Leeds Studies in English

The Language of the Scribes of the First English Translation of the *Imitatio Christi*

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The publication in 1986 of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* has enabled the scribal language of late Middle English texts to be localized with a precision not previously possible for those without access to the material on which the *Atlas* is based.[1] This precision, the result of the new approach to Middle English dialectology developed by Angus McIntosh in the 1950s,[2] has also heightened our awareness of some of the complexities of Middle English.[3] In particular, an issue which must confront anyone attempting to localize a text is the question of the consistency of the scribe's language: are the spellings found in the text those of the scribe or those of his exemplar, or some combination of the two? and if the latter, how is one to determine which spellings represent the language of the scribe, and which represent that of his exemplar? For the editor of a text, both these elements in the language of its manuscripts are likely to be of interest: localization of the scribal language of its various manuscripts indicates where the extant copies of the text were made, while analysis of the language of their exemplars provides valuable information about the location of earlier stages of the text's transmission, and perhaps also of its composition.

The extent to which either of these objectives is achievable will depend on the practice of the particular scribes concerned: whether they copied *literatim* or 'translated', substituting their own preferred spellings for those found in their exemplars.[4] Since in this period it was generally commoner for scribes to substitute their own spellings than to copy those of their exemplars, the analysis of scribal language is generally easier than that of archetypal language.[5] Even if most of the spellings found in the manuscripts of a text are scribal, however, it may still be possible to identify some features of the language of the archetype. In the terms used in the *Atlas*, such features could appear as 'relics', spellings not part of the

scribe's own dialect but reproduced in copying; they could be part of the scribe's 'passive repertoire' of spellings current in the area from which he came but not spontaneously used by him; or they could be the result of 'constrained selection', when a scribe was accustomed to use more than one spelling for a given word, but in the proportions of the different spellings used was influenced by his exemplar.[6] These issues are discussed from a theoretical point of view in the introduction to the *Atlas*, and the work on which it is based has been applied to the analysis of the scribal and archetypal language of a number of texts, the work of M. L. Samuels and J. J. Smith on Gower and Langland being particularly notable.[7] Most of this work has been on verse texts, where one can be reasonably sure that forms found in rhyme (in alliteration in the case of *Piers Plowman*) are authorial. The editor of a prose text, however, lacks such a foundation to build on, and analysis of the archetypal language of prose is correspondingly rather more difficult, especially if the scribal and archetypal dialects are similar.[8] Moreover, even without the complication of distinguishing between scribal and archetypal language, putting the principles of the *Atlas* into practice can be far from straightforward, as may be seen from the articles by T. L. Burton and Michael Benskin in a previous volume of this journal.[9]

The present article is an attempt at such an analysis of the surviving manuscripts of the first English translation of the *Imitatio Christi*.[10] According to the most likely view written in Latin by Thomas a Kempis in the Netherlands in the 1420s, the *Imitatio* was first brought to England in the 1440s, probably by the Carthusians, and first translated into English around the middle of the fifteenth century.[11] This translation is anonymous, it follows the Latin source closely, and it survives in four manuscripts.[12] There is no direct evidence for its provenance, but it may have been made by a Carthusian, possibly at Sheen Charterhouse in Surrey: the earliest dated manuscript of the Latin to be copied in England was written by a Sheen Carthusian, John Dygon, in 1438, and so too were two manuscripts of the translation, one by Stephen Dodesham and another by William Darker, both of whom also copied a number of other texts.[13] The Carthusians are well known for their interest in continental spirituality; possibly the translation was made by one of them for the benefit of the nuns across the Thames at Syon.[14]

The diagram opposite shows the relationship between the four manuscripts of the translation.[15] Two of them, C, which is anonymous, and D, which was written by Dodesham, are primary witnesses to the four manuscripts' archetype; the other two, M and G, were copied from D. D also contains a number of corrections

STEMMA

Latin MS of type R

Autograph of the translation

Archetype

Latin MS of type K

C D^1

D^{2a}

M

D^{2b}

G

D^{2c}
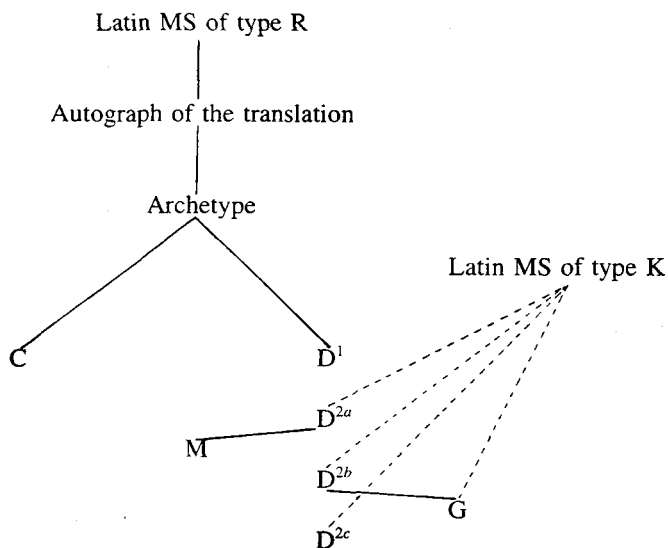
SIGLA

Manuscripts of the Latin source

K   Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5855-61

R   London, British Library, MS Royal 7 B. VIII

Manuscripts of the first English translation

C   Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. i. 16, s. xv¾

D^1 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 678 (formerly F. 5. 8), s. xv² (written by Stephen Dodesham, who died in 1481/2): original hand

D^2 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 678: corrector. The letters *a*, *b*, and *c* are used to distinguish different stages of correction

G   Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter T. 6. 18 (written by William Darker and dated 1502)

M   Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS F. 4. 19, s. xv ex.

written in a hand similar to that of Darker, the scribe of G, some of which result from conflation with a Latin text different from that originally used for the translation; these corrections are identified as D^2. It is likely that M and G were copied from D directly, with no manuscripts intervening (they share very few errors not also found in D).[16] R denotes the type of Latin manuscript (insular) from which the translation was originally made, K the type (closer to the archetype of the Latin original) from which it was corrected by D^2.

The language of the manuscripts of the *Imitation* was analysed using the method employed in the *Atlas*. First each manuscript was surveyed using a questionnaire consisting of a list of 'items', or words to look for (printed in small capitals); the 'forms', the spellings which these items have in the manuscript, are recorded in a 'linguistic profile', or list of forms found.[17] This is localized according to the 'fit' technique, by using the maps in the *Atlas* to eliminate the part of the country where each manuscript form is not found until a small area remains; this is the only area where the particular combination of forms found in the manuscript in question occurs.[18]

A possible difficulty in the application of the material in the *Atlas* to the manuscripts of the *Imitation* is their date: none of them is likely to be earlier than *c.* 1440, when the *Imitatio* appears to have been brought to England originally, and the latest, G, is dated 1502. The chronological scope of the *Atlas* is in general 1350-1450, but for the south of England 1325-1425, although some of the southern manuscripts analysed are later than 1425.[19] The manuscripts of the English *Imitation* are thus slightly later than most of the relevant material in the *Atlas*; furthermore, in the second half of the fifteenth century the orthography of many writers was beginning to conform to the increasingly influential Chancery standard,[20] or to contain forms in common use from originally different dialects, producing what Samuels has termed a 'colourless' regional language.[21] In the event, however, the analysis of the manuscripts of the *Imitation* produced fairly clear results.

In this article two aspects of the language of the four manuscripts of the *Imitation* are discussed: first the scribal language of each of the four (including an analysis of the language of the D^2-corrections and its relation to the language of Darker), and secondly the language of their archetype. An important factor here is that the work of the Dodesham and the scribe of C also survives in other manuscripts (as does that of Darker). This is very helpful, because by comparing a scribe's work in different manuscripts it is possible to discover how consistent his

orthography was and to identify unusual forms which may be archetypal; moreover, the fact that Dodesham and Darker each copied a number of other texts makes their language a matter of some interest in itself.[22]

I.   The Language of the Manuscripts

(a)   *C and the language of the C-scribe*

C was written in a distinctive bastard anglicana in the middle or third quarter of the fifteenth century.[23] There are no indications of its provenance, and the name of its scribe is unknown, but three other manuscripts copied by him have been identified.[24] Forms from C's linguistic profile are given in Table 1 below, together with forms from the C-scribe's other manuscripts for comparison.[25]

Table 1. Spelling of the Scribe of C

	C.U.L. Gg. i. 16	Garrett 144	McClean 129	Yale 281
	Imitation of Christ	*Elements of Religion*	*Life of St Katherine*	*Life of Our Lady*
THEM:	hem ((them))	hem	hem ((them, þem))	hem
THEIR:	her ((hir))	her, ther	ther ((there, her, þer*e*))	her
MANY:	many ((manye))	many	many	many
ANY:	any ((ani))	any	eny ((any))	any
MUCHE:	muche ((much))	miche	moche	moche
ARE:	ar ((are, be, bee, been, beeþ, beþ, beþe, bethe))	ben	ben ((be))	bene, ben
WILL *sg, pl:*	wolle (wol) *sg,* wolle, wol *pl*	wolle, wollen *pl*	wille *sg,* wille ((wolle, will)) *pl*	wille ((wolle, wol)) *sg*
THAN:	þen ((þan, thenne, þenne, then))	than, þan	then	thanne, than ((then))

	C.U.L. Gg. i. 16	Garrett 144	McClean 129	Yale 281
THOUGH:	þoghe ((þogh))	þough	though	though ((alle-though, though-that))
AGAINST:	ayenis ((ayenst, ayenste, ayenys, ayenist, ayens))	a-gayne	ayenst, ayens (ageyne, ageynys, ageyns, agayns, a-yenst, ayenste)	ayenste ((ayenst, ayen, a-yenste, ayenne))
YET:	yette ((yet))	—	yette	yette ((yet))
STRENGTH *sb:*	strengthe	—	strengthe	strengthe
NOR:	ner ((nor, ne nouþer))	ne	nor ((ne, nother))	ne ((nor))
WORK *sb*, *vb:*	werke, werk- *sb* worche, worch- *vb*	werke, werk- *sb*, wirche, worsh- *vb*	werke, werk- *sb*, wirke *vb*	werke, werk- *sb*, worche, werch-, worch- *vb*
WHEN:	when ((whenne))	whan	when ((whenne, whan))	whanne (whan) ((when))
BEFORE *adv*, *pr:*	bifore ((byfore)) *adv*, bifore ((byfore, before)) *pr*	bi-fore *adv*, *pr*	before, be-fore *adv*, be-fore, before ((afore, to-fore)) *pr*	afore, aforne, before, tofore, toforne, to-forne *adv*, afore, tofore, to-fore, before, bifore *pr*
BUSY *adj:*	besie, besy, besye, bisy, bysie, bysy	—	—	bisy, bysy, besy
DO *pt-sg*, *pt-pl:*	didde, dyd, dyde *pt-sg*, did *pt-pl*	dede, dide *pt-sg*	—	dide, dede ((ded)) *pt-sg*, dede, deden *pt-pl*
EITHER + OR:	ouþer +	—	other +	either +, other +
FIRST:	furste	firste (furste)	furste, firste	furste (furst)
GIVE *ppl:*	yiven ((yoven))	—	yeven, yeve	yeve
LESS:	lasse	—	—	lasse
OWN:	owne	owne	owne	owne
WHITHER:	whither, whiþer	—	whider, wheþer	—

The following items may be used for the localization of C.[26] *Hem* and *her* ((*hir*)) are not found in the north, Yorkshire or much of Lincolnshire (dot maps 40, 52); *many* ((*manye*)) is not found in parts of the north-west midlands (dot map 90); *muche* ((*much*)) is not found in the north, parts of the east midlands or much of East Anglia (dot map 104); *ar* ((*are*)) is not found in much of southern or south-east England (dot map 118); *beeþ, beþ, beþe,* and *bethe* are not found in the north or parts of the midlands (dot map 128); *wolle* (*wol*) is not found in the north or Lincolnshire (dot map 164); *þoghe* ((*þogh*)) is not found in the far north (dot map 196) or parts of the west midlands (dot map 202); *ayenis* ((*ayenst, ayenste, ayenys, ayenist, ayens*)) is not found in the north, parts of the east and central midlands or parts of the south east (dot map 221), or in parts of the north midlands (dot map 216); *ayenis* is also not found in much of the west midlands (dot map 225); *ner* is not found in the north, much of the west and central midlands, parts of the south east, or much of the south (dot map 487); *worche* and *worch- vb* are not found in the north, Lincolnshire or Norfolk, or parts of the south (dot map 315); *ouþer+* is not found in the south east, central southern England or the south west (dot map 404); *furste* is not found in parts of the the east and central midlands (dot map 417); *yiven* ((*yoven*)) is not found in the north or much of the east midlands (dot map 426); *yoven* is also not found in the north, the north midlands, the south west or the extreme south (dot map 432); *lasse* is not found in the north (dot map 456); *whither* and *whiþer* are not found in parts of the midlands or parts of London (dot map 579). The locality remaining after the areas mentioned have been eliminated includes south-west London, southern Middlesex, the extreme south of Buckinghamshire, the extreme east of Berkshire, and northern Surrey (see Figure 1 below, p. 92; as in the *Atlas*, reference is made to the English counties as they were before the changes resulting from the Local Government Act of 1963).

To what extent may the language of C be a reliable guide to the language of the archetype? In order to answer this question it is necessary to compare the orthography of C with that of the other manuscripts copied by the C-scribe, for which linguistic profiles are given in the remaining columns in Table 1, in order to assess whether it was his habit to copy *literatim* or to substitute his own spellings for those found in his exemplar. Two tendencies emerge from such a comparison: for many items the C-scribe's spelling is consistent across all four manuscripts, but there are also a number of items for which his spelling varies from manuscript to manuscript, as in the forms for ANY, MUCH, ARE, WILL, THOUGH, AGAINST, NOR, WORK *vb*, and EITHER+OR. A detailed analysis of the language of McClean 129,

Garrett 144, and Yale 281 is outside the scope of this study. It is worth pointing out, however, that although all three manuscripts differ in orthography from C, in the case of no manuscript do the differences, taken together, suggest a significantly different dialect from that of C: none of the other manuscripts' spellings for any of the words just mentioned would eliminate the area proposed for C. This is true even for items which have radically different forms: *any* and *eny*, for example, are both widespread in the south (dot maps 97-98); similarly, *miche, moche,* and *muche* are all found in Surrey (dot maps 102-04).

Most important for the present purpose is that to some extent the C-scribe's spelling varies from manuscript to manuscript. It is impossible to be certain about the cause of this variation, but it seems reasonable to suppose that some of it corresponds to differences between the exemplars used: the manuscripts display the variety of forms present in the scribe's combined active and passive repertoires. It may be, then, that the forms mentioned in the analysis of C which are not found in the C-scribe's other manuscripts may be derived from the archetype: these forms are *muche, ar* and *beþ, þoghe, ayenis, ner,* and *ouþer+*. To confirm this, it is necessary to analyse the language of the other witness to the archetype, D.

(b) D and the language of Dodesham

D was written by Stephen Dodesham, a prolific scribe whose work has been identified in about twenty manuscripts.[27] Most of his manuscripts are written in anglicana formata; D is written in a less formal anglicana. He probably began his work in the 1430s as a professional scribe in London; by 1462, however, he had become a monk at Witham Charterhouse, Somerset, and by 1471 he had moved to Sheen Charterhouse in Surrey, where he died in 1481/2.[28] Inscriptions in D, which show that it was in London shortly after the Dissolution, suggest that it was written by Dodesham while he was at Sheen.[29] The *Atlas* includes linguistic profiles from D and another of Dodesham's manuscripts, London, British Library, MS Additional 11305, but it does not attribute D to Dodesham.[30] Forms from linguistic profiles of Dodesham's manuscripts are given in Table 2 (below, pp. 88-91).[31]

The *Atlas* localizes the profile drawn from D in southern Buckinghamshire (point D on Figure 1).[32] The items which appear to be most important for localization are *hem, her, many, are, wol, ner, worche vb, yoven,* and *lasse,* as for C, and in addition the following: *biþ* is not found in the north, the central and east

midlands, much of East Anglia or London (dot map 130); *þouȝ (þouȝe, þou)* is not found in the north, parts of the north-east midlands, or parts of the south east (dot maps 196–97); *ayenst, aȝenst,* and *ayen* are not found in the north, parts of the east and central midlands, parts of the south east or parts of the south west (dot maps 216, 221, and 227); *strenþe* is not found in Kent (dot map 269); *work- sb* is not found in the north or parts of the east and west midlands (dot map 307); *besy* is not found in parts of the south west or the south east (dot map 371); *eiþer+* is not found in the north, most of the west midlands, the south east or the south west (dot map 402); *ovne (oune)* is not found in the north, Middlesex or London (dot map 498). The area remaining contains the extreme south of Middlesex, southern Buckinghamshire, the extreme east of Berkshire, and northern Surrey. The localization assigned to D by the *Atlas*, in southern Buckinghamshire, is in the western part of this area.

Before considering Table 2 as a whole, it is worth looking first at the first two profiles given in it, those of D and B.L. Additional 11305, the other manuscript analysed in the *Atlas*. Additional 11305 is localized in southern Middlesex (point A on Figure 1), about twenty miles from D's localization.[33] The profiles are similar, however, and it is worth considering why they were localized differently. One factor may have been D's spelling *ovne*, not found in London or Middlesex;[34] Additional 11305 has the more usual form *owne*.[35] Forms eliminating Buckinghamshire for Additional 11305 could be the present participle ending in -*eng*, *busy*, *ysaie* for SEEN, and *ywite* for WITEN.[36] Considering that the differences between the profiles are small, it is possible that D should be placed further east in southern Middlesex or northern Surrey.[37]

The impression of Dodesham's orthography given by Table 2 as a whole is one of rather greater consistency than that of the scribe of C, if allowance is made for the greater number of manuscripts surveyed. There is some variation, for example in the forms found for MUCH, ARE (a form similar to D's *biþ* is found only in Additional 11305, which has *bith*; the usual form is *ben*), WILL, ERE, NOR (D's *ner* is not found in any other of Dodesham's manuscripts), THROUGH, ASK, BUSY, LIE, and OWN. As with the variation in the C-scribe's orthography, however, that in Dodesham's spelling is not such as to suggest a different location for the different manuscripts: forms of the types *ben* and *biþ* are both found in the south east (dot maps 124 and 128), and forms of the types *wil* and *wol* are both widespread in the midlands and south (dot maps 163-64).

Nevertheless, in some of these cases the forms found are very different, for

D

Table 2. Spelling of

	T.C.D. 678	B.L. Add. 11305	Bodley 423	Hunter U. 4. 16	C.U.L. Add. 3042	T.C.C. B. 14. 54
	Imitation of Christ	*Prick of Conscience*	*Rule and Form of Living*	*Benjamin Minor*	*Directions for Prayer and Praise*	*Of the Creed, etc.*
THEM:	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem ((hem))
THEIR:	her (þere)	her	her	her	—	her
MANY:	many	many	many	many	—	**many**
ANY:	eny	eny	eny	eny	eny	**eny**
MUCH:	muche (moche)	muche	muche ((moche, -muche))	muche ((mekel-))	myche (miche)	muche
ARE:	biþ, are (beþ, be)	bith, ben (be)	ben	ben, are ((are))	ben	ben
WILL *sg, pl:*	wol *sg, pl*	wol *sg*, wollen, wol *pl*	wil *sg*, wil (wiln) *pl*	wol *sg, pl*	—	wol *sg, pl*
THAN:	þan (þen)	than (þan)	than	than	than	þan
THOUGH:	þou3 (þou3e, þou)	though (þou3)	al-though, though	though, though-that, though-al-that	though	þough, though, all-though
AGAINST:	ayenst, ayen, a3enst	ayenst	ayenst	ayenst	—	ayenst ((ayen, a-yenst))
ERE *conj:*	or	or	er	or	—	—
YET:	yit (3it, yette)	yit	yit ((yhit))	yit	—	yit
STRENGTH *sb:*	strengþe, strenþe	strengþe, strengthe	—	strengthe	strengthe	—
NOR:	ner (nor)	ne (neither, nor)	ne	ne, nor	—	ne ((neiþer, neiþer))
WORK *sb, vb:*	work- (werk-) *sb*, worche (work- *imp*) *vb*	work- *sb*	werk- *sb*, worch- *vb*	work-, worch- *vb*	werk- *sb*	worke, work- ((werke, werk-)) *sb*, worch- ((worke, worche)) *vb*

Stephen Dodesham

Downside 26542	C.U.L. Add. 3137	Boston f. med. 94	Beinecke 661	Rawlinson A. 387 B	T.C.C. B. 15. 16	Hunter T. 3. 15
Pricking of Love	*Siege of Thebes*	*Siege of Thebes*	*Siege of Thebes*	*Mirror of the Life of Christ*	*Mirror of the Life of Christ*	*Mirror of the Life of Christ*
hem	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem	hem
her	her	her ((theyr))	her	**her**	her	her
many	many	many	many (mony)	many	many	many
ony	ony, any	any	ony ((any, eny))	eny	eny	eny
moche	moche	moche	moche	muche	muche	muche ((mychel, miche, muchel))
ben	ben ((be, are, ar, arn))	ben ((ar, arn))	ben ((ar, arn))	ben	ben	ben
wil *sg*, wil (wiln) *pl*	wil *sg, pl*	wil, wyl *sg*, wyl *pl*	wil, wol *sg*	wol *sg*, wol, wollen *pl*	wol *sg, pl*	wol *sg*, wol, wollen *pl*
than, þan	than	than	than	than ((þan))	than	than
though (thou3)	though, thogh	though	though	though ((although))	though ((although, thou3))	though ((al-though, though-that))
ayenst, ayens	ayen (ayenst, ageyn) ((ageyns, agens))	ayen, ageyn (ayens)	ayen, ayens, ageyn	ayenst	ayenst	ayenst
or-that	or, or-that	or, or-that	or, or-that	—	—	—
yet ((yhet))	yet	yet	yet	yit, yhit	yit, yhit	yit, yhit
strengthe	—	—	—	strength, strengthe	strengthe, strengþe, strength-	strengthe
ne ((nor))	nor ((ne, nother))	nor ((ne))	nor, ne	nor, ne	neiþer, ne	nor, ne
werke, worke *sb*, worche *vb*	werk, werk- *sb*, werke, werk- (work-) *vb*	werk- *vb*	werk, werk- *sb*, werke, werk- (worche, worken) *vb*	worke, work- *sb*, worche, worch- *vb*	werke, werk- worke, work- *sb*, worche, worch- *vb*	werke, werk-, worke, work *sb*, worch- ((wurch-)) *vb*

	T.C.D. 678	B.L. Add. 11305	Bodley 423	Hunter U. 4. 16	C.U.L. Add. 3042	T.C.C. B. 14. 54
THROUGH:	þorough, þoruȝ (þuruȝ, þurugh, þurgh, þroghe)	þorugh, thorugh (þurgh, thurgh)	thorugh ((thurgh))	thorugh ((thurgh))	—	þorugh, thurgh, thorugh, þurgh
WHEN:	whan (when)	whan	whan ((when, whanne))	whan ((when))	whan, when	whan ((wha*n*))
Pres part:	-inge, -yng	-ynge, -ing -eng	-ynge, -yng ((-inge, -ing, -enge, -eng))	-yng, -ing (-ynge, -inge, -eng)	-yng (-eng)	-ynge, -ing ((-y*n*g, -enge))
ASK:	ask-	ask-	axe, ax- (aske, ask-)	ask-	**aske**	aske, ask-
BEFORE *adv*, *pr:*	before *adv*, before, afore *pr*	before (afore) *adv*, tofore, afore *pr*	before (bifore, afore-) *adv*, afore (tofore) *pr*	before *adv*, *pr*	—	before *adv*, *pr*
BUSY *adj:*	besy	busy	besy, busy	besy	besy-	—
DO *pt-sg*, *pt-pl:*	dide *pt-pl*	dide *pt-sg*	dide *pt-sg*, diden, dide *pt-pl*	—	—	dide *pt-sg*, diden *pt-pl*
EITHER+OR:	eiþer+	—	either+ ((outher+, eyther+))	either+	—	eiþer+
GIVE *ppl:*	yoven, yeven	youen	youen ((youe))	youen, youe (y-youen)	—	y-youe, youe
LESS:	lasse (lesse)	lasse	lasse	lasse	—	—
LIE:	lye	—	lye	—	—	lye, li-
OWN	ovne (oune, owne)	owne	owne, owen	ovne	—	ovne
SEE *ppl:*	—	ysaie	seen	—	—	—
WHITHER:	whider, whiþer-	whedir, -whider	whider	—	—	—
WITEN:	—	ywite	—	wote, wite *imp*	—	wite
-LY:	-ly	-ly, -liche -lyche	-ly	-ly	-ly	-ly ((-liche, -lyche))

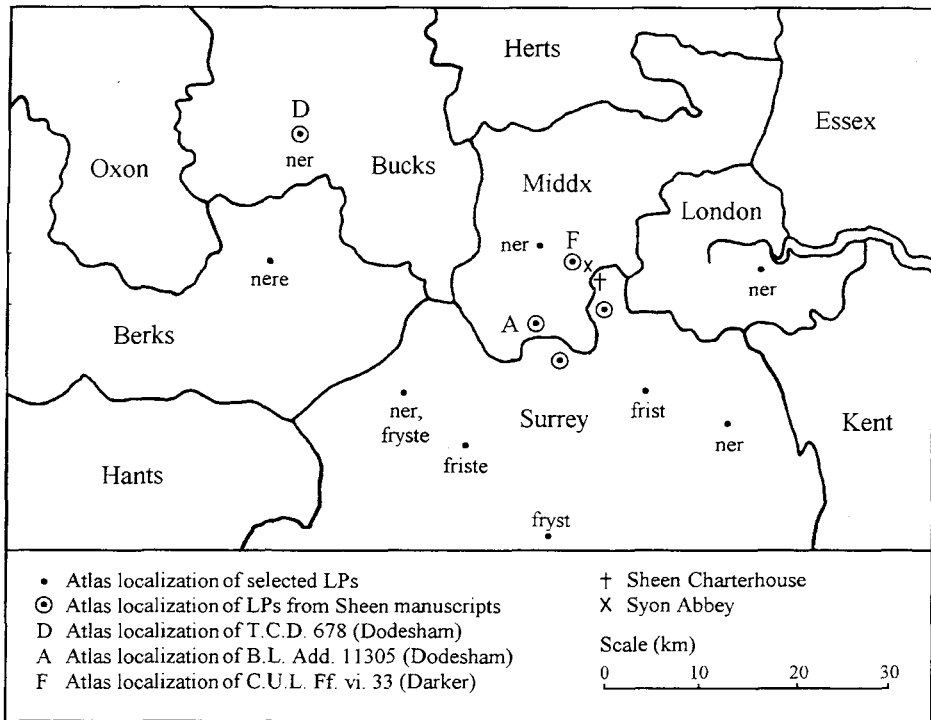| Downside 26542	C.U.L. Add. 3137	Boston f. med. 94	Beinecke 661	Rawlinson A. 387 B	T.C.C. B. 15. 16	Hunter T. 3. 15
thorugh ((þorugh))	thorgh (throgh) ((thorugh))	thorgh, thorugh	thorgh, thorugh ((throgh, thorgh))	thurgh (thorugh)	thorugh ((through, thorgh))	thorugh ((thurgh))
whan	whan ((whan-that))	whan ((whan-that))	whan ((whan-that))	whan ((wha*n*))	whan	whan ((whanne))
-yng, -ing	-ing, -yng ((-eng))	-yng ((-ing, -eng))	-yng, -ing ((-eng))	-ynge, -yng, -inge, -ing	-ynge, -yng ((-inge, -ing, -enge, -eng))	-yng (-ing, -ynge, -eng) ((-inge))
aske, ax-, ask-	—	—	ask-	aske, ask-	aske, ask-	aske, ask-
afore *adv*, before *pr*	aforn, toforn ((beforn)) *adv*, aforn, toforn (tofore, afore) *pr*	aforn, beforn, toforn, tofore *adv*, tofore, afore, aforn *pr*	aforn, beforn, befor*n*e, tofore, to-forn *adv*, afore, tofore *pr*	afore *adv*, before, afore *pr*	before ((tofore)) *adv, pr*	before *adv*, before ((bifore, tofore)) *pr*
besy-	besy, besy-	besy	besy	besy, besye	besy, besy-	besy
dide, dyde, *pt-sg*, didist *pt-2sg*	dide *pt-sg*, diden, dide, ded *pt-pl*	did, dide, dyde *pt-sg*, dide *pt-pl*	dide (dyde) *pt-sg*, dide, dyde *pt-pl*	dide *pt-sg*	did, dide *pt-sg*, didist *pt-2sg*	dide (dyde) *pt-sg*
outher+, eyther+	outher+, other+	eyther+, outher+	either+	either+, eyther+	outher+	either+, eiþer+
youen	—	—	—	youen	youen, gouen	youen
—	—	—	—	lasse	lasse	lasse
—	lye, li-	lye, ly-, li-	li-	liggh-	liggh-	liggh-
owne	ovne	—	—	ovne	owne	owne
sayne	seyn, seyen, seien	-seyn, seien	seyen, seien	seen	—	—
—	whider	whethir	wheder	whider	whider	whider
wyte, wyten	—	—	—	wite, wyte	wite	wyte, wite
-ly ((liche))	-ly ((-liche))	-ly	-ly	-ly ((-liche))	-ly ((-liche))	-ly ((-liche))

Figure 1. Location of Linguistic Profiles Discussed

example *liggh-* for LIE in the manuscripts of Love's *Mirror*, compared with Dodesham's other form *lye*; *ywite* for WITEN in B.L. Additional 11305;[38] and *-liche* for -LY in several manuscripts.[39] It seems reasonable to conclude that while Dodesham generally 'translated', substituting his own spellings for those of his exemplar, in some cases, particularly where the form in his copy text was so different from his own (like *liggh-* and *lye*) that it could be regarded as a different word altogether, he was influenced by the spellings he found.[40] D may therefore show some traces of the language of the archetype where its spelling differs from that of Dodesham's other manuscripts.

(c) G, the D^2-corrections, and the language of Darker

A note at the beginning of G states that it was written in 1502 by William Darker of Sheen Charterhouse for Elizabeth Gibbs, abbess of Syon Abbey.[41] Darker's work has been identified in ten manuscripts (not counting the D^2-corrections), most of which, including G, are written in a distinctive fere-textura.[42] If, as seems likely, he is the William Darker mentioned in the bursars' drafts of the Eton College audit rolls, he studied at Oxford and was usher at Eton from 1469 to 1471; he died at Sheen in 1513.[43] One of his manuscripts, Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. vi. 33, is analysed in the *Atlas*. Forms from Darker's manuscripts are given in Table 3 (below, pp. 94-95).[44] In transcribing the D^2-corrections, angle brackets ⟨. . .⟩ surround letters written by the corrector over erasure, and slashes \ . ./ surround material inserted above the line; where a word contains neither angle brackets nor slashes, it has been written entirely by the corrector.

The items most important for the localization of G are *hem* ((*hem*)) and *her*, *many*, *are* ((*ar*)), *a-yenst*, *ayenst*, and *ayen*, and *ner* as for C and D; *muche* and *much* as for C; *work*, *worke*, and *work-* sb, *besy*, and *eyther+* ((*eyþere+*)) as for D, and the following: *eny* is not found in the north, parts of the east midlands, or East Anglia (dot map 98); *be* is not found in much of south-west England and the south-west midlands (dot map 123); *yete* and *yet* are not found in parts of the east midlands (dot map 245). The area remaining contains south London, southern Middlesex, the extreme south of Buckinghamshire, a small part of the extreme east of Oxfordshire, the extreme east of Berkshire, and northern Surrey. This is consistent with the *Atlas* localization for C.U.L. Ff. vi. 33 in southern Middlesex (point F on Figure 1);[45] the language of Ff. vi. 33 is very similar to that of G, the main differences being that Ff. vi. 33 has *ne* for NOR (but G's form *ner* may well be archetypal, as discussed below), *werke* for WORK sb, and *myche*, *mych* for MUCH; none of these, however, is significant for localization.

The D^2-corrections consist of the insertion or substitution of words or short phrases and of more detailed alterations to the orthography, capitalization, and punctuation. The more substantial corrections show that the corrector worked through the translation closely, checking it against a Latin text; the orthographic corrections show that he also had an interest in spelling, his preferences including inserting an additional *o* in *g\o/ode* 'good', preferring the midland ending in *-yn* to the southern ending in *-iþ* in the plural present indicative in such forms as *presum⟨yn⟩* (where an erased *þ* may be seen under the *n*), and preferring *a* to *e* in the

Table 3. Spelling of

	Hunter T. 6. 18	C.U.L. Ff. vi. 33	T.C.D. 678: corrections
	Imitation of Christ	*Ladder of Four Rungs*	*Imitation of Christ*
THEM:	hem ((hem, them))	hem (them)	**hem**
THEIR:	her	their, þeir, ther	—.
MANY:	many ((meny))	many	—
ANY:	eny	eny	—
MUCH:	muche, much ((moche))	myche, mych	muche, mych
ARE:	are ((be, ar))	be, are	be⟨e⟩, be⟨.⟩
WILL *sg, pl:*	wol, woll ((wil, wyll)) *sg*, woll *pl*	wolle, wille, wylle *sg*, wille, wolle *pl*	wyll *sg*
THAN:	þan ((than))	than	þ⟨a⟩n (þan, than)
THOUGH:	þouȝe ((thouȝe))	thouȝe	—
AGAINST:	a-yenst, ayenst, a-yen	aȝenst, aȝens	—
YET:	yete, yet	ȝit, ȝete	ȝit, ȝette, yet
STRENGTH *sb:*	strength	strength	—
NOR:	ner	ne	nor, ner, ne
THINK:	thenke, thenk- (þenke, þenk-) ((thynk-))	thinke, thynke	thynk-, þenk-
WORK *sb, vb:*	work, worke, work-, werk- *sb*, worche, worch- *vb*	werke *sb, vb*	—
WHEN:	when	whan (when, whanne)	—
BEFORE *adv, pr:*	before *adv*, be-fore (be-for, before, a-fore) *pr*	before, byfore *adv*, before, bifore *pr*	a-fore *pr*
BUSY *adj:*	besy	besy	—
DO *pt-sg, pt-pl:*	did *pt-sg, pt-pl*	dyd *pt-sg*	—
EITHER+OR:	eyther+ ((eyþere+))	eyther+	—
EVIL:	evel, evell ((euell, evelle))	eville, evylle	⟨euy⟩ll
FIRST:	first (fyrst)	first	—
GIVE *pres, ppl:*	yeve, yeue, yev-, yeu- ((geu-, geve, yefe)) *pres*, yeven ((yeuen, geven)) *ppl*	—	⟨y⟩eue, ⟨y⟩eu- *pres*
GOOD *adj, sb:*	good (goode) *adj*, goode, good- *sb*	goode *adj*	g\o/ode ((go\o/de, goode, good, go\o/d, go⟨ode⟩, g⟨oode⟩)) *adj*, g\o/od-(go\o/d-) *sb*
LESS:	**lesse**	lesse	lesse
OWN:	owyne, owne, own	owne, own	—
WHITHER:	whither	whiþer	—

William Darker

B.L. Add. 22121	Lambeth 546	Laud misc. 38	Laud misc. 517
Speculum Christiani	*Prayers before the Sacrament*	*Dialogue of St Anselm and Our Lady*	*Manner of Good Living*
hem (hem*e*, thaym, them, them*me*, tham, tham*e*, ham)	hem, them	them (them*e*) ((þem))	them
thayr ((her))	her	their, there, theyr, þeir, her	theyr, their ((þeir))
many	many, many-	**many**	many
—	—	eny	eny
moche ((mekyll))	myche, moche	mych, moch, mich	mych, muche
ar	ben	—	ar, be
woll ((wylle, wyll, wille, wol, wolle)) *sg*	will *sg*	wyll, wyl *sg*	wyll (will, wyl) *sg*, wyl, wyll *pl*
than	than	than	than, then, þan
though, all-though	though	thouȝe, þouȝe	thouȝe, þouȝe, all-though
a-gayn	a-geynst	a-yenst (a-yens)	a-gaynst (a-gaynste)
—	yet	yet, yit	yit
—	strength	—	strength
nor	ne, nor	nother, noþere, ne	nor ((ne))
—	thynke	thynke	thynke, thynk-
worke, werk- *sb*, worke *vb*	werke, werk- *sb*, werk- *vb*	worch *vb*	werke, werk- *sb*
whan, when	when	when (when*e*)	when ((when*e*))
before *adv, pr*	before, to-fore *pr*	a-fore ((þe-fore)) *adv*, be-fore (befor, a-fore) *pr*	a-fore, be-fore *adv*, be-fore (be-for, before, before) *pr*
besy	—	—	—
—	did *pt-sg*, done (do) *pt-pl*	dyd *pt-sg*, *pt-pl*	did, didd, dyd *pt-sg*
othur+, othyr+	—	—	—
—	—	—	evyll, euyll, evyl ((evel, euyl, evell))
—	—	fyrst, first	fyrst (first)
—	yeue (yeu-, yeve) *pres*	gyve (-gyve) *pres*, gave, gyvene *ppl*	geue (geve, gyve) *pres*, geven ((gevene, geuene)) *ppl*
good *adj*	good *adj*	good *adj*	good, goode, good- *adj*, good, good- *sb*
—	—	—	lesse
—	own	—	own*e*
—	—	whyther, whyd*er*, whyþer	—

95

ending of words like *natur⟨e⟩ly*.[46] Forms from the linguistic profile obtained from the D²-corrections are given as the third column in Table 3. This may be localized similarly to the profile obtained from G, to an area whose centre is in south-east Middlesex, using *hem* and *ner* as for C, D, and G, *muche* as for C and G, *be⟨e⟩* and *be⟨.⟩* as for G, and in addition *þ⟨a⟩n* (*þan, than*), *thynk-* and *þenk-, but, ⟨euy⟩ll*, and *⟨y⟩eue* and *⟨y⟩eu-* (dot maps 188, 297, 299, 376, 426, and 982). More importantly, the profile is again very similar to C.U.L. Ff. vi. 33 (the main difference is that Ff. vi. 33 has *before, bifore* for BEFORE *pr* whereas the D²-corrections have *a-fore*, but all three forms are widespread: see dot maps 359-61).

   That the D²-corrections are indeed the work of Darker is confirmed by Table 3 as a whole: there are no D²-forms without parallels in the other manuscripts which he copied. More generally, the impression given by Table 3 is that Darker was more consistent in his orthography than either Dodesham or the C-scribe: the amount of variation between his manuscripts is small. There is some variation, in the forms for MUCH and AGAINST, for example, but this is no more significant, as regards localization, than the variation in the forms in Dodesham's and the C-scribe's manuscripts. Moreover, comparison of the orthography of G with that of D, almost certainly its immediate exemplar, reveals that G is much closer to Darker's other manuscripts than to D. Darker, in other words, was a scribe whose practice was to 'translate' into his own language; and this consistency is what we should expect, given the interest in orthography shown in many of the corrections which he made in D.

(d)   The language of M

   M is anonymous, and no other manuscripts copied by its scribe have been identified; there are no indications of provenance. It is written in textura and datable on palaeographical grounds to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. Forms from M's linguistic profile are given in Table 4 opposite.[47]

   The items most important for localization are *hem, her, ayenst* ((*a-ʒenst, aʒenst, a-yenst*)), and *ner* as for C, D, and G; *wol* ((*wool*)) and *worch, worche*, and *worch-* vb as for C and D; *muche* as for C and G; *ar* ((*beþᵉ, beiþᵉ*)) as for C; *worke* and *work-* sb, *besy*, and *eiþer+* as for D and G; *þouʒ* ((*þough*)) as for D; *eny* as for G; and the following: *þan* is not found in parts of the north-west midlands (dot map 188); *yit* is not found in parts of the south and the midlands (dot map 243); *whan* is

Table 4. Spelling of M

	Magdalene F. 4. 19
	Imitation of Christ
THEM:	hem
THEIR:	her
MANY:	many
ANY:	eny ((ony, any))
MUCH:	muche ((moche))
ARE:	are ((ben, beþ^e, beiþ^e))
WILL:	wol ((wille)) *sg*, wol ((wool)) *pl*
THAN:	þan (þen)
THOUGH:	þouȝ ((þough))
AGAINST:	ayenst ((a-ȝenst, aȝenst, a-yenst))
YET:	ȝit, yit ((ȝett, ȝette))
STRENGTH *sb:*	strengþ^e, strengþ^e, strengþ-
NOR:	ner ((nor, ne))
WORK *sb, vb:*	werke, werk-, worke, work- *sb*, worch, worche, worch- *vb*
WHEN:	whan
BEFORE *adv, pr:*	before (be-fore, tofore) *adv*, before (a-fore) *pr*
BUSY *adj:*	besy
DO *pt-sg, pt-pl:*	dide, dede *pt-sg*, dide *pt-pl*
EITHER+OR:	eiþer+
FIRST:	frist ((first))
GIVE *ppl:*	youen, ȝoven, ȝouen ((yoven, yeuen, yeven, ȝoue))
LESS:	lasse
OWN:	ovne ((owne))
WHITHER:	wheþer, whider

not found in parts of the west midlands (dot map 337); *before (be-fore) adv* and *before pr* are not found in parts of the west midlands (dot map 360); *dede pt-sg* is not found in parts of the east midlands (dot map 399); *frist* is not found in much of the central midlands and central southern England (dot map 418). The area remaining is northern Surrey, where forms of the rather unusual *frist*-type are found

in three linguistic profiles from the same area (for their localization, see Figure 1): London, British Library, MS Egerton 1995 (*William Gregory's Chronicle of London*), localized about two miles north-west of Woking (*fryste*);[48] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 207 (*Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ*), possibly from Newark Priory in Surrey and localized there, about two miles south-east of Woking (*friste*);[49] and London, British Library, MS Harley 4775 (*Life of Adam and Eve*), a near-*literatim* copy by Ricardus Franciscus of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 372, localized near Sutton (*frist*).[50] (*Fryst* is found in southern Surrey in Oxford, University College, MS C. 188 (*Partonope of Blois*), localized about six miles south-east of Dorking.[51]) All three profiles are close to that of M, although none is exactly the same.

(e) Conclusions

The linguistic analysis of D and G supports the palaeographical evidence that they were written at Sheen Charterhouse in Surrey. The linguistic analysis of the D^2-corrections supports the palaeographical evidence that these corrections are the work of Darker. The linguistic analysis of M suggests that it was copied by a scribe from northern Surrey, and that of C suggests a provenance of northern Surrey, Middlesex or London. It is possible, therefore, that all four manuscripts were copied at Sheen or at nearby houses; at any rate, the text does not appear to have been disseminated over a wide area.

II. The Language of the Archetype

The analysis of the language of the archetype is a difficult matter because even with the information that has been obtained about the spelling practices of Dodesham and the C-scribe, it is not easy to be sure about which features of the spelling of C and D may be derived from the archetype. As has been shown, the C-scribe's spelling varies from manuscript to manuscript more than Dodesham's, so that the C-scribe may be expected to have followed the spelling of his exemplar a little more closely. But it is less easy to tell which particular features of the orthography of C may have been derived from C's exemplar. There are in principle two possible grounds for detecting relict forms from the archetype in the manuscripts: first, where

Table 5. Comparison of the Spelling of C and D

Forms in other C-scribe manuscripts	Forms in C	Forms in D	Forms in other Dodesham manuscripts
hem	hem ((them))	**hem**	hem
her, ther	her ((hir))	her (þere)	her
many	many ((manye))	**many**	many
moche, miche	muche ((much))	muche (moche)	muche, moche, myche
ben, bene	ar ((are, be, bee, been, beeþ, beþ, beþe, bethe))	biþ, are (beþ, be)	ben, bith, are
wille, wolle *sg*	wolle (wol) *sg*	wol *sg*	wol, wil *sg*
though, þough	þoghe ((þogh))	þouȝ (þouȝe, þou)	though, þough, thogh, al-though, all-though, though-that, though-al-that
ayenste, ayenst, ayens, a-geyne	ayenis ((ayenst, ayenste, ayenys, ayenist, ayens))	ayenst, ayen, aȝenst	ayenst, ageyn, ayens, ayen
nor, ne	ner ((nor, ne, nouþer))	ner·	nor, ne, neiþer
worche, wirche, wirke, werch-, worch-, worsh-	worche, worch-	worche (work- *imp*)	worche, worch-, werke, werk-
yeven, yeve	yiven ((yoven))	yoven, yeven	youen, youe, y-youe, gouen
lasse	**lasse**	lasse (lesse)	lasse
whider, wheþer	whither, whiþer	whider, whiþer-	whider, wheder, whedir, whethir, -whider

C and D share the same form, and secondly, where a form is found in C or D but not in any of the other manuscripts copied by that scribe. It is hard to know exactly how much weight should be attached to each of these grounds, but it is reasonable to

suppose that any form meeting both criteria – that is, a form occurring only in C and D but in none of either of the scribes' other manuscripts – would be archetypal. Table 5 (above, p. 99) shows the forms used in the localization of C and D which have similar spellings in both manuscripts, together with parallel forms from the scribes' other manuscripts; for the sake of clarity of presentation, minority forms in manuscripts other than C and D have been omitted.

The items in Table 5 may be divided into three categories. First, there are those forms shared by C and D which are without parallel elsewhere. Such forms might reasonably be expected to be derived from the archetype. The outstanding example here is the form *ner*, found in both C and D, but in none of the other manuscripts copied by either scribe. It seems highly probable that *ner* is derived from the archetype: it is an unusual form, and was probably not changed because it was regarded as a different word, rather than as a form of the word *neither*.[52] This explanation is supported by the fact that *ner* also occurs in M and G: Darker and the M-scribe adopted the same policy.

The mixture of *are* and *beþ*- or *biþ*-type forms found in C and D should also be placed in this category. The C-scribe only uses *ben*-type (or occasionally *be*-type) forms in his other manuscripts, and Dodesham's preferred form in other manuscripts is also *ben*; outside of D, he uses *are* and *biþ* only rarely. A comparison of each individual occurrence of *are* and *biþ* forms in C and D, given in Table 6 below, shows that the mixture of the two forms is archetypal.[53]

Table 6. Forms for ARE

Form in C	Occurrence in D
ar 190	are 185, ben 3, be 1, *one occurrence omitted*
are 1	**are 1**
be 36	be 26, biþ 8, ben 1, are 1
bee 1	**biþ 1**
been 1	ben 1
beeþ 12	biþ 11, beþ 1
bethe 1	biþ 1
beþ 1	**biþ 1**
beþe 12	biþ 10, bee 1, be 1

Of the 255 instances of ARE in C, 254 are also found in D. If we take D's *are* to be equivalent to C's *ar* (as they were presumably phonetically equivalent),[54] D's *biþ* to be equivalent to C's *beeþ, bethe, beþ,* and *beþe* (as they are all reflexes of the basic type *bVþ*), and D's *ben* to be equivalent to C's *been*, then in 237 instances out of 254 D's form is in agreement with C, while in 17 cases D has a different form: in over 90% of instances D is in agreement with C. The only reasonable conclusion is that the mixture of *are*-type and *bVþ*-type forms is archetypal, and that C's spellings *beeþ, bethe, beþ,* and *beþe* and D's *biþ* and *beþ* have their common origin in a *bVþ*-type in the archetype.[55]

A second category contains forms shared by C and D without parallel in the other manuscripts copied by one scribe. Apart from the forms for NEITHER and ARE discussed above, all of the forms which D shares with C in Table 5 have parallels in the other manuscripts copied by Dodesham. On the other hand, forms of the type *muche* are shared by C and D and without parallel in the other manuscripts copied by the C-scribe: these too may have been derived from the archetype. Forms found in only one manuscript but without parallel in the other manuscripts copied by that scribe may also be archetypal, for example the trisyllabic form *ayenis* and *ouþer+* (see Table 1), both found in C but none of the other manuscripts by the C-scribe. Finally, there are a number of forms shared by C and D which have parallels in the other manuscripts copied by both scribes: *hem, her, many,* THOUGH-forms with *gh* or *ȝ,* AGAINST-forms with *y, worche, yoven, lasse* and *whither*. These may have been derived from the archetype, but it is difficult to tell because they were part of the spelling systems of both scribes.

An attempt may be made at localization of the archetype, supposing it to have contained the forms common to C and D given in Table 5. Not surprisingly, the resulting analysis is similar to that obtained for C. The forms which may be used for localization are *hem, her, many, muche, ar/are, ayenis/ayenst, ner, worche/worch- vb, yoven, whither/whiþer,* all as for C. After the areas where these forms are not found have been eliminated, the area remaining contains London, Middlesex, southern Hertfordshire, southern Bedfordshire, southern Buckinghamshire, eastern Berkshire, and northern Surrey. Within this region, there are four linguistic profiles which contain the form most distinctive of the archetype, *ner* (for their localization, see Figure 1): B.L. Egerton 1995, mentioned above in connection with M's language, localized about two miles north-west of Woking;[56] Bodleian Lyell 34, mentioned above in the discussion of Dodesham's language, localized near Coulsdon;[57] London, Guildhall, Letterbooks I and K (1416-24),

localized in south-east London;[58] and London, Public Record Office, SC 1/51/46A-C (Letter from the confessor of Syon to Henry VI), localized near Southall in Middlesex.[59] The points at which these four manuscripts have been localized enclose a parallelogram, at the centre of which is the part of northern Surrey which is surrounded by the Thames to the west and north and by London to the east.

It is not intended to present this analysis as a definitive localization of the archetype. That is not possible, because it is impossible to be certain that all of the features of the spelling of C and D used in the analysis are archetypal. Given the opportunity of comparing the spelling of the two manuscripts with each other, and with other manuscripts copied by the same scribes, however, it seemed worthwhile to pursue the analysis as far as possible. It is interesting that the result obtained is compatible with the other evidence suggesting a connection between the translation and Sheen Charterhouse in Surrey.[60]

NOTES

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[1] *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, ed. Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, 4 vols (Aberdeen, 1986) is hereafter cited as *LALME*. For examples of the application of the material in *LALME* to texts not analysed in *LALME* itself, see Gerrit H. V. Bunt, 'Localizing *William of Palerne*', in *Historical Linguistics and Philology*, ed. Jacek Fisiak, Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs, 46 (Berlin, 1990), pp. 73-86, and *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, ed. Margaret Connolly, EETS, os 303 (Oxford, 1993), pp. xxxvi-xlii.

[2] McIntosh's work may be found in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on some Principles and Problems by Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and Margaret Laing*, ed. Margaret Laing (Aberdeen, 1989): see especially the articles 'The Analysis of Written Middle English' (pp. 1-21), 'A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology' (pp. 22-31), 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts' (pp. 32-45), and 'Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes' (pp. 46-63).

[3] These complexities are explored in the essays in Laing and the following volumes: *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981); *The English of Chaucer and his Contemporaries: Essays by M. L. Samuels and J. J. Smith*, ed. J. J. Smith (Aberdeen, 1988); *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of 'A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English'*, ed. Felicity Riddy, York Manuscripts Conferences: Proceedings Series, 2 (Cambridge, 1991); and *Speaking in our Tongues:*

Proceedings of a Colloquium on Medieval Dialectology and Related Disciplines, ed. Margaret Laing and Keith Williamson (Cambridge, 1994).

4 *LALME*, I, 13.

5 *LALME*, I, 13.

6 *LALME*, I, 13-19.

7 *LALME*, I, 19-23, 29-33. See generally the essays in Smith, Laing, and Riddy, and in particular M. L. Samuels and J. J. Smith, 'The Language of Gower', in Smith, pp. 13-22, and M. L. Samuels, 'Langland's Dialect', in Smith, pp. 70-85.

8 For examples of analyses of the archetypal language of prose texts (mainly in cases where there is a distinct difference between scribal and archetypal language), see M. L. Samuels, 'The Dialects of MS Bodley 959', in Laing, pp. 136-49; Margaret Laing, 'Dialectal Analysis and Linguistically Composite Texts in Middle English', in Laing, pp. 150-69; Margaret Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism: The Translations by Richard Misyn of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* and *Emendatio Vitae*', in Laing, pp. 188-223; and cf. Ronald Waldron, 'Dialect Aspects of Manuscripts of Trevisa's Translation of the *Polychronicon*', in Riddy, pp. 67-87.

9 T. L. Burton, 'On the Current State of Middle English Dialectology', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 22 (1991), 167-208, and Michael Benskin, 'In Reply to Dr Burton', ibid., 209-62.

10 *The Earliest English Translation of the ... 'De Imitatione Christi'*, ed. J. K. Ingram, EETS, es 63 (London, 1893), and Brendan Biggs, 'A Critical Edition of the First English Translation of the *Imitatio Christi*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1992). I am preparing a new edition for publication as EETS, os 309 (Oxford, 1997, forthcoming).

11 The circulation of the *Imitatio* in England is discussed by Roger Lovatt, 'The *Imitation of Christ* in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 18 (1968), 97-121.

12 On the translator's method, see Brendan Biggs, 'The Style of the First English Translation of the *Imitatio Christi*', in *The Medieval Translator 5*, ed. Roger Ellis and René Tixier (Paris, 1995, forthcoming).

13 Dygon's manuscript is Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 93: see f. 275^V.

14 On the role of the Carthusians in disseminating devotional texts, see Michael G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), 225-40, and James Hogg, 'The English Charterhouses and the Devotio Moderna', in *Historia et spiritualitas cartusiensis: colloquii quarti internationalis acta*, ed. Jan de Grauwe (Destelbergen, Belgium, 1983), pp. 257-68. On other translations produced for the Syon nuns, see *The Chastising of God's Children' and 'The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God*', ed. Joyce Bazire and Edmund Colledge (Oxford, 1957), pp. 76-78, and *The Myroure of Oure Ladye*, ed. John Henry Blunt, EETS, es 19 (London, 1873), pp. 1-9, 65-71.

[15] The evidence for this stemma is set out in chapter III of Biggs, 'Critical Edition' (pp. 75-112).

[16] On the rarity of such cases, where a manuscript and its known exemplar have both survived, see Richard Beadle, 'Middle English Texts and their Transmission, 1350-1500: Some Geographical Criteria', in Laing and Williamson, pp. 69-91 (p. 74), and points made by Beadle in the discussion 'Historical Dialectology and Literary Text Traditions', ibid., pp. 127-32 (pp. 130-31), and by Antonij Dees in the discussion 'Manuscript Studies and Literary Geography', ibid., pp. 107-16 (pp. 107-08).

[17] *LALME*, I, 7-9, 552-53.

[18] *LALME*, I, 9-12, and Michael Benskin, 'The "Fit"-Technique Explained', in Riddy, pp. 9-26.

[19] *LALME*, I, 3; LPs from southern manuscripts which are later than 1425 include LPs 6460 and 6730 (*LALME*, III, 303, 20), both discussed in this article.

[20] For different views on the growth of the Chancery standard, see M. L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', in Laing, pp. 64-80; John H. Fisher, 'Chancery and the Emergence of Standard Written English in the Fifteenth Century', *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 870-99; Arthur O. Sandved, 'Prolegomena to a Renewed Study of the Rise of Standard English', in Benskin and Samuels, pp. 31-42; M. L. Samuels, 'Spelling and Dialect in the Late and Post-Middle English Periods', in Benskin and Samuels, pp. 43-54, reprinted in Smith, pp. 86-95; John H. Fisher, Malcolm Richardson and Jane L. Fisher, *An Anthology of Chancery English* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1984); and Michael Benskin, 'Some New Perspectives on the Origins of Standard Written English', in *Dialect and Standard Language in the English, Dutch, German and Norwegian Language Areas*, ed. J. A. van Leuvensteijn and J. B. Berns (Amsterdam, 1992), pp. 71-105.

[21] Samuels, 'Spelling and Dialect', p. 43; cf. Benskin's discussion of 'colourless' regional standards in 'Some New Perspectives', pp. 82-85.

[22] See the discussion of relicts in *LALME*, I, 13-14. There are about a hundred such Middle English scribes whose work is recognisable in more than one manuscript: see the contribution by Richard Beadle to the discussion 'Manuscript Studies and Literary Geography', in Laing and Williamson, pp. 107-16 (p. 108).

[23] There is a facsimile of f. 1ᵛ of C in J. E. G. de Montmorency, *Thomas à Kempis: His Age and Book* (London, 1906), facing p. 163.

[24] They are Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 129 (*Life of St Katherine*); New Haven, Yale University Library, MS Beinecke 281 (Lydgate, *Life of Our Lady*); and Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 144 (*Elements of Religion*). Facsimiles of the Fitzwilliam and Yale manuscripts may be found in Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean*

Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1912), pl. LXXXIII, and Barbara A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Binghamton, NY, 1984-), II, pl. 26.

[25] In this and the tables that follow the items selected for inclusion are those used in the localization of the four manuscripts of the *Imitation*, together with such others as throw light on the practice of the scribe in question in the different manuscripts copied. The localizations which follow each table were done from complete linguistic profiles drawn from the manuscripts concerned, which may be found in Biggs, 'Critical Edition'. Forms enclosed in single parentheses occur between approximately one-third and two-thirds as frequently as the unbracketed forms, and forms enclosed in double parentheses occur approximately less than one-third as frequently as the unbracketed form (*LALME*, III, xiv); the abbreviations for the parts of speech are those used in *LALME*. The principles of transcription are as in *LALME* (III, xiv-xvii). The following otiose strokes are ignored: bar through *-h* (whether final or followed by *-e*) and *-ll*, both frequent in Darker's hand (that through final *-ll* is also found in some of Dodesham's manuscripts); flourish after *g*; return-stroke from ascender of final *-d*. Final *-m̄* and *-n̄* are expanded to '-me' and '-ne' respectively. References to a folio number alone are to the recto of that folio. C.U.L. Gg. i. 16 was analysed from a concordance generated by computer from a transcript of the whole manuscript; the whole of Garrett 144 was analysed from microfilm; the whole of McClean 129 was analysed from the manuscript; and ff. 1-20^V, 40-50, and 100-14^V of Beinecke 281 were analysed from microfilm. Full linguistic profiles of C, McClean 129, and Beinecke 281 may be found in Biggs, 'Critical Edition', pp. 126-31.

[26] The dot maps are in volume I of *LALME* in numerical sequence (pp. 305-551).

[27] There is a facsimile of p. 101 of D in de Montmorency, facing p. 247. On Dodesham's work as a scribe, see A. I. Doyle, 'Book Production by the Monastic Orders in England (*c*. 1375-1530): Assessing the Evidence', in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, Calif., 1990), pp. 1-19 (pp. 14-15, 19, nn. 80-87), where references to published facsimiles of his work may be found, and A. S. G. Edwards, 'Beinecke MS 661 and Early Fifteenth-Century English Manuscript Production', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 66 (1991), supplement, 181-96. In addition to the fourteen of Dodesham's manuscripts listed by Edwards and those listed in Table 2, he also copied Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. vi. 41 (*Speculum Peccatoris*); Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, MS St Georgen 12 (*Sanctilogium Salvatoris*), vol. I; and a supply leaf (f. 163^{r-v}) for London, British Library, MS Harley 630 (*Gilte Legende*).

[28] On Dodesham's career, see E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, Church Historical Society, n.s. 3 (London, 1930), pp. 306-07; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 413, ff. 393^V, 417; and London, British Library, MS Additional 17085, f. 124.

[29] 'Iohn Ramsey and Robert Allan merchantes in London' is written on f. 1 of D in a sixteenth-century hand.

[30] For D, see LP 6730, Grid 486 191 (*LALME*, III, 20); for Additional 11305, see LP 6440, Grid 511 170 (*LALME*, III, 302).

[31] The analyses of D and Additional 11305 are taken from their linguistic profiles as given in *LALME* (III, 20, 302). The analysis of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 423 was done from Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Institutione Inclusarum*, ed. John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, EETS, os 287 (London, 1984), pp. 1-25, which is an edition of ff. 178-92 of the manuscript. Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter U. 4. 16 (which was once part of the same manuscript as Hunter U. 4. 17, also copied by Dodesham) and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 54 were analysed in full from the manuscripts; Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 3042 was analysed from ff. 116-25 (the only part of the manuscript written by Dodesham) from the manuscript. Downside Abbey, Somerset, MS 26542 was analysed from ff. 1-5^V, 40-45^V, and 85-90 from the manuscript. In the case of the three manuscripts of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 3137 (which is imperfect) was analysed in full from the manuscript, and the same portions of text were analysed in the other manuscripts from microfilm. The passages analysed were lines 823-85, 952-1016, 1143-1402, 1469-1857, 1923-3667, 4061-4385, and 4516-4716. In Boston, Public Library, MS f. med. 94 these passages come at ff. 13^V-14^V, 15^V-16^V, 18^V-22^V, 23^V-29^V, 30^V-57^V, 63^V-68^V, and 70^V-74; in Yale, University Library, MS Beinecke 661 they come at ff. 10^V-11^V, 12^V-13, 15-18, 19-24, 25-48, 53-57, and 59-61^V. Two sample passages (the prologue and chapters 1 and 2, and chapters 38 and 39) were analysed from each of the three manuscripts of Love's *Mirror*, from the manuscripts: ff. iii^V-7 and 110-22^V of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A. 387 B, ff. 5-9^V and 79-89 of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 15. 16, and ff. 3^V-14^V and 96^V-108^V of Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter T. 3. 15. Complete linguistic profiles of all these manuscripts except those of *The Siege of Thebes* may be found in Biggs, 'Critical Edition', pp. 137-48; there is also a table comparing linguistic profiles drawn from the various texts copied by Dodesham in Bodley 423 (ibid., pp. 149-57).

[32] LP 6730, Grid 486 191 (*LALME*, III, 20).

[33] LP 6440, Grid 511 170 (*LALME*, III, 302).

[34] *Ovne* is, however, found in Surrey in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 15. 18 (*Scale of Perfection*), the most southerly of the Sheen manuscripts marked on Figure 1 (LP 5750, Grid 514 167, *LALME*, III, 496); see item map 202 (*LALME*, II, 320). T.C.C. B. 15. 18 was one of the manuscripts most extensively annotated by the Sheen Carthusian James Grenehalgh: see Michael G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, Analecta Cartusiana, 85, 2 vols (Salzburg, 1984), II, 330-472.

35 A further factor in D's westerly localization could be *biþ*, not found in any London or Middlesex manuscript except for B.L. Additional 11305, and rare in Surrey, although *biþ*-type forms are found in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. i. 6 (*A Mirror to Devout People*), a Sheen manuscript localized just north of Kingston (the most easterly of the Sheen manuscripts marked on Figure 1), which has *byth* as a minority form (LP 5760, Grid 518 172, *LALME*, III, 496-97), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 34 (*Davies's Chronicle*), localized near Coulsdon (marked on Figure 1 as the most easterly of the Surrey manuscripts with forms of the type *ner*), which has *bith* and *bythe* (LP 5800, Grid 532 160, *LALME*, III, 499); see item map 17 (*LALME*, II, 85-86).

36 See the linguistic profiles for Buckinghamshire (*LALME*, III, 12-20). *Ywite* may be a relict form: Additional 11305 bears a close textual relationship to Old Windsor, Beaumont College, MS 9, which is very similar in language to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 601, localized to a point in Gloucestershire about six miles west of Cirencester, which also has the form *ywite* (LP 6980, Grid 393 198, *LALME*, III, 136). See Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience, Medium Ævum* Monographs, n.s. 12 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 140-41, 131, 142-43.

37 The text of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum* copied by Dodesham in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 423, ff. 178-92, is mentioned in the index of sources in *LALME* with the localization 'language possibly of S.E. Cambs.' (I, 146); Ayto and Barratt state that its scribal dialect 'can be located in the Buckinghamshire-W. Hertfordshire-Bedfordshire area', and suggest that the manuscript may have been written in St Albans (Aelred of Rievaulx, p. lv). The reason why none of the three Dodesham manuscripts considered by the *Atlas* is localized at Sheen may be that Dodesham did not learn to write there; indeed, Bodley 423 and Additional 11305 may have been written elsewhere. Since Dodesham had almost certainly practised extensively in London and had lived for a time in a west-country charterhouse before he moved to Sheen, we should not expect his language to be purely that of northern Surrey, even in manuscripts copied at Sheen.

38 See above, n. 36.

39 A comparison of Dodesham's orthography in the different texts copied in Bodley 423 shows similar variation: *-liche* for -LY, for example, is found in *The Boke of Tribulacyoun* (ff. 211^V-17^V) but not in any of the other texts in the manuscript. It is reasonable to suppose that the different texts in Bodley 423 were copied from different exemplars at about the same time: this variation, therefore, is likely to be due to variation in the orthography of the different exemplars used, rather than the result of the evolution of Dodesham's orthography over a long period. See Biggs, 'Critical Edition', pp. 149-60.

40 A similar tendency to preserve apparently unfamiliar forms (while modifying familiar ones) was found by Anne Hudson in her examination of the manuscripts of Robert of Gloucester's

Chronicle. Examples of the scribes' 'tolerance of archaic forms, when offered by an exemplar', which was not always due to misunderstanding of the form offered, include the copying of *he* as a feminine personal pronoun, *(h)is* as the feminine accusative singular of the personal pronoun, and forms of the type *þane* as the accusative singular masculine of the definite article ('Tradition and Innovation in some Middle English Manuscripts', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 17 (1966), 359-72 (pp. 361-66)).

[41] Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter T. 6. 18, f. i.

[42] On Darker as a scribe, see Doyle, pp. 14, 19, n. 75, where references to published facsimiles of his work may be found. He copied the following manuscripts, in addition to those listed in Table 3, all in fere-textura except Caligula, in a more current script, and Pembroke, in textura: Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 221 (*Cloud of Unknowing*, in Latin, etc); Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 64 (A. 6. 15) (*Carthusian Collectar*), addition at foot of f. 3[V] (Collect for Christmas Eve); London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A. II, ff. 204-6[V] (*Constitutions of the Carthusian General Chapter*, 1499-1504); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. e. 21 (*Psalter*), f. 180[r-v] (Order of Lauds during the week). (With reference to Lincoln 64, R. M. Thomson states that Darker has also made an addition at f. 24, lines 13-15, and that another prayer is added at the foot of ff. 13[V]-14 in a similar hand (*Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 46). The 'addition' at f. 24, lines 13-15, occurs at the end of a series of psalms to be used when anointing the sick, which begins on f. 20, and it is a prayer to be used when anointing, asking that the person anointed may receive mercy for any sins committed 'per ardorem libidinis'. Similar prayers written in a similar hand are found on the previous folios, referring to sin 'per auditum' (f. 20[V]), 'per odoratum' (f. 21[V]), 'per loquelam' (f. 22[r-v]), 'per tactum' (f. 23), and 'per incessum' (f. 23[V]). Each prayer follows one or more psalms, and is written with a broader nib. It is clear that all the prayers are written in the same hand, and it seems more likely that they were written by the same scribe who wrote the psalms, using a different pen, than that the first scribe left gaps which were subsequently filled in by another. If the difference in size is taken into consideration, the hand of the prayers is closer to the main hand than it is to Darker's: it does not have Darker's usual two-compartment *g*, and has straighter minims. The addition at the foot of f. 13[V] is in a bastard secretary script (with, for example, single-compartment *a*), which is rather different from Darker's hand.)

[43] According to the bursars' drafts of the Eton audit rolls, a Dom William Darker was paid 3*s.* 4*d.* for his expenses from Oxford to act as temporary usher at some point in the period from January to Michaelmas 1469; he then became usher himself, and filled this post for all except one week of the academic year 1469-70 and for the whole of the academic year 1470-71 (Eton, Eton College, MSS BD/C/3, f. 8, BD/C/4, f. 5, and BD/C/6, f. 7; cf. AR/C/4, f. 3). See also Wasey Sterry, *The Eton College Register 1441-1698* (Eton, 1943), p. xxxiii, and A. B. Emden, *A*

Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-59), I, 544. For Darker's obituary notice, see Partridge Green, Sussex, St Hugh's Charterhouse, MS B. 62, f. 171^v. (I am grateful to Professor Michael G. Sargent for this reference.)

44 The forms for Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. vi. 33 are taken from the linguistic profile in *LALME* (III, 303). The corrections in D were analysed in full from the manuscript. G was analysed in full from microfilm. All the English text in London, British Library, MS Additional 22121 was analysed from the manuscript. ff. 57-77^v, the only part of the manuscript copied by Darker, was analysed from London, Lambeth Palace, MS 546, from the manuscript. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 38 was analysed in full from the manuscript. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 517 was analysed from ff. 1-13^v and 90-100^v from the manuscript.

45 LP 6460, Grid 515 177 (*LALME*, III, 303). The text, *A Ladder of Foure Ronges by the Which Men Mowe Wele Clyme to Heven*, has been edited from this manuscript by Phyllis Hodgson in *Deonis Hid Diuinite and other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer Related to 'The Cloud of Unknowing'*, EETS, os 231 (London, 1955, repr. 1958), pp. 100-17. The reason why Ff. vi. 33 is localized in Middlesex rather than Surrey may be that Darker, like Dodesham, had learned to write elsewhere before becoming a monk of Sheen.

46 For a fuller account of the corrector's orthographical preferences, see Biggs, 'Critical Edition', pp. 19-26. Darker's activity as a corrector may be compared with that of his contemporary at Sheen, James Grenehalgh, who may also have been educated at Oxford and had also been a schoolmaster (at Wells). He was at Sheen betweeen about 1499 and 1507, and, like Darker, was engaged in both textual and orthographic correction, comparing English and Latin versions of *The Scale of Perfection* (including that in T.C.C. B. 15. 18, discussed above, n. 34), and consistently altering *wich* to *which* and *ws* to *vs* in the copy of *The Cloud of Unknowing* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 262. See Sargent, *James Grenehalgh*, I, 71-73, 76-78, 108-09, 240-41, II, 330-31. On the rarity of such 'scribes with . . . editorial pretensions', see the comment by Derek Britton in the discussion 'Historical Dialectology and Literary Text Traditions' in Laing and Williamson, pp. 127-32 (p. 131), and contrast the view of George Jack, ibid., pp. 128-29.

47 The whole of M was analysed from microfilm. Its complete linguistic profile may be found in Biggs, 'Critical Edition', pp. 160-61.

48 LP 5630, Grid 497 163 (*LALME*, III, 493).

49 LP 5641, Grid 504 157 (*LALME*, III, 494).

50 LP 5770, Grid 523 163 (*LALME*, III, 497). On Harley 4775 and Douce 372 see also Richard Hamer, 'Spellings of the Fifteenth-Century Scribe Ricardus Franciscus', in *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds: A Festschrift for Eric Dobson*, ed. E. G. Stanley and Douglas Gray (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 63-73.

51 LP 5730, Grid 512 146 (*LALME*, III, 495).

52 Cf. the discussion of Dodesham's spelling above, section I (*b*) and n. 40.

53 Table 6 includes some forms for ARE not included in Table 2 or Table 5, because Tables 2 and 5 are based on D's linguistic profile in *LALME*, whereas Table 6 includes all instances of ARE in D.

54 It is possible that the spellings *ar* and *are* represent monosyllabic and disyllabic forms; on the other hand, both spellings may be derived from the spelling *a* plus flourished *r* in the archetype.

55 There is similar 'scribal independence . . . in morphological details' in the manuscripts of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, where, for example, the nominative plural of the personal pronoun regularly appears in one manuscript as *hii*, in another as *hui*, and in others as *hi* (Hudson, pp. 366-70).

56 LP 5630, Grid 497 163 (*LALME*, III, 493).

57 LP 5800, Grid 532 160 (*LALME*, III, 499).

58 LP 5390, Grid 535 177 (*LALME*, III, 298-99). They have been edited by R. W. Chambers and Marjorie Daunt in *A Book of London English 1384-1425* (Oxford, 1931, repr. 1967), pp. 64-89, 94-114.

59 LP 6470, Grid 512 179 (*LALME*, III, 304).

60 It is notable that four of the six Sheen manuscripts which have been localized by the *Atlas* have been placed within this area (see Figure 1). They are B.L. Additional 11305, copied by Dodesham and discussed above, section I (*b*); C.U.L. Ff. vi. 33, copied by Darker and discussed above, section I (*c*); C.U.L. Gg. i. 6, main hand, discussed above, n. 35; and T.C.C. B. 15. 18, discussed above, nn. 34, 46. (The other two Sheen manuscripts localized in *LALME* are D and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 57 (*Chastising of God's Children*), localized in Norfolk about three miles south-west of East Dereham (LP 4648, Grid 595 306, *LALME*, III, 356-57): presumably it was written by a Norfolk scribe.) The points to which the linguistic profiles of the four Middlesex and Surrey manuscripts have been localized are adjacent to each other and form a small diamond shape straddling the Thames with Twickenham at its approximate centre. They may in fact all have been written at Sheen, by scribes who (like Dodesham and Darker) had learned to write elsewhere and whose language therefore contains elements which are metropolitan or from the other home counties.