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PASSION DEVOTION, PENITENTIAL READING,  
AND THE MANUSCRIPT PAGE:  
"THE HOURS OF THE CROSS" IN  
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL 37049\*

*Marlene Villalobos Hennessy*

BY the late Middle Ages, there was a remarkable amount of interest in the details of the torture, suffering, and violence of the Crucifixion, as well as in all of the events leading up to Christ's death on the Cross. Passion imagery was virtually everywhere in England—in prayers, sermons, lyrics, devotional treatises, mystery plays, stained glass, sculpture, and manuscript illumination.<sup>1</sup> Innovations in literature and art—even new genres—grew out of this focus, and new ideas and iconography flourished.<sup>2</sup> One of the most significant by-products of this emphasis was the proliferation of Latin and vernacular Passion meditations that encouraged readers to visualize scenes from Christ's life and death as if they were eyewitnesses.

This meditational technique was often referred to as "active remembering"<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968); Douglas Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval Religious Lyric* (London and Boston, 1972); J. A. W. Bennett, *Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twelve Centuries of English Verse* (Oxford, 1982); Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1996); and Vincent Gillespie, "Strange Images of Death: The Passion in Later Medieval English Devotional and Mystical Writing," *Analecta Cartusiana* 117.3 (1987): 111–59.

<sup>2</sup> For the European context, see James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk, 1979); and Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> Ellen M. Ross, *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (New York and Oxford, 1997), 36.

or "composition of place"<sup>4</sup> and had its roots in antiquity and the rhetorical tradition.<sup>5</sup> In the Middle Ages, this method was put to pious Christian use and became a mainstay of a meditative tradition that is represented in a rich and diverse array of texts. Much of this literature was influenced by books such as the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, now believed to have been written between 1346 and 1364 by the Franciscan Johannes de Caulibus.<sup>6</sup> The *Meditationes* was a composite of the accounts of the life and death of Christ as told in the four gospels transformed into one continuous narrative. It made Christ's human life more vivid and introduced a certain amount of fictive, non-biblical material. This widely read text was rendered into Middle English as the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* by the Carthusian prior of Mount Grace, Nicholas Love, whose translation proved equally influential.<sup>7</sup> The *Meditationes* and its derivatives popularized this highly affective form of meditation, which had its roots in monastic praxis and Anselmian meditation, and extended it to women religious and the laity.<sup>8</sup>

An important aspect of this method of vividly imagining the Passion was its visual acuity. Readers were encouraged to visualize themselves as part of the original cloud of witnesses at the Crucifixion. This meditative technique has

<sup>4</sup> Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 37. Also see Rita Copeland, "The Middle English 'Candet nudatum pectus' and Norms of Early Vernacular Translation Practice," *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 15 (1984): 73-76.

<sup>5</sup> Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966), 2; cf. Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 71.

<sup>6</sup> Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditationes vitae Christi*, ed. M. Stallings-Taney, CCCM 153 (Turnhout, 1997). A translation of a late medieval Italian version of the text appeared as Ps.-Bonaventure, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. ital. 115*, ed. and trans. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (Princeton, 1961). The *Meditationes* is a biography of Christ told in chronological order, from his infancy and public life through his Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension; it narrates his life in evocative, dramatic, and experiential terms. See the interesting discussion of this text in Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages*, trans. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer (New York, 1990), 165.

<sup>7</sup> Michael G. Sargent, ed., *Nicholas Love's "Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ": A Critical Edition Based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686* (New York and London, 1992). See also the pioneering study by Elizabeth Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ,"* *Analecta Cartusiana* 10 (Salzburg, 1974). A recent discussion of the publication of Love's *Mirror* appears in Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 852-56.

<sup>8</sup> For an excellent history of women as readers and writers of Passion texts, see Alexandra Barratt, "Stabant matres dolorosae: Women as Readers and Writers of Passion Prayers, Meditations and Visions," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. A. A. MacDonald et al. (Groningen, 1998), 55-71. See also Thomas H. Bestul, "Antecedents: The Anselmian and Cistercian Contributions," in *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England*, ed. William F. Pollard and Robert Boenig (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997), 1-20.

been called “the practice of the devotional present,”<sup>9</sup> and it involved a kind of highly focused “biblical day-dreaming.”<sup>10</sup> For example, some texts instruct readers to imagine that they were physically present at the Last Supper, seated alongside Christ and his disciples.<sup>11</sup> Other texts ask readers to take their place alongside Jesus on the road to Calvary or with him as nails fasten him to the Cross.<sup>12</sup> Many suggest standing with Mary and John while he is crucified. Some urge the reader to kneel beside Christ on Mount Olivet, to lie prostrate beside him on the ground, to kiss his hands and feet, to take Christ’s blows, to exchange places with him, or even “to remain with him all night as he stands bound to the pillar.”<sup>13</sup>

These Passion meditations appealed to people’s need to be led into scriptural events in a personalized, individual way. Texts such as this sought an amazingly direct contact with their audience. They were designed to arouse compassion in their readers and also to make the biblical past fresh, immediate, and alive. They gave readers a graphic, vigorous sense of the literal, his-

<sup>9</sup> See J. T. Rhodes, “Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth Century,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 23; and Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 40–43.

<sup>10</sup> 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. On mentally picturing the Passion, see also idem, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), 101–36; and 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, 1996), 130–64.

<sup>11</sup> A typical directive appears in *Aelred of Rievaulx’s De Institutione Inclusarum: Two English Versions*, ed. John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, EETS, OS 287 (London, 1984), 19–20: “Wilt thou se moor? Go forthe in-to the pharisees hous and se hou thy lorde is sette atte mete. . . . Herkne now, herkne, herist thou not what oure Lorde saith to his Fader for his disciples? . . . Bowe down thyn heed, that thou be oon of thoo.” For the full original Latin text, see Aelred de Rievaulx, *La Vie de Recluse, La Prière Pastorale*, ed. and trans. Charles Dumont, Sources Chrétiennes 76 (Paris, 1961), 42–166.

<sup>12</sup> Ps.-Bonaventure, *Meditations*, ed. Green and Ragusa, 333: “With your mind’s eye, see some thrusting the cross into the earth, others equipped with nails and hammers, others with the ladder and other instruments, others giving orders about what should be done, and others stripping him.” Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, 12, also discusses some of the earliest Latin texts to advocate these practices.

<sup>13</sup> Salter, *Nicholas Love’s “Myrroure,”* 156; and Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 55. Several of these performative, experiential directives appear in a Middle English text edited by Francis Wormald, “The Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters: A Fifteenth-Century Meditation,” *Laudate* 14 (1936): 165–82, esp. 174–77. *The Book of Margery Kempe* contains numerous examples of this type of mental imaging. See the vivid essay by Denis Renevey, who contextualizes Kempe’s devotional performances, especially the highly dramatic reenactments of the life of Christ that earned her the hostility of an uncomprehending public: “Margery’s Performing Body: The Translation of Late Medieval Discursive Religious Practices,” in *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England*, ed. Denis Renevey and Christiania Whitehead (Toronto, 2000), 197–216.

torical reality of Christ's Passion—and the potential to experience these events as if in their full effulgence. By encouraging this kind of pilgrimage of the mind and spirit, these Passion meditations allowed readers to add a high degree of imaginative fervor to their devotions, compelling a startling amount of mimesis, enactment, and visualization.<sup>14</sup>

This article will focus on a Passion meditation that adapts and extends this tradition of mental imaging. It appears in one of the major manuscript sources for Middle English Passion lyrics: London, British Library Additional 37049, a devotional miscellany produced by Carthusian monks in northern England (probably at Axholme or Beauvale charterhouse), ca. 1460–1470.<sup>15</sup> This image-saturated manuscript is known for its unusual combinations of text and image; it provides a wealth of examples of some of the intimate and complex relationships between private reading, visual culture, and spirituality that were dominant during the period.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For example, see Wormald, "The Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters," 165–82. 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, 1996), 46: "Readers who followed such injunctions would meticulously visualize familiar places, people then 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, 1984), 120.

<sup>15</sup> The bibliography on this manuscript is extensive. For a description of the manuscript and its contents, see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1900–1905*, ed. Falconer Madan et al. (London, 1907), 324–32. The texts are profusely illustrated with 145 color drawings that strikingly parallel the texts they accompany. The illustrations have been reproduced in *An Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Miscellany: London, British Library Additional MS. 37049*, vol. 3: *The Illustrations*, ed. James Hogg, *Analecta Cartusiana* 95 (Salzburg, 1981). On provenance, see A. I. 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, 1998), 122–36; and Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*, 2 vols., *Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* 6 (London, 1996), 2:193. For information on the Carthusian order in England, see E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London, 1930). Many of this manuscript's Passion texts and images are discussed in Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*; Gray, *Themes and Images*, passim; and Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, "Morbid Devotions: Reading the Passion of Christ in a Late-Medieval Miscellany, London, British Library, MS Additional 37049" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2001).

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Thomas W. Ross, "Five Fifteenth-Century 'Emblem' Verses from Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 37049," *Speculum* 32 (1957): 274–82; 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, 1965), 279–85; Karl Josef Höltgen, "Arbor, Scala, und Fons vitae: Vorformen devotionaler Embleme in einer mittellenglischen Handschrift (B. M. Add. 37049)," in *Chaucer und Seine Zeit: Sym-*

Additional 37049 demonstrates a marked emphasis on the practice of the "devotional present" and contains several drawings in which Carthusian monks are depicted as first-hand witnesses to the Passion, kneeling beside Mary and John (see plate 1a, fol. 36v; plate 1b, fol. 45r).<sup>17</sup> The monks in these illustrations are the same figures who copied, illustrated, compiled, and read this manuscript. In these images, they encountered portraits of themselves as spectators of the Passion. In this way, they removed the barriers of place and time that separated them from the historical reality of the Crucifixion.

The text I focus on is a rhyming lyric known in the *Index of Middle English Verse* as "The Hours of the Cross" (see Appendix).<sup>18</sup> This type of Middle English poem was not uncommon, and several other "Hours of the Cross" lyrics survive, with at least two separate versions from the fourteenth century and two from the fifteenth.<sup>19</sup> These poems are related to the Latin liturgical text of the Hours of the Cross, a paraliturgical office of seven hours found in books of hours; often these poems are translations of the Latin hymn in the Hours of the Cross, and at others they are independent versions that merely share the hymn's liturgical patterning.<sup>20</sup> Yet, neither the liturgical texts, their

*posion für Walter F. Schirmer*, ed. Arno Esch (Tübingen, 1968), 355–91; Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, 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): 310–54.

<sup>17</sup> Other illustrations that depict Carthusian monks in the presence of Christ appear on fols. 24r (with Christ showing his wounds); 29v (with Virgin and child); 43v (with Christ in his glory); 62v (with Man of Sorrows); 67v and 91r (with Christ crucified).

<sup>18</sup> Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse [IMEV]* (New York, 1943), nos. 2075 and 3251.

<sup>19</sup> The other lyrics, however, do not contain the text discussed here. The fifteenth-century lyrics are printed in Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1939), 136–38 (Cambridge University Library Ee.1.12) and 138–40 (London, British Library Arundel 285). Those from the fourteenth century are in idem, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1952), 50–51 (Oxford, Bodleian Library Misc. Liturg. 104) and 69–70 (Edinburgh, National Library Advocates 18.7.21), with discussion and further references on 257. John Audelay (fl. 1426) also wrote a macaronic "Hours of the Cross" poem; see *The Poems of John Audelay*, ed. E. K. Whiting, EETS, OS 184 (Oxford, 1931), 101–4.

<sup>20</sup> The text of the Latin *Horae de sancta cruce* is in *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons, EETS, OS 71 (London, 1879; rpt. 1968), 83, 85, 87 with commentary on 346–52. See also Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988), 162, with discussion on 89–93. There is also an English version of the liturgical Hours of the Cross printed in *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Simmons, 82, 84, 86. I use quotation marks ("Hours of the Cross") to distinguish the various Middle English lyrics that use the liturgical hours as a framework from the Hours of the Cross found in books of hours. Many of the "Hours of the Cross" lyrics are translations of an anonymous, fourteenth-century Latin hymn known as the "Patris sapientia" with individual stanzas assigned to the canonical hours; this hymn was part of the liturgical Hours of the Cross. Translations of this hymn often

translations, nor the other "Hours of the Cross" poems in the *IMEV* matches that of Additional 37049, whose text is particularly interesting, not least because it appears to have been the only Middle English poem of this type that was also illustrated with an abbreviated Passion pictorial cycle (see plate 2, fol. 68v). Moreover, this is the only "Hours of the Cross" poem to incorporate affective and penitential strategies that appeal to the reader's five senses.

This text-image combination is a consummate example of the technique of serial meditation: methodical, daily meditative devotion according to the canonical hours.<sup>21</sup> This paraliturgical practice can be traced back to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, was actively promoted by the Franciscans in the thirteenth century, and became popular among all the religious orders, and eventually among laypersons.<sup>22</sup> Serial meditation was an outgrowth of the increasing need for religious instruction and the "desire for a more structured and elaborate prayer-life" felt by women religious and the laity.<sup>23</sup> The spread of private, semi-liturgical devotions was stimulated by new developments in extra-monastic religious life, especially anchoritic life.<sup>24</sup> Serial meditations

became part of English prymer, which were a huge best-seller. See Alexandra Barratt, "The Prymer and its Influence on Fifteenth-Century Passion Lyrics," *Medium Ævum* 44 (1975): 264–79, esp. 272–75. See also Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 235.

<sup>21</sup> See Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, 9–12. One of the first texts to encourage serial meditation upon Christ's life and Passion is an anonymous twelfth-century text known as *Meditatio XII* of the *Liber meditationum et orationum*. Yet an earlier text written in 1080 conveys the same idea: the *Liber confortatorius* by Goscelin of Canterbury, a Flemish monk who emigrated to England. See André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1932), 195; the text is in PL 158:709–820. Another important early text that advocates serial meditation is the anonymous *De meditatione passionis Christi per septem diei horas libellus* in PL 94:561–65. See also Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrroure,"* 156; and Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, passim.

<sup>22</sup> Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrroure,"* 138 ff. See also Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, 191.

<sup>23</sup> The phrase is from Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–1580* (New Haven, 1992), 62; cf. Marion Glasscoe, "Time of Passion: Latent Relationships between Liturgy and Meditation in two Middle English Mystics," in *Langland, the Mystics, and the Medieval Religious Tradition: Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey*, ed. Helen Phillips (Cambridge, 1990), 142–43. Observing the canonical hours or tailoring one's meditative reading to this pattern allowed the spiritually ambitious to actively pursue a mixed life outside of the cloister. There is evidence that many laypersons observed the liturgical hours in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England. See Hilary M. Carey, "Devout Literate Laypeople and the Pursuit of the Mixed Life in Later Medieval England," *The Journal of Religious History* 14 (1986–87): 361–81; and William Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 398–422.

<sup>24</sup> See Bella Millett, "Ancrene Wisse and the Book of Hours," in *Writing Religious Women*, ed. Renevey and Whitehead, 21–40. Millett offers a persuasive account of the influence of the female anchoritic audience on the history and development of the book of hours. It has often been thought that the book of hours made its way into the hands of the laity via the secular



grew in number as the Middle Ages progressed and were used both inside and outside the monastery, eventually making their way into the vernacular, as this one did here.

Dozens of Middle English devotional texts and poems used the liturgy as an organizing principle and were meant to be read serially, including the *Mirror of St. Edmund*,<sup>25</sup> the *Speculum devotorum*,<sup>26</sup> and Richard Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion*.<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Love's *Mirror* followed the organization of the Latin *Meditationes*, according to the primer pattern of the liturgical hours.<sup>28</sup> The *Privité of the Passion*, which was a free translation of the Passion section of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, similarly advocated this practice.<sup>29</sup>

One of the aims of serial meditation was for the reader to grasp the full temporal space of the Crucifixion. For example, *Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei*, which contains textual borrowings from a wide range of Latin and vernacular devotional texts, repeatedly exhorts the reader to "thynke" on the individual events of the Passion experientially and systematically: "Now opone þi hert with sighynge sore to thynk of pose paynes þat Criste tholed, and sett þaim in þi saule be ordire als he þaim feled."<sup>30</sup> This tradition of liturgical patterning

clergy, but Millett shows how women religious played an important, intermediary role in this trajectory.

<sup>25</sup> See Carl Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole*, 2 vols. (London, 1895-96), 1:254-58; reprinted with a new introduction by Anne Clark Bartlett (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999). This thirteenth-century text was originally written in Latin and Anglo-French and later translated into Middle English. For a study of this text, see Mary Philomena, "St. Edmund of Abingdon's Meditations before the Canonical Hours," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 78 (1964): 33-57; see also Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrroure"*, 146.

<sup>26</sup> *The Speculum Devotorum of an Anonymous Carthusian of Sheen*, edited from the Manuscripts Cambridge University Library Gg.1.6 and Foyle, part 2, ed. James Hogg, *Analecta Cartusiana* 12-13 (Salzburg, 1973-74).

<sup>27</sup> Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* 1:83-103; *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford, 1931), 19-36; and *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse*, ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, EETS, OS 293 (Oxford, 1988), 64-83.

<sup>28</sup> Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror"*, 85-98. Also see idem, "Bonaventura English: A Survey of the Middle English Prose Translations of Early Franciscan Literature," *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache*, vol. 2, *Analecta Cartusiana* 106.2 (Salzburg, 1984), 156.

<sup>29</sup> The text is edited in Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* 1:198-218. This is one of seven Middle English adaptations of the Latin *Meditationes*. See the introduction to this text by Denise N. Baker in *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation*, ed. Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas Bestul (Ithaca, 1999), 85-90. Other works organized according to the canonical hours include the *Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord*, and the *Hours of the Passion*, *Translated into English by Robert Manning of Brunne*, ed. J. Meadows Cowper, EETS, OS 60 (London, 1875), 1-24; and Julian of Norwich's *Showings*. On these and related texts, see Glasscoe, "Time of Passion," 150, 158-60.

<sup>30</sup> Cited in Mary Luke Arntz, *Richard Rolle and Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei: An Edition with Commentary*, *Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies* 92.2 (Salzburg, 1981), 85.

extended well into the sixteenth century and can be seen in works such as William Bonde's *Pilgrimage of Perfeccyon* (1526) and in the *Seven Shedynges of the Blode of Jhesu Cryste* (1500), among others.<sup>31</sup>

In this folio from Additional 37049, the technique of serial meditation is visually and schematically represented to great effect. The entire story of the Passion, the cornerstone of the Christian faith, appears distilled here on a single page. At first glance, this page seems crudely drawn, poorly executed, and cartoon-like; one would assign it to the category of a utility-grade production.<sup>32</sup> The temptation is to view an illustrated text like this one as purposefully simple, perhaps designed for a semi-literate audience or one newly entered into the monastic life. Several scholars, in fact, have stated their view that the manuscript containing this page (Additional 37049) was made for the use of Carthusian novices or laybrothers.<sup>33</sup> I will argue that what we have here is deceptively rudimentary—and is, moreover, the product of a learned and highly complex habit of reading.

Although this folio is remarkable for the economy of its idea and form, the several components that make up its devotional architecture are quite elaborate. As it guides and structures the reader's devotional experience, it moves him or her through a set of responses to the Passion, which are by turns liturgical, sensory, emotive, and penitential. The meditation alternates between different registers of vision and sound, lyric and narrative, the corporeal and the immaterial. In this intersection of manuscript art and religious lyric, we can see several different aspects of Passion devotion in late medieval England: on the one hand, the dynamism of the liturgy, and on the other, a soma-

<sup>31</sup> See Rhodes, "Syon Abbey," 22–23.

<sup>32</sup> For an excellent example of a utility-grade manuscript, see Derek Pearsall and Kathleen Scott, eds., *Piers Plowman: A Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 104* (Cambridge, 1992); and now the suggestive new study, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise L. Despres, *Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman* (Minneapolis, 1999). For roughly contemporary visual evidence of a similar kind (German vernacular Passion prayers illustrated in a "comic-strip progression"), see the important essay by R. N. Swanson, "Passion and Practice: The Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages," in *Broken Body*, ed. MacDonald et al., 3–4.

<sup>33</sup> This is suggested in Derek Pearsall, *Old and Middle English Poetry* (London, 1977), 138–39; John W. Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry: A Critical Anthology* (East Lansing, 1991); and Anne McGovern-Mouron, "An Edition of the *Desert of Religion* and Its Theological Background" (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford 1996), 29–36. Ian Doyle, however, has documented the large number of vernacular works owned by English charterhouses and warns against the assumption that because a Carthusian manuscript was written in the vernacular, it must have been intended for laybrothers: "In some continental houses texts in the vernaculars were provided specifically for the lay brothers, but there is no evidence of that in England" (from Vincent Gillespie and A. I. Doyle, eds., *Syon Abbey, with the Libraries of the Carthusians*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 9 [London, 2001], 610).

tic and penitential emphasis on the five senses; and also habits of reading that employ the faculties of the imagination, memory, and will. After describing the various elements of the reading process depicted here, I will argue that two of the dominant forces at work here are educated memory and ethical reading. Thus my purpose is twofold: I hope to illustrate how a late medieval English (Carthusian) reader might have approached such a page and to suggest why this folio might have been produced in the first place.

The circumstances of this page's production are an important facet of my investigation. Late medieval books made largely by their own users are a significant category, especially in devotional contexts. Because this folio was originally a composition for the personal use of the scribe-artist, a reader-produced page, we have a more intimate and concrete record of the reading process than if it were produced by a professional scribe.<sup>34</sup>

#### THE *SPECULUM THEOLOGIE* AND THE ART OF MEMORY

This folio is actually what is known as a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion. These tables are typically a part of the *Speculum theologie*,<sup>35</sup> a collection of Latin diagrams and texts that is thought to have been compiled by a Franciscan disciple of St. Bonaventure known as Johannes Metensis (John of Metz), who preached in Paris in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps because there are no published studies on this folio or because these tables are usually found in Latin manuscripts, this specific identification has not been noted by previous scholars.<sup>37</sup> Of the thirty-nine known

<sup>34</sup> The most extensive analysis along these lines is Eric H. Reiter, "The Reader as Author of the User-Produced Manuscript: Reading and Rewriting Popular Latin Theology in the Late Middle Ages," *Viator* 27 (1996): 153.

<sup>35</sup> The best study to date of this textual tradition is Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle at the British Library* (London, 1983; revised ed. 2000); an important earlier study is F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 82-139.

<sup>36</sup> See Sandler, *Psalter of Robert de Lisle* (1983), 103 n. 52; and see the recent discussion (with translation of text and bibliography): idem, "John of Metz, *The Tower of Wisdom*," in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia, 2002), 215-25. Sandler's designation of Metz as sole author of the whole group of diagrams has been challenged in Carol Lynn Ransom, "Cultivating the Orchard: A Franciscan Program of Devotion and Penance in the Verger de Soulas (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale fr. 9220)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 2001), 99-104: "A closer examination of the manuscripts reveals contrary evidence to suggest that, rather than being the product of directing mind, each copy of the *Speculum theologie* was an independent production, designed for the needs of specific readers," 70. I would like to thank Dr. Ransom for sharing her work with me.

<sup>37</sup> Rosemary Woolf, however, was the first to allude to this connection: "It is presented as

manuscripts of the *Speculum theologie*, twenty-seven contain a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion like the one found in Additional 37049; examples date from ca. 1300 through the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Yet the number of *Speculum theologie* manuscripts seems to be growing steadily, as new manuscript catalogue entries are updated.<sup>39</sup>

In the diagram-like page of Additional 37049, the seven Acts of the Passion (the Betrayal, the Flagellation, Christ bearing the Cross, the Crucifixion, Christ giving up the spirit, the Deposition, and the Entombment) are matched with the seven hours (Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Evensong [Vespers], and Compline—labeled in the left column) and the seven gifts of remembrance (the five senses—hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch—plus conscience and free will, which are ethical qualities—labeled in the right side of each unit).<sup>40</sup> Each Act of the Passion is aligned with the canonical hour at which it was thought to have occurred in Christ's own life. Drawings of the Passion appear in the central column of the page, subdividing each outlined unit of text into two related parts.

As noted, the page contains a column for what are known as the gifts of remembrance. Discussing the Latin tradition of these diagrams, Lucy Freeman Sandler observes that each gift “describes a state of feeling associated with that particular stage of the Passion.”<sup>41</sup> The senses are “organs with which to perceive” the events of the Passion—vehicles to engage the reader's emotion that animate their experience and memory of the Passion.<sup>42</sup> Like the liturgic

part of a tree. . . . The whole design is a late version of a form of tree that was much copied in the late thirteenth century and appended with other trees and tables to Bonaventura's *Lignum vitae*. . . . It is to be found in quite a number of learned English manuscripts, including the “Lisle Psalter”; from Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 223 and n. 4. The full implications of Woolf's observation have never been explored and she does not specifically identify this page as a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion.

<sup>38</sup> Sandler, *Psalter of Robert de Lisle* (1983), 103 n. 51 and Appendix III, “Handlist of Manuscripts Containing the *Speculum theologie*” (2000), 107–15.

<sup>39</sup> I recently discovered an unrecorded manuscript of this type in the microfilm archives of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 12465, a fifteenth-century German manuscript (see plate 3, fol. 78r, for its Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion); Hill Monastic Manuscript Library Microfilm no. 19,968. Fols. 73r–78r contain a total of eleven *Speculum theologie* diagrams including the Tree of Paradise, the Tree of Victory, the Tree of Virtues, and the Tree of Vices, Conflicts between the Virtues and Vices, six-winged cherubs, a diagram of the Apostles and their authorities, a Table of the Ten Commandments, and one of the eight Beatitudes. See *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praecipue graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, ed. Academia Vindobonensis (rpt. Graz, 1965), 7–8:100.

<sup>40</sup> The designation “gifts of remembrance” reflects its original appearance in related Latin manuscripts as the Latin words “dona recordationis.”

<sup>41</sup> Sandler, *Psalter of Robert de Lisle* (2000), 26.

<sup>42</sup> Saxl, “Spiritual Encyclopaedia,” 108–9.

hours, the senses are an organizing principle for the meditation, but as noted above, they do not appear elsewhere in "Hours of the Cross" poems or in related liturgical texts. As an integral component of this "meditation machine," the senses serve as penitential foci and as agents for *imitatio Christi*. The ethical qualities of consent and free will that follow are the gifts that assist the reader's own moral formation and conduct. The implication is that the reader will use consent and then free will to make the decision to follow Christ. As Christ says in a related Latin poem, "Man, make a judgement on my behalf as I have made on yours."<sup>43</sup> Thus in a devotional exercise such as this, reading the Passion of Christ has a prominent ethical value and was intended to shape human behavior in an active, dynamic way.

The Psalter of Robert de Lisle contains a similar table on fol. 131r,<sup>44</sup> one of a series of thirteen moral, devotional, and theological diagrams in a book widely considered one of the great monuments of fourteenth-century English illumination.<sup>45</sup> While the text here appears to be finished, it lacks the color or gilding of the other pages and was probably intended to be illustrated.<sup>46</sup> Most of the *Speculum theologie* manuscripts do not illustrate Passion events in the central column of the pages; although sometimes the diagram takes the form of a tree.<sup>47</sup> These didactic diagrams provide condensed summaries of moral and theological doctrine—the visual equivalent of *distinctiones*—that tend to demonstrate connections between Christ's life and our own.

<sup>43</sup> "Arbitrium pro me velut egi fac homo pro te." This is the last line of the Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion usually given in Latin texts of the *Speculum theologie*.

<sup>44</sup> London, British Library Arundel 83 II, a manuscript that contains a calendar and miniatures for a Psalter, written in England, ca. 1308–1339. See Sandler, *Psalter of Robert de Lisle* (1983), 62–63, plate 15; for the Latin text that appears in the De Lisle Psalter's Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion (a good representative of the tradition), see *ibid.*, "Appendix II: Transcription of Inscriptions on Diagrammatic Miniatures," 131.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 11–13. The De Lisle Psalter's diagram was executed by the first of several artists who worked on the manuscript; he is known as the "Madonna Master."

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 and see also 64.

<sup>47</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 9220, an early fourteenth-century French manuscript often referred to as the *Verger de Soulas*, is, to the best of my knowledge, the only other *Speculum theologie* manuscript that contains a fully illustrated Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion (on fol. 15v). On this manuscript, see Lynn Ransom, "Innovation and Identity: A Franciscan Program of Illumination in the *Verger de soulas* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Ms. fr. 9220)," in *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2002), 85–105, and "The *Speculum theologie* and its Readership," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 93.4 (1999): 461–83. Several of the *Speculum theologie* manuscripts of French provenance (including this one) are discussed in Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Les Images Classificatrices," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* 147 (1989): 311–41.

Other tables and diagrams took the form of trees, wheels, circles, human figures, columnar tables, and architectural structures. These usually included Trees of Vices and Virtues, the Wings of the Cherub, the Tower of Wisdom, and the Tree of Life. When compared to the elegantly produced Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion in the De Lisle Psalter, fol. 68v of Additional 37049 appears to be utility-grade in the extreme. Nevertheless, it was no less important for its readers as an *aide mémoire*. The rather crude or “workmanlike” appearance of this folio can be linked to the practices of *memoria*.<sup>48</sup>

The rubric at the top of the page reads “a deuowte meditacion of þe passione of Ihesu Criste after þe seuen howres of þe day ordand in hoy kyrke, how a man sal remebyr þaim.” This heading signals that the text’s function is largely mnemonic. In fact, the layout and design very strongly accord with the broader tradition of medieval mnemotechnique so richly detailed by Mary Carruthers.<sup>49</sup>

This folio has a “memorial layout”; the *ordinatio* of the page, its “visual grammar,” demonstrates that the Passion is being treated here as an art of memory—in several different ways.<sup>50</sup> First, the text-block outlines form a clarifying frame for each textual and pictorial unit. Second, the story of the Passion is divided up into small, manageable units that can be strung together in bits, memorially digested, and then gradually built into a larger sequence of texts in the reader’s mind.<sup>51</sup> Third, the biblical materials are presented in a brief, condensed form, both verbally and visually, a format which would have eased and facilitated memorization (aided here by the text’s rhyming format).

Another aspect of the layout that reveals its mnemonic use and its origin is the chain-like quality of the central images. Carruthers uses the Latin term *catena* to describe similar images of interlocking chains of flowers, shells, or pearls woven around the borders of late medieval texts to symbolize their roots in *memoria*.<sup>52</sup> The general appearance of this page suggests that the scribe-artist may have drawn this chain of images from his own memory; furthermore, the utility-grade quality of the drawings and the lack of ruling

<sup>48</sup> For a concise description of the form and content of these diagrams, see Sandler, “John of Metz,” 215 and 221, where she notes, “Consequently the collection [the *Speculum theologie*] is usually bound with other material, sometimes itself miscellaneous or composite, and often ‘workmanlike’ in form, devoid of decoration and showing evidence of heavy use.”

<sup>49</sup> Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998).

<sup>50</sup> Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 224; the terms “*ordinatio*” and “visual grammar” are from the seminal essay by M. B. Parkes, “The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book,” in *Medieval Learning and Literature*, ed. Alexander and Gibson, 115–41.

<sup>51</sup> Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 79.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 255–56.

indicate that he probably did not have a model in front of him and was making this for his private use. The scribe-artist's own recollective process is reflected in this chain or cluster of images; he would have been following standard advice from ancient and medieval arts of memory that stressed the importance of making and depicting one's own memorial images.<sup>53</sup>

In his methods of production the scribe-artist has conformed to what I would call *the ethics of the manuscript page*. In other words, the scribe-artist's procedures here mirror the devotional and ethical behavior advocated by the "Hours of the Cross." Making the page is a spiritual exercise and a necessary corollary to the moral thought and action the text is trying to stimulate. If we expand the definition of ethics given by John Dagenais that "'Ethics' means simply 'what people do'"<sup>54</sup> to include what they do when they read and what they do with what they read, then what the scribe-artist did here links ethics to both memory and behavior.

This page is probably the memorial reconstruction of a *Speculum theologie* diagram that the scribe-artist read, viewed, or had access to at some point. Although it remains unclear at what specific remove this table remains from a Latin ancestor, there is a strong possibility that both text and image are a kind of vernacular *compositio* based on a Latin model. The scribe-artist may have been quite liberal with his exemplar. Rewriting was a relatively common occurrence with popular Latin theological writings, especially works of penance and pastoral care, and Lynn Ransom has shown that the texts of the *Speculum theologie* diagrams sometimes demonstrate considerable versatility and variation.<sup>55</sup> Eric Reiter has proposed that "a different model of textuality was at work in the later Middle Ages, at least among certain groups of readers."<sup>56</sup> Many texts circulated as "scribal semi-translation," which often ensured their transmission.<sup>57</sup> Because the poetic text of the "Hours of the Cross" does not match that found in the *Speculum theologie* tradition, this should be considered an independent version that expands and opens up the text. Furthermore, identification of this page as a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion provides historical evidence for the continuity of a particular kind of devotional exercise and a tradition of diagrammatic meditation that began in the late thirteenth century, spread across Europe, and was rendered into Middle English two centuries later in a Carthusian miscellany.

<sup>53</sup> Yates, *Art of Memory*, 108–109.

<sup>54</sup> John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the "Libro de buen amor"* (Princeton, 1994), 29.

<sup>55</sup> Reiter, "Reader as Author," 163; Ransom, "Cultivating the Orchard," 65–70.

<sup>56</sup> Reiter, "Reader as Author," 164.

<sup>57</sup> See *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (University Park, Md., 1999), 11 n.7.

In their pioneering works on the English religious lyric, Rosemary Woolf and Douglas Gray emphasized the influence of the Latin poetic tradition on Middle English lyric,<sup>58</sup> but here we are able to see the movement from Latin to vernacular in a particularly vivid way, blurring distinctions along “the Latin-vernacular divide.”<sup>59</sup> Moreover, the rough, unpolished quality of this page actually has a great deal in common with the often-disparaged vernacular. To some extent, this is one of the main reasons that previous scholars have associated this manuscript with (presumably unlettered) laybrothers, who might have been a natural audience for a manuscript like this, but there is no reason for us to make that assumption. Scholars such as Vincent Gillespie have shown that the vernacular was used quite liberally in monastic contexts, and the Carthusian order in England possessed large numbers of pastoral and catechetical materials;<sup>60</sup> they also played a prominent role in the copying and dissemination of vernacular religious literature—a textual tradition that has been recently called “literary monasticism for the lay reader.”<sup>61</sup> From this vantage point, the “Hours of the Cross” can be seen as an example of vernacular textual production in late medieval England that is both monastic and extra-monastic. On the one hand, it is part of the larger upsurge of translations of learned, Latin material (a project the English Carthusians were intimately involved in), and on the other, it is a vivid example of the kind of theologizing in the vernacular that could lead to a more widespread “democratizing of the spiritual life.”<sup>62</sup>

#### LITURGICAL RESONANCES AND SENSORY DEVOTION

Liturgical contexts are especially relevant for understanding the production of this manuscript page. Although the central space of the page is crowded with seven small scenes that tend to touch one another very closely, the

<sup>58</sup> Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*; Gray, *Themes and Images*.

<sup>59</sup> *Idea of the Vernacular*, ed. Wogan-Browne et al., 3. See also Christopher Baswell, “Latinitas,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), 122–51.

<sup>60</sup> Vincent Gillespie, “*Lukynge in haly bukis: Lectio* in Some Late Medieval Spiritual Miscellanies,” in *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache* 2:23, and “*Cura Pastoralis in Deserto*,” in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), 161–82. Cf. the remarks of Christopher Cannon, who documents “the multilinguality inherent in the structures of British monasteries,” from “Monastic Productions,” in *Cambridge History*, ed. Wallace, 328.

<sup>61</sup> The phrase has been coined by Nicole R. Rice, and it will be the subject of her forthcoming study, *Book to a Mother: Imitatio Christi, Imitatio Clerici*.

<sup>62</sup> Nicholas Watson, “The Middle English Mystics,” in *Cambridge History*, ed. Wallace, 550.



reader's eye moves slowly through the space, pausing after the fifth tableau of Christ giving up the spirit, taking even more time at the Deposition, and pausing further at the Entombment (a process which is mirrored in the even lengthier companion text). Each individual composition commands a certain degree of attention, even the crowded early ones.

Clearly these were texts and images that were meant to be read slowly, over and over again, so that one could fully absorb the text and the experience it intends to affect. One is reminded of the characteristic slowness of the Carthusian liturgy; their office reportedly was sung more slowly, loudly, and with greater fervor than those of other orders.<sup>63</sup> The layout and internal structure of this page implies that one builds a Passion meditation slowly, brick by brick, or image by image, so that, as Jerome instructs, "by careful reading and daily meditation his heart should construct a library for Christ."<sup>64</sup>

The opening directive in the first stanza for the hour of Matins to "take hede on þe day or on þe nyght" suggests that this type of Passion meditation could be performed at any time of day; it was intended to be both paraliturgical and extraliturgical; in other words, any single text or image from this page could be "loosed from the liturgical round."<sup>65</sup> Hence, the "Hours of the Cross" is an extremely flexible devotional aid in which the reader sets the tempo. The canonical hours are there as a framework; they also show that the shape and movement of the liturgy had a counterpoint in the Passion. Even Nicholas Love, who gave his *Mirror* several layers of liturgical patterning, dividing his text into sixty-four chapters that were the equivalent of seven days' worth of readings, acknowledged that his schema did not have to be strictly enforced, and the reader could "read as he feels moved, or follow the order of the liturgical year in his reading," as Michael Sargent has explained.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Prior John Houghton († 1534) reportedly once stormed out of the night office because the monks seemed to be rushing the chant. See also Joseph A. Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice in Later Medieval England*. *Analecta Cartusiana* 99.33 (Salzburg, 1995), 55; and T. J. A. Nissen, "Signum Contemplationis: History and Revision of the Carthusian Liturgy," in *Die Kartäuser und das Heilige Römische Reich*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 140.2 (Salzburg, 1999), 89–104.

<sup>64</sup> Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 33, translating Jerome's letter to Meliodorus, Ep. 60.10 (PL 22:595): "Lectio neque assiduo, et meditatione diuturna, pectus suum bibliothecam fecerat Christi." For a sensitive and complementary discussion of the slow, gradual dynamic of devotional reading (as applied to another Middle English text closely related to the liturgy), see Ann M. Hutchison, "The Myroure of oure Ladye: A Medieval Guide for Contemplatives," *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order*, vol. 2, *Analecta Cartusiana* 35.19 (Salzburg, 1993), 215–27, esp. 216–17, 222–25.

<sup>65</sup> The quotation is from Hamburger, "A Liber Precum," 226, where it is used in a different context.

<sup>66</sup> Sargent, "Bonaventura English," 156.

A serial meditation such as this could be divided into seven days of meditational material—or seven hours, depending upon the reader's needs. The temporal pattern of the Passion could structure the reader's devotional life from day to day, or from hour to hour. Although the whole of the liturgy is crystallized here in a single-page, there is openness as to how it can resonate. Most likely, this page was an aid for the monk in the performance of his liturgy, which helped him visualize and remember the events of the Passion and their meaning for his own salvation. Throughout the period, monks and laypersons were encouraged to meditate on the Passion during Mass "using the stages of the liturgy as triggers or points of departure."<sup>67</sup> This could be one of the ways this page was used. Carthusian monks said Vespers, Matins, and Lauds in choir, and the other hours were read privately in each monk's cell.<sup>68</sup> This page could also have been used as a miniature place of devotion—the equivalent of a portable altar or chapel—when alone, or as part of a monk's memorial library.

Matching the liturgical hours to the events of the Passion was traditional. But how does one connect these to the five senses and the ethical qualities? The poem asks readers to heighten their sense of Christ's suffering, and in turn to use their own senses as pathways to the sacred. The first context for understanding this pairing of the senses with the canonical hours might be the Mass itself, which was suffused with sensory encounter, especially at the moment of elevation when bells were rung, incense perfumed the air, and congregants knelt in prayer; the tasting of the Eucharist would heighten this synaesthesia. Bob Scribner has recently observed that

popular piety involved seeing, hearing, speaking, touching and tasting, albeit at different moments of pious action and with differing emphases. Take the example of liturgical celebrations: there was singing, praying and listening; there was the smell of incense, flowers and herbs (preeminently on the feasts of the Assumption of the Virgin); there was the touching of holy objects, such as a cross, a relic or a Pax-board. The pious believer was also touched by anointing, by asperging with blessed water, by signing a cross on the forehead with holy water or ashes, or by touching the lips or ears with ablution wine. The senses were also brought into play in the bodily comportment of those participating in liturgical celebrations—by devout gestures, by standing, kneeling or going in processions.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 119.

<sup>68</sup> Richard W. Pfaff, "De Cella in Seculum: The Liturgical Aspects," in *De Cella in Seculum*, ed. Sargent, 19; see also Guigo I, *Consuetudines*, Sources Chrétiennes 313, 230.

<sup>69</sup> Bob Scribner, "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late-Medieval and Reformation Germany," *The Journal of Religious History* 15 (1988–89): 458.

From this perspective, the serial meditation in Additional 37049 can be seen as a condensed version of the whole of the Mass and liturgy that aims to engage all of the reader's senses and ultimately to transform them.

This serial meditation was more than an aid to memory or to the performance of the liturgy; it was also a penitential guide to the systematic contemplation of the Passion, stressing mortification of the five senses as part of its reading programme. The treatment of the senses found here can be related to late medieval penitential theory and practice, especially to the "custody of the senses" tradition found in monastic and anchoritic texts. In addition, this representation of the senses is connected to some texts within the literature of pastoral care, which were by-products of the laicization of religious instruction and the popularization of Latin theology that followed Lateran IV in 1215.

The use of the five senses as agents of serial meditation can be connected to treatments of the senses in classical and theological writings.<sup>70</sup> For Fathers of the Church such as Augustine and Gregory, the senses were gateways for sin.<sup>71</sup> The Fall created a state of sensory pollution; the carnal senses now dominated the spiritual ones, and "Sensory existence is symptomatic of the imperfection of earthly life."<sup>72</sup> Mistrust of the senses became a persistent theme, which Carl Nordenfalk summarizes: "The tone was first struck by the Fathers of the Church in their allegorical interpretations of the parables in the Gospels; it continued to sound all through the Middle Ages. Typical examples are the *Versus de quinque sensibus* by Notker of St. Gall in which the Senses are referred to as instruments of carnal love, and the *Lauda* by Jacopone da Todi entitled 'How to keep watch over the Senses', in which every stanza ends with the exhortation: *Guarda!*"<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Aristotle, *De sensibus* 2 (438a26), in Aristotle, *On the Soul; Parva naturalia; On breath*, trans. W. S. Hett (Cambridge, 1986). See Harry Austryn Wolfson, "The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew Philosophic Texts," *Harvard Theological Review* 28 (1935): 69–133, esp. 72–73. Related discussions appear in L. Gougaud, *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1925), translated as *Devotional and Ascetic Practices of the Middle Ages* (London, 1927), 80; and Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 218–20, 224–28. Many of theological texts on the senses reflect and comment upon Jeremiah 9:21: "For death has come through our windows, has entered our palaces. . . ."

<sup>71</sup> See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 28/1 (Vienna, 1894), 417–18; trans. John Hammond Taylor, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 2 vols., Ancient Christian Writers 42 (New York, 1982), 2:215–16. Augustine's writings are filled with references to the senses as problematic and dangerous. He does, however, concede their value for memory and vivid recollection: "I come to the fields and spacious palaces of memory, where are the treasures of innumerable images, brought into it from things of all sorts perceived by the senses" (Augustine, *Confessions* 10.8 and 10.30–34).

<sup>72</sup> Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley, 1988), 129.

<sup>73</sup> Carl Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 48 (1985), 3.

In the anchoritic tradition, the windows of the anchorhold are depicted as entryways for sin, and like their counterparts, the “bodily or sensory apertures,” they need vigilant guarding and protection.<sup>74</sup>

In other theological texts, analogies were often drawn between the five senses and the five wounds Christ received on the Cross. One of the earliest texts to make this connection was Peter Damian’s *De laude flagellorum*, a text that places the monastic practice of self-flagellation, often referred to as “taking the discipline,” in the context of Christ’s own voluntary suffering and sacrifice; in Damian’s formulation, the discipline is yet another means of aspiration towards *imitatio Christi*,<sup>75</sup> and Christ’s wounds are medicine (*medicamenta*) for our own fallen bodily senses.<sup>76</sup> Mortification of the senses became yet another way to achieve empathy and likeness with Christ.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Eric Jager, *The Tempter’s Voice: Language and the Fall in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca, 1993), 202. On the custody of the senses tradition in general, especially the custody of the eyes, see the suggestive new study by Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2004), 111–32.

<sup>75</sup> Peter Damian, *De laude flagellorum* (PL 145:679–86, esp. col. 683). Another early text is by Alexander of Bath, who also connects Christ’s fivefold suffering to the five senses: *Moralia* 3.92. Both texts are cited in Alexandra Barratt, “The Five Wits and Their Structural Significance in Part II of *Ancrene Wisse*,” *Medium Ævum* 56 (1987): 22 n. 2. For a discussion of other late medieval texts that use this formulation, including John Bromyard’s *Summa predicantium*, see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 222–24, who notes, “Unfortunately, however, only one independent lyric of this theme survives, an unprinted poem from B. M. Add. MS 37049” (223). In *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works* (New York, 1991), 357–58 n. 77, Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson also cite Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 3.46.5 and Richard Rolle, *Passion Meditation B*, 409–26.

<sup>76</sup> “Quod Christi vulnera sunt sensuum nostrorum medicamenta. . . . Ille nudatur, caeditur, nectitur vinculis, obliinitur sputis, quinquepartito vulnerere illius caro perfoditur, ut nos a vitiis, quae in nos per quinque sensus ingrediuntur, irruptione curemur; et tu lascivus, tu unctus, tu petulculus ac tenellus, non vis thesaurum carnis tuae hominibus detegi, ne mortalis vel terrena, quod absit!” (PL 145:683). See the discussion in Gougaud, *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques*, 78–80. The Passion section in the *Golden Legend* develops the idea that Christ’s suffering in his Passion was “fivefold”: “The first pain consisted in the shame of the Passion. . . . The second pain of the Passion consisted in its injustice. . . . The third pain consists in that Our Lord suffered at the hands of His friends. . . . The fourth pain of the Passion was due to the tenderness of his body. . . . The fifth pain of the Passion consisted in that it affected every part of His being and all His senses” (Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger [New York, 1969], 208–11; on 210–11 he goes on to discuss Christ’s suffering in the senses (and the organs of sense, such as the eyes).

<sup>77</sup> On the idea of Christ suffering in the five senses, see also Barratt, “Five Wits,” 15–19, who discusses other writers on the subject, including Bernard of Clairvaux. Pairing the five senses and the five wounds of Christ became traditional and can also be seen, from a different perspective, in vernacular literary texts such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Gawain’s pentangle shield is a complex symbol of his fivefold devotion and perfection: “Fyrst he watz funden fauldez in his fyue wyttez. / And efte fayled neuer þe freke in his fyue fyngres. / And

The use of the senses in the "Hours of the Cross" can also be connected to the practice of confession. As Alexandra Barratt has shown, "It was common practice in the Middle Ages to conduct one's self-examination and subsequent confession not just according to the schema . . . of the Seven Deadly Sins, but also by that of the sins of the Five Wits [or senses]."<sup>78</sup> The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (canon XXI) made annual confession to a parish priest obligatory for all persons, an institution that "stimulated a spectacular rise in literature about sin."<sup>79</sup> Handbooks of pastoral care and instruction such as William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* proliferated, and by the second half of the fourteenth century, the five senses became part of catechetical topics that laypeople were expected to know. Hence, the *Speculum theologie* diagrams arose from the same context.

The senses appear in penitential formularies such as William de Montibus's *Speculum penitentis*<sup>80</sup> and Robert Grosseteste's *Notus in Iudea Deus*, in which the five senses are likened to cities that need to be vanquished.<sup>81</sup> Some of these texts were used as confession manuals whose purpose was to guide the penitent through the interrogation of his or her conscience to confession. The five "wits" or senses were often combined with the seven deadly sins in these formularies.<sup>82</sup> Elsewhere in Additional 37049, a unique poem describes how one goes about this process:

Fyrst thou sal make knowledge to God of heuen,  
How þu has synned dedly in þe synnes seuen,

alle his afyaunce vpon folde watz in þe fyue woundez / þat Cryst kaȝt on þe croys, as þe Crede-  
tellez . . ." (*The Complete Works of the Pearl Poet*, ed. Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron  
[Berkeley, 1993], 238.640-43).

<sup>78</sup> Barratt, "Five Wits," 16.

<sup>79</sup> Concilium Lateranense IV, const. 1, in Norman P. Tanner, ed. and trans., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, original text established by G. Alberigo et al., 2 vols. (London and Washington, D.C., 1990), 1:230; quotation from Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York, 1990), 198.

<sup>80</sup> See his "De Custodia Sensuum": "Cauendum est etiam diligenter quia mors ingreditur per fenestras [cf. Ier 9:21], idest mortale peccatum per quinque sensus corporis ad animam habet ingressum. Patet in Eua que suasioni serpentis aurem feliciter accomodauit. Contra quod dicitur [Eccli 28:28]: 'Sepi aures tuas spinis, et noli audire linguam nequam.' Spinas uocat aculeos timoris Dei uel uerba Dei comminatoria, ut hec [Gen 2:17]: 'Quacumque die comederitis ex eo morte moriemini'" (Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Studies and Texts 108 [Toronto, 1992], 196; cf. the mnemonic poem on 462. I would like to thank Dr. Goering for these references).

<sup>81</sup> Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, "Notus in Iudea Deus: Robert Grosseteste's Confessional Formula in Lambeth Palace MS 499," *Viator* 18 (1987): 254. See also Carla Casagrande, "Sistema dei sensi e classificazione dei peccati (secoli XII-XIII)," in *I cinque sensi. The Five Senses*, ed. Nathalie Blancardi et al., Micrologus 10 (Florence, 2002), 33-54.

<sup>82</sup> Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 224.

And to preste, God's vicar, þou sal þe schryfe,  
And take þi penaunce here in þi lyfe . . .

(the page is damaged from this section on)

[ ] þe fyfe inwyttis þu awe to kepe & lere,

[ ] ee syght & heryng of ere,

mowthe, taste, speche, & nose smellynge.<sup>83</sup>

One searches one's conscience in respect to the seven deadly sins, moving on to the senses to determine if they have been used in an errant manner. Another lyric on fol. 30r in Additional 37049 similarly uses Passion meditation as a remedy for the seven deadly sins.<sup>84</sup> The "Hours of the Cross" was a product of this confessional context.

Dozens of Middle English confessional formulae and penitential tracts on the five wits or senses were written in the late medieval period.<sup>85</sup> John Audelay wrote a Middle English poem on the topic that opens with the injunction "Thy v wittis loke that thou wele spende," and texts such as *The Cleansing of Man's Soul* concerned themselves with the "myspendyng of her v wittis."<sup>86</sup> Parts II and III of the *Ancrene Wisse* were excerpted and circulated separately as the treatise, "optimus tractatus de v. sensibus."<sup>87</sup> A separate treatise on "þe v. bodely wyttis" exists in at least six manuscripts.<sup>88</sup> Richard Rolle

<sup>83</sup> Fol. 87v. This poem has been inserted into a prose tract; see the edition and commentary in P. S. Jolliffe, "Two Middle English Tracts on the Contemplative Life," *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975): 85–121. This treatise is a compilation of writings by Walter Hilton, Hugh of Balma, Richard Rolle, and the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing*. None of these texts, however, contains the poem just cited.

<sup>84</sup> The lyric is *IMEV* 4200 and is edited in Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1952), 227–28. This poem is the only item in the manuscript that was written in a southern dialect; it was also the only text copied by Scribe D. Versions of this poem appear in London, British Library Harley 2339; Sloane 2275, fol. 245v; Cambridge, University Library Ff.2.38, fol. 33r; Madgalede College Pepys 1584, Art. 15; and Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 61, fol. 150v; see *ibid.*, 285. The poem is discussed in Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 224–25, 227–28. Unfortunately, a full treatment of this very interesting poem lies outside the scope of this article. On the idea of Passion reading as "remedy" in a specifically Carthusian context, see Laveice Cox Ward, "The E Museo 160 Manuscript: Writing and Reading as Remedy," in *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*, vol. 4, ed. James Hogg, *Analecta Cartusiana* 130.4 (Salzburg, 1995), 68–86.

<sup>85</sup> See R. H. Bremmer, *The Fyve Wyttis: A Late Middle English Devotional Treatise edited from BL MS Harley 2398* (Amsterdam, 1987) and literature cited there, as well as P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto, 1974), 67–74. There are numerous manuscripts containing Latin treatises on the five wits from the same period.

<sup>86</sup> See *The Early English Carols*, ed. R. L. Greene (Oxford, 1935), 225; and Barratt, "Five Wits," 6; the poem is in Cambridge, University Library II.1.2, fol. 53r–v.

<sup>87</sup> Barratt, "Five Wits," 16 (London, British Library Royal 8.C.i).

<sup>88</sup> Oxford, Trinity College 86, fol. 33r; London, British Library Royal 8.C.i, fol. 122v; Harley 2398, fol. 106v; Glasgow, University Library Hunter 520, pp. 337–42; Princeton, Uni-

(ca. 1340) includes an explicit treatment of the five senses in a prose meditation on the Passion, and numerous Latin texts survive that isolate the senses as a penitential topic, including one from the early sixteenth century, called "De mortificatione quinque sensuum," which shows the tradition had quite a life span.<sup>89</sup>

Additional 37049 contains two related texts and diagrams from a text known as the *Desert of Religion* (see plate 4, fols. 57r and 60r). The first tree-diagram represents the five "wyttys" as leaves of a tree. This tree also seems to have been used for meditative, mnemonic, and penitential reading, and places an emphasis on "vnleful" hearing, seeing, smelling, and so on. The second is a "tree of chastity" that includes "kepyng of þe wittes fyfe."<sup>90</sup>

Concepts of sensory mortification were particularly meaningful for Carthusian monks and other religious who often embraced penitential practices that were physical in the extreme. Monastic texts had traditionally advocated a "cloistering" of the senses, as Suzannah Biernoff describes: "the life of the cloister represented a means of literally enclosing the senses. If sin—the life of the flesh—was above all about permeability and the intercourse between inside and outside, self and world, then salvation proceeded by withdrawal and enclosure."<sup>91</sup> There are also references to the deprivation of the senses elsewhere in Additional 37049,<sup>92</sup> and these depictions, which were influenced by a widespread penitential tradition, suggest that this manuscript is perhaps a very important source for a history of the senses in late medieval England.

versity Library Garrett 143, fol. 26v–29v; New York, Columbia University, Plimpton 258, fol. 3v. The entire list appears in *Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist VII: Manuscripts Containing Prose in Oxford College Libraries*, ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thompson (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1991), 98 (the entry for Oxford, Trinity College 86). See also John Edwin Wells et al., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050–1500* (New Haven, 1916–), vol. 7, 2536, 156. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English*, 74 also cites Oxford, Bodleian Library Lyell 29, fol. 102v–104r: "Friste kepe well þin herte & it is esy to kepe alle þi wittis aftirwarde," which is followed by a treatise on "þe fyue wittis." These texts are unedited, as far as I am aware.

<sup>89</sup> Richard Rolle: *Prose and Verse*, ed. Ogilvie-Thompson, 79; the five wits are also mentioned on 13, 40, 69, and 75. The sixteenth-century manuscript containing the Latin text is Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 1612, fols. 16r ff.

<sup>90</sup> A text on the facing page (fol. 59v) elaborates upon this idea, presenting the "kepyng of þe fyfe wittes" as the third degree of the "tree" of chastity: "þe fyrst degre is to begyn / Clyne consciens of hert within / þe secund aght to be full couthe / þat is honest speche of mouthe / þe thyrd is kepyng of þe wittes fyfe. . . ." Other degrees or branches are straightness of life, fleeing ill company, good occupation, and prayer with devotion.

<sup>91</sup> Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 114.

<sup>92</sup> On fol. 37v, an illustrated poem entitled "Of þe state of religion" shows three Benedictine and two Carthusian monks kneeling beneath a ladder labeled from bottom to top with the words "meknes," "pouerte," "obediens," "chastite," and "charite." These are the monastic virtues that enable the monks in the illustration (and other devout readers) to ascend the ladder

## MATINS—HEARING

For the remainder of this article, I would like to illustrate how these text-image units work.<sup>93</sup> The first segment has “the howre of mateynes” written inside its left corner, and “þe heryng” written at the far right, suggesting that the reader focus attention on hearing the scene pictured here: the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ.<sup>94</sup> So for the hour of Matins the reader has two mnemonic hooks: the concrete visual image provided by the illustration, and an experiential pathway for memory: the sense of hearing. The central image shows Christ, clothed and wearing a nimbus, receiving the Kiss of Judas. On the left stand two helmeted soldiers with weaponry; to the right we see the apostle

towards “þe mounte of perfeccion,” represented here as the bosom of Christ, pictured above. The poem that follows (*IMEV* 3478) alludes to the senses or “bodely wittes” and to physical pain as a means of sensory transcendence:

As says saynt paule in a stede,  
 For als a man þat is dede  
 Bodyly þorow deds dynt,  
 Has al bodely wittes tynt,  
 þat is to say sight & smellyng,  
 Heryng, speche, & felynge,  
 Right so suld þe religious man  
 As to þe warld be ded þan,  
 þat he fele no-þinge with-in.

This passage juxtaposes references to the monastic life (“dying to the world”) with allusions to losing the senses. The author may be referring to self-flagellation, the practice of “taking the discipline” seen earlier in the text by Peter Damian. From this perspective, the discipline was a means of “sperying” the bodily wits, even as it spurred the penitent to greater and greater heights of transcendence and union. The full text of the poem runs from fols. 37v–38r and is edited by Hölftgen, “*Arbor, Scala und Fons vitae*,” 374–75, who also discusses this poem’s ladder imagery and connects it to other devotional works of the period (some of Carthusian authorship) and to later traditions of early modern emblem poetry.

Another reference is on fol. 44r in a text from Henry Suso’s *Horologium Sapientiae*: “Alle tymes it longes to be principally to stody for to hafe clennes of hert, þat is to say, þat speryng þi fleschly wittes þu be turned into þiself: and þat þu hafe in als mykill as is possibill þe dores of þi hert besily closed fro þe formes of outward þinges & ymagynacion of erthly þinges. For sothly emang al oper gostly exercyses, clennes of hert has þe soueraynte as a fynal intencion & reward of al þe trauels þat a chosyn knyght of Criste is wounte to recyfe”; on this work, see Wiltrud Wichgraf, “Susos Horologium Sapientiae in England nach Handschriften des 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Anglia* 53 (1929): 123–33, 269–87; 54 (1930): 351–52.

<sup>93</sup> An edition of the complete text analyzed below is presented in the Appendix. For the images, see fig. 3.

<sup>94</sup> The Gospel narrative of the Betrayal is in Matthew 26:46–56; the Mocking which follows is in Matthew 26:67. Cf. John 18:10–11. Passion scenes such as those illustrated here often appear in books of hours, although the arrangement, iconography, and choice of texts vary; see Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 89–93 and 162; and Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985), 36–42.



Simon Peter holding a sword and the ear of the High Priest's servant, which he cut off. The image of the severed ear highlights the sense of hearing pictorially. One has the impression that all of these other figures menace and crowd in upon Christ.

This visual image and the effect it achieves have many literary counterparts. For example, Nicholas Love's *Mirror* uses language to create a similar impression as he describes the events that follow the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ: "A noþer crynge putteþ vpon him blasfeme. A noþere spitteþ in his face. . . . A noþer buffetetþ & scorneþ him . . . & so forþ now one & now anoþer & diuerse & many . . . now hiderwarde & now þiderwarde, nowe inne & nowe oute."<sup>95</sup> Rhetorically, the use of repetition and parallelism heighten the pathos of the scene.<sup>96</sup> As each successive character is added to the scene, the reader's imagination crowds up with figures which endanger and threaten Christ—and the whole scene comes to life. The first image in the "Hours of the Cross" captures this same sense of crowding and menace.

The text accompanying this first tableau contains certain features that recur throughout the meditation. Each textual unit is internally and graphically divided into two parts. The first half is a highly compressed lyric narrative recounting the acts of the Passion that are the subject of the meditation for that canonical hour; the second half of each lyric is voiced by Christ himself, who directly addresses the reader. For the first scene, the left column of text reads

Man, take hede on þe day or on þe nyght,  
How Criste was taken with grete myght,  
And broght þen unto Pylate,  
With Iewes þat Criste dyd hate.

Words such as "taken," "broght," and "hate" encapsulate the action and sequence of events. The text, like the illustration, is remarkably economical, and the Arrest, Christ before Pilate, and the Mocking of the Jews appear within the space of three short lines. The brevity and compression of text and image here create a kind of quick synopsis of the Betrayal and can be likened to a small scene from a medieval dramatic performance. Plays were sometimes thought of as "quick" books that especially appealed to the senses, and each text-image functions here much as a cycle-play in miniature.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 174–75.

<sup>96</sup> On the use of an antithetical style in the *Planctus Mariae* tradition, see George R. Keiser, "The Middle English *Planctus Mariae* and the Rhetoric of Pathos," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville, 1985), 167–69.

<sup>97</sup> For example, see the anti-theatrical tract known as *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, 1993), 98.185. I would like to thank Ann Hutchison for this reference. Further links between the text of the "Hours of the Cross" and the language of

Moving across the page and beyond the first image, we come to the right-hand column of text, voiced by Christ himself:

Take hede, man, how þe Iewes dyd cry:  
To put me to deth in hye,  
And fyld my heryng wykkydly.  
Fro heryng of yl kepe þe forþi.

The hortatory command to "take hede" echoes throughout the meditation sometimes as "take gode hede," "deuowtely thynke" or "behalde and se," language of exhortation that was conventional in this type of literature. The reader is directed to imagine these Passion events with a particular emphasis upon sound: hearing the cries of the Jews who mocked and tormented Christ.

Although there is no matching of senses to canonical hours, the *Meditationes vitae Christi* does highlight the sense of hearing in its account of the Arrest: "Look at Him again while He is led hither and thither with downcast gaze and shamefaced walk, *hearing* all the shouts insults and mockeries, perchance struck by a stone or enduring indecencies and filth."<sup>98</sup> In Love's *Mirror*, the Jews and the Pharisees cry "alle with one voice þat he be crucifiede."<sup>99</sup> These texts create "aural-visual synaesthesia,"<sup>100</sup> appealing to both the eyes and the ears of the reader, who is to visualize an image made vivid or colored by the sense of hearing, a kind of "hearing with the eyes." We should note how closely the text-image combination in Additional 37049 echoes this process: when Christ instructs the reader, "Take hede, man, how þe Iewes dyd cry / To put me to deth in hye," he is asking them to see an aural image.

There is yet another layer to this fusion of sense-perceptions: in the text Christ speaks from the Cross to a reader who is supposed to hear him; the actual reader of the manuscript folio reads, sees, and hears the contents of the page. Thus the reading process here is also synaesthetic.<sup>101</sup> Seeing, hearing, and reading conflate and are inextricably tied to one another. The author of this brief lyric has thus created his own vigorous image (*imagines agentes*)

medieval drama are briefly discussed below at n. 108. A forthcoming study by Jessica Brantley of Yale University will explore some of the broader links between Additional 37049, liturgical performance, and late medieval drama.

<sup>98</sup> *Meditations*, ed. Ragusa and Green, 328 (my emphasis).

<sup>99</sup> Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror"*, 175.

<sup>100</sup> The phrase (used in a different context) is from Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 230.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. the habits of perception that Love's *Mirror* seeks to generate: "þou must with all þi þought & alle þin entent, in þat manere make þe in þi soule present to þoo þinges þat bene here writen seyð or done of oure lord Jesu, & þat bisily, likyngly & abydyngly, as þei þou herdest hem with þe bodily eres, or sey þaim with þin eyen don" (Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror"*, 12-13).

whose synaesthetic properties would have strengthened its ability to be memorable.<sup>102</sup>

In order for a text to be fully effective mnemonically, it had to be fully synaesthetic. As Carruthers details, "Memory images must 'speak,' they must not be 'silent.' They sing, they play music, they lament, they groan in pain. They also give off odor, whether sweet or rotten. And they can also have taste or tactile qualities."<sup>103</sup> Synaesthesia is one of the governing aesthetics of the "Hours of the Cross"; it presents a succession of sensations, emotions, sounds, and images—and a string of scenic moments of the Passion—that gradually are woven together in the reader's mind. This small section of the text under discussion is merely a repetition in miniature of the broader devotional architecture at work here.

Reading the first small scene from left to right, one moves from the narrative to the central image, and then to Christ speaking to the reader. The effect this creates is dramatic, experiential, and mimetic. The perspective shifts from a third-person narrator in the first half to a speech voiced by Christ himself in the second—a pattern that recurs throughout the meditation and is also consistent with the Latin text found in *Tables of the Seven Acts of the Passion*.<sup>104</sup> This type of voice switching was a rhetorical device that appears throughout texts such as the Latin *Meditationes vitae Christi*, where the author sometimes addresses the reader, sometimes Christ himself, and sometimes other characters such as Mary—or even Pilate.<sup>105</sup> One can see how the reader is led into the drama of the Passion first as spectator, then as participant. A concrete narrative event is described and then brought to life by Christ himself: "To put me to death in hye." Christ's speech gives the scene an immediacy and visceral quality. The switching of voices also facilitates the reader's movement or dynamism across space-time and into the scene. First we get a description of the event (it is outside), and then we move right into it through the central image; then we are made to imagine it from Christ's perspective, to hear it with his ears; in this way, our ears become his.

This process is repeated in each of the text-image tableaux and is critical for understanding the meditational dynamism of this chart. For throughout it

<sup>102</sup> See Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 78; and Wolfson, "Internal Senses," 74. For a suggestive discussion of the relationship between the senses, memory, and mental pictures, see Alastair J. Minnis, "Langland's Ymaginatif and Late-Medieval Theories of Imagination," *Comparative Criticism* 3 (1981): 71–103.

<sup>103</sup> Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 78 and 245.

<sup>104</sup> The only exception is the meditation for the hour of Terce, which focuses on Christ bearing the Cross and the sense of smell.

<sup>105</sup> For example, see *Aelred of Rievaulx's Rule for the Life of a Recluse*, ed. Ayto and Barratt, 47.870–74: "Gode Ihesu, fowche saaf. . . . Bote now, suster, forþermore. . . ."

is Christ crucified who is the conduit for the reader's progression through the events of the Passion; the reader moves by identifying with Christ. This absorption and empathy move the reader through the landscape of the Passion—its physical, temporal locations—and through a set of devotional responses to its events. The text is replete with detailed instructions and cross-referencing, guiding and structuring the performance of the reader's spiritual exercise at every turn.

The lyric also has a strong penitential component. In the text for Matins, the word "heryng" is given a negative resonance through the use of the words "wykkydly" and "yl." The reader is to use the visual and aural image of the Betrayal and Arrest as a penitential instrument for the virtuous use of his or her own sense of hearing; hence "Fro heryng of yl kepe þe forþi." The reader immerses him or herself in an imaginative scene of the verbal abuse of Christ, one that conjures the taunts of the crowd, and the image functions as a type of mortification of the senses that protects the reader's own sense of hearing—and his or her potential to abuse that sense through sin.

Just as Christ suffered in his own sense of hearing during his Passion, the reader is to do likewise and refrain from "hearing ill." Thus a contrast is set up between Christ's senses and the reader's. At the end of the text the reader is goaded towards a more virtuous life. Thus the reader has moved through the first part of this meditation for the hour of Matins by several stages.

#### PRIME—SIGHT

Moving down the page, we can see that the hour of Prime is linked to sight and the Flagellation.<sup>106</sup> The illustration shows a full-length figure of a wound-covered Christ, flanked here by two men who scourge him, instruments of torture high above their heads. Christ, bound to the pole and wearing only a loincloth, gazes straight ahead at the viewer, in a gesture that signals the importance of looking. The scribe-artist has paid careful attention to this scene. The vulnerable, wounded body of Christ is emphasized in what is the largest tableau of the page. It is as if the artist had wanted to emphasize the sense of sight in as many ways as possible.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>106</sup> The Gospel account of the Flagellation appears in John 19:1–2.

<sup>107</sup> This visual representation is consistent with literary depictions of the Flagellation that were popular during the period. Nicholas Love's *Mirror* attributes the large number of Christ's wounds to the excessive duration of his scourging: "And so longe beten & scourgete with wonde vpon wonde & brisoure upon brisour til boþe þe lokeres & þe smyters were werye, & þen was he bidene to be unbonden" (Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 171; cf. *Meditations*, ed. Ragusa and Green, 171). The added detail that both the spectators and the scourgers became

The text reproaches the reader—who has also in some sense become a viewer—and suggests his or her own guilt and complicity in Christ's torture. The second part of this tableau reads

Behald, man, & se  
 What payn I sufferd for þe.  
 Perfore fro ylle þi sight þu kepe  
 Þat þu be safe fro syn & schenschepe.

The injunction to "behold and se" occurs in more than a dozen other texts in Additional 37049; it also appears in dozens of lyrics and poems that were popular during the period, and throughout medieval drama.<sup>108</sup> The *IMEV* lists eighteen lyrics that begin with the opening command "Beholde."<sup>109</sup> These poems had biblical models, as Rosemary Woolf explains: "These origins were various sentences in the Old Testament, which by established tradition in gloss and liturgy were interpreted as the speech of Christ: 'O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus' (Lamentations i. 12)."<sup>110</sup>

The phrase "behold and se" advocates a very specific type of visual piety (*Schaufrömmigkeit*) and demonstrates how the act of looking was perceived by many late medieval people to contribute actively to religious formation and self-modeling.<sup>111</sup> This phrase is widely represented in the textual tradition of serial meditation and vivid imaging epitomized by the *Meditationes vitae Christi*. For example, the Middle English translation of Aelred's *De institutione inclusarum* instructs its readers, "Beholde now and se hou he stondest as

"werye" suggests the extraordinary conflation of identities that lies at the heart of this kind of Passion literature. Through viewing the spectacle of Christ's torture, it is implied that the "lokeres" become equally tired—and equally guilty.

<sup>108</sup> Gray, *Themes and Images*, 127, notes that many lyrics use this type of language: "The effect of making the reader 'really there' is achieved by the selection of visual and evocative details, sometimes strikingly vivid." On the use of this phrase in medieval English drama, see the article by David Mills, "'Look at Me When I'm Speaking to You': The 'Beholde and See' Convention in Medieval Drama," *Medieval English Theatre* 7.1 (1985): 4–12. This type of language also reflects the *improperia*, or reproaches of the Good Friday service. Bestul, *Texts on the Passion*, 28–29, discusses the influence of the liturgy on Passion narratives.

<sup>109</sup> See *IMEV* 486–504, and 488.5, 489, 490.5, 493.5, 498, 502.5 in the *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler (Lexington, Ky., 1965), 55–57.

<sup>110</sup> Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 36; and see 37–42 on English lyrics that begin with this injunction.

<sup>111</sup> In this way we can see how "the act of looking itself contributes to religious formation and, indeed, constitutes a powerful practice of belief" (David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* [Berkeley, 1998], 3); Morgan uses the term "Schaufömmigkeit" to describe "the piety of looking or seeing" (59). On the role of images in ascetic and mystical encounter, see Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions, and Iconography," 132.

a meke lombe before the iuge. . . ."<sup>112</sup> Later vernacular devotional literature for meditation reverberates with this command.<sup>113</sup> In *Pe Holy Boke Grati Dei*, Christ says to the reader, "Behald my side, my fete, and handes," adding "How wofull I am mad for þe!"<sup>114</sup>

This cluster of evidence affirms the overtly visual nature of the texts in question, their straightforward "pictorial piety," but it also points to the likelihood that these texts were thought to be connected with either real, actual images (such as here, in the manuscript) or imaginative, mental images. The distinction is not always clear. As Julia Boffey notes, "Opening command from the speaker of a lyric to 'look' or 'see' (sometimes to 'think on') may suggest the existence of an accompanying image, but the poems more often than not proceed to supply descriptive details in words rather than in picture or plastic forms."<sup>115</sup>

The lyric for Prime thematizes the act of looking in several ways, suggesting a vigorous interest in the relationship between personal devotion, text, and religious image. Both the text and the image here are about looking. When the text says "Behald, man, and se," it refers to an image of Christ's wounds that is both on the page and in the reader's mind. Physical vision and *aspectu* (concentrated inner seeing) are thus depicted as ways of entering into the text and engaging with it—both initiate dialogue with Christ; the image in the center marks the entry into this new subjectivity.

In the second part of this lyric, Christ asks the reader-viewer to gaze upon his wounds as evidence of "What payn I sufferd for þe." But then it is precisely the same sense of sight that is foregrounded in a potentially negative way. The reader is instructed to keep "ylle" from "þi sight," in order to remain free of sin and "schenschepe," disgrace or shame. Thus the sense of sight which previously was presented as an avenue for communication with Christ is now revealed to be a vehicle for sin—the devout reader is warned, it is implied, to remain on guard to avoid the sight of tempting or forbidden persons.

<sup>112</sup> *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum*, ed. Ayto and Barratt, 21.

<sup>113</sup> For a discussion of a related development, see Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier, transl. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), esp. 147: "References to the eyes and vision become more frequent in the rubrics of fifteenth-century prayers."

<sup>114</sup> Arntz, *Richard Rolle*, 94. Cf. Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, 6 no. 46: "Behald my heued, bi-hald my fete, / And of m[a] mysdedes luke þou lete; / Behald my grysely face / And of þi syns ask allegance."

<sup>115</sup> Julia Boffey, "'Loke on þis wrytyng, man, for þi devocion!': Focal Texts in Some Late Middle English Religious Lyrics," in *Individuality and Achievement in Middle English Poetry*, ed. O. S. Pickering (Cambridge, 1997), 136–37.

body parts, or objects. The text of the *Ancrene Wisse*, which warns over and over of the dangers in looking at other people's hands, is instructive here:

He suffered being blindfolded quite patiently, when his eyes were so shamefully covered in order to give anchoresses the bright sight of heaven. If you blindfold your eyes on earth for his love and in memory of this, to keep fellowship with him, it is no matter for amazement.<sup>116</sup>

This advocates an unusual form of *imitatio Christi*, not unlike that found in the "Hours of the Cross," and suggests that Christ's painful sufferings purified our own senses. This idea is repeated in a fifteenth-century lyric that describes how Jesus "clensed vs of oure synnes sevene— / With þi blude þi luffe was sene."<sup>117</sup>

#### TERCE—SMELL

For Terce, Christ bearing the Cross and the sense of smell are the focus.<sup>118</sup> The central image shows a robed Christ carrying a large cross over his right shoulder and across the front of his body. He is tilted to one side, suggesting the heavy weight and bulk of the object and his difficulty carrying it. The reader is told how "Criste bare þe cros with gret woo" and is instructed to "Thynke deuowtly on þis / To purches þe mercy of þi mys."<sup>119</sup>

Curiously, an unusual direction follows:

þe payne of Criste be to þe sweete,  
In smellyng þi bale to bete.  
Agayns smellyng of wykkydnes  
þat puts þi saule in gret distres.

<sup>116</sup> *Anchoritic Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 87. The tradition of sight as a vehicle for sin was especially prominent in twelfth-century writings by Bernard of Clairvaux. Cf. the following passage from his text, *On Conversion*: "It becomes clear that the roving eyes, the itching ears, the pleasures of smelling, tasting, and touching, have let in many of them" (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Selected Works*, trans. G. R. Evans [New York, 1987], 72). Bernard's treatment of the senses is carefully explored in Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 54–55, 114–20.

<sup>117</sup> Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*, 93, no. 60, lines 11–12; from Oxford, Corpus Christi College 274, fols. 1v–3r. Brown (312 n. 60) notes that this lyric is a translation of a Latin hymn by Berengar of Tours (999–1088).

<sup>118</sup> The Gospel account of Christ bearing the Cross is in John 19:17.

<sup>119</sup> The command "Thynke deuowtly," a verbal repetition from the lyric for Prime which precedes this one, was so common as to be ubiquitous in Middle English devotional literature, as here in the *Speculum devotorum*: "The deuout thynkyng of oure lordys passyon & manhede ys the ground and the weye to all trewe devocyon" (*Speculum devotorum*, ed. Hogg, 5; also cited in Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour,"* 167).

The reader is to make Christ's pain "sweete," which here means sweet smelling. The directive is to purge the sense of smell by thinking about and conjuring up the malodorous smells of the Passion: the rotting corpses of Calvary and the stench of death. The Latin *Meditationes* refers to Calvary as "a most ugly and evil-smelling place,"<sup>120</sup> while Love refers to it as "þat foule stinkyng place of Caluarie,"<sup>121</sup> where Christ suffered in his own sense of smell.<sup>122</sup> In the text for Terce, the sense of smell is to be purified through an imagined humiliation in which the reader smells these corpses, but the smell becomes sweet.<sup>123</sup>

It was often believed that debasement of the senses had an eschatological value that would be rewarded in the afterlife. The *Ancrene Wisse* warns its readers that those who indulge in "fleshy smells" here on earth will be rewarded with the foul odor of hell, and "Conversely, they will have heavenly smells who sweat from wearing iron or hair shirts here—or suffer from sweaty attire, or from stale air in their house, or from rotting things, or sometimes from stench and foul breath in their noses."<sup>124</sup>

The text for Terce also suggests that contemplating the myriad pains of Christ's Passion makes your own misfortunes ("þi bale") "sweete": "In smellyng þi bale to bete." This line captures the penitential thrust of the entire poem. The human senses are transformed into vehicles for identification with Christ—channels for transcending the afflictions and tribulations that plague humanity. The reference to the "smellyng of wykkydnes, / Þat puts þi saule in

<sup>120</sup> *Meditations*, ed. Ragusa and Green, 319.

<sup>121</sup> Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror"*, 175.

<sup>122</sup> As the *Ancrene Wisse* relates, "On the mount of Calvary, where our Lord hung, was the killing-place, where often rotting bodies lay above the earth and stank very strongly. As he hung there he could smell their reek, in the middle of all his other suffering, full in his nose" (*Anchoritic Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 87).

<sup>123</sup> This combination of abjection and sensory transcendence can be compared to the self-inflicted mortifications of earlier figures such as Catherine of Siena (†1380), described here by Caroline Walker Bynum: "Several of her hagiographers report that she twice forced herself to overcome nausea by thrusting her mouth into the putrefying breast of a dying woman or by drinking pus, and the reports stress these incidents as turning points in her developing inedia her eucharistic craving, and her growing compulsion to serve others by suffering. She told Raymond: 'Never in my life have I tasted any food and drink sweeter or more exquisite [than this pus]'" (*Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, [Berkeley, 1987], 171–72; see also 144–45). While Catherine's purgation of the senses is literal and physical in the extreme, what the "Hours of the Cross" calls for is supposed to occur in the reader's mind, or inwardly.

<sup>124</sup> *Anchoritic Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 87. For an interesting point of comparison that explores some connections between smell and "somatic anxiety," see Jeremy J. Citrome, "Bodies That Splatter: Surgery, Chivalry, and the Body in the *Practica* of John Arderne," *Exemplaria* 13 (2001): 137–72.



gret distres" may be interpreted literally and figuratively. Hell was traditionally described as foul smelling,<sup>125</sup> demons were said to emit a noxious stench, and sin was alleged to stink.<sup>126</sup> Again the *Ancrene Wisse* provides an instructive model. Sin is a filthy pit that lets out a smell once it is uncovered.<sup>127</sup> The text adds a further nuance and describes "the fleshly lusts which stink like goats before our Lord."<sup>128</sup> Thus the phrase "Agayns smellyng of wykkydnes" could also be referring to the actual state of sin; in other words, contemplation of Christ's pains keeps one from sinning, and therefore from stinking.

The meditation for Terce reveals the subjectivity of the whole process of reading that is being advocated here—how Christ's sufferings could be applied to oneself in order to edify and engender virtuous conduct. The reader is repeatedly implicated in the building drama of the Passion, and as sinner he or she is made accountable in the scheme of salvation. A passage from *De Holy Boke Gratia Dei* makes this connection clearer: "Thynk þat when þou oght agaynes hym dose, als an vn-kynde wrech, þou dose als Iewes did—birles hym gall to drynke."<sup>129</sup> According to this logic, when one sins, one sins against Christ; in sinning through the senses one becomes the "Jews" who tormented him on the cross—suggesting just how self-reflexive this kind of reading was, and how mobile and fluid all of these intersecting subjectivities were. Committing sin (especially sins of the senses) is like crucifying the body of Christ all over again.

#### SEXT—TOUCH

The hour of Sext focuses upon the Crucifixion and the sense of touch. The central image is a spare, freestanding image of Christ on the Cross; the Cross is tilted slightly to the right. This is one of the smallest images on the entire page and has been laterally compressed and crowded into its space. It is also

<sup>125</sup> Additional 37049 contains a description of damned souls that depicts hell as a fetid place that horrifies the senses: "þer is ay smoke & stynke ymange, / And myrknes more þan euer was here, / þer is hongyr & thyrst & thrange / And ugly fendes of gret powere." The text appears on fol. 74r; to the best of my knowledge, this text is unique to this manuscript.

<sup>126</sup> Dyan Elliott, "True Presence/False Christ: The Antinomies of Embodiment in Medieval Spirituality," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 255. Many late medieval saints such as St. Birgitta of Sweden were reportedly endowed with the power to smell sin. Conversely, the burned bodies of heretics were sometimes thought to carry an offensive smell. See Elliott's groundbreaking new study, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004), 62.

<sup>127</sup> *Anchoritic Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 80–81.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>129</sup> Arntz, *Richard Rolle*, 86.

noticeably attached in a chain-like manner to the images that precede and follow it. We can illuminate the connection between the Crucifixion and the sense of touch by looking at other literary depictions of this event. The Crucifixion was believed to be the most painful and the most physical part of the Passion, during which Christ suffered most in his sense of touch or feeling and more than anyone ever had before or has since: "Therefore the pain in his flesh was stronger than anyone ever suffered in the flesh."<sup>130</sup> The *Ancrene Wisse* explains that this was because "his flesh was as alive as is the eye in its tenderness."<sup>131</sup> It was also believed that Christ suffered most from Sext to None.<sup>132</sup> Devotional literature tends to highlight the compelling horror of the Crucifixion, with its grisly business of nails piercing Christ's flesh and the violent raising of the Cross.<sup>133</sup>

Additional 37049's lyric plays upon similar themes but moves towards a different end:

At þe howre of sext in hye  
Was Crist crucyfied with vylany.  
Take hede of his paynes smert  
þat it pytefully perche þi hert.

Take hede how I was towchyd with paynes smert,  
And with a spere towched was my hert.  
þerfore fro vnclene towchyng  
þou kepe þe in al thyng.<sup>134</sup>

The "vylany" and the "paynes smert" of the Crucifixion are evoked to move the reader towards *compunctio cordis*, indicated by the directive to "perche þi hert." The second part of the text, voiced by Christ, uses the very same language but contrasts Christ's pains and side-wound with the sinner's potential for "vnclene towchyng," which may be a thematic connection to the Doubting Thomas or the *Noli me tangere* tradition. The author uses repetition and parallelism to make this point, in his doubling of both "take hede" and "payne smerte," and the juxtaposition of "þi hert/my hert" and "towchyd/ towchyng." In this way the second part of the lyric recapitulates much of the first part

<sup>130</sup> *Anchoritic Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 90, 259 n. 87; cf. Alexander of Bath, *Moralia* 1, 69, and Aquinas *Summa theologiae* 3.46.6, as cited in Savage and Watson.

<sup>131</sup> *Anchoritic Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 91.

<sup>132</sup> Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour"*, 136.

<sup>133</sup> *Meditations*, ed. Ragusa and Green, 334. We are told how Christ's body fell once the ladder was removed from beneath the Cross, and how he was "supported only by the nail transfixing His hands."

<sup>134</sup> The Gospel accounts describing how Christ's side was opened are John 19:34 and Luk 23:47.

The devotional movement of this text is significant: the reader moves from a position of witnessing Christ's pain to the image of the literal piercing of Christ's heart (by Longinus), which is used as grounds for the reader's own moral behavior. The reader is advised to abstain from "vnclene towchyng," a reference that is implicitly sexual, reminding one of the anxious ending of the *Ancrene Wisse* that exhorts, "hold your hands within your windows."<sup>135</sup>

#### NONE—TASTE

For the hour of None, the reader is to focus on the act of Christ giving up the spirit and the sense of taste. The illustration shows Christ hanging from the Cross, blood streaming from his wounds, with Mary and John standing at his side. Meditative techniques such as "composition of place," discussed at the beginning of this article, enabled devout readers to imagine that they were present at the Crucifixion. The reader could have used this particular tableau to create his own *compositio* based upon such a model. This drawing may have served as a mnemonic to remind readers to be present in their minds to the scene in precisely this way.

The second part of the text reads

My tastyng was fylde with aysel & gall,  
And with oper fylthe bot gret & smalle.  
Perfore fro al vnlefull taste,  
To kepe þe wele þow haste.

The Gospel harmonies likewise thematize the sense of taste and the mouth as its organ of sense.<sup>136</sup> They recount how Christ, dehydrated through loss of blood, tells his tormentors that he is thirsty and asks for water. He is punished further with a blow to the mouth and is given vinegar mixed with gall to drink. As Love narrates, "And þen þoo wikked deuels . . . token aisele & galle & proferede him vp to drinke."<sup>137</sup> Shortly afterwards, Christ's mouth speaks its last words as he yields up his spirit.<sup>138</sup>

Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* contains a common exegetical reading that was often applied to this scene. Bonaventure sees this scene as a defining moment in the total scheme of Christian salvation:

<sup>135</sup> *Anchoritic Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 91.

<sup>136</sup> *Meditations*, ed. Ragusa and Green, 336. The Gospel account is in Matthew 27:48, Mark 15:36, and John 19:28–30.

<sup>137</sup> Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 180.

<sup>138</sup> See John 19:28.

It was as if in the taste of vinegar and gall his bitter passion reached its fullness and completion. For since it was by tasting the sweetness of the forbidden tree that the prevaricator Adam became the cause of all our perdition, it was appropriate and fitting that a remedy for our salvation should be found in the opposite direction.<sup>139</sup>

But just as Adam fell through his own sense of taste (as he bit the apple), Christ's suffering in this same sense becomes a remedy for our salvation. The degradation of Christ's senses heals and cleanses our own fallen senses; his humiliation becomes our redemption, and taste now carries paradisiacal overtones. These twin tastings mediate between our sin and our salvation.

The meditation for the hour of None is part of this continuum of ideas and writings. The content of its text can be read against the *Ancrene Wisse*, which makes similar connections: "Now all this has been said so that you, like Jesus Christ, struck in the mouth and given gall to drink, may guard yourselves against sinning with the mouth, and endure some suffering through the same sense in which he was tormented."<sup>140</sup> This is essentially the same message of Additional 37049's text: "Perfore fro al vnlefull taste, / To kepe þe wele þow haste." No mention is made of the potential for sinful speech, but instead its focus is on unlawful tasting, which is the literal or figurative eating of forbidden foods—sin itself.

#### EVENSONG—CONSENT

The next tableau contains an image of the Deposition,<sup>141</sup> showing Christ taken off the cross with Mary and John in attendance. The second part of the text instructs the reader to give his consent, that is, to make the decision to follow Christ:

Pow sal in al þi hert consent,  
Kepe þe fro syn with trewe intent  
And hafe me in þi luf fre  
At al tymes wherso þu be.

This movement towards the ethical qualities intimates that the reader is supposed to recognize his or her own sinfulness, and then strengthen the will and

<sup>139</sup> Saint Bonaventure, *Selected Works: The Soul's Journey into God; The Tree of Life; The Life of St. Francis*, trans. Ewert H. Cousins (New York, 1978), 151; his reading may derive from Augustine's *Literal Commentary on Genesis*.

<sup>140</sup> *Anchoritic Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 89.

<sup>141</sup> A Gospel account of the Deposition appears in Matthew 27:55–59.

the senses beyond what the poem says.<sup>142</sup> In other words, the goal of the text-image here is not only didactic and penitential, as a devotional aid for restraining the senses, but is also to create a broader sense of moral and virtuous conduct in the reader.<sup>143</sup> There is a shift of appeal from the physical senses to the reason or intellect, faculties of the mind and not of the body—a movement from the outer, corporeal bodily wits to the inner, spiritual and intellectual wits. The senses have been transformed and made to conform to Christ's; they are no longer sinful, "unclene" openings, but purified reflectors and mirrors of Christ's Passion. The next step is to use Jesus as a model for ethical behavior. In a similar vein, images of virtues and vices were often used "as 'memorial notes' to aid us in reaching Heaven or avoiding Hell."<sup>144</sup>

The text-image for Evensong was thus a prophylactic against sin ("Kepe þe fro syn with trewe intent") that could also provide consolation in the face of one's own trials and tribulations. By inserting a strong penitential component into the meditation, the author forces an examination of conscience, an acknowledgement of one's own sinfulness (and abuse of the senses). The instruction "Take gode hede and hafe pyte" in the first part of the text for this hour seeks to create compunction in the reader, or "self-recognition as a sin-

<sup>142</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1404 has a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion (fol. 21r), which, as Saxl describes, "shows the relation between the seven moments of the Passion, the seven canonic hours, and the five senses as organs with which to perceive the passion, to which are added 'Feeling with the pain of Christ' and man's decision to follow Christ, in order to make up the necessary seven" ("Spiritual Encyclopaedia," 108–9). Saxl explains: "This kind of tree correlates elements which are neither historically nor systematically related but equal in number (or made to be so). Their correspondence is sometimes instructive, e.g. the last labour of the Passion (fol. 21r), the Entombment, corresponds on the one side to compline, the canonical hour of repose, and on the other to *liberum arbitrium*. Christ says: 'The choice which I have made for thee, thou man shouldst make for me'" (109).

<sup>143</sup> Love's *Mirror* makes clear that there is a strong ethical dimension to meditating on Christ's life: "For sobely þou shalt neuer finde, where man may so perfite be taght, first for to stable his herte azeynus vanitees. & deceyuable likynges of þe worlde, also to strengh him amongis tribulacions & aduersitees & forþermore to be kept fro vices & to getyng of vertues. as in þe blissede life of oure Lorde Jesu, þe which was euere withoute defaut most perfite" (Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 11). Judson Boyce Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum and Convenient Distinction* (Toronto, 1982), 12, discusses the broader relationship between literature and ethics from the twelfth century onwards. He notes that poetry was classified by many medieval people as ethics, especially in the medieval commentary tradition: "to define ethics in medieval terms is to define poetry, and to define poetry is to define ethics, because medieval ethics was so much under the influence of a literary *paideia* as to be enacted poetry, and poetry was so practically received as to be quite directly the extended examples for real behavior."

<sup>144</sup> Yates, *Art of Memory*, 61. The ethical use of artificial memory may have had its roots in antiquity, particularly among the Stoics, as Yates has shown (*ibid.*, 21).

ner,"<sup>145</sup> and in a literalization of the concept of the "devotional present," the identification with Christ prescribed in the second part of the text makes Christ present to the reader: "And hafe me in þi luf fre / At al tymes wherso þu be."

#### COMPLINE—FREE WILL

The meditation for Compline is on the Entombment,<sup>146</sup> and the ethical use of the will to model oneself after Christ. The drawing shows Christ lying dead in a coffin wedged between the two parts of the text, which are longer than the two parts for each of the other hours. The text focuses on the pain of Mary and Christ's "frendes . . . / When þai his paynes had sene." The reader is likewise to "take hede" and to visualize this painful scene. The text also seeks to engage the reader's psychology, judgment, and reason, arguing that Christ, without sin, used his free will when he sacrificed himself on behalf of sinful humanity: "Forsake þi syn & turne to hyme, / If þow to heuen wyll clyme."<sup>147</sup> The reader is instructed to turn towards Christ, to remain free from sin or "wykkdnes," and to use his or her free will for virtuous conduct, with the eschatological goal of entering a "heuenly halle" of "blis" in the afterlife.

The idea of ascent suggested by the phrase "If þow to heuen wyll clyme" contrasts with the layout and structure of the page. If readers follow the Passion narrative set out on the page, they read the page from top to bottom. The text here calls for movement in the opposite direction, perhaps reflecting another form of *imitatio Christi*. Just as the body of Christ is sealed up in a tomb, only to rise and become resurrected the following day, the reader too rises upwards to the top of the chart in order to begin anew—and perhaps to make the page again memorially.<sup>148</sup> The senses have been sealed or entombed and transformed, and individual desire and will have been patterned on the life of Christ. Thus in the meditation for Compline the reader recapitulates the

<sup>145</sup> Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, 197.

<sup>146</sup> John 19:38–42.

<sup>147</sup> "Then, in the twelfth century, Abelard, Saint Anselm, and Hugh of St. Victor laid stress on conscience, intention, needful shame, and the tears of Peter after he had denied John. These theologians of 'contritionism' who highlighted the penitent's responsibility were also, quite logically, philosophers of human liberty" (Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, 197).

<sup>148</sup> The Middle English *Myroure of oure Ladye* explains the importance of re-reading: "Third, it is important to 'laboure to vnderstande the same thyng that ye rede' (p. 67), and thus it is necessary not to read too quickly or too much at once, but to 'rede a thyng ageyne twyes. or thryes. or oftener tyl ye vnderstnde yt clerly'" (p. 67; from Hutchison, "*The Myroure of oure Ladye*," 224).

very process that the text describes, which is also the kind of transformation that Christ undertook when he became man. This level of mimesis also ties back to what I have called *the ethics of the manuscript page*, because it shows how *imitatio Christi* is a broader governing literary aesthetic for the meditation as a whole.

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The "Hours of the Cross" requires a highly somatic mode of reading, one that is also promoted in the *Meditationes* and in Love's *Mirror*, the tradition of vivid imaging discussed at the beginning of this article. This distinctly physical mode of reading has been discussed by Sarah Beckwith, who observes, "It is the systematic function of Nicholas Love's *Mirror* literally to map the hours of Christ's Passion onto the body of the individual worshipper."<sup>149</sup> Far from denying the human body, the "Hours of the Cross" amplifies the senses, extends them, and sets them astir as sites of transformation. The body of the reader is a mirror whose senses reflect first sin and then salvation; the text's verbal and visual modes of address are very much an injunction to live the text, or to become what one reads: a physiology of reading in which the reader forms a succession of senses, sounds, images, emotions, and associations that gradually build, intensify, are woven together and light up, as it were, and animate.<sup>150</sup> Each text-image tableau can be likened to a photograph of scenes from the Passion taken out of the pages of the *Meditationes*, which the reader can focus in on, even isolating and magnifying precise moments from Christ's life, and then setting them in motion.<sup>151</sup> Each scene, like each sense meditation, enhances the effect of the previous one(s).

Furthermore, this text-image combination has been viewed here as both a machine for memory and an engine for prayer—and for a highly affective habit of reading. The penitential component of a text like this allowed readers to draw new comparisons between Christ's life and their own, providing forms for self-modeling and *imitatio*. The goal of reading here would have been threefold: for affective experience and religious devotion; for memorial storage and retrieval; and for moral and spiritual formation.

<sup>149</sup> Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture, and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (New York, 1993), 66.

<sup>150</sup> See Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 282–83, and *Craft of Thought*, 147, which describe this process as a function of *memoria*.

<sup>151</sup> See Gillespie, "Strange Images of Death," 123–25, on the directive to isolate specific Passion events for ruminative meditation.

One sees what seems to be a scholastic passion for unity and synthesis in this manuscript page. Part road map, part chart, this diagram consolidates, summarizes, and organizes the Passion for a fully orchestrated and disciplined recollective meditation. This particular text-image combination would have been particularly appealing to a fifteenth-century reading audience, both inside and outside the cloister, especially because of the startling economy of idea and form that it contains. To judge from the rate of manuscript survival, short, highly condensed prayer-texts were attractive to monks, other religious, and laypersons—both male and female. Here, the abbreviated format made accessible, in brief form, the central event of salvation history. Rita Copeland remarks that late medieval English reading tastes “reflect a movement away from large and rhetorically imposing compositions to small, compressed, verbal nuggets which can be taken in at a single glance or hearing, and which, as reduced meditations, are eminently suitable as private devotional exercises.”<sup>152</sup> The “Hours of the Cross” is precisely this type of reduced meditation.<sup>153</sup>

Finally, it must be remarked that each verbal and visual tableau on this page could also function as the seed for a much larger meditation. This type of short text could provide the reader with visual and devotional aids and parameters (“hooks” and “cues”), without cluttering up his or her mind with a dense or lengthy text. With this same goal in mind, the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing* advised the meditator to use small words, simple language—even monosyllables.<sup>154</sup> This was the type of reader-produced page that could be returned to again and again for memorization—and for a *compositio* that grew beyond the limits of these texts or their illustrations. It also could have been used as a general model or template for remembering other events in the life of Christ or salvation history more generally; what we see here are the cues that could start the recollective process—prompts for the reader to make his or her own images and texts with the materials at hand,<sup>155</sup> which the scribe-artist here has so clearly done. A page such as this asks to be returned to over and over again, both physically in the hands of its readers, and in the “libraries for Christ” that they have built in their own hearts.

<sup>152</sup> Copeland, “The Middle English ‘*Candet nudatum pectus*,’” 72–73.

<sup>153</sup> Economy is one of the governing aesthetics of the manuscript as a whole, which includes a preponderance of brief devotional lyrics and short prose extracts.

<sup>154</sup> See Wolfgang Riehle, *The Middle English Mystics* (London, 1981), 9. Cf. *The Chastising of God's Children, and The Treatise of the Perfection of the Sons of God*, ed. J. Bazire and Edmund Colledge (Oxford, 1957), 37.

<sup>155</sup> Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 255–56.



APPENDIX

An Edition of "The Hours of the Cross" in London, British Library  
Additional 37049, fol. 68v (IMEV 2075 and 3251)

*Here begynnes a deuowte meditacion of þe passione of Ihesu Criste after þe seuen  
howres of þe day ordand in holy kyrke how a man sal remembyr þaim.*

*þe howre of mateynes*

*þe heryng*

Man, take hede on þe day or on þe nyght,  
How Criste was taken with grete myght,  
And broght þen unto Pylate,  
With Iewes þat Criste dyd hate.

Take hede, man, how þe Iewes dyd cry:  
To put me to deth in hye,  
And fyld my heryng wykkydly.  
Fro heryng of yl kepe þe forþi.

*þe howre of prime*

*þe sight*

At þe howre of prime sal þow deuowtely thynke,  
How Criste was scowrged with grete swynke.

Behald, man, & se  
What payn I sufferd for þe.  
Perfore fro ylle þi sight þu kepe  
þat þu be safe fro syn & schenschepe.

*þe howre of terce*

*þe smellyng*

At þe thyrd howre also  
Criste bare þe cros with gret woo.  
Thynke deuowtly on þis  
To purches þe mercy of þi mys.

þe payne of Criste be to þe sweete  
In smellyng þi bale to bete.  
Agayns smellyng of wykkydnes,  
þat puts þi saule in gret distres.

*þe howre of sext*

*þe towchyng*

At þe howre of sext in hye  
Was Crist crucyfied with vylany.  
Take hede of his paynes smert  
þat it pytefully perche þi hert.

Take hede how I was towchyd with paynes smert.  
And with a spere towched was my hert.  
Perfore fro vnclene towchyng  
þou kepe þe in al thyng.

*þe howre of none*

At þe howre of none Cryste did dye  
 And ȝelde his spyrit in hye,  
 With gret sorow & strange payne  
 To by our saules agayne.

My tastyng was fylde with aysel & gall,  
 And with ober fylthe bot gret & smalle.  
 Þefore fro al vnlefull taste,  
 To kepe þe wele þow haste.

*þe tastynge**þe howre of evensange*

At þe howre of euensange Cryste was taken of þe cros,  
 Sore wounded to safe mans saule fro losse.  
 Take gode hede & hafe pyte  
 Of hym þat dyede for þe.

Þow sal in al þi hert consent,  
 Kepe þe fro syn with trewe intent  
 And hafe me in þi luf fre  
 At al tymes wherso þu be.

*consentyng**þe howre of complyn*

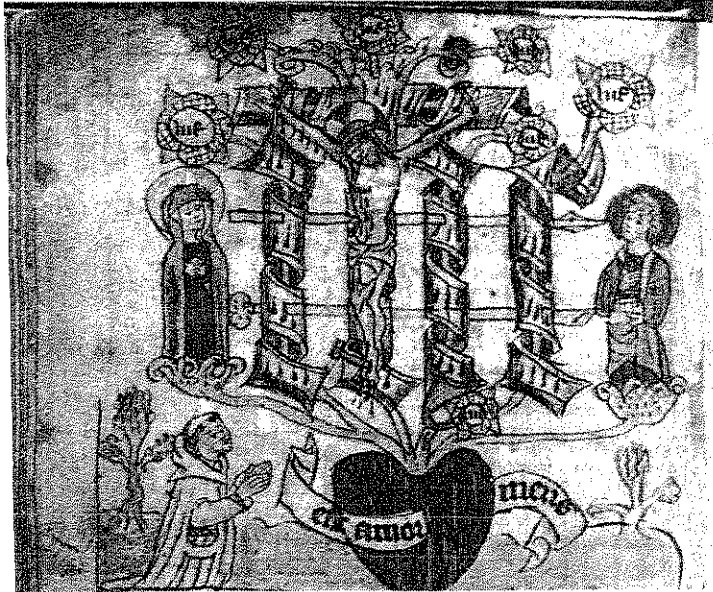
At þe houre of complyn þe sothe to say,  
 Criste was beryd withouten delay.  
 O gret dole it is to consyder wele  
 What sorow his moder & his frendes dyd fele  
 When þai his paynes had sene & woo  
 And þan fro hym suld goo.  
 Take hede, man, & sorowful be  
 And thanke hym hertly þat þis sufferd for þe.  
 Forsake þi syn & turne to hyme  
 If þow to heuen wyll clyme.

*þe fre wylle*

My fre wylle was euer to do gode,  
 Þefore rewfully I hange on þe rode,  
 To safe fro los mans saule,  
 And bryng hym to þe heuenly halle.  
 Þefore euer fro wykkynes þi fre will þow sette,  
 If þu blis wil gett.  
 An put it euer to godenes  
 Euermore in al distress.

*Hunter College, City University of New York.*

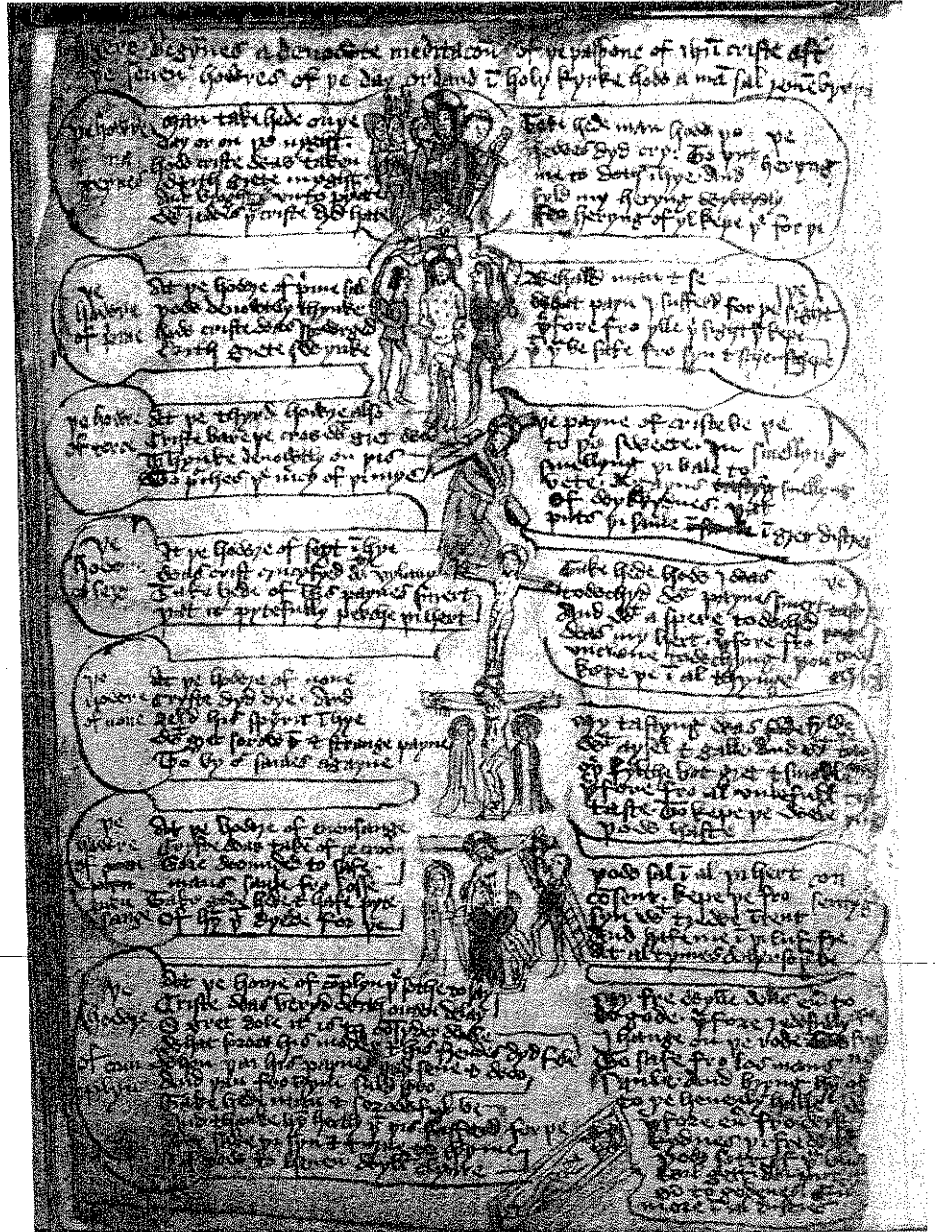
M. V. Hennessy: Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page.



1a. London, British Library Add. 37049, fol. 36v (top).  
(By permission of The British Library)

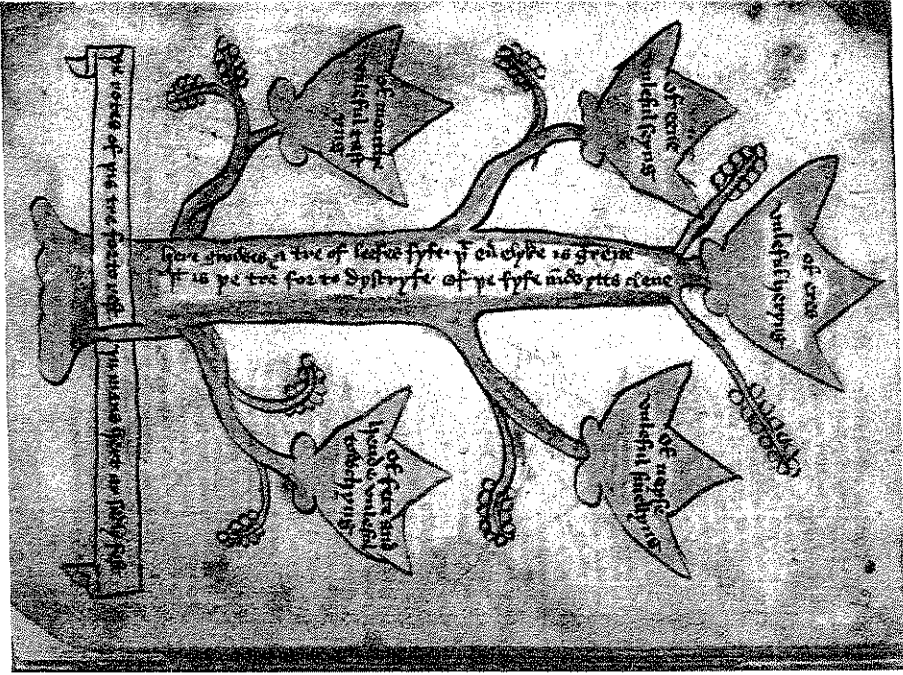


1b. London, British Library Add. 37049, fol. 45r (top).  
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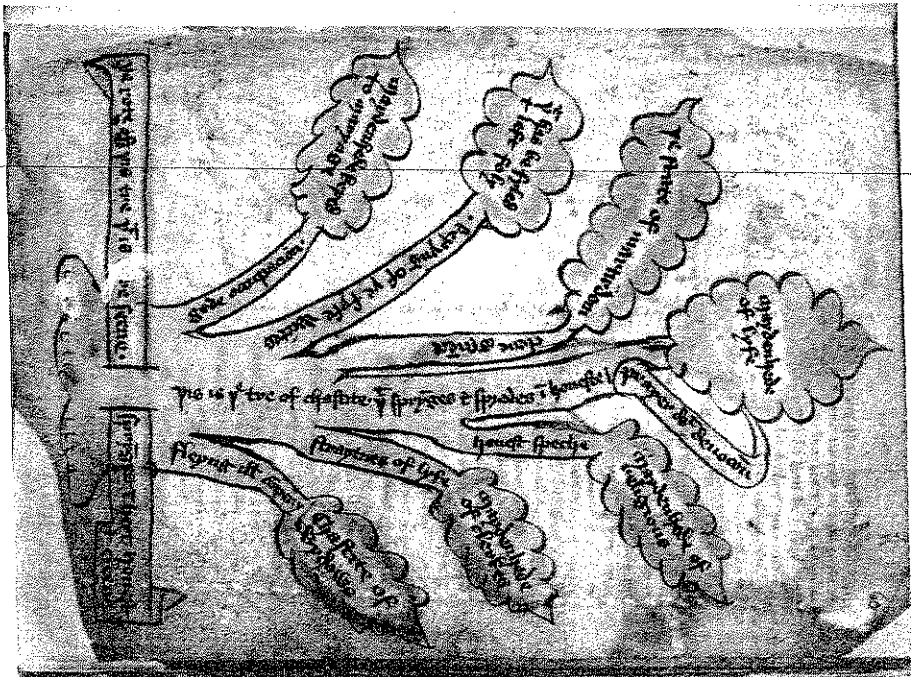


2. London, British Library Add. 37049, fol. 68v.  
(By permission of The British Library)





4a. London, British Library Add. 37049, fol. 57r.  
(By permission of The British Library)



4b. London, British Library Add. 37049, fol. 60r.  
(By permission of The British Library)