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[MEDIEVAL COMMUNITIES AND THE MATTER OF PERSON]

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ASPECTS OF BLOOD PIETY IN A LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL 37049

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ONE OF the most intense imaginings of the blood of Christ appears in an English Carthusian manuscript of ca. 1460–1470, London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, on fol. 36v (fig. 15.1).[1] In a time when Passion imagery was virtually everywhere in England and on the continent,[2] this manuscript illustration stands apart for its unusual and perhaps unprecedented iconography, which accompanies a text by the mystic Richard Rolle (d. 1349).[3] Not only does this picture highlight a whole range of beliefs and behaviors connected to the heart, wounds, blood,[4] and Holy Name of Christ,[5] providing particularly lucid evidence of what has been called "the distinctly somatic turn of late medieval spirituality,"[6] but it also raises important questions about the relations between words and pictures, reading and seeing, and mimesis and memory.[7] My aim in this essay is to unravel some of these networks of association by focusing particularly on the illustration's dramatic blood piety. I hope to show that this intricate, complex image is well suited for discussing an inherently paradoxical topic: the widespread veneration of the blood of Christ.[8]

The illustration shows a Carthusian monk in prayer before a red heart, which is cut through by a scroll inscribed with the words "est amor meus."[9] The body of the crucified Christ grows from the heart to form the letter H as part of a Holy Name (IHC) monogram.[10] The absence of Christ's name in the heart's scroll encourages the reader to focus on the crucifixion image in order to complete the phrase as "Ihesus est amor meus." These words were reportedly inscribed on rings owned by Margery Kempe and Mary Champney, nun of Syon, as well as on beads left to Archbishop Arundel by William of Wykeham and on a belt bequeathed by Lady Margaret Vava-

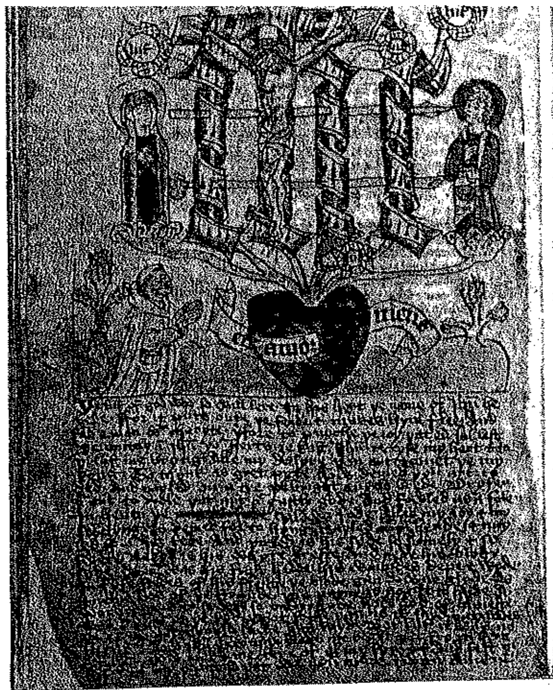

FIGURE 15.1 London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, fol. 36v: blood of Christ and monk at prayer before heart.

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sour.[11] The popular motto is also the first line in a vernacular translation of a poem in Richard Rolle's *Incendium amoris,* and it appears in several other anonymous poems, elsewhere in this manuscript, and in other manuscripts of Carthusian provenance.[12] Ritual, incantatory repetition of this phrase was believed to spur the devout to greater and greater heights of union with Christ (in a way similar to the function of a Buddhist mantra, in which sound awakens a flame of devotion within the body).[13] The phrase was believed to become an anchor for upward ascent, and in this illustration it may be assumed to have produced the Holy Name tree-image that grows from the heart.

Set in a green landscape, the tree of life is flecked with blood, and in an unusual expression of blood piety, drops of blood rain down from above like dew, which suggests that Christ's blood waters or irrigates this tree in the heart of the reader, accenting the fecundity or productivity of Christ's

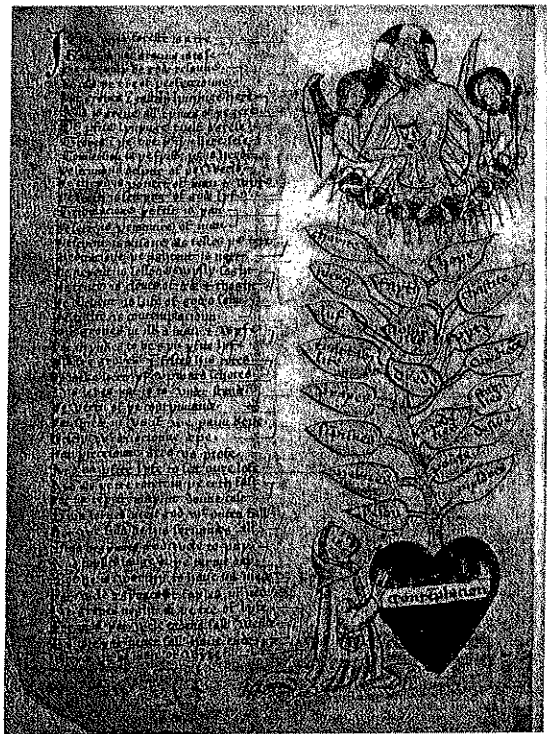

FIGURE 15.2 London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, fol. 62v: Christ's blood as nutriment.

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Passion. This image can be juxtaposed with a line from a votive office in honor of the relic of the Holy Blood at Weingarten, which states that through the dew of Christ's blood, "hearts so long parched have been made green again."[14] Blood here is what makes the tree-heart verdant, fructifying, and florid, budding seven rosettes in each of whose centers lies the word "luf" (love). This devotional flowering is echoed later in the manuscript on fol. 62v (fig. 15.2) in an illustration that depicts the blood from Christ's wounded side as a kind of verdurous nutriment for the contemplative heart.[15]

The language of flowers and vegetation often figures in depictions of paradise, and it also appears in commentaries on the Song of Songs, such as the one written by the twelfth-century writer Honorius Augustodunensis, in which the whole church is a field of different flowers: martyrs are roses, virgins are lilies, confessors are violets, and Christ himself is the most beautiful flower of all, made humble when he was encrimsoned with his own blood.[16] Additional 37049's illustrations evoke this textual tradition, but they also give a special emphasis to blood's universal associations with fertility. It is perhaps not insignificant that "in the later Middle Ages, the [Holy] blood was sometime[s] carried in procession around newly sown fields to protect crops and increase fertility."[17] As Caroline Walker Bynum remarks, blood is "dew, seed, and fertility."[18] Simply put, blood greens.

The entire image on fol. 36v (fig. 15.1) asserts blood's transformative properties even as it manages to refract and distill some of the antinomies of the Passion. The killing place of Calvary, with its darksome associations of sterility, torture, and death, has become something green, an efflorescent place of beauty and hopefulness. Although Christ's blood liberally accents the image as a whole, it strikes not a note of pain and suffering, but one of lyrical transcendence. The grief of the crucifixion has been transfigured into consolation; violent sacrifice has become flowering regeneration. Blood, I would like to suggest, is the agent of this metamorphosis.

In late medieval literature and art, Christ's wounds are often depicted as roses,[19] and his blood is described as *"cruor roseus,"* or roseate blood. Entire scenes from the life of Christ sometimes take place inside a single flower.[20] In an echo of Ecclesiasticus 24:18, Mary was also known as the *rosa sine spina,* or "the rose without thorn," and she was sometimes depicted holding a rosebush in her hands.[21] In a further development of this theme, on fol. 36v both Mary and John, dressed in blood-colored robes, are attached to the tree as flowers, standing atop rosebuds that stem from the central heart. Christ is often figured as the fruit or flower of the Virgin, but here we have an interesting variation. This novel depiction, in my view, has some roots in medieval arts of memory, and perhaps even in the rosary.[22] John and Mary become literal *florilegia:* the human flowers of memory and meditation. Their representation here signals their roles as spectators of the Passion and their importance in forming a memorial image of the crucifixion.

The illustration depicts memory techniques for mentally picturing the Passion that depend upon visualization.[23] This readerly activity has been called "the practice of the devotional present,"[24] and it involved a kind of highly focused "biblical day-dreaming."[25] Related devotional texts instruct a reader to envision that he or she is physically present at various events in the life of Christ. For example, they ask a reader to take his or her place alongside Christ and his disciples at the Last Supper, or with him on the road to Calvary, or next to him as he is nailed to the cross.[26] Meditators are frequently encouraged to see themselves as firsthand witnesses or participants at the crucifixion, often kneeling beside Mary and John, just as the figure of the Carthusian monk in the illustration views the scene above.[27] This imaginative strategy placed readers at the center of salvation history, removing barriers of place and time, with the aim of making the memory of Christ's Passion fresh, immediate, and alive.

The illustration on fol. 36v visually depicts how this meditative method might be put into practice through an elaborate choreography of reading that is basically mimetic: the monastic reader gazes at the page and sees a picture of the spiritual exercise he is to perform. Just as the artist has converted the phrase "Ihesus est amor meus" into a visual image, turning words into pictures, a similar transformation is to occur in the imagination of the reader, for whom the whole crucifixion scene is enlivened as a blood-flecked inflorescence.[28] Hence we can see the devotional habits of reading shaped by this particular manuscript, as if the reading process itself could be depicted and materialized in slow motion, or in a still photograph. The illustration brings us closer to what Andrew Taylor has called, in a different context, "the lived experience of the medieval book."[29]

A central aspect of the visual strategy of this illustration is the fusion of the body of Christ with a text, the sacred monogram. The image captures one of the most paradoxical moments of the Incarnation: word becoming flesh.[30] Text intertwines and intersects with image, becoming image. This striking literalization is typical of the highly textualized spirituality prevalent during the period. The image moves between different registers of word and flesh, spirit and matter, the spiritual and the carnal—and even of the interior and exterior sense of language and of Christ himself. We see here what I would call a *hermeneutics of embodiment*, spiritual encounter taking on physical, written form.

This idea is also made explicit in the facing-page illustration (fol. 37r; Fig. 15.3), which shows a hermit, seated with a book in his lap, whose chest is inscribed with the sacred monogram "IHC," a parallel fusion of word and flesh. Richard Rolle, whose text is extracted here and whose portrait appears elsewhere in Additional 37049 in a strikingly similar illustration,[31] reportedly "wrote" the Holy Name on his forehead and chest on a daily basis, and the depiction here may reflect that practice.[32] The somatic metaphor on the hermit's heart is a kind of love letter to the divine, an apparently literal incarnation of the phrase "Ihesus est amor meus."[33] The artist has not only echoed the visual themes of the previous folio, but he has developed them further, showing another stage in the movement toward union with Christ.[34] The illustration on fol. 37r shows what it means to be or to become a text, an unapologetically corporeal mode of sacred reading and enactment reinscribed through the book in the hermit's lap.[35] Reading, therefore, is a kind of embodiment, a mimetic transformation that can be connected to some of the wider currents of religious devotion and popular piety prevalent in late medieval England.

In her influential work on late medieval drama, Gail McMurray Gibson identified what she termed the fifteenth century's "incarnational aesthetic,"

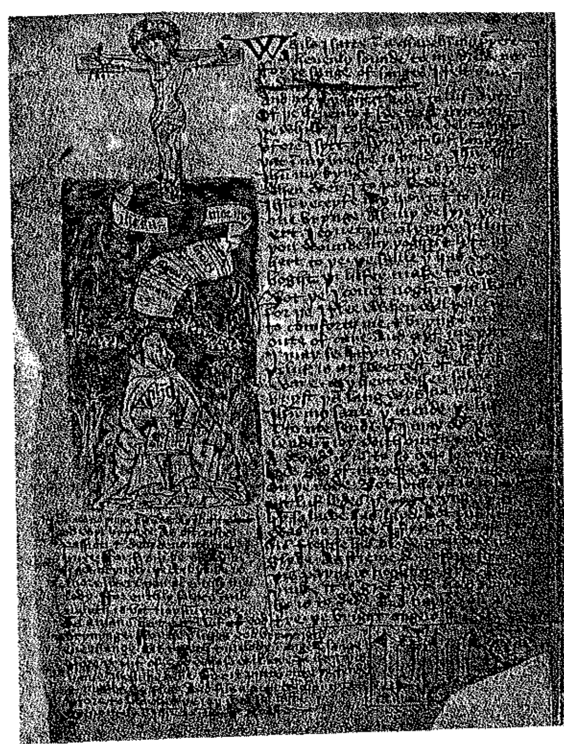

FIGURE 15.3 London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, fol. 37r: crucifix with writing on hermit's heart.

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its fascination with the personal, concrete, and corporeal—in her words, "[the] intense focus on the fleshly reality of the Incarnation, of that same nearly hallucinatory concreteness we see in Margery Kempe's visions."[36] The literature of the period abounds in references to this material emphasis and finds one of its finest expressions in an anonymous fourteenth-century lyric in John of Grimestone's Commonplace Book: "I wolde ben clad in cristes skyn / þat ran so longe on blode, / & gon t'is herte & taken myn In."[37] Union with Christ is described as a kind of enfleshment: first wearing his bloody skin and then entering his heart, where the two hearts can be joined. The hybrid of word and picture on fol. 36v (fig. 15.1) not only exemplifies this same incarnational focus, but also is designed as a conjuration to make Christ present in the heart of the reader. Through a kind of ardent image magic, the illustration is endowed with indwelling personality, as if Christ himself could actually inhabit this text-image of the Holy Name, accentuating

its incantatory and wonder-working associations.[38] The reading process becomes a nearly alchemical transformation of spirit into flesh, as words and images are invested with life.

The curling, blue-tinted banderoles that form the Holy Name monogram resemble bleeding parchment scrolls: bloody flesh and letters, crossed by spear and sponge, which are also stylus and corrector. Many medieval texts focused intently on Longinus' lance; some even expressed the desire to be or to become the spear that pierced through to Christ's heart.[39] The spear was often represented as a writing instrument; in an inventive variation on the same motif, the English Franciscan poet William Herebert (ca. 1330) compared Christ's side wound to an inkhorn.[40] In a similar manner, the illustration on fol. 36v turns the crucifixion into a textual event, a scribal act that reflects the making of books and the tools and materials of scribal culture. This word-picture shows that as the Middle Ages progressed, with increasing intensity the book took on life: it was flesh and blood, palpable, immediate, alive, a living organism. In its most supreme, epiphanic form, it was Christ himself.

The notion of Christ's body as a book, document, or other textual object, which Ernst Robert Curtius termed the "religious metaphorics of the book," was widespread by the late Middle Ages.[41] The Monk of Farne's *Meditations on the Passion of Christ* describes Christ's body as "a book, open for your perusal," an object that is further articulated through an alphabet of desire: the five wounds are the vowels and the smaller wounds are consonants.[42] In "Mary at the Foot of the Cross," Christ's body is a book fashioned by pain: "The body was bored and on borde bete, / In bright blode oure boke gan schyne . . . Wryten it was full wonder woo, / Rede woundes and strokes bloo: / Your boke was bounde in blode."[43] Blood gives the book its luminosity, while providing the viscous unguent that binds together the bruised and wounded pages. In a similar vein, Rolle memorably likened Christ's wounded body to "a boke written al with rede ynke."[44]

The double metamorphosis of Christ into written word and flesh on fol. 36v can be connected with another important aspect of blood piety, namely, the representation of Christ's blood as ink, which has an extensive earlier history in the learned textual tradition of the Middle Ages.[45] Red or purple ink was often compared to the blood of the Passion or of martyrdom. For example, the work of Helinand of Froidmont (d. 1212) contains a passage in a sermon on the Ascension that describes Christ as a letter or missive written into the virgin with blood as ink:

> The virgin's womb provided the parchment for making these letters for us, and the Holy Spirit prepared the parchment she provided, and then the Son of the Most High One inscribed the [illegible] from the earth of his body with golden letters the works of human redemption with the finger of God and the stylus and pen of wisdom. He rubricated these same letters with the precious red ink of his rosy blood, by which virginal cheeks are adorned, according to the saying of Agnes, Bride of the Lamb: "And his blood adorned my cheeks."[46]

The language in the passage employs the tropes of the making of books and the tools and materials of scribal culture. The virgin's womb is compared to the membrane manuscripts were written on. Like the illustration on fol. 36v, this passage turns a biblical event into a textual event that reflects the collaborative effort and physical labor involved in book production. Christ embodies a scribal aesthetic whose indices are mediated by the tools and implements of literacy and literary composition. The Incarnation is a scribal act, a transcription of sorts, in which Christ is the founding, originary document fashioned for us in several stages. The virgin is the parchmener, the first stage in this divine dissemination, followed by the masculine calligraphy inscribed upon the primed surface, which is then decorated with blood. The Latin verb *rubricare,* which means "to redden" but also "to rubricate with red ink," often appears in sanguinary contexts, and here it used to celebrate the ability of Christ's blood to ornament the parchment, just as in a medieval manuscript red ink would be used to inscribe a text, adorn an initial, or decorate the page. These bloody graphemes are emblems of the breakdown of Christ's body into a text that the passage describes. As flesh and blood, his body has become an idealized scene of writing. Blood's inscriptional possibilities move easily from interior to exterior, rubifying virginal womb and virginal cheeks.

But how can we connect this text, which was written hundreds of years earlier, to the illustration in Additional 37049? First, I think it shows us one way that bookish culture in Latin gets "Englished." Tropes that ultimately derive from Latin sources take on new life in the vernacular. Second, both Helinand's text and the image on fol. 36v affirm the reader's right to perform an exegesis of Christ's body in exquisite detail as a text "open for your perusal." This hermeneutic effect may be juxtaposed with a passage from the "Fifteen Oes" that asks Christ, "for the mynde of this passion, wryte al thy woundes in myn herte wyth thy precyous blode that I may bothe rede in theym thy drede and thy love."[47] These bloody scripts and their books and wounds of love are the kind of religious *envoi* Rolle incised in his flesh when he "wrote" the Holy Name on his body: a hybrid of the carnal and the spiritual that is memorialized in the illustration on fol. 37r (fig. 15.3). Third, we can see that the roots of late medieval England's incarnational aesthetic—its

redilection for what I called the *hermeneutics of embodiment,* in which
ooks and images are invested with indwelling personality—lie in Latinate
ulture.

As an important symbol and corollary of written, documentary culture,
he notion of Christ's blood as ink points to the way that literacy came to per-
neate discourses about the holy blood. An overtly somatic, material trope,
Christ's blood as ink circulates in the interstices of textual relations. This role
s made clear, in a different way, in the extract from Rolle's *Ego dormio* that
ccompanies the illustration on fol. 36v. The lyric combines devotion to the
Holy Name with devotion to Christ's heart, wounds, and blood.[48] Perhaps
nost significant, blood, that primary fundament, fastens or glues Christ to
he reader:

> Þe luf of god who so will lere,
> In his hert þe name of Ihesu he bere.
> For it puts oute þe fende & makes hym flee,
> And fils a man with charyte.
> Þerfore to purche þe ioy þat euer sal last,
> Deuoutely in Ihesu your herte ȝe kast.
> Ihesu recyfe my hert
> & to þi luf me bryng. . . .
> Nakyd is his whyte breste,
> And rede his blody syde.
> Wan was his fayr hewe,
> His woundes depe & wyde.
> In fyfe stedes of his flesche
> þe blode gan downe glyde,
> As streme dos of þe strande,
> þis payne is noght to hyde . . .
> Now Ihesu þat with þi blode me boght,
> þat from hert gon ryn,
> þow make me clere of al my syn,
> And fest þi luf in-to my thoght,
> So þat we neuer more twyn. Amen.[49]

Christ's blood is given a range of imaginative powers here; his body is a landscape of contrasts: white flesh and bleeding side wound, five rivulets of blood breaking on the wooden shores of the cross. The effect of this spiritual topography is not only to heighten the reader-viewer's visual experience of the crucifixion, but also to stress the blood's redemptive agency and its purgative powers. Blood binds the reader to Christ ("fest þi luf in-to my þoght"), evoking the image of the love-knot, which appears in many
dieval English mystical writings.[50] In addition, the imagery recalls the meta-
phors sketched in "Mary at the Foot of the Cross": "Your boke was bounde
in blode." In Rolle's text, blood is what forms and fashions the knot, fastening
Christ's heart to the reader's mind—an image of inscription in which blood
penetrates the mind and memory as writing and, therefore, as ink.

The poem's opening directives ("Þe luf of god who so will lere, / In his hert
þe name of Ihesu he bere") suggest that the reader imprint the Holy Name
inside the heart, an action that is mirrored in the illustrations on fols. 36v
and 37r. The bloody flesh and letters, parchment and ink, are the tools and
materials for this transcription. In the text and in the illustrations, the Holy
Name has been depicted as an exemplary inscription for the human heart,
a locus of transmutation where flesh can become spirit and spirit can even
become flesh. The blood of Christ is the very special liquid at the center of
these metamorphoses, the *prima materia* of inscription and reinscription,
wounding and writing.

Rather than being seen as separate, competing, or even contradictory, im-
age and text achieve a simultaneous register here; not only are they thor-
oughly integrated (and, in the illustration, literally enmeshed), but they also
share equally in a degree of divine authority. The scribe-artist insists that
both are in fact necessary and inseparable in his devotional practice, which
engages a full range of the senses in a complex, intricate manner. Just as the
subject of the illustration on fol. 36v is word becoming flesh, a paradox that
defies all the laws of sensory perception, here we see words and pictures in
the process of transmutation into one another—a conversion of spirit into
matter that lies at the very heart of blood piety.

23. Carruthers, *Craft*, pp. 14–16.
24. On the relationship between verbal and visual, see Carruthers, *Craft*, pp. 76–77, 132.
25. *Visionen*, pp. 1–2.
26. Cf. Whitehouse, *Modes*, pp. 98–99.
27. E.g., *Visionen*, p. 18.
28. *Visionen*, p. 37.
29. *Visionen*, p. 264.
30. Carruthers, *Craft*, pp. 101–115.
31. Carruthers, *Craft*, pp. 62, 113, 174–175.
32. On the interconnection of pain and the imagination shaping major developments in medieval devotion, see Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 466.
33. For this discipline of prayer from Cassian's *Conferences*, see Thalia A. Pandiri, "Autobiography or Autohagiography? Decoding the Subtext in the *Visions* of Elisabeth of Schönau," in *Medieval Women Writing Latin*, ed. Laurie J. Churchill, Phyllis R. Brown, and Jane E. Jeffrey (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 209 n. 23.
34. *Visionen*, p. 5–6.
35. *Visionen*, pp. 60–62.
36. Fulton, *From Judgment*, p. 410.
37. *Visionen*, pp. 53–55.
38. Cf. Anne L. Clark, "The Cult of the Virgin Mary and Technologies of Christian Formation in the Later Middle Ages," in *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities*, ed. John Van Engen (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2004).

15. ASPECTS OF BLOOD PIETY IN A LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Claudia Rattazzi Papka Memorial Fund at Columbia University and the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, in the research and writing of this essay.

1. For a description of the manuscript and its contents, see Falconer Madan et al., eds., *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1900–1905* (London, 1907), pp. 324–332. The illustrations have been reproduced in James Hogg, ed., *An Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Religious Miscellany: London, British Library Additional MS. 37049*, vol. 3: *The Illustrations* (Analecta Cartusiana 95) (Salzburg, 1981). On provenance, see Ian Doyle, "English Carthusian Books Not Yet Linked with a Charterhouse," in *"A Miracle of Learning": Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. Toby Barnard et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 122–136; and Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*, 2 vols. (Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 6) (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), 2:193. For information on the Carthusian order in England, see E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London: SPCK, 1930). Many of the manuscript's texts and images are discussed in Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); and Douglas Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval Religious Lyric* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).
2. See Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*; Gray, *Themes and Images*; J. A. W. Bennett, *Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twelve Centuries of English Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); and Vincent Gillespie, "Strange Images of Death: The Passion in Later Medieval English Devotional and Mystical Writing," *Analecta Cartusiana* 117 (1987): 111–159. For the European context in the visual arts, see James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979); and Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
3. Much of the text is extracted from Rolle's *Ego dormio*; printed in Richard Rolle, *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), pp. 61–72, esp. pp. 66–69. Karl Josef Höltgen, "*Arbor, Scala*, und *Fons vitae:* Vorformen devotionaler Embleme in einer mittelenglischen Handschrift (B.M. Add. 37049)," in *Chaucer und seine Zeit: Symposion für Walter F. Schirmer*, ed. Arno Esch (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1968), pp. 362–364, contains an edition and commentary on the version of this text in Additional 37049, and I follow his transcription; he also notes that the devotional imagery on this folio is wholly original and perhaps unparalleled. This manuscript is a very important witness to the reception of Rolle's writings and the popularity of his cult a century after his death. His writings are combined, in some cases rewritten, and interspersed throughout the manuscript; see Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography* (New York: D.C. Heath and Co., 1927), pp. 306–311. The English Carthusians played a key role in the copying and dissemination of Rolle's writings, and there may even have been a "Carthusian effort to produce acceptable versions of Rolle's works" (from Michael G. Sargent, "The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 [1976]: 232); see also A. I. Doyle, "Carthusian Participation in the Movement of Works of Richard Rolle Between England and Other Parts of Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Kartäusermystik und Mystiker* 2 (Analecta Cartusiana 55) (Salzburg, 1981): 109–120.
4. In general, Carthusians were strongly devoted to the blood, heart, and wounds of Christ. Ludolph of Saxony (d. 1378), Dominic of Treves (d. 1461), Lanspergius of Cologne (d. 1539), and Denis the Carthusian (d. 1471) are just a few of the writers whose works promoted these devotions. See Joseph A. Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice in Later Medieval England* (Analecta Cartusiana 99, no. 33) (Salzburg, 1995), p. 48. There is also evidence that the charterhouse at Coventry had a large wall painting of the Crucifixion "in which angels collect blood from Christ's feet into chalices"; see Clifford Davidson, "Sacred Blood and the Late Medieval Stage," *Comparative Drama* 31 (1997): 446.
5. The cult of the Holy Name was initially a personal, private devotion that gradually moved into the public sphere of liturgical commemoration; it became an official feast in York in 1489. From at least the mid-fourteenth century onward, the cult of the Holy Name had a liturgical dimension in England, especially as a votive mass; see Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) pp. 62, 74, 77–79; and P. R. Biasiotto, *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name, with a Supplement* (New York: St. Bonaventure, 1943). The Carthusian order may have played a special role in promoting Holy Name devotions, and in Additional 37049 the IHC or IHS monogram appears five times as a meditational and decorative emblem, and there are dozens of textual references to it; see Denis Renevey, "*The Name Poured Out:* Margins, Illuminations, and Miniatures

... to the Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England," in *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*, vol. 9, ed. James Hogg (Analecta Cartusiana 130) (Salzburg, 1996), pp. 127–148, and Gribbin, *Aspects*, pp. 48–49.

6. The phrase is from Dyan Elliott, "True Presence/False Christ: The Antinomies of Embodiment in Medieval Spirituality," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 241.

7. An unusually close relation between text and image (and therefore, reading and seeing) is one of the manuscript's most distinctive and intriguing features. See, for example: Thomas W. Ross, "Five Fifteenth-Century 'Emblem' Verses from Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 37049," *Speculum* 32 (1957): 274–282; Francis Wormald, "Some Popular Miniatures and Their Rich Relations," in *Miscellanea Pro Arte. Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres am 13. Januar 1965*, ed. Francesco Ehrle (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1965), pp. 279–285; Höltgen, "*Arbor, Scala,* und *Fons vitae*," pp. 355–391; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 109, 123; and Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, "The Remains of the Royal Dead in an English Carthusian Manuscript, London, British Library, MS Additional 37049," *Viator* 33 (2002): 310–354.

8. Here I echo an observation of Caroline Walker Bynum: "It is this quality of paradox that characterizes the blood cult at the center of late medieval piety. . . . The cult of the wounds, the blood, the heart of Christ expresses not solution or resolution but the simultaneity of opposites: life and death, glory and agony, salvation and sin. . . . Paradox is the core" ("Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety," *German Historical Institute Bulletin* 30 [2002]: 21, 23). See also her definitive essay on the subject, "The Blood of Christ in the Later Middle Ages," *Church History* 71 (2002): 685–714. For the English context, see John C. Hirsh, "Christ's Blood," in *The Boundaries of Faith: The Development and Transmission of Medieval Spirituality* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), pp. 91–110.

9. Illustrations of the sacred heart are especially profuse in Additional 37049, and, according to Nigel Morgan, "it includes more images of the Heart of Christ in a variety of iconographic contexts than any other surviving work of English art" (Nigel Morgan, "Longinus and the Wounded Heart," *Weiner Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46/47 [1993–1994]: 515).

10. The "IHC" is a sacred monogram for the first three letters of the Greek word for Jesus (IHCOYC). For an excellent discussion of Holy Name imagery in Additional 37049 and related manuscripts, see John Block Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), pp. 186–202, esp. p. 193, which contains an excellent analysis of the iconography on fol. 36v: "The subject of both verb and motto, the crucified Christ himself, makes up the ascender with the cross stroke of the H."

11. See Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1988), p. 268; Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. S. B. Meech and Hope Emily Allen (Early English Text Society 212) (London, 1940), p. 84; and Ann M. Hutchison, "Mary Champney: A Bridgettine Nun Under the Rule of Queen Elizabeth I," *Birgittiana* 13 (2002): 63. Friedman (*Northern English Books*, p. 193) notes that "Ihesus est amor meus" is also the first line of an "ownership poem" in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Kk.3.5, fol. 147.

12. In Additional 37049, the phrase also appears on fols. 24r and 37r. In a manuscript of the Carthusian Richard Methley's *Scola amoris languidi* (Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.2.56, fol. 22r) the words *est* and *amor* are decorated with interlocking hearts. Reproduced in James Hogg, *Mount Grace Charterhouse and Late Medieval English Spirituality*, vol. 2: *The Trinity College Cambridge MS.0.2.56* (Analecta Cartusiana 64) (Salzburg, 1978), p. 43.

13. For example, according to Richard Rolle, intense focus and concentration on the Holy Name to the exclusion of all else and its sustained repetition could lead one to ecstasy, "and the physical sensations that it inspired, which he regarded as an apprehension of Christ's love" (Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp. 90, 228).

14. Quoted and translated in Mark Daniel Holtz, "Cults of the Precious Blood in the Medieval Latin West" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1997), p. 125.

15. The illustration on fol. 62v accompanies a (probably Carthusian) text known as *The Desert of Religion*, which develops the theme of spiritual inflorescence: "In virteus suld al men floresche / And froyt bryng forth as þai war trees" (fol. 47r). On this text and its authorship, see Anne McGovern-Mouron, "The *Desert of Religion* in British Library Cotton Faustina B VI, pars II," in Hogg, ed., *Mystical Tradition*, pp. 149–162. Richard Rolle articulates a similar model when he writes: "Also, swet Jhesu, þe sterres ben cause of euche þynge þat is grene, or groweth, or bereth fruyt. Now, swet Jhesu, mak me grene in my beleve, growynge in grace, berynge fruyt of good workes" (Rolle, *English Writings*, p. 35). Höltgen ("*Arbor, Scala,* und *Fons vitae*," p. 365) connects the tree and fruit imagery on fol. 36v with another illustrated text on fols. 69v–70r in this manuscript, "The Apple of Solace."

16. "Flos campi proprie est flos parvulus, nimis rubicundus, et est Christus humilis factus proprio sanguine rubricatus" (Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio in Cantica canticorum* [*Patrologia Latina* 172 : col. 382c]). For the Song of Songs commentary tradition and for Honorius, see Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), passim and pp. 247–288, 297–298, 316, 376–378.

17. Bynum, "The Blood of Christ," p. 706 n. 71. For a fascinating discussion of links between Christ's blood and wounds and agriculture and fertility in a slightly different context, see Salvador Ryan, "'Reign of blood': Aspects of Devotion to the Wounds of Christ in Late Medieval Gaelic Ireland," in *Irish History: A Research Yearbook* 1, ed. Joost Augusteijn and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), pp. 137–149.

18. Bynum, "The Blood of Christ," p. 702.

19. Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, p. 233.

20. See Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, pp. 63–66, figs. 45–46, 51.

21. M. D. Anderson, *History and Imagery in British Churches* (London: Murray, 1971), fig. 48. See also Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, pp. 287–289. On flowers as symbols of the Virgin Mary and the connection between flowers and praying, flowers and flesh, see Rachel Fulton, "The Virgin in the Garden, or Why Flowers Make Better Prayers," *Spiritus* 4 (2004): 1–23.

22. "The isolated rose inevitably recalls for us, as it would have for most viewers of the later Middle Ages, the rosary, itself an instrument of memory, in which each bead stood for a single blossom and enumerated a prayer evoking an event in the history of salvation" (Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, pp. 68–69; cf. pp. 63–100 and 242 n. 21). See also Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), pp. 13–30.

23. On mentally picturing the Passion, see Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, pp. 101–136; Chiara Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions, and Iconography," trans. Margery J. Schneider, in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 130–164; and Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, "Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript

Page: 'The Hours of the Cross' in London, British Library Additional 37049," *Mediaeval Studies* 66 (2004): 213–252, esp. pp. 213–217.

24. See J. T. Rhodes, "Syon Abbey and Its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 23; and Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 40–43.
25. The phrase is from Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "A *Liber Precum* in Sélestat and the Development of the Illustrated Prayerbook in Germany," *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991): 232.
26. See Elizabeth Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ"* (Analecta Cartusiana 10) (Salzburg, 1974), p. 156. One of the best discussions of this meditative process is Andrew Taylor, "Into His Secret Chamber: Reading and Privacy in Late Medieval England," in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 46: "Readers who followed such injunctions would meticulously visualize familiar places, people them with those they knew, and then return to these places again and again as participants in what might now be thought of as an almost cinematographic mental drama." On other "visualizing memory techniques," see Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), p. 120. The broader tradition of medieval mnemotechnique has been richly detailed in Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
27. The Carthusian community of readers who produced, compiled, and read this manuscript included numerous portraits of themselves as firsthand witnesses to the Passion; see fols. 24r (with Christ showing his wounds); 29v (with Virgin and Child); 36v (discussed below); 43v (with Christ in his glory); 62v (with Man of Sorrows); 67v and 91r (with Christ crucified).
28. Fulton ("The Virgin in the Garden," p. 14) discusses the rose as an evocative metaphor for the experience of prayer and "the work of the imagination." On converting words into pictures and medieval mnemotechnique, see Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, p. 226; cf. pp. 74–77.
29. Taylor, "Into His Secret Chamber," p. 48.
30. On the Incarnation as a linguistic event, see Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. xv, 338, 340, 443, 467–468. Höltgen ("*Arbor, Scala,* und *Fons vitae,*" p. 366) notes that the arresting juxtaposition of text and image on fol. 36v may be related to techniques of illustration used for decorating initials in illuminated manuscripts.
31. Rolle's portrait appears on fol. 52v; this drawing is described in Renevey, "*The Name Poured Out*," p. 145.
32. On Rolle's devotion to the Holy Name, see Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, pp. 72–77, and Biasiotto, *History*, pp. 35–59. Henry Suso (d. 1366) took this one step further and carved the Holy Name into his flesh with a stylus. This episode is discussed in Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, pp. 178–180; and Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 97–102. Cf. Hamburger's discussion of Suso: "If at the Incarnation the Word became flesh, in Suso's writings, the flesh, his own included, patterns itself on the Word. As text becomes image, Suso's body becomes a text, a reciprocity expressed in ideal form by the sacred monogram itself" (Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, p. 180).
33. On the trope of the heart as a love letter to Christ, see Jager, *Book of the Heart*, pp. 66–67, 91, 108–113.
34. The text on fol. 37r also echoes some of the poetic material on fol. 36v.
35. Cf. Renevey, "*The Name Poured Out*," p. 143: "The hermit presents the reader a book to read."
36. Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 16, and see pp. 6–7.
37. Douglas Gray, "The Five Wounds of Our Lord," *Notes and Queries* 208 (1963): 129; also discussed in Bynum, "Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety," pp. 13–14.
38. Bob Scribner ("Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late-Medieval and Reformation Germany," *Journal of Religious History* 15 [1989]: 457) discusses how "indwelling personality" is a characteristic feature of images in late medieval piety.
39. Flora Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion: Gendered Experience and Response," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (London: British Library, 1996), p. 215. See also Rose Jeffrey Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and Its Connection with the Grail* (Baltimore: Bryn Mawr Monographs, 1911).
40. M. C. Spalding, *The Middle English Charters of Christ* (Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr Monographs, 1914), p. lix. In late medieval England much of the literary and spiritual energy of the period was devoted to articulating the motif of Christ's body as a charter signed with the blood of his ink. This textual formulation can be traced (with some variation) from the *Ancrene Wisse* to the Digby Play of *Christ's Burial*, and it appears everywhere, from "Chaucer's ABC" to the *Fasciculus Morum*, a fourteenth-century preacher's manual, whose symbols include ink-blood, parchment-skin, and quill-nails. The most comprehensive, graphic treatment is found in the *Charter of Christ*, a fourteenth-century poem that survives in dozens of manuscripts (including Additional 37049), in which pens double for scourges, letters for wounds, and both ink (red and black) and sealing wax for blood. See Spalding, *Middle English Charters of Christ* and now Emily Steiner, *Documentary Culture and the Making of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
41. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 311.
42. Vincent Gillespie, "*Lukynge in haly bukes: Lectio* in Some Late Medieval Spiritual Miscellanies," in *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache*, ed. James Hogg (Analecta Cartusiana 106, no. 2) (Salzburg, 1984), p. 10.
43. Karen Saupe, ed., *Middle English Marian Lyrics* (Kalamazoo: TEAMS, 1998), p. 102.
44. Rolle, *English Writings*, p. 36.
45. See D. Richter, "Die Allegorie der Pergamentbearbeitung: Beziehungen zwischen handwerklichen Vorgängen und der geistlichen Bildersprache des Mittelalters," in *Fachliteratur des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Gerhard Eis*, ed. G. Keil et al. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche, 1968), pp. 83–92.
46. "Ad has litteras pro nobis faciendas membranum ministravit virginalis uterus, ministratam paravit Spiritus sanctus, paratam inscripsit Altissimi Filius, litteris aureis scribens de terra corporis sui digito Dei, et stylo vel calamo sapientiae, opera redemptionis humanae. Rubricavit autem has easdem litteras pretioso minio cruoris rosei, quo genae virginalis ornantur, iuxta illud Agnetis sponsae Agni: 'Et sanguis eius ornavit genas meas'" (Helinand of Froidmont, "Sermo de ascensione domini" [*Patrologia Latina* 212, col. 607B] [my translation]). The passage is echoed by the encyclopedist Pierre Bersuire over a century later [ca. 1340]: "Christ is a sort of book written by the Virgin . . . spoken by the Father . . . punctuated in the imprint of the wounds . . . illustrated by the outpouring of blood" (as quoted and translated in Jesse M. Gellrich, *The*

Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language, Theory, Mythology, and Fiction [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985], p. 17).

47. Rebecca Krug, "The Fifteen Oes," in *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation*, ed. Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 215.
48. Devotion to Christ's blood is the subject of several of Rolle's lyrics and meditations; in one he recounts how he called upon the blood of Christ to save him from an early temptation of the flesh by uttering, "Jesus, how precious is thy blood"; see Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, pp. 75, 468.
49. Transcribed and edited in Höltgen, "*Arbor, Scala*, und *Fons vitae*," pp. 362–363.
50. For a discussion of metaphors of binding the heart to Christ, see William F. Pollard, "Mystical Elements in a Fifteenth-Century Prayer Sequence: *The Festis and the Passion of Oure Lord Ihesu Crist*," in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), pp. 47–61.

16. MACHIAVELLI, TRAUMA, AND THE SCANDAL OF *THE PRINCE*

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1. Jean Améry, "Torture," in *At the Mind's Limits: Contemplations by a Survivor on Auschwitz and Its Realities*, trans. S. Rosenfeld and S. P. Rosenfeld (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 32.
2. Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Niccolò Machiavelli*, trans. C. Grayson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), chaps. 12–13.
3. *Niccolò Machiavelli, De principatibus*, ed. Giorgio Inglese (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1994) [hereafter *De principatibus*]. English: William Connell, ed. and trans., *The Prince* (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2004) [hereafter Connell]. Context: John Najemy, *Between Friends: Discourses of Power and Desire in the Machiavelli–Vettori Letters of 1513–1515* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), esp. pp. 177–214. This territorial confinement was actually Machiavelli's second (note 11 below).
4. Recent editions of Niccolò Machiaevelli's *The Prince* include those by David Wootton, ed., trans., and introduction (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1995); Paul Sonnino, ed., trans., and introduction (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1996); Angelo Codevilla et al., eds., trans., and introduction (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Peter Bondanella, ed., trans., and introduction (1988; rpt., New York: Oxford University Press, 1998 and 2005); Quentin Skinner and Russell Price, eds. (1988; rpt., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Harvey Mansfield, ed., trans., and introduction (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Wayne Rebhorn, ed., trans., and introduction (New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2003); and William J. Connell, ed., trans., and annotated (Boston: Bedford, 2004). The three key texts are Connell's, Rebhorn's, and Mansfield's.
5. *Niccolò Machiavelli, Lettere*, ed. Franco Gaeta (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1961) [hereafter *Lettere*], pp. 301–306 (Connell, pp. 136–140).
6. Stella Larosa, "Autobiografia e tradizione letteraria nella 'Giornata' di Niccolò Machiavelli," *Interpres* 22 (2003): 223–275. Machiavelli responds mimetically and competitively to Vettori's *giornata* (*Lettere*, pp. 297–300, with an odd reading list).
7. Connell, pp. 138–139, adapted; I render *trasferisce* as "translate" after Peter Godman, *From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 257–258.
8. John Najemy, "Machiavelli and Geta: Men of Letters," in *Machiavelli and the Discourse of Literature*, ed. A. R. Ascoli and V. Kahn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), notes the "mythology" of "this threshold moment" (pp. 59–60 and n. 14).
9. Juliet Mitchell, "Trauma, Recognition, and the Place of Language," *Diacritics* 28 (1998): 121.
10. On the distinction between historical and structural, e.g., oedipal, trauma: Dominick LaCapra, "Trauma, Absence, Loss," *Critical Inquiry* 25 (1999): 696–727, and idem, "Reflections on Trauma, Absence, Loss," in *Whose Freud? The Place of Psychoanalysis in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Peter Brooks and Alex Woloch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 178–204. Structural trauma may also surface in *The Prince*: Najemy (*Between Friends*, pp. 211–214) identifies the surprising role of "limitless love." Medieval "courtly" love has evidently found an ironic Renaissance apotheosis: cf. L. O. Aranye Fradenburg, *Sacrifice Your Love: Psychoanalysis, Historicism, Chaucer* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), pp. 1–78.
11. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 7.
12. Godman, *From Poliziano*, p. 235, quoting Florence, Archivio di Stato, Signori e Collegi, *Deliberazioni fatte in forza di ordinaria autorità* 114, fol. 117v. Three days later, November 10, 1512, Machiavelli was sentenced to prison, but two relatives and Francesco Vettori pledged the remarkable sum of 1,000 florins, and he was instead confined to the territory: Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 133; Rosemary Devonshire Jones, *Francesco Vettori, Florentine Citizen and Medici Servant* (London: Athlone, 1972), pp. 102–104.
13. Description: Machiavelli's first "prison sonnet," as annotated in *Machiavelli Opere*, ed. L. Blasucci (Turin: UTET, 1989), 4:423–424. Quotation: Machiavelli to his nephew (June 26, 1513), *Lettere*, pp. 262–263. Antonio Segni, also tortured in the wake of the Medici return, did die of the effects. On the symbolic systems informing Machiavelli's body once he entered the realm of "justice," see Andrea Zorzi, "Rituali di violenza, cerimoniali penali, rappresentazioni della giustizia nelle città italiane centro-settentrionali (secoli XIII–XV)," in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel due e nel trecento*, ed. P. Cammarosano (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994), pp. 395–425, esp. pp. 400–402 for associations with animals.
14. Cf. problems noted by Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958/1978), pp. 54–84.
15. On the "thrushes sonnet" to Giuliano, and the prose letter to Lorenzo: Hugo Jaeckel, "I 'Tordi' e il 'Principe Nuovo': Note sulle dediche del 'Principe' di Machiavelli a Giuliano e a Lorenzo de'Medici," *Archivio storico italiano* 156 (1998): 73–92. Texts: Blasucci, *Opere*, pp. 423–424; *De principatibus*, pp. 181–183 (Connell pp. 141 and 39–40).
16. Uneven promptings: Vettori, also compromised, wrote from Rome in Medici employ. Was he assigned a penitential and inquisitorial campaign of correspondence? Did Machiavelli, rightly or wrongly, make that assumption? Did Vettori realize that he would? And so on. Acting out: see note 59 below on "translation."
17. Mimesis: Mikkel Borch-Jakobson, *The Emotional Tie: Psychoanalysis, Mimesis, and Affect* (Stanford: Standford University Press, 1992), and René Girard, *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987). Conceptually opposed, these studies confirm the centrality of mimesis for the trauma hypothesis.
18. Objectification: Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the*