virgin (253).

2. "Rolle's experience forms the authoritative, or would-be authoritative, basis for everything he says" (Watson 1989, 168; cf. 1991, 5).

3. For example, Smedick demonstrates the "aural character [of *The Form of Living*] and its combination of sound and sense," seen in alliteration, cadence, rhyme, "word-play" and "phrase play" (404-10).

4. The æsthetic under which Rolle wrote was a complex mixture of theoretical and practical influences, which may be categorised as follows:
A. Christian theories of preaching, usually related to ideas on Biblical exegesis. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* initiated a tradition which culminated in Rolle's own time in Robert of Basevorn's *Forma Prædicandi*, offering complex instruction on the "modern" thematic sermon.
B. The *Ars Dictaminis*, which originated in eleventh-century Italy as an art of persuasive letter-writing. Its best known English theorist was John of Garland, who wrote his *Parisiana Poetria* early in the thirteenth century. According to Curtius the *Ars Dictaminis* was "an attempt to subordinate all rhetoric to the art of epistolary style" (76). See further, Lawton 329-30.
C. Treatises on the *Ars Metrica*, represented by Matthew of Vendome's *Ars Versificatoria* (c. 1175) and Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova* (c. 1210); and treatises on the *Ars Rithmica*, instructing in rhythmical composition in prose and verse. See Murphy 1965, 10-11. The full complexity of the genre of rhetorical handbooks is surveyed in Murphy 1961, 194-205.
D. Augustine, the Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory, Bernard, Hugh and Richard of Saint-Victor and lyrists such as John of Howden and John Pecham provided models for writing on contemplation. Monastic epistles were a prime determinant of the genre as it affected Rolle, Hilton and the *Cloud*-author.
E. The plain and decorated traditions of English religious prose developed in the writings of Ælfric and Wulfstan, the Katherine-Group texts and the *Ancrene Riwle* offered further models.
F. The æsthetic for vernacular religious literature evolving in cycle plays and lyrics.

5. The coinages, "gerarchi, potestates, principatis, dominaciones" (26.17) in *Ego Dormio*, which was probably the earliest of Rolle's English epistles (Watson 1991, 227), testify to the presence of a partially digested Latin culture.

6. See Wakelin's discussion of Rolle's use of the Holy Name as icon and mantra (202-203). Hilton similarly promoted manuscript decoration of *Ave* as an icon for rosary beads in his translation of *Stimulus Amoris* (Þe Prickynge of Love, Ch. 37; Kirchberger *Goad* 195).

[Chapter 11: Formal Experiments in the New Age: *Ego Dormio*, Pages 132-140, Cont.]

7. "In the *Emendatio*, together with *Ego Dormio*, *The Commandment* and *The Form of Living*, we find a peaceful yet joyful restatement of the traditional ascetic and moral teaching...There is not the abrasiveness which occurred earlier. Rather, there is a greater sympathy for the needs of beginners and their spiritual direction, together with a greater flexibility and recognition of the variety in God's gifts and action" (Clark 1983, 129).

8. These identifications are based on Schlauch's exposition of *cursus* in Middle English prose (573-77).

9. Cixous has a similar view of poetry, as that which values "difference," against the unifying and hierarchizing tendencies of a language which positions a masculinised *logos* as its first term. See her essay, "Extreme Fidelity," in Sellers (9-36).

Chapter 12: *Melos Amoris*: On the Borders of Latin Culture, Pages 141-54

1. In translating the central section of *Stimulus Amoris*, composed by the Franciscan, James of Milan, in the thirteenth century, Hilton refers to Jesus as "loue & desir of oure herte. softnesse and swetnesse of soule3. brennynge & kyndelyng of brestes. li3te & bri3tenesse of þe inne[r] y3e. myrþe and melo[dye] of oure goosteli ere. A swete-smellande offerynge to þe fadir of heuene..." (*Þe Prickynge of Love*, Ch. 11, Kane 83.12-16). He later promises that, "þe melodie of [godes] swete speche shal sowne in þe erre of þi herte" (Ch. 23, 125.10-12). In identifying Christ with *melos*, Rolle therefore built on an aspect of Franciscan devotion. However, a basis for this identification also exists in liturgy, when the resurrected Christ is worshipped as "psaltery and harp." Rolle may have intended also to link his experience of *melos* with the imaging, traditional in ecclesiastical writings, of the crucifixion as the Father playing on a harp (Pickering 288-97). *Melos Amoris* recalls the Biblical and Platonic metaphor of the creation of the universe in eternal harmony. Plato advocated education through music since, like poetry, music cultivated sensitivity to rhythm and harmony, and so awakened the soul to beauty as the form of true reality (*Republic* 401E; Louth 1981, 8). This argument, which is fundamental to Rolle's presentation of his mysticism, was taken up by Augustine and Boethius, and applied literally in the mathematical relationships studied under the university discipline of music, as basic to an understanding of cosmic order (Boenig 1995, 75-77). Rosamund Allen suggests, however, that "it may well have been under inspiration from Richard of Saint Victor rather than Augustine that Rolle first sought the analogy of music for his mystic experience" (1984, 34). The congruence of the Western tradition with the Vedic notion of *rita*, the law of universal harmony, is referred to above in Chapter 6. Through the Indo-European verbal root, *ar*, Sanskrit *rita* is related to Greek *harmos* and to Latin *ars*. Divine harmony is therefore the originating principle behind artistic harmony, and is especially prominent in music, poetry and song (Mahony 58).

[Chapter 12: *Melos Amoris*: On the Borders of Latin Culture, Pages 141-54, Cont.]

The experience of *Melos* was evidently mediated through Rolle and Hilton to Margery Kempe, one of whose early ecstatic experiences was of this nature: "On a nygth, as þis creatur lay in hir bedde wyth hir husbond, sche herd a sownd of melodye so swet & delectable, hir þowt, as sche had ben in Paradyse. And þerwyth sche styrt owt of hir bedde & seyd, 'Alas, þat euyr I dede synne, it is ful mery in Hevyn.' Thys melody was so swete þat it passyd alle þe melodye þat euyr mygth be herd in þis world wyth-owtyn ony comparyson..." (Meech and Allen 11.11-19).

2. The fact that a complete text of *Melos* is extant in only ten copies, comparatively few for a work by Rolle, and the deduction from their apparently unused state that these were little read, supports the conclusion that they were unpopular (Watson 1991, 189). However, some mediæval readers valued and appreciated *Melos* enough to compile a glossary (see below). They also selected and copied from it passages preserved under the typically ambivalent title of "Carmen Prosaicum" (Liegey 1957, 29-36), and in other anthologies, such as the *Orationes* edited by Watson (1995, see notes, 82-87).

3. "Now, Christ, whom I have quested for, whom I have so dearly desired, whom I have found by love, is coming, that I may live with my spirit received by him. While my mind, restrained, lingers in song, he compels me secretly to write, to shout aloud, that the carnal are falling suddenly into chaos and the avaricious uselessly seek to attain the apex; deceived by riches, they desire to be dilated, and are rightfully ruined by God. Diminutive indeed, not looking for what must be lamented, I have possessed power that I may be transported to the pinnacle by the propulsion of piety, but the impure are projected into the stinking pit of punishment, in a flash of fiery destruction."

4. The dictionaries consulted (listed in endnote 31 below)gloss "caminus" as "furnace, forge," and indeed the passage foreshadows the parallelism: "carnales cadunt in chaos et cupidi in cassum...caminum": "the carnal are falling suddenly into chaos and the avaricious into the forge of frustration." This interpretation, however, leaves the genitive, "culminis" without an object. The only candidate is "caminum," necessitating a translation similar to "road" ["leading to the apex"], as suggested by Arnould. The sentence's poetic suggestiveness and resistance to logical solution encapsulate the linguistic marginality of *Melos*.

5. "Thought is transformed into song."

6. "'When I sing it makes me feel...relaxed. And the breathing, I think. At the end of a lesson I feel high and clear and calm. Not like I used to feel. I used to feel stuck. Now I feel I've broken through.'
  'Broken through to what?'
  'It's hard to describe. I feel like I'm in another space.'" (Lohrey 184)

7. The second sentence of Ch. 49 refers to "precedenti capitulo" (Arnould 155.33). Rolle himself may not have numbered the chapters.

[Chapter 12: *Melos Amoris*: On the Borders of Latin Culture, Pages 141-54, Cont.]

8. The following formation emerges: Cant. 1.1 (Chs. 1-3, 5), 1.4 (Ch. 7), 1.3 (Ch. 8), Psalm 9.19 (Ch. 9), Psalm 54.16 (Ch. 10), Psalm 54.7 (Ch. 11), Cant. 1.5 (Ch. 14), Ps. 21.15 (Chs. 15-17), Ecclesiastes 11.7 (Ch. 20), Ps. 38.4 (Ch. 21), Cant. 4.9 (Ch. 24), Job 30.31 (Ch. 25), Cant. 4.9 (Chs. 27-28), Proverbs 22.6 (Ch. 32), Cant. 1.5 (Ch. 36), Ps. 37.22 (Ch. 39), Cant. 2.3 (Chs. 40-43), Apoc. 14.2-3 (Chs. 44-46), Ps. 54.8 (Ch. 47), Hosea 2.14 (Ch. 48), Cant. 2.4 (Chs. 49-51), Cant. 2.5 (Chs. 53-55), Ps. 46.10 (Chs. 56-57), Job 20.26 (Ch. 58).

9. "Under the shadow of him whom I desired have I sat down."

10. "Not standing or walking or running."

11. "Interim dum non aspicit ad quem anhelat, sic quidem suffultus suavitate superna et celica sophia sedet pro subsidio quod in se sentit ac indefatigabiliter se figens in ardore amoris, nocte dieque divinitus datur sursum sedere."
   "Meanwhile, during the time when he does not see the one to whom he aspires, he is certainly supported by supernal sweetness, and celestial wisdom seats itself [within him] as his help. He feels this in himself, and as he forges himself without fatigue in the fire of love, night and day he is divinely endowed with sublime sitting."

12. See endnote 8, above.

13. "Conversa est in luctum cithara mea et organum meum in vocem fluencium." - "My harp is turned into mourning and my organ into the voice of those who weep."

14. "So that then no one will say that God does not deign...to magnify moderns in a melodious multitude just as he used to the saints who lived in ancient times."

15. "[In] the arguments of those expert in the arts and [in] sophisms without sanctity, [not in] acts of excellence, [nor in] the fervour of faith with fitting devotion."

16. "That they may gladly undergo the penance of solitary life and afterwards delight, sitting in the celestial symphony, pouring themselves forth continually in the sweetness of song, in most joyful melody and celebration."

17. "Bodily sound"... "worldly melody"... "assuredly from all those people who sing psalms and speak" ... "from human voices."

18. For example, Chapter 48 opens with a long account in the highest alliterating style of the delights of solitary contemplation in the desert, including *melos* (149.26), but descends into an explication of the speaker's avoidance of outward noise, Church feasts, psalmody, and travel (152.8-12), and proceeds to a satiric attack on prelates, the preachers whom they license, and heretics. Rolle declares the superiority of contemplation over preaching, but suggests that a preacher inspired by contemplation might be even more praiseworthy than a contemplative

[Chapter 12: *Melos Amoris*: On the Borders of Latin Culture, Pages 141-54, Cont.]

(154.17-18; cf. Watson 1991, 182-86, who points to elements of scholastic method in the passage). Alliteration is reduced (154.17-32), as the aural level of the text mimes the change in subject, and proclaims by example the limitations of an earthly discourse. Full alliteration resumes in the conclusion, where the subject is once again *melos* (155.14-32).

19. "For this reason Holy Church says: 'He has set my loving in order.'"

20. "But when we speak of ordered love, it seems rather that love should be without order, without measure, and without degree."

21. "...so that clearly our love for God may be blazing, violent, raging, passionate, invincible, inseparable, singular, drawing the person wholly to himself, transforming him wholly into himself, bringing him wholly into his service."

22. Clark points to fluid divides between the traditional practices of *leccio, oracio* and *meditacio* in the doctrine of contemplation explicated in *Emendatio Vitæ*, as well as to Rolle's viewing of his personal experiences of *fervor* and *dulcor* as different aspects of a single contemplative act (1983, 127). Tugwell associates Rolle with a significant historical shift, whereby *meditatio* on Scripture in the technical sense came to be paralleled with a looser concept of devotional thinking (106).

23. Bloomfield bases a similar observation on a limited selection of English writings attributed to Rolle: "Many of them show a dissatisfaction with the over-classification of sin which is a forerunner of an attitude to become fairly common in the next century. None of these writings repudiate our concept [of the seven deadly sins], but they reveal an independent attitude and a carelessness about detailed enumeration and analysis which are refreshing, if unusual" (176).

24. A minor precedent may again be present in John of Howden's *Canticum Amoris*, in which 157 stanzas begin with the word *Amor* in the nominative or vocative (Rigg 212).

25. Kuczynski reaches a somewhat similar conclusion in respect of the *English Psalter*: "[Rolle's] statements are not primarily scholarly; they are a form of catechesis, a way to draw attention to and to extend the directive and didactic impulse behind the Psalms themselves" (186).

26. "For I have poured out ponderous paces with pangs, so that trampling down pollution I may be perfected in song."

27. Latham and Howlett (see endnote 31 below) record only the deponent form, "bacchari."

28. E.g. "debacatus *i.e.* valde furiosus," when classical Latin knows only "debacchatio"; "aporiare *i.e.* laborando sudare," elsewhere a deponent verb.

29. Latham records "anelare," but with the sense of "to kindle, anneal," apparently not the verb used in *Melos*. "Almiphonus," meaning "gracious-sounding, dulcet," is recorded from John of Garland and *Incendium Amoris*, but not as a substantive.

30. E.g. "cantilena *i.e.* quasi cantus letus," when "cantilena" in earlier Latin was "silly old song, prattle, gossip"; "celeuma *i.e.* clamor nautarum in naufragio propter celum turbatum vel propter perturbationem vel puritatem æris," where the glossator's need for a favourable sense produces contradiction. The etymology of this rare word (classical Latin, "celeusma") and its meanings are unclear.

31. Arnould's "General Index," containing a glossary of "words mostly of unusual (and sometimes uncertain) form or meaning" (239), was the starting point for this investigation. I have checked all forms listed as neologisms or rare against Lewis and Short, Souter, Latham, and Latham and Howlett. (See List of Works Cited for details.) The most recent and comprehensive compilation, the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fasicules I-III comp. Latham, and IV-V comp. Howlett, draws on a selection of Rolle's Latin writings, with *Melos* being included from Fasicule III (D-E). Unfortunately, at the time of writing this dictionary extends only to L. The dictionaries' listings, though impressive singly and even more in combination, may not comprise the total vocabulary of mediæval British Latin. However, the many forms and usages found in *Melos* but not in the dictionaries validates the point, that Rolle's vocabulary contests the borders of ordinary language use, and therefore of ideology. My discussion discounts neologisms and rare forms possibly resulting from scribal slip, or orthography, or the idiosyncratic spelling of fifteenth-century Latin manuscripts.

Examples of unrecorded forms in *Melos* are "causantes" ("opponents in pleading or debate," Ch. 35, 107.29); "complicitum" ("internally," "wound within," Ch. 46, 142.11[2]); "convicitur" ("it is convincing, persuasive", Ch. 18, 55.18); "erugo" ("rust," Ch. 22, 65.32); "expressere" ("to express," elsewhere a first conjugation verb, Ch. 48, 151.7); "irremediandus" ("inveterate, incurable," a gerundive based on no recorded verb, Ch. 33, 102. 24); "palliare" ("to conceal," Ch. 4, 15.2); "virtuositas" ("virtuous life," Ch. 4, 14.19-20).

32. Selective examples are: "bibulum" (used as a substantive, "drink," Ch. 46, 142.17, Ch. 49, 156. 28); "girum" (*i. e.* "gyrum," in the sense of "course, path," instead of "circuit, ring," Ch. 14, 43.4); "lingere" (where meaning is extended from "to lick," to "to take part in, cling to [fleeting games, pleasures]," Ch. 6, 17.20; Ch. 23, 69.32; Ch. 31, 93.24; Ch. 36, 110.4); "obriguit" ("stiffened," extended to "became silent, [died]," Ch. 30, 91.15); "polimiti" (usually "variegated colours" with reference to cloth, clothing, but poetically applied to "oculi," in the sense of "brilliant," Ch. 28, 83.28); "rote" (the sense of which, in the phrase, "remota [relictaque] rote ruina," is unclear, Ch. 14, 42.13); "sentinis" (poetically extended from "the hold, bilge," to mean, "dungeons, sewers," Ch. 22, 67.12); "tempus tyrocinii" (where the term, "conferment of knighthood," is extended to mean "youth," Ch. 36, 111.7).

[Chapter 12: *Melos Amoris*: On the Borders of Latin Culture, Pages 141-54, Cont.]

33. Examples are: "iperlyricus" ("most sweet-sounding," Ch. 14, 138.4), "iubileum" ("joyful song," Ch. 12, 36.8), "melliphonus"("sweet-sounding," Ch.1, 3.12), "melodimata" ("harmonies," Ch. 45, 140.22; Ch. 46, 144.23), "paraphonistis" ("singers," Ch. 46, 143.1), "ympnidica" ("of a hymn," Ch. 14, 43.34), "ypodorica" ("of the hypodorian scale," Ch. 45, 138.6, adjectival form unrecorded).

34. E.g.,"neumatizare" and "neupma" (which lose their association with plainsong, Ch. 21, 61.24; Ch. 47, 140.25; Ch. 12, 34.10; Ch. 47, 146.31); "organizare" (no longer associated with the organ or with birds, Ch. 12, 34.11; Ch. 46, 144.22); "pangere" ("to sing," as well as "to compose," Ch. 20, 58.34); "perstrepare" (sense of "sing" and "rejoice," added to "to make a noise, resound," Ch. 23, 68.18).

SECTION TWO: Walter Hilton's Pilgrimage

Chapter 13: English Society in Crisis, 1350-1400, Pages 156-68

1. See R. H. Hilton, "Introduction" 1984, 1-2, for orientation on the ongoing debate.

2. At the Schism, according to Leonardi, "the Church loses its traditional universal role. There will be no other authentic intellectual body of universal worth created within it" (20).

3. McFarlane attributes Wyclif's attacks on the Church to personality defects or "physical causes" (85, qtd. Leff 496). Leff points out that whether their basis was theoretical or personal is conjectural (496-97), but also tends to agree with McFarlane (499). He nevertheless explains how Wyclif's metaphysics logically support his polemics (500-57). Courtenay suggests that Wyclif's late polemical works responded to the concerns of his age (355).

4. Hilton's view is supported by Faith's study of the preliminary revolt which took place in 1377 among the peasants of Wiltshire, Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex and Devon (69-70).

5. Clark considers whether Hilton's decision followed the example and writings of the Augustinian friar, William Flete, whose *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones* influenced teaching on spiritual dryness in *The Scale* and elsewhere ("Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology" 3; Clark and Dorward 24, 40).

6. E.g., Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. v. 55 contains *Scale 1*, *The Commandment*, and *Of Angels' Song*; Cambridge University Library MS. Ff. v. 40 contains *Mixed Life, Emendatio Vitæ* in English, *Scale 1*, *The Commandment*, *Of Angels's Song*, and *The Form of Living*, as well as excerpts from each author's works mingled together. Comparable miscellanies occur in Bodleian Rawlinson MSS. C. 285 and C. 397. The compilation, *Disce Mori*, contains extracts from both authors. See further, Gillespie "Vernacular Books of Religion" 327-28.

[Chapter 13: English Society in Crisis, 1350-1400, Pages 156-68, Cont.]

7. Although Underhill dismissed Hilton's claim to authorship in her 1912 edition of *The Cloud* (8-9), McCann supported it on the basis of annotations to the *Cloud* text in the London Charterhouse MS. Douce 262 (1924, 195-96). Noetinger published an independently opposing argument in the same year (1457-64). In 1929, Jones extended McCann's arguments against Noetinger (xlvi-lx).

8. Hodgson's identification of the MS. Douce annotator as James Grenehalgh of Sheen Charterhouse was the basis of Gardner's "partial retractation" (1947, 41). However in her 1955 article Hodgson persuasively rejected Hilton's authorship of *The Cloud* on stylistic grounds (395-406). Later Gatto (1975, 181-89) and Riehle (1977, 31-45) respectively supported and attacked Hodgson's position. Eric Colledge (1957, 64-65) and Clark ("Lightsome Darkness" 95-109) rejected Hilton's candidature on theological grounds. Sargent's reconsideration of the Douce annotations argued that they were ambiguous as to Hilton's authorship (1982, 238), and he later questioned the reliability of Grenehalgh's sources (1984, Vol. 1, 236-37). In her 1982 edition of the *Cloud*-texts, Hodgson pointed to a marginal note, "hyltons," written in an early sixteenth-century hand against a reference in *The Cloud* to "anoþer place of anoþer mans werk" in University College Oxford MS. 14 (170 note to text 50.41). This external evidence against Hilton's authorship of *The Cloud* is of the same weak order of reliability as Grenehalgh's annotations in its favour. (See further Hilditch 148-49.)

9. Hodgson *Cloud* 1958, xlix-li; Clark and Dorward 14, but see Clark 1995, Vol. 1, 101.

10. Clark 1992, 12, and 1995, Vol. 1, 13-14; cf. Kocijancic-Pokorn 68-75 and Tixier 1997, 107. Although specific Carthusian provenance for the *Cloud* group cannot be proved, there is ample textual support for a monastic setting. In a passage not dependent on its major source in St. Bernard, *Discretion of Spirits* discusses an aspect of life in a "deuoute congregacioun" (Hodgson *Deonise Hid Diuinite* 86.10-14; cf. Eric Colledge 1961, 80). *Discretion of Stirrings* refers to "goostly techers (I mene soche as haue ben of longe tyme experte in singuler leuyng)" (Hodgson *Deonise Hid Diuinite* 67.23-24), thus capturing the Carthusian linkage between communal and solitary living. The same work mentions "a goostly broþer of þine and of myne, þat was now late in ȝoure contrey" (68.11-12).

11. Russell-Smith 1954, 181-88, 199-204, 210-14; Knowles et Russell-Smith 1969, col. 527; A. C. Hughes 1-17.

12. Since Hilton habitually repeats characteristic arguments from work to work, Clark's method, except in the cases of *Bonum Est* and *Benedictus* (see Ch. 18, below), is a reliable determinant of canon. Since Hilton might have returned to the same theological issues across intervals of years, the method is less reliably applied to chronology. I nevertheless adopt Clark's chronology as the most cogently argued and complete available. Since Hilton usually addressed in his writings his own immediate problems as well as those of others, this study tests Clark's datings against its own sequential picture of Hilton's inner pilgrimage.

13. Clark, "Sources and Theology" 108-109; 1995, Vol. 1, 86-92.

14. Hodgson, following Gardner (1933, 146; *Cloud* 1958, lxxxiv-lxxxv and 1982, ix), states that *Of Angels' Song* contains an unmistakeable reference to the danger of the "naked intent" taught in *The Cloud* (ed. Takamiya 173-90; cf. Gatto 185 and Lees, Vol. 2, 430).

15. Jones xli. Cf. Clark, "The 'Lightsome Darkness'" 102-103, and "The Problem of Walter Hilton's Authorship: *Bonum Est*" 18.
    An interesting minor contrast between *Qui Habitat* and *The Cloud* is that whereas the former advises the contemplative to "prese vp-on" God "be diuerse tymes" (34.1), the latter uses "prees" for distractions and interruptions (30.2, 64.2-3, 64.8-9), and "put" for positive spiritual working (27.22, 33.8, 47.15-16).

16. Hilton warns the reader against those who say they have the spirit of freedom, and so much grace and love, that they may live as they wish: "Thei thenken hem so free and so siker, that thei shall not synne. Thei maken hem-self abouen the lawe of Hooli Chirche, and they seyn thus as Seynt Poule [seid]: 'Where the spirit of God is, there is fredom.'" (Ch. 3, ed. Kuriyagawa 1971, 1971, 1-22). *Discretion of Stirrings* does not claim freedom from sin, but other aspects of the attitude criticised, including the emphasis on grace and love, and the precise scriptural quotation (2 Cor. 3.17), are present. References to the heresy of the Free Spirit occurring earlier in Hilton's canon, for example *Þe Prickynge of Love*, differ markedly from the passage in *Discretion of Stirrings* (see Chapters 15 and 16 below). However, Hilton himself quotes 2 Cor. 3.17 in *Epistola de Utilitate et Prerogativis Religionis* (ed. Clark and Taylor 94).

17. Kennedy's *The Incarnational Element in Hilton's Spirituality* (1982), does not have the advantage of Clark's datings. Its assumptions, like those of A. C. Hughes' earlier survey, are different from those of the present study.

Chapter 14: In the Wilderness: Letters of a Solitary, Pages 169-86

1. E.g., Du Moustier states: "The mysticism of Walter Hilton is characterized by a realistic and sane moderation which in no way detracts from its fervor and intensity. He is pre-eminently the '*Doctor Discretus*,' the doctor of moderation" (294). Milosh exemplifies at length the "moderation or, as Hilton calls it, discretion" pervading *The Scale* (123-29). He comments that Hilton's "striking and flexible moderation....may stem naturally from his personality, just as Rolle's lack of discretion seems to stem from his" (127, see further 183). Wallner supports Hilton's authorship of the "dry and matter-of-fact" Psalm commentary, *Qui Habitat*, but regards the "freshness and vivid imagination" of the companion work, *Bonum Est*, as "incompatible with Hilton's reasoning mind" (1954, XLIV). Allchin writes of the "discernment and moderation" of *Eight Chapters on Perfection* (1983, vii). However, in "Walter Hilton: Traditionalist?" (1980, 1), Hussey argues against readings of Hilton as comfortably English, "moderate" and "balanced," which he had earlier endorsed (1973, 476). Underhill is another notable exception to the consensus praising the orderliness of *The Scale* (1923, xli).

[Chapter 14: In the Wilderness: Letters of a Solitary, Pages 169-86, Cont.]

2. "[Hilton] was not a theologian of the spiritual life. He was first and foremost a director of souls. His aims were practical, not speculative" (A. C. Hughes 32).

3. Although Clark's publications focus on Hilton's debt to tradition, his general assessments are balanced: "[Hilton] is ostensibly traditional and conservative, but he can also be creative and apply old principles in a new way, as in his teaching on the scope of the 'mixed life'." Clark goes on to refer to *The Scale* as "a creative synthesis [of the wisdom of the past], in which, for all his disclaimers, Hilton adds the fruits of his own experience and insights" (1991, 34-35).

4. Hilton uses the terms, "singular"and "singularity" usually in the pejorative sense of gratuitous and proud self-differentiation ("Lost Letter"108 and *Qui Habitat* 21.12), while the *Cloud*-author uses them in a variety of senses (Hodgson *Deonise Hid Diuinite* 138, note on 67.23-24, and Ch. 22, endnote 18, below), but most prominently, as in *The Cloud* (14.12-15), to refer to a state of life potentially or transitionally perfect. This encapsulates a primary difference between the two authors. While Hilton values the communal and mistrusts the singular, to the point of overturning the traditional superiority of the latter, the *Cloud*-author is attracted by the unlimited potentiality of the singular.

5. St. Gregory promulgated the Augustinian emphasis on desire (Bestul 1997, 4).

6. The major remaining requirement in Hilton studies, acknowledged by commentators over a period of nearly seventy-five years (Clark and Dorward 1991, 53), is for a full critical edition of *The Scale*. Sargent is currently completing the late Professor Bliss's work on Book 1, and Hussey is working on Book 2, for a critical edition to be published by the Early English Text Society, "within the next five years," according to the Honorary Secretary in recent correspondence. Sections 2 and 3 cite manuscripts selected by the E.E.T.S. editors for their base texts: Cambridge University Library Additional MS. 6686, referred to as "C," for Book 1, and British Library Harley 6579, referred to as "H," for Book 2. I have punctuated extracts as an aid to comprehension. Equivalent page references are given to Dorward's text in the scholarly modernised edition co-edited with Clark in 1991. The editors record corrections made to their base manuscript on the authority of Thomas Fishlake's Latin translation of *The Scale* preserved in York Cathedral Chapter Library MS. xvi. K. 5 (Hussey 1973, 463). Clark and Dorward's edition is more accessible than Underhill's modernised version, which retains its textual value, based as it is on an examination of ten manuscripts and a full collation of three. On rare occasions my argument draws on meanings present in the original but omitted from Dorward's modernised text.

7. Russell-Smith's seminal article was first published in *The Month* in 1959, and subsequently in Walsh, ed., *Pre-Reformation English Spirituality* (New York: Fordham UP, 1965), 182-97. Clark develops the patristic and theological implications of Russell-Smith's discoveries in "Action and Contemplation in Walter Hilton" (1979, 264, 269-74). Findings are summarised in his introduction to *The Scale* (1991, 20, 34, 42-44).

[Chapter 14: In the Wilderness: Letters of a Solitary, Pages 169-86, Cont.]

8. Owen chose to analyse *The Scale of Perfection* as a mystical text, supporting his view that Christian mystical life is an intensification of the ordinary Christian life of grace, and as such essentially different from non-Christian mystical experience:

> The whole life of contemplation that [Hilton] describes is indissolubly linked to belief in Christian doctrines, in the authority of the Church, in the objective efficacy of the sacraments, and in the necessity of acquiring the Christian virtues. The only mystical experience he knows is one of loving union with God Incarnate, and his only aim is to achieve the spiritual perfection that this union confers.
>
> Throughout the whole of Hilton's book there is not the slightest hint of any gap between experience and interpretation, contemplation and dogma, the individual mystic and the mass of non-mystical Christians. (37)

While this argument is correct in respect of mystical theology in *The Scale*, the present study considers the significance of formal developments, as well as developments in content, in Hilton's whole *corpus*. The transcendency of mystical experience, consisting of a love, joy and freedom transcending language, and therefore dogma and authority, is found to affect textual expression in both subtle and obvious ways. These changes take place, even while the texts continue to centralise Church dogma and authority. Trethowan observes in Hilton's last work, *Scale 2*: "a warmth and simplicity, a natural eloquence...*The Scale* becomes...an almost unchecked flow of spiritual joy, the more impressive because it is so well controlled" (11-12).

9. See especially *Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem*, ed. Clark and Taylor, 1-39.

10. See Clark "Walter Hilton and the Luminous Darkness" 16. Hilton would not later have received episcopal permission to join the Thurgarton community if a stricter observance as a hermit, anchorite or Carthusian had been publicly ratified (Gardner 1937, 113; cf. Bynum 1982, 92-93). There was an urgent need for pastoral clergy, whose office in ministering to the sick exposed them to infection during the continuing outbreaks of plague. Although the order of Augustinian canons showed "a remarkable power of recovery" in respect of recruitment (Southern 247), some houses were too small to be viable (Dickinson "Early Suppressions" 72-73).

11. Hilton's reserved canonry and prebend in Carmarthen and attachment as a cleric to the diocese of Lincoln are evidence that he was ordained. *Epistola de Utilitate* and *Scale 1* end with blessings appropriate to a priest. See further A. C. Hughes 3-5 and Kennedy 29-30.

12. Line references to Hilton's Latin works, *A Pystille to a Cristene Frende*, and the commentary on his lost letter in British Library MS. Harley 2406 are as given in *Walter Hilton's Latin Writings*, co-edited by Clark and the present writer.

13. Cf. Clark's notes, *Latin Writings*, Vol. 2, 335-36, 338 and 347, hereafter notes.

14. Clark "Image and Likeness" 210, and notes 335-36.

15. "I have come upon this idol of selfhood in my own conscience."

[Chapter 14: In the Wilderness: Letters of a Solitary, Pages 169-86, Cont.]

16. Lust is mentioned (282) but not discussed. Covetousness is introduced late, after the account of spiritual sins comprising the upper part of the image has been stated to be complete (278-83): "Non tamen pretermittam cupiditatem rerum temporalium" (283). Exposition of some sins is individual, if not idiosyncratic. For example, a judgmental attitude to others' sins and virtues, and blindness to one's own sins are the chief topics dealt with under envy (190-211). Some of the divergences from tradition, including most of the discussion of *accidia* (Sloth), are tailored to the contemplative status of Hilton and his correspondent. Hilton's thoughtful, individual rewritings of the convention participate in "a dissatisfaction with previous analyses...which is characteristic of late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century speculation on the subject" (Bloomfield 188).

17. Sequences of hypothetical objection and response (133, 445), and well-shaped periodic sentences (1-7, 47-53, 82-90) exemplify scholastic method. Legal concern for inclusiveness accounts for the frequent lists (35-36, 266-70), and for the doublets ("inclinacio et pronitas" 29, "increpare et arguere" 73) which were to become automatic features of Hilton's Latin and English styles (Hussey 1973, 471-73). (I apply "doublet" to pairs in which there is a slight distinction in meaning between the terms, as well as to those in which there is none.)

18. "That which is highest."

19. The power of Jesus' name will reduce the idol to nothing (459-67); the heavenly man, Christ, will displace the image of the earthly man, Adam (467-70); the soul which does not know the truth is a lifeless image, but infused grace animates the soul as the new man, trampling the image underfoot (474-94); trust in Christ, who will subject the members of your soul to himself, and your bodily members to your soul (508-22).

20. "I trust confidently...Therefore do not be distrustful...I firmly believe...I have a most certain hope...do not distrust."

21. "You have abandoned the outward supports of pride, but pride itself you have not conquered."

22. "The body of sin...shapeless in shape, deformed in substance."

23. "Ecclesiastical benefices, honours and wealth."

24. "You have despised great buildings and luxuries."

25. "You love yourself unlawfully, you excuse yourself to yourself, you flatter yourself, and consent to your own suggestions."

[Chapter 14: In the Wilderness: Letters of a Solitary, Pages 169-86, Cont.]

26. "Ego melior sum illo, capacior gracie, plus cognoscens veritatem quam ille, preelectus aliis in gracia et prelatus, dignus essem honorari et ab aliis laudari, et vt alii cognoscerent virtutem meam, vt eis proficere possem..." (65-68).

"I am better than that man, more capable of grace, more acquainted with the truth than that man, elected and preferred before others in grace, worthy to be honoured and praised by others, and [worthy] that others should recognise my virtue, so that I might advance them."

The personalised exposure of sins in *De Imagine* is more vividly emotive than the generalised discussion in *Scale 1*, which in this respect is more obviously an official text. For example, in *De Imagine* (61-70) the memorable reproduction of thoughts accompanying "raptus per superbiam," which are dramatically deflated, is matched in *Scale 1* by a simple explanation: "Þis rauischinge in gostli pride is delitable, and þerfore he kepiþ it, holdiþ it, and norischeþ it as mikel as he mai" (Ch. 59, Clark and Dorward 129, C 330a).

27. "...in tantum quod cor et corpus grauantur sepe pre nimietate que reddit me pigrum sompnolentum ad omne opus bonum, obtusum in intellectu..."

"...so much that heart and body are often weighed down by excess, which renders me sluggish and sleepy in every good work, dull in understanding..."

28. "And, when necessary, to rejoice in it."

29. Hilton compares the useful activity of secular laymen and clergy and those living under obedience in regular orders with what he regards as his own and his correspondent's dull inactivity and uselessness (319-20).

30. "For us there is the fearful possibility, that we should be cast out to where order does not exist, but rather eternal horror." Pun and internal recollection of the last reading for the Office of the Dead (notes 348) reinforce this conclusion. The sentence following averts the potential break: "Verumtamen non ad confusionem nostram hoc dico, sed ad humiliacionem" (329-30): "However, I say this, not to confound us, but so that we may be humble." Hilton goes on to reassure his reader of their membership of Christ's mystical body, in which, like the rough outer and fine inner cloths in Moses' tabernacle, different groups perform different functions.

31. These include images of deformity transformed into beauty, as in the sustained image/body analogy. A second strand of imagery refers to the impure food of pride and envy (77-78; "pascas cor tuum cibo delectabili, videlicet stercoribus alienis" 206-207; 209-211), and to the physical food desired under gluttony, "stercora carnalis voluptatis" (356). This contrasts with the "cibum celestem" (365) sought in developed spiritual life, and finally attained in vision, "in contemplacione rerum spiritualium quibus pasceres cor tuum satis delicate" (397-99). A third strand associates sin with sexual seduction, by the whore of vain glory and false delight in the case of pride (47-56); in the case of *accidia* by "as it were, a female spiritual friend...who weakens you from manly strictness into womanly softness" (237-39). The imagery of "columba seducta, non habens cor"(243-48, 379), based on Hosea 7.11, connects both to this strand and to the traditional contrast with the raven of Noah's Ark (295).

[Chapter 14: In the Wilderness: Letters of a Solitary, Pages 169-86, Cont.]

32. The idol of the self, adored in the false rapture of pride, is a tyrant who imposes "heavy servitude" (86-90; cf. 383-48). When reason returns, self-flattering thoughts are a heavy yoke, a demon who adheres to the bones, and can only be shaken off by grace (91-114). Under the heading of *accidia*, Hilton points to the danger that a solitary's liberty for contemplation may become paradoxically an occasion of bondage (261-65), and that the heart formerly expanded in superfluities may now be chained by excessive attention to necessities (294-95). The powerful attraction to food caused by the Fall likens the soul to yoke-beasts feeding on the husks of swine (355-56), and Hilton refers to himself as being "sold as a slave" under the sin of gluttony (369).

33. "Great would be our liberty of mind, if it abounded continuously in these spiritual senses."

34. "On account of the heavy yoke of this idol."

35. "You would also hear praises of God without bodily sound, in pure intellectual cognition, sung in sweet melody by every creature. Do not wonder at this. For since every created being without doubt praises God, if your understanding were purified, how clearly you would perceive their shouts of praise with the ear of your heart, in innermost sweetness as heavenly song."

Although Hilton does not employ Rolle's exotic vocabulary, his words, "dulcis," "modulamen," "laus," "suavitas," "melos," and "celicus," are also associated in *Melos Amoris* with spiritual song.

36. "Nothing is more present to us than God."

37. "He himself is your being, he is your life, he is your feeling and your reason."

38. Introductory and concluding colophons in several early manuscripts give Horsley's name and other background information, see *Latin Writings* 116 and 173. For Horsley's life, see Gardner 1937, 111 and Russell-Smith 1954, 182-84.

39. *Mixed Life* is extant in eighteen (Ogilvie-Thomson 1986, iii), and *Þe Prickynge* in sixteen (Kane iii) manuscript and printed versions dated before 1500. These English works had potentially a larger readership than *Epistola de Utilitate*.

40. See "List of Manuscripts," Clark and Taylor 1-2.

41. E.g., 2-14, 142-51, 228-38, 287-98, 859-68, 868-79.

[Chapter 14: In the Wilderness: Letters of a Solitary, Pages 169-86, Cont.]

42. Developed traditional analogues based on Scripture include the ship of the Church (109-114), the Church as bride of Christ (166-69, 364-73), the seed sown in the heart (474-76), "putting off" the old man and "putting on" the new (545-55), and building on the sure foundation of regular religion - the rock which is Christ (888-901). Images of food and taste (300-305, 312, 476, 551-52, 661-61, 844) are less common than in *De Imagine Peccati*. The epistle's metaphors and similes of pilgrimage or wayfaring (279, 410, 416) and of cities (29-30, 333-34) are typical of Hilton. Common fire imagery, often with disguised metaphoric function, occurs throughout. A few stray maternal references are present (35, notes 363, and 668). Further images, which challenge the boundaries of language and discursive thought, are considered below.

43. Lines 32-35, 531-32, 554-55, 571-79, 734-40, and 864.

44. "In the badness of our times."

45. "For these are the words of the Church militant."

46. "Unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Ephes. 4. 13).

47. "Let him believe who will, for myself I confess that in this matter I believe simply the words of the Church, which deceives no one."

48. "...quod si quis tanta gracia habundaret discrecionis et humilitatis vt solitarie conuersans per presu[m]pciones vel errores vel alia peccata spiritualia non posset facile decipi ex insidiis inimici, forsan tunc vtile esset sibi congregacionem dimittere et motum animi sui in singulari deuocione et exercicio spirituali solitarius imitari. Verum non omnibus hec gracia concessa est" (704-710; cf. 228-38).
 "... perhaps it would be useful for someone abounding in the grace of discretion and humility and not easily deceived by attacks of the enemy in solitary life, through over-confidence or errors or other spiritual sins, to leave the congregation and follow the movement of his spirit in singular devotion, and to follow spiritual practice as a solitary. Truly this grace is not granted to all."

49. " Saltim istud dico... ne fias velud inane similacrum ymaginem religiosi representans, carens spiritu vitali diuini amoris, arido corde et spiritu tepido, solum moueas manus et membra ad opera et actus religionis, sicut in pluribus accidit, qui super numerum modernis temporibus multiplicati sunt, set pocius ut ignem intimi amoris conceptum in corde per ardorem desiderii nutrias per virtutum plenitudinem..." (838-44).
 "At least I say this... do not become as it were an empty copy displaying the image of a religious, lacking the vital spirit of divine love, with a dry heart and tepid spirit, only that you may move hands and limbs in the works and acts of religion, as happens to many, who in modern times are multiplied beyond number; but rather that you nourish through ardour of desire and fullness of virtues the fire of inner love conceived in your heart..."

50. Hilton recommends the faithful carrying out of prescribed liturgical offices because these increase devotion, but then suggests that the purpose should rather be to please God (725-30).

[Chapter 14: In the Wilderness: Letters of a Solitary, Pages 169-86, Cont.]

51. "Si enim parata sit intencio tua cum bona et feruente voluntate propter amorem Dei et salutem anime tue facere et implere ista omnia et singula que predicta sunt..." (853-55).
"For if your intention is prepared with a good and fervent will, for the sake of God's love and your soul's safety, to do and fulfil each and every one of the counsels given beforehand...".

52. "Quisquis ergo hoc Spiritu ducitur ut religionem intret, eciam episcopo suo contradicente, liber adeat, nostra auctoritate. Iusto enim non est lex posita, quia vbi Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas" (91-94; 1 Tim. 1.9; 2 Cor. 3.17).
"Therefore, according to our authority, whoever is led by the Spirit to enter religion may undertake it freely, even if his bishop opposes him. The law is not imposed on the righteous man, because where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

53. "...running willingly to the chastening of every labour of body and spirit laid upon you...in joyfulness of spirit, and out of pure intellectual affection and fervent love, considering yourself to be, as it were, an ox or ass."

54. "...exultauit cor meum in Domino qui te ex sua misericordia de huius mundi tenebrosa voragine tanquam de seruitute Egipciaca ad libertatem spiritualem et obsequium diuinum in vita et statu religionis dignatus est euocare" (5-8).
"...my heart has rejoiced in the Lord, who by his mercy has deigned to call you out of the dark abyss of this world, as from slavery in Egypt, into spiritual liberty and divine obedience in the religious life and state."

55. "Like a clown."

Chapter 15: Attaining the Palace Beautiful: Latin Writings at Thurgarton Priory, Pages 187-98

1. Philip Repington, Abbot of Leicester, and John Mirk wrote English works of pastoral instruction as Augustinian canons (Doyle 1989, 115). Composed as guidance for an anchoress, *Scale 1* follows a tradition of Hilton's order established by the writers of *Ancrene Wisse* (c. 1220) and of *Regula Reclusorum Walteri Reclusi* (c. 1280), both of whom were or had been Augustinian canons (see Edwards 11 and Warren 296).

2. Russell-Smith 1954, 199-204; Clark 1991, 16-18 and 1992, 4-5.

3. Clark shows that the Middle English additions to the likely Latin original text strongly if not conclusively support Hilton as translator ("Walter Hilton and the *Stimulus Amoris*," 79-118). Sargent adduced slight contrary manuscript evidence ("Bonaventura English"1984, 162), but Clark reaffirmed his position in 1991 (16-17) and 1992 (6).

[Chapter 15: Attaining the Palace Beautiful: Latin Writings at Thurgarton Priory, Pages 187-98, Cont.]

4. See Clark and Taylor 327-33. Allen records what are probably references to the Latin original and accompanying English commentary in two extant catalogues to the library of an Elizabethan gentleman, Henry Savile of Banke. The library contained volumes removed from Yorkshire religious houses. One entry describes the letter as sent by Hilton to "a lady of the Gilbertine order" and translated by Rolle (!)(1927, 410).

5. The letter may therefore have antedated *Scale 1*, which more sensitively assesses the linguistic requirements of religious women. Fishlake's translation into Latin of *Scale 1* and *2*, soon after the completion of *Scale 2* and possibly during Hilton's lifetime (Clark and Dorward 18, 56-57), nevertheless confirms the continuing inter-changeability of Latin and the vernacular, and how finely-balanced such linguistic judgments were, in an era of intense ideological instability.

6. These include the view of life in religion as a solemn binding ("Letter": "byndeth"; *Epistola* "vinculum perfeccionis") to a heightened version of the common Christian pursuit of charity, fighting against the world, flesh and devil, through respectively poverty, chastity and obedience ("Letter" 14-15; *Epistola* 41-62). Both letters emphasise purity of intention as the primary attitudinal requirement for intending religious ("Letter" 30-42; *Epistola* 512-79). Counsel against judging others is applied specifically to fellow nuns and monks ("Letter" 80-88; *Epistola* 663-75). Although these points of congruence are commonplaces (Clark and Taylor 327), which do not prove that Hilton composed both Latin letters in the same period, they are significant in combination with the other arguments adduced. A. C. Hughes proposes, regarding the "Lost Letter": "Perhaps the section on vows and its reference to religious life as a warfare can be connected with Hilton's defence of religion in the *De Utilitate*" (12). Hughes' reference to "warfare" in *Epistola de Utilitate* (15) seems however to apply to *Epistola de Leccione* (British Library MS. 6 E III, fol. 120 b). *Qui Habitat* states the thought of "Letter" 8-10 in similar terms, probably also with reference to Job 7.1: "whiles þou liuest in þis world, þou schalt ben euere fihtinde" (ed. Wallner 1954, 35.1-2).

7. For details, see Clark and Taylor 16, 47, 52-53, and 64. The colophons, particularly in the oldest manuscript, Eton College Library 47, state the anti-heretical intent of the *quæstio* more explicitly than Hilton does himself (Clark and Taylor 179 and 214).

8. "The authority and custom of the universal Church."

9. See Hudson 1978, 19, 23 and 1988, 302-303, 311-313.

10. The passage follows *Epistola de Utilitate* (100-133), which adapts the same brief borrowing from William of St. Thierry to the institution of religious orders (notes 383).

11. *Piers Plowman* participates in a vigorous debate over the salvation of the righteous heathen (*C-Text*, Passus 12. 72-86 and Passus 14. 199-206). Clark lists further fourteenth-century sources (Clark and Dorward 303, note 7).

[Chapter 15: Attaining the Palace Beautiful: Latin Writings at Thurgarton Priory, Pages 187-98, Cont.]

12. "Nec ultra loquetur nobis Christus in prouerbiis signorum et figurarum, quia tunc videbimus eum sicuti est, facie ad faciem, transformati in ipsam ymaginem inuisibilis Dei, de claritate fidei in claritatem visionis beate."

13. "The New Testament is the norm by which we must interpret the Old which cannot be explained fully without reference to the New" (Leclercq 1974, 100-102).

14. E.g., Peter's ship, bursting with an unexpected catch (162-64), found in a similar context in *Epistola de Utilitate* (109-111).

15. The imagery encompasses a view of Christian life, and especially life in religion, as chivalry (7-27, 119-21), of a good intention as an anchor (33-35), of lust as the opposite side of a balance to devout prayer (58-50), and of the devil as a thief in the house of the soul (67-73). *De Imagine Peccati* (13, notes 335), *Epistola de Leccione* (60) and *Scale 1* (Ch. 23, 96, C 297a; Ch. 48, 121-22, C 321b) also refer to the house of the soul.

16. Clark: "The controversy surrounding Eckhart illustrates how the lines of demarcation between authentic Christian spirituality and its perversions were by no means always clear" ("Walter Hilton and 'Liberty of Spirit'"1978, 63).

17. The introductory colophon in British Library MS. Royal 6 E III states that *Epistola de Leccione* was written "ad quemdam solitarium" (Clark and Taylor 220), but *The Cloud of Unknowing* probably applies the terms, "synguleer" and "solitari" to life as a Carthusian (Hodgson 1958, 14.12-13). *Epistola de Leccione* refers to the recipient's "inclusionem corporis" (60-61). Clark points out however that "this might refer to the enclosure of a hermit, but it could also refer to enclosure in a cell within a contemplative community" (notes 396). Hilton's use of the term, "parvam ciuitatem Segor vrbemque refugii," for the state which the recipient has now adopted (4-5) invites comparison with application of this imagery in *Epistola de Utilitate* to Carthusian and monastic life (29, 333). The force of this evidence in favour of a Carthusian rather than an anchoritic context is only slightly weakened by the fact that Hilton advises the recipient to recite the canonical Hours as a priestly obligation (302-304), with no reference to regular monastic observances, such as he defends in *Epistola de Utilitate* (699-740) and recommends to the anchoress addressed in *Scale 1* (Ch. 27, 98-99, C 299a-b).

18. *Scale 1*, Chs. 42 and 43, is a more complex version of the opening of *Epistola de Leccione* (20-56), on the ground and initiation of sin.

19. "Who considers that he has achieved the spirit of liberty."

[Chapter 15: Attaining the Palace Beautiful: Latin Writings at Thurgarton Priory, Pages 187-98, Cont.]

20. "Walter Hilton and 'Liberty of Spirit'" 65-68. Hilton's correspondent is, however, unlikely to have had direct contact with this heresy, which may have been first brought to Hilton's notice through his translation in *Eight Chapters* of a work originating in continental Europe. Lollards, known to reside near Thurgarton, considered priests' obligation to recite the Hours "unnecessary and a distracting diversion from preaching" (Hudson 1988, 354-55).

Leff suggests that the heresy of the Free Spirit was confined to the Continent (1967, 316), a view supported by Lerner (195, note 46). However, Leff also states that the heresy of the Free Spirit "became one of the preoccupations of the church and one which exercised it perhaps more than any other heresy until Hus" (316). The Church's concern was evident during Margery Kempe's adulthood, *c.* 1393-1438: "there is evidence enough to show that the spread [of the heresy of the Free Spirit] to England was constantly feared by the Church and civil authorities, who took every precaution to guard against such an event" (Colledge and Bazire 51). Writing in the 1380s, Hilton may not have distinguished clearly between Wycliffite Lollards and Flemish heretics possibly resident in England (Kennedy 21). Such a confusion was endemic in the contemporary Flemish origins of the word, "Lollard," meaning a mutterer of prayers (*Piers Plowman*, ed. Pearsall 97, note 2).

21. "Committing spiritual incest on the mountain of counterfeit virtue, you suffered corruption, made drunk in your weakness on the wormwood of error."

22. "In the bowels of Jesus Christ."

23. "So that you may walk worthily towards *God.*"

24. "May you return to Christ"; "let us return to Christ"; "run back to Christ" "humbly submit yourself to Christ."

25. "Many words but little wisdom - to my Christ."

26. "Bene tollitur pallium dupplicatis ut nudus et simplex appareas coram eo cuius conspectu[i] omnis sunt nuda, nec diffidas quia licet in ingressu oculus forsan tuus non fuisset simplex; fi[a]t modo simplex et totum corpus tuum lucidum erit" (73-76; for Biblical sources see notes 396-97).

"It is well to remove the mantle of duality, so that you may appear naked and simple before him to whose sight everything is naked. Nor should you doubt, because although perhaps your eye was not simple at your coming in, let it once be simple and your whole body will be full of light."

27. "Focused on and reaching out to God."

28. "As if towards some highest goal which as yet you do not perceive clearly in the understanding, nor feel in the affection."

29. "Blind groping."

30. "Melius hec experiencia docet te propria quam mea lo[c]ucio."; "Your own experience teaches you these things better than my speaking."

31. "The chasm, the abyss of your own blindness, the great chaos dividing your mind from the true light." Hilton's Latin letters often refer to "mundi vorago," the abyss of this world (e.g., *De Imagine Peccati* 509).

32. "Put on wings of prayer and meditation, of knowledge and devotion, like an eagle seeking the heights. So labour, and you will not faint."

Chapter 16: In Sight of the Delectable Mountains: English Writings at Thurgarton, Pages 199-225

1. At least three English works written for anchoresses predated *Ancrene Wisse* (Warren 294).

2. See Sargent's exhaustive analysis of scholastic structure in *Scale 1* (1983, 231-61). Gardner comments on the "extreme brevity" of many chapters, and describes the plan as "schematised;" "[Hilton] keeps rigidly to a carefully thought-out scheme of argument" (1936, 14). Coleman (106), Knowles (1965, 101-102), Milosh (177) and Del Mastro (178-99) perceive different kinds of complex orderliness in *Scale 1* and *Scale 2* as a unit.

Introductions and resumés in the text indicate the following basic sections in *Scale 1*: Ch. 1, outer (active) profession should match inner (contemplative) practice; Ch. 2, active life; Chs. 3-14, introduction to contemplative life and stages of contemplation; Chs. 15-22, the means which bring a person to contemplation: humility (Chs. 16-20), faith (Ch. 21), and intention (Ch. 22); Chs. 23-41, the practice of contemplation: prayer (Chs. 24-33), meditation (Chs. 34-39), and responsiveness to grace (Chs. 40-41); Chs. 42-45, reforming the soul to the image of the Trinity; Chs. 46-51, seeking Jesus; Chs. 52-55, introduction to the image of sin; Chs. 56-63, pride; Chs. 64-70, anger and envy; Ch. 71, covetousness; Chs. 72-76, carnal sins; Ch. 77, summary: humility and charity are the key to all virtues; Chs. 78-82, the senses and imagination as instruments of sin; Ch. 83, application of this teaching: how an anchoress should behave towards visitors; Chs. 84-91, breaking down the image of sin, and restoring the image of Jesus; Ch. 92, about this book.

3. The account of the image of sin and effects of the Fall in Chs. 43 and 45, contrasting with partial and often negatively slanted treatments in early Latin letters, exemplifies Hilton's special care in *Scale 1* for the needs of simple readers.

4. St. Thomas More recommended *The Scale* to "the people unlearned," in contrast to the polemical writings stemming from his debate with Tyndale, as one of "suche englishe bookes as moste may noryshe and encrease devocion" (qtd. in Lovatt 1968, 97). More seems not to have thought of *The Scale* as an ecclesiastical instrument.

[Chapter 16: In Sight of the Delectable Mountains: English Writings at Thurgarton, Pages 199-225, Cont.]

5. Hilton points out that worldly knowledge is only a figure and shadow of true contemplation, that it is entertained by heretics, hypocrites and those living carnally, and that it can be perverted by pride to worldly ends. Similarly, Ch. 68 discusses charity and humility as divine gifts, not to be acquired through philosophy or theology, however learned (138, C 338b). Cf. *Shiva Sutras* 1.2: *Jnanam Bandhah*: "Limited knowledge is bondage" (Singh 16).

6. The identification of Rolle's "brenn[ynge] in [Jesus's] loue with gostly delite" with the experience of the first apostles and martyrs (Ch. 44, 117, C 317b) would have particularly gratified the hermit, since this is the self-image which he accepted and promoted, and the stated topic of *Melos Amoris* (see above, Ch. 12). The same chapter of *Scale 1* includes Rolle's teachings among "summe holy mennes saw3es" (Ch. 44, 115, C 316a), while the ending re-envisages the intoxication of heavenly bliss which Rolle so often anticipated for himself.

7. They warn against deceptions (Ch. 11), and against misunderstanding by the "simple," whose disturbed questioning is given in direct speech (Ch. 44, 115-16, C 316a). Chapter 26 asserts the primacy of spiritual fire over its bodily manifestation, while Chapter 31 deals with its consuming of fleshly lusts. From Chapter 45, *Scale 1* places all contemplative experience in the ethical context of striving for virtue and renouncing sin. Ch. 74 complicates Rolle's simple dichotomy between lovers of the world/flesh and lovers of God along traditional lines by pointing out that carnal sins are in principle less blameworthy than spiritual sins.

8. In teaching meditation on the Passion, *Scale 1* recommends both profound identification with Jesus's sufferings, and transcendence of such human feelings in a nearly Gnostic contemplation of the divine nature (Ch. 35, 106, C 306-07). Similarly, joy sweetens the miseries of prolonged temptation: "þou schalt sodenly spryng up as þe day sterne in gladnes of hert" (Ch. 38, 109, C 309b). Hilton recognises that some souls struggle in vain for a lifetime to reach rest in contemplation. Yet he offsets this with a surge of idealism, asserting that their persistent labour will receive its reward, and offering the assurance repeated by Julian of Norwich: "all schal be wel" (Ch. 33, 104, C 304a).

9. Whereas *De Imagine Peccati* compares the state of solitary poverty negatively with the labours of other Christians, and accuses the recipient of usurping a reputation for renunciation without the inner reality, *Scale 1* sees good people and otherwise in every state, and warns generally against the inner bondage of coveting earthly goods (Ch. 71, 143, C 343b-344a). Hilton here enters tacitly into dialogue with his accusations in *De Imagine Peccati*:

> I ne accuse noman ne no stat reproue, ffor in ilk state summe are gode and summe are othere. Bot o thyng I sey to ilk man or woman þat has taken þe state of wilfully pouert. Wheþere he be religiouse or seculere or what degre he be inne, als long as his loue and his affeccioun is bounden, festned, and as it were gleymed with couetise of erthly gode þat he has or wolde haue, he may no3t haue ne fele sothfastly þe clene loue and clere sy3t of gostly thynges.

Later the analysis of the spiritual effects of covetousness extends to "worldly men and wymen" (144, C 344b). Spiritual and actual poverty remains as powerful an ideal as in the earlier text.

[Chapter 16: In Sight of the Delectable Mountains: English Writings at Thurgarton, Pages 199-225, Cont.]

De Imagine Peccati focuses on the reversal taking place at the Fall, when the soul's desire turned from the eternal food of angels to husks for swine, from saffron to excrement. Hilton applies these dichotomies with brutal detail to his correspondent's and his own experience of gluttony (345-75). *Scale 1* neglects much of this material, or moderates the violent language, mentioning neither saffron nor excrement (Chs. 79 and 80). It attends instead to the practical problem of distinguishing between bodily need and the luxurious appetite which pre-empts love of God, a problem only briefly referred to in *De Imagine Peccati* (364-66). Hilton proposes reason, but primarily grace, as the basis of decision (144-45).

The discussion of gluttony in *Scale 1* recognises the moral significance of need, but without developing its social relevance, as occurs for instance, in *Piers Plowman* (*C-Text*, Passus 13. 43; Passus 22. 4-50).

10. "Ffor he þat wil sothfastly loue God, he ne askeȝ noȝt comunly wheþere þis is grettere synne or þis. For hym schal thynk what thyng þat letteȝ hym fro þe loue of God grete synne; and hym schal thynk þat þere is no synne bot þat thyng whilk is noȝt gode and letteȝ hym fro þe loue of God."

11. The passage is located equivalently to a section in *Mixed Life* (*Scale 1* Ch. 24, 97-Ch. 25, 98; *Mixed Life*, ed. Ogilvie-Thomson 1986, 594-603), which, by contrast, advocates discursive meditation. A similar later passage was dynamically re-formulated in *The Cloud*:

þerefor if it come to þi mynde as it were askand what has þou lost and what sekeȝ þou, lift up þe desire of þi hert to Ihesu þoȝ þou be blynde and noȝt may se of hym, and sey þat hym has þou lost, and hym wold þou haue, and no thyng bot hym. (*Scale 1*, Ch. 46, 119, C 319b)

& ȝif any þouȝt rise & wil prees algates abouen þee, bitwix þee & þat derknes, & asche þee seiing: 'What sekist þou, & what woldest þou haue?' sey þou þat it is God þat þou woldest haue. 'Him I coueite, him I seche, & noȝt bot him.' (*Cloud*, ed. Hodgson 1958, 26.13-16)

Clark (1996, Vol. 2, 63-64) points to a convergence between this *Cloud* passage and expressions in *Scale 2* and *Discretion of Stirrings*, for which he finds a rhetorical model in Richard of St Victor. However, similarities between the passages cited from *Scale 1* and *The Cloud* are experiential, going beyond repeated rhetorical phrasing.

12. Lists of epithets for the divine are characteristic of Hilton (Clark and Dorward 174, note 190).

13. Examples of such conversions occurring in argument are as follows. Oneness with God is the ultimate attainment of the third part of contemplation (Ch. 8, 82, C 283a). Since bodily feelings experienced in prayer may be both good and evil, it seems they are not the best (Ch. 10, 84, C 284b). Contemplation of the four dimensions of the divine unity is the sole occupation of desire (Ch. 13, 86-87, C 287a-b). Diverse means bringing a person to contemplation, discussed over a sequence of chapters, are summed up in Jesus as the goal of sustained desire (Ch. 23, 97, C 297a). True charity as God's gift transcends the dualism of men who are good or bad to external appearance (Chs. 65 and 66). The very concept of virtue takes on a dimension

[Chapter 16: In Sight of the Delectable Mountains: English Writings at Thurgarton, Pages 199-225, Cont.]

exceeding dichotomised choice and struggle, in a reference to "a gostly siȝt of mekenes" (Ch. 89, 158, C 359a). Ultimately the dichotomised virtues and sins which are the subject of so much attention, are taken up into the singleness of divine redemption: "Fforsake þiself and all þi werkes gode and badd; crie mercie; & ask only sauacione by þe vertue of þis preciouse passione mekely and treistily" (Ch. 44, 115, C 315a).

14. The pattern basically follows *De Imagine Peccati*, beginning with image of sin, and leading to image of Jesus (467-70).

15. E.g., Ch. 1, 77, C 278a-b; Ch. 16, 88, C 288a; Ch. 17, 91, C 291b; Ch. 44, 115, C 315a; Ch. 55, 126, C 326b; Ch. 79, 141, C 341a; Ch. 83, 152-54, C 353a-354b.

16. Clark suggests that the anchoress may be "a convenient literary fiction representing a whole class of reader" (Clark and Dorward 19). However, the particularity of the anchoress is supported by Hilton's translating of Biblical quotations, a practice which he discontinued in *Scale 2*. Sargent's argument from manuscripts, that Hilton added passages for incorporation in reply to questions from the first reader or readers, confirms the book's genesis in an actual pastoral context (1982, 238).

17. Margery Kempe turned to *The Scale*, as to Rolle's works, for inspiration (Meech and Allen 39. 23 and 143. 27-28). McEntire demonstrates that Margery's principal spiritual experience of tears is compatible with Hilton's doctrine (53-55; cf. Kirchberger *Goad* 13). Clemens Maydeston, a Carthusian, transcribed the Latin *Scale* for the Bridgettine nuns of Syon between 1415 and 1456 (University Library Upsala MS. C. 159; Gardner 1936, 11, note 3). In the fifteenth century Syon nuns possessed the Hilton manuscripts, B. L. Harley 2387 and All Souls MS. 25 (Gardner 1936, 18). MSS. Bodleian Rawlinson C. 894 and British Library Royal 17 C xviii, inter-related and containing excerpts from *The Scale* and *Mixed Life*, may also have originated in Syon Abbey (Ogilvie-Thomson 1986, xvii). British Library MS. Harley 2397, containing *Mixed Life* and *Scale 2*, was owned by the London Poor Clares between 1461 and 1483 (Ogilvie-Thomson xv). Henry VII's mother, Margaret Beaufort, commissioned de Worde's 1494 printing of *The Scale*, which was probably read by Margaret's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York, and other ladies of the court (Ogilvie-Thomson xxii). A copy of de Worde's edition annotated by James Grenehalgh was owned by Joanna Sewell of Syon in 1500 (Ogilvie-Thomson xxiii). Dame Gertrude More, a seventeenth-century nun of Cambrai and great granddaughter of St. Thomas More, also knew *The Scale* (Gardner 1937, 124). Sargent's study of London manuscripts and prints of *The Scale* and *Mixed Life* gives the names of other female owners and readers (1983, 206-207). Alternately, Gillespie's study of British Library MS. Lansdowne 344 demonstrates the use of *Scale 1* as a clerical resource ("masculine" by definition) in the pastoral compilations, *Cibus Anime, Speculum Christiani* and *Speculum Boni et Mali* (1990, 99-115).

[Chapter 16: In Sight of the Delectable Mountains: English Writings at Thurgarton, Pages 199-225, Cont.]

18. See Taylor 1978, 241-45. A typically misogynist simile: "frele as a woman in þi bodie for þe fyrst synne" (Ch. 79, 150, C 350b), is balanced by an expansion of the Pauline maternal metaphor of conceiving and forming Christ (Ch. 91,159-60, C 360b). In *Scale 1* Hilton temporarily abandoned maternal ecclesiastical imagery.

19. The warnings against pride are particularly strict, for example, the advice that the anchoress should regard her enclosure as caused by her potential to harm spiritually her fellow Christians living in the world (Ch. 16, 88-89, C 289a).

20. E.g., St Augustine (Ch. 40, 111, C 311a; Ch. 70, 142, 342a; Ch. 71, 143, C 344a; Ch. 72, 144, C345a); St. Gregory (Ch. 19, 92, C 292b; Ch. 71,143, C 343a-b); St. Bernard (Ch. 33, 103, C 303b; Ch. 36, 106, C 306b).

21. Ch. 44, 115, 315b; Ch. 71, 144, C 344a; Ch. 72, 144, C 345a and Ch. 80, 151, C 351a. Hilton develops at length the notion of himself as hampered by the image of sin (Ch. 84, cf. *De Imagine Peccati* 10-13).

22. Ch. 16, 89, C 289a-b and Ch. 92, 160, C 361a.

23. For example, at the transition between Chs. 56 and 57: "When [synne] is venial and when it is dedly fully can I noȝt telle þe....Neuerþeles a litel schal I sey as me thynkeȝ (127, C 328a); "I haue nere forȝeten þis ymage, bot now I turne aȝeyn þerto" (Ch. 63, 134, C 334b); "Neuerþeles sumdel schal I sey to þi question as me thynkeȝ, for þi desire draweȝ out of my hert more þen I thoȝt for to haue seid in þe biginnyng." (Ch. 82, 151, C 352a). Cf. parallel passages in Ch. 11, 85, C 286a and Ch. 83-84, 154, C 354b.

24. Hilton implies a reservation only about pilgrimage, discussed above in association with a creative liminality. Since Jesus lives in the soul, "It nedeȝ noȝt to renne to Rome ne to Jerusalem forto seke hym þere" (Ch. 49, 122, C 322a, repeated Ch. 65, 135, C 336a). The phrasing reproduces a formula of criticism developed at length in *Piers Plowman* (*C-Text*, Passus 7. 158-83) and in Wycliffite writings (Hudson 1988, 307-08). Hilton balances his reservation by stating that pilgrimage is among the works which may be accounted "good" in external appearance (Ch. 66, 136, C 336b).

25. *Scale 1* here declares the state of bishop or prelate to be pre-eminent, and names the aureole as a superadded heavenly reward for, in order of merit, authorised enclosure of anchorites, entry into approved religious orders according to degree of strictness, and the taking of priest's orders. This produces a hierarchy distinct from that which descends from the Pope, through cardinals, possessioners, chantry priests, deacons, and so on. The pre-eminence of bishops and prelates is mentioned last, apparently as an afterthought (Ch. 61,133, C 333a-b), and relatively powerless anchorites and religious, presumably of both genders, are placed above priests.

26. However, there follows the admonition that the anchoress should not presume to instruct a priest except in necessity (153, C 354a).

27. The exception to this is a passing mention of "þe fulhed of charite as apostles & martires haden in þe biginnyng of holy kirk" (Ch. 44, 117, C 317a).

28. While Ch. 41 draws together a number of Pauline passages on diversity of gifts, the context is strictly one of contemplative practice (112, C 312a).

29. E.g., similes of fire and light, nut and kernel, and blindness; the verbal metaphors, knit and glue; the hound that seeks the hare because he sees other hounds running (Ch. 41, 111, C 311a).

30. E.g., the stinking well of sin (Ch. 15, 88, C 288b; Ch. 45, 118, C 318a; Ch. 55, 126, C 326b-327a, especially; Ch. 73, 146, C 347a; Ch. 89, 158, C 359a; cf. *De Imagine Peccati* 16-17, 28-30, 33 and *Epistola de Leccione* 43-56; feeding on milk or on solid food for adults (Ch. 9, 83, C 283a-b; Ch. 27, 99, C 300a; cf. *Epistola de Utilitate* 550-52 and *De Adoracione*191-204, where the imagery is attached to the Church); spiritual food of the bread of life (Ch. 44, 117, C 317a; cf. *De Imagine Peccati* 365); take food as medicine Ch. 72, 144-45, C 345a; cf. *De Imagine Peccati* 361-66; awaken the sleeping Christ (Chs. 49-50, 122, C 322b; cf. *Epistola de Leccione* 441-48, notes 415); abyss, great chaos, separating us like Dives from the true light (Ch. 77,149, C 349b-50a; cf. *Epistola de Leccione* 24-26).

31. E.g., the lengthy metaphors of *Christus medicus* (Ch. 44, 116, C 316a); of the lost coin (Ch. 48, 120-21, C 321a-322a); and of windows of the senses (Chs. 78-81). Imagery of Christ's wine cellar expands the source in St. Bernard, with added emphasis on intoxicating joy (Ch. 80, 150, C 351a). There are multiple variations on St. Paul's clothing metaphor, some preluded in the Latin writings: "blak stynkand cloþes of synne" (Ch. 52, 124, C 324b); "a blak mantel of þis foule ymage" (Ch. 78, 150, C 350b); bestial misshaping of Adam, clothed in beasts' skins (Ch. 84, cf. *De Imagine Peccati* 14-18); clothe yourself in the new man (Ch. 86, 156, C 357a). Ch. 51 translates "putting on" Christ into contemporary terms of livery (123, C 323a, repeated Ch. 91, 160, C 361a). Ch. 91 develops the door [to the sheepfold], as fullness of virtues and as Christ (160, C 361a).

32. E.g., an expanded metaphor derived from cooking (Ch. 23, 97, C 297a); the staff of the Church's spoken prayer supports the feet of knowing and loving (Ch. 27, 99, C 299b); breaking up the ground of sin (Ch. 42, 112-13, C 312a-13b).

33. E.g., cry to Christ for help, like a man in peril among his enemies (cf. *Cloud* 74.14-22), or like a sick man showing his sores to a doctor (Ch. 29, 100, C 301a); stinking smoke of spiritual blindness and fleshly thoughts like a scolding wife - applying a scriptural and common proverb (Ch. 53, 125, C 325a-b; cf. *Piers Plowman, C-Text*, Passus 19. 296-317); "mykel pryde hidde in þe ground of þi hert, as þe fox dareȝ in his den" (Ch. 63, 134, C 334b); falling upon fleshly pleasures as a beast upon carrion (Ch. 72, 145, C 346a); slay the thief - gluttony - and spare the

true man - need (Ch. 72, 146, C 346b); "als full of synne as þe hide is full of flesch" (Ch. 88, 157, C 358a).

34. Russell-Smith points to the innovatory attention paid to the active life of good deeds in relationship to contemplative life, to Hilton's opening of such a life to actives, and to his application of St. Gregory's concept of mixed life, reserved for pastors and prelates, to contemplative laymen (*ibidem* 135-137). Clark extends and refines Russell-Smith's views on tradition and innovation in *Mixed Life*, *Scale 1* and *Scale 2* with reference to sources ("Action and Contemplation in Walter Hilton" 258-74).

35. Twelfth-century canons writing on mixed life continued to understand "active" in terms of preaching (Bynum 1982, 51-52).

36. Beale states further: "The symbols of the dualism of the lives are always attended by the symbols of their ultimate unity: the Church, which contains both the lives; Christ, who is both and lived both; and the Law of Charity, which commands both. Hilton uses all of these symbols, but especially the last" (393). My argument develops Russell-Smith's reading, apparently unknown to Beale, of particular emphases in the treatment of the lives in *Mixed Life* and *Scale 1*.

37. The manuscripts are not conclusive as to the order of writing of *Mixed Life* and *Scale 1*. Manuscripts Vernon (Bodleian Library MS. Eng. Poet. A. 1) and Simeon (British Library, MS. Additional 22283), probably compiled in Hilton's lifetime, and the related Plimpton MSS. 257 and 271 place *Scale 1* before *Mixed Life* (Bliss 1969, 157-58, 162). However, other early manuscripts, such as Lambeth Palace 472, place *Mixed Life* after *Scale 2*, certainly reversing the order of composition. See further Ogilvie-Thomson's descriptions of manuscripts and early prints (1986, xii-xxvi).

38. My suggestion is that de Worde's edition of 1494 text, on which Ogilvie-Thomson's complex argument is based, might be derived from a Beta text, to which a corrector has added a conclusion from a textual type now lost. Why should X, the symbol allocated to the archetype of de Worde's text, have necessarily been antecedent to Beta? The stemma (xli) does not attend to possibilities of horizontal transmission (conflation).

39. The opening of the shorter version (Ogilvie-Thomson 63-72) generally reflects Hilton's practice in his Latin letters, in briefly delineating the relationship between Hilton and the recipient. Specifically, its reference to Christ's grace (63) parallels the openings of *Epistola de Utilitate* and *Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem* (cf. Clark and Taylor 119, 249). The introduction attached to the long version (in some manuscripts designated as a chapter) is written in the official manner of a tractate, introducing "two maner states...in hooli chirche," with bodily working preceding spiritual working. The passage concludes with a standardised summary, based on *De Imagine Peccati*, but with the emotive imagery excised, on "breaking down" the seven deadly sins (46-62). The official nature of the introduction attached

to the longer version is underlined by the fact that spiritual working (tending to the freedom of the divine) is mentioned without being discussed. The juxtaposed personal opening of the shorter version produces a powerful contrast by referring to the recipient's and Hilton's "hearts" (64, 67, 73), feelings - "for tendre affeccioun of loue which þou haste to me" (71) - and intimate spiritual intuitions: "Grace...stireþ me greteli" (63-68).

While the ending attached to the long text (822-39) preserves stylistic continuity in that it extends an exegesis of Proverbs with one of Ecclesiasticus (Clark's notes, Ogilvie-Thomson 68), it too reads like an ecclesiastical addition, adapting the work for safe general consumption. The ending develops a warning already briefly stated (814-21) against pseudo-contemplation, the producing of spiritual experiences through mental effort, before grace has had time to establish virtues in the soul. This repeats the proper order of working delineated in the long version's introduction, and there is a deliberate recoil from the transcendental order to the order of "þi wit and þi resoun" (824). *Epistola de Leccione* expressed more openly Hilton's sensitivity to risks of heresy implicit in "singular" contemplative practice.

Clark reports Russell-Smith's view, in "Action and Contemplation in Walter Hilton" 266, note 26.

40. As stated, the introduction to the long text separates bodily from spiritual state/working. Later Hilton explains that there are three kinds of living, active, contemplative and mixed, which is "maad of boþe" (119-21). Then, in explicating St. Gregory's teaching on Leah and Rachel, he shows how active life is preliminary to mixed life, and how, through merging in practice, active and contemplative lives lead to fulfilment in contemplation, either in this life or in the bliss of heaven (374-75).

41. This passage demonstrates the liking for doublets which Hilton transposed from his Latin to English writings. It also illustrates rhetorical features of his writing in English, including balances and antitheses: "Many men aren couetous of wordli worschipes and erþli richesse....be þou couetous of þe ioies of heuene, and þou schalt haue worschipes and richesses þat euere schal laste"; "þenken ny3t and day, dremyng and wakyng"; and a challenging use of *interrogatio*.

42. *Mixed Life* adapts at length standard patristic exegesis on states of life, for example Martha and Mary, Leah and Rachel, as types of active and contemplative life. As noted above, it also develops tangentially St. Paul's analogy of the body of Christ. The common metaphor of the fire of love is expanded with original details of fire-building (398-417), and the "yoke" of sin, scriptural but remote in *De Imagine Peccati* and *Epistola de Leccione*, is made more evocative: "... þe merci of oure lord þat he haþ schewid to me and to þee and to alle synfulle caityues þat haþ ben combred in synne, spered [so longe] in þe deueles prisoun" (686-87). In addition to non-scriptural metaphors already quoted or discussed, *Mixed Life* defines desire as "a greet criynge in þe eeris of God" (473-74), and explicates an intention focused on the divine by a long comparison with a sick person's natural desire for health (541-555). Apart from standard references to the "exile of this life" (527), which recall Rolle, and to the "root of al þi wirkynge" (558), similar to *The Cloud*, this is the sum of imagery in this text. The proportion of non-scriptural imagery is high.

43. "Et hec est uera significacio, et sic uera est ymago, nec adoratur a populo ut res ipsa, id est ipsa natura assumpta, sed consideratur ut signum recordatiuum ipsius nature assumpte, et hoc utile est et licitum. Quia interdum amicus se absentans ab amico, aliquod signum recordatiuum ad amicum transmittere solet, ut per intuitum signi recordetur absentis amici" (*De Adoracione* 391-397): "And this is the true meaning [of images in churches]. The image is true therefore, not in that it is worshipped by the people as [if it were] the substance, that is, the assumed [human] nature [of Christ] itself, but it is considered to be a sign recalling to mind that assumed nature, and this is useful and legitimate. When a friend absents himself for a time, he often sends a token of remembrance, so that his friend may call him to mind by gazing on the token."

"For loue propirli is a ful couplynge of þe louynge and þe loued togedre, as God and a soule in to oon. þis couplynge mai not be fulli hadde in þis liyf, but oonli in desire and longynge þerto, as bi þis ensample: if a man loue anoþir man whiche is absent, he desireþ greteli his presence for to haue þe vse of his loue and his lyking. Riȝt so goostly, as long as we aren in þis liyf, oure lord is absent fro us, þat we mai neiþer see him ne heere him ne feele [him] as he is, and þerfore we mai not haue þe vse of his loue heere in fulle likynge. But we mai haue a desire and a grete ȝeernynge for to be present to him, for to see him in his blisse, and fulli for to be oned to him in loue" (*Mixed Life* 507-18).

44. "Neiþer synne ne sorwe, ne passioun ne payne, hongir ne þriste..."; cf. Vercelli Homily 9, *The Phoenix* 50-64, 611-14, *Christ* 1660 ff., *Judgment Day II* 254 ff.

45. E.g., Ch. 8, 64.6-10, 19 and 65.17-18; Ch. 16, 105. 16-106.3. Cf. Kirchberger *Goad* 39.

46. Kirchberger's account of the development of the Latin *Stimulus* and reconstruction of the text Hilton used, checked as it is against the fourteenth-century Latin text in an English manuscript, Bodleian MS. Digby 58, is still helpful (*Goad* 15-18). She provides a modernised text of *Þe Prickynge*, with indications of Hilton's additions and omissions. Sargent summarises the manuscript tradition of the short, long and longer (Vatican) texts of the *Stimulus*, in relation to tables of contents and chapter titles of different versions of the English text (1984, 158-59).

47. "Meditation B" contains brief prayers to the Virgin obtained from *Stimulus* by what must have been a circuitous route (Allen 1927, 285; 1931, 131, notes 116 and 135).

48. E.g., "Hit were more gladnesse to me for to suffren for þe alle maner passiouns. ȝee and to ben al to-rent to þe deth./ ȝif þat shulde be more worshep to þe./ þan for to han any gostly delite or swetnesse þat I myȝte han in þis life or in heuene ȝif þat were not so plesaunt to þi wille ne to þi worshep" (Ch. 36, Kane 181.19-24).

49. *Interrogatio* tends to be decorative rather than dialectic, as in the series which structures Ch. 7: "who was pore in spiriȝt & in flesshe but ihesu criste...who wepid but crist," *etc.* (61.12-62.20).

[Chapter 16: In Sight of the Delectable Mountains: English Writings at Thurgarton, Pages 199-225, Cont.]

50. "O amor et desiderium cordis, o dulcedo et suavitas mentis, o ardor et inflammatio pectoris, o lux et claritas oculorum, o aurium pulchra symphonia, o hostia Deo patri odorifera, o melliflua gustatio fluxus sanguinis, o amantissima palpatio lateris, o anima mea, o vita mea, o viscera cordis mei, o medulla ossium, vegetatio carnium, sensificatio organorum, intellectus inspiratio et exultatio mea! Cur ergo non sum conversus totus in tuum amorem?" (Peltier, ed. *Sancti Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, Vol. 12, Pars II, Cap. II, 665a-b).

51. The translator creates some of the doublets, e.g., Ch. 23, Kane 123.22-123.1; Ch. 36, 180.15.

52. E.g., Ch. 2, Kane 20.22; Ch. 3, 23.24-25.

53. E.g., Ch. 1, 7.1-16; Ch. 2, 22.4-7; Ch. 4, 29.11-12, 30.25-31.6; Ch. 9, 69.16-70.1; Ch. 17,109. 19-25; Ch. 36, 178.14-15, 181.13-17.

54. Imagery of drunkenness dominates Chapters 26 and 27, e.g., "And [the presence of Jesus, your spouse] shal fille þe with pyȝement of his swetnesse and make þe like drunken./ *but what he shal ȝeue þe aftir þis./ drunkennesse. bi asay þou maiȝte wite. ȝif he wool*" (Ch. 26, 133.8-11; italics again indicate Hilton's addition). The Latin reads: "Cum secum incipies delectari vel quietari, vino dulcissimo incipiet te potare" (Peltier, Pars III, Cap V, 680a). Hilton introduces the theme of the soul's drunkenness independently of the source in Chapter 34 (172, 22-24). Cf. also Ch. 37, 190.17.

55. Linguistic *excess* takes the form of piled-up superlatives, and emotive *excess* that of repeated references to joy, climaxing the marital and maternal imagery prominent throughout *Þe Prickynge*: "clenneste shewynge of loue vche of vs to odir hertliest. halsynges myrieste" (Ch. 39, 209.14-15); "As þe modir cherissheþ þe childe. so schal I counforte ȝou seiþ oure lorde. ȝe shulen be born in arms. & ȝe shul be cherisshed on knees" (209. 23-25; cf. Isaiah 66. 12-13). The chapter begins with an apology for linguistic inadequacy: "I shal telle þe blabryng as I can," (208. 23) which is later repeated with reference to 1 Cor. 2. 9 (210. 6-9).

56. In contrast with Hilton's earlier writings, the evocations of heavenly joy are here unlimited by Pauline reservations about the contemplative attainment possible in this life.

57. "In þis maner of wyse mai a man considere cristeȝ passioun þourȝe folwynge a soule is clansid & þourȝe compassioun hit is comforted & lyȝtned. þourȝe wondrynge hit is vp-reised. and þourȝe gladnesse hit is turned. in-to inward deuocioun. & þourȝe reste hit is onyd in loue of parfite contemplacyoun" (33.24-34.6).
The Latin is wordier, but also more measured in its rhetoric and claims: "Sic ergo circa passionem Domini debet esse imitatio ad purgationem mentis et dilectionem, compassio ad unionem et amorem, admiratio ad mentis elevationem, gaudium et exultatio ad cordis dilatationem, resolutio ad perfectam conformationem, quies et pausatio ad devotionis compositionem" (Pars I, Cap IV, Peltier 641b).

58. E. g., six things needed, to know what Christ suffered (Ch. 4); likening of the Passion to four impulses in the soul (Ch. 5); sevenfold rising into contemplation according to the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit (Ch. 7).

59. Sometimes such chapters employ long periodic sentences in the manner of Hilton's Latin writings, although even here lists tend to elaborate rather than advance discussion (Ch. 14, 91.14-92.92.4; Ch. 15, 101. 13-20).

60. British Library MS. Harley 2254 belonged to the Dominican nuns of Dartford Priory, Kent (Kane iv); MS. Bodleian 480 was in the possession of the Marquess of Dorset, *c.* 1500, after belonging to another lady (Kane vi-vii); Downside Abbey MS. Dartford was owned in the fifteenth century by the nuns of Dartford Priory (Kane ix); MS. Heneage 3084 probably originated at Syon or Sheen (Sargent 1977, 56-60). An English book of *Stimulus Amoris* is mentioned in the will of Agnes, widow of Sir Brian Stapleton of Carlton in Yorkshire, proved 1 April 1448 (Bazire and Colledge 38). Indications of manuscript ownership dated after 1500 are exclusively male (Kane v, vii, viii, x, xiv), with clerical and landed bibliophiles predominating. Their interest in *Þe Prickynge* was polemical or materialist, diverting the text, as the women owners had not, from its devotional and contemplative purpose. Ingenuous male responses culminated in a comment appended in a nineteenth-century hand to *Þe Prickynge*, Ch. 38, in MS. Borthwick (now Yale University MS. 223): "This book is all damned nonsense. Hugh Montgomery" (fol. 98v; Kane x).

61. Meech and Allen 39. 24; 143. 25-34; 153.37-154.10. Since Margery refers to "Hyltons boke," presumably *The Scale*, but to "*Stimulus Amoris*" rather than the English title, the priest who read to her may have paraphrased a Latin text without recourse to *Þe Prickynge*. Clark points out that the quotation from an English version of *Stimulus* in Margery's *Book* (154.2-9) does not correspond to the equivalent passage in *Þe Prickynge*, but that her amanuensis may have decided its form ("Walter Hilton and the *Stimulus Amoris*" 105).

62. After following *Stimulus* by quoting St. Gregory to the effect that love of others' salvation is charity, and the sacrifice most pleasing to God (Ch. 6, 51.6-8), the translator adds the reassurance: "& ȝif þou mai not preche and teche. ne shewe to hem oþere dedes of mercy & of pite. þou may preie for him & wepe for hem & do þat þou may. & þat suffiseth to þe" (52.5-8). The advice is applicable to male as well as female religious and laity, but the phrasing recalls the caveat on women's teaching in 1 Tim. 2.12.

63. Ch. 4, 34.19-24; Ch. 6, 39.11-13, 41.1-13; Ch. 15, 102. 22; Ch. 16, 105.13, 15, 25; Ch. 17, 109. 10; Ch. 20,116.20-21; Ch. 21, 117.25; Ch. 23, 125.12-16; Ch. 28, 157.8-10, *etc.* See further endnote 55 above. Marital imagery in *Þe Prickynge* repeats the standard ecclesiastical feminisation of the soul derived from the gender of *anima* (e.g., Ch. 6, 50.19-24). Chapter 34 develops the theme of Christ as wooer of the soul from the perspective of the forsaken body, a theme embroidered by additions in the English text (171.3-5, 7-11; 172.2-6, 11-21). An addition by Hilton in Chapter 35 promises that the redeemed soul and body will marry Christ in heaven

(176.17-19). This is the historical Augustinian resolution of Origen's hatred of the body (Astell 4-5). Bynum supports an interpretation of nuptial imagery as "feminising," by showing that it was particularly popular in works for nuns (1982, 141).

64. E.g., Ch. 10, 75.25-76.1; Ch. 32, 163. 12-24 and Ch. 38, 201.21-24. Hilton embellishes with colloquial detail, and adds a maternal dimension to the source's depiction of God as a father, wisely caring for diverse children (Ch. 28, 140.24-141.10). In Chapter 37 he introduces independently an image of Mary caring for the sinner: "as a modir. wiþ hir owne childe þat kisseþ hym with hir mowþe. & with hir handis makiþ clene his taylende" (191.2-4). He further extends associations of Mary as a mother feeding her children in Chapter 38 (198.21-23).

65. Bynum states: "There is no evidence that women were especially attracted to devotion to the Virgin or to married women saints. (Indeed there is some evidence that they were less attracted than men.)" (1982, 141). As an important exemplification of the "feminization of religious language" from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (135-46), *Stimulus Amoris* seems to be an exception to this.

66. E.g., address to the heart (Ch. 2, 17.16-18.2); the sinner's dialogue with creatures (Ch. 6, 54.17-57.1); address of sinner to Christian (Ch. 6, 60.10-61.9); the body's complaint and the reply of God the Father (Chs. 34 and 35).

67. E.g., Ch. 23, 124.16-18; Ch. 32, 164.9-165.1 and Ch. 33, 168.11.

68. The feminisation of Christ's body is less advanced in the Latin: "donec perveni ad intima viscera charitatis suae...tunc dignatur me servum suum intra viscera sua comportare....Sed certe, etsi me pepererit, debebit sicut mater me lactare uberibus...portare brachiis..." (Pars I, Cap. I, Peltier 634a).

69. Ch. 36, 182.16-18 and Ch. 38, 190.15. Cf. Bynum 1987, 59-60, 156.

70. Ch. 3, 23.8-9; 24.15-16; 25.20-26.4 and Ch. 32, 165.11-24. The commentary on *Salve Regina* prays repeatedly to the Virgin in these terms, with emphasis on her breasts and womb. One of Hilton's many additions in this commentary (Ch. 38, 199.7-14) rejects the "masculine" poetic attitude of courtship towards the Virgin, exemplified in Rolle's *Canticum Amoris*. This is nevertheless approved in the text as translated (Ch. 38, 205.24-25).

71. Ch. 1, 9.11-13; cf. Ch. 37, 189.8 and Ch. 38, 200.4-6. This assumes the mediæval medical view of breast milk as processed blood (Bynum 1982, 132; Ash 86).

72. Ch. 11, 82.15-16; Ch. 12, 86.9-11 and Ch. 30, 157. 7,10. Even the exclusively "masculine" prerogatives of "techynge or prechynge or in schrifte-herynge./ & counseilynge" are conceived of in terms of the "feminine" metaphor of gathering up Christ's blood, scornfully trodden underfoot (Ch. 20, 116.13-17).

[Chapter 16: In Sight of the Delectable Mountains: English Writings at Thurgarton, Pages 199-225, Cont.]

73. "Ceertis lady syþ hit so is þat þou art sterre of þe see./ I coueite ay whiles I lyue to been in þe see" (Ch. 37, 194.18-20). The soul joins with baby Jesus in sucking from "hir swete pappes" (Ch. 34,173.10-11; Ch. 38, 200.2-6). Hilton also introduces references to Jesus as "welle of wisdam" (Ch. 17, 110.12; Ch. 36, 185.4; Ch. 38, 205.21), after following the Latin in translating "well of pite" (Ch. 13, 91.5).

74. E.g., Ch. 1, 12.14-16; Ch. 2, 15.23-24. McEntire (52-53) cites further passages, two of which are Hilton's additions: Ch. 7, 62. 22-23 and Ch. 23, 124.6-9. Fluidity is also associated with the fire of love, which melts a hard or dry heart: "hit leueth þe propre place & rennyþ in-to ihesu criste as metal molten in þe fire" (Ch. 17, 108.20, 109.2-3, 110.1). Hilton likewise embroiders this metaphor: "vn-ȝeueþ as wax a-ȝen þe fire" (Ch. 17.108. 23). Chapter 29 develops a lengthy analogy of Christ as the sun of righteousness, whose heat has varied effects on humans, including melting hearts like wax or water (147.15-18, 148.12-18).

75. "Hic talis et tantus prae fervore, et amoris *magnitudine vel immensitate*, non multum, *ut credo*, distingueret inter gradum et gradum, vitam et vitam, statum et statum, personam et personam, *tempus et tempus*, locum et locum; sed quocumque modo, *et quacumque hora* discernere posset quid amplius suo Creatori placeret, statim perficere conaretur, toto animi affectu *tendens in Deum*. Quanto enim creaturae ad Deum magis reducuntur, tanto sibi vel inter sese mutuo amplius uniuntur. Omnino ergo communicans, id est, ad unum commune omnia reducens,...et in uno Creatore conjungens (quod verum est, cum universa in Deo collocat, et solum Deum in omnibus intuetur)....O felix talis, qui cum activa contemplativam haberet! quia sic Domino ministraret, ut Martha, ut tamen a pedibus Domini non discederet cum Maria." (Pars II, Cap. VII, Peltier 670b-671a; italics indicate omissions in the English).

76. Cf. an added reference to fulfilling vocation, "Fulli as þi degree askith" (Ch. 18, 112.11), after committing all into Christ's hands.

77. A long passage added to Chapter 16 both validates active life and instructs actives in contemplative practice, with a view to deification, thus summarising the central radical doctrine of *Mixed Life* (105.10-108.9; cf. Clark 1984, 100). A translated passage in Chapter 18 advocates cultivation of the divine presence *between* the dichotomies of tribulations and recreations, backbitings and praisings, pleasings and reprovings *etc.* (111.19-23).

78. Sometimes, in a manner which temporarily disrupts Ash's view that devout women subconsciously merged them, Christ's body is posed antithetically to human flesh: "& him liked more. for to halse þe most stynkande carion of fleshe. þenne þe souereyn godenesse and þe endeles swetnesse. of godde" (Ch. 6, 55.6-8). Cf. Ch. 9, 73.1: Ch. 10, 75.10, and Ch. 36, 177.5-6, 178.1-2, 179.3-4. Hilton expands this imagery independently at Ch. 6, 39. 25 and Ch. 12, 85. 24-86.1. Additions to Ch. 37 (190.22-191.2, 193.11-13) contrast theVirgin's purity with the "stink" and "chains" of sin and fleshly love. Cf. also Ch. 38, 196.22-23.

79. E.g., Ch. 35, 175.1-176.22.

80. E.g., the notion that conformity to Christ's Passion primarily involves destruction of sin (Ch. 4, 27.13-28.4).

81. E.g., the distinction between physical and spiritual sins (Ch. 28), and the advice to hate sin, and not one's own nature (Ch. 15), and to avoid self-judgment (Ch. 13, 90.21-91.2) and judgment of others (Ch. 8, 66.2-6). Added passages explicate "accidie" (Ch. 28, 140.2-5) and pride (Ch. 13, 89.14-21; Ch. 29, 152.24-153.2; Ch. 30, 154.1-4, 11-15 and Ch. 38, 4-10).

82. Ch. 4, 26.20-27.11; Ch. 15, 95.16-23; Ch. 38, 198.15-16 and 207.14-20.

83. Hilton's addition uses the citation to exemplify a false application of scripture by a proud contemplative bent on usurping the apostolic authority to judge others' sins (Ch. 28, 139.14-18). Later in the chapter he extends this in a long, careful exegesis based on *Stimulus* (144.2-18).

84. Virtues: Ch. 9, 70.2-6; Ch. 36, 180.22-25; charity: Ch. 1, 9. 20-21; Ch. 11, 83.6-11; Ch. 12, 86. 9-14; humility: Ch. 1, 11. 13-16; Ch. 6, 49.8-9; Ch. 9, 71.12-15; Ch. 13, 87.1-2 and 88.15-16; Ch. 24, 126.19-21; Ch. 25, 128.23 and 131.12, 15-18; cf. Clark 1984, 89-91.

85. Ch. 1, 8.22-23; Ch. 13, 87.4-10, 13-15. In the latter context Hilton nevertheless refers independently of the Latin to "þis settynge of þi herte", "þis ri3tynge of herte", phrases which fuse feeling and intention.

86. Hilton's addition at Ch. 27, 135. 9-16 contradicts *Stimulus* (translated 16-19), by stating that the second, total spiritual drunkenness is less subject to deception than the first. (*Stimulus*: "Et quamvis non sit necesse timere de prima, sed potius sit gaudendum, tamen de secunda, quae consistit in quadam admirabili dulcedine cordis, semper securum est dubitare." Pars. III, Cap. VI, Peltier 680b). Hilton much extends James's repetition of the standard warning, "quia diabolus transfigurat se in angelum lucis" (19-21, 23-25). The most subtle of the Christocentric additions points out: "þou3e þis swetnesse be of criste. neuerþeles hit is not criste" (136.21-22). Cf. the account of the "midday fiend"in *Qui Habitat* (ed. Wallner 21.5-23.12).

87. "Cur ergo tardatis per sui corporis foramina in illud gaudium introire?"(Pars I, Cap. I, Peltier 634b) Cf. similar added references to godhead, Ch. 1, 6.19-20 and Ch. 4, 30.14-15. Kirchberger comments on Hilton's apparent reluctance to reproduce the language of deification found in *Stimulus* (*Goad* 30), but Clark shows that manuscript tradition hardly supports any softening of this language in Hilton's version (1984, 85).

88. E.g., in the case of a reader perhaps discouraged by inability to live up to the text's exemplary devotion (Ch. 4, 28.4-19). A typically optimistic coda appended to Chapter 11 answers a question tending to despair by referring to Jesus as life and salvation (84.8-11), while an independently developed medical analogy in Chapter 22 counsels patience when reception of the sacrament is not attended by a sense of grace (122.14-123.2). In Chapter 32 the advice takes the form of brief encouragement familiar from *De Imagine Peccati*: "dispeir not" (165.25-

166.1; see above, Ch. 14). The additional conclusion to Ch. 33 repeats advice against self-judgment, as tending to despair (170.7-17), while Ch. 37 transmutes the Latin equivalent of "i shal not dreden" ("non timebo" Pars III, Cap XIV, Peltier 693) to "þou I drede I shal not ouerdreden" (195.5). Hilton further revives this favourite theme in Ch. 38, 197.16-17 and 200.25-201.3, where the Virgin provides the antidote to despair. The prayer for discretion in judgment appended to Chapter 28 is similar (145.24-146.1).

89. Such as exemplary renunciation of knowledge of Jesus's "privitees" (Ch. 9, 71.12-14).

90. Ch. 4, 31.15-22, Pars I, Cap. IV, Peltier 640b; cf. Ch. 13, 89.5-6. An anti-Jewish addition occurs in Ch. 7 (62.17-20). A later added passage justifies God's righteousness in respect of heathens (Ch. 37, 187.23-188.1).

91. E.g., Ch. 7, 61.13-14; Ch. 10, 78.4-5. Also translated from *Stimulus* are warnings against heresy (Ch. 28,142.9) and brief and extended discussions of the sacraments (e.g., Ch. 36, 182.16-19, 183.5-10), but also a plea for purification of clerical office (Ch. 20, 117.7-13). Additions refer to the sacraments of penance (Ch. 6, 54.12-17) and the Eucharist (Ch. 5, 35.19-20), once implying support of transubstantiation (Ch. 36, 184.18-185.5; cf. Clark 1984, 102-103). An added exegesis of the creation of Eve from Adam's side as a parallel to the Passion repeats the standard identification of the spouse with Holy Church (Ch. 6. 47.23-25), in a unique departure from identifications with the individual soul elsewhere in *Þe Prickynge*.

92. Cf. the near demolition of this basic dichotomy in Hilton's addition, which states that practice of God's presence during outward activity, "myȝte brynge a man to mykel grace./ whether he were in degre of actif life or of contemplatife" (Ch. 10, 77.17-19).

93. Directed specifically against "þe fendis temptacion" (152.25), this advice undergoes lengthy elaboration in Chapter 29 (153.3-14). However Hilton places the caveat that solitary and contemplative external states are in themselves more pleasing to God than active life or life in congregation, always providing that charity is equal.

94. The passage recommends that a contemplative should view the dignity of prelates as manifesting God's dignity, the curiosity of scholars his wisdom, getting and spending his goodness, deeds of pity his charity, judges his righteousness, and slowness of prelates in punishing sinners his mercy (Ch. 28, 143.5-22).

95. "Ne attendas magnitudinem alicujus, quia illum reputa esse magnum, qui approximat Deo, et tanto meliorem vel majorem, quanto amplius approximabit. Quae enim perversitas facit servum diaboli timere, et magnum reputare, et filium Dei adoptivum contemnere, *jam arrham patriae possidentem*? Vesania est nimis magna" (Pars III, Cap. VIII, Peltier 683a). Hilton omits the italicised phrase, which could be understood as implying predestination.

[Chapter 16: In Sight of the Delectable Mountains: English Writings at Thurgarton, Pages 199-225, Cont.]

96. The goal underlying human relationships is "for to seken in vche creature with gret ȝernynge þe lovynge of god" (161. 22-23; italics show Hilton's addition). Consequently, God is to be obeyed in "þi prelate þouȝe he were þe vileste and þe werst man þat is" (162.20-22). Brief additions by Hilton rebuild boundaries and the Church's authority by applying the argument to the heresy of the Free Spirit, with more specific identification than in *Epistola de Leccione* (*Þe Prickynge*161.9-13; 162.10-14; cf. Clark 1984, 102, and Ch. 15 above).

97. Cf. Kirchberger *Goad* 15, 141, 170, 201 and Clark 1984, 82-83.

98. E.g., in the added advice to suck from his wounds the sweetness of grace (Ch. 1, 6.7-9), or in the added notion that the wound in Christ's side is the "sprynge welle" of pity (Ch. 6, 51.10-11). Chapter 5, which consists largely of an expansion on the Latin, instructs Christians to open "þe mowth of þyn herte. & lete þis blood droppe in-to þe marowe of þi soule" (35.16-18).

99. Hilton's single independent resumption of the speaking position of teacher, preacher and confessor simultaneously renounces the authority of these roles, by retaining a first-person plural form of address and implying an audience of brother-preachers: "*we* nameli þat han power & auctorite of spekynge and of prechynge" (Ch. 20, 116.25-117.1).

100. Ch. 1, 9.13-14 and 11.16-22; Ch. 9, 70.8-18; Ch. 11, 79.7-8 and 84.8-10; Ch. 14, 93.20 and Ch. 22, 121.21-24. Cf. Kirchberger *Goad* 42-43.

101. Ch. 38, 202.2, 9-10. Cf. Kirchberger *Goad* 206.

102. Examples include the comment on the holy man who preserves emotional equipoise: "þis is a seelden seen brid in oure erþe" (Ch. 18, 112.2; cf. Ch. 31, 158.9-10, Kirchberger *Goad* 171); the notion of resting in Christ's heart, "as in þi bed-stede" (Ch. 23, 124.18-19); the comment on "turning into Christ": "ȝif þou were wel a-visede þou shuldest renne to þis bargeyne-makynge in al haste" (Ch. 24, 127.14-16).

Chapter 17: The Country of Beulah: Late Letters, Pages 226-36

1. Russell-Smith 1954, 211-14; see further Clark and Taylor, Vol. 2, 245.

2. The letter testifies to a friendship over years between writer and recipient. Hilton states that he has fervently desired Thorpe's conversion, and that its delay frequently afflicted his heart (25-28); he points out that "carnal friends" counselled him against renouncing the advantages of his legal knowledge, and that they are likely to give similar advice to Thorpe (260-69); he says further that he partly knows Thorpe's disposition, "ex diutina conuersacione" ("from long-continued interchange" 884).

[Chapter 17: The Country of Beulah: Late Letters, Pages 226-36, Cont.]

3. *Firmissime Crede* is sometimes referred to in critical commentary as *Quantum ad Futur*[*um*], the opening phrase of the two component fragments as preserved in Cambridge University Library MS. Dd iv 54 (see Clark and Taylor, Vol. 2, 299). Clark's notes (441-42) list passages probably adapted from *Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo.*

4. They include the prodigal son (33-48), divine fire (58-69) and the fire of fervent desire (210), drunkenness on the wormwood of worldly fortitude (97), the yoke of worldly love (71) and the Lord's yoke (118-27), taking off the old man and being reclothed in the new (140-42), the wedding garment of charity (1000-19), labouring in the Lord's vineyard (160-65), the darkness of ignorance (178-79), awakening Christ from his sleep in the boat of the soul (236-46), the poison of sins (269-71), the fountainhead and rivulets of sin (494-501), sold as a slave to sin (814), bearing the image of the old man, Adam, or the new man, Christ (995-99).

5. Defined as opposed forms of relationship with the unchanging good which is God, and as ordinate and inordinate love (349-60, 495-97; cf. notes, Vol. 2, 337).

6. Lines 70, 768-77, 943, 942-45, 964-66.

7. Lines 559-60, 577-85, 599-609, 915-18. "In omnibus modum serua" ("Keep measure in all things" 554; cf. 588-89).

8. Thorpe's conversion following illness and imprisonment (8-11, 248), his status as lawyer and prebendary (264-65, 278-79, 628), his fear of poverty (280-81, 892-95), proposal to enter a religious order (884-90), and the impediments to his (or a friend's) payment of a financial restitution (915-18, 946-49).

9. "The Latin style of the canonists is dull and repetitive in comparison with that of the scholastic philosophers and theologians" (Gilchrist 250).

10. E.g. "Tunc ultra, si uotum emisisti aliquod per quod Deo obligareris, aut est fatuum et irracionabile in se ex ipso principio; aut est racionabile in se sed tamen non est racionabiliter emissum, sed ex malo instinctu, uel uanitatis, uel leuitatis uel consimilis; vel eciam est racionabile in se et eciam racionaliter emissum in principio, sed modo deuenit ad irracionabile et iniustum si solueretur ut permissum est: et in omnibus hiis casibus non obligatur vouens ad implendum quod promisit, sed uel liberatur, uel peniteat de temeritate pro eo quod stulte et precipitanter vouit, quia Deus, ut predixi, fatua obsequia non acceptat" (782-90).

"Then, further, if you have published any vow by which you have obligated [yourself] to God, either, by the same principle, it is foolish and irrational in itself; or it is rational in itself but not published rationally, but rather from a bad impulse, either of vanity or lightmindedness or something similar; or even, it is rational in itself and, in the beginning, rationally published, but now tends to [produce] what is irrational or unjust if it is fulfilled as [present circumstances] permit; and in all these cases the one who makes the vow is not bound to fulfil what he has promised, but either is released, or he may repent the temerity of what he foolishly and hastily vowed, because God, as I said before, does not accept foolish [acts of] submission."

[Chapter 17: The Country of Beulah: Late Letters, Pages 226-36, Cont.]

11. These occur alongside his more typical appeals to the authority of Sts. Augustine (654) and Gregory (661-63, 723), and the unspecified "ecclesie vox" (710).

12. E.g., "Non desperes: manus enim medici est qui tangit vlcus cordis tui" (193-94: "Don't despair, for it is the physician's hand, which touches the sore place in your heart"); "Mordet enim eos intus consciencia vrens velut ferrum fixum in vulnere" (480-81: "For conscience gnaws them within, burning like steel fixed in a wound"); "Quid enim tam efficax emplastrum ad curanda omnia vulnera cordis, necnon ad purgandam mentis tue aciem, quam Christi uulnerum meditacio sedula?" (563-65: "For what plaster is so effective in curing all the wounds of your heart, if not in purifying your mind's sharpest insight, as assiduous meditation on the wounds of Christ?"); see further, 195-200, 289-91, 338, 412, 502-09.

13. Lines 981-91; note on 401 ff. This is a thoughtful development of the Biblical analogies of eagles often introduced in Hilton's perorations, cf. *Epistola de Leccione* (468-69, Ch. 15 above) and *Þe Prickynge* Ch. 36, 177.14.

14. E.g., "fortitudo miserabilis" (96: "miserable fortitude"); "fortitudine perniciosa" (101: "destructive fortitude"); "Rumpatur ergo pax mala cum diabolo et fiat discordia bona" (221: "Therefore may the bad peace with the devil be broken, and let there be good discord").

15. "For God is not verbal, but real, and hope ought not be placed in forms of words; nor does he attend to much-speaking when someone offers him a pure heart" (451-52). The emphasis is sustained throughout the discussion (425-67). Hilton contrasts simple penitents, who can hardly speak, or can only weep for their sins, or cannot even weep, with others who pour out an ornate rigmarole, but do not always receive the effect of the sacrament (468-83).

16. "But I abandon the shadow of falsity to heretics."

17. Bazire and Colledge comment on the "beautifully legible" copying by the scribe of *The Chastising of God's Children* and *A Pystille* in British Library Additional MS. 33971, producing work "such as other readers could well use." Other manuscripts containing *The Chastising* have links with Carthusians and with the nuns of Syon (38-39).

18. Edmund Colledge cites instances of gender adaptation for changed recipients in Rules and other works of spiritual guidance in Latin and English (1979, 150-52). Additions to *Eight Chapters on Perfection* in Bibliothèque Nationale Paris MS. Anglais 41 accommodate female readers. *A Pystille* adds emotive details to Hilton's account of the penitent Magdalen: "bot whyle sho washe his fete, wyped, anoynted, & *kyssed* þam, hyr-self was washen and wyped fro all synne, and sothely sho was anoynted be grace & *kyssed by parfite peese bitwene God and hyr* (92-96, *Epistola* 375-77; italics show the additions). It also expands Hilton's Gospel analogy for Christ's forgiveness, the healing of the paralysed man (*Epistola* 505-507), with female examples: "He sayde to Mary Mawdelayne: Þi faythe has made þe safe, and to ane-oþer womman: Þi faythe is grete, be it done to þe as þou wyll" (235-37). The closing blessing (380-82) suggests that the translator was a priest.

19. E.g., *res* and *sacramentum* are repetitively defined (104-105, 141-42, 143-44, 204-05); the "nod" ("nutus" 391) accepted as a sign of repentance is interpreted - "in a dome man" (113-14); and an added analogy rejects the offering of verbal prayers, as if God were an earthly lord (173-75); Nathan's words to David are paraphrased: "Þat is to say, [oure Lorde] has forgyuen þe" (213).

20. E.g.,"Alsso þou art taryed & temped so as many newe turned are..." (*A Pystille* 44) replaces Hilton's oblique reference to a personal failing of Thorpe's: "Sunt enim nonnulli consciencie scrupulose nimis timidi atque pusillanimes..." (*Epistola* 599: "For there are some, over-scrupulous in conscience, timid and faint-hearted..."). *A Pystille* omits, "Istud dicis, quia nondum veritatem vides, nec firmiter adhuc credis" (*Epistola* 516: "I say this, because you do not yet see the truth, nor thus far do you firmly believe it").

21. *A Pystille* prefers emotive and devotional over abstract or theological terms, perhaps in further perceived adaptation to a female readership. In a parallel to the famous "Christocentric" scribal revisions of *Scale 1* (Underhill 1923, xliv-xlv; Gardner 1936, 16-28; Clark and Dorward 55), "Oure Lorde" or "Thesu" regularly replaces "Deus" (*Epistola* 348, 450; *A Pystille* 56-57, 165) or "Christus" (*Epistola* 372, 453, 455; *A Pystille* 88, 167, 171). "Incommutabili bono, scilicet Deo" (350, cf. 355) is simplified as "God vnchaungeabyll" (59, cf. 63), and Hilton's assertion that God is real, not verbal, is omitted (cf. *A Pystille* 166). "Mens" is translated as "hert" (*A Pystille* 64, *Epistola* 355), and references to "hert" (*A Pystille* 68, 99-100) and feelings ("þe luf & þe lykynge" 60, "þe hele of blys" 108) are extended or added. *A Pystille* repairs a notable omission of *Epistola* by applying maternal imagery to the Church (131, 135). Unlike *Epistola*, *A Pystille* habitually refers to "*Haly* Kyrk" (130, 131, 135, 152, 192).

22. E.g., doublets ("trubulde and taryde" 5) translate adverb/adjective ("ultra modum anxiatus" 331), or noun/abstract genitive ("mirkenes and blyndenes" 19, "tenebre ignorancie" 341). Single adjectives are transformed into doublets ("olde or customed" 90, "ab antiquo moliti" 373), and existing doublets become triplets ("any consayle, remedy or comforth" 51, "concilium uel remedium" 605-06). The cliché, "oft and fele sythes" (46-47), renders "frequenter" (601). "Or þe twynklynge of ane eghe," and "colde *as lede*" are added (89, 187).

23. These include a sense of remorse, doubts about circumstances omitted from confession, apparent failure to keep vows, judgments inflicted under canons or constitutions, and perjuries possibly committed against university or college statutes (30-35).

24. "Provided that you do not scorn them mentally."

25. Clark's note 64 (1983, 28-29) reveals "commonplace" connections between the theology of *Scale 1* and that of *Of Angels' Song*. More weight should be given to a point of theology on which *Of Angels' Song* agrees with *Scale 2* against *Scale 1* (Clark's note on line 31 f.), since it demonstrates the letter's adherence to Hilton's mature opinion.

26. "The angels are mediators or messengers; their essential characteristic is mobility; they pass from highest to lowest, from the terrestrial to the celestial and back again. They link what has

been split by patriarchy - the flesh and the spirit, nature and gods, the carnal and the divine, and are a way of conceptualising a possible overcoming of the deadly and immobilising division of the sexes in which women have been allocated body, flesh, nature, earth, carnality while men have been allocated spirit and transcendence" (Whitford 158, citing Irigaray's lecture, "Sexual Difference," 173-74).

27. Hilton answers questions addressed to him by a friend, in speech "and als-so be tellyng of another man" (2).

28. Such deceptions betray themselves by foregoing abandonment of reading, meditation, and acknowledgment of sin, and by following heresies, false prophecies, presumptions, boastings, blasphemies and slanderings.

29. The passage repeats "Iesu," as in the practice enjoined. Imagery of nourishment, honey and song, enhanced by alliteration, contribute to the poetic *excess* (156-62).

30. The ambiguity of "trouthe" is attested to by an explanatory scribal addition, "and in faythe," to two sixteenth-century texts (Takamiya 5 and 24). Allchin translates accordingly (vii).

31. The resounding conclusion to *Of Angels' Song* appears to have been as ideologically significant in the fourteenth as in the twentieth century, in that it probably initiated an intertextual dialogue. An apparent refutation, validating feeling over the prideful deceits of "kunnyng," concludes *The Book of Privy Counselling* (Hodgson 171.26-172.2). Hilton too seems later to have clarified and extended his conclusion, in *Scale 2* (Ch. 41, 287, H 128v; see Chapter 18 below).

Chapter 18: At Home in the Celestial City: Last English Writings, Pages 237-64

1. Russell Smith 1954, 208-11; Clark "Monastic Elements" 248.

2. In 1958 Kuriyagawa published a transcript of *Eight Chapters* from Bibliothèque Nationale Paris MS. Anglais 41, compared with three other manuscripts (Hussey 1968, 212). Kuriyagawa's critical edition of 1967, which was also based on MS. Anglais, referred to seven further mediæval texts (xi-xii, xxxvi-xlv). Hudson's review of this edition (1969, 97) revealed the existence of three further texts unknown to the editor, and in 1971 Kuriyagawa published a revised critical edition, based on Inner Temple London Petyt MS. 524, collated with the eleven known partial and complete texts. The present study cites Kuriyagawa's revised text. In 1979 a hitherto unknown manuscript, subsequently British Library Additional MS. 60577, was found to contain Chapter 8, edited with textual variants by Takamiya in 1981 (142-49). In 1980 Kuriyagawa's 1971 edition was reprinted together with Takamiya's edition of *Of Angels' Song* under the title, *Two Minor Works of Walter Hilton*. Windeatt's edition of *Eight Chapters*, published in 1994 (137-48), usefully transcribes the authoritative early text in Lambeth Palace

Library MS. 472, modernised by Dorothy Jones in 1929. The modern textual history of this brief work is nearly as complex as the genealogy of the manuscripts!

3. E.g., *Eight Chapters* (66-67): "Doo thou that longeth to thee, and thi loued dere Iesu Criste shal wel doo that perteyneth to hym."; *The Cloud* (ed. Hodgson 1958, 62.2-3): "& þerfore do on þi werk, & sekirly I behote þee it schal not fayle on hym [*i.e.* God]." *Eight Chapters* probably reflects the personified thought who disrupts dialogue in *The Cloud* (26.13-16), as well as the *Cloud*-author's play on "nouȝt" (122.2-17), in the following: "And thought the feend putte in thyn herte, that it is not that thou preiest, despise and defie hym with mouth and with herte and ever preie" (81-83). The preference in *Eight Chapters* for sobriety in contemplation over "queynte tokene of berynge of the bodi" (427-29) also recalls *The Cloud* (Chs. 51-53). Further points of contact are discussed below in endnotes 8 and 9. *Discretion of Stirrings* deals with both liberty of spirit (70.13-71.2) and, in depth, with the virtue of discretion, possibly in intertextual dialogue with *Eight Chapters* (see Chapter 13 above). The influence of Pseudo-Dionysius' theology of emanations evident in *Eight Chapters* (276-81) may have been conducted through the *Cloud*-author's *Denis' Hidden Divinity* (ed. Hodgson 1958, 7.17-23).

4. See Kuriyagawa 1967, 36 and 1971, 14. The terminology of the colophon, that the eight chapters "weren founden in Maister Lowis de Fontibus booke at Cantebrigge and turned into Englissh bi Maister Waultier Hiltoun de Turbaton" (Kuriyagawa 2-5), supports Clark's deduction, that the Latin original was "passed to Hilton at Thurgarton by a Cambridge friend," long after Hilton's departure from Cambridge (1985, 2).

5. Chapter 5 has a preamble which attributes the teaching on perils of "holy love" in direct speech to "A man that was holden a high livere," so far unidentified (285-86). This distances Luis and, following him, Hilton, from the chapter's contents.

6. Chapter 2 explains how to deal with spiritual dryness; Chapter 3 instructs on the choice of friends and spiritual guides; Chapter 5 is about governing spiritual friendships; Chapter 8 details the process by which a "good honest" love between devout friends can be corrupted by the flesh.

7. Hudson shows that a free rendering of Chapter 8 occurs in the long section on remedies for lust in the version of *Disce Mori* preserved in two Oxford manuscripts (1968, 416-18).

8. It includes advice on confession - to be made every day or at least every third day for the sake of humility (97-120)[1] - and an affirmation of "the lawe of Hooli Chirche" (224-25). MS. Anglais 41, which adapts *Eight Chapters* to include women as readers (Colphon and 502), adds a liberating proviso to the text's advocacy of full and clear confession: "if [thi confessour] be a wiis and a discreet and louynge leche, to ley to þi woundis helinge medicyns, and ellis not" (Kuriyagawa 1967, 81-83).

[Chapter 18: At Home in the Celestial City: Last English Writings, Pages 237-64, Cont.]

9. Chapter 1, which consists of only nineteen lines (Kuriyagawa 19-37), does not fulfil the intention announced in the title, to expound "tokenes" (plural) of love, since only the first token (19) is discussed. Chapter 2 concludes with an "Amen" (168). "The chapters are plainly not consecutive"(Underhill 1929, 906).

10. "Strengthe þe thanne not the lesse to preie" (57), "thorough continuance in preieres" (59-60), "Preie thanne continuelli" (73, 86), "leve neuer preier" (76-77), "ever preie" (83), "stifli preie" (93), "continuel orison[s]" (107, 113), "Bi continuaunce in preier" (142).

11. The *Cloud*-author's teaching on spiritual dryness is more profound, in the sense of assisting the reader to understand his or her deeper motives. Chapter 2 of *Eight Chapters* deals with methods for surviving the apparent withdrawal of grace, but does not offer the fundamental insight of surrender to the will of the beloved (*The Cloud* 58.16-20; *Privy Counselling* 169.9-17).

12. Lines 331-32 and 517-19. The apparently unhappy outcome of the attraction of the Sheen Carthusian, James Grenehalgh, to the Syon nun, Joanna Sewell, in the next century illuminates Rolle's and Hilton's concern with this issue (Sargent 1982, 22-26, 34). In fact, Rolle's view on particular friendship, as on so much else, responded to varying discursive pressures (see Ch. 6 above). The *Cloud*-author's view differs from both Rolle's and Hilton's. He accepts the inevitability and rightness of special friendships and loves, but maintains that a sacrificial general love for all, cognate with the work of contemplation, is higher (*Cloud* 60.8-61.7). However, he exemplifies both loves from Christ's life, highlighting his positive approach to the issue, in contrast with Hilton's in *Eight Chapters*. *Þe Prickynge* is more tolerant towards special "affeccioun" grounded in love of God, but also briefly foreshadows the warning in *Eight Chapters* (Ch. 19, 113.23-114.5).

13. Lines 220-36; cf. Clark "Walter Hilton and 'Liberty of Spirit'" 65.

14. E.g., "But bi the thridde [transfourmynge] is helid and yoten into the soule suche a wisdom and suche a deep knowynge, thorough that wondrefull medelynge and oonynge of Cristes light lightenynge and of the soule lightned that the soule is kenned bi the spirit of discrecion hou it shall be ruled and gouerne the loue that it hath in Crist..." (415-20, cf. 274-80). Imagery of light provides *Eight Chapters* with its single homely analogy, when it advises the reader to test those who claim visions and revelations against the mental presence of Jesus: "as if thou woldest take a thynge out of a myrke place for to knowe what it is; and leie it and loke it in the light" (190-91).

15. As Sargent shows, the description of contents written on the front fly-leaf of Lambeth MS. 472 "possibly" ascribes *Benedictus* to Hilton (1977, 49; cf. Wallner 1957, VIII). The same ascription is applicable to the two Psalm commentaries. An entry in the Index to the Catalogue of the brothers' library of Syon attributes to Hilton a collection of writings similar to that contained in the Lambeth manuscript (Sargent 1977, 61, note 3), but no corresponding entry remains in the Catalogue itself (Bateson 227; Clark "*Qui Habitat*" 254, note 2).

[Chapter 18: At Home in the Celestial City: Last English Writings, Pages 237-64, Cont.]

16. *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est* precede *Scale 1* and *Mixed Life* in the Vernon manuscript (Bodleian Library Eng. Poet. A. 1, 338v-353r). *Bonum Est* alone follows *Scale 2* and *Mixed Life* in British Library MS. Harley 2397, in a version closely related to that in Lambeth (Wallner 1954, XXI and XXX). The Psalm commentaries occur together under the same heading, but unaccompanied by other works by Hilton, in Cambridge University Library MSS. Hh.1.11 and Dd. 1.1 (Wallner XIV, XVII). MS. Takamiya 15 also contains both commentaries (Clark "Walter Hilton and the Psalm Commentary *Qui Habitat*" 254, note 1), but apparently no further works by Hilton. The manuscript discovered in Westminster Cathedral Library in 1955, which was copied about 1500 from a fifteenth-century florilegium (Walsh and Eric Colledge v-vii), contains abridged versions of *Qui Habitat*, and of *Bonum Est* as far as verse 5 (Wallner 1954, 65.10), followed by extracts from *The Scale*, overwhelmingly Book 2, and Julian. The compiler had "only one principle of selection: contemplative living" (Walsh and Eric Colledge viii).

    Benedictus follows works certainly Hilton's in Lambeth MS. 472. In MS. Newcastle it follows Rolle's *English Psalter* and *Canticles* (Eric Colledge 1939, 45-49; Wallner 1957, VIII). A seven-line fragment of the opening of *Benedictus* at the end of Walker-Heneage MS. 3084 (fol. 178) follows Þe *Prickynge of Love* and *The Chastising of God's Children*, both ascribed, the latter erroneously, to Hilton (Sargent 1977, 49-54, 57). Wallner traces a northern dialectal origin compatible with Thurgarton in the two complete texts known to him (1957, XVII), but provenance of the fragment in Walker-Heneage (Sargent 1977, 49) is indeterminate. External evidence for Hilton's authorship of *Benedictus* is weak, but not so weak as Clark represents it in his brief survey of contents and indebtedness ("*Bonum Est*" 21-22).

17. "It has been said that *Bonum Est*...is not by Hilton, because its author is following the Dionysian tradition. But the editor of our Florilegium not only juxtaposes the two Psalm commentaries but demonstrates quite firmly the uniformity of doctrine throughout the entire compilation" (xii). Phyllis Hodgson assumes Hilton's authorship of *Bonum Est* (1955, 397; 1967, 32).

18. Underhill 1929, 906; Wallner 1957, XLIV; Clark "*Bonum Est*" 21.

19. Like *An Epistle of Prayer* (54.20-55.13), *Bonum Est* (52. 14-53.10) develops St. Augustine's and St. Bernard's notion of the chaste lover of God (Clark, "Monastic Elements" 247) as one who loves God for himself and not for his gifts. It also employs a brief version of the metaphor of the ripe fruit of good words and works (*Bonum Est* 84.11-85.2) or of "reverent affection" (*Epistle of Prayer* 52.22-53.5), which God returns to his lover in the form of heavenly or contemplative joy (*Epistle* 57.16-18).

    Jones first noted resemblances between *Bonum Est* and *The Cloud* (xli). *Bonum Est* (62.2-6) approaches *The Cloud* (Ch. 34) in its account of a love of God finally independent through grace of a physical or verbal intermediary. The premise of *The Cloud*, that love, not knowing, attains God, is repeated in *Bonum Est* (64.1-3), together with the notion of "a meke vnknowynge," which at times is illuminated by knowledge of God's "priue werkes" (65.6-10, cf. *The Cloud* 62.14-17; Clark "*Bonum Est*" 18). The following phrase echoes both *The Cloud* (125.9-10) and *Discretion of Stirrings* (72.19-23): "wher knowyng fayleþ, þer loue hutteþ; þat at I knowe not,

þat loue I best (63.8-9; cf. Jones 167). In rejecting reason as a guide to God's "priue domes" (64.8-12), and also the academic habit of "arguen, disputen and askynge questions" over such issues as predestination (66.5-67.7), *Bonum Est* is closer to the *Cloud* texts (and to Rolle) than to Hilton. Hilton deals with "applied" rather than "pure" theology, but gives lucid answers to relevant questioning.

20. Shared themes include the ideals of disinterested love and service to God, without regard to peripheral or worldly blessings (*Bonum Est* 52.14-53.9, 53.7, *Qui Habitat* 46.11-47.5); devotion to the name of God or Jesus, contrasted with love of the world (*Bonum Est* 52.15-53.12, *Qui Habitat* 3.15-4.3, 43.16-9, 45.15-16); the view of bodily life as tribulation (*Bonum Est* 60.2-3, *Qui Habitat* 47.11-12); the words and works of Jesus in scripture as a basis for knowledge of God (*Bonum Est* 62.2-5, *Qui Habitat* 12.5-13.6); and the superiority of love over knowledge in contemplative practice (*Bonum Est* 63.8-12, *Qui Habitat* 49.10-15; cf. Clark "*Bonum Est*" 18). Both *Qui Habitat* (28.10-14) and *Bonum Est* (74.6-10) repeat the standard teaching that God shows mercy to the elect and justice to the reproved. Both quote St. Paul, using the phrase, "as þe Apostel seiþ" (*Qui Habitat* 1.3, 3.16, 39.2-3, *Bonum Est* 82.1-2, 85.9-10). Both frequently develop doublets or triplets alliterating on *w*: "will and work", "word and work", "in word, in will and in work" (*Qui Habitat* 4.13, 11.14, 13.7, 25.8, 30.2, 36.11, 46.12, *Bonum Est* 52.14, 53.12-13, 58.10, 62.4, 85.9-10). Both refer to devils as "unclean spirits" (*Qui Habitat* 36.17, *Bonum Est* 80.13, 82.6; cf. *Scale 2*, Ch. 21, 229, H 86r and elsewhere). Both favour the adjective, "reverent", before such nouns as "love," "dread," "meekness" (*Qui Habitat* 46.7, *Bonum Est* 91.6). Both apply the unusual verb, "croken," to misdirected love of the flesh or world (*Qui Habitat* 39.6, *Bonum Est* 91.3). Both reserve "sovereign" for references to God or grace in similar phrases which accumulate near the end of each work: "Wel I wot a miȝti þing it is & a souereyn good þing; and þerfore I schal hopen in him" (*Qui Habitat* 6.1-2); "ffor he þat knoweþ me þorwe þe liht of my grace ȝiuen to him as souereyn godnes, souereyn wisdam, & souereyn miht" (*Qui Habitat* 44.9-11); "I am Iesu, his sauiour, souereyn miȝt, souerein wisdam, & souereyn godnes" (*Qui Habitat* 49.17-18); "God is not onliche good, but [he is] souereyn goodnesse" (*Bonum Est* 91.12-13); "But he is goode and alle good and souereyn goodnesse" (*Bonum Est* 92.5-6).

21. Both introductions claim that the text selected is a prophecy inspired by the Holy Spirit (*Qui Habitat* 1.8-9; *Benedictus* Wallner 1957, 3.8-15). Rolle feels similarly obligated to explain his singling out of Psalm 20 for commentary (Dolan 1. 21-25).

22. This is on the ground that in *Scale 2* "night" refers, not to withdrawal of the feeling of grace, but to "the pain of growing into conformity with God's will as we pass from the false day of love of the world to the true day of love of God" ("*Bonum Est*" 17).

[Chapter 18: At Home in the Celestial City: Last English Writings, Pages 237-64, Cont.]

23. Despite the feeling of having been forsaken by God, the righteous man does not regress from the night to love of the world (*Bonum Est* 56. 5-8). *Scale 2* approaches the central application in *Bonum Est* when it points out that the spiritual darkness is especially painful when the touch of grace is not abundantly present, and that the darkness is an emblem of the wait for grace (Ch. 24, Clark and Dorward 236, H 90v).

24. "Hit schal schynen whon þe niht is passed ouer & þe ful day scheweþ" (*Bonum Est* 57.6-8; cf. *Scale 2*, Ch. 25, Clark and Dorward 238, H 92r, and *Epistola ad Quemdam* 181-85).

25. Cf. Riehle on variation in the forms of metaphors among texts (1971, 32).

26. *Bonum Est* 54.8, 54.17-55.2, 63.5, 81.6; *Qui Habitat* 4.7, 8.3, 22.13-14, 23.6, 26.9, 36.12-13, 37.2, 44.9-10; cf. Clark "*Qui Habitat*" 236.

27. Examples include the deep sea of God's secret judgments, where the rational inquirer sinks and drowns, but which the humble soul crosses safely (64.8-65.1); the smearing by covetousness of the palate which tastes spiritual food (67.6-8; cf. "Infectum est palatum cordis eorum ex febre iniquitatis" in *Epistola ad Quemdam* 79, and "To a clene soule þat haþ þe palet purified fro filþe of fleschly lufe, holy wryt is lifly fode..." in *Scale 2*, Ch. 43, 294, H 134r); the clinging together of the wicked like burrs (75.7-8); God's plenitude: "Not scarsly as a chinche, but plenteuusly as a liberal lord" (80.7-8).

28. Doublets, *Qui Habitat*: 18.3, 20.2, 24.2, 24.9, 28.3, 28.8, 30.3; *Bonum Est*: 55.6, 56.6, 71.3, 72.7, 90.8. *Bonum Est* refers to "þin ymage & þi liknes" (61.1), not merging the terms but preserving the Augustinian distinction fundamental to Hilton's early writings (Clark "Image and Likeness" 207-208). Triplets, *Qui Habitat* 36.14, *Bonum Est* 56.1, 73.3. Lists, *Qui Habitat* 48.6-8, *Bonum Est* 54.16-17.

29. *Qui Habitat* discusses temptations under five headings (15.4-23.8), and bases an argument on the four animals listed in verse 13 of the Psalm (40.11-43.6).

30. See Chapter 17, above. Both *Epistola* and *Bonum Est* include the notion of the penitent's "showing" himself, freed of mortal sin by contrition, to the priest and the Church. Clark notes the "common theological background" shared by *Bonum Est* and Hilton's known writings ("*Bonum Est*" 15-16), but in this instance the verbal resemblances are also close.

31. Exegesis of "domus Domini" (Psalm 92.13) develops beyond the basic identification with the Church established in the Lombard's *Gloss*, when it specifically excludes pagans, Jews and heretics from "atriis domus Dei nostri," or heaven (87.12). Cf. 76.12-14, 86. 14, 89.11-13, and *Scale 2* Chs. 3 and 6, Clark and Dorward 196-97, 200, H 65r-65v, 67v. (Psalms numbered 91 and 92 in the Vulgate and Authorised Version are numbered 90 and 91 in the *Gloss*.)

32. In *Bonum Est* the imagery is first developed in commentary on verse 7, where it exploits a secular *reverdie* motif to castigate the transitory pleasures of lovers of the world, who flourish green and fresh in their youth like hay, only to be suddenly cut down (69.1-6). The *Gloss* uses the verb-stem, "florentes," only once at this point, but *Bonum Est* goes on to describe such people as "florishing" later in life in "heore worschipes & reuerence, richesse and oþur fleschli murþus" (70.3-7): "Þei florischen as feire floures on þat on day, & on þat oþur day þei welewen & turnen in-to þe erþe aʒeyn" (71.10-11). The usage, based on Job 14.2 and other Biblical passages, was taken up by Malory in poignant passages of the *Morte Darthur* "...the moneth of May was com, whan every lusty harte begynneth to blossom and to burgyne. For, lyke as trees and erbys burgenyth and florysshyth in May, in lyke wyse every lusty harte that ys ony maner of lover spryngith, burgenyth, buddyth, and florysshyth in lusty dedis...Therefore, lyke as May moneth flowryth and floryshyth in every mannes gardyne, so in lyke wyse lat every man of worshyp florysh hys herte in thys worlde: firste unto God, and nexte unto the joy of them that he promysed hys feythe unto..." ("The Book of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere" IV, Vinaver 648-49; cf. "The Most Piteous Tale of the Morte Arthur saunz Guerdon" I, 673).

33. "Ffor riʒt as a horne wexeþ aboue þe flesche and passiþ alle þe tendirnesse of hit and torneþ into hardenesse vnfeleable, riʒt so þe body of oure lord whanne hit was reysed be myʒt of þe godhede, wexed abouen alle þe fleschli feelyng of deedlyed and of al suffreablenesse peynful, and hit is turned in-to a blisful hardnesse þat it myʒt þoole no peyne. Þis horn, þat is manhed glorified, is to vs alle heele and sauacioun, ffor þis blissed horn is ful of oyle of þe god-hede, oute of þe whiche horn comeþ doun to vs, þat ere ʒit fleschli, part of þat oyle of grace..." (Wallner 1957, 5.6-14).

34. E.g., 4.7-9, 5.11-15, 7.6-12, 8.4-5, 16.12-15.

35. The "brightness of spiritual light" (9.3), the "light of grace"(17.8-9, 18) and the "light of joy in the bliss of heaven" (17.10) emerge from the "dark prison of hell" (7.20, 10.18), the "darkness of hell" (8.16, 9.2, 9.12), the "darkness of sin" (17.2), and the "shadow of death" (17.2).

36. Commentary on verse 1 defines the righteous man as one who flees to the Lord's "house" for protection from the "storm" of temptation, and who "dwells" there with "ful wil & trewe entent to God" (2.7-4.3). This parallels the late manifestation of the same figure in the "winter hall" of *Bonum Est*. Both contexts deploy Hilton's favoured metaphor of "dwelling."

37. *Qui Habitat* refers to fears experienced by the newly-converted, "feble soule": losing the love of "fleschlych frendes," poverty or sickness caused by fasting, and the contempt of the worldly (15.8-16.7). These are addressed in *Epistola ad Quemdam* 260-91.

38. See Clark "*Qui Habitat*" 246. The summary deals with "left-hand" or bitter, and "right-hand" or pleasurable temptations.

39. "And callen hem ypocrites or ȝong seyntes & olde deueles. þei halde hem fooles and seyn þat þei schal neuere bringe to ende þat þei beginne" (9. 2-4). Cf. *Epistola ad Quemdam* 266-77.

40. Hussey mediated these views to a wider scholarly audience, reminding readers that *Scale 2* contains only two brief references to its predecessor, and noting only a generalised doctrinal correspondence with *Scale 1* (1964, 77).

41. As in *Scale 1*, frequent addresses and references to men *and women* readers somewhat mitigate masculinist biases and assumptions.

42. Ch. 21, 229, H 86r; Ch. 27, 245, H 96v and Ch. 39, 278, H 121r; cf. Russell-Smith 1957, 138-40.

43. Clark's researches confirmed Russell-Smith's discovery that, in contrast with Hilton's earlier works, *Scale 2* opened contemplation as a possibility for "every rational soul created in the image of God" (Clark and Dorward 53. Cf. Clark "Action and Contemplation" 266-69).

44. Yet other writers, notably Milosh (169-81) and Del Mastro (183-201), defend the structural and doctrinal integrity of the two books together against Gardner's and Hussey's textual discoveries. Their arguments assume an ideal of æsthetic unity, the relevance of which to mediæval literature has been strongly contested, especially with reference to Caxton's and the Winchester manuscript's representations of Malory's *Morte Darthur*. Milosh also rejects Hussey's conclusions concerning readership (181-83).

45. The early chapters possess the academic virtues of clarity and cohesion. The method simultaneously reinforces authority, supports belief, and reassures. Chapters 1-4 define reformation of the divine image in humans; Chapters 5-12 describe reforming in faith through outward observance; Chapters 13-19 reveal the state of worldly lovers, and hindrances to undertaking and attaining reformation of the image.

Rhetorical and scholastic structuring methods prevail. Chapter 3 divides those who are not reformed by the Passion into those (Jews and infidels) who do not believe in it, and those (false Christians) who do not love it. Chapter 4 distinguishes between full and partial reforming of the image. Chapter 5 subdivides partial reforming into reforming in faith and reforming in feeling. Chapters 6 and 7 deal respectively with baptism as remedy for original deformation of the image, and with penance as remedy for subsequent deformation by wilful sin, *etc.* Hilton's adherence to the Church as an institution mediating the divine will is evident in his view of the sacraments as ratifying God's forgiveness, or as actual instruments of grace (Chs. 6-8). Chapter 41 refers to actions "forbed of God & of Holi Kirke as dedly synne" (Clark and Dorward 289, H 130v).

46. Quotations are from the version of *Scale 2* in British Library MS. 6579, 63r-140r, as corrected, cited as H, with guidance on transcription, including punctuation, from Hussey's unpublished edition. As with *Scale 1*, cross references are given to Dorward's modernised text.

[Chapter 18: At Home in the Celestial City: Last English Writings, Pages 237-64, Cont.]

47. Chapter 7 defends sacramental confession to a priest against those who would oppose it (202, H 68v-69r; cf. Clark and Dorward 305, note 27). Heretics and "fleschly lufers" cannot bite the "gostly brede"of Scripture, because "here teeþ are blody and ful of filþe" (Ch. 43, 294, H 134r).

48. "For þei þat han þis knowyng on þis maner are ful of gostly pride and seen it not....Þei wene þat þe folwynge of here owne wil were fredam of spirit, and þerfor þei bigynnen to reynen as blake clowdes water of errours and heresies" (Ch. 26, 240, H 94r). Contrast the positive association of "fredam of spirit," with the "rest" and "softness"of the "lightsome darkness," exemplifying Hilton's recentring of the term within orthodox religion (Ch. 27, 242, H 95r). See further "liberte of spirit" as high attainment in contemplation (Ch. 42, 291, H 131v).

49. Chapter 16 solemnly warns those blinded by sin to consider their souls, "For þer is noþinge þat holdeþ hem fro þe pit of helle þat þei ne schuld astite falle þerinne, bot on bare sengle þrede of þis bodily lyfe wherbi þei hangen. What liȝtlier may be loste þan a sengle threde may ben broken on two?" (218-19, H 78v). Chapter 27 gives a theological slant to the warning in *Eight Chapters* against unconsummated "blynde luf þat is sumtyme atwix a man and a woman" (244, H 96r).

50. In an early article (1956, 133-37), Hussey contrasted Hilton's account of the three lives in *Mixed Life* with the complex indeterminacy of Dowel, Dobet and Dobest in *Piers Plowman*. In *Scale 2*, however, Hilton moves closer to Langland, and the book's subsuming of categories into the unity of desire for Jesus can now be interpreted as a symbolic deconstruction of the ideological boundaries underpinning social hierarchy.

51. The body functions as the instrument, the "trumpet" of the soul (Ch. 42, 291, H 132r).

52. Chapter 29 approves "counfortable heat and grete swetnes," weeping, and involuntary speaking, as "gostly fode sent fro heuen" to comfort those "begynnynge or...profitynge" (250-52, H 100v-101v). Chapter 30 distinguishes "herynge of delitable songe, or felynge of confortable hete in þe body, or seenge of liȝt, or swetnes of bodily sauour" from "spiritual feelings experienced in the powers of the soul," such as the Pentecostal fire (256-57, H 105r-v). Chapter 41 counsels indifference to bodily feelings, however comfortable, in favour of spiritual (287, H 128v).

53. The slothful, "forschapen into assis," are ready enough to run to Rome for worldly profit or honour (Chapter 15, 215, H 76v). *Scale 2* retains Hilton's somewhat unusual representation of the sins initiated in *De Imagine Peccati*, in which the three carnal sins are dealt with together, and covetousness is placed last.

54. "And ȝit doþ luf more, for it sleeþ accidie and fleschly ydelnes and makiþ þe soule lifly and spedy to þe seruice of Iesu; so fer forþ þat it coueitiþ ay to ben ocupied in godnes, namly inwarde in beholdynge of him, bi þe vertue of þe whilk þe soule haþ sauour and gostly delit in preienge, in þinkynge, and in al oþer maner of doynge þat nediþ for to be done after þe state or degree þat he stondiþ in askiþ, wheþer he be religious or seculer, withouten heuynes or peynful bitternes" (Ch. 39, 279, H 122r).

55. Ch. 39, 278-79, H 121v-122r. This is a marked advance on earlier texts. In *De Imagine Peccati* Hilton expresses self-hatred on account of gluttony (367-75). In *Scale 1* he advises against drawing legalistic distinctions between eating for need and eating for pleasure, under the umbrella of intention (Ch. 72, 144-45, C 344b-347a). His position in *Scale 2* has challenging implications for the entrenched institutional discipline of fasting.

56. E.g., at the beginning of Ch. 34, 263, H 110v.

57. See Clark "English and Latin in *The Scale of Perfection*" 175.

58. E.g., Ch. 7, on the necessity for confession to a priest; Ch. 19, 222 H 81r, "a skilful cause."

59. Clark points out a likely indebtedness here to *Privy Counselling* (Vol.1, 1995, 90).

60. In fact, by devoting two-thirds of his definitive work to the subject, "reforming in feeling," Hilton implicitly overturns the priority of "trouþ," in a procedure clarified in Chapter 41. Living in "trouþe" is explained as a recommendation of indifference towards bodily feelings only. Hilton advises readers to desire spiritual feelings of Jesus's love, the "opening of the spiritual eye" (287, 128v). *Scale 2* nevertheless retains the binary of "bodily" and "spiritual" feeling, and, unlike *The Cloud*, does not set feeling free from understanding (see Clark and Dorward 304, note 15).

61. The title, *Scala Perfectionis*, occurs only when both books appear together. Gardner argues that this fact and the separate occurrences of *Scale 2* "suggest that it may have been a separate work which was later put with the first book and the two together given the title of *Scale of Perfection*...which fits the work very badly" (*Medium Ævum* 1936, 14-15). Hussey states: "Half the manuscripts with Book II have the title, but other headings such as *de uita contemplatiua* (B.M. Additional 11748), *tretis drawyn of two lyues actyfe & contemplatyfe* (Harley 6573), *þe reformyng of mannys soule* (Harley 2397) and even *scole of perfeccion* (Magdalene) might conceivably represent their scribes' dissatisfaction rather than their ignorance" (1964, 79). Three of the fourteen Latin manuscript texts of *The Scale* have the title, *Liber de Nobilitate Anime* (Hussey 1973, 456-57). In the fifteenth century, when most of the surviving early copies of Hilton's writings were made, there was a vogue for "ladder" titles in spiritual books catering for the English laity (Keiser 152). However, Del Mastro justifies the scribal title, *Scala Perfectionis*, as capturing the "circular staircase" structure of the two books (183).

[Chapter 18: At Home in the Celestial City: Last English Writings, Pages 237-64, Cont.]

62. Cf. Thomas Traherne, *Centuries of Meditation* 2.12.

63. Dorward translates, "the freer it is *for* spiritual beholding," which sanitises the text in accordance with twentieth-century expectations.

64. Mark 2.1-12; Ch. 12, 212-13, H 74v-75r. Cf. *Epistola ad Quemdam* 505-507.

65. Cf. *Piers Plowman, C-Text,* Passus 19. 46-93.

66. Leclercq 1974, 68-70.

67. E.g., the analogy of the man whose sin blinds him to the spiritual sunlight which enfolds him (Ch. 16, 218, H 78v), and that of three men standing in sunshine, exemplifying different degrees of spiritual blindness and sight (Ch. 32, 260-61, H 107v-108r).

68. Ch. 21, 227, 228, H 84v, 85r; Ch. 22, 230-32, H 87r, 87v, 88r and Ch. 23, 233, H 88v.

69. The recommended simplicity of focus recalls the *Cloud*-author's advice to respond to distracting thoughts with a single sentence: "sey þou þat it is God þat þou woldest haue. 'Him I coueite, him I seche, & noȝt bot him'" (Ch. 7, 26.16). The personifying of thoughts, and even the terminology: "*drawe doun* þi þouȝt and þi desire fro þe luf of Iesu" (Ch. 23, 233, H 89v) recall dramatic scenarios in *The Cloud.* See further, Clark 1996, 63-64.

70. Strengthened negative judgments of book-learning in *Scale 2* may further reflect Hilton's acquaintance with *The Cloud* (Ch. 43, 296, H 135v-136r).

71. "For whi, his vois is so swete and so miȝty þat it puttiþ silence in a soule to iangelynge of alle oþer spekers" (Ch. 40, 281, H 123v-124r). Jesus's secret sayings are further identified, following St. Gregory, with the "hidden word" of Job 4.12 (Ch. 46, 302, H 139v-140r).

72. The treatment of prayer in Chapter 42 symbolises Hilton's transformed understanding. In contrast with authoritarian support for recitation of the Hours in *Epistola de Leccione,* and the schematisation of Church and individual prayer in *Scale 1,* vocal repetitions of the paternoster and psalms are now prayed, paradoxically, "in ful grete stilnes of voice": "For grace helpiþ þe soule wel, and makiþ al þinge liȝt and esy, þat it list riȝt wel to psalmen and syngen þe louynges of God with gostly mirþe and heuenly delite" (289-90, H 130v). The distinction between Rolle's individualism and Hilton's centring on the Church as foundation and guide in contemplation nevertheless continues in the contrast between Hilton's final empirical validation of liturgical singing, raised into transcendence, and Rolle's impatience with it because it disturbed *canor.*

73. Hilton states only that he *may* never have been at Jerusalem (Ch. 21, 227-28, H 85r).

SECTION 3: The Limits of Language: *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Its Companions

Chapter 19: Introductory, Pages 266-79

1. Writing in the early seventeenth century, Father Augustine Baker esteemed *The Cloud* "an excellent book." Dom David Knowles extended the tradition founded by this judgment in a seminal article, entitled "The Excellence of *The Cloud*" (1934): 71-92.

2. Page and line references to the *Cloud* group are to Hodgson's E.E.T.S editions of *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling* (O. S. 218, 1944, rev. 1958), and of *Denis' Hidden Divinity, The Study of Wisdom, An Epistle of Prayer, An Epistle of Discretion of Stirrings*, and *A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits* (O. S. 231, 1955, rev. 1958).

3. Cf. Will April 1992, 104-105 and July 1992, 190-91.

4. The sequential appearance of Rolle and the *Cloud* texts reproduces a pattern inherent in the origin of negative theology as a "second phase activity," which reacted against the exuberant confidence in language as a medium for philosophical inquiry characterising the first great phase of Greek thought from the Presocratics to Aristotle (Mortley 5).

5. *Cloud* 73. 15-16; 78.17; 79.14-15; 82.13-14; 123.16-18. The metaphor as used in *The Cloud* lacks precise patristic sources, but see further Clark 1996, 154-55. *Scale 2*, Ch. 41 (Clark and Dorward 285, H 129v), refers to "an heuy lumpe of bodily corupcioun" which hangs on the soul, translating a sentence from St. Bernard cited by Clark (155).

When a list of the seven sins is given near the beginning of *The Cloud*, its purpose is to alert the apprentice to the initiation of deadly sin in venial thoughts (36.23-37.20). Sin is more often referred to in terms of its single point of origin in humanity and in the individual: "þe grounde & þe rote of synne" (38.15-16). Later the author advises against "any specyal beholdyng" of sins, whether venial or mortal, pride, wrath, envy etc. (78.10-12). This exemplifies his preference for concentrating on the simple inner origins of complex outer actions. Hilton refers often to the "ground" of sin, but, unlike the author, usually in relationship to particular sins manifested in thought or action. The collapse of the categories of sins in *The Cloud* is the most iconoclastic of the fourteenth-century revisions of the concept, including Wyclif's, dealt with in Bloomfield's survey (160-201).

6. E.g., *Qui Habitat* promises protection against spiritual enemies to the newly converted reader, "ʒif þou stonde stiflich in þi purpos"(Wallner 25.6-7), while *The Cloud* explains that such imagery, as in St. Stephen's vision of Christ standing (or lying or sitting) in heaven, has primarily a "goostly bemenyng" (109.2-26).

7. As indicated above in the General Introduction, the *Cloud*-author's reservations about language also resonate with post-structuralist insights. Denys Turner writes that "certain quite contemporary developments in Western thought, associated with 'post-modernism', contain a revival of that awareness of the 'deconstructive' potential of human thought and language which so characterized classical mediaeval apophaticism" (8, cf. 272-73).

8. In 1871 Collins printed a modernised version of Baker's early seventeenth-century text of *The Cloud*, together with Serenus Cressy's abridgment of Baker's version of *Privy Counselling*. For background, see Spearitt 293-94.

9. Johnston suggests that the author's care in choosing words stems partly from a desire to save his writings from ecclesiastical condemnation, but primarily from "a horror of leading people into error" (1975, 6-7).

10. Clark summarises the facts as follows: "As to the identity of the *Cloud*'s author, the internal evidence of his writings indicates that he was a priest, dedicated to the contemplative life, and recognised as a spiritual director. He was a competent theologian, with a good knowledge of patristic and monastic literature, who knew at any rate some elements of the teaching of St. Thomas" ("*The Cloud of Unknowing*," ed. Szarmach 273).

11. This is indicated by MS. colophons, e.g. to *The Form of Living* in MS. Longleat 29, dated to the first half of the fifteenth century: "Tractatus Ricardi heremite ad Margaretam de Kyrkby Reclusam de vita contemplacione" (Ogilvie-Thomson xxxvi). Most striking is the signature formed by the last line of *Canticum Amoris*: "Virgo quam cecini, animam sublima Ricardi" (Wilmart 148) - "Virgin whom I have sung, raise up Richard's soul."

12. Englert elucidates this crucial point: "The tradition of *The Cloud* is profoundly respectful of the person and considers the person's own true desires as the criterion of inner development. In no way is the subject encouraged to embrace a cloud of unknowing as a flight from himself. We are told by the author of *The Cloud* that as one 'advances to the higher degree of the active life (which merges with the lower degree of the contemplative life) he becomes increasingly interior, living more from the depths of himself and becoming, therefore, more fully human.' Only after the aspirant becomes more fully himself does the *Cloud*-author advise him to 'transcend nature'" (1982, 536). Cf. Grady 2.

13. *Discretion of Stirrings* elaborates *The Cloud*, Ch. 42, to meet the requirements of a recipient who is probably not the disciple addressed in *The Cloud*. Both disciples are young (*Cloud* 20.19; *Discretion of Stirrings* 67.6).

14. The main emphasis of *The Cloud*, Chs. 10 and 11, is on the need to free the contemplating mind from thoughts. However a subsidiary theme, developed further in Chapter 11 of the Latin text in MS. Bodleian 856, is that of rightly discerning the spiritual import of thoughts as they arise, especially those which might lead to venial or mortal sin. *Discretion of Spirits* offers further assistance on this secondary issue.

15. *A Treatise of Discretion of Spirits* is made up of sections of close and expanded translations from St. Bernard's *Sermones de Diversis* 23 and 24, and of original sections (for details see Hodgson's notes *Deonise Hid Diuinite*). Some of the *Cloud*-author's distinctive terminology occurs in the original passages, but applications are different. For example, the soul is described as having been washed "nakyd and bare" by confession (91.11-12), but *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling* typically refer to "a naked entent vnto God" (*Cloud* 17.2, 28.8, 58.15-16, 70.21-22

etc., Privy Counselling 135.20-21, 136.1-6, 147.11). "Steryng" has multiple referents in *The Cloud* and *Discretion of Stirrings*, most memorably an identification with the whole contemplative task: "a sodeyn stering, & as it were vnavised, speedly springing unto God as sparcle fro þe cole" (22.6-8). In *Discretion of Spirits* this word is linked more simply with a thought leading to sin (91.6-7). Furthermore, *Discretion of Spirits* defines freedom as freedom from sin obtained through confession (90. 7-11), while *Discretion of Stirrings* refers to the "fredom of Christ" (70.23-24), which is destroyed by vows which commit the contemplative to "singular" austerities.

16. Some of these arguments, for example that *The Study of Wisdom* occurs together with *Cloud* texts in only four of its thirteen manuscript exemplars, were suggested by Hodgson (1982 xiv). Clark supports Ellis's view (Ellis 1994, 317, note 31; Clark 1995, Vol. 1, 9-10).

17. Among the unstated links between texts whose authorship is unquestioned is the brief discussion in *An Epistle of Prayer* (51.21-52.6) of the validity of ascetic practices, which is the central topic dealt with in *Discretion of Stirrings*. The fact that *Discretion of Spirits* also mentions this issue (86.2-6) is an argument for including it in the *Cloud*-author's canon.

18. E.g., Chapters 63-66 of *The Cloud* summarise the key faculties allegorised by Richard: Will and Reason, Sensuality and Imagination, in *The Twelve Patriarchs*, though not from a section selected for paraphrase in *The Study of Wisdom*. *The Cloud* states that deception can occur when these and their activities are not understood (119.14-16). *Privy Counselling* (150.10-15) refers to the death of Rachel at the birth of Benjamin, the event which forms the climactic conclusion to *The Study of Wisdom* (45.2-9, 46.13-14). Somewhat tendentiously, Hodgson traces a parallel pattern of ideas in *An Epistle of Prayer* and *The Study of Wisdom* (*Cloud* 1958, lxxxv-lxxxvi). The gaining of discretion, or discrimination, is a central theme of both *Discretion of Stirrings* and *Discretion of Spirits*, and is traced in detail in *The Study of Wisdom*, where it is symbolised by the birth of Joseph.

19. Modern English texts of *The Cloud* are as follows: Underhill 1910; McCann, 1924; Progoff, 1959; Wolters, 1961 and 1980; Johnston, 1973; Walsh 1981 and 1988; and Way, 1986. For translations into languages other than English, see Kocijancic-Pokorn 1995, 78.

20. Casey's *Towards God*, a popular introduction to Western contemplative thought and practice, published in 1989 and revised in 1995, quotes from *The Cloud* more than from any other source. The title reproduces the primary focus of *The Cloud* on the divine. Omi's *The Cloud: Reflections on Selected Texts* is a "devotional and reflective commentary "(1989, 11), applying the author's teaching to modern spiritual needs. Cf. also Cummings and Finch.

21. Johnston defends human reasoning (*logos*) and the concept of absolute truth, which he sees the *Cloud*-author as validating, against Zen's rejection of dualistic logic (22).

22. "Little Gidding" cites, "With the drawing of this Love and the voice of this Calling" (*Cloud* 14.19), as an introduction to the hopeful ending of the whole poem (*Collected Poems* 222). Eliot commented on his quotation of this "beautiful line" and lines from Julian of Norwich, in a letter to John Hayward: "Juliana and *The Cloud of Unknowing* represent pretty well the two mystical extremes or, one might say, the male and female of this [14th century] literature" (Gardner 1978). Sister Corona Sharp finds further influence of *The Cloud* in *Four Quartets* (269, 274).

23. Huxley's account of *The Cloud* in *Grey Eminence* is circumspect and balanced, although he implies that the author was not interested in current metaphysical hypotheses (63). That Huxley was privately contemptuous of the traditions behind *The Cloud* emerges in a letter to Matthew Huxley, dated 15 April, 1959: "*The Cloud* and some of the sermons of Eckhart are the most valuable things, I would say, that have come down to us from the Middle Ages---blessedly free from the rigmaroles of dogma, superstition, absurd allegorizing and pedantic rationalizing which make most mediæval literature so unprofitable and indeed so utterly unreadable. The thirteenth-century German and the fourteenth-century Englishman contrive, in some almost miraculous way, to be almost timeless" (Smith 867). Zaehner critiqued what he regarded as Huxley's failure to pay due regard to differences between traditions, and between mystical and psychedelic experiences (xiii and *passim*).

24. "It was only in later generations that the Roman Catholic Church recognised the legitimacy of [the *Cloud*-author's] direct, personal approach to religious experience and gave it official sanction and encouragement" (Progoff 21-22); "But soon we realize that the references to the Bible, to Jesus, and to the nature of God have only transitory significance" (27).

25. E.g., by Honda (1981), Aitken (1981), Katherine Watson (1982), Corless (1986) and Smart (1992).

26. The following passage exemplifies the tone of Cardiff's article: "But one sees what Mr. Huxley is about. He is (quite unconsciously) altering the emphasis in *The Cloud*'s doctrine. Mr. Huxley admires the Catholic mystics, but (since the truth must be told) only for those things in which he thinks they agree with him. The main matter of their minds simply does not interest him; and he has little difficulty in persuading himself that it does not really interest them" (311).

27. Where Clark argues that a key contrast between the author and Richard is found in the latter's "very Augustinian emphasis on 'illumination' of the intellect even in this life" (90-91), Minnis states that Richard's "progressive system of affirmative knowledge, governed by reason and intellect, culminates in a dark night of unknowing in which the normal processes of reasoning and intellection are transcended" (1982, 68). Richard's allegory of the death of Rachel (Reason) at the birth of Benjamin (Contemplation) in *The Twelve Patriarchs* supports Minnis.

28. For Carthusian sources, see Hodgson *Cloud* 1958, lxxvi; 1982, xlv-xlix; Walsh 1981, 19-26; Lees, Vol. 2, 311-60 and Minnis 1982, 71-72. Clark's line-by-line commentaries on *The Cloud* (1996) and *Privy Counselling* (1995) convey the complexity of the theological traditions on which the author draws.

29. Cf. Clark "Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology" 1992, 11. The difficulty of precise attribution is demonstrated by Hodgson's argument for an influence on *The Cloud* from *De Adhærendo Deo* (*Cloud* 1958, lxiv-lxvii), now attributed to Johannes von Kastl, which Clark disproved on chronological and other grounds ("Sources and Theology" 1980, 107-108).

30. "With the exception of the obvious translations, it is usually impossible to be sure of any immediate source" (Hodgson 1982, xxix).

31. E.g., Clark (1980, 98, note 64; Vol. 2, 1996, 200-201) finds a precise source in Bernard for, "For þe hiȝe & þe nexte wey þeder [to heuen] is ronne by desires, & not by pases of feet" (*Cloud* heading to Ch. 60, 10.15-16; 112.13-14). However, the parallels in Augustine and other writers (also cited by Clark), and the currency of Augustine's metaphor of the "foot of love" (*Incendium Amoris* Ch. 23, Deanesly 210.12-14; *Cloud* 14.13-15; *Privy Counselling* 147.3-5; *Scale 1* Ch. 27, Clark and Dorward 99, C 299b; *Þe Prickynge of Love* Ch. 21, Kane 118.2; *Qui Habitat*, Wallner 39.1-9) reveals that the notion was widely disseminated. Its neatness makes it memorable, and the author may not have known it in Bernard. The freshness of the author's related experiential metaphors of stepping (26.9) and treading, which pervade *The Cloud* (Clark, Vol. 2, 1996, 54), is more noteworthy.

32. E.g., *Cloud* 13.9, 30.1, 130.16, *Privy Counselling* 137.24-25, and *Discretion of Stirrings* 69.15-18. The author's claims are either false modesty, which seems uncharacteristic; or examples of the rhetorical figure of *diminutio*, which would coexist uneasily with his praise of genuine humility; or true. The passage in which he refers to the appearance of the devil, with one nostril, to disciples of necromancy suggests a certain simplicity of outlook (*Cloud* 103.3-14). Hilton applies the same interpretation, derived from St. Gregory, of the septum as discretion in *Epistola de Leccione*, again in the context of the devil's fire (217-220; notes 407). Such congruences support the argument that mutual oral influences were as powerful in shaping Hilton's texts and the *Cloud* group as deliberate recourse to the Fathers.

33. This is less unlikely than it may appear. Huxley's experiments with mescalin, as described in *The Doors of Perception* (1954) and *Heaven and Hell* (1956), seemed to open the door to an chemical mysticism divorced from moral effort, faith, and love, even though it is clear from these and other works that this was not his intention. Huxley nevertheless made a lasting impression as a religious iconoclast and rebel. The negative possibilities inherent in misreading *The Doors of Perception* were corrected by Zaehner (xii). As recently as 1992 Gregg responded to a need to refute Progoff's "psychological reading" (204-206).

34. Gatta summarises objections as follows: "More serious objections [to the apophatic tradition] have been raised in recent years by those who see *The Cloud*'s neo-Platonic roots as basically incompatible with Christianity. For such critics, apophatic theology involves an implicit denigration of the created order, including the Incarnation. The method by which practitioners of the *via negativa* seek union with God, they charge, deliberately circumvents the Church's sacramental and corporate life. They believe that because negative theology lacks this wholesome context, it inevitably neglects the concrete and social dimensions of Christian life,

and leads to an impoverished social theology. Said to be narrowly individualistic and escapist, negative mysticism would seem to be more a Plotinian "flight of the alone to the Alone" than a fully Christian journey into the Body of Christ" (94-95).

David Lonsdale, S.J. is typical of the critics referred to. He argues that the apophatic tradition, and specifically *The Cloud*, down-plays the roles of the imagination and knowledge in prayer and "the social, structural and political dimensions of spirituality" (160-61).

35. Englert makes this point in less conventional terms: "[*The Cloud*] is not a collection of images having a doctrine or doctrines expressed by images, but an introduction to games that are themselves a kind of non-doctrine. The doctrine is to play the game, and the game is hiding from any such thing as doctrine...Our conclusion is that the author's spiritual letter is not to be taken 'seriously'. It is certainly not to be designated a spiritual doctrine" (1985, 10). Cf. Smart: "The author of *The Cloud* is a devout and orthodox Christian, but even from within tradition there are forces that make a mystic go beyond doctrines" (112).

36. For the Areopagite's reception in the pre-mediæval period, see Pelikan (11-20). Hodgson traces his assimilation to Church tradition in the Middle Ages (*Deonise Hid Diuinite* 118-19). Minnis (1983, 324-25), Leclercq (Luibheid and Rorem 1987, 25-32) and Boenig (1997, 21-32) shed further light on this. However, Lees states that Sarracenus and Gallus were motivated to translate and comment on the Dionysian *corpus*, partly out of a desire "to establish beyond question its total accord with orthodox Christian theology" (Vol. 2, 181). Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Dionysius was not, therefore, fully acceptable. Kirchberger credits "popular forms" of his teaching on the Continent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with tending to "endless confusion, and false thinking, heresy, misery and downfall" (*Goad*, 34). His thought was a major source for Eckhart, whose writings were condemned by the Church after their author's death in 1327 (Boenig 1997, 32-33). Leff claims that Pseudo-Dionysian "pantheism" and Neo-Platonism initiated the heresy of the Free Spirit in the thirteenth century (1967, 309-310). Froelich discusses reception by Protestant and Catholic scholars, following the exposure at the Renaissance of Dionysius' claim to nearly apostolic authority. While some twentieth-century scholars place Dionysius' works in orthodox tradition, for example "as the end point of Patristic mystical theology" (Louth 1981, 159), others continue to question his orthodoxy (Pelikan 17-21; see further Sparrow-Simpson 214-219). Presa argues a list of philosophical objections to *De Mystica Theologica* (146-48).

37. *Cloud:* "I charge þee & beseche þee...what-so-euer þou be þat þis book schalt haue in possession, ouþer bi propirte ouþer by keping, by bering as messenger or elles bi borowing..." (1.8-11).

Scale 1: "Also þese wurdes þat I write to þe, þei longe nouȝt alle to a man wilk haþ actif lif bute to þe or to on oþer wilk haþ þe stat of lif contemplatif" (Ch. 92, 160, C 361b).

The restriction of readership at the beginning of *Privy Counselling* (135.1-12) is briefer and less defensive than those in *The Cloud*.

38. E.g., Eric Colledge 1961, 79-80; James 210-11. The author's caution concerning readership complies with Augustine's advice that the preacher should not expound selected difficult passages of Scripture to the people, for fear of misunderstanding, but that he is duty-bound to preach "the truth which we ourselves have reached" to those capable of understanding it, "whatever labour in the way of argument it may cost us" (*De Doctrina Christiana*, 4.9, Shaw 682, col. 2). Albert the Great, who states in his commentary on *De Mystica Theologica* that this book "is open only to those who have prepared themselves for divine doctrine" (Minnis 1983, 334), may have been a more immediate model for the author than Augustine. Clark traces the limitation of readership in general terms to a sentence prefaced to *De Mystica Theologica* (1996, Vol. 2, 3). The *Cloud*-author's forcefulness lends a new colouring to all of his predecessors' admonitions.

39. Clark 1980, 84; 1996, Vol. 2, 220. Hilditch takes issue with Clark's tendency to down-play Pseudo-Dionysian, in favour of Augustinian, influence on *The Cloud*. She regards the former as providing the "spirituality" and "philosophical framework" of the author's work, and the latter as "superficial," and concerned with theology (59, 69).

40. "& trewly, who-so wil loke Denis bookes, he schal fynde þat his wordes wilen cleerly aferme al þat I haue seyde or schal sey, fro þe biginnyng of þis tretis to þe ende (125.13-15). The author goes on to commend his book to those with ears to hear, or who are inspired to believe, "for elles scholen þei not" (125.20-22). Defensiveness is again obvious, enhanced by appropriation of the prominent Biblical quotation (Matt. 11.15, 13.9, 43; Mark 4.9, 23, 7.16; Luke 8.8, 14.35).

41. *The Cloud* asserts, with some bravado, that the examples of perfect love given by Mary in the Gospel accord fully with "þe werk of þis writyng, as þei had ben set & wretyn þerfore. & sekirly so were þey, take who-so take may" (55.23-56.2).

Chapter 20: Approaches to *The Cloud*: Liminality and the Divine, Pages 280-90

1. Estimated from Hodgson *Cloud* 1958, ix-xvi; and *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, x-xvii; *Cloud* 1982, xiv-xvi; Clark 1989, Vol. 1, 2 note 5, and 1996, Vol. 1, 104-105. The popularity or otherwise of the *Cloud* group was once a contentious issue (Eric Colledge 1961, 79), but Lees's conclusion is accurate: "[*The Cloud*] was not widely and generally known, but was for the most part studied and respected in the sort of narrowly religious contexts to which its content is appropriate and of which its author would have approved" (Vol. 2, 437; cf. 418, 422-37). Kocijancic-Pokorn endorses this conclusion in an essay published in 1995 (63-67).

[Chapter 20: Approaches to *The Cloud*: Liminality and the Divine, Pages 280-90, Cont.]

2. Sargent states: "Although some of the houses, notably London and Sheen, were founded or expanded for greater numbers, it is improbable that, at any time in the Middle Ages, there were ever more than one hundred and seventy-five professed Carthusians in England" (1976, 240). This confirms earlier estimates by Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, Vol.2, 134. Numbers and prosperity were severely affected by the Plague (Walsh 1981, 8). Knowles attributes the new foundations to "the will of the founder" - the king or someone closely related to the court circle - but also points out that "The new charterhouses undoubtedly attracted or inspired vocations of a high type" (*ibidem*).

3. "M.N." made the translation in the middle to late fourteenth century, annotating selected passages with a defence of Marguerite's orthodoxy. Continuing Carthusian interest in the book is attested to by Methley's Latin translation of "M.N"'s version in 1491, which is preserved in the one of the manuscripts containing his Latin translation of *The Cloud* (Colledge and Guarnieri 357-58, 373-74). Methley's additions in Latin to his exemplar of *The Mirror* demonstrate a continuing Carthusian affinity with the doctrines of Pseudo-Dionysius.

4. Dionysius uses two different Greek words for "darkness" and "mist," represented in Sarracenus and Gallus by "tenebræ" and "caligo" respectively (Lees, Vol. 2, 249-51). The author translates both with "derknes" in *Denis' Hidden Divinity* (2. 20, 4.25), and irregularly pairs metaphors of cloud and darkness in *The Cloud*. The cloud metaphor has a more material substance in the author's works than in *De Mystica Theologica*. The author warns against any tendency to over-visualise cloud and darkness early in his use of the images (*Cloud* 23.13-24). In a simpler usage based on Gregorian tradition, Hilton identifies the inner experience of sin with the "merknes of vnconyng" (*Scale 1*, Ch. 53, Clark and Dorward 124, note 237, C 325a).

5. Commentators have not noticed this source for the metaphor of the cloud, which was suggested by Elizabeth Perkins.

6. In the long tradition of allegorical exegesis of the Book of Exodus beginning with Philo, Moses's encounter on Mount Sinai symbolises the height of contemplation (Danièlou 215, 225-26). References in Psalms 18.11 and 97.2 to God in clouds or darkness may be general sources for *The Cloud*.

7. Cloud imagery in *Qui Habitat* (Wallner 22.14-23.6), recurring in *Scale 2* (Ch. 26, 240-41, H 93r and v) may, in its turn, follow the example of *The Cloud*.

8. Cf. Cixous' essay, "Tancredi Continues," ed. Sellers 37-53; and "The Laugh of the Medusa," which contains her definition of *écriture feminine*:

[Chapter 20: Approaches to *The Cloud*: Liminality and the Divine, Pages 280-90, Cont.]

"To admit that writing is precisely working (in) the in-between, inspecting the process of the same and of the other without which nothing can live, undoing the work of death - to admit this is first to want the two, as well as both, the ensemble of the one and the other, not fixed in sequences of struggle and expulsion or some other form of death but infinitely dynamized by an incessant process of exchange from one subject to another. A process of different subjects knowing one another and beginning one another anew only from the living boundaries of the other: a multiple and inexhaustible course with millions of encounters and transformations of the same into the other and into the in-between, from which woman takes her forms (and man, in turn: but that's his other history)" (ed. Marks and de Courtivron 254).

Kocijancic-Pokorn compares and contrasts the cloud of unknowing, "which joins everything and nothing, which unites all opposition," with Derridean *différance* (1997, 414-18).

9. It is interesting that Muriel Spark's fiction has used the undermining of dichotomies in *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling* to attack phallogocentric "certainties" (Glavin 223-24).

10. Examples of word-play in *The Cloud* are :
   "Lat us first see what preier is propirly in it-self, & þer-after we mowe cleerlier knowe what worde wil best acorde to þe propirte of preier" (77.1-3).
   "& who-so felid neuer þis sorow, he may make sorow, for whi he felid ȝit neuer parfite sorow" (84.1-2).
   "& ȝit hem þink þat alle þat euer þei do, it is for þe loue of God...Now trewly I hope þat bot ȝif God schewe his merciful miracle to make hem sone leue of, þei schul loue God so longe on þis maner þat þei schul go staryng wood to þe deuil" (98.13-17).
   Hodgson lists puns, some based on *adnominatio*, or repetition of the roots of words (*Deonise Hid Diuinite* liii, 141, note on 84.6-7).

11. "Coriouste of witte" (*Cloud* 23.17, 73.12, 85.14, 91.13; *Privy Counselling* 137.23, 147.14); "for boldnes & presumpcion of þeire corious witte" (*Cloud* 96.4-5); "þe corious questions of þi sotil wittys" (*Privy Counselling* 147.2); "þe sotil seching & þe corious fantastic worchyng in his wilde wantoun wittis" (*Privy Counselling* 160.5-6).

12. E.g., "here fantastik ymagynatyue wittes" (*Denis' Hidden Divinity* 3.35, added by translator); "þi sotyle & þi queinte ymaginacions" (*Privy Counselling* 158.1-3, 13-16; 170.15-17); "fer lengþid fro any fantasye or fals opinion" (*Privy Counselling* 169.25). *The Cloud* presents the imagination as entrammelled in bodily (mis)understanding (94.22-24; 111.16-17) and as antithetical to love and the "werk" (22.16-19). Those who take it upon themselves to reprove others' faults are said to be guided, not, as they think, by God's love in their hearts, but by "þe fiire of helle wellyng in þeire braynes & in þeire ymaginacion" (102.15-17). The curious exemplum of the student of necromancy which supports this teaching (103. 3-21), is matched by heavy irony at the expense of those who are misled by the bodily Ascension, "for to streyne þin ymaginacion in þe tyme of þi preier bodely upwardes, as þou woldest clymbe abouen þe mone" (111.8-9). Such examples, which could easily be multiplied, testify to the author's free indifference to judgment by others and his commitment to forceful teaching.

Even Chapter 65 of *The Cloud*, which defines the imagination under a schema developed from *The Twelve Patriarchs*, neglects Richard of St. Victor's positive emphasis on the preparatory function of the imagination in spiritual ascent, to focus again on dangers and deceptions. Whereas the author forcefully adapts the imagination's production of unwanted images to the argument that a fantasy is a confusion of physical and spiritual cognition, Richard presents the talkativeness of the imagination as merely human: "Sed de garrulitate Balæ, et temulentia Zelphæ quis nesciat, nisi forte qui seipsum nesciat?" (*P. L.* 196:6A). ("But who does not know of the talkativeness of imagination and the drunkenness of sensuality, except someone who perhaps does not know himself?"). Cf. Minnis 1983, 341-42. The fact that *The Study of Wisdom* preserves and even enhances Richard's favourable attitude at this point therefore becomes a further argument against attribution of this work to the *Cloud*-author (23.11-25.2; cf. *The Twelve Patriarchs*, Chs. 14 and 18-24. *P.L.* 196:10).

13. In commenting, as the curriculum demanded, on the *Sentences*, "the desired aim was to be as creative and innovative as possible without incurring suspicions of heresy and possible condemnation" (Courtenay 47).

14. The Chapter is entitled: "How þei ben disseiued þat lenen more to þe coriouste of kyndely witte & of clergie leerned in þe scole of men, þan to þe comoun doctrine & counsel of Holi Chirche" (10.1-3). According to Chartrand-Burke, the author's disparagement of intellectuals flattered the laity: "Most importantly... it is hoped that *The Cloud*'s exercise will break the hold on mysticism enjoyed by the breakaway heretical communities and universities by bringing the would-be contemplatives back under the watchful eye of the church" (126).

15. In recommending that the disciple represent to himself that he will die before the end of his prayer, and to pretend that this single prayer, well prayed, will expiate all former heedlessness, *An Epistle of Prayer* insists that these are not pretences - "no feinid þou3t" - but genuine possibilities (48.3-49.21). Like a double reflection, insistence on reality can be seen to make pretence more playful, although this is less likely in *Scale 1* than in the *Cloud* texts. The *Cloud*-author refers to some of his advice as "childly and pleyingly spoken," and Englert develops the argument that his "pliant humor...is meant to drive us away from thoughts and memories which crowd the mind" (1985, 7-10).

16. E.g., "Lat hem sit in here rest & in here pley, wiþ þe þrid & þe best partye of Marye" (*Cloud* 55.5-6); "Bot euer whan reson defaileþ, þan list loue liue and lerne for to plei" (*Discretion of Stirrings* 72.22); and "þi list is likyng to pleye wiþ a childe," describing divinely-given enthusiasm for the "werk" (*Privy Counselling* 167.3).

17. The senses in which contemplative "trauayle" is yet a rest are further explained in a passage of question and answer which concludes *Privy Counselling* (172.2-18). *Discretion of Spirits* repeats the identification of God with peace, specifically respite from the plague of thoughts:

"For whoso lackiþ pees and restfulnes of herte, him lackiþ þe liuely presence of þe louely siȝt of þe heiȝe pees of heuen, good gracious God, him owne dere self" (84.19-85.2). *Þe Prickynge of Love* demonstrates similarly, in practical terms, that rest from contemplation is wearying, but that persistence is energising (Ch. 25, 128.21-20). Hilton's and the *Cloud*-author's texts nevertheless differ widely in their development of the underlying conventions.

18. Grady also understands the author's leaving behind of "debate" over "options" in terms of freedom: "What he is after is complete freedom of spirit in regard to everything created. It is a freedom that is less freedom-from than freedom-for, a certain suppleness of one's own spirit in following God's spirit" (2). *Scale 2*, which advises the contemplative to make the preserving of love the ground of moral choice, resolves dichotomised choice similarly, but with more emphasis on effort (Chs. 37-39).

19. Underhill describes this aspect of the Unitive Way: "This reproductive power is one of the greatest marks of the theopathetic life: the true 'mystic marriage' of the individual soul with its Source. Those rare personalities in whom it is found [a Paul, a Francis, an Ignatius, a Teresa] are the *media* through which the Triumphing Spiritual Life which is the essence of reality forces an entrance into the temporal order and begets children; heirs of the superabundant vitality of the transcendental universe" (1960, 432, cf. 430-34).

20. "A parfite worcher haþ no special beholdyng vnto any man by him-self, wheþer þat he be sib or fremmyd, freende or fo" (*Cloud* 59.7-9). Clark points out that the author's teaching "goes beyond" St. Thomas's in its merging of distinctions between persons in the life of charity (1996, Vol. 2, 128).

21. The discussion of "spiritual fecundity" in *The Cloud* and related texts is indebted to Egan's articles, "Mystical Crosscurrents," 12-14, and "*The Cloud of Unknowing* and Pseudo-Contemplation," 167-69.

22. "Lackyng" appears as "wantyng" in all manuscript sources except Hodgson's copy-text, MS. Harley 674 (Hodgson 1982, 49.1 and Clark 1996, Vol. 2, 178).

Chapter 21: Minimising Language in *The Cloud* and Related Writings, Pages 291-307

1. "The doctrine of *The Cloud* is highly distilled, or, as pseudo-Dionysius says, mystical theology should be, *minimam...et rursus concisum...et brevium dictionum*" (Emery 46).

2. To extend the Shaivite analysis further, I argue that the innovative passages "descend" from the offering of "a meek blynde stering of loue" in the singular space where individual subjectivity recovers its identity with ultimate reality. (Subjectivity is an illusion produced by discourse as, again, the limited and limiting aspect of *matrika*.) However the conventional

passages employ the faculties associated with "a proude, coryous & an ymaginatif witte" (*Cloud* 22.18-19), which operate in the multiple experiential field governed by economics and politics.

3. The justification which follows reveals that this is sincerely intended, not a rhetorical flourish featuring *diminutio*.

4. "That we neither assert nor deny; since the perfect and unique cause of all is above every assertion and above every denial, being that which, transcending all, is simply itself and above all things." Latin texts of Sarracenus and Gallus are as supplied by Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite* 94-99.

5. The author takes particular delight in small-scale parallel structures. For example, Chapters 13 and 24 contain a *distributio*, or division of the argument, into two parts: respectively perfect and imperfect acquisition of humility, and love of God and love of fellow Christians. Chapter 32 parallels the spiritual stratagems being taught with humility and charity, following a long discussion which balances these virtues against each other; and Chapter 40 offers parallel discussions of "sin" and "God" in prayer. Some chapters, e.g. 24, 46, and 61, conform to the standard plans of rhetorical argument (*dispositio*), which instructors like Basevorn developed from *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (cf. Walsh 1981, 69-70). The formal triads on reading, meditation and prayer in Chapter 35 are a restrained version of elaborate parallels in Guigo II's *Scala Claustralium*, a Middle English version of which is printed in *Deonise Hid Diuinite* 100-107 (cf. Clark 1980, 108, note 101).

6. *The Study of Wisdom* does not give the Latin for Biblical quotations, except at the end. Ellis considers the significance of internal quotations for the authorship of *Wisdom* (1992, 200-205), and points out that some may reflect scribal preference (202).

7. The annotator, probably Grenehalgh, of the copy of *The Cloud* in Bodleian MS. Douce 262 (*c.* 1500), also took this passage as evidence that the disciple did not know Latin (Walsh 1981, 187, note 243). In this he was followed by Gardner (1933, 143). Both Rolle (*Desire and Delight*, Ogilvie-Thomson 40.21) and Hilton (*Scale 1*, Ch. 15, 87-88, C 288a) use (some of) the Latinate terms without definition.

8. Boenig argues that the *Cloud* group was the chief intermediary bringing Pseudo-Dionysian teaching into England (1997, 37).

9. The following suggests that *Privy Counselling* was written for an individual: "Bot now, siþen we mowe not speke it [the work of contemplation], lat us speke of it, in confusion of proude wittys, & namely of þine, þe whiche is only, occasionly at þe leest, þe cause of þis writyng at þis tyme" (153.21-23).

10. Chapter 26 is beautifully written, encouraging and assertive, describing a climactic piercing of the cloud of unknowing by "a beme of goostly liȝt" (62.14-15), and ending with an evocative

[Chapter 21: Minimising Language in *The Cloud* and Related Writings, Pages 291-307, Cont.]

occultatio: "For of þat werke þat falliþ to only God dar I not take apon me to speke wiþ my blabryng fleschely tonge" (62.19-20). Chapter 27 then reiterates in summary the account in Chapter 1 of necessary preliminary progress, by stating that the work of contemplation is to be undertaken by those who have forsaken the world and active life (63.3-6).

11. "Behold, in this work we, who have taken care to give you instruction in the study of contemplation and, as it were, to labour mightily to build this ark, have undertaken so to speak the office of Bezaleel. Yet you will far surpass myself in this grace, if, having been assisted by those things which you hear, you prevail so far as to enter, even within the inner parts of the veil; [and] if that which we travail over as it were in the open, and understand and assign according to common use, you will have better perceived through ecstasy above mind, and comprehended within the veil."

12. The habit of reading aloud made this distinction less clear-cut for mediæval than for modern readers (Leclercq 1974, 89). The author typically blurs the dichotomy further: "Alle is one in maner, redyng & heryng; clerkes redyn on bookes, & lewid men redyn on clerkes, whan þei here hem preche þe worde of God" (*Cloud* 71.20-22). The beginning of *Privy Counselling* nevertheless assumes a listening audience: "I *speke* at þis tyme in specyal to þi-self, & not to alle þoo þat þis writyng scholen *here* in general" (135.2-3, emphases added).

13. "As far as possible, rise up together in unknowing."

14. These discussions probably form part of the author's intertextual dialogue with Hilton. *Þe Prickynge* advocates "raising up" love to God, "above oneself" (Ch. 21, 117.18), and, in an added passage, "gathering oneself within," and then "raising up" one's thought to God (Ch. 25, 128.21-24).

15. Keller offers a similar analysis of the mystical use of paradox: "...the mystic suggests an encompassing, elemental, or ultimate unity through a juxtaposition of opposites that frustrates the analytic intellect's attempt to join them" (5).

16. True to its pastoral purpose, *The Cloud* explicates Dionysius's paradox of the superluminous divine darkness (122.9-13). Minnis traces analogues in Gallus and Grosseteste (1983, 340).

17. The challenge posed by the paradoxical conception of "Nothing" in *The Cloud* emerges by contrast with Hilton's exposition of the image of sin as an absence of good, experienced as "noȝt whereinne þi soule myȝt rest." Hilton repeats the conventional view that this "noȝt" is the opposite of Jesus, or the divine (*Scale 1*, Ch. 53, 124, C 325a). However, in *Scale 2*, which responds to many different aspects of *The Cloud* (see Epilogue below), Hilton adopts the paradox of "þis riche noȝt" for the darkness in which the soul seeking reform in feeling awaits sight of Jesus as love and light (Ch. 24, 236, H 91r). This application approaches the profound conceptual unity achieved at this point in *The Cloud*.

18. Father Benet Canfield, who became a Capuchin friar in France in 1587, and whose library contained a manuscript recension of *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*, later commented upon by Baker (Hodgson 1982, xviii; Baker *Secretum*, ed. Clark 4.15-21), centred his treatise, *Règle de Perfection*, on the paradox of "All" and "Nothing," as used in *Privy Counselling*. Extensive searching has found no source predating the *Cloud* texts (Emery 55).

19. Hilditch shows that in *Discretion of Stirrings* the emphasis on discretion as the gift of grace diverges from the source in Richard of St. Victor, who presents discretion as painfully maintained by human effort (72-75).

20. The identification of Leah with active life and of Rachel with contemplative life implied here reproduces Augustine's and Gregory's antithetical commentary on the two lives (qtd. Butler 230, 247-48). Following *The Twelve Patriarchs*, the pairing of a kindled affection and an illumined reason became standard in contemplative writings. It occurs, for instance, in *Scale 2*, Chs. 26 (242, H94v) and 30 (256, H 105v).

21. Cited by Walsh 1981, 187 and Clark 1996, Vol. 2, 151.

22. The author repeats common teachings on the two lives, such as the view that active life begins and ends here, but contemplative life is completed in heaven (31.16-20; cf. Butler 228, 247), supported by the reminder that the works of mercy associated with active life are not required in heaven, since there no one needs prison visits or burial (54.14-16; cf. Butler 247). He also insists, like St. Gregory, that active life is a necessary preparation for contemplation (Butler 249), and follows Augustine, Gregory, and many later writers in the view that contemplative life is higher (Butler 232-36, 250-53). However, there seems to be no precedent except Hilton for his version of the life *in between*. While Rolle divides contemplative life into lower and higher "parties," he does not identify the lower with active life (*The Form of Living* Ogilvie-Thomson 24.861-25.2), and therefore does not bridge the active-contemplative dichotomy. *The Cloud* includes meditation as an essential component of active life (Steele 79).

23. "But there is no *invention* possible, whether it be philosophical or poetic, without the presence in the inventing subject of an abundance of the other, of the diverse" (292).

24. Like Hilton's evocation of mixed life, the *Cloud*-author's view of an intermediate part invites comparison with St. Gregory's recommendation that active and contemplative occupations should alternate with each other (*Homilies on Ezechiel*, 2.2, qtd. in Butler 248), and with his further assertion that God sometimes maintains preachers and saints in such an alternation (*Morals* 18.70; 30.8, qtd. in Butler 264-65). However, in contrast with *The Cloud*, St. Gregory presents this combined existence as unequivocally the most excellent, and as suited to pastors and prelates (Butler 265), who follow Christ's supreme example in combining active with contemplative practices (*Morals* 6.56; 23. 38; 28.33; *Regula Pastoralis* 2.5, qtd. in Butler 254-55, 260-61). This life arises after the experience of illumination, if not union, when the

contemplative may be recalled for a period of active service in the Church. By contrast, the *Cloud*-author sees prelacy as the highest degree of *active* living (*Privy Counselling* 163.3).

25. This aspect of the structure of *The Cloud* can be compared with Spearing's account of the *dispositio* employed by contemporary vernacular sermon-writers: "a method of organisation by which a sermon...becomes an independent meditation closely and constantly related to a single *thema*. And within this larger structure there will be an interweaving of sub-themes, involving frequent reappearances of the same sets of words and ideas" (115). *The Cloud* is an immensely prolonged and original adaptation of this method.

Chapter 22: Speaking and Not Speaking in the *Cloud* Texts: Technical Demonstrations, Pages 308-32

1. Noetinger proposes the following divisions: "Qu'est-ce que l'oeuvre du contemplatif? (Chs. I-XXV); comment et dans quelles conditions se fait-elle? (Chs. XXVI-XLIV); quelles sont les illusions à éviter? (Chs. XLV-LXXV)" (1925, 35). Brian suggests Chapters 1-33, 34-44, 45-68 and 70-75 (70).

2. Eric Colledge: "[*The Cloud*] is permitted to wander from topic to topic" (1961, 77); Burrow: "[The author] seems to trust his own developed sense of what is true and 'seemly' to save him from any errors into which his disjointed composition might lead him" (297).

3. In the *Cloud*-author's and Hilton's circle, such rhetorically accomplished works as St. Bonaventure's *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, which describes an orderly series of ascending steps, incorporating the purgative, illuminative and unitive ways (Boehner 19-28), promoted this view.

4. Tixier recently proposed a different view of mimetic structure in *The Cloud*: "The workings of God's grace are bound to remain obscure to man's understanding, and so it should not be surprising that human attempts at describing them should fail to produce any clearly delineated account of them" (1997, 133).

5. The misunderstanding of prepositions in spiritual instruction, pursued over Chapters 45, 51, and 57-61, is summarised in the applied theology of Chapter 62, and interwoven in Chapters 53, 54, and 56 with vigorous descriptions of the results of error, establishing definitions of hypocrisy and heresy.

6. Chapter 51 develops at length warnings against confusion of bodily and spiritual meanings; an *exemplum* is given of "a ʒonge disciple in Goddes scole" (95.15), which ends in the devil's intervention, the death of body and soul, and (for good measure) madness (96.9-11). Chapter 52 further analyses this wrong working and includes a descending list of organs of the body in which diabolic phenomena may be sensed (96.24-97.4). Chapter 53 contains further satirical descriptions of those who are spiritually deceived.

[Chapter 22: Speaking and Not Speaking in the *Cloud* Texts: Technical Demonstrations, Pages 308-32, Cont.]

7. Chapter 37 (74.13-22) tells of the cry for help (one-syllable prayer); Chapter 38 (76.4-15) tells of the response (God's merciful answer); and Chapter 39 (78.5-8) speaks of the final rescue, after the cry has been repeated.

8. The conception of discretion in *Eight Chapters on Perfection*, primarily as a defence against deception by antinomian "feruours" (208-227), highlights the freedom of the *Cloud*-author's spirituality. Luis/Hilton repeat the warning that love is to be guarded by "armour[s] of discrecion" (298, 339, 447-48, 523-24). Discretion retains a boundary-keeping function, even after the peak of the soul's loving union with Christ transforms it, as in *Discretion of Stirrings*, into spontaneous wisdom (415-59).

9. Such terminology as "reuerent affeccioun" (*Epistle of Prayer* 50.24-25) may be indebted to *Þe Prickynge of Love* (Ch. 31, 162.7-10), which was evidently a familiar work in Hilton's and the *Cloud*-author's milieu.

10. The first exegesis warns that Christ and meditation on the Passion provide the only legitimate entrance to contemplation; the second expounds God's activity in relationship to sin, virtuous active life, and contemplation.

11. In the introductory outline (138.28-139.7) Christ's healing of the woman who touches his garment (Matt.9.20-22) provides a climactic analogy. The first exegesis of Proverbs refers to Christ's holistic self-offering (142.13-22); the second to the grace of Jesus as the chief "worcher" in contemplation (148.5-9). Section one concludes by comparing the self-abnegation of contemplation with Christ's cross: he goes ahead by nature, we follow him to the mount of perfection by grace (154.21-155.4). The first exegesis of section two explicates the allegory of Christ as porter and door to the house of spirituality (159.5-160.23). Among the concluding objections and responses, the Ascension is seen as preliminary to love of the godhead (170.24-171.13).

Clark suggests that the *Cloud*-author focused *Privy Counselling* on Christ in response to criticism of *The Cloud* by Hilton (1991, 26). Hilton's references to Christ as a defence against deception in spiritual drunkenness in *Þe Prickynge*, Ch. 27, would be relevant here (see Chapter 16 above). The imagery of Christ as porter is common, but follows *Scale 1*, Ch. 91, and a parallel occurs in a passage added by Hilton to *Þe Prickynge*, Ch. 9. (Kane 73.15-24; cf. Ch. 23, 124.19-23, as considered by Clark 1984, 84-85). E.g., Ruben's finding of the mandrakes (*The Twelve Patriarchs*, Chs. 28-30); the rape of Dina and her brothers' revenge (Chs. 48-59); and Ruben's dealings with Bala (Chs. 62-65). *Scale 2*, Ch. 27 (245, H 97r) displaces the traditional metaphor when it argues that the "liȝty mirknes" of dying to the world and awakening to true self-knowledge is the only legitimate gate to contemplation.

12. E.g., Ruben's finding of the mandrakes (*The Twelve Patriarchs*, Chs. 28-30); the rape of Dina and her brothers' revenge (Chs. 48-59); and Ruben's dealings with Bala (Chs. 62-65).

[Chapter 22: Speaking and Not Speaking in the *Cloud* Texts: Technical Demonstrations, Pages 308-32, Cont.]

13. E.g., the exegesis of texts involving Naphthali in Chapter 24 and the extended exposition of the land of craving and the land of rest in Chapter 39.

14. E.g., Richard's exposition of Rachel and Leah as wisdom and justice; his definitions of actions and instrument in respect of the imagination, reason and will; his long expositions of patience and abstinence, of righteous zeal for souls, of the excesses and uses of fear in the spiritual life, of discretion, and of contemplation.

15. E g., the opening of Richard's Chapter 26 is translated at 28.9-12, and this is preceded (28.3-9) by the conclusion. The Middle English version logically positions full moral definitions of Gad and Asser (abstinence and patience) before a consideration of their effects. Similarly, Richard's explanation towards the end of Chapter 40 that the birth of Zabulon (hatred of sin) arises naturally after the birth of Isachar (taste of internal sweetness), is moved forward in the translation to the introduction of the Zabulon section (33.8-10).

16. E.g., *The Twelve Patriarchs*, Chapter 10, states: "Levi, hoc est *additus*, vel *additio* vocatur, quia duobus illis prioribus prius datis hic superadditur" (*P.L.*196: 7). *Wisdom* recapitulates the allegory and its significance as follows: "Þat is Leuy, þe whiche is clepid in þe story *doyng to*. For when þe oþer two children, drede & sorow, ben ȝouen of God to a mans soule, wiþouten doute he, þis þrid þat is hope, schal not be delaied. Bot he schal be done to, as þe story witnesseþ of Leuy þat when his two breþren, Ruben & Symeon, weren ȝouen to here moder Lya, he, þis Leuy, was done to" (19.8-14).

17. Hodgson comments on the translation's faithfulness to its sources, "with only minor additions, omissions, and modifications" (*Deonise Hid Diuinite*, xl). However, Lees writes of its "comparative emancipation...apparent both in the flexibility with which it supplements and culls matter from its various sources as well as in the facility with which it seems in general to preserve the native idiom of English prose" (Vol. 2, 198).

18. *Discretion of Spirits* follows the structural paradigm established independently in *Discretion of Stirrings* and *An Epistle of Prayer*, by beginning with a formal unit (80.3-83.12). In this case it comprises repeated and expanding expositions of the interior activities of the spirits of the flesh, world and devil, closely translated, with a few added explanations (81.6-7; 82.3-9 and 14-16), from Sermon 23 in St. Bernard's *Sermones de Diversis*. An independent section (83.12-85.15) then argues that the spirit of the devil is worst, because it destroys "pees and restfulnes of herte" (83.9-10, 84.2, 84.19), identified with love of neighbour, contemplative love, and the divine. Expanded passages from Sermons 23-24 (*P. L.* 183.600-605) alternate in the following section (85.16-88.2) with independent material, the most substantial passage of which condemns those who are misled by the devil to practise "singular" outward austerities in "devout congregations" (86.9-21). The treatise then offers independent detailed advice on how to discriminate between promptings of spirits, whether the reader's own, God's or angels', or the three wicked spirits. The reader is made responsible for consenting to good and rejecting evil,

[Chapter 22: Speaking and Not Speaking in the *Cloud* Texts: Technical Demonstrations, Pages 308-32, Cont.]

but the concluding prayer asks for Jesus' grace. The latter reiterates an emphasis of earlier independent passages (84.2, 88.3 and 18, 92.3; cf. 89.6-7), which is again brought to St. Bernard's teaching in added phrases: "as we goodly may be grace" (82.2), "be grace and goostly slei3t" (82.14).

19. The creativity of the author's expansions and additions emerges by contrast with the brief English summary and extrapolation from the same Bernardine source preserved in Trinity College Cambridge MS. B. 14. 19, printed in Kirchberger, *The Coasts of the Country* 75-77.

20. E.g., Underhill 1970, 7-8; Geraldine E. Hodgson 1922, 170; Peers 56-57; Robbins 409-10; Kendall 43; Phyllis Hodgson 1967, 30.

21. For example, the texts focus on Christ's divinity, even when incarnate. *The Cloud* approves Magdalen's contemplation, not of "þe swete voyce & þe wordes of his Manheed" (47.9-10), but of "þe souereynest wisdom of his Godheed lappid in þe *derk* wordes of his Manheed" (47.11-12, emphasis added). A similar preferential interest in Christ's divinity occurs in the expansion and adaptation of Augustine's comment on the Ascension: "þat bot 3if þe schap of his manheed be wiþdrawen from oure bodely i3en, þe loue of his Godheed may not fasten in oure goostly i3en" (*Privy Counselling* 171.8-10). The author stresses the overwhelming significance of the Passion, in parallel with the offering of contemplative love, for the upliftment of humans, whilst providing little detailed reference to it. The focus on Christ's divinity reproduces an emphasis of Gnosticism as a model of marginality.

22. Non-evocative metaphors of light are also applied conventionally in *The Cloud* to psycho-spiritual qualities: "li3t of vnderstonding in þi reson" (17.4-5); "þe li3t of grace in þe reson" (117.21); "þe li3te & þe coriouste of ymaginacyon" (118.5-6).

23. "Nescis quia miser et miserablis es, pauper, cecus et nudus": "You do not know because you are wretched and miserable, poor, blind and naked" (*De Imagine Peccati* 70). Chapters 53 and 54 of *Scale 1* associate darkness, blindness and nothingness conventionally with the image of sin, and similar usages of "tenebræ" and "caligo" follow in *Epistola ad Quemdam Seculo Renunciare Volentem* (445, 544-45).

24. "Qui enim incipiens vel proficiens sine temptatione credit se viuere quasi in quiete, cecus est": "For a beginner or profiter who thinks that he can live without temptation, as it were in peace, is blind" (*Epistola de Utilitate* 718).

25. *De Adoracione Ymaginum* 208-209.

26. *Bonum Est* 56.4-5.

[Chapter 22: Speaking and Not Speaking in the *Cloud* Texts: Technical Demonstrations, Pages 308-32, Cont.]

27. "Ffacias ergo te nudum ab omni re exteriori": "Make yourself naked of all external things" (545).

28. "Þat þi desire myȝt be as it were bare and naked fro all erthly thynges" (Ch. 25, 98, C 298a).

29. *The Cloud* uses "lappid & foulden" (28.10), and "belappid" (43.4) only.

30. Based on Col. 3. 9-10. *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling* lack the negative use of clothing metaphors frequent in Hilton's texts, where the clothing of Adam and Eve in animal skins signifies the occlusion of the *Imago Dei* by original sin (e.g., *Scale 1*, Ch. 84, 154, C 355a). However, the positive Pauline metaphor, of "putting off" the old man, Adam, the image of sin, and being clothed in the new, the fullness of virtues, is frequent in Hilton (e.g., *Scale 1*, Ch. 86, 156, C 356b-357a, *Scale 2*, Ch. 31, 258, H 106v). Cf. "Þus is a man turned in-to criste þat hath spoiled hym-self and with ful offrynge of his soule to criste is cloþed and lappid al in þe loue of criste"(*Þe Prickynge*, Ch.24, 127.9-12; see further Section 2 above). The imagery of despoilment is notably less forceful in St. Paul and Hilton than in *The Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*.

31. In 1936 Hort attributed an absence of visual and auditory imagery in *The Cloud*, and a wide use of kinæsthetic and tactile imagery, to the author's psychology (39-47, 198-212). However, it is truer to say that most images are visual (or anti-visual), or kinæsthetic. There are a few conventional olfactory images: "foule stinkyng pride" (43.4); "þe foule stinkyng fen & donghille of hir synnes" (46.7). Images of taste (food) are associated conventionally with spiritual delights on earth and in heaven (19.16-17, 29.6, 37.8, 84.8, 90.20, 94.16, 107.20), or, negatively, with activity of the senses and imagination (118.14-15, 121.19-20). Cf. Riehle 1981, 108-109.

32. The only comparable metaphors are in *Denis' Hidden Divinity*, where the author adds to the sources the notion of "folding all together," in the process of denying the divine properties (7.4, cf. Hodgson *Deonise Hid Diuinite* 127, note); and in *Discretion of Spirits*, where "any þouȝt smiteþ on oure hertes" (81.16-17) translates St. Bernard's "carnalis cogitatio mentem pulsat" (*P.L.* 183.601: "a fleshly thought batters the mind"), but this metaphor is later repeated independently (82.3, 92.22). "And ofte-tymes it befalleþ þat þees two seruantes & seriauntes of þe foule feend...ben...stifly put doune and troden doune vnder fote" (82.12-15) corresponds to: "Interdum vero satellitibus istis terga vertentibus" (*P. L. ibidem*: "Occasionally indeed, these attendants having taken flight").

33. The "facientes" and "artifices" of Sarracenus and Gallus are replaced by a specific situation: "here is a man hauyng a sounde stok of þe grettest quantitee wiþoutyn hym, liing before hym..." (5.33-34). Reference is made to the "mesuryng of riȝt lynyng" needed to find the precise centre of the block (6.2), and "þe craft" and "instrumentes" by which the material surrounding the inward form is to be removed (6.7).

34. *The Cloud* employs the notion of being encumbered, both conventionally with reference to the burden of sin (38.1) and a studied outward demeanour (99.1), and originally: "þis combros

cloude of vnknowyng" (63.22). Hilton refers to being encumbered with oneself in bodily feeling (*Scale 1*, Ch. 88, 157, C 358a), a concept which *The Cloud* develops in the contemplative's discovery that the encumbering cloud is the lump of sin, "he wote neuer what, none oþer þing þan hym-self" (123.17).

35. On a smaller scale, *The Cloud* refers to "the light of grace" (117.12-13); *Discretion of Spirits* to the washing of the soul "naked and bare" after confession (91.11-12); *Discretion of Stirrings* to being "blinded" in the sorrowful temptations of the noonday devil (70.20); and *The Study of Wisdom* to "the darkness of sin" (44.10) and "the light of the Godhead" (45.9). In *Þe Prickynge of Love* Hilton complains, following the Latin: "vnneþes may I fele a naked mynde of þi godenesse" (Ch. 36, 180.10), in a standard usage which treats negatively a goal cultivated in *Privy Counselling*.

36. E.g., rubbing away the rust of sin (*Cloud* 43.16-17, 123.2); the stink of sin (*Cloud* 43.4, 46.7, 79.14, 82.13-14, *Privy Counselling* 138.14-15); sin or the sense of self as a burden (*Cloud* 45.14-15, *Privy Counselling* 157.13-14 and 22); picking off or cracking the "rough shell" of physical sign/prayer so as to feed on the "sweet kernel" of spiritual discernment/chaste love (*Cloud* 107.15-16, *An Epistle of Prayer* 57.23-24; cf. *Scale 1*, Ch. 14, 87, C 288a and Ch. 20, 92, C293a; *Scale 2*, Ch. 43, 294, H 134r); fruit as a metaphor for spiritual and other attainments (*Cloud* 35.2, *Privy Counselling* 146.10, 150.1-2, 160.14, 166.24-25); the lady and maiden to signify ordination (*Denis' Hidden Divinity* 5.8 (added), *Privy Counselling* 145.1-2, cf. *Þe Prickynge of Love*, Ch. 35.175.2-4, also added); and the kindling of love or desire. The *Cloud* texts also develop popular metaphors and similes of shepherding (*Cloud* 15.6-9), battle (*Cloud* 67.1-4, 109.7-11, *Discretion of Stirrings* 67.1-2 and 25-27, *Privy Counselling* 172.6), and marriage (*Cloud* 15.4, 15.16, *An Epistle of Prayer* 54.26-55.1, 56.21-22). Long, formal analogies, such as those in *An Epistle of Prayer* and *Discretion of Stirrings* already discussed, and the allegory of the house of spirituality in *Privy Counselling* (159.5-160.3), also occur.

The Cloud nevertheless develops some of these images in an original manner. An example is the "burden" simile, describing Mary as feeling sorrow for her sins throughout her life, "as it were in a birþen bounden to-geders & leide up ful priuely in þe hole of hir herte." This may be contrasted with Hilton's less experientially specific references to bearing the "heuy birþen" of the image of sin (*Scale 1*, Ch. 88, 157, C 358a), and to "þis heuy birþene of synne" (*Mixed Life* 4.29-30).

The kindling of love or desire is reiteratively referred to in *The Study of Wisdom*, both in translated passages and independently (20.9-10 and12, 23.16, 24.3-4, 7 and 15, 26.3, 44.11, 45.2), and in *Discretion of Spirits* (81.19-20, 82.4). In *The Cloud* the metaphor occurs in a mixed construction which confirms automatic usage: "& þerfore he kyndelid þi desire ful graciously, & fastnid bi it a lyame of longing" (14.3-4). It is also used conventionally for emotive effect: "þan schalt þou fele þine affeccion enflaumid wiþ þe fiire of his loue" (62.17-18, cf. 88.17). However, *The Cloud* also transforms the convention, by bringing it to the borderline of physical associations, in parallel with the central apophatic metaphors: "þis werk...is bot a sodeyn steryng, & as it were vnauised, speedly springing unto God as sparcle fro þe cole" (22.7-8). Clark (1996, Vol. 2, 47-48) traces the origins of *scintilla* as "a common term in the Dionysian

tradition," and suggests that Hilton's use of the metaphor in *Scale 2* (Ch. 42, 290, H 130v) is a borrowing from *The Cloud.* Hilton embroiders by stating that the spark "chaufiþ alle þe miȝtes of þe soule." In *Mixed Life* (450-451) the metaphor is conventional: the sparkle initiates the fire of love for God, but also Dionysian, in that Hilton identifies it with God himself. Cf. also *Þe Prickynge*, Ch. 17, 109.13-16, and Ch. 22,121.7.

37. This is seen in the repetitions and commonplaces which lengthen inordinately Richard's concluding exegesis of Psalm 26.12 as the church of thoughts and desires (45.10-46.12), and transform the object of loving worship from Richard's *verum bonum* to "þis good worde Jhesu" (45.15). By reducing a Neoplatonic notion of transcendence to a devotional convention (the Holy Name), the translator works in an opposite direction to that favoured in *The Cloud, Denis' Hidden Divinity* and *Privy Counselling*, as he pursues the goal of cultural transference referred to above. In *Denis' Hidden Divinity* the author addresses the opening prayer, not to the Trinity as translated by Sarracenus and others, but to "Wisdom," a word with strong Neoplatonic associations (cf. Hodgson *Deonise Hid Diuinite* 120).

38. *Discretion of Stirrings* 69.4-6, and *Privy Counselling* 165.23-24 use the metaphor of the windows conventionally, as does *Scale 1* (Ch. 78, 149, C 350a). Hodgson's notes on *The Cloud* posit different patristic sources for the exegesis of windows and flies (1958, 184). The author's originality lies in his vivid conjunction of the metaphors.

39. In *Epistola ad Quemdam*, Hilton recommends meditation on the Passion, as "efficax emplastrum ad curanda omnia vulnera cordis" (563-64). The metaphor is found in Augustine (Clark and Taylor, Vol. 2, 431). *Þe Prickynge* suggests that one should "take" Christ in the sacrament, "as a seke man resseyuyth a medicyne" (Ch. 22, 21-23). The application in *Privy Counselling* nevertheless remains distinctive in its evocative power (Riehle 1981, 79).

40. Geoffrey of Vinsauf devotes seventeen pages of *Poetria Nova* to "Amplification" (Nims 24-40) and two to "Abbreviation" (Nims 40-42). Most tropes and figures involve amplification, as Geoffrey's examples show. John of Garland treats abbreviation in half a page (*Poetria Parisiana*, ed. Lawler 73) and amplification in six (Lawler 73-83).

41. This advice, which is repeated in *An Epistle of Prayer* (58.2), sums up the theme of playing with the divine. Alliteration reinforces the principle and makes it memorable, ready to assist in contemplative practice.

42. *Nun's Priest's Tale* B. 4537-44; cf. Manly 268-71.

43. Hodgson makes a separate sentence from "For elles it acordeþ noþing to him" (2.8), presumably for the sake of readability, but syntactically there is only one sentence. Amplifying devices include doublets: "wille & auisement," "in a trewe wille & an hole entent"; repeated lists: "rede it, write it, or speke it"; and alliteratively decorated and cadenced antitheses: "comen to in þis *p*resent liif of a *p*arfite soule ȝit *ab*iding in þis *deed*ly *body*" (italics added).

[Chapter 22: Speaking and Not Speaking in the *Cloud* Texts: Technical Demonstrations, Pages 308-32, Cont.]

44. "And all þis I sey to late þee se hou fer þou arte ȝit fro þe trewe knowyng of þin inward disposicioun, and þerafter to ȝeue þee warnes not ouersone to ȝeue stede ne to folow þe singulere sterynges of þi ȝong hert for drede of disseite. Alle þis I sey for to schewe vnto þee my conseite þat I haue of þee & of þi steringes, as þou hast askid of me. For I conseiue of þee þat þou arte ful able & ful gredely disposid to soche sodein steringes of singulere doynges, and ful fast to cleue vnto hem when þei ben resceyued; and þat is ful perilous" (67.3-11).

Repetitio of "all þis I sey" draws attention to the passage, as summarising the immediate and personal application of the analogies. Anglo-Saxon vocabulary and intonation again predominate.

45. "Seruauntes & seriuantes" (82.12) for "satellitibus"; "to grucching, and to greuance" (83.1) for "ad iram." The triplet, "in bondage, in þraldom, and in servage" (87.3), occurs in a brief expansion of the Latin (87.2-4).

46. Lees's exhaustive study confirms the author's preference for clumsy but clear vernacular terminology over less accessible but more graceful imports (Vol.2, 209).

47. These include a sense of the immediate and personal, achieved by an addition to Chapter 1: "what tyme þat þou purposist þee by þe steryng of grace to þe actueel excersise of þi blynde beholdynges" (2.31-32), followed by an inserted sequence of second-person singular pronouns: "þi blynde beholdynges," "loke þou," "þi bodely wittes," "þi goostly wittes," "þin vnderstondable worchinges," and "þin affeccioun."

48. E.g., where Richard writes, "Si magis vereris vultum hominis quam conspectum angelorum?" (Ch. 47, *P.L.* 196.35), *Wisdom* translates: "and ȝif þou more schame wiþ þi foule body in þe siȝt of men þan wiþ þi foule herte in þe siȝt of þe kyng of heuen & of alle his aungelles & holy seyntes in heuen" (37.14-16). Other instances of retention or enhancing of Richard's rhetorical balances occur at 19.17-18, 22.10-12 and 14-16, 24.4-7, 26.17-27.1, 27.1-5, 27.16-28.2, 28.3-8, 29.7-10 and 11-14, 44.18 and 45.1-2.

49. E.g., *The Twelve Patriarchs*: "Vere enim et absque dubio quanto quis frequentius quantoque vehementius de suo reatu interno dolore afficitur, tanto certior, tanto securior per indulgentiæ veniam efficitur" (Ch. 10, *P.L.* 196:7); *Wisdom*: "And þus after sorow comeþ sone coumforte" (20.1-2). Most of the balances excluded from the Middle English translation are decorative and expansive, for example the extended series of contrasts between Rachel and Leah (12.7-10; *P.L.* 196:1), between Ruben and Simeon (18.16-19.1; *P.L.* 196:7), and between Dan and Naphthali (23.17-19; *P.L.*196:120). In other cases the effect of removing antithesis is plain and explanatory, e.g. *The Twelve Patriarchs*: "Unde fit ut quem prius consueverat multum formidare, incipiat postmodum ardenter amare" (*P.L.* 196:8); *Wisdom*: "For before þis felyng of loue in a mans soule, alle þat he doþ is done more for drede þen for loue" (21.6-8).

[Chapter 22: Speaking and Not Speaking in the *Cloud* Texts: Technical Demonstrations, Pages 308-32, Cont.]

50. *Interrogatio* in the Latin is removed at *Wisdom*, 28.9-12, 28.18-29.3, 33.7-8, 34.5-7, 37.8-12, 39.6-7 and 9-11. It is retained at 19.6-8, 23.1-4, 26.17-27.1, 36.4-5 and 9-10, and 44.12-14.

51. E.g., *The Twelve Patriarchs*: "Habent utique etiam homines perversi verecundiam, sed utinam bonam! Utinam ordinatam!" (*P.L.* 196:34); *Wisdom*: "An yuel man haþ a maner of schame, bot it is not þis ordeyned schame" (37.4-5).

52. E.g., "a sorowful soule" (20.6): "animam poenitentiæ lacrymis afflictam" (*P.L.* 196: 7); "Þat is to sey loue" (22.14-15): "affectus videlicet diligendi" (col. 19); "put to þe housbond" (28.13-14): "redigatur sub viri potestate" (col.19); "sekirly þan dyȝeþ al mans reson" (45.9): "omnes humanæ ratiocinationis, angustias supergreditur" (col. 52).

Wisdom reduces Richard's occasional rhetorical multiplication of verbs, e.g. "deprehendimus, arguimus, damnamus, castigamus" (col. 14) becomes "we dampne" (25.3); and consistently simplifies complex verbal formations in the Latin, e.g. "esse cognoscitur" is rendered as "ben" (13.5), "posse conferre videtur" as "myȝt serue" (13.7), "dici non possunt" as "weren...not" (16.6-7). "incipit æstuare" as "coueiteþ" (22.9), "solent ponere" as "set" (24.9), and "imaginem ante mentis oculos adducit" as "we ymagyn" (26.3-4).

Since the intellectual challenge posed by *The Twelve Patriarchs* is of a lower order than that of *De Mystica Theologica*, the non-rhetorical simplifications in *Wisdom* are less relevant to comprehension than to transference from a Latin monastic to a vernacular culture.

53. This is seen in the following comparison:

> O dulcedo miranda, dulcedo tam magna, dulcedo tam parva! Quomodo non magna? Quæ mundanam omnem excedis. Quomodo non parva? Quæ de illa plenitudine vix stillam modicam decerpis...Merito tantillam de tanto, gustus quidem dicitur, merito nihilominus quæ mentem a seipsa alienat, ebrietas nominatur. (Ch. 37, *P.L.* 196:26)

> ...for þis joie is þe taast of heuenly blis, þe whiche is þe eendles mede of a deuoute soule begynnyng here (31.1-3)...for-þi oure Lorde of his greet mercy ȝeueþ us joie vnspekable & inward swetnes in oure affeccioun, in erles of þe souereyn ioie and mede of þe hiȝe kyngdome of heuen. (31.8-10)

Wisdom here removes, not only *exclamatio* and *interrogatio*, but also the frequent *repetitio* of the original and the metaphor of drunkenness. Vocabulary reproduces a common Anglo-Saxon nexus of "erles," "mede," "blis" and "heuen" (cf. *Cloud* 15.9 and 90.20, *Discretion of Stirrings* 76.20), and uses ecclesiastical terms, "deuoute," "affeccioun," already habituated in English (Lees, Vol. 2, 205). The translation adds alliteration, the standard devotional phrase, "oure Lorde of his greet mercy," and a doublet, "ioie and mede."

Epilogue: The *Cloud* Texts and *Scale 2*, Pages 333-39

1. Gardner 1933, 139; Sitwell 1949, 288; Hodgson 1955, 396; Clark, "The 'Lightsome Darkness'" 98-99.

2. In *Scale 1* Hilton applies St. Bernard's distinction between humility as true self-knowledge and humility derived from an intuition of the divine. The contrast with *Scale 2* is marked. See Clark, Vol. 2, 1996, 106-109, where relevant passages in St. Bernard, Gilbert of Holland, *Scale 1*, *Scale 2* and *The Cloud* are quoted in full, and further in Clark, Vol. 1, 1995, 88-90.

3. A later summary of the author's satirical descriptions of misdirected bodily "straining" and "violence" in contemplation contains a corrective which clarifies Hilton's comparatively democratic attitude to such "feruours": "And in þis maner wirkynge þei felen grete feruour and mikel grace. And soþ it is as me þinkiþ, þis wirkynge is good and medful, if it be wel tempred with meknes and with discrecioun" (Ch. 35, 267, H 113r-v).

4. "Now may þu see þat lufe formed is not cause whi a soule comiþ to þe gostly siȝt of Iesu, as summe men wolde þenken þat þei wolde luf God so brennandely as it were bi þeire owne miȝt, þat þei were worþi for to haue þe gostly knowynge of him. Nay, it is not so. Bot luf vnformed, þat is God himself, is cause of al þis knowynge" (Ch. 34, 264, H 111r).

5. The cloud of unknowing sometimes appears as a palimpsest for the detailed recording of individual sins, or as the "lump" of sin itself (122.19-123.2, 123.15-17).

6. Riehle argues that *Scale 2* associates the night less regularly with sin than with unknowing, in contrast with *Scale 1* (1977, 33-34).

7. Clark's note on this sentence insists that "blinde,""does not mean the apophaticism of the *Cloud*...but blind rather means single-minded" (Clark and Dorward 312, note 139). This seems to be a strained interpretation. The occasionally *Cloud*-like conception of night-darkness as a moratorium on thought in *Scale 2* is further exemplified by the following: "Þis niȝt is not elles bot a forberynge and a withdrawyng of þe þouȝt of þe soule fro erþly þinges, by grete desire & ȝemynge for to luf & seen & felen Iesu & gostly þinges" (Ch. 24, 235, H 90r). The passage goes on to associate this withholding and withdrawing with freedom, since thought is not "ficched" on anything "lower" than the practitioner's own being. See further, Chapter 33, H 109r, Clark and Dorward 261-62, with note 222.

List of Works Cited

Adams, Marilyn McCord. *William Ockham*. Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame UP, 1987.

Aers, David. *Community, Gender and Individual Identity: English Writing 1360-1430*. London and New York: Routledge, 1988.

Aitken, Robert. "*The Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Mumonkan*: Christian and Buddhist Meditation Methods." *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 1 (1981): 87-91.

Alford, John A. "The Biblical Identity of Richard Rolle." *Fourteenth-Century English Mystics Newsletter* 2 (1976): 21-24.

---. "Biblical *Imitatio* in the Writings of Richard Rolle." *English Literary History* 40 (1973): 1-23.

Allchin, A. M. Introduction. *Eight Chapters on Perfection and Angels' Song*. By Walter Hilton. Trans. Rosemary Dorward. Fairacres Publications 85. Convent of the Incarnation, Fairacres Oxford: SLG P, 1983.

Allen, Hope Emily. *The Authorship of the Prick of Conscience*. Radcliffe College Monographs 15. Boston and New York: Ginn, 1910.

---, ed. *The English Writings of Richard Rolle*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1931.

---. "New Manuscripts of Richard Rolle." *The Times Literary Supplement* 17 Mar.1932: 202.

---. "On Richard Rolle's Lyrics." *Modern Language Review* 14 (1919): 320-21.

---. "Richard Rolle." *The Times Literary Supplement* 14 July 1932: 516.

---. *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole and Materials for His Biography*. Modern Language Association Monograph Ser. 3. New York: Heath, 1927.

Allen, Rosamund, trans. *Richard Rolle: The English Writings*. The Classics of Western Spirituality. Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist P, 1988.

---. "'Singuler Lufe': Richard Rolle and the Grammar of Spiritual Ascent." Glasscoe 1984, 28-54.

Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)." *Essays in Ideology.* 1970. London and New York: Verso, 1984. 1-60.

Amassian, Margaret G. "An Edition of Richard Rolle's *The Commandment.*" Diss. Fordham U, 1967.

---. and D. Lynch. "The *Ego Dormio* of Richard Rolle in Gonville and Caius MS. 140/80." *Mediæval Studies* 43 (1981): 218-49.

Annales Johannis de Trokelowe. In *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde...Chronica et Annales.* Ed. Henry Thomas Riley. Rolls Series. London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866.

Arbesmann, Rudolph, O. S. A. "The Concept of 'Christus Medicus' in St. Augustine." *Traditio* 10 (1954): 1-28.

Armstrong, Karen, ed. *Visions of God: Four Medieval Mystics and Their Writings.* New York: Bantam Books, 1994.

Arnold, David. *Famine: Social Crisis and Historical Change.* Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988.

Arnould, E.F.J, ed. *The Melos Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957.

---. "On Richard Rolle's Patrons: A New Reading." *Medium Ævum* 6 (1937): 122-24.

---. "Richard Rolle and a Bishop--A Vindication." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 21 (1937): 55-77. Rpt. *Melos Amoris* (1957). 195-209.

---. "Richard Rolle and the Sorbonne." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 23 (1939): 68-101. Rpt. *Melos Amoris* (1957). 210-38.

---. "Richard Rolle." *Pre-Reformation English Spirituality.* Ed. James Walsh. New York: Fordham UP, 1965. 132-44.

Ash, Jennifer. "The Discursive Construction of Christ's Body in the Later Middle Ages: Resistance and Autonomy." *Masculine, Feminine and Representation*. Ed. Terry Threadgold and Anne Cranny-Francis. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990. 75-105.

Astell, Ann W. *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1990.

Aston, Margaret. "Lollardy and Sedition, 1381-1431." *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History*. Ed. R. H. Hilton. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976. 273-318.

---. "Segregation in Church." *Women in the Church: Papers Read at the 1989 Summer Meeting and the 1990 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical Society*. Ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood. Oxford: Basil Blackwood, for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1990. 237-94.

---. *Thomas Arundel: A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1967.

Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo. *On Christian Doctrine*. Trans. J.F. Shaw. Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 1952.

Baker, Fr. Augustine. *Secretum*. Ed. John Clark. *Analecta Cartusiana* 119:7. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1997.

Barratt, Alexandra, ed. *Women's Writing in Middle English*. London and New York: Longman, 1992.

Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author." Lodge 167-72.

Bartholomew of Bologna. *Tractatus de Luce*. Ed. Irenæus Squadrani, O.F.M. *Antonianum*. Vol. 7, fascs. 2-4.

Bartlett, Ann Clark, with Thomas H. Bestul, Janet Goebel and William F. Pollard. *'Vox Mystica.' Essays on Medieval Mysticism in Honor of Professor Valerie M. Lagorio*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995.

---. "'A Reasonable Affection' Gender and Spiritual Friendship in Middle English Devotional Literature." Bartlett *et al* 131-45.

Bateson, Mary, ed. *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery Isleworth.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1898.

Bazire, Joyce, and Eric Colledge, eds. *The Chastising of God's Children and The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957.

Beadle, Richard. *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.

Beale, Walter H. "Walter Hilton and the Concept of 'Medled Lyf'." *American Benedictine Review* 26 (1975):381-94.

Beckwith, Sarah. "A Very Material Mysticism: The Medieval Mysticism of Margery Kempe." *Medieval Literature: Criticism, Ideology and History.* Ed. David Aers. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester, 1986. 34-57.

Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey. *Mediœval Mystical Tradition and St. John of the Cross.* Westminster, Maryland: Newman P, 1954.

Bennett, J. W. W. *Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twelve Centuries of English Verse.* Oxford: Clarendon P, 1982.

Benson, R. H. *Richard Raynal, Solitary.* London: Pitman, 1906.

Bernard of Clairvaux. *On the Song of Songs.* Trans. Kilian Walsh and Irene M. Edwards. *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux.* Cistercian Fathers Series, Nos. 4, 7, 31 and 40. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1977-1980.

Bestul, Thomas H. "Antecedents: The Anselmian and Cistercian Contributions." Pollard and Boenig 1-20.

---. "Devotional Writing in England between Anselm and Richard Rolle." *Mysticism: Medieval and Modern*. Ed. Valerie M. Lagorio. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:20. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1986. 12-28.

Blake, N. F., ed. *Middle English Religious Prose*. York Medieval Texts. London: Edward Arnold, 1972.

Bliss, A. J. "Two Hilton Manuscripts in Columbia University Library." *Medium Ævum* 38 (1969): 157-63.

Bloomfield, Morton W. *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Michigan: Michigan State UP, 1952.

Boehner, Philotheus, O. F. M., ed. *Saint Bonaventure's Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*. Works of Saint Bonaventure. New York: Franciscan Institutue, Saint Bonaventure U: 1956.

Boenig, Robert. "*Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, Richard Rolle, and Ælred of Rievaulx." *Mystics Quarterly* 16 (1990): 27-33.

---. "The God-As-Mother Theme in Richard Rolle's Biblical Commentaries." *Mystics Quarterly* 10 (1984): 171-74.

---. "Pseudo-Dionysius and the *Via* towards England." Pollard and Boenig 21-37.

---. "St. Augustine's *Jubilus* and Richard Rolle's *canor*." Bartlett 75-86.

Bolton, J. L. *The Medieval English Economy 1150-1500*. London: Dent, 1980.

Bonner, Gerald. "The Spirituality of St. Augustine and Its Influence on Western Mysticism." *Sobornost* 4 (1982): 143-62.

Boyle, Leonard E. "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology." Heffernan 30-43.

—. "The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and Some Other Works of William of Pagula." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser. 5 (1955): 81-110.

---. "The Summa for Confessors as a Genre and Its Religious Intent." Trinkaus 126-37.

Brady, Teresa M. "Rolle and the Pattern of Tracts in *The Pore Caitif*." *Traditio* 39 (1983): 456-65.

---. "Rolle's *Form of Living* and *The Pore Caitif*." *Traditio* 36 (1980): 426-35.

---. "Þe Seynt and His Boke: Rolle's *Emendatio Vitæ* and *The Pore Caitif*." *Fourteenth-Century English Mystics Newsletter* 7 (1981): 20-31.

Bramley, H. R., ed. *The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles, with a Translation and Exposition in English by Richard Rolle of Hampole*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1884.

Bredero, Adriaan H. *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: The Relations between Religion, Church and Society*. Trans. Reinder Bruinsma. Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1994.

Brian, Beverly. "A Study of the Imagery of *The Cloud of Unknowing*." Diss. Duke U, 1970.

Bundy, Murray Wright. *The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Mediæval Thought*. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 12. Urbana: U of Illinois, 1927.

Burrow, J. A. "Fantasy and Language in *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *Essays in Criticism* 27 (1977): 283-98.

Butcher, A. F. "English Urban Society and the Revolt of 1381." Hilton and Aston. 84-111.

Butler, Dom Cuthbert. *Western Mysticism*. 2nd ed. London: Constable, 1927.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Late Middle Ages." *Zone: Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, Vol. 1. Ed. Michael Fisher with Ramona Naddaf and Nadia Jazi. New York: Urzone, 1989. 161-219

---. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Zone Books, 1991.

---. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: California UP, 1987.

---. *Jesus As Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley: California UP, 1982.

Cabusset, André. "La Dévotion au Nom de Jésus dans l'Eglise d'Occident." *La Vie Spirituelle* 86 (1952):46-69.

Caldwell, Ellen. "The Rhetorics of Enthusiasm and Restraint in *The Form of Living* and *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *Mystics Quarterly* 10 (1984): 9-16.

Callanan, Marion Elizabeth, ed. "An Edition of Richard Rolle's English Psalter with Notes and Commentary (Psalms 46-60)." Diss. Fordham U, 1977.

Cardiff, Ethelbert, O. F. M. "A Mystical Bypass of Christianity." *Clergy Review* 23 (1963): 305-14.

Carney, Ellen Alana, ed. "Richard Rolle's English Psalter, Psalms 91-105: An Edition with an Introductory Essay on Rolle's Style." Diss. Fordham U, 1980.

Casey, Michael. *Towards God: The Western Tradition of Contemplation*. rev. ed. Blackburn, Victoria: Dove, 1995.

Cavallerano, Jerry Daniel, ed. "Richard Rolle's English Psalter, Psalms 31-45." Diss. Fordham U, 1976.

Chambers, R. W. *On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and His School*. E.E.T.S. O.S. 191A. London: Oxford UP, 1932.

Chartrand-Burke, Tony. "Against the Proud Scholars of the Devil: Anti-Intellectual Rhetoric in *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *Mystics Quarterly* 23 (1997): 115-36.

Chatterji, J. C. *Kashmir Shaivism*. Albany: State U of New York P, 1986.

Churton, Tobias. *The Gnostics*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.

Cixous, Hélène. "Sorties" and "The Laugh of the Medusa." *New French Feminisms*, ed. Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron. 90-98 and 245-64.

---. "Tancredi Continues." *Writing Differences: Readings from the Seminar of Hélène Cixous.* ed. Susan Sellers. Milton Keynes: Open UP, 1988. 37-53.

Clark, John P. H. "Action and Contemplation in Walter Hilton." *Downside Review* 97 (1979): 258-74.

---. "Augustine, Anselm and Walter Hilton." Glasscoe 1982, 102-26.

---. "The *Cloud of Unknowing*." Szarmach 273-91.

---. *The Cloud of Unknowing: An Introduction.* Vol. 1. *Introduction* 1995; Vol. 2. *Notes on The Cloud of Unknowing* 1996; Vol. 3. *Notes on The Book of Privy Counselling* 1995. *Analecta Cartusiana* 119. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg.

---. "*The Cloud of Unknowing*, Walter Hilton, and St. John of the Cross: A Comparison." *Downside Review* 96 (1978): 281-98.

---. "English and Latin in *The Scale of Perfection*." *Spiritualität Heute und Gestern.* Ed. James Hogg. *Analecta Cartusiana* 35 (1982): 167-212.

---. "Image and Likeness in Walter Hilton." *Downside Review* 97 (1979): 204-20.

---. "Intention in Walter Hilton." *Downside Review* 97 (1979): 69-80.

---. "Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology and the English Contemplative Tradition." Glasscoe 1992, 1-16.

---, ed. *The Latin Versions of The Cloud of Unknowing.* Vol. 1. *Nubes Ignorandi: Ms. Bodley 856.* Vol. 2. *The English Text of The Cloud of Unknowing in Ms. British Library Harley 959. Analecta Cartusiana* 119. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1989.

---. "The 'Lightsome Darkness': Aspects of Walter Hilton's Theological Background." *Downside Review* 95 (1977): 95-109.

---. "The Problem of Walter Hilton's Authorship: *Bonum Est, Benedictus* and *Of Angels' Song.*" *Downside Review* 101 (1983): 15-29.

---. "Richard Rolle as Biblical Commentator." *The Downside Review* 104 (1986): 165-213.

---. "Richard Rolle: A Theological Re-Assessment." *The Downside Review* 101 (1983): 108-139.

---. "Some Monastic Elements in Walter Hilton and in the *Cloud* Corpus." *Die Kartäuser und die Reformation* 1. *Analecta Cartusiana* 108:1. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1983: 237-57.

---. "Sources and Theology in *The Cloud of Unknowing.*" *Downside Review* 98 (1980): 83-109.

---. "The Trinitarian Theology of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection. Book Two.*" Phillips 125-40.

---. "Walter Hilton and 'Liberty of Spirit'." *Downside Review* 96 (1978): 61-78.

---. "Walter Hilton and the Luminous Darkness." *New Fire* 7 (1982): 15-21.

---. "Walter Hilton and the Psalm Commentary *Qui Habitat.*" *Downside Review* 100 (1982): 235-62.

---. "Walter Hilton and the *Stimulus Amoris.*" *Downside Review* 102 (1984): 79-118.

---. "Walter Hilton in Defence of the Religious Life and the Veneration of Images." *Downside Review* 103 (1985): 1-25.

Clark, John P. H., and Rosemary Dorward, eds. and trans. *Walter Hilton: The Scale of Perfection.* The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist P, 1991.

Clark, John P. H., and Cheryl Taylor, eds. *Walter Hilton's Latin Writings.* 2 vols. *Analecta Cartusiana* 124. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1987.

Clay, Rotha Mary. *The Hermits and Anchorites of England.* London: Methuen, 1914.

Cohn, Norman. *The Pursuit of the Millenium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*. 1957. London: Temple Smith, 1970.

Coleman, T. W. *English Mystics of the Fourteenth Century*. 1938. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood P, 1971.

Colledge, Edmund. "*De Nobilitate Anime* and *De Ornatu Spiritualium Nupciarum*: Bibliotheek Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, MS. 5. F. 34." *Quærendo* 9 (1979): 149-59.

Colledge, Edmund and Romana Guarnieri. "The Glosses by 'M.N.' and Richard Methley to *The Mirror of Simple Souls*." *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 5. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1968: 357-82.

Colledge, Edmund and James Walsh, eds. *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich*. 2 parts. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediæval Studies, 1978.

Colledge, Eric. "The English Prose *Benedictus*: A Second Manuscript." *Medium Ævum* 8 (1939): 45-49.

---, ed. and introd. *The Mediæval Mystics of England*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961.

Collins, Rev. Henry, ed. *The Divine Cloud, By Father Augustin Baker, O. S. B.* London: Thomas Richardson and Dublin and Derby; New York: Henry H. Richardson, 1871.

Collins, Marjorie O., ed. "Psalms from the *English Psalter Commentary* of Richard Rolle. Edited from MS. Huntingdon 148 with Notes and Glossary." 2 vols. Diss. Michigan U, 1967.

Comper, Frances M. *The Life of Richard Rolle, Together with an Edition of His English Lyrics*. 1914. London: Dent, 1928.

Conner, Edwin L. "'Goostly Freend in God': Ælred of Rievaulx's *De Spirituali Amicitia* as a Source of *The Cloud of Unknowing*." Bartlett *et al* 87-98.

Constable, Giles. "The Popularity of Twelfth-Century Spiritual Writers in the Late Middle Ages." *Renaissance Studies in Honour of Hans Baron.* Ed. A. Molho and J. A. Tedeschi. DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois UP, 1971. 3-38.

Cook, Eleanor. "Melos versus Logos, or Why Doesn't God Sing: Some Thoughts on Milton's Wisdom." *Remembering Milton: Essays on the Texts and Traditions.* Ed. M. Nyquist and M.W. Ferguson. New York and London: Methuen, 1987. 197-210.

Copeland, Rita. "Richard Rolle and the Rhetorical Theory of the Levels of Style." Glasscoe 1984, 55-80.

Copleston, F. C. *A History of Medieval Philosophy.* London: Methuen, 1972.

Corless, Roger. "From Ignorance to Unknowing in *The Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life.*" Lagorio 118-34.

Cottle, Basil. Rev. of *Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection,* ed. Fumio Kuriyagawa (1967). *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 67 (1968): 297-98.

Crombie, A. C. *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science 1100-1700.* Oxford: Clarendon P, 1953.

Courtenay, William J. "Nominalism and Late Medieval Religion." Trinkaus 26-59.

---. *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1987.

Cummings, Charles. "How Do You Pray?" *Fellowship in Prayer* 39 (1988): 131-35.

Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages.* 1948. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953.

Daly, John P., ed. *An Edition of the Judica Me Deus of Richard Rolle.* Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:14. 1961. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1984.

Danielou, Jena, S. J. *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers.* Trans. Dom Wulstan Hibberd. London: Burns & Oates, 1960.

Davis, Virginia. "The Rule of Saint Paul, the First Hermit, in Late Medieval England." *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition: Papers Read at the 1984 Summer Meeting and the 1985 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society.* Ed. W. J. Sheils. Great Britain: Eccesiastical History Society, 1985. 203-14.

Deanesly, Margaret, ed. *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1915.

—. *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1920.

---. "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." *Modern Language Review* 15 (1920): 349-58.

de Ford, Sarah. "Mystical Union in *Melos Amoris.*" Glasscoe 1980, 173-201.

---. "The Use and Function of Alliteration in the *Melos Amoris* of Richard Rolle." *Mystics Quarterly* 12 (1986): 59-66.

Delany, Sheila. *Medieval Literary Politics: Shapes of Ideology.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990.

---. "Sexual Economics, Chaucer's Wife of Bath, and *The Book of Margery Kempe.*" *Minnesota Review* 5 (1975): 104-115.

Del Mastro, M. L. "Walter Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis*: A Circular Stairway." *Itinerarium: The Idea of a Journey. A Collection of Papers Given at the Fifteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1980.* Ed. Leonard J. Bowman. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92: 9. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1983.

---, trans. *The Fire of Love and the Mending of Life by Richard Rolle.* Garden City, New York: Image Books, 1981.

Dickinson, Rev. J. C. "Early Suppressions of English Houses of Austin Canons." *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham.* Ed. Veronica Ruffer and A. J. Taylor. Oxford: Oxford UP for the Subscribers, 1950. 54-77.

---. The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England. London: S.P.C.K., 1950.

Dixon, Peter. *Rhetoric.* The Critical Idiom. London: Methuen, 1971.

Dobson, R. B. *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381.* London: Macmillan, 1970.

Dolan, James Conrad, ed. "The *Tractatus Super Psalmum Vicesimum* of Richard Rolle of Hampole." Diss. Illinois U,1968. Revised Edition. Texts and Studies in Religion. Vol. 57. Lewiston: Edward Mellen P, 1991.

Dollimore, Jonathan. *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries.* 2nd ed. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989.

Doyle, A. I. "Carthusian Participation in the Movement of Works by Richard Rolle between England and Other Parts of Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." *Kartäusermystik und -Mystiker* 2, Analecta Cartusiana 55 (1981): 109-20.

---. "Publication by Members of Religious Orders." Griffiths and Pearsall 109-23.

Dronke, Peter. *The Medieval Lyric.* 1968. 2nd ed. London: Hutchinson, 1978. Du Boulay, F.R.H. *An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Late Middle Ages.* London: Thomas Nelson, 1970.

Dubois, J., ed. *Ælred of Rievaulx. L'Amitié Spirituelle.* Parallel Text Edition. Bruges and Paris: Charles Beyært, 1948.

Du Moustier, Benoît. "'*Doctor Discretus*': Walter Hilton." *Cross and Crown* 11 (1959): 292-300.

Edwards, A. S. G., ed. *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers UP, 1984.

Egan, Harvey D. "*The Cloud of Unknowing* and Pseudo-Contemplation." *Thought - A Review of Culture and Idea* 54 (1979):162-75.

---. "Mystical Crosscurrents." *Communio: International Catholic Review* 7 (1980): 4-23.

Eliot, T. S. *Collected Poems 1909-1962.* London: Faber and Faber, 1963.

Ellis, Roger. "Author(s), Compilers, Scribes and Bible Texts: Did the *Cloud*-Author Translate *The Twelve Patriarchs*?" Glasscoe 1992, 193-221.

---. "Second Thoughts on the Authorship of the 'Tretyse of Þe Stodye of Wysdome'." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 95 (1994): 307-17.

Elwin, Verrier. *Christian Dhyana Or, Prayer of Loving Regard: A Study of "The Cloud of Unknowing."* London: S.P.C.K., [1930].

Emden, A. B. *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1963.

Emery, Kent. "'All and Nothing': Benet of Canfield's *Règle de Perfection.*" *Downside Review* 92 (1974): 46-61.

---. "*The Cloud of Unknowing* and *Mystica Theologia.*" *The Roots of the Modern Christian Tradition.* Ed. E. Rozanne Elder. Intro. Jean Leclercq. The Spirituality of Western Christendom 2. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications 1984. 46-70.

Englert, Robert. "Lonergan, Religious Experience and *The Cloud of Unknowing.*" *Review for Religious* 41 (1982): 524-39.

---. "Of Another Mind: Ludic Imagery and Spiritual Doctrine in *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *Studia Mystica* 8 (1985): 3-12.

Everett, Dorothy. "The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle." *Modern Language Review* 17 (1922): 217-227, 337-50; 18 (1923): 381-93.

Faber, Johann, ed. *D. Ricardi Pampolitani Anglosaxonis Eremitæ, Viri in Divinis Scripturis ac Veteri illa Solidaque Theologia Eruditissimi, in Psalterium Davidicum, atque Alia Quædam Sacre Scripturæ Monumenta (Quæ Versa Indicabit Pagella) Compendiosa iuxtaque Pia Enarratio*. Cologne: Melchior von Neuss, Printer, 1536.

Faith, Rosamund. "The 'Great Rumour' of 1377 and Peasant Ideology." Hilton and Aston. 43-73.

Filoramo, Giovanni. *A History of Gnosticism*. Trans. Anthony Alcock. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

Finch, J. R. "The Lump and the Cloud: Treating the Cancer Within." *Mount Carmel* 37 (1989): 144-52.

Fleming, John V. *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages*. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald P, 1977).

Forman, Robert K. "Mystical Experience in the *Cloud* Literature." Glasscoe 1987, 177-95.

Frank, Robert Worth. "The 'Hungry Gap,' Crop Failure, and Famine: The Fourteenth-Century Agricultural Crisis and *Piers Plowman*." *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 4 (1990): 87-104.

Freemantle, W. T. *A Bibliography of Sheffield and Vicinity*. Section 1. Sheffield: Pawson and Brailsford, 1911.

Froehlich, Karlfried. "Pseudo-Dionysius and the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century." Luibheid and Rorem 33-46.

Galbraith, V. H. "Thoughts about the Peasants' Revolt." *The Reign of Richard II*. Ed. F. R. H. du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron. London: U of London, Athlone P, 1971. 46-57.

Garay, Kathleen E. "'A Naked Intent unto God': Ungendered Discourse in Some Late Medieval Mystical Texts." *Mystics Quarterly* 23 (1997): 36-49.

Gardner, Helen. Rev. of *The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counselling*, ed. Phyllis Hodgson. *Medium Ævum* 16 (1947): 36-42.

---. *The Composition of Four Quartets*. London & Boston: Faber and Faber, 1978.

---. "The Text of the *Scale of Perfection*." *Medium Ævum* 5 (1936): 11-30.

---. "Walter Hilton and the Authorship of *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *Review of English Studies* 9 (1933): 129-47.

—. "Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England." *Essays and Studies* 22 (1937): 103-27.

Gatta, Julia. *Three Spiritual Directors for Our Time: Julian Of Norwich, The Cloud of Unknowing, Walter Hilton*. Cambridge, MA: Cowley Publications 1986.

Gatto, Louis C. "The Walter Hilton-*Cloud of Unknowing* Authorship Controversy Reconsidered." *Studies in Medieval Culture* 5 (1975): 181-89.

Geoffrey of Vinsauf. *Poetria Nova*. Trans. Margaret F. Nims. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediæval Studies, 1967.

Gibaldi, Joseph. *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*. 4th ed. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1995.

Gibinska, Marta. "Some Observations on the Themes and Techniques of the Medieval English Religious Love Lyrics." *English Studies* 57 (1976): 103-14.

Gilbert, Sandra M. and Gubar, Susan. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1979.

Gilchrist, John. "Canon Law." *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide.*
Ed. F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg. Washington, D. C. : Catholic U of America P,
1996. 241-53.

Gillespie, Vincent. "The *Cibus Anime* Book 3: A Guide for Contemplatives?" *Spiritualität Heute
und Gestern* 1 (1982): 90-119.

---. "Idols and Images: Pastoral Adaptations of *The Scale of Perfection.*" Phillips 97-123.

---. "Mystic's Foot: Rolle and Affectivity." Glasscoe 1982, 199-230.

---. "Vernacular Books of Religion." Griffiths and Pearsall 317-44.

Gilson, Etienne. *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages.* London: Sheed and Ward,
1955.

Glanz, Elaine. "Richard Rolle's Imagery in *Meditations on the Passion B*: A Reflection of
Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin Minor.*" *Mystics Quarterly* 22 (1996): 58-68.

Glasscoe, Marion, ed. *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at the Exeter
Symposium, July 1980.* Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies. Exeter: U of Exeter, 1980.

---, ed. *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1982.*
Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies. Exeter: U of Exeter, 1982.

---, ed. *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1984.*
Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1984.

---, ed. *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England.* Exeter Symposium IV. Cambridge: D.
S. Brewer, 1987.

---, ed. *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England.* Exeter Symposium V. Cambridge: D. S.
Brewer, 1992.

---. "Time of Passion: Latent Relationships between Liturgy and Meditation in Two Middle
English Mystics." Phillips 125-60.

Glavin, John. "Muriel Spark's *Unknowing* Fiction." *Women's Studies* 15 (1988): 221-41.

Godden, Malcolm. "Plowmen and Hermits in Langland's *Piers Plowman*." *Review of English Studies* ns 35 (1984): 129-63.

Gradon, P., "Langland and the Ideology of Dissent." *Publications of the British Academy* 66 (1980): 179-205.

Grady, Sr. Laureen, O.C.D. "Afterword to *A Pistle of Discrecioun of Stirings*." *Contemplative Review* 10 (1977): 1-6.

Græf, Hilda. *The Story of Mysticism*. London: Peter Davies, 1966.

Gregg, William O. "The Presence of the Church in *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *American Benedictine Review* 43 (1992): 184-206.

Griffiths, Jeremy and Derek Pearsall, ed. *Book Publication and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.

Grosz, Elizabeth. "Irigaray and the Divine." Local Consumption Occasional Paper 9. Sydney, April 1986.

---. *Sexual Subversions: Three French Feminists*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989.

Gründler, Otto. "*Devotio Moderna atque Antiqua*: The Modern Devotion and Carthusian Spirituality." *The Roots of the Modern Christian Tradition*. Ed. E. Rozanne Elder. Intro. Jean Leclercq. The Spirituality of Western Christendom 2. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1984. 27-45.

Gurevich, Aron. *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*. Trans. Janos M. Bak and Paula A. Hollingsworth. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988.

Hargreaves, Henry. "'Lessouns of *Dirige*': A Rolle Text Discovered." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 91 (1990): 311-19.

Harvey, Rev. Ralph. *The Fire of Love and The Mending of Life or The Rule of Living of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, Englisht by Richard Misyn.* E.E.T.S. O.S. 106. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1896.

Heffernan, Thomas J., ed. *The Popular Literature of Medieval England.* Tennessee Studies in Literature 28. Knoxville: Tennessee UP, 1985.

---. *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988.

---. "Sermon Literature." Edwards 177-207.

Heseltine, G. C. "Richard Rolle." *The Times Literary Supplement,* 14 April 1932: 271.

Higgs, Laquita M. "Richard Rolle and His Concern for His 'Even Christians.'" *Mystics Quarterly* 14 (1988): 177-85.

Hilditch, Janet. "*The Cloud of Unknowing*: Its Inheritance and Its Inheritors." Diss. U of St. Andrews, U. K., 1987.

Hilton, R. H., ed. *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976.

Hilton, R. H. and T. H. Aston, eds. *The English Rising of 1381.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984.

Hodgson, Geraldine E. *English Mystics.* London: A. R. Mowbray, 1922.

---. *The Sanity of Mysticism. A Study of Richard Rolle.* London: The Faith P, 1926.

Hodgson, Phyllis, ed. *The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counselling.* 1944. E. E.T. S. O.S. 218. London: Oxford UP, 1958.

—, ed. *The Cloud of Unknowing and Related Treatises.* Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1982.

---, ed. *Deonise Hid Diuinite and Other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer Related to The Cloud of Unknowing.* 1955. E.E.T.S O.S. 231. London: Oxford UP, 1958.

---. *Three Fourteenth-Century English Mystics.* Writers and Their Work 196. London: Longmans, Green, 1967.

---. "Walter Hilton and *The Cloud of Unknowing*: A Problem of Authorship Reconsidered." *Modern Language Review* 50 (1955): 395-406.

Hogg, James. "Everyday Life in the Charterhouse in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs, Nr. 3.* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980: 113-46.

---. "The Latin *Cloud.*" Glasscoe 1984, 104-15.

Holmes, George. *The Later Middle Ages 1272-1485.* 1962. London: Sphere Books, 1974.

Honda, Masaaki. "*The Cloud of Unknowing* and the Logic of Not-Two." *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 1 (1981): 93-96.

Horrox, Rosemary, trans. and ed. *The Black Death.* Manchester Medieval Sources Series. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994.

Horstman, Carl, ed. *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church, and His Followers.* 2 vols. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895-1896.

Hort, Greta. *Sense and Thought: A Study in Mysticism.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1936.

Hudson, Anne. A Chapter from Walter Hilton in Two Middle English Compilations." *Neophilologus* 52 (1968): 416-21.

---. *Lollards and Their Books.* London and Ronceverte: Hambledon P, 1985.

---. *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History.* Oxford: Clarendon P, 1988.

---, ed. *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978.

---. Rev. of *Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection*, ed. Fumio Kuriyagawa (1967). *Neophilologus* 53 (1969): 97-99.

Hughes, Alaphridus C. *Walter Hilton's Direction to Contemplatives*. Dissertatio ad Lauream in Facultate Theologica Pontificiæ Universitatis Gregorianæ. Rome, 1962.

Hughes, Jonathan. *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell P, 1988.

Hussey, S. S. "Editing the Middle English Mystics." *Spiritualität Heute und Gestern*. Ed. James Hogg, 2 (1982): 160-73.

---. "An Edition from the Manuscripts of Book II of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*." Diss. U of London, 1962.

---. "Langland, Hilton, and the Three Lives." *Review of English Studies*. N.S. 7 (1956): 132-50.

---. "Latin and English in *The Scale of Perfection*." *Mediæval Studies* 35 (1973): 456-76.

---. "The Text of *The Scale of Perfection*, Book II." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 65 (1964): 75-92.

---. "Walter Hilton: Traditionalist?" Glasscoe 1980, 1-16.

---. Rev. of *Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection*, ed. Fumio Kuriyagawa (1967). *Medium Ævum* 37 (1968): 212-13.

Huxley, Aldous. *Grey Eminence - A Study in Religion and Politics*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1956.

Irigaray, Luce. *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*. Trans. Carolyn Burke and Gillian C. Gill. London: Athlone P, 1993. Trans. of *Ethique de la Différence Sexuelle*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1984.

---. "Divine Women." Trans. Stephen Muecke. Local Consumption Paper 8. Sydney, 1986. Trans. of "Femmes Divines" *Critique* 454 (1985), republished in Irigaray, *Sexes et Parentés*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1987.

—. *Speculum of the Other Woman*. Trans. Gillian C. Gill. Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1985. Trans. of *Spéculum de l'autre Femme*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1974.

---. *This Sex Which Is Not One*. Trans. Catherine Porter with Catherine Burke. Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1985. Trans. of *Ce Sexe Qui n'en est pas Un*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1974.

James, Bruno S. Rev. of *The Cloud of Unknowing and Other Treatises*, ed. Abbot Justin McCann. *The Tablet* 13 Sept. 1952: 210-11.

Johnston, William. *The Mysticism of The Cloud of Unknowing: A Modern Interpretation. With a Foreword by Thomas Merton*. 1967. Religious Experience Series 8. 2nd ed. St. Meinrad, Indiana: Abbey P, 1975.

---, ed. *The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counselling*. Garden City, New York: Image Books, 1973.

Jonas, Hans. *Gnosis und Spätanker Geist*. 1934. Rpt. as *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity*. Boston: Beacon P, 1963.

Jones, Dorothy, ed. *The Minor Works of Walter Hilton*. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1929.

Kallistos, Bishop of Diokleva. "The Holy Name of Jesus in East and West: The Hesychasts and Richard Rolle." *Sobornost* 4 (1982): 163-84.

Kane, Harold, ed. *The Prickynge of Love*. 2 vols. Elizabethan & Renaissance Studies 92.10. Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984.

Keiser, George R. "'Noght How Lang Man Lifs; Bot How Wele': The Laity and the Ladder of Perfection." Sargent 1989, 145-59.

Keller, Joseph. "The Function of Paradox in Mystical Discourse." *Studia Mystica* 6 (1983): 3-18.

Kelly, Henry Ansgar. *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1975.

Kendall, Edith. *A City Not Forsaken*. London: Faith P, 1962.

Kennedy, David G. *Incarnational Element in Hilton's Spirituality*. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:3. Salzburg, Austria: Institüt für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1982.

Kershaw, Ian. "The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England 1315-1322." R. H. Hilton 85-132.

Kirchberger, Clare, ed. *The Coasts of the Country. An Anthology of Prayer Drawn from the Early English Spiritual Writers*. Intro. Godfrey Anstruther, O. P. London: Harvill P, 1952.

---, ed. *The Goad of Love*. London: Faber and Faber, 1952.

Knowles, David. *The English Mystical Tradition*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

---. *The English Mystics*. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1927.

---. "The Excellence of *The Cloud*." *Downside Review* 52 (1934):71-92.

---. *The Religious Orders in England*. Vol. 2. *The England of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1961.

Knowles, David and Joy Russell-Smith. "Walter Hilton." *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique: Doctrine et Histoire* 7 (1969): cols. 525-30.

Knowlton, Sister Mary Arthur. *The Influence of Richard Rolle and Julian of Norwich on the Middle English Lyrics*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1973.

Kocijancic-Pokorn, Nike. "The Language and Discourse of *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *Literature and Theology* 11: (1997): 408-21.

---. "Original Audience of *The Cloud of Unknowing* (in Support of Carthusian Authorship)." and "The Late Twentieth-Century Audience of *The Cloud of Unknowing* (Postmodern and Apophatic Thought with a Special Reference to Slovena)." *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*. Vol. 1. Ed. James Hogg. *Analecta Cartusiana* 130. Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1995. 60-77 and 78-90.

Kuczynski, Michael P. "Rolle among the Reformers: Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Wycliffite Copies of Richard Rolle's *English Psalter*." Pollard and Boenig 177-202.

Kuriyagawa, Fumio, ed. *Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection*. Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Keio University, Tokyo, 1967.

---, ed. "The Inner Temple Manuscript of Walter Hilton's *Eight Chapters on Perfection*." *Studies in English Literature* (Tokyo). English Number 47 (1971): 7-34.

Lacan, Jacques. "The Insistence of the Letter in the Unconscious." Lodge 80-106.

Lagorio, Valerie M., ed. *Mysticism: Medieval and Modern*. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:20. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1986.

Lambert, M. D. *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323*. London: S.P.C.K., 1961.

Latham, R. E., comp. *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*. London: British Academy, Oxford UP, 1965.

Latham, R. E., D. R. Howlett, *et al*, comps. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. Fasicules I-V (a-l). Under the Direction of a Committee Appointed by the British Academy. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1975-97.

Lawler, Traugott, ed. and trans. *The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland.* Yale Studies in

English 182. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1974.

Lawton, David A. "Gaytryge's Sermon, *Dictamen,* and Middle English Alliterative Verse."

Modern Philology 76 (1979): 329-43.

Leclercq, Jean. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture.*

Trans. Catharine Misrahi. 2nd rev. ed. New York: Fordham UP, 1974.

---. "Influence and Noninfluence of Dionysius in the Western Middle Ages." Luibheid and

Rorem 25-32.

Leclercq, Jean, François Vandenbroucke and Louis Bouyer. *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages.*

London: Burns & Oates, 1968.

Lees, Rosemary Ann. *The Negative Language of the Dionysian School of Mystical Theology:*

An Approach to The Cloud of Unknowing. 2 vols. *Analecta Cartusiana* 107. Salzburg:

Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1983.

Leff, Gordon. *Bradwardine and the Pelagians: A Study of 'De Causa Dei' and Its Opponents*

(Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1957).

---. *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c. 1250-c.1450.* 2

vols. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1967.

---. *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* New York: John

Wiley, 1968.

---. *The Dissolution of the Medieval Outlook.* New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London:

Harper & Row, 1976.

Leonardi, Claudio. "Intellectuals and Hagiography in the Fourteenth Century." *Intellectuals and*

Writers in Fourteenth-Century Europe: The J. A. W. Bennett Memorial Lectures, Perugia

1994. Ed Piero Boitani and Anna Torti. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986. 7-21.

Lerner, Robert E. *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U of Calfornia P, 1972.

Lewis, C. S. *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1964.

---. *The Screwtape Letters.* London and Glasgow: Collins, Fontana Books, 1963.

Lewis, Charlton T, and Charles Short, ed. *A Latin Dictionary.* 1879. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1966.

Liegey, Gabriel M., ed. "The *Canticum Amoris* of Richard Rolle." *Traditio* 12 (1956): 369-91.

---. "Richard Rolle's *Carmen Prosaicum*, An Edition and Commentary." *Mediæval Studies* 19 (1957): 15-36.

Lindkvist, Harald, ed. *Richard Rolle's Meditatio de Passione Domini According to MS. Uppsala C. 494.* Uppsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1917. (Appendix A is an edition of Rolle's *Officium* from MS. Uppsala C. 621.)

Little, Judy. *Comedy and the Woman Writer: Woolf, Spark, and Feminism.* Lincoln: Nebraska UP, 1983.

Llewelyn, Robert. "The Treatment of Distractions in Zen and *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *Mystics Quarterly* 7 (1981): 61-76.

Lodge, David, ed. *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader.* London and New York: Longman, 1988.

Lohrey, Amanda. "'The clear voice suddenly singing.'" *Secrets.* By Drusilla Modjeska, Amanda Lohrey, Robert Dessaix. Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia, 1997. 173-273.

Lonsdale, David, S. J. "Traditions of Spiritual Guidance: *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *The Way* 26 (1986): 155-62.

Louth, Andrew. "The Influence of Denys the Areopagite on Eastern and Western Spirituality in the Fourteenth Century." *Sobornost* 4 (1982): 185-200.

---. *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1981.

Lovatt, Roger. "*The Imitation of Christ* in Late Medieval England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser. 18 (1968): 97-121.

Luibheid, Colm, and Paul Rorem, trans. *Pseudo-Dionysius The Complete Works*. The Classics of Western Spirituality. London: S.P.C.K., 1987.

Macherey, Pierre. *A Theory of Literary Production*. Trans. Geoffrey Wall. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.

Madigan, Mary Felicitas, I.B.V.M. *The "Passio Domini" Theme in the Works of Richard Rolle: His Personal Contribution in Its Religious, Cultural, and Literary Context*. Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1978.

Mahony, William K. "The Artist as Yogi, the Yogi as Artist." *Darshan* 138 (1998):56-62.

Maisonneuve, Roland. "Margery Kempe and the Eastern and Western Tradition of the 'Perfect Fool.'" Glasscoe 1982, 1-17.

Malory, Sir Thomas. *Works*. Ed. Eugène Vinaver. 2nd ed. London: Oxford UP, 1971.

Manly, John Matthews. "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians." *Chaucer Criticism*. Vol. 1. Ed. Richard Schoeck and Jerome Taylor. London and Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 1960. 268-90.

Markert, Francis Jerome, ed. "A Critical Edition of Richard Rolle's *English Psalter*: Psalms 106-120 with Glossary, Notes, Appendices and an Introductory Essay on His Spirituality." Diss. Fordham U, 1990.

Marzac, Nicole. *Richard Rolle de Hampole (1300-1349): Vie et Oeuvres Suivies du Tractatus Super Apocalysim, Texte Critique avec Traduction et Commentaire*. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1968.

Matthews, William, trans. *Later Medieval English Prose*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963.

McCann, Dom Justin, ed. *The Cloud of Unknowing, and Other Treatises by an English Mystic of the Fourteenth Century, with a Commentary on The Cloud by Augustine Baker*. 1924. Springfield, Illinois: Templegate, 1964.

---. *"The Cloud of Unknowing." Ampleforth Journal* 29 (1924): 192-97.

McEntire, Sandra. "Walter Hilton and Margery Kempe: Tears and Compunction." Lagorio 49-57.

McFarlane, K. B. *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity*. London:English Universities P, 1952.

McIlroy, Claire. Rev. of *Richard Rolle: Emendatio Vitæ; Orationes ad Honorem Nominis Ihesu*, ed. Nicholas Watson. *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 15 (1997): 283-84.

McManners, John. *The Oxford History of Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990.

Meadows, George D. "The Father of English Mysticism. Richard Rolle of Hampole, 1290-1349." *Catholic World* 126 (1928): 456-60.

Meech, Sanford Brown, ed. *The Book of Margery Kempe*. Notes and Pref. Hope Emily Allen. E.E.T.S. O.S. 212. London: Oxford UP, 1940.

Milosh, Joseph. *The Scale of Perfection and the English Mystical Tradition*. Madison, Milwaukee, London: U of Wisconsin P, 1966.

Minnis, Alastair. "The Sources of *The Cloud of Unknowing*: A Reconsideration." Glasscoe 1982, 63-75.

---. "Affection and Imagination in *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*." *Traditio* 39 (1983): 323-66.

---. "*The Cloud of Unknowing* and Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection.*" Edwards 61-81.

Moi, Toril. *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory*. New Accents Ser. London and New York: Methuen, 1985.

Morgan, Margery M. "*A Talking of the Love of God* and the Continuity of Stylistic Tradition in Middle English Prose Meditations." *Review of English Studies* ns 3 (1952): 97-116.

---. "Versions of Meditations on the Passion Ascribed to Richard Rolle." *Medium Ævum* 22 (1953): 93-103.

Morris, Colin. *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200*. London: S.P.C.K., 1972.

Morris, T. J. "Rhetorical Stance: An Approach to *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Its Related Treatises." *Mystics Quarterly* 15 (1989):13-20.

Mortley, Raoul. "What Is Negative Theology?: The Western Origins." *Prudentia: A Journal of the Intellectual History of the Ancient World* (Auckland) Supplementary Number 1981: 5-12.

Moyes, Malcolm. "The Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions of Richard Rolle's *Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum.*" Glasscoe 1984, 81-103.

---, ed. *Richard Rolle's Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum: An Introduction and Contribution Towards a Critical Edition*. 2 vols. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1988.

Mueller, Janel M. *The Native Tongue and the Word. Developments in English Prose Style 1380-1580*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago P, 1984.

Muktananda, Swami. *Nothing Exists That Is Not Shiva: Commentaries on the Shiva Sutra, Vijnanabhairava, Gurugita, and Other Sacred Texts*. South Fallsburg, New York: SYDA Foundation, 1997.

Mullett, Michael. *Popular Culture and Popular Protest in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. London, New York, Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987.

Murphy, James J. "The Arts of Discourse, 1050-1400." *Mediæval Studies* 23 (1961): 194-205.

---. "Rhetoric in Fourteenth-Century Oxford." *Medium Ævum* 34 (1965): 1-20.

Murray, Alexander. *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1978.

Murray, Sister Elizabeth M, ed. "Richard Rolle's Comment on the Canticles, Edited from MS. Trinity College, Dublin 153." Diss. Fordham U, 1958.

Myers, A. R. *England in the Late Middle Ages*. 8th ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.

Newton, Sandra Salinas, ed. "An Edition of Richard Rolle's *English Psalter*, the Prologue through Ps. XV, with Introductory Notes and a Glossary." Diss. Fordham U, 1976.

Nims, Margaret F., ed. *Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediæval Studies, 1967.

Noetinger, Dom Maurice. "The Authorship of *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *Blackfriars* 4 (1924):1457-64.

---. "The Biography of Richard Rolle." *The Month* 147 (1926): 22-30.

---, ed. and trans. *Le Feu d'Amour, le Modèle de la Vie Parfait, Le Pater par Richard Rolle l'Ermite de Hampole*. Tours: Maison Alfred Mame et Fils, 1928.

---, trans. *Le Nuage de l'Inconnaissance*. Paris: Maison A. Muse, 1925.

Norquist, Bruce. "The *Cloud*'s Widening Circulation and Association with People of Distinction." *Downside Review* 112 (1994): 284-308.

---. "Glossary of Certain Key Theological Terms in *The Cloud*." *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*. Vol. 1. Ed. James Hogg. *Analecta Cartusiana* 130. Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1995. 23-47.

Oakley, Francis. *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca and London: Cornel UP, 1979.

Oberman, Heiko. "Fourteenth-Century Religious Thought: A Premature Profile." *Speculum* 53 (1978): 80-93.

—. "The Shape of Late Medieval Thought: The Birthpangs of the Modern Era." Trinkaus 3-25.

Ogden, Schubert M. *Faith and Freedom: Toward a Theology of Liberation*. Abingdon Nashville, 1979.

Ogilvie-Thomson, S. J., ed. *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse Edited from MS. Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts*. E. E. T. S. 293. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988.

---, ed. *Walter Hilton's 'Mixed Life' Edited from Lambeth Palace MS. 472*. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:15. Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1986.

Omi, Austin Cooper. *The Cloud: Reflections on Selected Texts*. Homebush, New South Wales: St. Paul Publications, 1989.

Ormrod, W. M. *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327-1377*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1990.

Owen, H. P. "Christian Mysticism: A Study in Walter Hilton's *The Ladder of Perfection*." *Religious Studies* 7 (1971): 31-42.

Owst, G. R. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*. 1933. 2nd rev. ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966.

---. *Preaching in Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1926.

Ozment, Steven E. *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1973.

---. "Mysticism, Nominalism and Dissent." Trinkaus 67-92.

Pagels, Elaine. *The Gnostic Gospels*. 1979. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.

---. *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent*. 1988. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.

Pantin, William A. *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1955.

Patch, Howard R. "Richard Rolle, Hermit and Mystic." *American Church Monthly* 28 (1928): 32-38; 108-114.

---. Rev. of *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, by Hope Emily Allen. *Speculum* 4 (1929): 469-71.

Pearsall, Derek, ed. William Langland. *Piers Plowman: An Edition of the C-Text*. York Medieval Texts. Second Ser. London: Edward Arnold, 1978.

Peers, Edgar A. *Behind That Wall: An Introduction to Some Classics of the Interior Life*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1947.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. "The Odyssey of Dionysian Spirituality." Luibheid and Rorem 11-24.

Pepler, Conrad. "English Spiritual Writers. III. Richard Rolle." *Clergy Review* 44 (1959): 78-89.

Perkins, Pheme. *Gnosticism and the New Testament*. Minneapolis: Fortress P, 1993.

Perry, G. G., ed. *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle of Hampole*. E.E.T.S. O.S. 20. London: Oxford UP, 1866. Rev. ed. 1921.

Pezzini, Domenico. "The Theme of the Passion in Richard Rolle and Julian of Norwich." *Religion in the Poetry and Drama of the Late Middle Ages in England*. Ed. Piero Boitani, Anna Torti. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990.

Pfander, H. G. "Some Medieval Manuals of Religious Instruction in England and Observations on Chaucer's Parson's Tale." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 35 (1936): 243-58.

Phillips, Helen, ed. *Langland, the Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition. Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey.* Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990.

Pickering, F. P. *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages.* Coral Gables: U of Miami P, 1970.

Pollard, William F. "Richard Rolle and the 'Eye of the Heart'." Pollard and Boenig 85-105.

---. "'The Tone of Heaven': Bonaventuran Melody and the Easter Psalm in Richard Rolle." Heffernan 1985. 252-76.

Pollard, William F. and Robert Boenig, eds. *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England.* Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997.

Porete, Marguerite. *The Mirror of Simple Souls.* Trans. and introd. Ellen L Babinsky. Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist P, 1993.

Porter, Mary Louise, ed. "Richard Rolle's Latin Commentary on the Psalms." Diss. Cornell U, 1929.

Postan, M. M. "Histoire Economique: Moyen Age." *IXe Congrès Internationale des Sciences Historiques, 1, Rapports.* Paris, 1950.

—. "Agrarian Evidence of a Declining Population." 1950. *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy,* ed. M. M. Postan. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973. 186-213.

Potter, Robert. *The English Morality Play. Origins, History and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition.* London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.

Presa, Kevin. "Ineffability." *Prudentia: A Journal of the Intellectual History of the Ancient World* (Auckland) Supplementary Number 1981: 143-52.

Price, B. B. *Medieval Thought: An Introduction.* Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992.

Progoff, Ira, ed. and trans. *The Cloud of Unknowing.* London: Rider, 1959.

Rahner, K., S. J. "La Doctrine des Sens Spirituels au Moyen Age, surtout chez Saint Bonaventure." *Revue d'Ascètique et de Mystique* 14 (1933):263-99.

Renevey, Denis. "Encoding and Decoding: Metaphorical Discourse of Love in Richard Rolle's Commentary on the First Verse of the Song of Songs." *The Medieval Translator* 4. Ed. Roger Ellis and Ruth Evans. Exeter: U of Exeter P, 1994. 200-217.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia.* Ed. George H. Taylor. New York: Columbia UP, 1986.

Riddy, Felicity. "The Speaking Knight: Sir Gawain and Other Animals." *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend. Essays in Honour of Valerie M. Lagorio.* Ed. Martin B. Shichtman and James P. Carley. Albany: State U of New York P, 1994.

Riehle, Wolfgang. *The Middle English Mystics.* Trans. Bernard Standring. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

---. "The Problem of Walter Hilton's Possible Authorship of *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Its Related Tracts." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 78 (1977): 31-45.

Rigg, A. G. *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.

Robbins, R. H. Rev. of *Deonise Hid Diuinite,* ed. Phyllis Hodgson. *Speculum* 32 (1957): 409-10.

Robertson, D. W. "The Cultural Tradition of *Handlyng Synne.*" *Speculum* 22 (1947): 162-85.

Rodriguez, Zane Jose, ed. "Richard Rolle's English Commentary on the Psalter, Psalms 61 to 75: Text and Glossary, with an Introductory Essay on Rolle and the Tradition of Psalm Commentary." Diss. Fordham U, 1980.

Rogers, William Elford. *Image and Abstraction: Six Middle English Religious Lyrics. Anglistica* 18. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1972.

Rolt, C. E., trans. *Dionysius the Areopagite.* London: S.P.C.K., 1920.

Rovang, P. R. "Demythologising Metaphor in *The Cloud of Unknowing.*" *Mystics Quarterly* 18 (1992): 131-37.

Rudolph, Kurt. *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism.* 1977. Trans. P. W. Coxon, K. H. Kuhn. Trans. Ed. R. McL. Wilson. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987. Trans. of *Die Gnosis: Wesen und Geschichte einer spätantiken Religion.* Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1977.

Ruether, Rosemary Radford. "Misogynism and Virginal Feminism in the Fathers of the Church." *Religion and Sexism: Images of Woman in the Jewish and Christian Traditions.* Ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974. 150-83.

Russell, Kenneth C. "Reading Richard Rolle." *Spirituality Today* 30 (1978): 153-63.

Russell-Smith, Joy. "Walter Hilton and a Tract in Defence of the Veneration of Images." *Dominican Studies* 7 (1954): 180-214.

---. "Walter Hilton." *The Month* N.S. 22 (1959): 133-48.

Ryder, Andrew. "The English Spiritual Writers of the Fourteenth Century: I. The Writers and Their Background." *Mount Carmel* 26 (1978): 199-209.

Rygiel, Daniel. "Structure and Style in Rolle's *The Form of Living.*" *Fourteenth-Century English Mystics' Newsletter* 4.1 (1978): 6-15.

Sargent, Michael. "Bonaventura English: A Survey of the Middle English Prose Translations of Early Franciscan Literature." *Analecta Cartusiana* 106:2. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984: 145-76.

---. "Contemporary Criticism of Richard Rolle." *Kartäusermystik und Mystiker.* Vol. 1. Ed. James Hogg. *Analecta Cartusiana* 55. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerkanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1981. 160-205.

---. *James Greenhalgh as Textual Critic.* 2 vols. *Analecta Cartusiana.* Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984.

---. "James Grenehalgh: The Biographical Record." *Karthäusermystik und Mystiker.* Vol. 4. Ed. James Hogg. *Analecta Cartusiana* 55. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984: 20-54.

---. "A New Manuscript of *The Chastising of God's Children* with an Ascription to Walter Hilton." *Medium Ævum* 46 (1977): 49-65.

---. "Richard Rolle, Sorbonnard?" *Medium Ævum* 57 (1988): 284-90.

---. "A Source of *The Pore Caitif* Tract 'Of Man's Will'." *Mediæval Studies* 41 (1979): 535-39.

---. "The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976): 225-40.

---. "Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*: The London Manuscript Group Reconsidered." *Medium Ævum* 52 (1983):189-216.

---, ed. *De Cella in Seculum.* Woodbridge: Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1989.

Scase, Wendy. *Piers Plowman and the New Anticlericalism.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.

Schlauch, Margaret. *English Medieval Literature and Its Social Foundations.* London: Oxford UP, 1956.

---. "Chaucer's Prose Rhythms." *PMLA* 65 (1950): 568-89.

Schmidt, A. V. C. "The Treatment of the Crucifixion in *Piers Plowman* and in Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion*." *Analecta Cartusiana* 35. *Spiritualität Heute und Gestern* 2 (1983): 174-96.

Shantananda, Swami. "'As Here So Elsewhere.'" *Darshan* 129 (December 1997): 14-20.

Sharp, Sister Corona. "'The Unheard Music': T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* and John of the Cross." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 51 (1982): 264-78.

Singh, Jaideva, ed. and trans. *Shiva Sutras: The Yoga of Supreme Identity: Text of the Sutras and the Commentary Vimarshini of Kshemaraja.* Delhi, Varanasi, Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979.

Sitwell, Dom Gerard. "Contemplation in *The Scale of Perfection.* I." *Downside Review* 67 (1949): 276-90.

---. *Medieval Spiritual Writers.* Faith and Fact Books 40. London: Burns & Oates, 1961.

Smart, Ninian. "What Would Buddhaghosa Have Made of *The Cloud of Unknowing?*" *Mysticism and Language,* ed. Steven T. Katz. New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992. 103-22.

Smedick, Lois K. "Parallelism and Pointing in Rolle's Rhythmical Style." *Mediæval Studies* 41 (1979): 404-67.

Smith, Grover, ed. *Letters of Aldous Huxley.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1969.

Souter, Alexander. *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* 1949. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1996.

Southern, R. W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages.* Harmondsworth: Penguin 1970.

Sparrow-Simpson, W. J. "The Influence of Dionysius in Religious History." Rolt 202-219.

Spearing, A. C. *Criticism and Medieval Poetry.* 2nd ed. London: Edward Arnold, 1972.

Spearitt, Placid, O. S. B. "The Survival of Mediaeval Spirituality among the Exiled English Black Monks." *American Benedictine Review* 25 (1974):287-316.

Spengeman, William C. *The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1980.

Squire, Ælred. *Ælred of Rievaulx: A Study.* London: S.P.C.K., 1981.

Steele, F. J. *Towards a Spirituality for Lay-Folk: The Active Life in Middle English Religious Literature from the Thirteenth Century to the Fifteenth.* Salzburg Studies in English

Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:23. Salzburg, Austria and Lewiston, NewYork: Edwin Mellen P, 1995.

Stone, Robert K. *Middle English Prose Style: Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich.* Studies in English Literature 36. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1970.

Stoyanov, Yuri. *The Hidden Tradition in Europe: The Secret History of Medieval Christian Heresy.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Arkana, 1994.

Sturrock, John. *The Language of Autobiography: Studies in the First Person Singular.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.

Sumption, Jonathan. *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediæval Religion.* London: Faber and Faber, 1975.

Szarmach, Paul, ed. *An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe.* Albany: State U of New York P, 1984.

Taavitsainen, Irma. "Ave Maria: A Meditation Connected with Richard Rolle in Uppsala MS. 17.C.XVI." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 91 (1990): 57-66.

---. "Pater Noster: A Meditation Connected with Richard Rolle in BL. Royal MS. 17.C.XVII." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 92 (1991): 31-37.

Takamiya, Toshiyuki, ed. "Walter Hilton's *Of Angels' Song* Edited from the British Museum MS. Additional 27592." *Studies in English Literature* (Tokyo). English Number (1977): 3-31.

---, ed. "A New Manuscript of Walter Hilton's *Eight Chapters on Perfection*: The British Library Additional MS. 60577." *Poetica* [Tokyo]12 (1981): 142-49.

Taylor, Cheryl, as Cheryl Frost. "The Attitude to Women and the Adaptation to a Feminine Audience in *Ancrene Wisse.*" *AUMLA* (*Australian Universities Language and Literature Association*) 50 (1978): 235-50.

Taylor, Cheryl. Rev. of *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse*, ed. Sarah Ogilvie-Thomson. *Parergon* 8 (1990): 161-63.

Tejomayananda, Swami. *Introduction to Kashmir Shaivism*. Ganeshpuri, Gurudev Siddha Peeth, 1975.

Tentler, Thomas N. "The Summa for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control." Trinkaus 102-26.

Theiner, Paul F., ed. *The Contra Amatores Mundi of Richard Rolle of Hampole*. Berkeley: California UP, 1968.

Thompson, E. Margaret. *The Carthusian Order in England*. London: S. P. C. K., 1930.

Thompson, W. Meredith. *Þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*. E. E. T. S. O.S. 241. London: Oxford UP, 1958.

Threadgold, Terry. "Introduction." *Masculine, Feminine and Representation*. Ed. Terry Threadgold and Anne Cranny-Francis. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990. 1-35.

Titow, J. "Evidence of Weather in the Account Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester 1209-1350." *Ecclesiastical History Review* 2nd ser. 12 (1960): 360-407.

Tixier, René. "'Good gamesumli pley': Les Jeux de l'Amour dans *The Cloud of Unknowing*." *Caliban* 24 (1987): 5-25.

---. "Contemplation in *The Cloud of Unknowing*." Pollard and Boenig 107-35.

Tobin, Frank. "Medieval Thought on Visions and Its Resonance in Mechthild von Magdeburg's *Flowing Light of the Godhead*." Bartlett 41-53.

Tracy, David. *The Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism*. New York: Crossroad, 1981.

Trethowan, Illtyd, ed. *The Scale of Perfection by Walter Hilton*. Trans. Leo Sherley-Price. Abr. ed. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975.

Trinkaus, Charles, with Heiko A. Oberman, eds. *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval Religion: Papers from the University of Michigan Conference.* Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Thought 10. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.

Tuchman, Barbara W. *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.

Tuck, J. A. "Nobles, Commons and the Great Revolt of 1381." Hilton and Aston. 194-212.

Tugwell, Simon, O. P. *Ways of Imperfection: An Exploration of Christian Spirituality.* London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1984.

Turner, Denys. *The Darkness of God: Negativity in Christian Mysticism.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.

Turner, Victor. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1974.

---. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure.* 1969. Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1974.

Turner, Victor and Edith. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978.

Underhill, Evelyn, ed. *A Book of Contemplation Which Is Called The Cloud of Unknowing.* London: J. M. Watkins 1910. Rpt. 1970.

---. Rev. of *The Minor Works of Walter Hilton,* ed. Dorothy Jones. *Spectator* 8 June 1929: 905-906.

---. *Mixed Pasture.* London: Methuen, 1933.

---. *Mysticism. A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness.* 1911. 12th rev. ed. London: Methuen, 1960.

---, ed. *The Scale of Perfection.* London: J. M. Watkins, 1923.

Van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage.* 1908. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960.

Vandenbroucke, François, O.S.B.. Introduction and Notes. *Richard Rolle. Chant d'Amour (Melos Amoris)*. Trans. Les Moniales de Wisques. 2 vols. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1971.

Volosinov, Valentin. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. 1930. Trans. Ladislav Matejka and I. R. Titunik. New York: Seminar P, 1973.

Walsh, James, S. J., ed. *The Cloud of Unknowing*. Preface by Simon Tugwell, O. P. The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist P, 1981.

---, ed. *The Pursuit of Wisdom and Other Works by the Author of The Cloud of Unknowing*. The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist P, 1988.

Walsh, James and Eric Colledge, eds. *Of the Knowledge of Ourselves and God. A Fifteenth-Century Spiritual Florilegium*. Fleur de Lys Ser. London: A. R. Mowbray, 1961.

Wakelin, M. F. "A Note on Preaching, 'Roodes and Othyr Ymages' in Mediæval England." *Downside Review* 103 (1985): 76-86.

---. "Richard Rolle and the Language of Mystical Experience in the Fourteenth Century." *Downside Review* 97 (1975):192-203.

Wallner, Björn, ed. *A Commentary on the Benedictus*. Lunds Universitets Arsskrift. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1957.

--- ed. *An Exposition of Qui Habitat and Bonum Est in English*. Lund Studies in English 23. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954.

Warren, Ann K. *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England*. Berkeley: California UP, 1985.

Watson, Katharine. "*The Cloud of Unknowing* and Vedanta." Glasscoe 1982, 76-101.

Watson, Nicholas, ed. *Richard Rolle: Emendatio Vitæ; Orationes ad Honorem Nominis Ihesu*. Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 21. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1995.

---. *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.

---. "Richard Rolle as Elitist and Popularist: The Case of *Judica Me*." Sargent 1989, 123-43.

---. "Translation and Self-Canonisation in Richard Rolle's *Melos Amoris*." *The Medieval Translator. The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Roger Ellis. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989. 167-80.

Watts, H. C. "Richard Rolle of Hampole." *Catholic World* 103 (1916): 798-804.

Waugh, Scott L. *England in the Reign of Edward III*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.

Way, Robert E. trans. *The Cloud of Unknowing and The Letter of Private Direction*. Intro. Anthony Clarke. Wheathampstead, Herts.: Anthony Clarke, 1986.

Weinstein, Donald and Rudolph Bell. *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1982.

Wenzel, Siegfried. *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1986.

Whitford, Margaret, ed. *The Irigaray Reader*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.

Will, Maika J. "Dionysian Neoplatonism and the Theology of the *Cloud* Author - I." *Downside Review* 110 (April 1992): 98-109.

---. "Dionysian Neoplatonism and the Theology of the *Cloud* Author - II." *Downside Review* 110 (July 1992): 184-94.

Will Fowler, Maika. "Zen Buddhist Meditation and the *Cloud* Author's Prayer of Love." *Downside Review* 113 (1995): 289-308.

Wilmart, André. "Le Cantique d'Amour de Richard Rolle." *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*. 21 (1940): 131-48.

—. "Richard Rolle sur le Nom de Jesus." *Le "Jubilus" Dit de Saint Bernard*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1944. 272-80.

Wilson, R. M. "Three Middle English Mystics." *Essays and Studies* n.s. 9 (1956): 87-112.

Windeatt, Barry, ed. *English Mystics of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.

Winnicott, D. W. *Playing and Reality*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1971.

Wolters, Clifton, ed. *The Cloud of Unknowing and Other Works*. 1961. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1978.

---, trans. *Richard Rolle. The Fire of Love*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.

---, ed. *A Study of Wisdom: Three Tracts by the Author of The Cloud of Unknowing*. Fairacres Publications 75. Oxford: SLG P, 1980.

Woolf, Rosemary. *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1968.

Woolley, Reginald M., ed. *The Officium et Miracula of Richard Rolle of Hampole*. London: S.P.C.K., 1919.

Wright, Elizabeth. *Psychoanalytic Criticism: Theory in Practice*. London and New York: Methuen 1984.

Zaehner, R. C. *Mysticism Sacred and Profane*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1957.

Zinn, Grover A., trans. *Richard of St Victor: The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity*. The Classics of Western Spirituality. London. S.P.C.K., 1979.