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EDITING THE LATIN VERSIONS OF THE 'CLOUD OF UNKNOWING' - A PROGRESS REPORT

By J. P. H. Clark

The *Cloud of Unknowing* had the honour of twice being translated from English into Latin. This is not to say that the *Cloud* was as widely circulated as the contemporary *Scale of Perfection* of Walter Hilton, which enjoyed a single Latin translation, by the Carmelite Thomas Fishlake, but a translation of which a considerable number of copies are extant, some of which found their way to the mainland of Europe.<sup>1</sup> Hilton's *Scale*, despite the warning in Book 1 that it is only intended for those vowed to the contemplative life,<sup>2</sup> enjoyed in both its parts a wide popularity, to judge from the surviving manuscripts, both outside the cloister as well as within; there are in fact many more surviving manuscripts of Book 1 than of Book 2.<sup>3</sup>

The two Latin versions of the *Cloud* each survive in a single manuscript, and there is no evidence of its circulation in either English or Latin on the mainland of Europe before the Reformation. Of the surviving manuscripts of the English text, a significant number are of Carthusian origin or association;<sup>4</sup> the warning that its contents are not for the idly curious, and are not intended for

<sup>1</sup>S. S. Hussey, 'Latin and English in the Scale of Perfection', *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973), pp. 456-457, gives a list of manuscripts. To these should be added Ms. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VII G 31. See E. Colledge, 'De nobilitate anime and De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum: Bibliothek Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, Ms. 5.F.34', *Quaerendo* 9 (1979), p. 152.

<sup>2</sup>*Scale*, 1, 92, Ms. Cambridge U.L. Add. 6686 (= C), p. 361 b.

<sup>3</sup>Including the Wynkyn de Worde printed edition of 1494 as representing a lost manuscript, there are forty-five manuscripts of the whole or part of Book One, and twenty-seven of Book Two, in English; of the Latin version there are thirteen manuscripts containing Book One, and thirteen containing Book Two in whole or in part. - Ex inf. Professor S. S. Hussey.

<sup>4</sup>The manuscripts are described in P. Hodgson (ed.), *The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling*, E.E.T.S. O.S. 218 (1944), pp. ix-xix. Cf. her revised edition, *The Cloud of Unknowing and related Treatises*, Analecta Cartusiana 3, Salzburg 1982, pp. xiv-xix. On the place of the Carthusians in the transmission of spiritual texts, see M. G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some late mediaeval spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976), pp. 225-240, including pp. 235-237 on Hilton, pp. 237-238 on the *Cloud*. For a cautionary note, with reference especially to the transmission of works between England and the mainland of Europe, see A. I. Doyle, 'Carthusian Participation in the Movement of Works of Richard Rolle between England and other Parts of Europe in the 14th and 15th Centuries', in *Kartäusermystik und Mystiker*, Band 2, Analecta Cartusiana 55:2, Salzburg 1981, pp. 109-120. On the work of the Carthusian James Grenehalgh, see M. G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, Analecta Cartusiana 85, Salzburg 1984 (2 vols.).

actives living in the world<sup>5</sup> seems to have been taken seriously - in contrast to present day trends, where to judge by the number of available editions it seems to be much more widely read than Hilton!

The Carthusian associations of the *Cloud* prompt a mention of the problem of its authorship. Both Dr. Hogg and I, who are working on the Latin versions, are inclined to suspect, with the late Fr. James Walsh, S.J., that it is the work of a Beauvale Carthusian, but we cannot prove it.<sup>6</sup> Among the points in favour of this are the use of a north-east Midland dialect in the earliest extant manuscripts - admittedly only of the early fifteenth-century and not autographs - which would be at least consistent with an origin for the work at Beauvale, and the fact that there is a close inter-relationship between the *Cloud* and the two books of Walter Hilton's *Scale*. Hilton, whose last years were spent at the Augustinian Priory of Thurgarton, wrote a well-known letter on the religious life to Adam Horsley, who became a Carthusian of Beauvale, and is likely to have had links with the Charterhouse there - though he was a man of many contacts. The description of the young disciple who is addressed in the *Cloud* would fit that of a Carthusian *redditus* - though this argument is not conclusive.<sup>7</sup> The apparently

<sup>5</sup>*Cloud*, ed. Hodgson, 1944, Prologue, pp. 1-3 (= edition of 1982, pp. 1-2).

<sup>6</sup>James Walsh, S.J. (ed.), *The Cloud of Unknowing*, Paulist Press 1981, pp. 2-9, gives a judicious summary of the evidence. Dr. Hogg and I hope in a subsequent fascicle of our edition of the Latin versions of the *Cloud* in *Analecta Cartusiana* to explore the evidence further. I note the suggestion made by J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Mediaeval Yorkshire*, Woodbridge 1988, pp. 349-350, that the author of the *Cloud* may have been a Cambridge Dominican. Dr. Hughes points to the fertilisation of the Cambridge Dominican convent by the presence of German students, or the migration of Cambridge students to study in Germany, in the last two decades of the fourteenth century, and indicates partial parallels between the teaching of the *Cloud* and that of Eckhart, Tauler and Suso. But Dr. R. Lovatt has found no clear evidence that the work of Eckhart or Tauler was known in fourteenth-century England, and notes that when some of the work of Suso (and of Ruysbroec) did become known in the latter part of that century, it seems to have been valued for those anodyne elements in it which conformed to patterns of devotion long established in this country, rather than for its distinctive mystical teaching. (R. Lovatt, 'The Influence of Religious Literature of Germany and the Low Countries on English Spirituality', Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1965; 'Henry Suso and the Medieval Mystical Tradition in England', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Dartington 1982*, ed. by M. Glasscoe, Exeter 1982, pp. 47-62. It would not be necessary to posit German or Rhineland influence for an orthodox Thomist theology of grace in England in the latter part of the fourteenth century; cf. J. P. H. Clark, 'Thomas Maldon, O.Carm., a Cambridge Theologian of the Fourteenth Century', *Camelus* 29 (1982), pp. 225-228.

<sup>7</sup>Noted already by D. Knowles, *The English Mystical Tradition*, London 1961, p. 71. For the *redditi*, see E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, London 1930, pp. 123-5, and the index in *The Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes...*, *Documents*: Vol. 3 (*Analecta Cartusiana* 99:3, Salzburg 1989, (reprint of the Basle, 1510, edition of Carthusian legislation), p. 491.

deliberate anonymity of the author would accord with the spirit of the Charterhouse, though this is a slight point, and plenty of mediaeval Carthusian authors are identified! The use made of Pseudo-Dionysius inside and outside Charterhouses is one of the factors which remains to be explored.

The edition of the Latin *Cloud* so far consists of an edition of the earlier, anonymous Latin version in Ms. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Bodley 856, together with an edition of the variant English text of the *Cloud* in Ms. British Library, Harley 959 - the surviving form of the English text to which this Latin version is most closely related.<sup>8</sup> This is followed by the edition of the Latin version by Richard Methley, O.Carth.<sup>9</sup> A fourth volume is planned, which will take longer to produce. This will include a commentary on the standard English text, based on Ms. British Library Harley 674, already edited for the *Early English Text Society* and revised for *Analecta Cartusiana* by Professor Phyllis Hodgson,<sup>10</sup> followed by commentaries on the Bodley Latin version (with reference to both Ms. Harley 674 and Harley 959), and on the Methley Latin version. With regard to the commentary on the standard English text, it should be said that while Professor Hodgson's work provides a firm and indispensable foundation, there are a number of points to be explored which go beyond the indications provided by her editions; these include further examination of sources and affinities in Thomas Gallus' Dionysian commentaries, and the inter-relationship between the *Cloud* and Hilton. It has been suggested elsewhere that the work of 'another man' referred to three times in the *Cloud*, twice with approbation and once in a tone of constructive criticism, is most likely to be Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, Book 1, and that in turn *Scale of Perfection*, Book Two, responds to such criticism and develops Hilton's own teaching further. Hilton's account of the 'luminous darkness' in *Scale*, Book Two, seems to be his own re-interpretation of the *Cloud*'s Pseudo-Dionysian theology in a very un-Dionysian sense, while in turn Hilton's perception in *Scale*, 2, of contemplation as an awareness of the life of grace may well owe something to the *Cloud*'s Thomist theology of 'operant' grace in the contemplative life.<sup>11</sup> The exchanges between Hilton and the *Cloud*'s

<sup>8</sup>*The Latin Versions of 'The Cloud of Unknowing'*: Vol. 1, *Nubes Ignorandi* - Ms. Bodley 856, edited by John Clark, *Analecta Cartusiana* 119:1, Salzburg 1988; Vol. 2, *The English Text of 'The Cloud of Unknowing' in Ms. British Library Harley 959*, edited by John Clark, *Analecta Cartusiana* 119:2, 1989.

<sup>9</sup>The third fascicle in the same set, edited by Dr. James Hogg; currently at press.

<sup>10</sup>Professor Hodgson's editions are indicated in note 4. Subsequent references are to her 1944 edition, followed by a bracketed reference to her 1982 edition.

<sup>11</sup>J. P. H. Clark, 'Sources and Theology in *The Cloud of Unknowing*', *Downside Review* 98 (1980), pp. 108-9.

author are not likely to have been one-sided. The *Book of Privy Counselling* balances the strongly theocentric and apophatic-affective bias of the *Cloud* by insisting that the humanity of Jesus is alone the door to contemplation in terms that can be closely matched in Hilton, and may very well have had in mind just the sort of criticism of Pseudo-Dionysian theology that such a one as Hilton would have made.<sup>12</sup>

Similarities have been adduced between the *Cloud* and other works which include elements taken from the tradition of Pseudo-Dionysius, apart from Thomas Gallus - especially Hugh of Balma's *Viae Sion Lugent (De Mystica Theologia)*, Guigues du Pont's *De Contemplatione*, and Rudolph of Biberach's *De Septem Itineribus Aeternitatis*.<sup>13</sup> In view of the lack of firm evidence for the presence of these latter works in fourteenth-century England, I remain cautious regarding the possibility that the *Cloud* may have been directly influenced by them, but note that at any rate subsequently in a Carthusian milieu the *Cloud* was to be readily associated with Hugh of Balma's *Viae Sion Lugent* (and indeed with the works of other authors too). Two fifteenth-century manuscripts of English Carthusian provenance, Mss. British Library Add. 37790 and 37049, contain (with some differences) a compilation which includes extracts from *Viae Sion Lugent*, as well as from Rolle's *Form of Living*, the *Cloud* and other writings in the *Cloud* corpus, and Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*.<sup>14</sup> Two extant English manuscripts, of unknown provenance, both of which, Dr. A. I. Doyle advises, should be dated to the first half or middle of the fifteenth century, contain the text of *Viae Sion Lugent*: Mss. Trinity College, Cambridge, B.14.25, and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Ms. 353/580. Moreover, Syon Abbey had a copy in its manuscript numbered M. 116, now lost.<sup>15</sup> There are also two manuscripts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, from Sheen and London Charterhouses respectively.<sup>16</sup> There is no known mediaeval English manuscript of the books by

<sup>12</sup> *Book of Privy Counselling*, pp. 159/5-160/23 (90/41-92/2). Very similar use of John 10 is made by Hilton in *Scale*, 1, 91, Ms. C, p. 361 a; *Scale*, 2, 27, Ms. British Library Harley 6579 (= H), ff. 96v-97r.

<sup>13</sup> Hodgson, *Cloud* (1982), pp. xlv ff.

<sup>14</sup> P. S. Joliffe, 'Two Middle English Tracts on the Contemplative Life', *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975), pp. 85-121.

<sup>15</sup> Joliffe, art. cit., p. 117, note 147, on the basis of information given by Dr. A. I. Doyle. Dr. Doyle has supplied the dating of the manuscripts to the present writer in a letter.

<sup>16</sup> M. G. Sargent, 'The Transmission ...', pp. 229-230, referring to Mss. Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 396 written by J. London of Sheen, and Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce 262 (the ms. was written by William Tregooze (d. 1514) and Andrew Boorde of London, and was annotated in part by James Grenehalgh, although he did not annotate the *Viae Sion Lugent*). R. A. Lees, *The Negative Language of the Dionysian School of Mystical Theology: an Approach to the 'Cloud of Unknowing'*,

Guigues du Pont or Rudolph of Biberach.<sup>17</sup>

I suspect that many, if not all, of the similarities between the *Cloud* and the three partially Dionysian works named above are explicable in terms of a common tradition, especially the tradition of modified Dionysian spirituality mediated through such agents as Thomas Gallus. This will be an important area for examination. The commentary on the texts will be prefaced by a general introduction, to include consideration of the authorship question. I limit myself here to looking at the Bodley Latin version of the *Cloud*. In an earlier paper<sup>18</sup> Dr. Hogg has concentrated on the Methley version. To do justice to the Methley version now would require longer study of the text which Dr. Hogg has recently made available, and some consideration of Methley's version of the *Mirror of Simple Souls* would be needed as an adjunct to this.

Because the Bodley Latin version is closely related to what is rightly regarded, from a purely textual point of view, as an 'inferior' English text of the *Cloud*,<sup>19</sup> and because it amounts to an expanded paraphrase rather than an attempt at strictly literal translation, it has received less notice than the Methley version. But it is in fact of interest in its own right as an interpretation of the *Cloud*.

In his earlier paper, Dr. Hogg says of the Bodley Latin *Cloud*: 'One might have postulated a possible Carthusian provenance for it, had not Methley

<sup>16</sup> (cont'd) *Analecta Cartusiana* 107 (2 vols.), 1983, pp. 290-1, provides some up-dating on points of detail. On Ms. Douce, see M. G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 85 (1984) (2 vols.), pp. 532-536.

<sup>17</sup> For the manuscripts of Guigues du Pont's *De Contemplatione*, see P. Dupont, O.S.B. (editor), Guigues du Pont: *Traité sur La Contemplation*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 72 (2 vols.), Salzburg 1985, Vol. 1, pp. 66 ff. The edition of the Middle High German translation of Rudolph von Biberach, *De Septem Itineribus Aeternitatis, Die siben Strassen zu Got*, ed. Margot Schmidt, *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum* 6, Quaracchi 1969, pp. 13\*, 15\*, refers to four manuscripts in English collections. That in the Philipps collection (Ms. Philipps 789) was lost following the dispersal of this library; there are indications that it is likely to have been of continental provenance (p. 5\*, note 5). Of the three in the Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Pat. Lat. 8 is stated to come probably from north Italy, Ms. Canon. Pat. Lat. 14 from Venice, and Ms. Canon. Pat. Lat. 52, a manuscript of the late fourteenth century, carries the note, in a fifteenth century hand: 'Iste liber est monasterii caritatis.' Dr. Martin Kauffmann, Assistant Librarian at the Bodleian Library, kindly advises me that this probably refers to the Cistercian monastery of S. Maria de Caritate in the diocese of Taranto (province of Lecce). Below, in another hand, is another inscription, partially erased but still legible: 'Est monasterii sancti bartholomei extra burgum pusterle.' Dr. Kauffmann advises that this probably refers to the house of Canons Regular of St. Bartholomew at Vicenza.

<sup>18</sup> J. Hogg, 'The Latin *Cloud*', in *The Mediaeval Mystical Tradition in England*: Dartington 1984, ed. M. Glasscoe, Exeter 1984, pp. 104-115.

<sup>19</sup> Hodgson, *Cloud*, 1944, p. xxiv.

translated the *Cloud* ... It seems, however, stretching probability to postulate two Carthusian Latin versions in the English province, when the relation between the individual Charterhouses was close and the circulation of books apparently frequent'.<sup>20</sup> With this caution, I still think that a Carthusian origin for the Bodley Latin version cannot be ruled out. The manuscript is in a single mid-fifteenth century hand; it reached the Bodleian Library through Sir Walter Cope in 1602.

The search for its origin is not in fact hopeless; on f. 119 r is the signature 'Quod B.', and it may yet be possible to match this.

The manuscript is not an autograph, but appears to provide a generally excellent text, to judge from the small number of self-evident errors, and cannot be far removed from the original.<sup>21</sup> Bearing in mind the wholesale destruction of manuscripts following the dissolution of the monasteries, and the fact that out of the total number of manuscripts, a disproportionate number of manuscripts of Carthusian origin may have survived, it is perhaps worth noting that Ms. Bodley 856 contains first of all a text of *De Adhaerendo Deo*, ascribed to Albert the Great, followed by *Nubes Ignorandi*, followed by a selection of the Pseudo-Augustinian *Sermones ad Fratres in Eremito*.<sup>22</sup> The only other known extant pre-Reformation English manuscript containing *De Adhaerendo Deo* is Ms. Bodleian Library, Lat. Th. d. 27, which is a Carthusian manuscript, very likely from the Coventry Charterhouse.<sup>23</sup> Obviously the affinity in subject-matter between *De Adhaerendo Deo* and the *Cloud* were recognised by the scribe, just as they have been noted by modern scholars,<sup>24</sup> even though *De Adhaerendo Deo* as it stands now is too late to be a direct source for the *Cloud*.<sup>25</sup> A list of books in the library of Witham Charterhouse in the latter part of the fifteenth century includes *De Adhaerendo Deo* - possibly though not certainly the gift of John Blacman.<sup>26</sup>

As said, the form of the English text to which the Bodley Latin *Cloud* version is most closely related is in Ms. British Library Harley 959. This manu-

<sup>20</sup>J. Hogg, art. cit., pp. 104-5.

<sup>21</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>23</sup>Described in *The Latin Writings of Walter Hilton*, ed. J. P. H. Clark and C. Taylor, Analecta Cartusiana 125, Salzburg 1987, Vol. 1, pp. 26-33, with the help of the unpublished Bodleian Library Catalogue of recent manuscript acquisitions.

<sup>24</sup>Hodgson, *Cloud*, 1944, pp. lxiv ff.; cf. *Cloud*, 1982, p. xlix.

<sup>25</sup>The work in its present form was apparently compiled by the early fifteenth-century Bavarian abbot Johannes von Kastl. See M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, Vol. 1, Munich 1926, pp. 489-524.

<sup>26</sup>E. Margaret Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-2.

script is in a mid-fifteenth century hand, and apart from a few incidental later additions contains only the *Cloud*. The text is full of errors, many of them self-evident and non-sensical; some, but by no means all, of these have been corrected by the scribe at or soon after the time of writing. The Bodley Latin *Cloud* is not a translation of the actual text found in Ms. Harley 959, since, as the edition of Ms. Harley 959, and its collation with Ms. Harley 674 shows, the Bodley Latin version must have been based on an English text which still at many places stood closer to Harley 674 than to Harley 959. Chapter 11 of the *Cloud* in Harley 674 is represented in Bodley Latin, but is omitted in Harley 959. Nevertheless, the general alignment of Bodley Latin with the English of Harley 959 against Harley 674 is apparent already in the Prologue. Citing in an expanded form the Collect for asking the grace of the Holy Spirit,<sup>27</sup> Bodley Latin reads:

Domine Deus, cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas loquitur..., purifica, obsecro, per infusionem Sancti Spiritus intencionem cordis mei, et mentem meam tue ineffabilis gratie dono illustres, quo te perfecte queam diligere ... 28

Harley 674 reads:

God, unto whom alle hertes ben open, and unto whom alle wille spekib..., I besече Pee so for to clense þe entent of myn hert wip þe unspekable gift of þi grace, þat I may þarfiteliche loue þee... 29

while Harley 959 adds words (italicised below) which correspond to the Bodley Latin version:

*Lord*e God, to whom all hertys bene opyn, & vnto whom all wyll spekyth..., I besech the so for to clense þe yntent of myne hert, & so to *lyzten my soule with* þe onspeakebyll yefte of þy grace, þat I may *perfytyly* love the... 30

The additional words found in Bodley Latin and represented in Harley 959 do not occur in the Latin form of the Collect.

This is but one instance of what we find throughout the Bodley Latin version and Harley 959, that, in keeping with the common mediaeval desire for fullness and edification, there is a movement towards expansion as against the 'primitive' text of the *Cloud* represented in Harley 674. Sometimes this is a single word, as in 'Domine' ('Lorde') at the beginning of the quotation just

<sup>27</sup>Found already in Alcuin, *Liber Sacramentorum*, Die Dominico, Missa de gratia S. Spiritus postulanda, PL 101.446.

<sup>28</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 13/10-14. The standard form of the Collect runs: Deus, cui omne cor patet, et omnis voluntas loquitur, et quem nullum latet secretum: purifica per infusionem Sancti Spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri, ut te perfecte diligere et digne laudare mereamur.

<sup>29</sup>*Cloud*, p. 1/2-5 (1/2-5).

<sup>30</sup>*Harley 959*, p. 16/6-9.

given; sometimes it is an entire phrase, as in 'et mentem meam... illustres' ('& so to lygten my soule').

In a few cases a passage represented by Harley 674 has been substantially re-written in the text represented by Harley 959, and we find again that Bodley Latin is firmly based on a text corresponding to Harley 959 rather than to Harley 674. There is an instance of this in Ch. 58, where Bodley Latin reads:

Per ipsam vero Dei stacionem quam beatus Stephanus in celo vidit, prompta diuini adiutorii securitas est notanda. Quia sicut experimentaliter cognouisti, homo si in aliquod exterminium lapsus fuerit, de eo tunc vulgariter dicitur quod cecidit, et per consequens tunc non stat. Et si amicus eius familiaris qui eum releuare vellet assistat ei, multo forcius, multo quoque cicius eum releuare posset ita assistendo ei, quam si prope ipsum iaceret vel sederet. Ac per hoc ab uno amico ad alium ineuntem certamen aliquod cum aduersario suo vulgariter solet dici: Socie, vel amice, benefac hodie debere tuum fortiter et constanter preliare, et non faciliter vel pro modico supersedeas vlllo modo, quia ego amicus et coadiutor tuus fideliter tecum stabo. Hic non innuit de corporea stacione, quia bellum forte committitur in equites et non inter pedites, vel transeundo et non stando; sed innuit quod paratus esse vult illum in instanti necessitate sua fideliter adiuuare.<sup>31</sup>

Harley 674 reads:

See by ensauple. By stondyng is vnderstonden a redynes of helping. And herfore it is seide comounly of oo frende to anoper, whan he is in bodely batayle: 'Bere þee wel, felawe, & fygt fast, and giue not up þe bataile ouer lightly; for I schal stonde by þee.' He menep not only bodely stondyng, for þe auenture is batayle is on hors & not on fote, and þe auenture it is going and not stondyng. Bot he menep, whan he seip þat he schal stonde bi hym, þat he schal be redy to helpe him.<sup>32</sup>

But Harley 959 represents the English text which must stand behind the Latin:

And anemptys the stondyng that Seynt Steven say, be stondyng is vndyrstond a sekyrnes of help. For as þou wattyst wele, and amax be yn myschef, men sey he is fallyn, & thax stondyth he not. And yf his frend that wold releve hym by stondyng by hym, the mor mygtly & sunner schuld he releve hym þan if he lay by hym or sat by hym, & herfore it is seyde comonly of on frend to anoper takyng on hym a gret batayle: 'Bere þe well, fellow, & fygt fast, & yeve it not vp lygtly; for I wole stond by the.' He menyth not onely bodily stondyng, for þe auenture the batayle is on hors & not on fote, or goyng & not stondyng. But he menyth that he wyll be redy to helpe hym at his grete nede.<sup>33</sup>

The general correspondence of the Latin text to the archetype of Harley 959 is obvious. But in comparing Bodley Latin with Harley 959, we see at once - and

<sup>31</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 132/3-20.

<sup>32</sup> *Cloud*, p. 109/6-13 (60/32-39).

<sup>33</sup> *Harley 959*, p. 160/6-14.

in view of the mediaeval fondness for expansion that can again be no surprise - that the Latin text again represents a considerable elaboration on its English equivalent. Thus in the first sentence of the Latin, 'Dei', 'in celo', and 'prompta diuini' have no equivalent in the English. The expansion in the Latin version as against the English is continuous.

There are a number of instances where Harley 959 carries a passage not found in Harley 674, and Bodley Latin translates a text with the expansion represented in Harley 959. For instance, in Ch. 21, following the observation that in heaven there will be no need to perform the works of mercy, because for the blessed there will be no hunger, thirst, homelessness, sickness, of the like, Bodley Latin refers to the damned, to those who are placed at the Lord's left hand in the day of judgement:

Quod si de sinistra parte que est dampnatorum pars aliquid sit dicendum, hoc est plane, quod caritas illis non poterit impertiri. Nam caritas erit cum Deo et electis suis in celo plena, set illa diiudicatorum maledicta societas ab omni caritatis beneficio, et ab vniuersis misericordie operum fructibus eternaliter excludetur.<sup>34</sup>

This is matched in Harley 959 by

& for to speke of that othyr parte that is damnyd, on hem may ueyr charyte be done; for charyte schall be plener yn heven with God & hese chosen; but that cursyd company schall euyr bene exclusyd of all charyte & all werkys of mercy.<sup>35</sup>

But there is no parallel in Harley 674.

As noted, the Latin version often expands upon the English. Such expansion is not limited to words or phrases, but includes whole passages, especially passages of a didactic nature, citing Scriptural texts or other authorities. Indeed, the additional citation of Scripture is a characteristic of Bodley Latin. In the same chapter, Bodley Latin, without any parallel in Harley 959, has applied to the blessed the text of Wisd. 5.15: *Iusti autem in perpetuum vivent, et apud Dominum est merces eorum*.<sup>36</sup> At the end of the chapter, Bodley Latin has another unique expansion, referring to contemplatives with some commonplace texts:

Illis enim symphonides sanctus quasi lira personat, inquiens in Psalmo: *Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus* (Ps. 33.9), et in alio loco, *Vacate et videte quoniam ego sum Deus* (Ps. 45.11); vobis autem Paulus Apostolus, *Dum tempus habetis, operamini bonum ad omnes* (cf. Gal. 6.10), quamquam sub voce prime persone legitur hoc dixisse.<sup>37</sup>

Such instances could be multiplied. For instance, in Ch. 41, the English of Harley 959,

<sup>34</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 66/1-7.

<sup>35</sup> *Harley 959*, p. 88/5-8.

<sup>36</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, pp. 65/35 - 66/1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66/29-34.

& therefore for Goddys love governe thee dyscretely yn body & yn soule, & gete thyne hele as moch as thou mayst<sup>38</sup>

finds its equivalent in the mildly expanded

Et ideo ob diuini amoris intuitum, et in parte corporali et animali discreta te gubernes, vt adquiras tibi totis nisibus sanitatem corporalem, quam cum Dei voluntate adquisieris et bono regimine custodire, et modis omnibus studeas enutrire.<sup>39</sup>

But Bodley Latin adds further:

Ait enim Apostolus, *Nemo vnquam carnem suam odio habuit, set fouet et nutrit* (Eph. 5.29). Sic tamen regas eam in omnibus vt seruiat, non autem vt superbiat<sup>40</sup>

The following sentence in Harley 959,

And yf sekens come a-geyns thy power, haue paciens & abyde mekely Goddys mercy; & than is al goode i-now<sup>41</sup>

represents the basis for an even longer expansion:

Et si contra voluntatem tuam aliqua tibi preualeat egritudo, cum causa illius non extiteris, exemplo beati Iob, eam consulo sustineas pacienter et Dei misericordiam humiliter prestolare. Quod si feceris, multo cicius bene tibi erit, quoniam ipse castigat quos diligit. Et quis filius quem non corripit Pater? (Heb. 12.6-7). Dominus enim quando vult, vt Psalmista ait, *mortificat et viuificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit.* (rather, 1 Sam. 2.6). Et hic est ille idem, *qui humiles ponit in sublimi et merentes erigit sospitate* (Job 5.11). Quia ergo *virtus in infirmitate perficitur* (2 Cor. 12.9), libenter sufferto eam, et Deus cicius eripiet te de ea.<sup>42</sup>

Didactic expansions are not limited to direct quotations from the Bible.

The translator also on one occasion draws on Peter Riga's verse paraphrase of Scripture, the *Aurora*. In translating the *Cloud's* statement of why man is created by God to walk upright rather than to crawl like the beasts - an uprightness which matches the soul's ascent to God - he adds:

vnde Petrus in *Aurora*, Os pecori pronum est, stat vultus surgens in illo; Respicit illud humum, suspicit ille polum.<sup>43</sup>

An indication of the extent to which the Latin version is an expansion beyond the English is the size of the printed edition; Harley 959 (which omits the brief chapter 11) has eighty-nine pages of text, while Bodley Latin has one hundred and fifty-eight slightly longer pages.

<sup>38</sup>Harley 959, p. 122/21-22.

<sup>39</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 98/11-15.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 98/15-17.

<sup>41</sup>Harley 959, p. 122/22-23.

<sup>42</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 98/17-27.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 138/7-10. No parallel in Harley 674 or Harley 959. This quotation is verified in Ms. Durham Cath. Lib. B.IV.28, f. 4v (Lib. 1, In Genesi, De sexta die), where it occurs in the form: Os pecori pronum est/ Stat surgens vultus in illo; / Respicit illud humum, / Inspicit ille polum.

The inferior quality of the text in Harley 959 has been mentioned.

Very often its poor readings in fact simply perpetuate a bad textual tradition. The translator of Bodley Latin had himself to work from a bad English text, in which at a number of places the sense of the original text as represented in Harley 674 had already been lost. In Bodley Latin, Ch. 51, we find the rather puzzling clause

estimans quod quia inuenit in seipso quamdam naturalem concupiscenciam occultandi res, sit vacatus ideo per gratiam ad hoc opus.<sup>44</sup>

Harley 959 reads:

& wenen, for they fynden in hem-self a kyndely couetise to hide thyngys, þat they bene þerfore callyd to this werk be grace.<sup>45</sup>

The puzzle is solved when we find that Harley 674 has 'hid' (= mystica)<sup>46</sup> for Harley 959's 'hide'.

Again, in Ch. 73, the Bodley Latin translator's dependence on an inferior text means that he misses the point which the *Cloud's* author is making. Following Richard of St. Victor, three kinds of spiritual progress are seen as represented by Moses, by the craftsman Bezeleel, and by Aaron. Moses has the occasional and unmerited gift of ascending the mountain of God's presence. Bezeleel represents those who work by the deliberate conjunction of their will with grace - according to Harley 674: 'þe whiche miȝt not se þe arke er þe tyme þat he had mad it by his owne trauayle',<sup>47</sup> while Aaron represents those who profit in grace by other men's teaching, being habitually able to see and feel the Ark that Bezeleel had already made.<sup>48</sup> Through the omission of 'not' in his English text, in the clause relating to Aaron - an omission which occurs in Harley 959<sup>49</sup> - the author of Bodley Latin is led to translate: qui potuit videre Archam antequam plene fabricare eam per industriam suam.<sup>50</sup> Obviously the translator felt the difficulty of the omitted negative, and met this by supplying a sense of his own by the word 'plene'; Bezeleel was able to see the Ark before he had fully constructed it through his labour.

<sup>44</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 116/36-37.

<sup>45</sup>Harley 959, p. 142/22-23.

<sup>46</sup>*Cloud*, p. 95/24-25 (53/14-15). For 'mystica' as the meaning of 'hid' in this context, cf. the translation of *De Mystica Theologia* - 'Deonise Hid Diuinite.'

<sup>47</sup>*Cloud*, p. 128/19-20 (72/10-11).

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 128/22-129/3 (72/13-15).

<sup>49</sup>Harley 959, p. 186/15-16.

<sup>50</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 155/1-2.



The Bodley Latin translator - is we assume that the Bodley manuscript accurately represents his text - was not concerned to verify his sources, even Scriptural sources. We have noted that he attributes to 'Psalmist' a passage from 1 Samuel;<sup>51</sup> similarly he ascribes to 'Salamon' the dictum 'Homo sapiens dominatur astris':<sup>52</sup> - an intelligent guess, but not one supported by the Vulgate concordance. Nor - in common with, for instance, the Carmelite Thomas Fishlake in his translation of Hilton - is he concerned to reproduce the Latin of quotations from writers whom the *Cloud* names and then quotes in direct English translation. For instance, in Ch. 70 there is the key quotation from Pseudo-Dionysius (given as 'Daniell' in Harley 959!): 'The most goodly knowyng of God is þat, the whych is knowyn be vnknowyng'.<sup>53</sup> This is a well-known dictum taken from Pseudo-Dionysius, *De Divinis Nominibus* 7; in Sarracenus' translation it runs: Et est rursus alia cognitio Dei divinissima, quae est cognita per ignorantiam.<sup>54</sup> Both Harley 959 and Harley 974 give the Middle English spelling 'goodly', which can mean either 'goodly' or else 'godly' in the modern English sense. Evidently the original writer meant 'most godly' - divinissima; but the Bodley Latin translator - evidently not a Dionysian specialist - has taken it as 'goodly', and translates: 'Honestissima deitatis cognitio illa est, ad quam per ignoranciam peruenitur'.<sup>55</sup> Similarly at the end of the *Cloud*, where the English text announces explicitly quotations from Gregory and Augustine, the Bodley Latin translator renders them directly from English into Latin without reference to the actual Latin text, though both must have been well-known quotations. Harley 959 reads:

Seynt Gregori witnessid þat 'all holy desirs growyn by delays, & yf they wa[n]yn by delays, þan were þei neyr holy desires... Of this (*sic*) holy desires spekyth Seynt Austen & seyth: 'All þe lif of a good Crysten man is not ellys but holy desire'.<sup>56</sup>

In Bodley Latin this is:

Sanctus Gregorius attestatur, quod omnia sancta desideria dilacione crescunt, et si dilacione decrescant, sancta non fuerunt... De hiis quidem sanctis desideriis beatus Augustinus loquitur sentencialiter ita dicens: Tota boni Christiani vita nichil aliud est quam sanctum desiderium apud Deum.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>51</sup>See above, p.200 (*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 98/23-24).

<sup>52</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 139/16.

<sup>53</sup>*Cloud*, p. 125/11-12 (70/5-6); similarly *Harley 959*, p. 182/8-9. ('Daniell!')

<sup>54</sup>*Dionysiaca*, ed. P. Chevallier, Bruges/Paris 1937, 1950, p. 406.

<sup>55</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 151/2-3.

<sup>56</sup>*Harley 959*, p. 192/1-7. Bearing in mind the Latin, the apparatus for 192/6 should be emended to: this) *sic ms.* for these; the reference to 'desires' at this point should be deleted, but the Collation with Harl for 192/6 should include: desire Harl.

<sup>57</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, pp. 159/31-160/4.

The quotations from Gregory and Augustine are in the original Latin respectively:

Sancta enim desideria, ut praediximus, dilacione crescunt. Si autem dilacione deficiunt, desideria non fuerunt.<sup>58</sup>

and:

Tota vita Christiani boni sanctum desiderium est.<sup>59</sup>

In the quotation from Gregory, the Bodley Latin version actually alters the balance of the meaning. The second 'holy desires' in the English answers to 'desideria' in the Latin - that is, if we assume that the *Cloud's* author used a Latin text which is the same as that printed in Migne; the Bodley Latin omits an equivalent to 'desires' in this instance, and renders simply 'sancta.' In the case of the quotation from Augustine, it is all the more striking that the translator has not gone back to the original text when he prefaces the quotation with added solemnity and authority through the word 'sentencialiter'.

Such failure to return to the original Latin of ecclesiastical authors - even in the case of a well-known author whose works might be expected to be available through another library if not through the one immediately to hand - was evidently regarded as quite acceptable in translations from English to Latin. We find just the same in Thomas Fishlake's translation of Walter Hilton.<sup>60</sup>

But the translator still has a sense of the Latin *mot juste*. The English version in Ch. 23 quotes the proverb, 'God sende þe kow, bot not by þe horne'.<sup>61</sup> The Bodley Latin version gives the familiar Latin metrical form of this proverb: 'Dat Deus omne bonum, set non per cornua taurum'.<sup>62</sup>

Assessment of the Latin versions of the *Cloud* must pay attention to theological vocabulary, just as in the case of the Latin version of Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*.<sup>63</sup> In each case we are dealing with a work which was written in the first instance in English, but by one who sought accurately and consistently to render the technicalities of Latin theology in English. In turn, the Latin translator picks up the technical meaning of the English terms, and generally uses the appropriate Latin word. This may be illustrated by the dis-

<sup>58</sup>Gregory, *Hom. in Evangelia* 2.25 (PL 76.1190).

<sup>59</sup>Augustine, *In Ep. Ioannis ad Parthos* 4.6 (PL 35.2008).

<sup>60</sup>J. P. H. Clark, 'English and Latin in the *Scale of Perfection*' in *Spiritualität Heute und Gestern*, Vol. 1, Analecta Cartusiana 35:1, Salzburg 1982, pp. 180-1.

<sup>61</sup>*Cloud*, p. 57/9-10 (31/35-36); similarly *Harley 959*, p. 90/28-29.

<sup>62</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 69/13-14. For this Latin form of the proverb, see H. Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters First Series*, Vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1963), No. 4976, p. 607.

<sup>63</sup>Clark, 'English and Latin', pp. 181-201.

cussion of grace, and especially of what St. Thomas knows as 'operant' grace,<sup>64</sup> in Chapter 34. Harley 959 reads:

& yf it be thus, trost stydfastly that it is onely God þat steryth þi wyll & thy desyre onely by hym-self, with-out mene ethyr of his party or of thyne... Sufficie[n]tly & with-out mene may no good ange[l] stere thy wyll, & shortly to sey, no thyng but God onely.<sup>65</sup>

and Bodley Latin:

Quod si ita fiat, credere debes firmiter quod non est aliud nisi Deus solus qui sic per semetipsum excitat desiderium tuum et voluntatem tuam sine aliquibus mediis ex sua parte vel ex parte tua... Quia non sufficienter vel sine medio potest bonus angelus excitare velle tuum, et ut breuius tibi loquar, nichil preter solum Deum illud agere potest per seipsum sine medio qualicumque.<sup>66</sup>

At the same time, Bodley Latin is at times idiosyncratic. So in the passage just given, the second 'thy wyll' of the English - where we might have expected 'voluntatem tuam' as in the first instance, is rendered instead by 'velle tuum', an expression which can no doubt be justified, but which does not precisely represent the English as 'voluntas' would; it implies 'act of willing' rather than 'faculty of willing'. The translator's reason for choosing this word seems to lie in the quest for variety of expression in the desire to avoid using the same word twice - even at the risk of subtly changing the overtones of meaning.

There are many such examples of such subtle and rather mannered variation in the Latin by comparison with the English, where by over-refinement, again apparently in the search for variety of expression, the precise meaning of the English, which itself draws on a Latin background of thought, is no longer reflected. Thus in Chapter 35, 'meditatio or thynkyng',<sup>67</sup> terms which, like 'lesson' and 'redyng' a little earlier,<sup>68</sup> synonymous, are altered into 'meditacio siue precogitacio',<sup>69</sup> where we might expect 'meditacio siue cogitacio' on the basis of the English. Perhaps the translator was mindful of the distinction made by Richard of St. Victor between *cogitatio*, *meditatio* and *contemplatio*,<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup>St. Thomas, *ST* 1-2, q. 111 a 2.

<sup>65</sup>Harley 959, p. 110/4-9.

<sup>66</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 87/3-14.

<sup>67</sup>Harley 959, p. 112/10.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 110/17, 18.

<sup>69</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 88/33-34.

<sup>70</sup>Richard of St. Victor, *Benjamin Major* 1.4 (PL 196.67): *Contemplatio est libera mentis perspicacia in sapientiae spectacula cum admiratione suspensa, vel certe sicut praecipuo illi nostri temporis theologo placuit, qui eam in haec verba definivit. Contemplatio est perspicax et liber animi contuitus in res perspicandas usquequaque diffusus; meditatio vero est studiosa mentis intentio circa aliquid investigandum diligenter insistens; vel sic: Meditatio est providus animi obtutus in veritatis inquisitione vehementer occupatus; cogitatio autem est improvidus animi respectus ad evagationem pronus.*

and for this reason was unwilling to identify outright *cogitatio* with *meditatio*; but in any case to substitute *precogitatio* for *cogitatio* hardly gets over this difficulty. Rather it seems that as in the case of substituting *velle* for *voluntas*, he is aiming to surprise, to keep himself or the reader awake, by the use of a deliberately unexpected word.

The translator carries in his mind words which have echoes and reverberations in the tradition of Latin spiritual theology, even when he is translating freely and almost paraphrasing. So 'þou fyndyst but a derknes & as it were a clowde of vnknowyng'<sup>71</sup> is rendered 'nichil inuenis nisi quamdam caliginem ac si esset nubes ignorandi'.<sup>72</sup> We might just have looked for 'tenebras' rather than 'caliginem' to render darkness, with 'clowde of vnknowyng' rendered by 'caliginem ignorantiae' as in the related passage in Sarracenus' translation of Pseudo-Dionysius' *De Mystica Theologia*.<sup>73</sup> But 'caligo' very often has the same connotation as 'tenebrae' in Gregory the Great.<sup>74</sup> And it is a *nubes densissima* into which Moses enters on Sinai (Exodus 19.16). Here as elsewhere the Latin rendering is fluid, not clinging rigidly to the letter of the English text. An additional sentence in ch. 7 of the Latin reads: 'Sic sic ab ipsa ignorandi nube seu caligine ... repulsam miserabiliter sustinebis'.<sup>75</sup> The traditional and evocative phrase *caligo ignorandi* is actually used instead of a form using *obliviscendi* or *oblivionis*, when 'vndyr the clowde of foryetyng'<sup>76</sup> is rendered by 'sub ipsa caligine ignorandi',<sup>78</sup> but in ch. 8 the translator does render 'vndyr a clowde of foryetyng' by 'sub ipsa obliuionis caligine'.<sup>79</sup>

Not only does the translator show that he is familiar with the theological overtones of the English text in terms of the Latin tradition - so much so that he feels at liberty to vary Latin equivalents for English words within the broad framework of this tradition in the way that has just been illustrated. Because he is so grounded in the Latin contemplative tradition, he also feels free, when he is expanding the English text, to do so using Latin words which carry rich overtones in this tradition. The familiar expression *gluten amoris*<sup>80</sup>

<sup>71</sup>Harley 959, p. 36/21-22.

<sup>72</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 26/12-13.

<sup>73</sup>*Dionysiaca*, p. 577.

<sup>74</sup>See e.g. Clark, 'English and Latin', p. 183, note 46.

<sup>75</sup>*Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 36/2-4. Contrast Harley 959, p. 52/4-5.

<sup>76</sup>Harley 959, p. 52/14.

<sup>77</sup>*Nubes ignorandi*, p. 36/21-22.

<sup>78</sup>Harley 959, p. 56/14-15.

<sup>79</sup>Harley 959, p. 56/14-15, *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 39/20-21.

<sup>80</sup>Cf. for instance Augustine, *Conf.* 4.10.15 (ed. M. Skutella, Stuttgart 1981, p. 65): *eis infigatur glutine amore; De Trin.* 10.5.7 (C.Ch. 50, p. 321): *tanta vis est amoris, ut ea quae cum amore diu cogitauerit, eisquae curae glutine inhaeserit...*; Bernard, *In Cant.* 79.2.4 (*Opera*, Rome 1957 ff., Vol. 2, p. 274:



is introduced when 'all þo that of love so ben knettyd vn-to hym'<sup>81</sup> is rendered 'cum omnibus illis qui ei pariter in amoris glutino sunt uniti'.<sup>82</sup>

Again, *reuerbari* is a term used by Gregory to express the rebound of the soul in the face of the transitory nature of contemplation.<sup>83</sup> An additional sentence in the Latin at the end of ch. 4 runs:

Vnde et a claro diuine lucis intuitu interior anime visus reuerberatur; quamdiu sub hac ignorandi nube posita, carnis onere non priuatur.<sup>84</sup>

When the translator comes to render 'Bete euyr-more voon this clovde of vnknowyng... with a sharpe darte of love longyng (*sic*)',<sup>85</sup> the Latin enlarges the last element to '... cum acutissimo languentis amoris iaculo'.<sup>86</sup> This is a distinct recollection of a familiar verse from the Song of Songs: *Amore languo* (Cant. 5.8). The same verse is echoed already in the English version, which says of Mary Magdalene:

& more she languyssyd ny to deth, for lakkyng of love, þouȝ all she had full moch love .... þan sche had for any mynd of here synnes.<sup>87</sup>

The Latin version takes up and develops the implication of 'languyssid':

multomagis amore languens pene usque ad mortem pro carencia diuini amoris in suauitate spiritus nondum vt libuit habiti, quamquam multum inde gustauerat..., quam vquam languebat ob recordacionem commissorum suorum...<sup>88</sup>

Other words chosen for the Latin version carry overtones in the monastic and contemplative tradition. In Ch. 14 'with-out ony specyall or clere beholdyng of ony thyng vndyr God',<sup>89</sup> becomes 'sine speciali siue perspicua contemplacione alicuius rei sub Deo',<sup>90</sup> very likely recalling something of Richard of St. Victor's famous definition of contemplation: *Contemplatio est perspicax et liber animi contuitus in res perspicendas usquequaque diffusus*.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>80</sup> (cont'd) illi adhaerere Deo bonum est. *Glutino bonum est*, ait Isaias (41.7).

<sup>81</sup> *Harley 959*, p. 42/29.

<sup>82</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 30/11-12. Cf. also *ibid.* p. 43/3-5: et eciam talis secretus amor ac deuotus glutino diuine caritatis inherens, expanding upon *Harley 959*, pp. 60/29-62/1: a low preuy puttyng...

<sup>83</sup> E.g. Gregory, *Hom. in Hiezech.* 2.2.12 (C.Ch. 142, pp. 232-3; *Mor.* 5.33.58; 16.31.38 (C.Ch. 143, pp. 259, 822).

<sup>84</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 32/21-23.

<sup>85</sup> *Harley 959*, p. 66/11-12.

<sup>86</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 48/11.

<sup>87</sup> *Harley 959*, p. 76/8-12.

<sup>88</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 56/5-11.

<sup>89</sup> *Harley 959*, p. 72/6.

<sup>90</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 52/19-20.

<sup>91</sup> See above, note 70.

Again, the English version refers to Mary Magdalene, that she sat at the Lord's feet, 'yn heryng his holy word'.<sup>92</sup> The Latin version runs: 'ascultando sua sanctissima verba', characteristically expanding with the superlative 'sanctissima', and adding the Scriptural note, 'que ipso teste spiritus et vita sunt (John 6.63)'.<sup>93</sup> But 'ascultando' takes us to the Prologue of St. Benedict's *Rule*: 'Ausculta, o fili, praecepta magistri'.<sup>94</sup>

In general there are no significant departures from the intention of the English text, despite the paraphrase and elaboration. The translator is true to the author's intention to point to the way to union with God by love and the unknowing of distinct concepts within the framework of faith in Christ and the Trinity. The occasional introduction of elements which are rooted in Augustine or in Gregory rather than in Pseudo-Dionysius - such as the reference to *reuerbari* noted above - does not fundamentally alter the balance of the whole, since the English book, for all its ostensibly Dionysian foundation, owes a great deal to the monastic doctors of the Western tradition, directly and in themselves, even apart from the mediating influence of Thomas Gallus.<sup>95</sup> But there is one point at which the translator does modify a little the austerity of the *Cloud*.

Both Hilton and the *Cloud* are critical of attachment to sensible consolations, to the *calor*, *dulcor*, *canor*, which Richard Rolle, especially in his youth but also still in some measure in his maturity, emphasises so strongly. In the somewhat turbulent religious life of the last two decades of the fourteenth century there is evidence that the 'enthusiastic' religion of some of Rolle's followers was seen by the ecclesiastical authorities as liable to open the way to delusion and error, in conjunction with other elements which we associate rather with the Lollard movement, or the movement of the Free Spirit. For those living in the actual situation the borderline between orthodoxy and heresy, or between different kinds of 'heresy', will not always have appeared clear-cut; 'enthusiastic' religious movements which were in themselves orthodox were liable to become suspect if they were perceived to share common ground with other movements which were openly subversive.<sup>96</sup> Hilton and the

<sup>92</sup> *Harley 959*, p. 78/8; cf. *Harley 674*, *Cloud*, p. 47/6 (26/10-11).

<sup>93</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 57/23-24. For *ascultare*, cf. *ibid.* p. 63/9-10.

<sup>94</sup> *Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. J. McCann, London 1952, p. 6.

<sup>95</sup> See e.g. J. P. H. Clark, "Some Monastic Elements in the 'Cloud' Corpus", in *Die Kartäuser und die Reformation*, Vol. 1, *Analecta Cartusiana* 108:1, Salzburg 1983, pp. 246 f.; see further Clark, 'Sources and Theology', *passim*.

<sup>96</sup> On the fluidity between what was considered orthodox and what was considered heretical at this period, see for instance A. M. Hudson, 'The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401', in *Lollards and their Books*, London 1985, pp. 67-84. For the ecclesiastical response to 'enthusiasm' and heresy in the north of England at this time, see J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life*

*Cloud* emphasise that because contemplation is properly supernatural, what is experienced in contemplation cannot fall under the cognisance of the senses or imagination, and that attachment to sensible phenomena which purport to come from God is at best a distraction from God, at worst a diabolical delusion.

The key chapter on this point in the *Cloud* is Ch. 48, and the Bodley Latin version renders this chapter with minor expansion but without modifying the book's teaching.<sup>97</sup>

At the same time, the Bodley Latin *Cloud* does allow a place - a subordinate place - in the spiritual life, for vibrant sensible devotion, with a little less inhibition than we find in the English text. Partly this may be due to the tendency towards expansion or heightening which we have noted generally, so that we should not hasten to read too much into the occasional word or phrase. In Ch. 7, the Harley 959 English refers to 'meditacion' on one's own sinfulness, on the Passion of Christ, and the like.<sup>98</sup> Harley 674 refers to 'swete meditacions',<sup>99</sup> and it is likely that 'swete' stood in Bodley Latin's English equivalent. But the Latin word chosen in the Bodley translation is not simply 'dulcis'; rather, this version refers in heightened terms to 'mellifluis meditacionibus ac deuotis',<sup>100</sup> thus actually stimulating the imagination of the reader to linger with these meditations, however subordinate they be to contemplation!

In Chapter 25 the English refers to 'the soule that is *perfygtylly* affect in this werk & thus onyd to God yn spirit'.<sup>101</sup> The Bodley Latin heightens this to: 'Anima igitur que diuini amoris gladio est transfixus et vulnerata perfecte in hoc opere ac sic in spiritu vnita Deo'.<sup>102</sup> For purposes of comparison, we may note that Hilton uses such language - which can be matched in Richard of St. Victor - when he is speaking of affective devotion, but only in a context where he makes it clear that such ebullient devotion, though good and necessary, is on a lower level than true contemplation:

pis is a poynt of þe passioun of loue, þe whilk by grete violence and maistrie brekez doun all lustez and likynges of all erthly thynges, and it wondez þe soule with the blisfull swerd of loue,

96 (cont'd) in *Late Mediaeval Yorkshire*, Woodbridge, 1988. Despite numerous inaccuracies and inconsistencies, this book remains a point of departure for further study.

<sup>97</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, pp. 110-112.

<sup>98</sup> *Harley 959*, p. 52/10.

<sup>99</sup> *Cloud*, p. 27/17 (15/17).

<sup>100</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 36/13.

<sup>101</sup> *Harley 959*, p. 96/4.

<sup>102</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 73/21-24.

þat þe bodie failez and fallez doun and may noȝt bere it<sup>103</sup>

An even more striking departure from the full rigour of the *Cloud* occurs in Ch. 44. The English text is speaking of progress towards self-forgetfulness, and of the sorrow that one ought to feel because of the inability to forget oneself. The English says carefully:

This sorow ... clenlyth the soule ... from syn ... & þerto it makyth a soule to reseue that ioy that takyth fro a man al wetyng & felyng of his beyng.<sup>104</sup>

In the English, 'ioy' is not closely defined, but it is presumably joy in the sense of God's presence. But the Bodley Latin version introduces a new element, taking 'joy' on this occasion to be the result of that participation in angelic song which Rolle so often describes, and which indeed in Ch. 48 the author of the *Cloud* implicitly enjoins his reader to treat with caution. So the Latin version of the second element in the passage just quoted runs:

Ideoque dolor iste singularis habilitat hominem ad suscipiendum illud melos angelicum quod ei omnimodam sue existencie cognicionem ac sensacionem preripit et absumit.<sup>105</sup>

This variation suggests that the translator was familiar with at least some elements in the teaching of Richard Rolle, including his emphasis on angelic song as an essential element in contemplation,<sup>106</sup> and has found Rolle's teaching sufficiently attractive to lead him on this occasion to superimpose it on the authentic teaching of the *Cloud*!

There is plenty of evidence that the writings of Hilton, of the *Cloud* corpus, and of Rolle could be read in conjunction with each other, without a sense of incongruity. The role of the Carthusians in circulating these and other texts has been indicated. Richard Methley, who is responsible for the second Latin version of the *Cloud* was at any rate in his earlier days a devotee of *dulcor*, *fervor*, *canor*, inspired no doubt by the words of Rolle, though he distinguishes his own *fervor* from the sensible devotion on which Rolle lays such stress.<sup>107</sup>

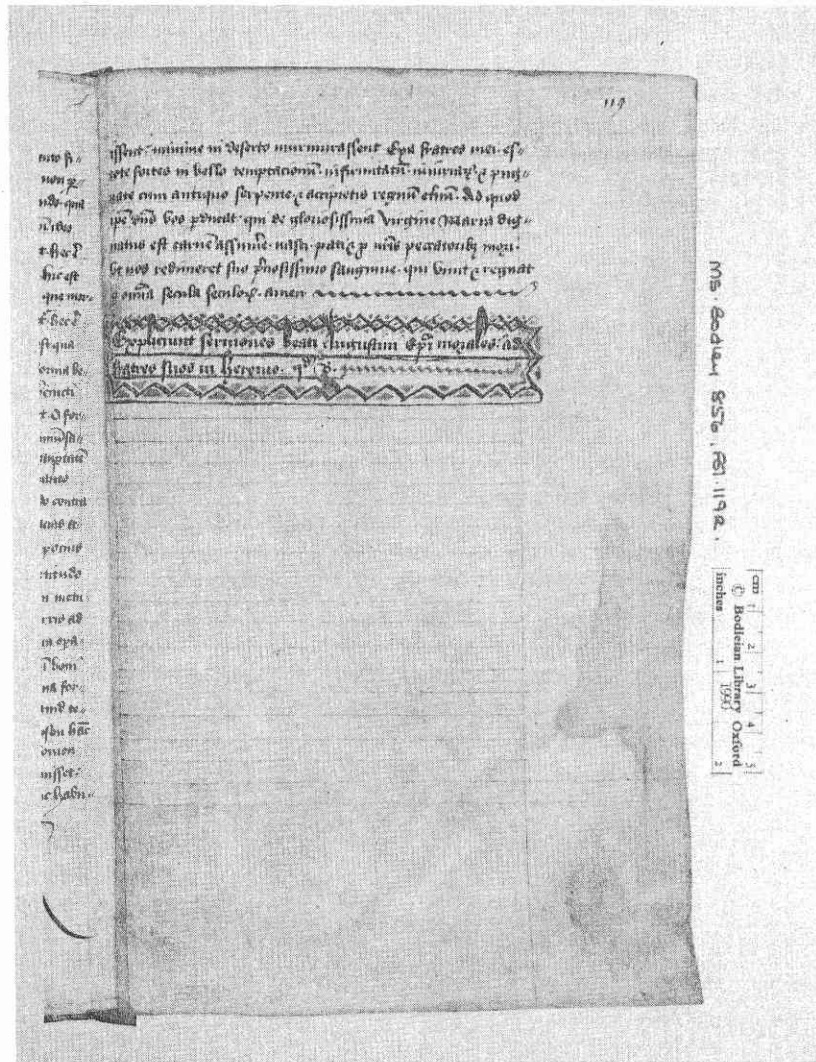
<sup>103</sup> Hilton, *Scale*, 1, 30, Ms. C. p. 301 b. This language can be matched in Richard of St. Victor, *De IV Gradibus Violentae Caritatis*, ed. G. Dumeige, Paris, 1955, c. 6, p. 131 (= PL 196.1209).

<sup>104</sup> *Harley 959*, pp. 126/31-128/1.

<sup>105</sup> *Nubes Ignorandi*, p. 102/19-22.

<sup>106</sup> Rolle uses either *canor* or *melos* of the angelic praises of God in which the contemplative is said to participate - e.g. *Incendium Amoris*, c. 34, Ms. Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge 35, f. 46v: Ad hoc ergo assumptus est in secreto super alios, quia in mente sua permanet melos, et melliflua moratur abundantia ardoris... One of Rolle's books is, of course, entitled *Melos Amoris*!

<sup>107</sup> James Hogg, 'A Mystical Diary: the *Refectorium Salutis* of Richard Methley of Mount Grace Charterhouse', in *Kartäusermystik und -Mystiker*, Band 1, Analecta Cartusiana 55:1, Salzburg 1981, pp. 210, 221.



MS. Bodley 856, f. 119<sup>r</sup> (We are grateful to the Keeper of the Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library Oxford for permission to reproduce this photograph.)

The problem of the origin of the Latin Bodley translation of the *Cloud* remains. It may be that palaeographical discoveries will enable us to identify the scribe of at least the copy in ms. Bodley 856. Meanwhile I do not think that a Carthusian origin for this translation can be ruled out. Richard Methley's version does not cover precisely the same ground. On the one hand, it is based on a text much closer to the 'pure' textual tradition of the *Cloud*<sup>108</sup> - though in any case mediaevals were less scrupulous about such matters than modern editors. On the other hand, its glosses go far beyond simple translation, and even beyond the kind of expansion which we find in Bodley 856. Both Latin versions deserve to be studied, as we seek to learn how the teaching of the *Cloud* was continuously applied and even adapted in varying circles.

<sup>108</sup>On the affinities of the English text of the *Cloud* on which Methley's Latin version must have been based, see Hodgson, *Cloud*, 1944, pp. xxvi f.