

William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land: Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565
(c.1470)

In 1456, the middle-aged Master William Wey, bursar of Eton College, set out on the first of several pilgrimages which were to take him to Santiago de Compostela, Rome, and twice to Jerusalem. His descriptions of these journeys survive in a single manuscript, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565,ⁱ which has not thus far been the subject of a detailed study. This has allowed the perpetuation of a binding error, despite two separate publications of its contents.

The manuscript has been in the Bodleian Library since at least the aftermath of the English Civil War, when it was first catalogued. It may, however, have arrived in Oxford around 1624, the date of a donation notice on its pastedown.ⁱⁱ The manuscript is composed of many smaller texts. These, though, are thematically linked and it is usually treated as one work. Its contents were first published in full in a semi-diplomatic edition edited for the Roxburghe Club by Bulkeley Bandinel in 1857, and, more recently, in a translation by Francis Davey in 2010.ⁱⁱⁱ Bandinel express the expectation that ‘a more detailed notice of the multifarious contents of this volume’ will be forthcoming.^{iv} They therefore confine discussion primarily to Wey and his background, going into little detail about the manuscript itself. The expectation of a more detailed study was not realised, and for the next 150 years, there was little interest in the manuscript as a whole.^v Although Davey consulted the manuscript at points which were unclear, he based his translation largely on the 1857 edition.^{vi} The aforementioned binding error, therefore, remained unnoticed.

To note the manuscript’s contents is slightly complicated, as there is a list of contents on fol. 1^r, which diverges in places from William Wey’s stated intentions. This will be discussed below. The most practical way to divide the contents of the manuscript, attempting to maintain Wey’s own vision for his work, while emphasising the range of texts within the manuscript, is as follows.

	Section	Style	Folia	Quires
1	Contents: A list of the contents of the manuscript, clearly in a different hand from	List (Latin)	1 ^r	Bifolium

	the main text, and slightly diverging from the divisions suggested within the main text.			
2	Bequests: In the same hand as the list of contents, Wey's possessions are categorised and listed, and it is noted that they are to remain in the priory.	List (English)	2 ^r –2 ^v	Bifolium
3	Conversion rates: A prose account of conversion rates and advice about money. Main text hand begins.	Prose (English)	3 ^r –4 ^v	I
4	Provision: Prose recommendations and practical advice for pilgrims.	Prose (English)	4 ^v –7 ^v	I
5	Holy Places Verse: Simple English verse of 352 lines, with <i>aa</i> rhyme scheme and occasional <i>abab</i> (e.g. ll. 95–98). The folia are somewhat disordered.	Verse (English)	8 ^r –13 ^v (and 16 ^r)	I–II
6	Mnemonics: Heavily abbreviated Latin hexameters for the purpose of remembering the Holy Places. While there is a title for each section of hexameters, there is not one overall title, suggesting that Wey may have considered this together with the English verse as one section.	Verse (Latin)	14 ^r –16 ^v	II
7	Materie: A list of reasons for pilgrimage, including the pilgrim itinerary and notable places and relics on the journey.	Prose (Latin) (Impersonal)	17 ^r –34 ^v	III–V
8	1458 Jerusalem Pilgrimage. A slightly expanded and personalised account of the pilgrim itinerary in Materia 8.	Prose (Latin) (Personal)	35 ^r –49 ^r	V–VII
9	Towns and distances en route.	Table	49 ^v –50 ^v	VII
10	1462 Jerusalem Pilgrimage. A personalised account of the later pilgrimage.	Prose (Latin) (Personal)	51 ^r –64 ^r	VII–VIII
11	Vocabulary, numbers and phonetic spellings of the alphabet: Some in English, Latin, transliterated Greek and Hebrew.	Table	64 ^r –76 ^r	VIII–XI
12	Miscellaneous selection of short paragraphs on points of interest loosely connected to the places Wey visited.	Prose (Latin) (Impersonal)	76 ^r –83 ^v	XI–XII
13	Places on Map: List of places on the map of the Holy Land used by Wey (presumably that mentioned in his bequests and now assumed to be MS. Douce 389, although it cannot have been written by him, as Bandinel suggests, as the Summary Catalogue is clear that it dates from 1400 or earlier). ^{vii} List laid out as prose.	List (Latin)	83 ^v –86 ^r	XII
14	Places on Map: The places on the map now laid out in the form of a table.	Table	86 ^v –89 ^r	XII
15	Distances between places in Holy Land.	List (Latin)	89 ^r –90 ^v	XII
16	Latin–Greek Vocabulary.	Table	91 ^r –91 ^v	XIII

17	Indulgences in Rome.	List (Latin)	92 ^r –98 ^r	XIII–XIV
18	1456 Compostela Pilgrimage: Account of Wey's first pilgrimage. Change in script.	Prose (Latin) (Personal)	98 ^r –101 ^v	XIV–XIV
19	Song with music.	Verse (Spanish)	101 ^v	XIV
20	Miscellaneous: Life of St James (copied from letter) Relics in Compostela Indulgences from Pope in Compostela.	Prose (Latin) Impersonal	102 ^r –105 ^r	XIV

The *Itineraries* are written on parchment of varying thickness, of 234–239mm by 170–173 mm. In the conventional manner for the fifteenth century, the parchment is mostly arranged so that hair-side faces hair-side and flesh-side faces flesh-side, although there are some inconsistencies throughout. Although some folia appear less thoroughly prepared than others (fol. 48, for example), the quality is generally fairly good, and there are very few folia with curved sides (such as fol. 74) or original holes (including fols. 38, 36, 101, 103), which does not suggest that economy was a priority. The final folio (105) has been cut off a third of the way down and clearly at the intended end of the text on fol. 105^r.

There is a little later damage, but it is not particularly extensive. Wax stains can be seen on fols. 13^r and 13^v, but this could have occurred at the time of writing. There is a rusty stain on the pastedown at the front, which will be discussed later, and the fact that the regular pattern of wormholes up to fol. 15 do not consistently match is evidence of later rebinding. The evenly spaced margins do not indicate significant later trimming. However, as the decoration on fol. 78^v is slightly trimmed, and the few remaining leaf signatures have been almost trimmed away, it is reasonable to assume that several millimetres were removed from the top and bottom margins when the book was bound (or rebound). The binding process has had various consequences beyond this minor trimming, which must now be discussed.

The collation of the manuscript is as follows: I⁸, II⁶ (what should be 3 and 4 have been bound in the place of 1 and 6), III⁸, IV⁸, V⁸, VI⁸, VII⁸, VIII⁸, IX⁸, X², XI⁸, XII⁸, XIII⁸ (1 cancelled and after fol. 95 a singleton (cut from a bifolium) has been glued onto fol. 97) (91–98) XIV⁸ (8 used as pastedown, and 7 is a fragment). The foliation is: fol. iii (parchment) + 104 (parchment). As evidenced by the wormhole

pattern on the pastedown, which matches that on fol. 104, the final folio was not originally used as a pastedown. There remain on certain folia evidence of leaf signatures which have been mostly trimmed off, presumably during the process of binding. The pattern of the remaining leaf signatures (fols. 3^r, 5^r, 6^r, 13^r, 17^r, 20^r, 33^r, 34^r, 25^r, 41–44 (recto only), 57^r, 58^r, 65–68 (recto only), 74^r, 78^r, 83^r, 91–93 (recto only)) suggests that they appeared on the recto sides of the first half of each quire, as was conventional. The manuscript has (mostly) ink foliation by a much later hand, which has been corrected in ink in several places. As the original errors rarely affect the surrounding foliation, the corrections must have occurred when the folia were first numbered. The only exception is that the foliation on fols. 14–16 has been corrected and re-corrected (in accordance with the original numbering) in pencil. The first bifolium has pencil foliation, and the ink foliation begins on fol. 3^r.

There are two sections of the manuscript which represent a variation from its original order. The first section is at the very beginning of the manuscript. The flyleaves are formed of one bifolium. In the manuscript as it stands, the contents page is fol. 1^r, while fol. 1^v is blank and fols. 2^r and 2^v contain the list of William Wey's bequests. The codicological evidence suggests, however, that this was not the original order. There is a hole on the pastedown surrounded by a rusty stain. This stain has seeped through as far as fol. 3^r, but the hole is replicated only on fol. 2 and not fol. 1. It is therefore logical to assume that the bifolium (fols. 1–2) was originally folded in the opposite direction to that in which it is now, but that when it was rebound, it was folded as we now see it. This may have been accidental. This would mean that fol. 2 would originally have been fol. 1, and would have been touching the pastedown. This would explain their matching holes, lacking in the current fol. 1. This alternative flyleaf order is further considered below, in the context of scribal identity.

The more significant impact of later binding is to be found in the second quire. This specifically affects the order of the second half of the Middle English verse and the first one-and-a-half pages of the Latin hexameters. It is quite clear that fol. 16 is not in the correct place. It contains the last eight lines of the verse and the beginning of the hexameters. The solution of Bandinel was to insert the contents of this folio immediately after the final full page of English verse, without considering that fol. 16 is half of a bifolium. Given that fol. 16 is in the wrong place, another folio must

therefore also be in the wrong place. In fact, the other half of the bifolium is the folio now labelled as 11. What was originally the central bifolium has been bound as the outside bifolium (see Figure 1 for the original position).

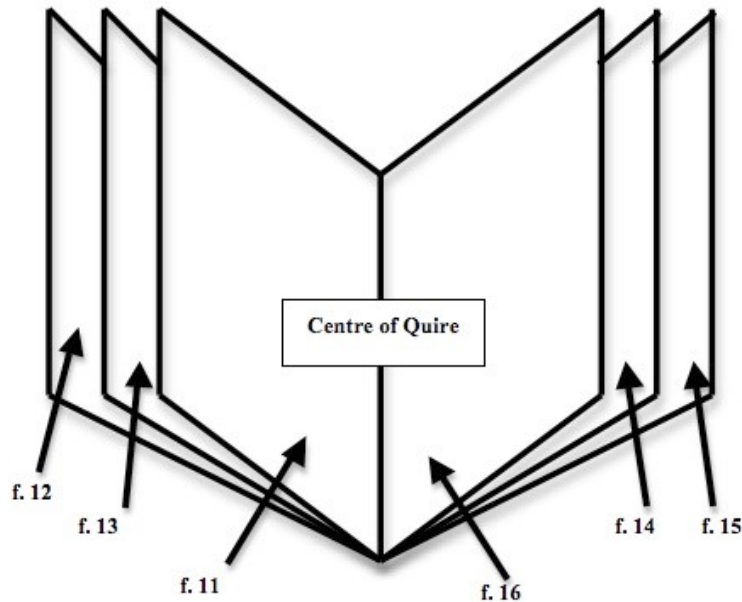


Figure 1: This diagram shows the ideal location of the folia of quire II, but with the current foliation labelled. In the manuscript as it stands, fols. 11 and 16 form the outside of the quire.

The 1857 edition, as well as Davey's 2010 translation, which is based on the 1857 edition, has therefore printed sections of the Middle English verse in the wrong order. Davey has noted the inconsistency in the position of manuscript lines 171–176, which would originally have been lines 287–290 ('Vn to egypte anone to go' to 'Wher angelys sange *Gloria in excelsis*'), but he has not corrected it, nor sought any explanation. He has therefore not noted the other large sections of the verse in the wrong place, and has proposed moving the lines which he has queried to a position after l. 344, which is also incorrect. A re-transcription of the Middle English verse according to the presumable original page order, has made clear that this was the order in which it was written, and William Wey had intended to present. This misbinding pre-dates the foliation: although there is some recognition in the foliation that fol. 16 is not in its correct location, and attempts have been made to edit the numbering to reflect the original location of fol. 16, there has been no attempt to correct the numbering of fol. 11. This implies that it is a long-unnoticed error. Further evidence of the long-term incorrect position of this bifolium is to be found on fols. 15^v

and 16^r. These folia share the marks of later damage to the manuscript, which implies that they have been in this position in the codex for a significant length of time.

The manuscript seems to have been bound twice, for the first time in the fifteenth century, and for the second, in the mid to late nineteenth century. The current binding is a standard style which appears on a number of Bodleian manuscripts, and it was re-backed more recently.^{viii} Only one leaf signature remains in the second quire, so it can be assumed that the quire fell apart after the leaf signatures were trimmed. Given the damage shared by fols. 15^v and 16^r, this must have happened during the earlier binding process. The Roxburghe edition provides further proof of this, as it replicates the disordered nature of the verse (barring an unsignalled move of its final eight lines), but does not reflect the current order of the list of contents and the bequests. It can therefore be stated with reasonable confidence, particularly given the damage to the first bifolium detailed above, that it was folded in its original position for some time. The change to the current order of the first bifolium therefore occurred during the nineteenth century re-binding process, whereas that to the bifolium with verse in quire II (now fols. 11 and 16) occurred before that.

The Roxburghe Club edition consequently contains two unsignalled differences from the manuscript as it currently stands. The first is that the list of contents appears before the bequests in the manuscript. This means that the manuscript was almost certainly re-bound after 1847, when the Roxburghe Club edition appeared. Davey has omitted the list of contents, and lists the bequests in an appendix, thus bypassing the need to consider the order. The second unsignalled difference is more problematic, as it does not represent the manuscript either as it was in 1847, or as it appears now, and is therefore a deliberate alteration. The editors have moved the final page of the verse to its textual position (as noted above) but they have not moved the other passages on this bifolium; nor have they noted their intervention and its partialness. By omitting to mention this decision, they have created the impression of an uncorrupted text and failed to alert their readers to a relevant issue in the manuscript. The version which they have produced is therefore doubly incorrect, both in terms of the physical book and in terms of its author's intention for the verses, both English and Latin. This has serious implications for scholars without access to the manuscript.

There is a certain disagreement over the identity of the scribe – or, more accurately, the scribes. There are not fewer than two scribes responsible for the manuscript, and possibly three (not to mention those who added marginalia over the intervening centuries). In addition to the main scribe, there is a chronologically later scribe who wrote the list of contents and bequests. These were added on an extra bifolium at the front. If there is a third scribe, his work begins on fol. 98^r and concludes the manuscript. There is disagreement over the identity of the main scribe. The Bodleian *Summary Catalogue* suggests that the ‘handwriting is probably that of a scribe under Wey’s superintendence at Edington’,^{ix} while it is Bandinel’s view that the work was written ‘probably by the author himself’, an assumption echoed by Davey.^x It would seem unwise to take the Roxburghe Club edition at face value, given the editors’ omissions noted above, as well as several other errors. These include the attribution of MS. Douce 389, produced around 1400, to Wey himself, and the suggestion that Wey used the work of Bernhard von Breydenbach in producing this map (Breydenbach was born around 1440, visited the Holy Land in 1483, and published his own account in 1486, some years after Wey’s death).^{xi} No evidence is given for the identification of the scribe in either the Roxburghe Club edition or in the *Summary Catalogue*. Moreover, while the 1857 edition notes that the bequests and list of contents have been written ‘in a contemporaneous hand’,^{xii} the *Summary Catalogue* fails to note the presence of a second scribe, although several notes on the pastedowns are transcribed. What is indisputable is that the manuscript in question is closely connected with Wey himself, for it is listed in his bequests. Upon his ‘dex keveryd wyth blakke’ are to be found his three books, one of which is ‘of materys of Jerusalem, the secvnd .fo. *To every bayok*’.^{xiii} This is the manuscript into which the bequests and list of contents were later bound, – on its author’s desk when he was composing his will.

The work of the first scribe is on the bifolium at the beginning of the manuscript. This bifolium contains the bequests and the list of contents, and was not originally part of the book. It is not part of the first quire, and it refers to this book as a separate entity. The *secundo folio* wording noted above now occurs on fol. 4, though with an <e> on the end of ‘bayoke’, which suggests that the bequests were originally intended to be an independent document, rather than part of this manuscript.

Additionally, it does not respect the consistent page-layout of the rest of the manuscript. Crucially, the ink, pen and hand of the bequests and the list of contents are consistent with each other but quite different from the main text – the hand is a current anglicana, not especially accomplished. Secretary **a** appears, which is quite common in later fifteenth century manuscripts, and in handwriting of this sort. The bequests were almost certainly written first when, as previously noted, the bifolium was folded in its original position. They state ‘my wyl ys that’, which suggests that they were completed during William Wey’s lifetime. They were presumably dictated when he was near death, both because they express instructions for Wey’s property after his death, but also because of their specific references to the locations of his possessions, his books in particular.^{xiv} It is logical to conclude that this section was dictated, rather than written, by Wey, because the section divisions in the list of contents – in this hand – expressly contradict the internal text divisions specified in the main text. This is particularly noticeable where the *Materie* are concerned. Wey notes that the book contains ‘decem materie mouentes deuotos *Christianos* visitare *sanctam* terram’,^{xv} and the *Materie* are titled accordingly. The scribe of the list of contents, however, perhaps understandably confused by the extended eighth cause, lists ‘Item notabilia in terra *sancta* et aliis locis versus Veneciam, Fo. 6.^{to}’, as a separate section following the ‘decem materie’.^{xvi} The places and items of interest in the Holy Land and on the way from Venice actually form the final two material causes for pilgrimage. This is not a mistake that Wey would have made, nor one that he would have allowed a supervised scribe to make. It would seem, therefore, that this error occurred when Wey was in no state to guide decisions, either very shortly before his death, or, more likely, after the event. The scribe of his bequests used the other half of the parchment used for the will to write the list of contents of the book. This was presumably in preparation for binding, although as previously noted, this cannot have been the point at which the bifolium was refolded. This eventual refolding of the bifolium would explain why fol. 1^v is blank, for that would originally have been the back page of the bifolium, and the scribe would have simply used the next available page after the bequests. To conclude, then, the list of contents were written without Wey’s input (and probably after his death), and therefore the scribe of the bequests and list of contents is not William Wey.

Although the question is impossible to settle definitively, the main scribe appears to be William Wey himself – in contrast to the statement in the Bodleian *Summary Catalogue*. While there is reasonable proof outlined above for the supposition that another scribe wrote the bequests and list of contents, the evidence for Wey as the main scribe is mostly circumstantial. Given that scribes rarely signed (or dated) their work,^{xvii} this is often necessarily the case. Having established that the bequests and list of contents were written by a scribe other than Wey, we must ask why, if Wey did supervise a scribe who was writing out his memoirs, he did not also assign the task of writing out his bequests to the same scribe, who would have been a trusted assistant and accustomed to working closely with him on personal matters. It also raises the question of why this scribe did not also write, or at least advise on, the list of contents.

Edington was a small priory – although figures for its membership are few and far between, we know that there were eighteen brethren in 1382 when the first rector died, and at the time of its dissolution in 1539, there were thirteen.^{xviii} Moreover, despite Wey’s personal ownership of three books at the time of his death, not to mention others previously given away,^{xix} there is very little surviving evidence of other books associated with Edington. Indeed, Wey’s decision to distribute most of his books elsewhere does not imply that Edington was much associated with book collection. Ker lists only five Edington books, on the basis of *ex libris* inscriptions. These include two printed books (Cambridge, Pembroke College, C.48 and Salisbury, Cathedral, L.5.10). Of the other three, one is Wey’s manuscript and another, now Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. D.5.14 is a thirteenth-century manuscript, and therefore predates the foundation of the priory. While it was presumably held at Edington, its origins therefore lie elsewhere – it was, after all, common to augment a monastic library ‘through buying or exchanging new or second-hand volumes or booklets, [and] through receiving bequests’.^{xx} The final manuscript, which dates from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, long before the production of Bodl. 565, is now Oxford, University College, MS. 95. It contains an early version of the Wycliffite text *Rosarium Theologiae* (a work which takes a dim view of place pilgrimage).^{xxi} It is a small, but relatively fine, manuscript of a much higher status than Wey’s. It also contains several folia at the back written in a much less precise hand, perhaps slightly more accomplished than the hand in which Wey’s bequests are written. Ker identifies

a leaf once used to stiffen its front cover, now Oxford, University College, MS. 192, fol. 30, as belonging to an Edington register. He uses this and a pen trial at the back echoing the ‘Edynton’ spelling found on the former stiffening leaf to connect the manuscript to the priory.^{xxii} To return to MS. Bodl. 565, there is an inscription on the pastedown at the back of the manuscript, reading: ‘*pro ligatura huius libri et 47^{tem} literis iij^s*’. This records a sum paid out for the binding and initials, and can therefore, ‘with all due caution’ be seen as a record of a commercial transaction. In other words, the binding and the decorated initials were not completed in-house – quite predictably, given Edington’s small size.^{xxiii} On the whole, therefore, it seems that Edington was a small priory with a small library gathered from elsewhere, and not associated with book production.

In a small community like Edington, it would not seem a sensible use of scarce human resources to assign a competent scribe to the copying up of the memoirs of an elderly (and recently arrived) member of the community. Wey presumably retired to a small community to write up his life’s work himself and, had he intended to employ a scribe to write his book for him, he might have chosen a larger community, or at least one better known for book production. As he spent much of his career at Eton, rather than in the priory, his hand may have been rather different to that of the Edington monks – A. I. Doyle notes that a monk arriving at Sheen Priory from Eton may well ‘have come with a formed hand’.^{xxiv} It can be assumed that the inhabitants of a given religious house were at least literate, and that they were likely to write in ‘cursive utilitarian scripts’,^{xxv} necessary for completing documents such as the register noted above. The unpolished nature of the hand used for the bequests, which may be described as both cursive and utilitarian, may indicate the general standard of writing at Edington: legible, but not accomplished. It is comparable to the hand in which an inscription on fol. 105^v notes Wey’s death, and a far cry from the care given to layout and appearance in the main text of Bodl. 565.

That the manuscript represents the writing up of a life’s work is borne out by careful analysis of the manuscript. The variety of styles and the breadth and detail of experience evident in the manuscript suggests that the book represents the cumulative work of Wey’s life. The ink and pen used throughout the book, however, are reasonably consistent – with the exception of a few later corrections such as the

formal appearance of ‘causa’ in the margin on fol. 36^r, and the different ink used to add a missing line of English verse at the foot of fol. 12^r. Moreover, the sections cannot be divided up with the quires – as the table above illustrates, new sections consistently start part-way through quires, rather than at their beginnings. The only exceptions are the Materie, at the beginning of the third quire, and the Latin-Greek vocabulary lists, at the beginning of the thirteenth quire. This suggests that the manuscript was conceived of as a unified whole when it was written and, crucially, that it must have been written almost entirely in the order in which we now have it. The overall appearance of the manuscript, at least from fol. 3^r until the bottom of fol. 98^r, is planned and consistent. Corrections are rare, and usually well hidden, as, for example, on fol. 48^v, where there is an erasure and correction about halfway down (although there are several corrections by striking through in the Middle English verse at, for example, l. 205 in Appendix II). The existence of leaf signatures without catchwords suggests that no problem was anticipated in ordering the quires. The obvious conclusion is that this manuscript is a reasonably fair copy of various older notes, rather than a draft in progress.

William Wey spent much of his life as a bursar at Eton, and his financial and enumerative interests are clear in his work, from his opening focus on exchange rates, to his general concern with precise distances and measurements.^{xxvi} The manuscript reflects a competent scribe, more accomplished than the scribe of the bequests and list of contents. The titles, which vary somewhat, but generally aim for a more formal appearance, suggest someone who understood the hierarchy of scripts, and was familiar with the general appearance of his model script, but was less practised at writing in more formal hands. The beginnings of the Materie, for example, suggest that an attempt is being made to write the main text, as well as the title in *bastard anglicana*, but this soon returns to the same current *anglicana* which has appeared thus far. The script used in the main text suggests someone familiar with writing extensively in cursive scripts. Furthermore, as stated above, we have evidence that the more accomplished initials were completed externally. Wey’s work as a bursar, and therefore his familiarity with documents, might also explain the appearance of long ascenders in the title on fol. 8^r, as well as the long ascenders which appear in some of the titles in the final section.

The final section, however, from the bottom of fol. 98^r to fol. 105^r, presents various questions with no obvious answers. The script, which has until this point been based on *anglicana*, with the occasional B-shaped final *s* typical of *secretary* (for example fol. 8^r, line 7), shifts abruptly to *secretary*. Apart from his use of an unusual display script for the heading on fol. 98^r, this section seems to represent a conscious attempt to write in a *secretary* hand. The two-compartment *a*, however, still appears several times on, for example, fol. 101^v, suggesting that the scribe is uncertain of which repertoire of graphs to use. This is in contrast to the very consistent appearance of the majority of the manuscript. It is difficult to explain this sudden change. Although it occurs at the beginning of a new section (Wey's earliest pilgrimage: his journey to Santiago de Compostela), it does not begin at the start of a new quire, or even a new folio side, but at the bottom of the recto side of the final folio of the thirteenth quire.

Close inspection reveals the carrying over of other letter forms from the first 98 folia into the final seven. The sigma-shaped *s* appears, for example, near the bottom of fol. 104. Although its appearances are rare, the round *e* favoured in the main body of the text can be seen in line 10 on fol. 104, while the *et* symbol used on fol. 76^r also appears several times on fol. 104. Most significantly, the distinctive capital *I* reappears near the bottom of the same folio. These repetitions of earlier graphs could be indicative of a scribe speeding up, and, as is noted below, there is also evidence of this in the quality of the hand. Given the number of *anglicana* graphs which creep in, this is clearly a scribe familiar with writing in both *anglicana* and *secretary*. More *anglicana* graphs appear in his *secretary* than vice versa, although he is generally competent at separating the scripts, which suggests that he is more familiar with *anglicana*. It is not unreasonable then, having considered the presumably accidental appearances of these *anglicana* graphs, as well as the consistency of the ink, to wonder whether the scribe is the same person. If this is the case, though, the reasons for his change of hand remain obscure.

We must therefore ask whether another scribe took over. This cannot be ruled out, and it may be the case that someone else completed the account of Wey's journeys by copying out the author's rough notes made closer to the time. If so, some of the author's own graphs might have been inadvertently copied. If this were the

case, it would support the claim that the main scribe was Wey, as there would be consistency between the letter forms used until fol. 98^r and only intermittently thereafter, and those used in the rough notes. This theory is certainly plausible, but the quality of the writing of the list of contents and the bequests, not to mention the different ink, and seemingly different pen used for that first bifolium, do call it into question. The earlier question arises again: the scribe of the final section is far more accomplished than the bequest scribe, and, if he were close enough to Wey to write the final stage of his memoirs, it would seem odd that he did not write the bequests or list of contents.

Beyond the hand, the most striking change between this final section and the rest of the text is the disappearance of rubrication from fol. 102 onwards. The rest of the book is rubricated for capitals throughout. This lack of rubrication gives the only sense that we are considering a work in progress. Additionally, there are sections of these final seven folia in which the writing becomes quite hurried in appearance, although the letter-shapes remain broadly the same. This final section may simply represent an old man hastening to finish his book, and failing to complete every task that he had set himself. The main task, however, is complete – the accounts of his pilgrimages are all on parchment.

It is ultimately impossible to prove the identity of the scribe with complete certainty. Reasonable grounds for supposing the main scribe and the author to be one-and-the-same have been proposed. What cannot be disputed is that this was William Wey's own book of his pilgrimages, written primarily in the first person, and that he was intimately involved with its production. That the bequests were bound in with this volume identifies it strongly as being the most personal of Wey's books. That it was one of three books on his desk as he approached death demonstrates its importance, while the lack of rubrication in the final section shows that the book was still a work-in-progress. A work-in-progress on Wey's own desk suggests that he was working on it himself.

Ultimately, the manuscript evidence suggests that the book is intended as the final version of a life's experiences. The consistency of the ink and penmanship suggest that everything in the main text of the manuscript was written at a similar

time, but the detail in each section suggests that Wey was writing up from notes made closer to the time of the pilgrimages. The section of miscellaneous short descriptions and extracts from fols. 76^r–83^v suggests that Wey had made notes during his journeys of various things which interested him at the time, and that, when writing this book, he simply wrote up all of his notes. The repetition of certain sections of text suggests that Wey was not opposed to reusing notes when he found a better use or location for them, or, perhaps, when he had simply forgotten a previous use of the notes. These repetitions lead to the conclusion that the book appears essentially in the order that it was written: Wey's approach to editing was to rewrite text in a new location, rather than to assemble the book later. This is supported by the previously mentioned mid-quire beginnings of most sections.

The repetitive elements of the work, then, do not preclude its being a fair copy, rather than a work-in-progress. Richard Beadle has noted the existence of 'working drafts' as an intermediate stage between a first draft and a fair copy,^{xxvii} but this is not the case with Bodl. 565. While it is evident that Wey was experimenting with different styles and forms when writing up his notes, it is also clear that this work was not a draft. He has considered layout carefully: the text block is regularly sized, with generous margins, and appearance and readability clearly takes precedence over sparing parchment. Almost every folio is straight-edged – only occasionally, as on fol. 74, is there evidence of an original curve in the parchment. It would be odd for a draft of such a personal work to pay such attention to appearance and symmetry. Bodl. 565 appears to belong to Beadle's category of a 'fair copy of uncertain purpose', which may 'contain alterations of substance of the kind characteristic of working copies', but is 'a formally presented object' with, amongst other features, 'extensive rubrication'.^{xxviii} Bodl. 565, aside from the final few folia, is comprehensively rubricated, with rhyme bracketing where necessary, and there are frequent simply-illuminated initials with red and blue tracery, for which the scribe must have deliberately left space. William Wey was writing for an audience, and perhaps intended that his work be reproduced in multiple copies based upon this manuscript, but Bodl. 565 certainly bears the hallmarks of a fair copy.

Given the analysis of the manuscript presented above, it seems reasonable to assess this manuscript as the almost completed work of an educated elderly clergyman

who had retired to Edington to write up the notes he had made over a lifetime of considering, and carrying out, the practice of pilgrimage. We can read MS. Bodl. 565 with reasonable confidence that, misbindings and three folia of missing rubrication aside, this is the work that Wey wanted to be read.

- i Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565.
- ii Ed. Richard William Hunt et al, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Munich, 1980), 2351.
- iii Ed. Bulkeley Bandinel, *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London, 1857); ed. Francis Davey, *The Itineraries of William Wey* (Oxford, 2010). For detail on the background of the Roxburghe Club see Shayne Husbands, 'The Roxburghe Club: Consumption, Obsession and the Passion for Print', in *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe: 1350–1550*, eds. Emma Cayley and Susan Powell (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 120–32.
- iv Ed. Bandinel, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. i.
- v There has been a certain level of interest in Wey's descriptions of the Compostela pilgrimage: see, for example, a translation of the Compostela section in David Englander, *Culture and Belief in Europe 1450–1600: An Anthology of Sources* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 18–22. The Confraternity of St James has published several articles on this section of the text in their bulletin, although older issues of the bulletin are difficult to obtain. See 'The Confraternity of St James', 22 July 2006, <http://www.csj.org.uk/bulletin.htm>.
- vi Ed. Davey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 19.
- vii Ed. Bandinel, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, pp. xvi–xix; SC 21964.
- viii Information on the binding courtesy of Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield, Senior Assistant Librarian, Bodleian Library, by email: Bruce Barker-Benfield, 'MS. Bodl. 565' [email to Mary Boyle], (15 Nov. 2013), accessed 1 May 2014.
- ix SC 2351.
- x Ed. Bandinel, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. vi; ed. Davey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 17.
- xi Ed. Bandinel, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, pp. xvi–xviii; ed. Isolde Mozer, *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010), pp. ix–xii.
- xii Ed. Bandinel, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. xxviii.
- xiii MS. Bodl. 565, fol. 2v (Bandinel, p. xxix).
- xiv MS. Bodl. 565, fol. 2v (Bandinel, p. xxx).
- xv MS. Bodl. 565, fol. 17r (Bandinel, p. 25).
- xvi MS. Bodl. 565, fol. 1r (Bandinel, p. xxxi).
- xvii P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.888–1600 in London Libraries*, (London, 2003), i. 1.
- xviii R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittal, 'House of Bonhommes: Edington', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire iii*. [online text], British History Online <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=36545>>
- xix Ed. Davey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, pp. 235–6.
- xx Jean-Pascal Pouzet, 'Book Production Outside Commercial Contexts', in *The Production of Books in England 1350–1500*, eds. Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge, 2011), p. 221.
- xxi Christina von Nolcken, *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie: A Selection* (Heidelberg, 1979), pp. 11, 33.
- xxii N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn (London, 1964), p. 77. The inscriptions in MS. Bodl. 565 use the spelling 'Edyngton'.
- xxiii Information about the binding again comes from the email exchange with Dr Barker-Benfield. Bruce Barker-Benfield, 'RE: MS. Bodl. 565' [email to Mary Boyle], (15 Nov. 2013), accessed 1 May 2014.
- xxiv 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, 1990), 14.
- xxv Ibid. 3.
- xxvi Ed. Bandinel, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, pp. 1–3, 227–8.
- xxvii Richard Beadle, 'English Autograph Writings of the Later Middle Ages: Some Preliminaries', in *Gli Autografi Medievali: Problemi Paleografici E Filologici*, eds. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Pinelli (Spoleto, 1994), 260–1.
- xxviii Ibid. 265.