Regional Manuscripts 1200–1700
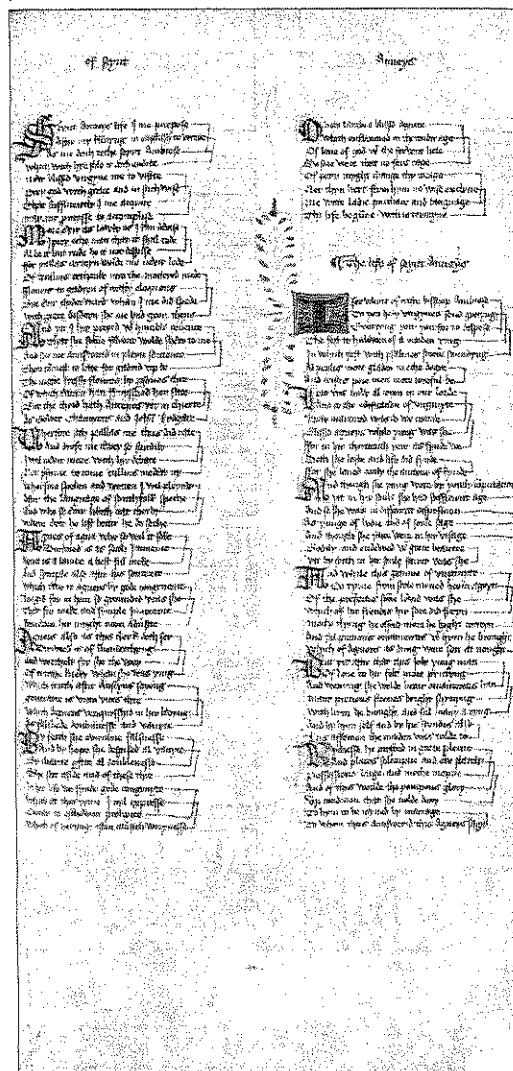
English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700

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A. S. G. EDWARDS

Contents

Three Marian Texts, Including a Prayer for a Lay-Brother, in London, British Library, MS Additional 37049

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British Library, Additional MS 37049 is a manuscript compilation produced by Carthusian monks in Northern England, probably at Axholme or Beauvale charterhouse, *c.* 1460–70.[1] As one of the major sources for Middle English religious lyrics, this multifarious manuscript has been a trove for scholars, who have mined it for its rich devotional materials and unusual illustrations.[2] Many of the items in the manuscript are grouped by subject-matter, and Douglas Gray has recently suggested that this would have facilitated reading certain selections together for meditative purposes.[3] Although Marian materials are interspersed throughout the volume, fols 21r–v contain an artfully arranged series of three unedited vernacular prose texts on the Virgin that are of particular interest (see Appendix).

The series begins with an illustrated text on the subject of Mary's physical beauty. The scribe has carefully ensured that the full text fit on one leaf, with a handsome quarter-page illustration of the Virgin and child (fol. 21r, PLATE 1) as part of the original design. The text appears to be a Middle English translation of a Latin commentary on Canticles 4:1, which may be derived from Alexander of Hales' *Summa Theologica* or a similar scholastic text.[4] The passage extols Mary's physical and spiritual perfection in a systematic manner, using a threefold division that describes her natural, spiritual and essential 'fayrnes'. The topic of Mary's beauty was traditional,[5] and had frequently been the subject of learned commentary on the Song of Songs in the twelfth and thirteenth century by writers such as Albertus Magnus, who typically connected the Virgin's beauty to that of her Son.[6] The text in Additional 37049 reiterates this connection: 'And be certayn argument we may prefe þat sche was fayrest of body. For it is written of hyr son Ihesu þat he was fayrest before þe sonnes of men. And certayne so þe moder was fayrest before þe doghtyrs of men.'[7]
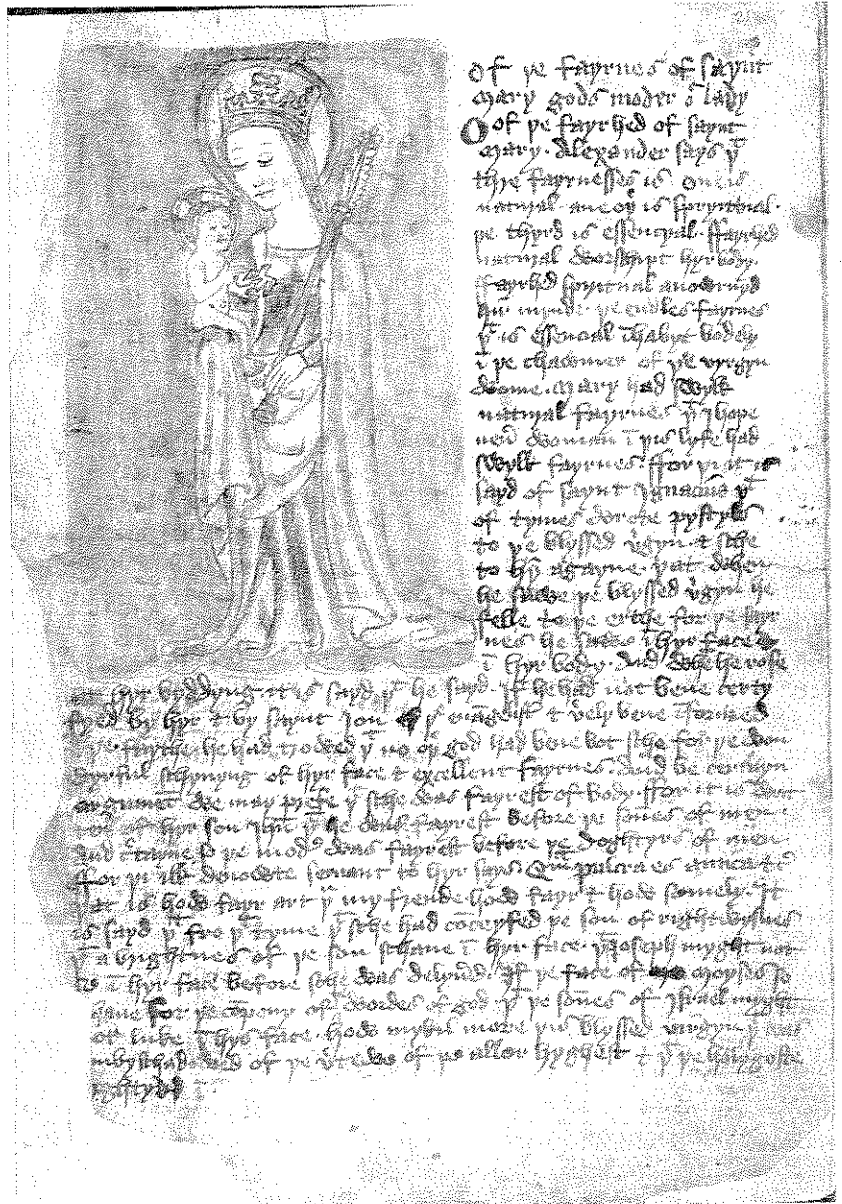
PLATE I. *Virgin and child in majesty. London, BL MS Additional 37049, fol. 21r.*

The compiler(s) of Additional 37049 shows a particular interest in the theme, for a few folios later (on fol. 25r) a text appears on the physiognomic appearance of Christ, which commends the handsomeness of his face and person, or the 'dyuers fayrnes in þat beyng'.[8] The extraordinary beauty of Christ and Mary were visual details that were useful for mentally picturing the Passion and recreating scenes from Christ's life and death as if one were an eyewitness, a central technique of late medieval meditation.[9] In this instance, contemplating the dimensions of Mary's beauty is also a prelude to a scripted prayer: 'Forþi ilk deuowte seruant to hyr says: "Quam pulcra es amica, & cetera." þat is: how fayr art þu my frende, how fayr & how semely.'

The idea of Mary's relationship to Christ is further developed in the next text in the series, a scripted prayer that focuses on her Holy Name (fol. 21v, PLATE 2). This rare, possibly unique item in particular merits further attention than it has hitherto received. The prayer is initially ascribed to or voiced by a certain Freburtus,[10] an individual who cannot be securely identified, for neither is he a known medieval author, nor is he, to the best of my knowledge, obviously connected with the Carthusian order.[11] It is of interest, however, that at the end of the first few lines the text shifts to the perspective of a Carthusian converse or lay-brother.

This unusual work is of historical and even literary interest for several reasons. Although we may never know the precise circumstances of this text's production, it is tempting to speculate that the writer was an English lay-brother of the Carthusian order; at the very least, the text states that it was designed for use by one. Consequently, this prayer is most significant as an example of the kind of writings deemed suitable for lay-brothers during the period. Because extant English manuscripts with texts specifically written for the lay-brethren are rare at best, we have very little independent evidence for their reading habits or devotional lives.[12] This short text, therefore, might enlarge our understanding of this important manuscript and the textual community of readers who made and used it. In addition, this prayer can be used as a source for briefly considering some of the broader literary activities of the Carthusian order, including its role in the circulation of religious texts and popular devotions.

In a manuscript setting rich with texts and illustrations focused on the Holy Name of Jesus,[13] this prayer is notable for its imagery and subtle allusiveness. The author displays a certain degree of originality and lyricism. Like many of the items in the manuscript, the prayer shows traces of the influence of Richard Rolle, for whom the Holy Name was of supreme importance.[14] The prayer uses alliteration, repetition, antithesis

PLATE 2. *The Lay-brother's Prayer, opening lines, followed by a prose Miracle of the Virgin. London, BL MS Additional 37049, fol. 21v.*

and balance to achieve a mellifluous tone—all distinctive features of Rolle's style.[15] The verbal expression of tender love-longing for Mary and Jesus and the elaborate Holy Name meditational imagery in this prayer are also hallmarks of Rolle's writings.[16]

The lay-brother's prayer expands the metaphor of the Holy Name in inventive ways. The prayer builds up from an opening invocation that celebrates the efficacy of Mary's name to a long and intricate series of interrelated images of Mary and Jesus. Through a generative, associative process, Mary is given a range of identities: she is sister, mother, daughter, nurse, handmaiden and lover of Jesus. The conflation of familial imagery allows the names Mary and Jesus to be repeated within a balanced pattern of cadenced prose. Just as the prayer states that they are joined by an 'inseparabyl luf', the author asks for the name of Mary to be closed within the name of Jesus, and vice versa, one Holy Name locked inside the other.[17] This unusual image of inscription, fastening, and enclosure not only thematically echoes the making of manuscript books but also resembles a printed seal on the mind.[18] We can construe that this prayer depicts writing in the mind and in the memory, for the phrase 'to hafe in my mynde' suggests a mnemonic purpose.[19]

Once the two interlocking Holy Names are joined together, they provide access to the full spectrum of divine power, reflecting the plenitude of the Incarnation and the comprehensiveness of humankind's salvation. Through a litany of association, Marian devotion encompasses devotion to Christ, God the Father, the Holy Spirit and the Holy Trinity itself, 'indyuysibill, incommprehensybyll', in the text's words. Through the figure of Mary, first the humanity of Jesus is made manifest, then his majesty, followed by his relationship to the Holy Spirit, with the Trinity itself as the final focus. In this way the prayer manages to distill a great deal of potentially complex doctrine.[20]

Like the previous text on Mary's beauty, the lay-brother's prayer is deceptively simple and actually exemplifies a fairly sophisticated spirituality—a testament to the rich and complex devotional lives of the English lay-brethren, who would have appreciated and perhaps even composed texts of high quality or nuance. A text such as this is a salient reminder that lay-brothers were not exclusively or necessarily illiterate and that some may also have composed or transmitted texts orally. Moreover, this prayer offers evidence of devotional literacy of a very specific kind.[21] Like some of the other vernacular texts transmitted by the Carthusians, this one reveals how the devotion to the Holy Name circulated within the walls of the charterhouse, in effect revealing the social dimensions of the devotion and how it was being made accessible and relevant for greater numbers of people.[22]

It would be a mistake, however, to see this text as support for the suggestion that the entire manuscript was written or compiled for the edification of the lay-brethren, an idea that has been put forward on a number of occasions.[23] It is the only item in the manuscript that specifically mentions use by a lay-brother. Vincent Gillespie has shown that the Carthusian order in England possessed surprisingly large numbers of vernacular pastoral and catechetic materials.[24] There is no reason, therefore, to automatically associate this manuscript with the lay-brotherhood. Perhaps this prayer can best be appreciated in a manuscript context that mingles, on either side of the two Marian items that surround it, a vernacular version of the Ten Commandments with Latin rubrics and a drawing of God with Moses (fol. 20v, PLATE 3) and a Middle English poem on the foundation of the Carthusian order (*IMEV* 435, fols 22r–v, PLATE 4)—items that also would have been appropriate for the entire monastic community: lay-brothers, novices and mature contemplatives. Like the manuscript itself, the prayer has a breadth of appeal.[25]

We do know that prayers to be memorized were taught to the lay-brothers at their weekly chapters for religious instruction under the guidance of the procurator, a choir monk who was responsible for most of their material and spiritual welfare.[26] E. Margaret Thompson reports that 'After matins, they went to their private devotion, some formula in their mother-tongue being taught to them for this.'[27] This is not to say that such was the only use of this prayer, but it was probably a principal one. A procurator would also have found the materials in the manuscript especially useful. The compilation would have been well suited to his needs: it contains texts of personal contemplation and private devotion, as well as those appropriate for instruction and edification of the lay-brethren.

Lay-brothers were men of genuine religious piety and vocation, who often shared and participated in what are sometimes considered elite forms of spirituality. Although they lived physically separate from the choir-monks as 'second-class monastic citizens',[28] they were part of the same monastic family and members of the same community. The lay-brother's prayer would have been appealing and appropriate for all members of the charterhouse, lay-brother and choir-monk alike; it demonstrates, moreover, how these audiences were not necessarily mutually exclusive—yet another aspect of the 'literary character of the spirituality of the Carthusian Order'.[29]

This literary character with a similar breadth of appeal can be seen in the last text in the series, an *exemplum* that further underlines the miraculous power of Mary's name. One of nine miracles of the Virgin
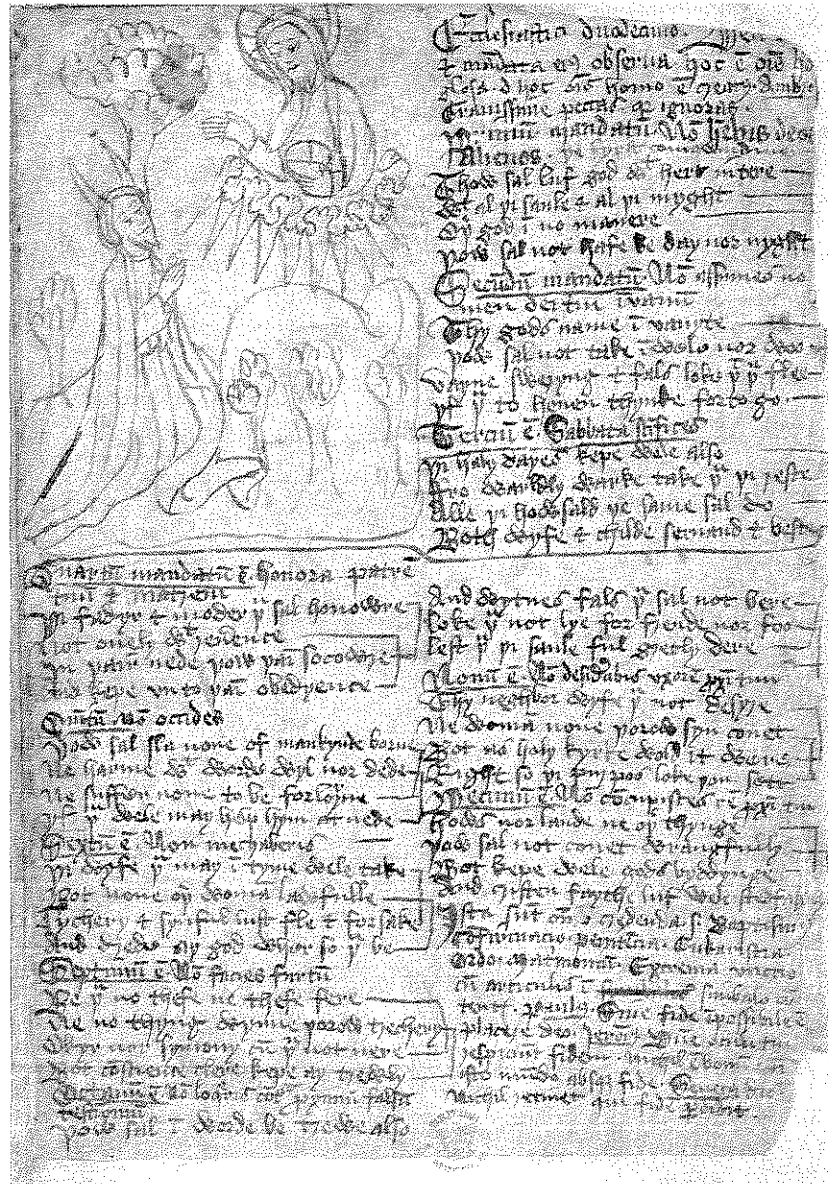
PLATE 3. *God and Moses (horned), with the Ten Commandments in Middle English with Latin rubrics. London, BL MS Additional 37049, fol. 20v.*

PLATE 4. *Four Scenes from the Foundation of Carthusian Order, with Middle English verse. London, BL MS Additional 37049, fol. 22r.*

in this manuscript,[30] the tale concerns a slothful servant of St Anselm, who is freed from a demon's grasp when he calls upon the name of Mary.[31] The tale has a clear message: if one is tempted to stay in bed on a cold morning and avoid mass or the performance of the liturgy, expect severe punishment—perhaps even a hell-bound ride through the air on a demon's back. Although Christ and the saints are deaf to the sinner's entreaties, the wonder-working properties of Mary's name are potent enough to release him from his captor, suggesting Mary's tolerance, forgiveness and supreme grace.

Although there is no known source for this miracle, it draws together motifs common to the genre. The monk who stays in bed is a common topos, the name of Mary frequently drives away the devil, and the related phrase 'Holy Mary, help me' is found in several other tales.[32] In yet another tale, a lay-brother is carried off by a demon and, after Mary's intercession, set down far from home.[33] This colourful miracle with its stress on spiritual sloth and disobedience seems 'specifically related to monastic ideals and observances'.[34] *Marienlegenden* were a monastic genre, and monastic libraries generally had such items available to them; they were especially useful for reading in the chapel and refectory on the feast days of the Virgin. [35] This is certainly one of the ways this text could have been used in the charterhouse.

Read together, what this series of Marian texts reflects is a compiler's mind at work; it shows how the activity of compilation and the individual tastes of the compiler could join quite diverse materials (learned, mystical and popular) united by a common subject. The first two items emphasize doctrine and exegesis and would have been well suited to private reading, while the third item appeals less to the intellect and more to a need for the miraculous, and could have been employed in a more public function. In this sense, the group of texts reflects the interesting range of texts and devotions circulating within Carthusian charterhouses, as well as the tastes of this specific compiler.

For all three texts, the question of sources remains problematic, as no identifiable source has been found for any of the items. Nevertheless, these texts clearly indicate that the manuscript was assembled from an array of sources, many of them originally Latin, some perhaps even translated by one of the scribes.[36] The first and last texts in particular appear to be translations from a Latin source.

All three texts have in common not only their devotion to the Virgin, who is especially venerated by the Carthusian order,[37] but also are designed to satisfy a variety of approaches to her person. The users of the manuscript are encouraged to meditate upon her different qualities and the full range of her powers: as bride of Christ, as reflection of

Christ's humanity, as queen of heaven, and as mediatrix. In this way, we can see the diverse roles fashioned for Mary through manuscript books in the everyday life of a late-medieval English charterhouse.

APPENDIX

An edition of three Marian texts in London, British Library, Additional MS 37049, fols 21r–v

Editor's note: Original spelling has been retained, abbreviations have been silently expanded, and modern capitalization and punctuation have been introduced. Damage to the text or lacunae have been indicated by the use of [ ].

[I.]   Of þe fayrnes of Saynt Mary gods moder our lady. Of þe fayrhed of saynt Mary. Alexander says þat thre fayrnesses is. One is natural, ane oþer is spryittual, þe thyrd is essencyal. Fayrhed natural worschiypt hyr body, fayrhed spryitual anowrnyd hir mynde, þe endless fayrnes þat is essencial inhabyt bodely in þe chawmer of þe vyrgyn wome. Mary had swylk natural fayrnes þat I hope neuer woman in þis lyfe had swylk fayrnes. Forþi it is sayd of Saynt Ignacius þat of tymes wrote pystyls to þe blyssed vergyn & sche to hym agayne, þat when he sawe þe blyssed vergyn, he felle to þe erthe for þe fayrnes he sawe in hyr face & in hyr body. And when he rose at hyr byddyng, it is sayd þat he sayd, if he had not bene certyfyed by hyr & by Saynt Ion þe euangelist & verely bene informed in þe faythe, he had trowed þat no oþer god had bene bot sche for þe wondyrful schynyng of hyr face & excellent fayrnes. And be certayn argument we may prefe þat sche was fayrest of body. For it is written of hyr son Ihesu þat he was fayrest before þe sonnes of men. And certayne so þe moder was fayrest before þe doghtyrs of men. Forþi ilk deuowte seruant to hyr says: 'Quam pulcra es amica & cetera.' þat is: how fayr art þu my frende, how fayr & how semely. It is sayd þat fro þat tyme þat sche had conceyfed þe son of rightwysnes þat a brightnes of þe son schane in hyr face, þat Ioseph myght not [se] in hyr face before sche was delyuerd. If þe face of Moyses so [s]chane for þe compeny of þe wordes of God þat þe sonnes of Israel myght [n]ot luke in hys face how mykil more þis blyssed virgyn þat was [un]byschadowed of þe virtewe of þe aller hyghest & þat þe holy goste [del]ightyd in.

[II.]   Freburtus says: A Mary, a þu gret, a þu mylde, a þu onely lufabyll. Mary, þu may neuer be neuynde bot þu kyndels, nor þoght bot þu comforths & fedes þe affeccions of þi lufer. Also a conuers sayd: A þu glorios lady Saynt Mary blyssed virgyn, moder of God, doghtyr of Ihesu, hande mayden of Ihesu, moder of Ihesu, nures of Ihesu, systyr of Ihesu, frende & lufer of Ihesu, luf of Ihesu, swetnes of Ihesu. A Mary of Ihesu, for þu

dwels in Ihesu & Ihesu in þe. Forþi he þat lufes Ihesu, he lufes þe. And he
þat lufes þe lufes Ihesu. For by inseperabyl luf ȝe ar ioynd togedyr. Forþi
by grace I couet to hafe in my mynde þe name of Mary closed within þe
name of Ihesu. And þe name of Ihesu closed within þe name of Mary.
And so by þe name of Ihesu and þe name of Mary, I sal hafe þe moder
& þe son, þe fadyr & þe holy goste. For none may say lord Ihesu bot in
þe holy gost. And wher the holy gost is þer is þe holy trynyte, indyuysi-
bill, incommprehensybyll. O God almyghty.

[III.] Þer was a seruand of Saynt Anselme þat when his felos bad hym ryse of
his bed opon a Sonday & go to þe kyrk with þaim, he lay styll & wald not
ryse for þaim & bard þe chawmer dore after þaim þat þai suld not let hym
to hafe his ese. And þan come þer a fende to a hole & cald opon hym &
sayd þat he had broght hym a gyft, & þan he rase naked & come to þe
hole þer as a child myght not pas forthe at & þer he sawe when he put
forth his hande ane ugly roghe deuyll with byrnand eene sprenkylland
mowthe & nesethyrls bow and lyke to a bere þat toke hym by þe arme.
And he wald hafe crost hym bot he myght not for he was slayd oute of
wytte & þan þe fende puld hym oute at þat lytel wyndow withouten any
horte & keste hym opon his bake & flow forthe with hym sum tyme in þe
ayer & by þe erthe & þorow woddes. And when he felde it was a fende
þat bare hym he gret & made gret sorow blamyng his slewthe tellyng his
synnes & beheste to amende hym if he myght scape þat perell & þan he
askyd help of saynts to pray for hym before þe maieste of god be whome
he conuired [þe] fende to telle hym whyder he wald bere hym, & þe fend
sayd to hell, þan þe fende bare hym þorow clewes & cragges depe &
strayte & þan he cryde & sayd: lord Ihesu Criste, by þe virtew of þi pas-
sion & þe prayer of þi blissed moder mercy on me wrecche. And glorios
Virgyn Mary, hafe mercy on me in þis gret nede lyke to peresche, & sone
þe enmy stode stil & sayd: þu synges to me a lyttel sange þat rehersys þe
name of Mary. And þan with a gret vgly crye he kest hym downe opon
a hepe of stones & vanysched away, þan wyst he not wher he was & made
gret sorow & prayed. And son come in a mans lyknes ane angel & askyd
whyne he was & why he was nakyd & þan he told hym al how he was
delyuerd by þe help of Saynt Mary & þan seyd þe angel: & þow had not
cald þe name of Our Lady þu had entyred into helle. Fro now forthe be
deuowte to þi delyuerer & forgyt not þat þu sufferd, þu [art] so fer fro
home þat be mans helpe þu cummes neuer agayne. And þ[an] he was
made slepyng with þe angel help broght to þe same in war he was layd
in a hows opon a hyghe balke & when he felt hymselfe þer he [cald] of
þe name of Saynt Mary besyly. And when his felows soght [hym], þai
hard hym cryyng of þe name of Saynt Mary, & with mykil lab[our] gat

hym downe & warmed hym at a fyre for he was nerhand for [ ] þan þe
remelande of his lyfe he led in þe drede [ ]

NOTES

1 For a description of the manuscript and its contents see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1900–1905*, ed. by Falconer Madan et al. (London, 1907), pp. 324–32. The illustrations have been reproduced in *An Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Religious Miscellany: London, British Library Additional MS. 37049*, vol. 3: *The Illustrations*, ed. by 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. by Toby Barnard et al. (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 122–36; and Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 6, (London, 1996), II, p. 193. For information on the Carthusian order in England, see E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London, 1930). Many of the manuscript's texts and images are discussed in Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968) and Douglas Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval Religious Lyric* (London and Boston, 1972).

2 The bibliography on the manuscript is extensive, but 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. by Francesco Ehrle (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 279–85; Karl Josef Höltgen, '*Arbor, Scala*, und *Fons vitae:* Vorformen devotionaler Embleme in einer mittelenglischen Handschrift (B. M. Add. 37049)', in *Chaucer und Seine Zeit: Symposion für Walter F. Schirmer*, ed. by Arno Esch (Tübingen, 1968), pp. 355–91; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), pp. 109, 123; and Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, 'Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page: "The Hours of the Cross" in London, British Library Additional 37049', *Mediaeval Studies*, 66 (2004), 213–52. For a recently discovered item by Geoffrey Chaucer in the manuscript, see A.S.G. Edwards, 'A New Version of Part of Chaucer's "Lak of Stedfastnesse,"' *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 240.1 (2003), 106–8. A monograph on the manuscript is forthcoming from Jessica Brantley of Yale University.

3 He remarks: 'It was probably intended to be read in "bits", individual items or sections, and sometimes a grouping might suggest some encouragement to read a series of items together', Douglas Gray, 'London, British Library, Additional MS 37049–A Spiritual Encyclopedia', in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. by Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchison. Medieval Church Studies (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 99–116; at 103; and see pp. 109–10 for a discussion of several other Marian items in the manuscript.

4 Although a search of *Indices in Tom. I–IV 'Summae Fratris Alexandri'*, ed. by Rmi. P. Constantini Koser, (Rome: Grottaferrata, 1979) as well as the 'Index Quaestionum' in Alexandri de Hales, *Summa Theologica*, 4 vols, ed. by P. Bernardinus Klumper et al., (Rome, 1924–48), produced no corresponding text, Alexander of Hales wrote numerous texts on the topic of beauty. See the entry with references for 'Pulcritudo' in *Indices in Tom. I–IV*, p. 325.

5 Several miracle tales focus on Mary's extraordinary beauty, which is sometimes literally blinding. See Albert Poncelet, 'Index miraculorum B.V. Mariae quae saec. VI–XV latine conscripta sunt', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 21 (1902), 242–360, esp. those miracles collected and retold in the fifteenth century by the Dominican friar Johannes Herolt: no. 713, on the clerk of Paris devoted to the Virgin, who is blinded, and no. 714, which also concerns Mary's beauty. Also translated in Johannes Herolt, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, ed. by C.C. Swinton Bland (New York, 1928), pp. 106–9.

6 For a discussion of the topic and the text by Albertus Magnus, see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, p. 125. Cf. Gray, *Themes and Images*, p. 91.

7 The relation between Mary's beauty and Christ's was eloquently captured by Dante: 'Look now upon the face that is most like/ the face of Christ, for only through its brightness/ can you prepare your vision to see Him.' *Paradiso* XXIII.136–37, as quoted in Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven and London, 1996), p. 139.

8 For an edition of this text and a brief commentary, see R.H. Bowers, 'Middle-English Verses on the Appearance of Christ', *Anglia*, 70 (1951), 430–3, in which he notes that the description of Christ is similar to that found in the *Cursor Mundi*. Dyan Elliott has discussed the widespread interest in Christ's physical appearance seen in both the Veronica cloth and the Lentulus letter, which was reportedly sent by the governor, Publius Lentulus of Judaea, to Octavius Caesar: 'It contains a purported description of Christ, which concludes by portraying him as "a man, for singular beauty, far exceeding all the sons of men".' Dyan Elliott, 'True Presence/False Christ: The Antinomies of Embodiment in Medieval Spirituality', *Mediaeval Studies*, 64 (2002), 241–65; at 247 n.20.

9 This meditative technique has been called 'composition of place' and 'the practice of the devotional present'. See Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1996), p. 37; J.T. Rhodes, 'Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth Century', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), 23; and Hennessy, 'Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page', (note 2 above) 213–21.

10 The only notice of the text appears in James Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English Religious Miscellany British Library MS. ADD. 37049', in *Essays in Honour of Erwin Stürzl on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. by James Hogg (Salzburg, 1980), p. 256; Hogg briefly mentions the text as an unpublished item and remarks (without reference) that the name 'Probably refers to Fredebertus, an eighth-century Bishop of Angouleme'. Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age: Bio-Bibliographie*, vol. 1 (New York, 1960), col. 1587 lists one Frédebert, an eighth-century bishop of England. In the twelfth-century *vita* of Christina of Markyate, she is brought before Fredebert, prior of Huntingdon, who tries unsuccessfully to persuade her to accept her marriage vows. See *The Life of Christina of Markyate*, ed. and transl. by C.H. Talbot (Oxford, 1959), pp. 14, 58–67. Yet none of these possibilities is remotely persuasive, especially in light of the well-documented popularity of the devotion to the Holy Name in late medieval England. The text could be a translation or adaptation of a Latin text, or it may have been originally authored by a continental Carthusian, but no source has been identified.

11 There is no matching reference in any of the Carthusian reference works I have consulted, including F.-A. Lefebvre, *Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux*, 2 vols (Paris, 1883); L. Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusiensis* (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1890), 4 vols; C. Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis Ab Anno 1084 Ad Annum 1429* (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1888–90), 8 vols; Carol B. Rowntree, 'Biographical Dictionary of the

English Carthusians,' in 'Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England, with special reference to the Order's Relations with Secular Society' (Unpubl. D.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1981), pp. 485–546; James Hogg, 'The Pre-Reformation Priors of the Provincia Angliae', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 1.1 (1989), 25–58; John Clark, ed., *The Villeneuve Necrology, MS. Grande Chartreuse 1 Cart. 22, vol. 1: 1342–1411* and *vol. 2: 1452–1466, 1500–1535* (Analecta Cartusiana 100: 27, 1997 and 2002); and *Syon Abbey, with the Libraries of the Carthusians*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and A. I. Doyle, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 9 (London, 2001), pp. 609–52.

12 Two interesting exceptions are the English manuscripts BL, Additional MS 11303, a sixteenth-century vernacular copy of the statues for lay-brothers from Sheen charterhouse, with prayers and meditations, and BL, Cotton MS, Nero A.III, a manuscript that contains vernacular forms of confession and other catechetic materials of use to the lay-brethren. On the use of illustrated books as teaching texts for lay-brothers, see Willene B. Clark, 'The Illustrated Medieval Aviary and the Lay-Brotherhood', *Gesta*, 21.1 (1982), 63–74. For details of daily life in the lower house, see Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 41–8.

13 The IHC or IHS monogram appears five times as a meditative or decorative emblem, and there are dozens of textual references to the Holy Name in the manuscript on, for example, fols 23v, 24r, 26r, 30v, 36v, 37r, 46r, 52v, 67r, 81r. See Denis Renevey, '*The Name Poured Out*: Margins, Illuminations, and Miniatures as Evidence for the Practice of Devotions to the Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England', in *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*, vol. 9, ed. by James Hogg (Analecta Cartusiana 130) (Salzburg, 1996), pp. 127–48, and John Block Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Middle Ages* (Syracuse, 1995), pp. 186–202. The Carthusian order may have played a special role in promoting Holy Name devotions; see Joseph A. Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice in Later Medieval England* (Analecta Cartusiana 99, no. 33) (Salzburg, 1995), pp. 48–9. For the liturgical contexts of the devotion, see Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 62, 74, 77–9.

14 On Rolle's devotion to the Holy Name, see Denis Renevey, 'Name Above Names: The Devotion to the Name of Jesus from Richard Rolle to Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection I*', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition: England, Ireland, Wales*, Exeter Symposium VI, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 103–21, who notes (at 106): 'Although one has to make allowances for Rolle's idiosyncratic characteristics, it is important to recognize that the devotion to the Name triggers the mystical phenomena he calls *canor, calor,* and *dulcor.*' The subject is also treated in Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 18–19, 55, 149–50 and *passim*.

15 These features conform with Hope Emily Allen's description of Rolle's style in *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole and Materials for his Biography* (New York and London, 1927), p. 78.

16 According to Hope Emily Allen, Rolle 'passed through a period of special devotion to the Virgin, which served as initiation into the devotion to the "Highest" [the Holy name of Jesus]'. Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, p. 92.

17 Joining together the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary may have been a common devotional practice, especially on the continent. See Peter R. Biasiotto, *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name, with a Supplement* (St Bonaventura, NY, 1943), p. 99.

18 The broader tradition of medieval mnemotechnique has been richly detailed in Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*

(Cambridge, 1990), and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998). There is also the possibility that the lay-brother's prayer bears a relation to an actual emblem of the Holy Name found on fol. 26r. The drawing appears in another group of Marian materials in the manuscript, just after the well-known lyric, beginning 'In a tabernakil of a toure', (*IMEV* 1460, fol. 25v). In the right-hand column, just above a prose text on the power of Mary's name, a tree appears that bears a coloured calligraphic image of Mary's name with the unusual spelling 'Meria'. Two smaller flowers issue from the tree labeled 'luf' and 'Maria', while below the text is a drawing of the *Imago Pietatis* or 'Man of Sorrows'. I would suggest that the appearance and spelling of the inscription 'Meria' reflects an attempt on the part of the scribe-artist to enclose the word 'Iesus' inside the word 'Maria'. In other words, it seems at least possible that the drawing 'Meria' is based on the lay-brother's prayer's instruction to have 'þe name of Mary closed within þe name of Ihesu. And þe name of Ihesu closed within þe name of Mary'. This drawing, therefore, might be a further facet of the production of the lay-brother's prayer.

19 For a fascinating discussion of Middle English lyrics that highlight the transformation of written words into mental images intended for memorization, see Julia Boffey, '"Loke on þis wrytyng, man, for þi devocion!": Focal Texts in Some Later Middle English Religious Lyrics', in *Individuality and Achievement in Middle English Poetry*, ed. by O.S. Pickering (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 129–45.

20 Some of the prayer's compressed lines of relation may also be connected to the Eastern tradition of continuous prayer and devotion to the Holy Name, which was often linked with Canticles 5:2: 'Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat.' Denis Renevey has shown that Rolle's writings on the Holy Name may also have been influenced by this tradition. Because Rolle's devotion to the Holy Name was so widely imitated throughout England and is especially ubiquitous in this manuscript as a whole, it is possible that the prayer was designed to satisfy higher levels of contemplation linked to this tradition. See Renevey, 'Name Above Names', p. 107 n.18 and Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, pp. 72–7. On the role of the Carthusians in the circulation of Rolle's writings and the promotion of his cult, see A.I. Doyle, 'Carthusian Participation in the Movement of Works of Richard Rolle Between England and Other Parts of Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in *Kartäusermystik und Mystiker 2* (Salzburg: Analecta Cartusiana 55, 1981), pp. 109–20.

21 The broader topic of devotional literacy in late medieval England is discussed in Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*, (London, 1984), pp. 101–33.

22 Cf. the remarks of A.I. Doyle: 'What is plain is that when they [the Carthusians] did get hold of something they thought well of they were exceptionally diligent in copying, correcting, and communicating it to their brethren and not infrequently beyond their own walls.' Doyle, 'Carthusian Participation in the Movement of Works of Richard Rolle', p. 116. In a similar vein, Francis Wormald discussed a vernacular devotion and text that was transmitted by the Carthusians internally as well as to secular clergy and pious laypersons; see 'The Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters: A Fifteenth-Century Meditation', *Laudate*, 14 (1936), 165–82.

23 Most recently by Douglas Gray: 'It is not a learned book, nor does it seem exclusively devoted to the doctrine and practice of the contemplative life: the suggestion that it was designed for the edification of lay brothers in [sic] an attractive one.' Gray, 'London, British Library, Additional MS 37049' (note 3 above), p. 100. Elsewhere I have argued that another deceptively rudimentary item in the

manuscript is the product of a very learned and highly complex habit of reading. See Hennessy, 'Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page', 220–6. The hypothesis that this manuscript is a kind of lay-brother's manual is also suggested in Anne McGovern-Mouron, 'An Edition of the *Desert of Religion* and Its Theological Background' (Unpubl. D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), pp. 29–36; and Derek Pearsall, *Old and Middle English Poetry* (London, 1977), pp. 138–9. A.I. Doyle, however, warns against the assumption that because a Carthusian manuscript was written in the vernacular, it must have been intended for lay-brothers: 'In some continental houses texts in the vernaculars were provided specifically for the lay-brothers, but there is no evidence of that in England.' Gillespie and Doyle, eds., *Syon Abbey, with the Libraries of the Carthusians*, p. 610.

24 Vincent Gillespie, '*Cura Pastoralis in Deserto*', in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 161–82. See also the indispensable essay by Michael G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), 225–40.

25 One of the most intriguing features of the drawings in this manuscript is the persistent representation not only of Carthusian monks but also of religious persons outside the order, including hermits, friars, nuns, Benedictine monks and secular clergy.

26 The procurator was in charge of the converses, serving like a prior over the lay-brothers: 'He had the general management of the monastery's temporal business as well as the rule of the lower house'. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (note 1 above), p. 41.

27 Ibid., p. 42.

28 Clark, 'The Illustrated Medieval Aviary and the Lay-Brotherhood' (note 12 above), 70–1.

29 Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians', 240.

30 See 'Catalogue of Middle English Miracles' in Peter Whiteford, *The Myracles of Oure Lady, ed. from Wynkyn de Worde's edition*, Middle English Texts, 23 (Heidelberg, 1990), pp. 97–134, esp. pp. 120–1 for a list and discussion of all of the Marian miracles in Additional 37049. He notes (at 121): 'No source is known for these miracles. The stories they narrate are generally of common currency, although the details in some of them are unique.' For a small sample of Middle English Marian miracles with continental Carthusian associations, see Whiteford no. 10, p. 51 and no. 28, p. 61.

31 The attribution 'servant of St Anselm' is problematic, and could refer to a monk, lay-brother or a member of Anselm's household staff while he served ecclesiastical office, or someone in his circle; see R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c.1130* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 194–202. The text could derive from some version of the *Miracula S. Anselmi*, but this story does not appear in *Memorials of Saint Anselm*, ed. R.W. Southern and F.S. Schmitt (London, 1969). The reference could be to the nephew of Archbishop Anselm, Anselm the Younger, who had a distinguished ecclesiastical career, spent time in England as abbot of Bury St Edmunds, and influenced the literary dissemination of miracles of the Virgin in England and on the continent. See R.W. Southern, 'The English Origins of the "Miracles of the Virgin"', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1958), 176–216, esp. 190–9.

32 See Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Folklore Fellows Communications vol. 86, no. 204 (Helsinki, 1969). 'The character of the monk who stays in bed is found elsewhere (see Tubach, *Index* 1160, 4442 and 4443). Caesarius has an amusing anecdote with this motif, in which a young monk,

afraid of the cold, stays in bed, and his prior sees four devils in there with him, keeping him warm (1851: I, 197–8, No. 28). The monk's cry, *Holy Mary, help me*, is also found in a number of miracles (see Tubach, *Index* 1594 (e) and Gripkey 1952: 21, No. 58).' From Whiteford, *The Myracles of Oure Lady*, p. 83.

33 Tubach, *Index Exemplorum*, no. 3449, p. 268 (on Mary's name), and no. rs #1581, p. 130: 'Devil carries off lay-brother. A lay-brother was carried off by the devil and deposited in a distant place.' The miracle also shares some elements with another catalogued by Whiteford: a monk, whose mind wanders during the divine office, is brought to judgement by a black devil while lying at home in his bed, but is freed upon calling Mary's name. See Whiteford, *The Myracles of Oure Lady*, no. 20, p. 57, and compare his remarks on no. 36, p. 90.

34 Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000–1215* (Aldershot, 1982), p. 192. See also Siegfried Wenzel, 'Sloth in Middle English Devotional Literature', *Anglia*, 79 (1962), 287–318 at 313, for a discussion of spiritual sloth and monastic (or other religious) indolence.

35 Carol M. Meale has shown that extant English manuscript evidence of prose and verse miracles of the Virgin is rich and heterogeneous, with diverse contexts and potential audiences. See Carol M. Meale, 'The Miracles of Our Lady: Context and Interpretation', in *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 115–36, esp. pp. 116–19. Cf. the useful remarks by Ward: 'The edification of the unlearned is, as with the use of miracles in sermons, in the mind of the collector of Marian miracles. This does not necessarily mean that the Mary miracles were intended for the peasant or laborer.' From *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, p. 164.

36 For the argument that scribe and translator were the same person who copied another item in the manuscript, see Dan Embree, 'The Fragmentary Chronicle in British Library, Additional MS 37049', *Manuscripta*, 37 (1993), 193–200. For a Middle English text linked to the Latin textual tradition of the *Speculum theologie*, see Hennessy, 'Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page' (note 2 above) 213–52.

37 'La dévotion à la Sainte-Vierge a toujours été recommandée aux Chartreux, et tous les Religieux de ce saint Ordre considèrent Marie comme leur protectrice particulière.' Lefebvre, *Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux* (note 11 above), I, 328.