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A STUDY OF ENGLISH DEVOTIONAL POETRY IN THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY: BODLEIAN LIBRARY MS DOUCE 1

by  
John C. Hirsh

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Presented to the Graduate Committee  
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Albert E. Hartung  
Professor in Charge

Accepted May 11, 1970  
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Special committee directing  
the doctoral work of  
John C. Hirsh

Albert E. Hartung

Joseph A. Maurer

Frank H. Hock

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## Preface

In the preparation of this dissertation I have incurred many debts. MS Douce 1 was first pointed out to me by Mr. Douglas Gray, Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, who suggested it as an interesting object of study and who answered many of the questions which arose during the course of my study. Subsequently Professor J. Burke Severs accepted it as the topic of my dissertation at Lehigh University, and directed my research with even more than his usual patience. Dr. Albert E. Hartung and Dr. John Vickrey have also made helpful suggestions.

I am indebted to the owner, Mrs. Stephen Eberly Thompson, of Portland, Oregon, for sending me a copy of her manuscript and allowing me to draw readings from it. Her secretary, Miss Patricia Hall, most kindly attended to our correspondence. Dr. Rossell Hope Robbins generously supplied useful information in the initial stages of this study, and Mr. Harold E. Graves, Manager of Scribners Rare Book Department in New York, was most helpful in dealing with my inquiries.

I am indebted to the curators of the Bodleian Library for permitting me access to its resources, and in particular to Dr. D. M. Rogers for information concerning the binding of MS Douce 1. I am also indebted to the officials of the British Museum and the Warburg Institute for permission to use their libraries and collections. Lehigh

University awarded me the George Gowen Hood Fellowship for the academic year 1968-1969 during which time most of this study was carried out. Finally, I would like to thank the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, Oxford, for courtesies extended to me while I was resident in England.

## ABSTRACT

My dissertation is a study of the influence of affective devotion on late Middle English poetry with particular reference to Bodleian Library MS Douce 1, folios 54<sup>v</sup> to 82. A general introduction surveys the background of affective devotion and suggests the extent of its popularity in England. There then follows an edition of MS Douce 1, folios 54<sup>v</sup> to 82. The Douce manuscript is collated with the Thompson manuscript which is now in private hands in Portland, Oregon, and with the sole existing copy of an early sixteenth-century prayerbook, A Glorious Medytacyon of Ihesus Crystes Passyon (STC 14550). The edited folios contain four English poems, one Latin poem, and two English prayers which are common to all three versions of the prayerbook. The variety of devotions gives a good idea of the nature and extent of medieval devotional practices: the poems include an Arma Christi poem, a Latin poem on the wound in Christ's side, a brief poem on the drops of blood that Christ shed, a poem on the five wounds, and a poem in praise of the Virgin. Two lines of verse introduce prayers to St. George and St. Sebastian. The devotions are separately treated in the notes to the manuscript, which suggest the extent of their popularity in medieval England and the degree of their conformity to contemporary religious belief. The dissertation thus seeks to show how certain

late medieval devotional practices were the result of a process of affective thought, and how a knowledge of both the devotions and the methods of meditation may illuminate some aspects of vernacular devotional poetry.

I present below a study of MS Douce 1 (Summary Catalogue 21575) in the Bodleian Library. The manuscript is a small mid-fifteenth-century parchment prayerbook, containing a collection of Latin and English prayers, verses and quotation, and illustrated with one miniature, several line drawings, and periodic capital illuminations. In order to understand the contents of the manuscript it is necessary to understand something of the devotions upon which they drew. Thus in an earlier study of MS Douce 1 I noted that the poems it contains are not of a high literary quality and that they

are of interest chiefly as an index of popular belief, as an indication of the method of meditation, and as evidence for the standard of popular religious poetry, out of which better poets could draw nobler inspiration.<sup>1</sup>

What follows is an attempt to clarify these issues further and to suggest the extent to which they may be said to bear upon each other. In my general introduction I treat the historical background of affection devotion and try to give indications of its influence on popular religious poetry. Throughout my discussion I follow for the most part A. Poulain's definition of affective prayer, particularly as he separates it from the act of meditation proper:

We call affective prayer that mental prayer in which the affections are numerous or occupy much more space than the considerations and the arguments.

Not that the considerations are absent (we must necessarily go on thinking), but they are less varied, less prolonged.

In this degree we generally find as a foundation some dominant idea which does not, however, exclude a host of other secondary and less perceptible ideas. It is accompanied by very ardent affections.

This degree differs from meditation, therefore, merely as from the greater to the less. It is a discourse, only less varied and less apparent and leaving more room for sentiments of love, praise, gratitude, respect, submission, contrition, etc., and also for practical resolutions. The deduction of truths is partly replaced by intuition. From the intellectual point of view the soul becomes simplified.

This simplification may be greater or less. In a word, the degree is more or less marked according to the individual case.

But the simplification can be carried farther still, and may extend, in a certain measure, to the will, which then becomes satisfied with very little variety in the affections. There is nothing to prevent them from becoming very ardent at times, but they are usually produced without many words. This is what we call prayer of simplicity or simple regard.

It can be defined thus: a mental prayer where (1) intuition in a great measure replaces reasoning; (2) the affections and resolutions show little variety and are expressed in few words.

When the state has reached its full development, not only do certain acts, of which I have just spoken, become rare, but the attempt to produce them results in a feeling of impotence and distaste. And it is then the same also with those representations of the imagination which would aid other persons in their prayer.

The preceding definition is primarily negative, because it consists in saying what it is that has in part disappeared: the discursive act and the variety of words. It will be well to

complete it by describing its positive side thus: in the prayer of simplicity there is a thought or a sentiment that returns incessantly and easily (although with little or no development) amongst many other thoughts, whether useful or no.<sup>2</sup>

It is well to remember that Poulain's work is in the nature of a handbook, and therefore his remarks mirror the states of mind which the practitioner of meditation may experience in any age. If in my study I have emphasized the role of affective prayer mostly in the later periods, as it grew out of the dissemination of vernacular devotions, it should not be assumed that there was none at all in earlier periods, though in point of fact I believe there was considerably less. The difficulty is with the evidence: in the periods prior to the dissemination of these devotions most of the manuscripts are intended for communal use and so one manuscript served many readers. In these circumstances it is difficult for very much affective prayer to have been recorded, though practised it may have been, albeit in the life of a strictly regulated community. What we can learn with interest from these earlier periods is the way in which the understanding of the relationship between man and God was changing, and the extent to which this change affected literary productions.

In my remarks I have tried to avoid drawing upon specifically theological references, since my study is primarily concerned with the less complex forms of affective devotion. Where more broad intellectual currents

had an influence, I have tried to keep my emphasis upon their relevance for the devotional traditions I have isolated. Further, I have limited myself to indicating the main stages of the devotional tradition, since ultimately I have concerned myself with the literary articulation that the devotions received. Yet I have not dealt at any length with the problem of mysticism in my definition of the main devotional tradition, even though a writer like Rolle is cited by later authors with enough regularity to establish him as a prominent figure in late medieval devotion in England. The reason for this neglect is that it is part of my intention to show the existence of a devotional tradition apart from the mystical, indeed one on which the later mystics themselves might draw, and which would contribute in a less idiosyncratic way to the religious culture of late medieval England.

Throughout I have been selective in my choice of what to discuss, and if I have excluded as important a work as Aelred of Rievaul's Speculum Caritatis, I have done so because the work supplies no information that is not more usefully gained from a writer like Bernard, whose appeal was at once more broad and more deep, and because, in the case of a writer like Aelred, the main interest seems to have been in the religious life of the community rather than in personal devotion.

In this study I have had the advantage of knowing

that much of the basic work on the general subject of devotion has already been well carried out. Some of the more extreme forms of organized religious enthusiasm are treated in Ronald Knox, Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion (Oxford, 1950), while good general studies of prayer are found in A. Poulain, The Graces of Interior Prayer, trans. J. V. Bainvel and L. L. Smith (London, 1950) and Cardinal Lercaro's devotional study, Methods of Mental Prayer, trans. T. F. Lindsay (London, 1957). Also useful have been Martin Thornton, English Spirituality: An Outline of Ascetical Theology according to the English Pastoral Tradition (London, 1963); Dom Cuthbert Butler, Western Mysticism: The Teaching of SS Augustine, Gregory and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life (London, 1927); P. Pourrat, La Spiritualité Chrétienne, II Le Moyen Age (Paris, 1951); and Louis Bouyer, The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers, trans. M. P. Ryan (London, 1963). Any general study of spirituality in the West will inevitably draw on these volumes, most particularly on Bouyer, in constructing a general history of devotion, a task far beyond my own scope.

Finally a word may be said in defence of the devotions themselves, devotions such as those that find expression in MS. Douce 1. For working through them one discovers that for all of their obvious limitations they

seem to touch something central to the anxieties of the age that produced them, some ultimate point of reference beyond which it was impossible to go. In a sense those who practised these devotions were trying to find "bottom" in their own experience with no less fervor--though with far less art--than do those who in contemporary literature admit all forms of experience down to the most fundamental. In both there is a studied remoteness from affairs that would in any way compromise the extremity and the dedication of the quest, and yet both are in some way unsatisfying and increasingly irrelevant for just those reasons that brought them about: the desire to put the ideal of truth before all human concern, and to subject all other forms of reality to it.

But ultimately the ideals failed. There is a frantic quality about many of the later devotions that suggests anything but a confident and balanced Christianity and implies that the stark vision of the world which they project has found wide, but not total, perhaps not even general, acceptance. I do not mean to suggest a kind of religious ineptitude on the part of the authors--if anything, the devotions were too successful; they seem to grow one from another, each trying to outdo the other in its concern with the most starkly physical aspects of the Passion, until amongst them their authors had created a fashion that it was nearly impossible for a devotional

writer to escape. But eventually even that central Christian mystery could no longer bear the weight the traditions were, with increasing emphasis, imposing upon it. By the time of the great revival in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it seems that the older tradition had reached a saturation point at which it was no longer able to move devotion, but only to influence those who would usher in the new awareness. The influence of this new tradition on poetry has been well studied in the English school by Louis Martz in The Poetry of Meditation (New Haven, 1962) and in the French by Terence C. Cave in Devotional Poetry in France, c. 1570-1613 (Cambridge, 1969). Although the full extent of the medieval tradition has not been brought to bear in either of these excellent studies, there can be no doubt that in a poet like Herbert there is a considerable refashioning involved and a happy putting aside of many of the attitudes that belong to the present study.

## NOTES TO PART I

<sup>1</sup>Two English Devotional Poems of the Fifteenth Century," N&Q, NS, XV (1968), 10.

<sup>2</sup>A. Poulain, The Graces of Interior Prayer, trans. L. L. Smith and J. V. Bainvel (London, 1950), pp. 7-8.

## II

It is difficult to trace with absolute certainty the origin of affective meditation in the West. In one sense it may be said to have its origin in Augustine, whose Confessions suggest an intense, if idiosyncratic, introspection and to whom numerous meditations were ascribed as late as the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> But in practice Augustine's effect on the devotional tradition was more general than specific. The works that were wrongly ascribed to him, works like the Meditations on the Holy Spirit, were more suited to devotional use than the Confessions partly because of their more manageable length, partly because of their less idiosyncratic formulations; but they belong chiefly to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a time when the vigour, if not the matter, of Augustinian meditation was again in vogue.

Earlier, the kinds of highly affective meditation that these later centuries came to apply to Christ were restrained by the image of an all-powerful saviour. The precise source for this earlier triumphant Christ is as obscure as its representations were ubiquitous. It may have been an outgrowth of the image of Christ as the Good Christian Emperor, which had replaced the early Christian image of Christ as teacher and lawgiver. The emergence in the fourth century of this new emphasis of Christ as Emperor gave the image a commanding power and dignity:

Christ was now given titles like Hypsistos and Pantokrator which had hitherto been reserved for God the Father. In the mosaics of this early period he appears enthroned and powerful, just Lord of heaven and earth. This new dignity had a number of causes, ranging from the place of the emperor in Roman society and the new Christian wish to retain solidarity with the state, to the reaction to Arian's subordination of the trinity to God the Father.<sup>2</sup> To these considerations may be added such major theological issues as the controversy between the Monophysites and the Nestorians over the primacy of Christ's divine or human nature. The issue was formally resolved at the Council of Chalcedon in 449, which attempted to reconcile the Monophysite emphasis on Christ's divinity with the Nestorian emphasis on Christ's humanity by accepting the Nestorian distinction between Christ's humanity and his divinity, but insisting that both aspects of his being were found in one person. The council thus tried to mediate two positions, each of which had implications for any devotional attitude. What was finally involved, after all, was the understanding of the Godhead, and the necessity of making it neither too remote from human sympathies, nor too familiar to be truly God.<sup>3</sup> Although I will not discuss the implications of Chalcedon here, since it would be difficult to show that the later devotions would have been very much changed whatever the council had decided, for

practical purposes the humanity of Christ was to become the more compelling attitude in the later periods.

And as Rosemary Woolf has shown, these concerns found their way into vernacular religious poetry at an early date, since the twofold aspect of the Cross in the seventh-century English poem The Dream of the Rood, that it is a cross both of suffering and of victory, may well reflect the larger theological formulation. But it would be well to remember that if the two natures are involved, the poem is not explicitly about them. The theme of the Crucifixion in the poem suggests, more than anything, a process, not an exposition of two evenly balanced natures of Christ. What was in the past deformed has become beautiful, what was scorned and rejected has become victorious.

The initial impression of the Rood is one of splendour: it is a "beama beorhtost," we are told, "eall . . . bezoten mid 3olde."<sup>4</sup> At the crossbeams there are five gems. But as the dreamer in the poem looks more closely he sees evidence of former strife, and hears the Rood tell of the time Christ came, almost eagerly, to be crucified; the agony of the Cross is brought back and re-enacted, though even in its agony the final victory is never obscured. The splendid cross was made splendid by what happened when Christ was crucified, and, as the five gems almost certainly represent the five wounds, their trans-

formation is in a sense the theme of the poem itself: the "dol3 3esiene" (46) are turned into symbols of triumph.<sup>5</sup> What is indeed interesting in the poem is the way in which the more gory aspects of the poem are handled. It is not Christ who is covered with blood and in danger; it is the Rood. Christ is portrayed as a hero who eagerly rushes to mount the cross; his sacrifice in no way lessens his dignity. The Rood can recall "Eall ic 3aes mid blode bestemed" (48), a theme that later verse would develop almost obsessively, in order to increase the reader's admiration of the sacrifice; the effect of the story is to keep the pathetic elements in evidence, but to treat them heroically, both by viewing them through the new glorious Rood and by transferring to the Rood a small measure of Christ's suffering. The analogy is clear: if this wonderful cross is so transformed by the part it played in the event, how much greater must be the Saviour himself, how much more splendid.<sup>6</sup>

This theme is an important one, for it figures in the devotional attitudes that lasted in one form or another into the later traditions, and it is interesting to find it absorbed into a vernacular tradition at such an early date. The pathetic aspects of the crucifixion--those same wounds that would come to inspire so much later meditation --are here used in a way calculated to arouse as much admiration as terror, and the final effect is much like

the first impression: Christ is seen in the splendour of the Cross, though the dreamer has come to realize that the splendour has come about through suffering. In spite of the problems involved in trying to decide the extent to which poetry, particularly vernacular poetry, may be influenced by intellectual controversies and formulations, we are fortunate in having a vernacular poem as early as the seventh century by which to measure the extent to which Christ's humanity was emphasized. When we turn to the extant devotions from a slightly later period we find a continuity of subject matter and theme. Yet the Latin prayers to Christ that appear in the Psalter manuscripts of the ninth century are more formal, less touched by the nearness to human affairs that gives The Dream of the Rood its interest.

In most of the prayers the splendour is unmitigated. What fallibility there is belongs to the penitent reader, whose sins contrast starkly with divine glory. There is not here the sense of Christ as hero that is to be found in a literary utterance like The Dream of the Rood; rather the emphasis is on Christian dedication to divine omnipotence. Thus for example a French manuscript of the ninth century includes this oratio, which touches most of the common themes of the day:

Domine Jesu Christe fili dei vivi qui es verus  
et omnipotens deus, splendor et imago patris

et vita aeterna, cui una cum patre sanctoque spiritu substantia, aequus honor, eadem gloria, coaeterna majestas, te adoro, te laudo, te glorifico. Ne me obsecro perire patiaris, sed salva et adiuva me gratuito munere tuo quem dignatus es redimere pretioso sanguine tuo.<sup>7</sup>

The theme of "aequus honor, eadem gloria, coaeterna majestas," would gradually fall into disuse in devotional practice as the less majestic, more human side of the devotions began to be emphasized, but it would give way to a theme already present here, that of Christ the mediator who would be asked to intercede with the Father on account of "sanguine tuo." The note of penitence is often emphasized. MS D'Orville 45, produced in South France in the early eleventh century, prays at one point that the sinner may be forgiven both because of Christ's mercy and because of the psalms which are sung:

Liberator animarum mundi redemptor ihu xpe,  
domine deus, aeterne rex immortalis, supplico  
ego peccator per immensam clementiam tuam, et  
per magnam misericordiam tuam, et per  
modulationem psalmodum quam ego, peccator,  
decanto.<sup>8</sup>

Prayers could take a distinctly personal turn, as they do in those written less in praise of Christ or the Trinity than in expiation for sin and, often, exaltation of the renewal of faith. These prayers are usually longer than the simple prayers of adoration--from Anselm in the late eleventh century such prayers will become increasingly long--and more often they appear ascribed to a particular

author. The last point is of interest because of the degree of fervour that they could generate, and the implication is clear that from the early periods the role of individual author was seriously considered; in these prayers one was meant to follow that rising devotion that the earlier sainted author had laid down. In so doing one was aspiring to a degree of perfection that tried to the fullest one's dedication and that involved an almost total expression of personal humility. Thus for example the ninth century manuscript quoted above also contains a prayer ascribed to Saint Jerome which touches many of these themes. In part, it runs:

Dona mihi domine timorem tuum, cordis  
 conpunctionem, mentis humilitatem,  
 conscientiae puritatem, ut terram  
 despiciam, caelum aspiciam, peccatum  
 odiam, iustitiam diligam . . . Custodi  
 Christe oculos meos, ne videant ad  
 concupiscendum quod vanum est, nec  
 delitas saeculi, nec rem proximi, ut  
 dicam cum spiritu David: OCULI MEI  
 SEMPER AD DOMINUM; et iterum: AD TE  
 LEVAVI OCULOS MEOS QUI HABITAS IN CAELIS.  
 Custodi aures meas ne audiant detractionem,  
 nec mendatium, nec verbum otiosum, sed  
 aperiantur custodie ad aperiendum verbum  
 dei: custodi pedes meos ne circumeant  
 domos otiosas, sed stent in oratione dei:  
 custodi manus meas ne porrigantur saepe  
 ad capiendum munea, sed potius eleventur  
 in precibus domini munde et pure, ut  
 possint dicere: ELEVATIO MANUUM MEARUM  
 SACRIFICIUM VESPERTINUM.<sup>9</sup>

Here the penitential theme is again emphasized, but with a degree of empiricism that should not pass unnoticed. Sense experience is appealed to unhesitatingly, and the penitent

dedicates himself to overcoming temptation.

In view of the numerous references to "seeing" the passion and suffering of Christ that were to develop in the later periods the lines dealing with the eyes are particularly interesting. Here the penitent will avoid the temporal and look instead "semper ad Dominum." The reference to David here prevents the dedication from becoming either too remote or too egocentric. At once it provides both a goal to strive for and proof that the goal is not beyond human capabilities: if David, who once sinned, was able to reach that degree of perfection, so may the reader. The prayer thus combines both experience and spiritual belief, and suggests that perfection can be reached by proper use of the senses.

Many of these themes found expression in the poetry of the period as well, though themes of adoration generally superseded those of devotion. In one eleventh century poem beginning

Deus pater piissime  
Christe Jesu dulcissime  
Spiritus clementissime

these lines are addressed to the Son:

Qui omnium pro salute  
Ex illibata virgine  
Humanam Carnem Sumere  
Et Sanguinem Suscipere  
Es dignatus, o Domine  
Jesu Christe, rex gloriae.<sup>10</sup>  
(ll. 245-250)

Here the human elements in Christ's Incarnation are treated

much as they were in The Dream of the Rood: they are seen in the perspective of the glory they sprang from and increased. Yet even these oblique references should be seen in proper perspective: the poem is not about Christ, but the Trinity. The appeals of the penitent to be free from sin are addressed to all three persons. Yet here as elsewhere when Christ was thought of he was inevitably linked to the Passion, even at this relatively early date; the degree to which the particulars of the sacrifice were emphasized depended on the individual devotional writer. The devotional expression was usually linked to a penitential theme and had an influence at once humbling and elevating on the practitioner. He dedicated himself to the larger traditions of contemplation and adoration, and the prayers that sprang from these considerations became both an exalted means of personal expression and an expiation for past or present imperfection.<sup>11</sup> That the adoration left little room for affective devotion to the more clearly human aspects of the Passion is of course understandable; most often the emphasis was upon adoration, and when human failure was evoked it was contrasted with divine splendour, not identified with it.

Thus when, in the late eleventh century, Anselm's devotions came into general circulation they accentuated a penitential tradition that already existed, and gave emphasis, rather than innovation, to the person of Christ,

drawing upon a theological formulation as old as the council of Chalcedon, but not emphasized in the increasingly affective spirit of the newer meditations. The reason for this shift in sensibility is suggested by George William's study of the background presuppositions to Cur Deus Homo, the defence of the Christian doctrine of the incarnation against the non-Christian charge that God was degraded by being made too explicitly human. Part of the shift in Anselm's outlook came from the fact that he did not regard penance "as adequate satisfactio or sufficient poena . . . the satisfactio of the God-man is not for Anselm, as he transposes the technical language of penance into the objective atonement for Calvary, a 'vicarious penance' but rather a vicarious oblation of utter obedience whereby the Second Universal Man obeys God in drinking the Chalice and dying on the Cross, and thus restores the original justice due to God."<sup>12</sup> This new emphasis upon Christ as God suffering for man with the free offering implied by an oblation suggests already the beginning of the Anselmian tradition, though there is not yet present the sense of love that will take its direction in the following century from Bernard. Yet as we examine Anselm's devotions it becomes clear that a shift of emphasis has taken place: the physical person of Christ takes on a devotional importance that it had not before. The emphasis shifts from the image of God in majesty confronted

by a sinner, to a God who became man to expiate man's sins.

Yet here the Passion began to take on a new importance: it was the central proof of this coming and showed the limits of man's unworthiness and God's care for mortals.<sup>13</sup> Thus in the second oratio Anselm first reminds himself of Christ's greatness before turning to the memory of the crucifixion:

Domine meus, creator meus tolerator et nutritor meus, esto adiutor meus. Te sitio, te esurio, te desidero ad te suspiro, te concupisco. Et sicut pupillus benignissimi patris orbatus praesentia, flens et eiulans incessanter eius dilectam faciem toto corde amplectitur: sic et ego non quantum debes, sed quantum queo, memor passionis tuae, memor alaparum tuarum, memor flagellorum, memor crucis, memor vulnerum tuorum, memor qualiter pro me occisus es, qualiter conditus, qualiter sepultus simul memor gloriosae tuae resurrectionis et admirabilis ascensionis: haec indubitata fide teneo, exilii mei aerumnas defleo, spero tui adventus solam consolationem, ardeo tui vultus gloriosam contemplationem. Heu mihi, qui videre non potui dominum angelorum humiliatum ad conversationem hominum, ut homines exaltaret ad conversationem angelorum.<sup>14</sup>

In the light of later devotional developments this reference to the physical aspects of the Passion is of interest. It is well to remember that, in spite of the devotional tone of the quotation, it is not specifically drawn from Anselm's Meditations--though of the meditative quality there can be no doubt. The measured "memor flagellorum, memor crucis, memor vulnerum tuorum, memor qualiter pro me occisus es," for example, suggests a devotional, as well as a rhetorical, intention, and seems designed to allow

the memory of the incidents surrounding the Passion to penetrate the consciousness.

The role of the penitent, however, was most marked in Anselm's writings. The first of Anselm's Meditations begins "Terret me vita mea," and continues shortly thereafter

Ergo o peccator, vita tua, non iam fere tota,  
sed certe tota, aut in peccato est et  
damnabilis, aut infructuosa et contemptibilis.

The same meditation concludes, however, by emphasizing the name of Jesus, and already we sense some of the intensity that will come to characterize the later vernacular tradition:

Iam ipse est, iam ipse est IESUS. Ipse idem est iudex, inter cuius manus tremo. Respira iam, o peccator; respira, ne desperes. Spera in eo quem times. Affuge ad eum a quo aufugisti. Invoca importune quem Superbe provocasti. IESU, IESU, propter hoc nomen tuum fac mihi Secundum hoc nomen tuum IESU, IESU obliviscere superbum provocantem, respice miserum invocantem. Nomen dulce, nomen delectabile, nomen confortans peccatorem et beatae Spei! Quid enim est IESUS, nisi Salvator? Ergo IESU, propter temet ipsum esto mihi IESUS.<sup>15</sup>

The older penitential tradition is here exploited to the full, but is charged with a new energy, an active supplication on the part of the penitent who is on his way to becoming one with the Lord whom he addresses. The distance between the two has yet to be closed, though this fact does not prohibit an increasingly personalized expression, where adorations and supplication have become one for the remote, but sorrowful, penitent.

The Anselmian devotions still emphasize the older disparity between man and God, but give man an opportunity for penitence and supplication in a manner at once more vigorous and personal than earlier practice would allow. Thus when we turn to as influential an author as Bernard of Clairvaux we are at once aware of how indebted he is to Anselm and how unique he is as well.

Sermon 15 of the Canticle, the second section, is entitled by Bernard "Quomodo et quatenus effusum sit nomen sponsi, quod est Iesus Christus," and runs in part:

Ecce Christus, ecce Iesus utrumque infusum angelis, utrumque effusum in homines, et illos homines qui computruerant tamquam iumenta in Stercore suo, homines et iumenta salvans, quemadmodum multiplicavit misericordiam suam Deus. Quam carum, quam vile. Vile, sed salubre. Sed vile non esset, mihi non effunderetur; si salubre non esset, non me lucraretur. Particeps nominis sum, sum et hereditatis. Christianus sum, frater Christi sum. Si sum quod dicor, heres sum Dei, coheres Christi. Et quid mirum si Sponsi est effusum nomen, cum ipse quoque effusus sit? Nam semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens. Denique ait: SICUT AQUA EFFUSUS SUM. Effusa est plenitudo Divinitatis, habitans super terram corporaliter, ut de illa plenitudine omnes, qui corpus mortis gestamus, caperemus, ac vitali repleti odore diceremus: OLEUM EFFUSUM NOMEN TUUM. En<sup>16</sup> quod nomen effusum, et qualito, et quatenus.

The shift from the Anselmian tradition is as clear here as is some sense of continuity. Christ is still glorified, the Christian still prays "oleum effusum nomen tuum." But in spite of the greatness implied in the forms of address there is a new nearness to the divine, a new feeling of

personal affiliation. "Christianus sum, frater Christi sum" suggests a degree of attachment that would have been unheard of in the older tradition and that would have probably received only guarded and limited sympathy in Anselm. For what is most noticeable in Bernard is the way the language now presupposes a close relationship between man and God. Even the opening lines of the section quoted above,

Ecce Christus, ecce Iesus utrumque infusum  
angelis, utrumque effusum in homines, et  
illos homines qui computruerant tamquam  
iumenta in Stercore suo, homines et iumenta  
Salvans, quemadmodum multiplicavit miseri-  
cordiam Suam Deus,

suggest this closer relationship. The repetition of "ecce" (an important injunction in later devotions) is altogether consonant with what we shall see to be Bernard's ultimate distrust of sense experience: for him vision was the highest of the five senses, highest because it demanded a kind of recognition of similarity between the "lumen corporis tui" and the light of the object known. To see was thus the highest sense act of which a man was capable, and when the sight was directed towards a divine end the result could be most rewarding. Yet in this new parity between man's aspirations and God's benevolence there was inherent the possibility that man might think himself greater than he was and might confuse divine gifts with personal achievements. For in Bernard's devotions there is this

latent humanism: man is dignified by reason of the fact that he can perceive the divine, but he can do so only by forgetting himself; when he has done so he becomes most ennobled.<sup>17</sup>

The first step on the road that will lead away from the Christian's vision of God is curiosity, "curiositas."<sup>18</sup> Bernard treats this manifestation at greater length than he does any of the others, and indeed it seems for him to be the major one: if one falls into curiosity the other faults are almost inevitable. The signs are obvious:

Si videris monachum, de quo prius bene  
confidebas, ubicumque stat, ambulat, sedet,  
oculis incipientem vagari, caput erectum,  
aures portare suspensas, e motibus exterioris  
hominis interiorem immutatum agnoscas.<sup>19</sup>

Not content to follow the rule, the monk will look everywhere to find one better than himself, yet will believe no one better. Interestingly, in the light of later developments on the question of public and private prayer, we find Bernard characterizing the erring monk in the fifth step ("singularitas") thus: "Commodior sibi videtur una oratiuncula peculiaris, quam tota psalmodia unius noctis."<sup>20</sup>

Dicamus, si placet, primum dispensativam,  
secundam aestimativam, tertiam speculativam.  
Horum nominum rationes diffinitiones declara-  
bunt. Dispensativa est consideratio sensibus  
sensibilibusque rebus ordinate et socialiter  
utens ad promerendum Deum. Aestimativa est  
consideratio prudenter ac diligenter quaeque  
scrutans et ponderans ad vestigandum Deum.  
Speculativa est consideratio se in se colligens  
et, quantum divinitus adiuvatur, rebus humanis

eximens ad contemplandum Deum. Puto vigilanter advertis aliarum hanc esse fructum, ceteras, si non referantur ad istam, quod dicuntur videri posse sed non esse.<sup>21</sup>

In an age in which kinds and degrees of meditation were often catalogued Bernard's distinctions are of special interest. It is important to note that the first two degrees of contemplation rest on the presupposition that things of the world can lead to the vision of God. The first kind rests on the consideration of things "ordinate et socialiter," implying the life common to all men, the acceptance of ordained pattern and human cohesion and subordination which may lead "ad promerendum Deum." Beyond this, estimative consideration carefully searches the evidence of creation, so following in the footsteps of God. Finally speculative consideration, which is chiefly distinguished by the fact that it is helped directly by God, can leave human affairs and live in and for itself. The key phrase here is "quantum divinitus adiuvatur," since what sets this final form of consideration off is that it is able to experience the divine directly: "tertia gustat" Bernard notes a few lines later.

Now the distinctions here are of interest primarily because they are described in such a way that any man might be expected to understand and use them. They are not reserved for the mystic, and indeed even if one does not reach the final stage of contemplation, the first two

stages are each sufficient to ensure a final vision of God in the other world, though not in this one. Now from Bernard on it becomes increasingly clear that devotions are no longer reserved for monastic use only.<sup>22</sup> It is impossible to say to what extent the devotions of Anselm and Bernard created this expansion or to what extent they merely responded to it. Probably the latter is the more correct, though the problem cannot be simply resolved; once freed from the restraining influence of monastic discipline the movement of the devotions becomes singularly hard to chart. It is probable that the larger social issues of the age are here involved: the growth of the universities, the movement of university-trained clerics into governmental organization, together with the current intellectual quickening which these developments accentuated. Yet these are indirect influences only. They may themselves take part in some of the new features of these devotions--like the fact that almost all of the later devotions take for granted a more homocentric frame of reference than had existed before--but beyond these larger concerns it is difficult to go. What we have to work with is the end product of the expansion, and the specific causes are as obscure as the effects are evident.

Among these effects, what is most noticeable in the post-Bernard writing is the way in which the language now presupposes a closer relationship between man and God than

existed in the Anselmian tradition. God will now be described in terms of life, light, a way through the world, a blessing. I choose at random the opening of one of the meditations that was once attributed to Bernard, and that is in many ways typical of the newer devotions.

Jesu benigne, vitis vera, lignum vitae, quod in medio paradisi situm est; Domine Jesu Christe, cuius folia sunt in medicinam, fructus vero in vitam aeternam; benedictus flos et fructus Virginis Matris Castissimae, sine quo nullus sapit, quia tu es aeterni Patris Sapientia: mentem meam debilem et aridam pane intellectus, et aqua sapientiae salutaris dignare reficere, ut te, o clavis David, aperiente, mihi reserentur obscura; et te, o vera lux, radiante, tenebrosa pendantur: ut per me ministrum humilem, temet ipso manifestante et elucidante, loquentes simul et audientes vitam habeamus aeternam.<sup>23</sup>

The reader no longer sets himself in a pose of adoration, humbled by sin, stunned by the majesty of the divine. Christ is still, as in the pre-Anselmian devotions, that all knowing being "sine quo nullus sapit, quia tu es aeterni Patris Sapientia," but he is also "Jesu benigne," and, more, the "vera lux, radiante, tenebrosa pendantur," all phrases suggesting the relevance of the divine to the human. The quoted section begins the tract Vitis Mystica, Seu Tractatus de Passione Domini, in which the more affective devotions are already clearly in evidence. The tract bears comparison with the Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini, where the same degree of meditation is to be observed, though in the latter tract the refer-

ences to the physical details of the Passion are more explicit. Thus Caput VII: "De Judae peccato et desperatione" begins

Sed ubi crucifixerunt eum? In Calvariae loco. Beatus vere locus, in quo figitur crux; bona calvities, quae tali fronde vestitur. Ad hanc calvitiam Elisaeus ascendebat. . .<sup>24</sup>

As the chapter continues the reader is drawn again and again back to Calvary, to be reminded again and again of the Saviour. Like most of the popular post-Anselmian devotions the meditation is a long one, composed of many sections. The emphasis on sight, following Bernard, is marked. The meditations increasingly center on the fixed point, and increasingly that point comes to be identified with the Passion. Admittedly even here it is hard to decide causes. We have seen that the Passion was an important element in Christian worship from the early periods: The Dream of the Rood suggests a popular interest in that central episode, at least in England, long before devotions centered upon it and anonymous poets made it their primary concern. In the post-Bernardian devotional literature there is considerably more interest in the Passion as a focal point for devotion. Southern points out that this tendency had begun even before Anselm, and even that early devotional writer can best be regarded as accentuating a tendency that was already gaining momentum.<sup>25</sup> But it was Bernard's devotions that gave most

direction to that momentum, and that helped to refashion the already-existing vogue on which they drew. The increased role given the penitent, the wealth of references to the bonds between man and God, the increasingly personal reference both to Christ and to the penitent all signify a change in the tone and direction of the devotions. Technically they become more complex: more rhetorical in Anselm, and longer, with a greater interest in a personal majesty, one who will respond to supplications with love. It is important that the earlier images of the divine be kept clearly in mind, since they are never entirely set aside, and even in the later developments within the devotional literature the marks left by Anselm and Bernard are never forgotten: both authors had a number of spurious works attached to their names, and the text of both these and their genuine works were widely known.<sup>26</sup>

I will not pause over the contribution of succeeding authors of devotional literature; after Bernard the great religious writers become either too idiosyncratic or too scholastic to affect materially the new growth of devotional literature. Yet Bernard himself had an influence that is hard to overestimate. The devotions which existed before his writings made their impact are few compared to the extensive canon which grew up after his influence had spread. But the exact relationship of Bernard himself to both the earlier and the later traditions is not easy to

define. The difficulty arises from the fact that, as with any inspired and articulate writer, Bernard formed his devotions both by drawing upon past conventions and by turning the conventions to suit his own purposes. The result was that his influence upon the devotions that are inspired by his writings is complex. The blending of rhetorical and emotional exhortation was popular even before he gave it broad currency, and his warm treatment of such themes as Christ's love of the sinner, Mary's intercession, and the sheer responsiveness of the Divine fed the demands of his public, but was itself informed by those demands. Thus although the traditions of devotion grew up to some extent in response to the requirements of the reading public, the traditions were themselves informed by the personality of Bernard, and with the formulations he produced. Although there is no author in our tradition to compare with Bernard in influence--even Rolle falls considerably short in terms of direct influence--if we were to single out any one who was in any way comparable it would probably be Bonaventure, whose work had wide distribution and whose Itinerarium Mentis in Deum suggests an ordered movement to the ecstatic joy of knowledge of the divine, yet the knowledge is brought about by a series of steps that have their obvious parallel in Bernard's De Gradibus, and that suggest a pedagogical intention.<sup>27</sup>

Most of the inspired authors who follow Bernard do little

to change the tradition he helped establish and expand.

Yet these new devotions did not remain static once their position was assured. It was axiomatic that they should find as many outlets as there were literate and devout readers, and that the wider humanity of the later devotions, once taken up by the regular orders, would encourage vernacular as well as Latin renderings in order to reach as many of the devout as possible. Again, though there are many causes for this further expansion, elements in the nature of the new devotions suggest some of the reasons for the growth of vernacular literature. The new emphasis on the bonds between man and God, the new emphasis on the divine person of Christ who came to earth to save all men and to save his love for all men--all suggest that the devotions would not remain within the monastic enclosure forever and that the curious monk whom Bernard reproves so forcibly may well have been the harbinger of a new wave of spiritual restlessness that was to touch many in Europe.

But in England the new devotions, already established, gained momentum from the work of the regular orders, from the coming of the Friars. The reasons inherent in the new devotions explain only part of their popularity; for a more complete explanation we must be aware of the new emphasis of the regular orders on preaching and the effects of rhetoric which produced in thirteenth-century England a wider

awareness of divine matters. There is increasing interest among the religious leaders of this later period in disseminating religious knowledge and devotions over as wide a spectrum of the population as possible. The clearest example in England of this new interest may be found in Archbishop Peckham's directions following the Council of Lambeth in 1281 and in the subsequent dissemination of his Constitutions by Archbishop Thoresby in the fourteenth century. Although neither the original Latin nor the English translations were specifically devotional themselves, they both had an impact on devotional practices, especially as Lambeth itself preceded the influx of mystical language that dominates many devotional tracts after the fourteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

For the later work of the friars sprang, as David Knowles has so well established, from the good beginnings that the first friars made in the early thirteenth century. By 1240 there were Franciscan houses in virtually all of the major cities in England, and, whatever their later reputation, at the outset we can only attribute good results to their humility, their detachment from ownership, and, from the very beginning in England, their concern with learning.<sup>29</sup> Thus by turning to the texts of Lambeth we can get a fairly clear idea of the extent of some of the devotions by comparing a sample passage of the original constitutions of 1281 with the text approved by

the Council of York in 1357, and these with the English version of the York rendering issued also in 1357. Remark upon the points of belief Lambeth had written sparsely:

Tertius est, Vera Christi passio, et mors in cruce sub Pilati tyrannide.

Given the emphasis on the Passion in devotion of the mid-fourteenth century, Thoresby's Latin version is still restrained:

Tertius est vera Christi passio, qui, ut genus humanum ab aeterna morte, cui fuit obnoxium, redimeret, gratis sustinuit asperrimam mortem crucis.

Yet here the vernacular translation, contemporary with Thoresby's Latin version, takes a starkly physical turn:

The third poynt that we sal trowe is cristes  
passion,  
That he tholed bodily for synfulman kynd,  
Howe he was traised with his disciple, and  
taken with dues,  
Beten with skourges that no skyn held,  
Nailed and (on) the rode, and crowned with  
thornes,  
And many othir hard paynes, and died atte  
last.<sup>30</sup>

The whole of the book is not taken up with similar devotions, but the passage, brief as it is, is suggestive of some of the major changes that the practices went through in their transition to the vernacular.

Perhaps the most prominent of these is exemplified by the very nature of the Lambeth constitutions: they consist in a number of short specifications touching the

Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, the gospel precepts concerning love of God and love of neighbour, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven cardinal virtues, the seven sacraments. Although none of these articles originated with Lambeth, and some, like the seven deadly sins,<sup>31</sup> were broadly known before, here the various theological concepts are brought into the devotional literature en bloc and so formulate what was to become the basis of later devotional literature: a number of short prose pieces centering with varying degrees of intensity upon one or another appropriate subject. Although it is impossible to say that brief devotional pieces, which were the basis for meditation, began in this period, it is in this period that they received vastly increased emphasis and broad dissemination. It will be remembered that earlier the shorter Psalter devotions gave way in popularity, if not in primacy, to the longer, more affective and human documents that draw from Anselm and Bernard as their two chief sources of inspiration. The older devotions continued, of course, throughout all later periods, and from them developed the devotions of the Book of Hours. Both Psalters and Books of Hours preserved the earlier Carolingian emphasis upon brief prayers of adoration and devotion well into the sixteenth century.<sup>32</sup>

Yet the shift in the eleventh and twelfth centuries

to the Bernard traditions of longer devotions emphasizing the essential availability of God to man and the possibility of man's rising by virtue of the new associations he could enjoy began to give way under double pressures. On the one hand there were increased efforts at organizing and spreading Christian doctrine, and doing so in a way that would increase devotion both in public and in private. The fact that Lambeth directed that the teaching of the various articles should take place in church suggests that, to some extent, the new devotions were initiated by the hierarchy and were filtered down to the layman through the correct organs of church administration; that the effort was in many respects successful is shown by the wide dissemination of a tract like the Speculum Christiani, which explained the canons of Lambeth and undoubtedly was responsible for spreading the devotions the Council intended.<sup>33</sup> But apart from this institutional and bureaucratic encouragement there was, on the other hand, the less predictable, more highly volatile and ultimately undisciplined enthusiasms that found expression in England both in the writings influenced by the mystics and, in a later period, in the work of early Lollards. The conflict that developed between the authorities and the enthusiasts was not limited to England; indeed it was late in coming there. Leff has recently shown that the opposition was initially posed in late thirteenth-century Italy, where, shortly after the

death of Francis of Assisi, certain of his followers felt that the essential spirit of Franciscan piety was compromised by the community's involvement in ecclesiastical administration and that whatever general spiritual developments might occur counted for nothing beside the consequent loss of the original Franciscan purity of devotion. One result was the outbreak of a number of enthusiastic religious sects and ideologies, later called heretical, that sought to oppose what was taken to be a kind of creeping institutionalism.<sup>34</sup>

Thus although these divergent movements did not take the same form in England that they did on the continent, the overall patterns were not dissimilar. Not long after the appearance of the mystical literature certain tracts begin to warn of an overconfidence in the devout stirrings springing from some of the more intense devotions. The most important tract in this light is The Chastizing of God's Children, which warns explicitly that "hooli men and goode men bien more tempted þan opir men," and that the temptation might well take the form of deluding visions. The editors list as the four topics "which chiefly occupy the author's concern (a) the recognition and combat of heresy, (b) the repression of 'enthusiasm', (c) the 'discerning of spirits' and (d) the claims of the liturgy against private devotions."<sup>35</sup> Chapter twelve warns how some "men holden þat to what euere þing þei bien stired

inward, whether it accorded to cristes techinge or noon, al cometh of þe hooli gost, and in þis þei bien disceyued, for sooth it is þat þe hooli gost wirchip in no man þat is contrarious to þe techyng of crist and of hooli chirche."<sup>36</sup>

Throughout, there is a warning to those who would take their own stirrings to be a certain sign of divine selectivity at work, though the author's appeal to the experience of "hooli chirche" suggests a degree of ecclesiastical commitment that goes beyond the simple desire to curb unwarranted enthusiasms. Yet the feeling that the newer devotions could lead to delusions is also attested to in the reply of the anonymous author of A Pistle of Discrecioun of Stirrings to his young charge; referring to the young man's willingness to enter the "ghostly battle" the author warns:

I say not þat þis abilnes and þis gredey disposicioun in þee, or in any oþer þat is disposid as þou arte, þof al it be perilous, þat it is þerefore iuel in itself; nay, so say I not. God forbede þat þou take it so! Bot I say þat it is ful good in itself, and a full grete abelnes to ful grete perfeccioun, <sup>3e</sup> and to þe grettest perfeccioun þat may be in þis liif; . . . And as grete an abilnes to good, as it is þis maner of disposicioun in a soule þat is þus mekid as I say, as perilous it is in another soule, soche one þat wil sodenly, wipoute auysement of counsel, folow þe owne witte & þe owne wyle. And þerefore for Goddes lous bewar weþ þis abilnes and wip þis maner of disposicioun þat I speke of, <sup>3if</sup> it be in þee as I say, and make þee continowly to preyer and to counsel.<sup>37</sup>

These warnings give a good indication of the underlying

conflict between those who sought to inculcate devotion by means of church offices and those who sought simply to help its growth in whatever way. We should not think of tracts like the ones cited above as being simply repressive; indeed all of them are careful to encourage various kinds of devotion and to rally to the broad standard of increased spiritual life: no man declares himself to be an enemy of true devotion; the disagreement is on the point at which devotion oversteps its proper limits. The brief Pistle has, to my mind, a more responsive tone running through it than does The Chastizing. In it there seems to be a genuine human warmth, a feeling that it is only the more extreme devotions that must be checked, only those that leave all restraint behind such as, for example, Margery Kempe's Short Treatise of Contemplation, which prayed with the kind of obsessive fervour that might well give pause to the most dedicated spirit. The short tract printed in 1501 and again in 1521 remarks that "She desired many times that her head might be smitten off with an axe upon a block for the love of Our Lord Jesu," and Margery herself prays at one point:

Good Lord, I would be laid naked upon an hurdle for Thy love, all men to wonder on me and to cast filth and dirt on me, and be drawn from town to town every day my life time, if Thou were pleased thereby, and no man's soul hindered.<sup>38</sup>

Yet even bearing in mind this incredible passage, when we

turn to The Chastizing we feel that the response to the devotional situation is too ordered, the forms of prayers too prescribed (Chap. 27), the correct devotion (to the Holy Name, Chaps. 14-15) too certain. Perhaps it is simply that the work is too well organized to deal with as subjective and as volatile a subject as personal devotion. Somehow it lacks the immediate personal response one senses in the Pistle of Discrecioun; and even when it is itself most affectively pious, it seems too dedicated to the path of temperance, too anxious to witness to the cause of a devotion that is both true and proper. In it we hear the voice of the good committeeman trying to legislate, objecting that he is no enemy of freedom, merely an exponent of order.<sup>39</sup> Occasionally such charges as those contained in The Chastizing were answered. When much the same kind of reasoning was levelled against Richard Rolle, Thomas Basset in his Defensorium Contra Oblectatores [sic] sought to vindicate Richard against the charge that his devotions made every man his own master and permitted no ecclesiastical authority.<sup>40</sup>

Thus those administrative formulations that had been designed since the late thirteenth century to inculcate devotion and that had received such articulate expression under Archbishops Peckham and Thoresby came into conflict with some of those very devotions which they helped to inculcate. In the later period issues like the primacy of

private over public prayer would complicate the relationship between ecclesiastical authority and popular practice while at the same time helping to define their positions. Broadly speaking, this last issue may have had its origin in the question of what kind of service those who could not understand Latin were to offer in monasteries and convents. Here community prayers were to take precedence over private devotion, important as both might be. From this origin the issue was given new expression when cast in a secular context; as private devotion became both more popular and more prevalent it seemed to some that public worship, in such forms as the mass, was being neglected. Probably the issue was a larger one; there seems to have been a fear that these devotions could affect the quality of religious life if they were allowed to spread unchecked. The examination Margery Kempe received from the officials at Leicester suggests that there was a growing feeling that these devotions could lead to a kind of personal exclusiveness in which all thought of the Christian community, or indeed of society at large, was set aside for an intense dedication to the devotional life. Although from the time of Augustine's Confessions personal understanding was an integral part of meditation and devotion, in the later periods extremes of these devotions produced almost obsessive concerns, which made unimportant anything but

the stirrings that one experienced for oneself and produced the reactions we have seen above.<sup>41</sup>

Thus the author of The Chastizing, though writing for an enclosed community, offers counsel that his secular audience could understand as well.

But ofte tyme it fallippat sum men and wymmen in her bigynnyng, whanne bei feele grete deuocioun or goostli likyng in her owne priuat prier, or in any oper preuy preiers or meditacions, or ellis in her tyme of contemplacioun, bei seien þe more hastili and wip þe lesse sauour her seruice, þat bei bien bounden to, for grete desire þat bei haue to oper special deuociouns whiche bei haue nat in charge . . . of þis defaute it is goode to be ware, for many men and wymmen bien disceyed in þis defaute, wenyng it be no synne; but in soop it is synne to hem whiche haue knowyng þat it is synne so for to do, but bei do her besynesse wip al her herte to seie her seruice wip as moche deuocioun as god wil sende hem for þe tyme.<sup>42</sup>

This ecclesiastical concern that certain of the more intense devotions could lead to a slighting of regular duties is evident also in some of the social concerns of the Church: Margery Kempe was sharply questioned by authorities as to her white dress: the suggestion is that she may have been a flagellant though this particular sect was banned from England and had its chief influence in Southern Europe. Leff points out that it was condemned by both d'Ailly and Gerson though it escaped general condemnation at Constance.<sup>43</sup>

Apart from these administrative warnings, however, not all writers who concerned themselves with devotional

subjects adopted what we may call the official policy advocated in The Chastizing and the Pistle of Discrecioun. The anonymous author of Dives and Pauper, for example, is careful to encourage private devotion among those who "lye seke in their bedde," or are "in pryson . . . on the see [or] in other nedefulle ocupaciones / and may nat come to churche."<sup>44</sup> Such a remark is important since it suggests that not every homiletic author hesitated to encourage popular private devotion, or even, in exceptional circumstances, to command it as a substitute for public devotion. The remark is, of course, an altogether orthodox one, but cast in the context of the strictures we have examined it suggests a willingness to allow a place to the private devotions which more strict authors would have been reluctant to encourage.

Thus far we have been concerned with these later devotions indirectly, and have seen them from the point of view of those who were more wary of their stirrings than anxious to inculcate their teachings. Turning to the literary expression of these devotions we find that from the thirteenth century onwards the older traditions begin to be modified by the newer interests in a broadly based, increasingly literate, extraclerical audience. Some of the changes indicate the nature of this newer tradition which differed from the Anselm Bernard school more in form than in substance. It will be remembered that one mark of

the Anselm Bernard tradition was that the devotions began to increase in length and that the new emphasis on an approachable divinity brought about an increased awareness of the worth of devotion on the part of the (usually monastic) practitioner. Yet in the new tradition we find that there is an emphasis upon the shorter chapters of the new devotions. A late Latin devotion like the popular Meditations on the Holy Spirit falls nicely into a series of shorter meditations, each self-contained enough to stand alone.<sup>45</sup> The initial address of the penitent is humble and yet insistent upon the fact of the individual before God in a way that the older tradition emphasized less sharply:

Domine deus spiritus sancte, timeo et desidero loqui tibi de te pro me, quia de me non habeo quid loquor de te nisi tu dederis michi te, ut tibi loquaris pro me in me. Da ergo michi te in principio. . . <sup>46</sup>

There is an insistence here that differs from Anselm's humility at least in part because of the close relationship that the penitent can now enjoy with the divine. He no longer trembles before the majesty; rather he is in anguish at the divine suffering and in later versions even tries to experience Christ's sufferings himself.

What we are most aware of in these newer developments, then, is a shift in devotional attitude which seems to have been brought about less by the influence of any one author than by the increased emphasis upon aspects of the Anselm

Bernard tradition that, for a variety of reasons, were found to be moving to the spirit, conducive to affective prayer and devotion. Yet what eventually happened was that far from generating greater devotion in the many, the increased emphasis cheapened the religious implications of these devotions, and far from bringing about that "knowledge and love of divine things"<sup>47</sup> that Thomas Aquinas thought of as being the proper end of devotion, they tended to remain rooted in the moment of contemplation itself, and to increase only in fervour, rarely in insight.

The tendency towards these more limited devotions appears early in the vernacular. Thus the Ancrene Wisse offers inter alia this startling devotion, evidence indeed that in the early thirteenth century these devotions were by no means unknown:

Efter alle þe schendfule pinen 7 he þolde oþe  
longe frinibt. me leadde him ine marhen to  
hongin o wea ritreo. 7 driuen þurb his fowr  
limnen irnene heiles. Ali namare þen a schep  
as þe hali writ seið. cwich ne cwed he  
neauer.<sup>48</sup>

What we observe at once is that as vernacular devotion continued, emphases upon the physical aspects of the Passion became both longer and more explicit. In a sense we seem to be witnessing on a cultural scale what Poulain noted as occurring on a personal one: as the degree of contingent thought and meditation decreases the closer we come to that intense phenomenon affective prayer. Yet we must be cautious. Dates here are not certain, fixed boundaries.

Bernard's conception of the relationship between God and man can still find articulate expression as late as the fourteenth century (there is much of Bernard in a writer like Hilton<sup>49</sup>) and indeed we can find much that is affective in Bernard. Whether or not we finally accept Dom Guthbert Butler's dictum that in Bernard's "contemplations there was no framing of pictures of the scenes of the Passion, nor any portrait presented to the mind of our Lord's human form,"<sup>50</sup> we must be aware that taken together, the references do suggest that there was a tendency as early as the twelfth century to visualize Christ in meditation, whether Bernard practised it himself or not. The point is not an insignificant one for our understanding of the devotional literature that grew up in the later periods, though initially these meditations were indeed only the first step in an ascending series of contemplations in which the mind was indeed drawn to the contemplation of higher verities by way of these lesser steps.

Further evidence that the practice was becoming widespread is the warning against it given by Albertus Magnus in his short devotional tract de Adhaerendo Deo:

Et quia quanto magis te nudaveris a phantasmatis et implicationibus exterioribus mundanis et sensibilibus, tanto magis anima tua recuperabit vires et interiores sensus suos, ut sapiant ei quae sursum sunt. Disce ergo abstinere a phantasmatis et imaginibus rerum corporalium, quia super omnia placet Deo mens nuda ab hujusmodi formis et speciebus, cujus etiam deliciae sunt esse cum filiis

hominum, videlicet qui a talibus occupationibus et distractionibus et passionibus tranquilla, pura et simplici mente sibi intendunt, vacant et adhaerent.<sup>51</sup>

And Bonaventure would start his way to meditation declaring:

Via Autem non est nisi per ardentissimum Amorem Crucifixi, qui adeo Paulum ad tertium caelum raptum transformavit in Christum, ut diceret: Christo confixus sum cruci, vivo autem, iam non ego; vivit vero in me Christus; . . . non enim dispositus est aliquo modo ad contemplationes divinas, quae ad mentales ducunt excessus, nisi cum Daniele sit vir desideriorum.<sup>52</sup>

Thus when Thomas Aquinas would come to decide "utrum contemplatio, seu meditatio, sit devotionis causa," he would argue for this sort of image making because of the limitations of the human mind.

. . . et debilitate mentis humanae est quod sicut indiget manu duci ad cognitionem divinarum, ita ad dilectionem, per aliqua sensibilia nobis nota. Inter quae praecipuum est humanitas Christi: secundum quod in Praefatione dicitur: ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per hunc in invisibilium amorem rapiamur. Et ideo ea quae pertinent ad Christi humanitatem, per modum cuiusdam manu ductionis, maxime devotionem excitant: cum tamen devotio principaliter circa ea quae sunt divinitatis consistat.<sup>53</sup>

Taken together these references suggest a degree of respect for the powers of intense meditation and, with the exception of Albertus (who nonetheless gives proof of its existence), an approval of this sort of meditation as a means of reaching some kind of meaningful understanding of the divine. This belief was of course related to the new understanding of the essentially loving nature of Christ's

coming--it would have had substantially less appeal in the older tradition--though it also rested on the belief that things could be made to give up some sense of their creator if used in a devotional attitude.

Yet the actual image itself is rarely evoked by the author. In Bernard no less than in the others is a range of reference and quotation which precludes the kind of intense fixation that Poulain characterizes as simple prayer. Yet as vernacular devotion became widespread, particularly after Lambeth, we find a growing degree of intensity in devotion, and there is less and less reference to any concern other than the most physical description of the Passion of Christ. What had been in an early work like the Ancrene Wisse a part of the total concern with Christian living becomes in the later devotions an end in itself, quite separate from any larger theological issues and quite oblivious to them.

Thus a devotion like the anonymous meditation on the five wounds printed by Horstman as one of those many devotional works wrongly ascribed to Rolle contains a high degree of fascination with the most physical aspects of the Passion:

Byhold specially in þe fyue mooste notable woundes, two in his blessed hoondys, & two in his blessed feet, and þe mooste opens wounde in his riȝt syde. In to thise woundys of Cristes blessed hoondys & feet, with Thomas of Ynde put in thyne fyngres, that is to say thyne mooste sotyle þouȝtes

& desires. And in the wounde of Cristes blessed syde, sytthen it is the largeste and deppest, put in alle pin hoond, that is to saye al pi lyf and alle pine werkes, and peere feel Cristes herte so boote louynge pee; and also peere feel Cristis blessed herte-blood sched for thee and to raunsome thi soule, also peere feele the watir of Cristis syde stremynge out as of a welle of lyf, for to wassche þe and alle mankynde of synne. And panne cleeche vp watir of euerlastyng lyf withouten end of piaē fyue mooste opene woundis of Crist as out of fyue welle-sprynges. And vnderstond, see & bihoolde & learne þat þe wounde in Cristes riȝt hoond is the welle of wysdom. The wounde in Cristes lyft hoond is the welle of mercy. The wounde in Cristes riȝt foot is the well of grace. The wounde in Cristis lyft foot is the welle of goostly comfort. The largeste and the deppeste wounde þe whiche is in Cristis riȝt syde, is the welle of euerlastyng lyf.<sup>54</sup>

In a work like Nicholas Love's The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Crist, which has been called "more popular than any other single book in the fifteenth century,"<sup>55</sup> even the iconographic concentration of the five wounds meditation has disappeared before a stark confrontation of the Passion:

Take hede now diligently with all thyn hert alle thoo thinges that be now come and make the there presente in thy mynde, beholdynge all that schal be done aȝenst thy lord Jesu and that be spoken or done of hym; and so with the ynner yȝe of thy soule byholde som settinge and ficchinge the crosse fast into the erthe, somme makynge redy the nayles and the hameres to dryue hem with, other makinge redy ladders and settinge vp and ordeynynge othere instrumentis that hem thouȝt nedefulle, and othere faste aboute to spoyle hym and drawe of his clothes.<sup>56</sup>

Even the narrative interest in the story of the Passion is de-emphasized in the late fifteenth century tract A Con-

templacyon or Medytacyon of the Shedyng of the Blood of  
Our Lord Jhesu Cryste at Seuen Tymes:

The sixth tyme that our lorde shed his precyous blood was whan his blessyd & innocent handes & feet were nayled to the crosse. Here mayst thou thynke as yf thou seest hym: the fyers cruell tyrauntes & tormentours of our merceyfull lorde hale & pulle his blessyd armes some the one & some the other, so sore that it may seme to the that thou herest his joyntes to cracke & the senewes to brast in sondre. Than mayst thou thynke that thou seest hym dryue that is dryuer of the grete nayles in to his holy & swete handys and feet, and that thou beholdest the dryuer of the nayles & seest hym without ony rute or pyte smyte in euery nayle with many myghty strokes, & that thou seest the blood sprynge out at euery stroke; than seest our lorde shrynke & quake for hydeous payne & smartynge of his tendre flesshe newe cutte at euery stroke. This may thou thynke fyrst on that one hande, & after on that other, & also on the feet.<sup>57</sup>

Taken together these three devotions suggest the range and the not really very broad variety of the affective tradition as it operated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In many ways the last of the three devotions is the most starkly physical of them all, though it is hard to distinguish closely here when it is remembered that even the other two would have had their more physical parts meditated upon most closely, and even the iconographic emphasis of the five wounds meditation (closely followed in MS Douce 1) suggest a degree of fascination with those aspects of the Passion that would produce the most physically affective stirrings within the practitioner himself. What Nicholas Love calls the "ynner y3e of thy soule" was

clearly meant to move slowly over the narrative of the Passion itself and to pause over certain details, either incidents on the road to Calvary or even details within one or another scene at the Cross. Thus many of the details cited by Love--the nails, the ladder, the hammers--figure in a sequence like the Arma Christi as part of the total picture of Christ on the Cross. They are part of the narrative of the Passion over which the mind moves in its concern with the facts of the sacrifice, but they are also the details within the narrative upon which the practitioner meditates. As such, they for the most part follow the narrative of the Passion--though parts like that of Christ spat upon by two Jews are clearly out of sequence--and iconographic concerns like the pelican in the Arma Christi sequence or the wells in the devotion to the five wounds were clearly treated with the same literal exactitude that was applied to the figure of Christ.

But one of the controlling elements in all of these devotions was the practitioner's knowledge of the story of the Passion and his ability to think over the story in the course of his devotions. Exactly when this narrative element came to the fore is hard to say. It does not appear in Anselm or Bernard, and its expression even in a work like Richard Rolle's Meditation on the Passion is minimal. I would conjecture that it came about in later periods as a means of keeping the mind of the practitioner on the

suffering Christ and so stimulating affective feeling: one was more able to stay with a series of devotional exercises if there was some sense of continuum than if there was nothing but one isolated element after another to center upon. As original and forceful a mind as Richard Rolle's might well move from the image of Christ with many wounds as being like a dovecote which "is ful of holys so is þy body ful of woundys," to that of a honeycombe, to that of a book written in red ink, but for the ordinary imagination some sense of narrative could better stimulate devotion. This connection is supported by the many lives of Christ, and "Passions" extant from the later period. These writings, no less than the preaching of the friars and the iconographic representations ever-present in churches, would have made the story of the Passion well known in our period. Some of the incidents recur in a separate devotion like that of the Arma Christi which is influenced by the longer narrative writings. Thus the scene of Christ meeting the women while on the way to Calvary occurs in most renderings, as does Christ's answer to those who have come to mourn for him. Thus in the Northern Passion Christ warns:

3e doghters of ierusalem  
 And wiues out of bedleem,  
 Nomore now 3e murn for me,  
 For no sorow 3e on me se;  
 Bot for 3owre self wepe 3e þis day  
 And for 3owre childer murn 3e may;  
 For þe daies er cumand fast

þat all ioy sall be fra 3ow past  
 Opon 3owre faders sal 3e cry  
 And on 3owre moders and say in by:  
 "Faders, wharto war we born?  
 Wikkid werdes es vs byforn;  
 Moders, wharto war we wroght?  
 Better war vs haue bene nocht . . ."59

As he continues, Christ warns against the day to come when  
 all will be destroyed. The Southern Passion offers a far  
 shorter version, one substantially closer to the Douce  
 version:

"Ne wepeþ," he sede, "nou3t ffor me." þei  
 ich to depe gon,  
 Ak vp 3ow-sulf wepeþ." & vp 3oure children."  
 & vp me namore;  
 For vuele dayes ham shulle come on." þat hi  
 shulleþ drede so sore  
 To bydde þe hulles ffalle ham on." & helye  
 ham ffor drede."60

Thus the Arma Christi poem in Douce manuscript follows well-  
 known examples:

"Ne wepe ye not for my smert,  
 But for your children wepe ye at hert.  
 For they shall haue tourment and payne,  
 An hundred yere after, certayne."  
 (fol 64<sup>v</sup>)

The broader connections with these narratives, the fact  
 that both follow the story of the Passion, I have already  
 noticed, though it should be remarked that of course the  
 form of a verse devotion like the Arma Christi came over  
 from the Latin and that specific points of contact with the  
 explicitly narrative tradition (like the one cited above)  
 are of interest mainly because they reveal the habits of  
 mind of the practitioner. Beyond these coincidences both

narrative and devotional attitudes partake directly of the affective traditions we have been discussing. It would be beyond the scope here intended to list the full extent of these motifs, though it is interesting to notice some of them: when Christ is nailed to the Cross his limbs prove too short to reach the holes bored for the nails and so he is stretched with ropes until his sinews break (Northern Passion, 1599 ff.); the driving of the nails is fully described (1621 ff.). By contrast the Southern Passion has less of this element in it, though some of the other contemporary narratives, the Stanzaic Life of Christ and the Meditations of the Life and Passion of Christ are not untouched by it.

In the Meditations there is little of the intense fixation on particular details that characterizes so much affective devotion; rather there is anguish at what the author understands to be the pains of Christ. The nails are addressed:

þou nail of yron, who 3af þe leue  
Blod of þe flour for to reue?<sup>61</sup>  
(1519-1520)

And the rhetorical question characterizes the emotional content of the Meditations: sympathetic in the face of the most harshly physical details of the Passion. Other aspects--the water that flows from Christ's heart, the face in death-agony--are all treated with the mixture of longing and love that characterize the work as a whole. The

physical element is here more taken for granted than explicitly stated--the response of love flows mainly from the sympathy with Christ's suffering, and the degree of love he is thought to entertain in his death. In this poem as much as in any other the twin concerns of love and death are most convincingly pressed home. The concern with the physical details of the Passion is clear, though the details are not explicitly articulated.

It is not until we turn to a work like the Stanzaic Life of Christ that we find any reasoned argument for the amount of pain Christ suffered, and the extent to which his sufferings were unique, though the reasons were drawn from the Legenda Aurea. There are five reasons given: Calvary was a place for criminals, he was falsely accused three times, he was condemned by his friends, his body was delicate, and he suffered pain in all five senses. The author deals with each reason in some detail, but he adds to his source the reason for the delicacy of Christ's body:

And Crist most nedely tendre be  
that was not geten by monnes seed,  
but of a wommon flesche toke he,  
therfor tendre he most be nede.<sup>62</sup>  
(5593-5596)

This remarkable belief gives a certain insight into the way Christ's sufferings were viewed in the later periods. We have now come far indeed from the image of the Godhead as a distant and remote entity, one to be honoured and venerated. Rather the image here is of a most human and

sensitive being, one to whom the devout Christian must reach out less as a subject to his lord than as a remote and failing creature to an infinitely responsive and infinitely suffering being. When this response was mixed with some measure of the devotional intensity discussed above, the final product could indeed be an affective devotion. In the prose tradition, the most important of these devotions is certainly the Ureisun of Ure Louerde group, in which both devotional and aesthetic concerns are well exploited. The group is important as it antedates the influence of Richard Rolle on the devotional and poetic traditions and so helps to establish the existence of a school of affective devotion prior to Rolle's impact, which, generally speaking, may have been overemphasized when treated apart from the general movement towards an increasingly affective mode of expression.<sup>63</sup>

In On Ureisun, however, some measure of the more intense forms of devotion has combined with the reader's awakened sensitivity to a loving Christ. It is interesting to notice, however, that the devotion opens with a reference to the twofold nature of Christ--both God and man--a formulation that reaches back to The Dream of the Rood.

Iesu soð god. 64 godes sone. iesu soð god.  
soð mon.

Yet it is cast in a way that emphasizes each phrase with

the word "soð," giving a kind of force to the opening of the devotion. For the most part the devotion is broken into a number of short phrases which, recited in turn, could indeed stimulate devotion. "Tu art se softe" (ll. 6-7) the prayer goes on, and it is not until the most human aspects of the Saviour have been made sufficiently clear that we turn to any consideration of the Passion. This hesitation about bringing up the Passion is interesting, since what goes before prepares the reader all the more sharply for the reality of the Passion when it is broached. "Let me beo þi leofmon" (ll. 16-17), the practitioner declares, so making explicit a relationship whose closeness is clear from the first. Thus by the time we come to a consideration of Christ "isprad on rode" (l. 50) what we are presented with is a series of brief concrete references to certain physical details of the Passion.

A iesu þin  
 aorn hwet dep þenne þi blod isched on the  
 rode. hwet  
 dep þenne þe large broc of þi softe side.  
 þe strunden  
 þe striken adun of þine deorwurpe fet.  
 (ll. 79-82)

But what is most remarkable about these devotions is the way in which their tone remains constantly sensitive, constantly aware of the physical reality of Christ, so that even a brief reference to the Passion is able to draw forth an immediate response on the part of the practitioner. In this early example, the reader is assumed to be in close

enough contact with the exercise to need little in the way of introduction or pedagogy. Thus even the most fleeting reminder of the Passion is enough to evoke an acute remembrance in one who is suffering with Christ, one who thinks of himself as Christ's "leofmon." Even when the devotion turns didactic and prays that "strondes of blode" will fall from the Cross and "wasche mine fif wittes of alle bodi sunnen" (ll. 94-95), the effect hardly lessens the closeness of the relationship that has been assumed in the body of the devotion. The fourteenth-century expansion of this devotion is remarkable, among other things, for the extent to which its form was made to imply a degree of pedagogy absent in the earlier version.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps more important a devotion like On Ureisun and the devotions associated with it share much in tone with many contemporary lyrics on the Passion. Thus No. 64 in Carleton Brown's English Lyrics in the Thirteenth Century begins with the same dedication to a loved Christ that would find expression for the next two centuries.

Hi sike, al wan hi singe,  
 for sorue pat hi se  
 wan hic wit wepinge  
 bi-holde a-pon þe tre.  
 hi se ihesu, mi suete,  
 his herte blode for-lete  
 for þe luue of me.  
 his wordis waxin wete--  
 marie, milde and seeþe  
 þu haf merci of me!<sup>66</sup>

Here too the tone assumed is one of sympathetic suffering, of a kind of confrontation with the physical events of the

Passion in which it is clear that the reader's sympathies are engaged with the participants from the first and that each moment is endured with them. In a brief poem which Brown titles "Sunset on Calvary" (No. 1) much the same tone is maintained:

Nou goth sonne vnder wod,  
me reweth, marie, pi faire Rode,--  
Nou gob sonne vnder tre,  
me rewep, marie, pi sone and pe.<sup>67</sup>

In these lines we notice much the same quality of repeated words, slow movement between short phrases, and a sympathetic suffering with the subjects in question as in the Ureisun, though unlike the Ureisun, in this case the poem's center is Mary before the dead Christ--the tone is most nearly like that evoked by a Pieta--and the reality of the Passion is assumed to be present in the reader's mind without it being referred to specifically. The connotations are as well handled as they are difficult to articulate, but the going down of the sun (with the obvious play on the word), the shift of attention from the inanimate (wod--tre) to the face of the mother now made motionless and inanimate by sorrow (again with the play on Rode--Rood) and the emphasis on the part played by the reader, who has become virtually a spectator at the event (me rewep)--all are as originally put together as their sources are devotionally orthodox. It may well be, as Rosemary Woolf suggests, that the poem is rare in the extent to which it

applies the short compassionate form to the Virgin,<sup>68</sup> but the devotional tradition it springs from had been vigorous for at least a century, and the fact that it appeared when it did should not really surprise us. In another sense it could hardly have appeared at any other time, since the degree of restraint that it draws from the devotional tradition was eroded in the later periods, and original and gifted as the author undoubtedly was, it seems to me doubtful that he would have found a source for his inspiration at a much later time.

Yet even once we have established the main concerns of the devotional tradition it is difficult sometimes to know when, and to what extent, it ought to be applied to our criticism of poetry. Not every religious poem is devotional, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A large number of short verse prayers were noted down on the leaves of manuscripts, but many of these were probably recited or recalled more as charms than as devout remembrances of the Passion, and the references to the Passion within them seem to have little of the force of the devotional poems. Rather the references seem designed only to give authenticity--and so perhaps effectiveness--to the prayer, but it is hard to legislate here absolutely; the prayers may have been recited devoutly, whatever their meager literary or devotional quality.<sup>69</sup> Still, it would seem that there could be little devotion evoked by lines

like:

Iesu Crist of Nazarep  
 That for vs all suffriddist dep  
     Vpon þe Rode tree;  
 Thorow vertu of 3owre woundes. v.  
 That 3e suffryd in 3oure lyue  
     Haue mercy on me.

or:

Mary, for thine yoys fyve  
 Tech me þe vey to ryth lyue.<sup>70</sup>

The devotional influence is marked on what have been called "Private Prayers," which gave more weight to the affective traditions which I have been concerned with here.<sup>71</sup> These poems are from first to last exclusively affective in presentation. Some, like the Arma Christi sequences, were clearly intended to be so used; others, like the Christ as leman poems, spring from the more gently affective traditions that came from the type of devotions represented in On Ureisun. Thus the fourteenth century poem Brown titles "A Prayer of the Five Wounds" runs:

Ihesu cryst, myn leman swete,  
 3at for me deye-des on rode tre,  
 Wiht al myn herte i 3e bi-seke  
 for 3i wndes to and thre,  
 3at al so faste in myn herte  
 3i loue roted mute be,  
 as was 3e spere in-to 3i side,  
 whan 3ow suffredis ded for me.<sup>72</sup>

The poem is of interest because it makes explicit the reader's identification with the pain of Christ--his love will be like Longinus' spear--while at the same time retaining the less intense, but clearly sympathetic tone that

has been observed in "Sunset on Calvary" or On Ureisun. The combination of these ultimately opposed elements was not always taken for granted. In the Harley Lyrics (No. 18) the contrast is set between the sweetness of the coming of spring and the "grete nayles preo" (l. 14) with which Christ was crucified.<sup>73</sup> The poem is set as a love song to a lover, and Christ, "milde ant softe" (l. 21), is addressed with the love longing of the new spring. Here the visual element in the affective devotions is fully exploited:

When y miselue stonde  
           ant wip myn egen seo  
 purled fot ant honde  
           wip grete nayles preo--  
                           (11. 11-14).

But it is given the personal sense of reference of a lover --the contrast of the large nails in this context serves only to excite his love further, so that the general emphasis of the poem, in spite of the nearly-obligatory reference to "oure lyues ende" (l. 48) at the end, is to the living present, to the continuing love of a physically present lover.

The same contrast between the harsh physical realities of the Passion and the tender emotions evoked by them appears in another of the Harley lyrics, No. 20, "Dialogue Between the Virgin and Christ on the Cross." Here too the visual situation is of primary importance, and the injunction to Mary in line 2 to "byholt þy sone" is one that is

to be shared by the reader, though the charge to be "blyþe" is followed by such a close physical description of the physical details of the Passion as to be in a strange way apt: the contrast of joy out of this extreme woe seems to suggest that one will be no less great than the other, though the anguish of the observing lover is what gives the poem its appeal.

The affective influences were widespread and even poems that are not affective as a whole were influenced in some part of their composition. Thus in those carols Greene calls "Carols of Christ's Pleading" we find extended references to Christ the lover, Christ crucified for love.<sup>74</sup>

An unexceptional lyric like the fourteenth-century poem Brown calls "Christ's Appeal to Man" (No. 51) begins with this reference to the Passion:

Men rent me on rode  
 wiht wndes woliche wode,  
 al blet mi blode--  
 thenke, man, al it is 3e to gode.  
 (ll. 1-4)

The reference to "think" in the last line of the quatrain clearly is meant to suggest the degree of affective devotion dealt with here. Shortly thereafter the poet continues:

Biheld mi side  
 mi wndes sprede so wide  
 Rest-les i ride.  
 lok up on me! put fro 3e pride.  
 (ll. 9-12)

Here again the physical details of the Passion are exhibited. There is little attempt made to treat them artistically, or even, shock apart, very dramatically. The point is that they are meant to be affective enough in themselves so as to need little from the poet by way of exposition.

The poem is a useful one for our purposes since it shows, perhaps more clearly than do the infinitely better Harley lyrics, the way in which the devotions to the physical details of the Passion--and it was these that largely produced the affective devotions--were used, often as little more than a point of reference, in bringing about a right state of mind in a practitioner of devotion.

Most often the references within any poem enjoining the reader to "think," or "have in mind," or "devoutly to remember" are intended to bring about the state of mind in which it was possible to engage the affections and to bring about devout stirrings. The method used was often the visualizing of specific scenes in the Passion--scenes on the way to Calvary, on the Cross itself, and at the tomb in which the body of the dead Christ was finally placed--and by so doing to excite the emotions into a sympathy with Christ's sufferings. In theory this method of meditation would make one aware of the spiritual realities that were meditated upon: but did it? The question is not an easy one to answer. Surely in some of the poems it may

have done so: undistinguished as is "Christ's Appeal to Man" from a literary point of view, the fact that it drew on the tradition of affective devotion may have given it a certain devotional effectiveness. In many poems--even good poems, like those in the Harley lyrics--the tradition had an effect which seems to be virtually a sustaining one: without the vigour of the affective tradition some poems would be little more than a dry and pedestrian recitation of divine attributes. In the group of religious poems within as excellent a collection of Middle English poems as the Cambridge Lyrics the effect of the devotion cannot be said to be detrimental to the poetic achievement: "An ABC Poem on the Passion" takes whatever initial quality it has from the tradition, although it finally degenerates into a list of details:

- N. his nakyd body with woundes & knockys
- O. the opynnyng of hys hert cum lancia
- P. the prykyng of the nayles scharpe & thra
- Q. the quakyng of hys body for fere & sory<sup>75</sup>

Yet somehow lists like these (frequent in the later period, the Arma Christi is one of them) suggest more perfectly than any other single effect the limitations of the tradition and the reason, in spite of its popularity, for its failure. As the devotions persisted, and as the emphasis on the Passion became more and more intense, there crept in an increasing sense of frustration on the part

of those who constructed the devotions, an increasing sense that it was becoming more and more difficult to find any new expression of traditional devotion and form of utterance that had not been tried before. One result was greater reliance upon the mere mention of the Passion to carry much of the weight that had previously been borne by exposition, introduction, and some knowledge of the devout reader's psychology. As this tendency increased there grew up a greater and greater reliance upon certain specific devotions to take the place of any reasoned articulation of divine presence: devotions like those in the Douce manuscript, discussed in the notes to the poems in question, present a fairly clear picture of the extent to which devotion relied more and more on formulas and saints to preserve its continuity. In fact these devotions remained strong even after the methods of devotion to which they were linked had given way to the new influences from the continent, and after poetry began to draw more and more heavily upon the directions of excited wit. Rarely was there an attempt to close the gap between the old traditions and the new. William Alabaster's sonnet sequence "Upon the Ensigns of Christ's Crucifying" contains a number of sonnets on items usually treated in the Arma Christi sequence. The poem on the sponge is a good example of this not altogether successful attempt at mixing the conventions. It begins:

O sweet and bitter monuments of pain,  
 Bitter to Christ, who all the pain endured,  
 But sweet to me whose death my life produced.  
 How shall I full express such loss, such gain?<sup>76</sup>

Here the late mediaeval emphasis on the "bitter passion" and the experience of intense meditation upon it are caught in the poet's attempt not to think deeply upon them but to articulate them so as to express in an original fashion the relationship that had hitherto been taken for granted. In spite of the traditional formulas, this was a new attempt. The devotions no longer spoke for themselves with only little in the way of introduction, as some remarks on the value of meditation or on the efficacy of these particular devotions, or a request to Christ to aid in the practitioner's apprehension of the divine. What we find in the devout writings of poets and of writers of homiletic tracts from the late medieval period on is an increasing sense of the need to remake even the most obvious and fundamental stages of the relationship between man and God, not assuming too much familiarity on one hand, not reducing the relationship to a series of nearly formulaic utterances on the other. Clearly this is not the place for an extended treatment of the accomplishments of the so-called metaphysical poets--though it is hardly possible to group such various sensibilities under one heading, however commodious--but it seems fair to conclude by remarking that the major poets of these later periods were

faced with an extremely popular, extremely widespread, series of devotional attitudes that simply failed to satisfy anyone not ready to accept without question the canons of humble meditation upon which they rested. That the varieties of response to these devotions were often influenced by the very canons upon which they rested is clear both from any careful reading of the poems and from Martz's exposition of their more immediate sources in The Poetry of Meditation. This later poetic movement cannot be accounted for entirely by the matter of affective devotion with which we have been concerned, although the shift took place at a time when the devotions were, for the reasons we have examined, beginning to reach a saturation point beyond which their influence was to become more limited. Still, in assessing the work of any one of the later poets the influence of affective devotion will form only one part of his make-up, and any final definition of his aims and accomplishments will take into account his own development, along with, and perhaps often in preference to, the sort of intellectual background we have been concerned with here.

## NOTES TO PART II

<sup>1</sup>Although the full extent of Augustine's influence on the mediaeval devotional traditions has yet to be studied, see such selective studies as Dom. A. Wilmart, "Les Méditations sur le Saint-Esprit Attribuées à Saint Augustine," Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, VII (1926), 17-63; Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévot du Moyen Age Latin (Paris, 1932), p. 415 ff.; Helen White, English Devotional Literature (Prose) 1600-1640 (Madison, 1931), passim; The Tudor Books of Private Devotion (Madison, 1951), passim. The main line of late mediaeval devotion does not seem to have sprung from Augustine, so I leave for another time the general influence he exerted upon the later tradition.

<sup>2</sup>Martin P. Nilsson, "The High God and the Mediator," Harvard Theological Review, LVI (1963), 101-120, discusses the background and emphasizes such Roman Majestas Domini mosaics as those at S. Pudenziana, SS. Cosma e Dominas, and S. Lorenzo. In the archepiscopal chapel at Ravenna Christ appears "in a military costume, holding a cross with a very long and slender shaft in his right hand, shouldering it like a lance, and an open book in his left hand" (p. 119). See also Walter Oakeshott, The Mosaics of Rome (London, 1967), passim.

<sup>3</sup>The problem arose again in the eighth century with the adoptionist heresy which taught that Christ was only

the adopted Son of the Father. See Rosemary Woolf, "Doctrinal Influence on The Dream of the Rood," MAE, XXVII (1958), 137-153, and E. R. Hardy, Christology of the Later Fathers, Library of the Christian Classics, III (London, 1954), 346-385.

<sup>4</sup>I cite the edition of Bruce Dickens and Alan S. C. Ross (London, 1954), ll. 6-7, p. 21. To some extent the growing realization is the Dreamer's and as such is not altogether objective. For a treatment of this aspect of the poem see J. A. Burrow, "An Approach to The Dream of the Rood," Neophilologus, XLIII (1959), 123-133.

<sup>5</sup>The identification of the five gems with the five wounds is made most convincingly in Howard R. Patch, "Liturgical Influence in The Dream of the Rood," PMLA, XXXIV (1919), 242-245, though regrettably Dickens and Ross did not incorporate this information into their edition.

<sup>6</sup>The figure of Christ naked and crucified did appear in early iconography, though with little of the agony that is so apparent in later representations. Dickens and Ross note the presence on the Ruthwell cross of "a bearded figure of Christ, nude except for a loin-cloth" (p. 4), a motif found as early as the fifth-century crucifixion panel on the Church of St. Sabina in Rome, well reproduced in Wolfram von den Steinen, Homo Caelestis: das Wort der Kunst im Mittelalter (Munich, 1965), Plate 201.

<sup>7</sup>Quoted from Precum Libelli Quattuor Aevi Karolini, ed. Dom A. Wilmart (Rome, 1940), p. 15. The oratio to the Son is preceded by one to the Father and followed by one to the Holy Spirit, according to the practice, emphasizing the equality of the Trinity (cf. the similar prayer on p. 139).

The contents of this manuscript are described by E. K. Rand, A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1929), I, 113, as "a pocket Manual of Devotion, containing besides Alcuin's work on the virtues and vices, a collection of prayers (St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Gregory, etc.) closely related to Alcuin Officia per ferias (Migne, P. L., CI, 509 ff.), and finally the Penitential Psalms with another prayer following and ending incompletely." As an early devotional manual the manuscript is of much interest, as it helps to establish the earlier devotional tradition prior to the impact of Anselm's Meditations, and is itself in a tradition that leads ultimately to the Douce manuscript.

<sup>8</sup>Bodleian Library, Sum. Cat. No. 16923, f. 154. I have drawn from an oratio which concludes a section containing a Psalter, Canticles, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles and Athanasian Creeds, ff. 51-154<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>9</sup>Wilmart, Precum Libelli, pp. 10-11. I emphasize that the section quoted above is but a part of the whole

and that the role of sense experience at this time is not a prominent one. For a note on the devotion of this period see Wilmart, "Le Manuel de Prières de Saint Jean Gaulbert," Revue Bénédictine, XLVIII (1936), 259-299. Most regrettably Dom Wilmart did not live to publish the commentary projected for Precum Libelli; the article suggests the new devotions.

<sup>10</sup> Guido Maria Dreves, S. J., Clemens Blume, S. J., H. A. Daniels, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, XV, 12-17, No. 2, "De Divinis Nominibus."

<sup>11</sup> In his general survey The Making of the Middle Ages (London, 1967), p. 223 ff., R. W. Southern draws on J. Rivière, Le Dogma de la Rédemption au début du Moyen Age (Paris, 1934), to show that the theological argument behind the redemption centered upon a contest between God and the Devil to win man's full obedience, an idea related to the feudal act of diffidatio, whereby a man withdrew his loyalty from one lord and attached himself to another.

<sup>12</sup> George H. Williams, "The Sacramental Presuppositions of Anselm's Cur Deus Homo," Church History, XXVI (1957), 268. Williams cites Matthew 26: 39, 42 and Philipians 2: 8 as prominent in the argument of Cur Deus Homo I, viii, xi, regarding Anselm's penitential emphasis.

<sup>13</sup> In one prayer, R. W. Southern remarks, Anselm's

expansion of the traditional image of St. Peter as shepherd, the sinner as his sheep, employs a wealth of unexpected imagery.

The sheep is sickening to death: his ulcers swell, his wounds are reopened and grow putrid. The wolves have tasted his blood. They are waiting for him to be cast away. Faithful Shepherd, turn your eyes on him, see that he is one of yours.

In this prayer Southern finds

Rhyme, assonance, antithesis, the frequent employment of parallel grammatical constructions and closely similar words to express opposing or complementary ideas.

Later, as Southern notes, Anselm's style was to become more direct, but in the early period, the period of the meditations, it is interesting to find a complex rhetoric whose effect is to emphasize the disparity between man and God. Here, as in the sacred writings of the English Metaphysical poets, we are aware that the utterance is a distinctly human one, man's humble and reasoning attempt to leap to God, ever aware of the great gulf that lies between them. R. W. Southern, Saint Anselm and His Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought 1059-c. 1130 (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 44-45.

<sup>14</sup>Anselm, Opera Omnia, ed. Francis S. Schmitt, O. S. B. (Rome, 1946), III, 7. See also Anselm's "Oratio ad sanctam crucem," pp. 11-12, which emphasizes the obedience of Christ as well as the "crux gloriosa, in qua sola nos gloriari oportet." Anselm's prayers show slight but significant

variation from the psalter prayers printed by Wilmart in Precum Libelli, as for example the tenth century "orationes ad crucem," Wilmart, p. 142, a brief prayer of adoration. He is followed by William of Sainte-Thierry in his insistence upon some of the more affective concerns, whether rhetorical or no:

Sed heul heul Domine, quam preproperum est, quam temerarium, quam inordinatum, quam presumptuosum, quam alienum a regula verbi veritatis, et sapientie tue, corde immundo velle Deum videre. Sed o summe bone, summum bonum, vita cordium lux oculorum interiorum. . .

William of Sainte-Thierry, Deux Traites de l'Amour de Dieu, ed. M. -M. Davy (Paris, 1953), pp. 32-34.

<sup>15</sup>Schmitt, p. 79. Southern notes that there is something in Anselm's devotions "reminiscent of the later Donne," St. Anselm and His Biographer, p. 46, and this quality is perhaps best represented by the emphasis on the miserable and terrified sinner who prays "Terror horribilis, dolor terribilis, maeror inconsolabilis, aggerate vos super me" (p. 81). In the fourteenth century Anselm's devotional emphasis upon the name of Jesus would be influenced by Richard Rolle's reputation, and the devotion would be mistaken for the English Mystics': see Hope Emily Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole and Materials for his Biography (New York and London, 1927), "Prayer to the Name of Jesus (Meditatio of St. Anselm)," pp. 314-317.

<sup>16</sup>S. Bernard, Opera: Sermones Super Cantica Canticorum 1-35, ed. J. Leclercq, O. S. B., C. H. Talbot, H. M. Rochais, O. S. B. (Rome, 1957), I, 85.

<sup>17</sup>I am here indebted to George Bosworth Burch's introduction to his edition of Bernard's The Steps of Humility (Notre Dame, 1963), p. 30, which cites sermon 31 on the canticles, 2. In sermon 5 (Burch, p. 30) Bernard stresses the need for sense experience:

Habet ergo necessarium corpus spiritualis creatura quae nos sumus, sine quo nimirum nequaquam illam scientiam assequitur, quam solam accepit gradum ad ea, de quorum fit cognitione beata.

I am here not concerned with Bernard's mysticism per se, but with his relation to the devotional tradition of affective meditation.

<sup>18</sup>Opera: Tractatus et Opuscula III: "De Gradibus Humilitatis et Superbia:" "Primus superbia gradus: curiositas," pp. 39-45. The editors list 3 manuscripts in Cambridge, 7 in Oxford, 1 in the British Museum. On what I have called Bernard's latent humanism see Irénée Valléry-Radot, "L'Ecrivain, l'humaniste," in Bernard de Clairvaux (Paris, 1953), pp. 446-485, especially the section "L'homme Parfait," p. 478 ff.

<sup>19</sup>Opera III, 38.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 468-469, "De Consideratione ad Eugenium Papam," V. 2. 4. See Burch, pp. 28-35.

<sup>22</sup>Although this subject has not, so far as I know, been adequately treated, see Rand's catalogue of the manuscripts at Tours, I, 113, et passim.

<sup>23</sup>P. L. 184 col. 635 ff. For an introduction to the Pseudo-Bernard literature see Wilmart, "Le Pseudo-Bernard," in Auteurs Spirituels, p. 76 ff.

<sup>24</sup>P. L. 184 col. 752. Cap. VI ("De latronis confessione, et elogio sanctae crucis") concludes with an exclamation that seems to join both old and new traditions together: "Nullus ergo te quaerit, nullus te invenit nisi crucifixus. O gloriosa crux! radicare in me, ut ascendam in te."

<sup>25</sup>Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, p. 11.

<sup>26</sup>See n. 23 and for Anselm, Wilmart, Auteurs Spirituels, p. 173 ff. "Les Méditations réunies sous le nom de Saint Anseleme." On the question of text distribution in England see N. R. Ker, Mediaeval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books (London, 1964), which inter alia lists titles for Bernard and Anselm at Durham (p. 68), Hereford (p. 100), Leicester (p. 113), Lincoln (p. 117), the Carmelite convent in London (p. 124), Newham (p. 134),

Newstead (p. 135), Norwich (pp. 136-137), Oxford, All Souls College (p. 144), Rochester (p. 160), Salisbury (pp. 172-173), and Southwick (p. 181). The list is by no means a complete one. For their preservation in a mediaeval library for which we have rather more extended records see F. M. Powicke, The Mediaeval Books of Merton College (Oxford, 1931), passim: the book lists 14 items for Anselm, 15 for Bernard. The monastic expansion of this period is treated in David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 208-226 on Bernard and p. 227 ff. for the growth of the monasteries.

<sup>27</sup>On the distribution of Bonaventure see Ker, passim. He is represented in most of the libraries that list copies of Anselm or Bernard. On the Victorines and the later mystical writers see J. de Ghellinck, S. J., L'Essor de la Littérature Latine au XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle (Paris, Bruges, Bruxelles, 1954), p. 50 ff., and P. Pouret, II, 153 ff.

<sup>28</sup>Although the shift is, broadly speaking, away from the monastic enclosure we should not forget that it both began in the monastery (Bernard's devotions are aimed primarily at his monks) and continued there, along with the even older devotions drawn from the Psalter. The influence of the Norman Conquest is hard to assess in this regard, though early accounts like Thomas F. Simmons' introduction to The Lay Folks Mass Book, EETS 71 (London,

1879), p. xlix ff., overemphasize it. Southern suggests (Saint Anselm, p. 243) that there was an influx of continental literature into a rather dormant culture, though the coming of the Friars must be held to be of greater importance here, on which see Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 100-144.

<sup>29</sup>See David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (Cambridge, 1948), I, 127 ff. Knowles shows that as late as 1382 the Friars' reputation for theology remained unblemished, since in that year William Archbishop of Canterbury called a Blackfriars Council that condemned Wycliff, so indicating that

Whatever might be the general abuse of the friars, when an archbishop of Canterbury needed expert theological advice in the cause of orthodoxy, it was to the friars he turned. (II, 72.)

See also G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Mediaeval England (Oxford, 1961), 1-56.

<sup>30</sup>T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth, in The Lay Folks Catechism, EETS 118 (London, 1901), pp. 28-29, which reprints also a Wycliffite adaptation of the catechism, which expands mostly those sections with a social significance.

<sup>31</sup>Morton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (Michigan, 1952), p. 69 ff.

<sup>32</sup>Though even this tradition did not remain unchanged.

J. B. L. Tolhurst has shown that

A small group of later manuscripts from Christ Church Canterbury, Durham, Gloucester, Malmesbury and the nunnery at Wilton include a series of daily commemorations of the Passion and said after each of the hours of our Lady from Lauds to Compline.

The devotion was incorporated some time between 1316 and 1334 and was

probably a borrowing from popular lay devotion, as it is in some form commonly found in Books of Hours of lay use and forms the last amplification of the monastic office as said in monasteries of the English congregation before the suppression in 1539.

The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Bradshaw Society, vol. 80, (London, 1942), pp. 134-135. The prayer follows:

Oratio: Domine ihesu christe fili dei uiui pone passionem crucem et mortem tuam inter iudicium tuum et animas nostras nunc et in hors [sic] mortis nostre et largiri digneris uiuis misericordiam et gratiam defunctis ueniam et requiem ecclesie et regno pacem et concordiam et nobis peccatoribus uitam et gloriam sempiternam. Qui uiuis et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. (p. 135)

<sup>33</sup>Gustaf Holmstedt's edition of Speculum Christiani REETS 182 (London, 1933) lists 66 manuscripts and 5 printed editions (pp. xvi-xviii), and discusses the background (p. clxxx).

<sup>34</sup>Gordon Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, the Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250-c. 1450 (Manchester and New York, 1967), I, 51 ff. The struggle,

which lasted into the fourteenth century, reached even into England as the Joachimism beliefs (Leff, I, 68) did have an influence: see Morton W. Bloomfield, Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse (New Brunswick, 1961), Appendix I: "Joachim of Flora in Fourteenth-Century England," pp. 157-169, and Decima L. Douie, The Nature and Effect of the Fraticelli (Manchester, 1932), p. 22 ff. Though in this study it will be seen that I accept a break with Bernard's tradition occurring in the thirteenth century, earlier examples will be found in Jeffrey Burton Russell, Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), passim, and Knox, Enthusiasm, p. 9 ff.

<sup>35</sup>The Chastizing of God's Children, ed. Joyce Bazine and Eric Colledge (Oxford, 1957), pp. 96 and 47. The edition cites 14 manuscripts of this popular work.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 142-143. Chapter eight (p. 126 ff.) lists the four fevers through which the devotions may pass.

<sup>37</sup>Phyllis Hodgson, ed. Deonise Hid Deuinite and Other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer Related to the Cloud of Unknowing, EETS 231, (London, 1955), pp. 67-68. Poulain has some good remarks on religious illusions, pp. 320-379, and on how best to deal with them, 380-399, 638-648.

<sup>38</sup>Margery Kempe's early tract is printed in The Cell

of Self-Knowledge, ed. E. G. Gardner (London and New York, 1910), pp. 51 and 57. These devotional exercises are exceptional to be sure, but many of the most extreme meditations have not come down to us.

<sup>39</sup>It is interesting that the book contains an English translation of Susso's Horologium Sapientiae, though the more affective portions of that book are for the most part suppressed. See the introduction to The Chastizing, p. 79 ff.

<sup>40</sup>The Defence is printed in Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, pp. 527-538.

<sup>41</sup>The history of this controversy is recorded in the introduction to The Chastizing, pp. 65-78. On Margery Kempe see n. 43, below.

<sup>42</sup>The Chastizing, p. 220.

<sup>43</sup>The charge against Margery Kempe concerning the Flagellants is pointed out by Hope Emily Allen, The Book of Margery Kempe (ed. with S. B. Meech), EETS 212 (London, 1940), pp. 116; 314-315. Leff discussed the sect in Heresy, I, 485-493, and there are some good remarks on the group in Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (London, 1957), 125-148. The kind of disharmony such groups occasioned explains some of the opposition met by

genuine reform groups like the "New Devotions" in the Low Countries. See E. F. Jacob, "Gerard Groote and the Beginnings of the 'New Devotion' in the Low Countries," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, III (1952), 40-57.

<sup>44</sup>I quote from the first (Pynson) edition of 1493, Precept I, Chapter 54. Colledge notes a German story of the fifteenth century in which a woman excused herself from coming to church on the grounds that she meditated as she did her daily duties and is finally told by the priest that her life is holier than his own. Chastizing, pp. 81-82.

<sup>45</sup>See n. 1. Wilmart gives an enthusiastic impression of this popular devotion, nicely separating out the apparent divisions of the text, much as an earlier practitioner might have done.

<sup>46</sup>Wilmart, Auteurs Spirituels, p. 427. The newer Latin devotions enjoyed a wide popularity in England. Wilmart shows that at least 12 of the 18 manuscripts of the devotion of the Holy Spirit are English (Auteurs Spirituels, p. 419 ff.). Some, like Bodley MS 630 (Sum. Cat. 1953) show that the age of Latin devotions was anything but over, a fact verified by W. A. Pantin's "The Monk-Solitary of Farne: A Fourteenth-Century English Mystic," English Historical Review, LIX (1944), 162-186.

In the monk's first Meditation, Ad Crucifixum (p. 165 ff.), we find much of the new tradition. Pantin remarks of the author that "he is important as representing a transition or link between the schools of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. In form he seems to look back to the School of Anselm, in feeling and in many ideas, to St. Bernard" (p. 180). The identification of the manuscript (in Durham) provides an important insight into the devotional life of the period, though I would agree with David Knowles (Religious Orders in England, II, 116 n. 2) that the term "mystic" is best not applied to these intense and idiosyncratic devotions.

<sup>47</sup>Summa Theologica, vol. 39, trans. K. D. O'Rourke, O. P. (N. Y. and London, n. d.), pp. 80-91.

<sup>48</sup>Ancrene Wisse, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien, EETS 249 (London, 1962), p. 65.

<sup>49</sup>On Hilton see Joseph E. Millosh, The Soule of Perfection and the English Mystical Tradition (Madison, 1966), who warns (p. 46) against too close an identification.

<sup>50</sup>Butler, Western Mysticism, p. 174. Butler cites Sermon XX on the Canticles as evidence of Bernard's insistence upon rising from carnal experience to higher knowledge; to this reference may also be added the remarks in The Steps of Humility, Burch, p. 77.

<sup>51</sup>Albertus Magnus, Opera Omnia, ed. A. Borgnet (Paris, 1898), XXXVII, 528.

<sup>52</sup>Bonaventure, Opera Omnia, V, 295-296.

<sup>53</sup>Thomas Aquinas, Opera Omnia (Rome, 1897), IX, 189-190.

<sup>54</sup>Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers, ed. C. Horstman (London, 1896), II, 440. Most of the 17 items in the section of "Works wrongly attributed to R. Rolle," II, 367-458, belong to this later devotional tradition, though at this time there is also, of course, the influence of the mystics themselves to contend with. My concern throughout has been with the devotional tradition that the authors drew upon, rather than with their contribution to it.

<sup>55</sup>Margaret Deanesley, "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," MLR, XV (1920), 353.

<sup>56</sup>Ed. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1908), p. 237. I have modernized punctuation and old s throughout.

<sup>57</sup>STC 14546; Duff 107; sig A4<sup>v</sup>. I have modernized punctuation, capitalization, and letter forms.

<sup>58</sup>Richard Rolle, English Writings, ed. Hope Emily

Allen (Oxford, 1931), pp. 35-36.

<sup>59</sup>The Northern Passion, ed. Frances A. Foster, EETS 145 (London, 1913), p. 179. The French source is printed in EETS 147 (London, 1916), p. 120. The English version is expanded at this point.

<sup>60</sup>The Southern Passion, ed. Beatrice Daw Brown, EETS 169 (London, 1927), p. 53.

<sup>61</sup>Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ, ed. Charlotte d'Evelyn, EETS 158 (London, 1921), p. 40.

<sup>62</sup>A Stanzaic Life of Christ, ed. Frances A. Foster, EETS 166 (London, 1926), p. 188. Foster notices the addition in the notes to these lines, p. 390.

<sup>63</sup>On Rolle see Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1968), "The Lyrics of Richard Rolle and the Mystical School," p. 159 ff., which holds for a break in the lyrical tradition due to Rolle and the other mystics. As I have noted above, the shift seems to me to be a more gradual one, beginning in the thirteenth century and extending into the fifteenth.

<sup>64</sup>Be Wohunge of Ure Lauerd, ed. W. Meredith Thompson, EETS 241 (London, 1958), p. 1. It has been argued that the line cited exploits the rhetorical trope anaphora, a device occurring frequently in this group, though it

should be remembered that the purpose of the trope was explicitly devotional and that the words were probably formed more from previous example (we have seen such occurrences in Anselm) than from learned technique. On the rhetoric see Margery M. Morgan, "A Talking of the Love of God and the Continuity of Stylistic Tradition in Middle English Prose Meditations," RES, III (1952), 107. The line was repeated in the fourteenth-century A Talking of the Love of God, ed. Sister Dr. M. Salvina Westra, O. P. (The Hague, 1950), p. 1, a work whose whole tone is close to the Ureisun from which it partly derived.

<sup>65</sup>See the twenty-line introduction to the devotion (A Talking, p. 1), the references to Paul (p. 10) and, generally speaking, the extended length. In her translation Sr. Westra inserts exclamation marks throughout the opening section, so perhaps implying a greater degree of freedom than the sober and muted excellence of the devotion will permit.

<sup>66</sup>(Oxford, 1932), p. 122.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 1. I have accepted C. T. Onions' suggestion ("Two Notes on Middle English Texts," MAE, XVII (1948), 32-33) that the poem should be read as a full sentence, "now" functioning as a conjunction, since this reading seems to me to accord better with the slow,

ordered movement of the lines. There are many manuscript copies of the poem, No. 2302 in the Index of Middle English Verse and its Supplement, 16 Old French, 16 Latin, 10 English. There are useful critical notes by John L. Cutler, Explicator, IV (1946), 7, C. G. Thayer, XI (1953), 25, Stephen Manning, MLN, LXXIV (1959), 578-581, and George Kane, Middle English Literature (London, 1951), p. 140.

<sup>68</sup>English Religious Lyric, p. 242.

<sup>69</sup>On this matter see Rossell Hope Robbins, "Popular Prayers in Middle English Verse," MP, XXXVI (1939), 337-350, which prints 30 of the best known ones.

<sup>70</sup>Robbins, No. V (p. 338) and No. XXVII (p. 348).

<sup>71</sup>See Rossell Hope Robbins, "Private Prayers in Middle English Verse," SP, XXXVI (1939), 466-475. I have not cited any from this useful article because of the difficulty in deciding exactly how many so-called "Private Prayers" are in fact simply prayers influenced by the tradition of affective devotion: more, I think, than Robbins suggests.

<sup>72</sup>Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century, ed. Carleton Brown, Rev. G. V. Smithers (Oxford, 1957), p. 68, No. 52.

<sup>73</sup>Ed. G. L. Brook (Manchester, 1956), pp. 54-55. See also Nos. 35, 36, 37 of Brown's XIIIth Century English

Lyrics, "My Leman on the Rood."

<sup>74</sup>Richard Leighton Greene, ed. The Early English Carols (Oxford, 1935), p. 187 ff.

<sup>75</sup>Cambridge Middle English Lyrics, ed. Henry A. Person (Seattle, 1962), pp. 5-6. There are a number of such poems in the collection; see also No. 7, beginning

Thurwe my ryȝt hande a nayle was driuen  
per on þou think ȝif þou wilt lyuen,

and No. 8, both better poems than the ABC, both influenced by the affective tradition.

<sup>76</sup>William Alabaster, The Sonnets, ed. G. M. Story and Helen Gardner (Oxford, 1959), p. 13. See also the poems of Henry Lok and Christopher Lever printed in Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library, ed. Rev. A. B. Grosart, 4 vols. (Lancaster, 1871-72), vols. 2 and 3. Even the seventh of Donne's Holy Sonnets begins

Spit in my face yee Jewes, and pierce my side,  
Buffet, and scoffe, scourge, and crucifie mee,  
For I haue sinn'd. . .

The Divine Poems, ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford, 1952), p. 9. Here too there is an echo of the older traditions--specifically that of the Arma Christi.

DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPT  
AND PROVENANCE

Bodleian Library MS Douce 1 is a small vellum prayer-book of the mid-fifteenth century, measuring 3 in. x 2 3/8 in., enclosed in a French red moroccan binding of the late eighteenth century which is stamped in gold.<sup>1</sup> There are two endpapers, so that in its present binding the relation of the manuscript to its binding is represented i-ii, 1-82, i-ii. Douce's bookplate is on the inside of the front cover. A modern pencil foliation runs 1 to 82, correcting an undated ink foliation which incorrectly numbers 1 to 80. The collation of the gatherings appears to be 1<sup>1</sup>, 2-11<sup>8</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>, but I have been unable to verify this because of tight binding.<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript belongs to the collection of books and manuscripts donated to the library in 1834 by the antiquarian and scholar Francis Douce, who died on the 30th of March of that year. Douce may have acquired the manuscript in March of 1826. An entry in his Diary of Antiquarian Purchases for that month reads: "A beautiful little illum<sup>d</sup> book of prayers. Rodd."<sup>3</sup> If the reference is to our manuscript, then it was bought from Thomas Rodd (1796-1849), a London bookseller from whom Douce frequently made purchases and to whom, according to the DNB account, Douce left a legacy. Prior to this I have found no record of

the manuscript, though at an earlier stage in its career it was in France, in the library of a French collector. Dr. D. M. Rogers of the Bodleian Library very kindly informs me that the gold stamping on the binding is similar to that on books from the library of the Duke la Vallière, though it is not, in fact, the Duke's binding. Dr. Rogers dates the binding about 1780.

#### Manuscript Presentation and Related Matters

The manuscript opens with a miniature of St. Luke (f. 1<sup>v</sup>) and follows with Luke's account of the annunciation (l. 26-38, ff. 2--3<sup>v</sup>) and then with forty-eight Latin prayers, each of which begins with a decorated initial, a single gold letter on either a red or a blue background (ff. 4--54). Ff. 54<sup>v</sup>--81<sup>v</sup> contain the prayerbook treated here. Although the text is complete, the illumination is unfinished: the picture of the Virgin was omitted from f. 77 although space for it was left, and ff. 58--73 contain no rubriced capitals such as are used in the Middle English poems on ff. 73<sup>v</sup>--81<sup>v</sup>, though even these later rubricings are generally less ornate than those in the Latin section, being only a small amount of gold placed over a capital that had already been executed. More ornate capitals of the type used in the Latin section begin each of the prayerbook devotions. The Douce manuscript con-

cludes with two badly rubbed Latin prayers to St. Roche (ff. 82--82<sup>v</sup>), decorated like the other Latin prayers, which follow a two-line Middle English introduction and a crude line drawing of the saint (f. 81<sup>v</sup>).

The prayerbook section (ff. 54<sup>v</sup>--81<sup>v</sup>) contains a number of crude line drawings that are indicated in the following edition by brief descriptions placed in square brackets. The drawings are colored by the same dull gold used on the Middle English capitals. The same color is used on the line drawings on ff. 58--73, where the capitals are not colored.

Throughout the Douce manuscript the poems are set out as prose, save that space is left between stanzas in the introduction to the Arma Christi poem (ff. 54<sup>v</sup>--56) and in the section on the wound in the side in the Five Wounds poem (ff. 73<sup>v</sup>--75).

The hand throughout is a clear textura. The only problem occurs with capital W, which, alone among the letter forms in the manuscript, is not differentiated from its small equivalent in shape, and is generally the same size as small w. My editorial practice has been to silently transcribe capital W at the point in the text where it is required by the sense, and where scribal practice seems to dictate its use.

In this study of MS Douce 1 I have recorded variants from two related prayerbooks, the Thompson manuscript and

the version in A Glorious Medytacyon. I have not recorded readings of other versions of the devotions except at Arma Christi line 101, where collation seemed necessary. Apart from this line, the text of MS Douce 1 is a good one, with the exception of a few rubbed leaves in the Five Wounds poem which are easily corrected by reference to the Thompson manuscript or A Glorious Medytacyon. In the case of the Latin poem Ad Latus Salvatoris (ff. 70--70<sup>v</sup>), where all three versions in Douce, Thompson, and A Glorious Medytacyon were defective, I have made reference to the version printed in Analecta Hymnica, XXXI, no. 67.

Overall, it has been my intention to study the Douce manuscript as a prayerbook and to examine the place in society of the devotions it contains. Given this intention, the term original manuscript will here mean not the earliest version of any of the individual poems here included, but rather the common ancestor of the prayerbook collection found in Douce, Thompson, and A Glorious Medytacyon. There is an indication that the compilation went through two stages before reaching the order it takes in Douce. On f. 71 the Middle English line "Thus endeth the prayers of the passion of oure lorde." is immediately followed by the Five Wounds poem. Although the line appears in both the Douce and the Thompson manuscripts it was dropped from the later printed version, A Glorious Medytacyon, no doubt because it was inappropriate. What

follows in the Douce manuscript are the less common poems and prayers. The addition to the manuscript can be represented thus:

I. Prior to "Thus endeth . . ."

1. Arma Christi poem: Index and Supplement list 17 versions.

2. Ad Latus Salvatoris: Analecta Hymnica, XXXI, no. 67 prints another version.

3. Drops of Blood: Index and Supplement list 6 versions.

II. After "Thus endeth . . ."

1. Five Wounds: Douce, Thompson and Glorious Medytacyon only.

2. Blessed Mary: Douce, Thompson and Glorious Medytacyon only.

3. St. George introduction and prayer: Douce, Thompson and Glorious Medytacyon only.

4. St. Sebastian introduction and prayer: Douce, Thompson and Glorious Medytacyon only.

5. St. Roche introduction and prayer: Douce only.

It is possible to infer from this dichotomy that the devotions contained in the Douce manuscript following f. 71 were at some point added to an existing collection of devotions to form the vernacular prayerbook here presented.

That additions such as the one I have suggested could

be made is shown by the fact that the Thompson manuscript lacks the prayer to St. Roche and has instead a picture of a woman saint, who is unidentified and to whom no prayer is dedicated. The Thompson manuscript lacks the introductory Latin devotions of the Douce manuscript, and the Thompson prayerbook exists in its own right as a distinct medieval work.

Among the extant versions of the prayerbook as a whole the Douce manuscript is clearly the best text. As it shows no break in the manuscript between the devotions before the "Thus endeth . . ." note on f. 71 and those that follow, it is highly unlikely that Douce is the first complete compilation of the prayerbook, though as it is the only version with a prayer to St. Roche it is possible that this devotion, which I have excluded from the prayerbook proper, was added to Douce.

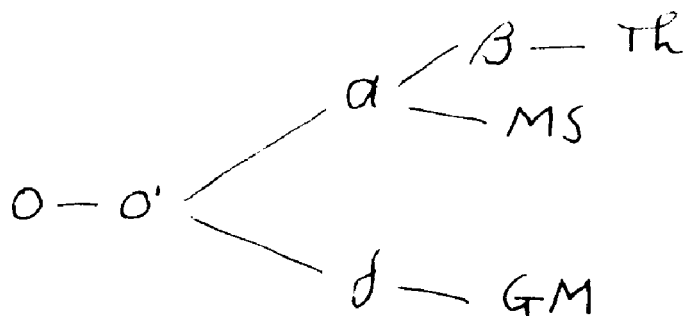
The Thompson manuscript shows corruptions in Arma Christi, lines 56 (the for MS with), 63 (my for MS many), 93 (wepest for MS mettest), 96 (wepe not, repeated twice, for MS apertement), 100 (All haue to pere here for MS An hundred yere), 141 (many for MS in my). The marked corruption in lines 93--100 shows that the Thompson scribe could not decipher his manuscript at this point and so resorted to what sense he could make (wepe not used emphatically) or close copy (All haue to pere here). He also violates meter (line 63 my for many in "And of many

synnes also") though the sense is not impaired. Clearly his exemplar was not the Douce manuscript, which is clear on these points. Thompson corrects Douce in a few readings: Arma Christi, line 40 (was for MS vas), 102 (we for MS ye), 106 (me for MS om.), 113 (The for MS Th), 142 (shryue for MS thryue); Five Wounds, lines 26 (of for MS yf), 42 (the for MS om.). It will be noticed that the errors in the Douce manuscript are simply scribal errors usually affecting only one letter in a word or resulting in the omission of one word. The errors in the Thompson manuscript, on the other hand, are more serious. Clearly the manuscript copied by the Thompson scribe was more corrupt than the one copied by the Douce scribe. Douce's errors may be the fault of the Douce scribe himself, in an imperfect copy of  $\alpha$ . The errors in the Thompson manuscript, however, can only be explained by postulating a manuscript executed after  $\alpha$ , without the scribal errors in the Douce manuscript, but with more serious corruptions, ones which the Thompson scribe was not able to overcome.

The manuscript from which A Glorious Medytacyon was printed differed in several respects from both the Douce manuscript and the Thompson manuscript. It lacked the introduction to the Arma Christi poem, lines 1--12, and it adds an indulgence to the Latin poem Ad Latus Salvatoris, and two opening lines to the Drops of Blood poem which differ from the two opening lines in either of the other

two versions of the prayerbook. Beyond these major differences A Glorious Medytacyon omits Arma Christi line 16 and line 18, and Ad Latus Salvatoris lines 7-8. It does not have the Thompson manuscript's confusion in Arma Christi lines 93-100, but has readings which differ from both the Thompson manuscript and the Douce manuscript. These include: Arma Christi, lines 17 (His for MS Thi, three times), 101 (grace for MS synne), 124 (ydelnesse for MS ylnes), 137 (ony man me for MS ony me), 148 (of herte for MS for synne); Five Wounds, lines 1 (gret for MS bitter), 2 (Obserue for MS Accepte), 8 (That was through for MS Thorough), 13 (Thy for MS The), 36 (all for MS yll); St. George Introduction, line 1 (the noble for MS oure ladyes); St. George Prayer, line 18 (paradyce for MS heuen); St. Sebastian Prayer, lines 2 (greuously for MS sore), 10 (kepe for MS he brynge). Taken together, these readings show that A Glorious Medytacyon was printed from a manuscript that was different in several respects from either of the other two versions. There are too many changes to be accounted for by scribal irregularity. Beyond this, the changes cited are not corruptions from the Douce manuscript, but different and correct readings that depend upon a different authority. As there are omissions in A Glorious Medytacyon it is clear that the manuscript from which it was printed was not the original compilation, although it did contain an element as major as the in-

dulgence to Ad Latus Salvatoris, which is lacking in the Douce manuscript and the Thompson manuscript. We may thus construct the following stemma of the extant versions, where O represents the compilation prior to the addition of the devotions following the "Thus endeth . . ." note on f. 71, and where O<sup>1</sup> represents the first complete compilation of the version copied in the Douce prayerbook:



#### Language

The language of MS Douce 1 has few distinctive features and shows inconsistencies common to late Middle English texts. Any dialectical distinctions have been broken down, and there is no close relationship between spelling and sound that can be relied upon. Throughout the text inflected endings show a late stage in the break-up of the Middle English system. A few points of interest are discussed in the notes. (See notes for Arma Christi, lines 12, 101.)

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>The manuscript's Summary Catalogue number is 21575. It is described in the Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts Bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq. to the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1840), where its number is assigned.

<sup>2</sup>The collating is complicated by the fact that the manuscript has been given gilt edges, probably when it was rebound. The edges of the manuscript have been trimmed by the binder's knife.

<sup>3</sup>I quote from the typescript copy of Douce's Diary of Antiquarian Purchases, now in the Bodleian Library, p. 100.

- MS MS Douce 1, Summary Catalogue 21575.
- Th Thompson MS, olim Amherst, olim Phillipps  
 Recorded: 1. Southeby Sales Catalogue 1909, Item 673. 2. A Brief Account of the Theological MSS in the Library of J. O. Halliwell Esq., F. R. S. (Brixton Hill, 1854). 3. A Brief List of Some of the Rarer and Most Curious Old-Book Rarities in the Library of J. O. Halliwell, Esq. Illustrative Chiefly of Early English Popular Literature (West Brompton, 1862), MS IV. 4. Seymour de Ricci. A Handlist of a Collection of Books and Manuscripts Belonging to the Right Honourable Lord Amherst of Hackney at Diddlington Hall, Norfolk (Cambridge, 1906), MS 20, p. 101.
- GM A Glorious Medytacyon of Ihesus Crystes Passyon (STC 14550).
- D "Ad Latus Salvatoris," printed in G. M. Dreves, S. J., and C. Blume, S. J., Analecta Hymnica, XXXI, no. 67.

f. 54<sup>v</sup>

## [Figure of Christ with Cross]

f. 55 O Glorius god redemer of mankynde.  
 Whiche on the crosse hyng full of compassyon.  
 Graunt of thi grace within my herte and mynde:  
 Holly to remember the armes of thy passion

Enrote good lorde thi greuoues paynes stronge. 5  
 Depe in my thought. auoydyng all synne  
 And purge the vyces pat hathe ben in me longe.  
 With contrite herte these verses to begynne.

f. 55<sup>v</sup>

Enclayne alowe of mercy now thyne ere. 10  
 Contemplynge thy paynes. vnto my peticion.  
 And graunt me grace so to serue the here.  
 After this lyfe to be in thi tucion Amen.

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1--12: GM om.

1 O Glorius god: Th O gloryous Ihu.

11 And graunt: MS And graunt

12 After: MS Affter



f. 57<sup>v</sup> The pellicane his bloode dothe blede.  
 Therwith his birdis for to fede.  
 It figureth that god with his bloode.  
 vs fede hanging on the rode. 30  
 Whane he vs brought oute of hell.  
 In ioy and blis with him to dwel.  
 And be oure fader and oure fode.  
 And we his childerne meke and good.

[30 Pennies]

f. 58 The penyes also that Iudas tolde. 35  
 For the wiche oure lorde was solde.  
 Lorde kepe me fro treason and couetyse.  
 Therin to dye in no maner of wyse.

[Lantern with Mace and Axe  
 Crossed behind It]

---

28 his birdis: Th her byrdes  
 30 vs fede: Th Fedde vs  
 31 vs brought: Th brought vs

f. 58<sup>v</sup>      The lanterne that they bare in light.  
 Whan crist was taken in the nyght.      40  
 Lorde kepe me from nyghtes synne.  
 That I may neuer deye therin.

[Two Swords]

f. 59      The swerdes and battes that thei dyd bere.  
 There with Ihu Criste to fere.      45  
 From fendes lorde kepe thou me.  
 Of them aferde neuer to be.

[A Staff]

---

40 was: MS was  
 42 That I may neuer deye therin: Th So that  
     I neuer deye therin, GM That I neuer  
     deye therin  
 43 The swerdes and battes that thei dyd bere.:  
     Th Swerdes & battes the iewes dyde  
     bere

f. 59<sup>v</sup> With a staffe thou had a stroke.  
 Therwith the Iewes thi hede broke  
 With good chere and mylde mode.  
 All. thou suffered and still stode. 50  
 Whan I. mysdo or any me.  
 It be forgeuen for thy pitte.

[Two Hands, One Open as if to Strike  
 One with Pulled Hair in It]

f. 60 The handes lorde that tare thyn heere.  
 And the hand that smote the vnder the eere.  
 For that payne lorde be my socoure heere. 55  
 That I haue synned with pride of heere.  
 And all other synnes also.  
 That I with eeres haue herkened therto.

[A Cloth]

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50 All. thou: GM All this thou  
 55 heere: MS, GM there  
 56 with: Th the

- f. 60<sup>v</sup>      The clothe before thi eyen two.  
 They bobbed the. thei knytted so.      60  
 Lorde kepe me from vengeaunce.  
 Of childhode and ignoraunce  
 And of many synnes also  
 That I. se with myn eyen two.  
 And my nose in smelles of swetnes.      65  
 By vanytes and wantonesse.
- f. 61      Christ's Cloak and Three Dice  
                   upon It
- The Iewes also keste lote.  
 On thi precious purpule cote.  
 A gret dispyte to the alway.  
 Whan ony with dyce play.      70  
 Lorde be thou my helpynge.  
 If I haue vused my clothing.  
 By vayneglory and vanyte.  
 Gracyous lorde pardon me

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63 many: Th my





f. 65

## [Three Nails]

The nayles through foote and hand also. 105

Lorde kepe me from synne and wo.

f. 65<sup>v</sup>

That .I. haue in all. my lyfe done.

With handis handiled and fete mysgone.

## [Two Hammers Crossed]

The hamers bothe strong and grete.

That perced holes in hand and fete

Lorde be my socoure in all my lyfe.

And kepe me harmeles fro swerde and knyfe. 110

f. 66

[Two Jugs on Platters  
on a Hillside]

The vessel of eysel and gall.

Lorde kepe me from synnes all.

That to the soule be no venome.

That I neuer be poysoned therin. 115

## [Sponge on a Pole]

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106 me: MS om.

113 The: MS Th

f. 66<sup>v</sup> Whan thou had grete thirst and nede.  
 They gaue the eysell and gall on a rede.  
 Of that I haue wasted in gloteny.  
 Lord forgeue me when I. dye 120

[A Spear]

f. 67 Lorde the spere so sharpe ygrounde.  
 That in thy hert made a wounde.  
 It quenche the synnes I haue wrought.  
 And with hert in ylnes thoute. 125  
 With my pryde and boost therto.  
 And myn vnbuxumnesse also.

/A Ladder]

f. 67<sup>v</sup> The ladder that reysid hy.  
 From the crosse to take thy body.  
 Whan .I am lorde in deedly synne  
 Geue me repentaunce and shrifte to wyne. 130

[A Pair of Tongs]

---

124 ylnes: GM ydelnesse

f. 68 The tonges that drewe the nayles out.  
Of fete and handes withoute doute.  
And losed thi body from the tree.  
Of my synnes lorde lose thou me.

[Christ Spat on by Two Jews]

f. 68<sup>v</sup> The Iues that spyt lorde in thy face. 135  
All thou suffered and gaue them grace  
That I haue offendid or ony me.  
Forgeue it lorde for that pytte.

[Angels with Cross, Virgin and Child]

f. 69 The crosse behynde thy bake bone. 140  
That thou sufferd thi passyon vpone  
Lorde geue me grace here in my lyue.  
Clene of my synnes me for to shryue  
And therto perfyte repentance  
With space to performe my pennaunce

[Christ in Tomb]

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133 And losed: Th And so losed  
137 ony me: GM ony man me  
138 that: GM thy  
140 thi: GM om.  
141 here: GM om.--in my: Th many  
142 Clene of my synnes me for to shryue: Th  
Of my synnes clene for to shryue--for:  
GM om.--shryue: MS thryue

f. 69<sup>v</sup>

The sepulcre wherin thou were layde.  
 And thi blessid body all. to brayed.  
 Lorde graunte me or that I dye.  
 Sorow for synne with teeres of eye.  
 And clene remission for to haue.  
 Or I. be buryed and layde in graue  
 And heuen to haue at my laste ende.  
 Ihu Crist vs thider sende. Amen.

145

150

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145 layde: Th layd lorde  
 146 And: Th, GM om.  
 148 for synne: GM of herte  
 151 And: Th om.--to haue: Th for to haue

f. 70	Ave vulnus lateris <u>nostr</u> i saluatoris Ex quo fluxit fluminis fons sed et cruoris. Medicina miseris esto nunc doloris. Sana simul criminis plagam <u>et</u> erroris	5
	Ave plaga lateris larga <u>et</u> fecunda. Lava multitudinis sordes et emunda Ne ledat in inferis tuos mors secunda. Sed in visu numinis fiat mens iocunda.	10
f. 70 <sup>v</sup>	Amen. Pater <u>no</u> ster. Ave maria. Credo in deum patrem.	15

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GM prefixes: Innocentius papa secundus  
    concessit cuius libet hanc orationem  
    sequentem devote dicenti quatuor milia  
    die cum Indulgentia., D prefixes:  
    Innocentius papa hanc orationem quatuor  
    annis plenae indulgentiae dotavit.

2	saluatoris: D redemptoris
3	fluminis: MS, Th flumine
4	fons sed et: MS, Th, GM fonsque
5	miseris: MS, Th, GM miseria
7:	GM <u>om.</u> --Sana: D Sanans
8:	GM <u>om.</u> --plagam: D plagas
10	et: D quam
13	ledat: D laedat--in inferis: MS, Th, GM inferius
15	in: D et
16	iocunda: D iucunda

- f. 70<sup>v</sup> The nombre of the droppes of blode.  
 That Ihu Criste shed for manhode.  
 Fyue hondred thousande for to tell.  
 And eyght and forty thousande well  
 Fyue thousande also grete and small:  
 f. 71 Here is the nombre of them all:

5

Thus endeth the prayers of the passion of  
 oure lorde.  
 Of the .v. woundes of our lorde

∟Christ Sitting with Hands  
 Bound in Front∟

- 
- 1--2: GM The noumber of the dropys all/  
 I wyll reherse in generall  
 3 hondred: GM .C.  
 4 eyght and forty: GM .xlvi.ii.  
 5 thousande: GM .C.

rubric Thus endeth the prayers of the passion  
 of oure lorde: GM om.--lorde.: Th  
 lorde Ihesu Cryst--Of the: GM Here  
 foloweth the prayers of pe--v.:  
 Th fyue--lorde: GM lorde. Ihesu cryste

f. 71<sup>v</sup> Gracious lorde for thy bitter passion.  
 Accepte my prayers that .I. do repete.  
 And on my soule take compassyon.  
 At my deth for all thi woundes grete.

Of the ryght hande

Wel of mercy passyng al mysdede.  
 Of mercy I pray the .I may spede.

5

f. 72 ∟ A Right Hand, Pierced.  
 Above It a Crown, Beneath  
 a Scroll Inscribed well  
of mercy ∟

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1 bitter: GM gret  
 2 Accepte: GM Obserue

rubric Of the ryght hande: Th om.

6 mercy I pray: Th mercy pray--the: Th pat,  
 GM that

f. 72<sup>v</sup> The ryght hand lorde of trought and unyte  
 Thorough perced with a rugged nayle.  
 Be my socoure in the extremite.  
 Of deth whan he shal me assayle. 10

Of the lyft hande.

Wel of grace thou be my gyde.  
 Night and day one eche syde.

∟Left Hand, Pierced.  
 Above a Crown, beneath  
 a Scroll Inscribed welle  
of grace∟

f. 73 The lift hande lorde of ryght and justice.  
 Fastned to the crosse by gret vyolence.  
 Delyuer me of euery deedly vyce. 15  
 That I may cume into thy presence.

---

8 Thorough: GM That was through

rubric Of the lyft hande.: Th om.--Of: GM To

13 The: GM Thy

Wel of lyfe that euer shal laste.  
My herte in the make thou stedfaste.

f. 73<sup>v</sup>

✓Pierced Heart, a Larger  
Crown above, beside a  
Scroll Inscribed welle  
of lyfe✓

f. 74

Thi hert that alway had mynde.  
By pitteful loue and charite. 20  
With feruent fauor to mankynde.  
Was launced with grete iniquite.  
The tyrauntes fell without pytte.  
Opened thi syde blessid sauour  
Both blode and water therout gan poure. 25

f. 74

The vertu of that precyous blode.  
In hongir and thurste of mortal synne.  
Be euer more my helthfull fode.  
Therby thy blisse for to wyne. 30  
No dampnable werke let me begynne.  
And that my hert may so enclyne  
The for to serue as one of thyne.

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19 Thi: Th The  
22 with: Th om.  
24 sauour: MS cropped here reads sauou,  
Th sauour, GM sauoure  
26 of: MS yf

f. 75      The water that there gan yssue.  
 Upon the crosse tree distillynge.  
 Kepe my herte in menynge true.      35  
 And clenelynesse of yll thinkyng.  
 The vyle werkes done in my lyuyng.  
 By vertue of that water clere.  
 Be clensted neuer to appere.

Of the ryght fote

Welle of pytte thou sprede and sprynge.      40  
 And take fro me worldly lykyng.

f. 75<sup>v</sup>

∟Right Foot, Pierced.  
 Above a Crown, beneath  
 a Scroll Inscribed welle  
of pyte∟

f. 76      The ryght fote with the wounde so wyde.  
 Which in this worlde was all bare.  
 Graunt me grace my selfe to guyde.  
 That in thy seruyce .I. may fare.      45

---

36 yll: GM all  
 39 clensted: GM clensted and

rubric Of the ryght fote: Th om.

40-41: GM om. both lines

42 the: MS om.

## Of the lyfte fote

Well of comforte that neuer shal fayle.  
Kepe me fro synnes that me assayle.

Left Foot, Pierced.  
Above a Crown, Beneath  
a Scroll Inscribed welle  
of comforte

f. 76<sup>v</sup>

The wounde made in thy lyft fote.  
With a sturdy nayle to the crosse tre.  
Graciously be my refuge and bote.  
And comforte in aduersyte.  
Amen.

50

To the glorious virgyn. Mary. Quene of heuen  
and moder of mercy.

f. 77

Space Left for Picture

---

rubric Of the lyfte fote: Th om.

48 fote: MS syde, elongated s, yde rubbed as  
if in preparation for correction.

Space Left for Picture: Both Th and GM have  
pictures of Virgin and Child; GM has  
penitent praying O mater dei memento mei  
and along right and left sides Sancta  
maria Ora pro nobis

- f. 77<sup>v</sup> Blessed mary moder virginall.  
 Integrate mayden sterre of the see.  
 Haue remembraunce at the day fynall.  
 On thy poore seruaunt now prayng to the.  
 Myrroure without spot red rose of Ierico. 5  
 Close gardyn of grace. hope in disparage.  
 Whan my soule the body parte fro.  
 Socoure it frome myn enmyes rage.
- f. 78 Of saynt George oure ladyes knyght. 2  
 Of whome no torment coude haue myght.

[Picture of St. George  
 Standing, Killing Dragon]

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4 On: GM Of

1: Th om.--oure ladyes: GM the noble

2: Th om.

- f. 78 O blessed martir of god saynt George to  
the be gyuen laude & glorye aboue all  
other knyghtes. by whose vertue a kynges  
doughter beyng in drede and danger to be  
deuored of an horryble dragone was 5  
graciously preserued and saued with many  
other I poore and miserable synner the  
f. 79 requyre with stedfast herte and faithfull  
mynde pat it wolde please the to be my  
defender in this lyfe frome al temptacions 10  
and persuacyons dyabolycalle as of the  
worlde. the flesche. and the deuyll. And  
at the moste dredefull houre of my deth.  
I. humbly beseche the that by thy blessid  
f. 79<sup>v</sup> intercessyons to be as aduocate and 15  
medyatour towards be souerayne Iudge for  
me whan the moste tedyous and damnable  
dragons of helle shal be redy to take my  
poore soule and engloute it in to theyr  
infernall belyes. to the ende that I may 20  
be one of the nomber of the saued and  
chosen people of heuen To the whiche we  
f. 80 may come by the meryte of the glorious  
martyrdom A M E N

- 
- 1 O: MS om., but with space left for  
illuminated letter  
4 doughter: MS dorsghter  
9 wolde: Th, GM wyll  
20 the ende: MS, Th, GM thende  
22 heuen: GM paradyce

Of the blessyd martir saynt Sebastyane.  
Whose greuous paynes none tell can 2

[Picture of St. Sebastian  
Tied to a Tree and Shot  
with Arrows. Two Men with  
Bows Stand by.]

- f. 80<sup>v</sup> Glorious martir of god saynt Sebastyane  
whiche had leuer be sore tormentyd and  
shot to dethe than to worship and do  
sacryfyce to the ydolles and fals goddes.  
I synfull creature beseche the for the 5  
mynde of thy sayd passyon to ayde and  
socoure me whan the fals and cursed  
enmyes shoteth. and castyth at me  
f. 81 arowes of dampnable temptacyons of  
vyces and synnes to enforce and con- 10  
strayne me to do oblacyons and seruyces  
to the sensuall voluptuosytes of my  
frayle body for to brynge me to the  
f. 81<sup>v</sup> dethe eternall of hell. fro the which  
he brynge vs all. the whiche was borne 15  
in an oxe stall. Amen.

1: Th om.--Of: GM To  
2: Th om.

Prayer

- 2 sore: GM greuously  
6 thy: GM the  
9 of: MS ad  
14 fro: Th for--he brynge: GM kepe--all. the:  
MS All. the the  
16 an: MS a--Amen.: Th A. M. E. N., GM Amen.  
Amen. For charyte., MS adds Of the  
blessyd confessor Saynt Rocke. In goddes  
fayth as stedfast as a Roke., followed  
by a picture of the saint and a Latin  
prayer to him.

Arma Christi Poem

Index of Middle English Verse No. 2577. The introduction (ll. 1-42) is separately listed as No. 2442. The Index lists fifteen versions of the Arma Christi poem, the Supplement to the Index adds two more. The Douce and Thompson manuscripts are the only ones to include an introduction, though other versions do contain a concluding prayer (Index No. 1370) absent from our versions. See my "Two English Devotional Poems of the Fifteenth Century," N+Q N S XV (1968), 4-6, where the Douce version is printed without knowledge of Th. The introductory lines are detached and printed as a separate poem "O Redeemer, Purge Me of My Vices," in C. Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century (Oxford, 1939), No. 43, p. 221.

Other Arma Christi poems are published by Richard Morris, ed., Legends of the Holy Blood: Symbols of the Passion and Cross Poems, EETS 46 (London, 1871), pp. 170-196. Morris prints facing texts from BM Royal MS 17 A 27 and BM Additional MS 22029; readings are taken from BM Additional MS 11748 and incorporated into the Royal manuscript. Morris also prints the crude line drawings that accompany the manuscripts, drawing very close to those in the Douce manuscript.

I have made no attempt to decide authorship of these remorselessly anonymous lyrics. The general subject is

treated in Rossel Hope Robbins, "The Authors of the Middle English Religious Lyrics," JEGP, XXXIX (1940), 230-238, which demonstrates a primarily Franciscan origin for most lyrics.

Although the source of the Arma Christi devotion has yet to be established absolutely, I follow Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1968), p. 389, in accepting G. Miller's theory of twelfth-century Byzantine origin for the devotion, which seems to have first appeared in pictorial rather than in literary representation and to have been spread in this way in later Italian painting, when, with the addition of many of the instruments surrounding the half-length figure of Christ, the devotion grew in popularity. It became associated with the apparition to Gregory the Great and was disseminated both with Gregory kneeling before the altar on which Christ appears and (more widely) in a representation of Christ alone surrounded by the instruments of the passion. Woolf cites English examples of the devotion (pp. 390-391) and speculates (quite rightly, to my mind) that "there were originally many thousands of such representations all over England" (p. 391). Although many of the English examples that remain (like the crude line drawings in our prayer-book) are not of any real quality, the devotion could inspire works of art. Lorenzo Monoco's painting in Room 7 of La Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze, painted in 1404,

shows a half figure of Christ in a tomb, the Virgin and St. John nearby, and the instruments around, with much the same attention to symmetric construction that Bernard Berenson noted in an earlier painting by Roberto Oderisi in Studies in Medieval Painting (New Haven, 1930), pp. 75-81. In an anonymous Alsatian painting of the late fifteenth century now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, Christ appears sitting on the rock of Calvary, his head on his hand, thinking of the Passion and its implications. Around and above are the instruments. The scene is in many ways more moving than Monoco's painting because the Christ figure is less static, his composition less formalized in the context of the devotion. But more affective than either is the painting by Hans Memling in the Capilla Real in Granada showing a half-length figure of Christ with his mother behind him and behind them both a cross with instruments on either side. In Memling's painting the artist has chosen to emphasize human faces rather than instruments around Christ and the Virgin. It depicts the heads of two of the chief priests as well as some of the more usual heads: Judas, Peter being challenged, two Jews. The instruments are the standard ones, a cock, a column, a sponge, a spear, two staves, three nails, a hammer, a whip, a hand pulling hair, but all are subordinated to the figure of Christ and the Virgin, and to the affective attitudes they maintain. It is interest-

ing that all three of these more important representations are concerned with depicting the Passion in a way as moving as possible, in engendering a degree of devotion.

On the drawings associated with the Arma Christi see especially E. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 261-308, and Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Künste, VI (1955), 35-152.

English representations may be found in C. J. P. Cave, The Roof Bosses of Winchester Cathedral (Winchester, 1955), and C. Carter, "The Arma Christi in Scotland," Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, XC (1956-57), 116-129, which links the devotion to the Five Wounds. The popularity of the devotions in England can be seen partly in the high number of vernacular manuscripts in which they occur, partly in the references to the devotion found in other texts. Audelay's "De Effusione Sanguinis Christi in Remissione Peccatorum" (EETS 184, p. 50), is most unlike Chaucer's Pardoner swearing

"By Goddes precious herte," and "By his nayles,"  
And "By the blood of Crist that is in Hayles."  
(Robinson C (VI), 651-652),

but both attest to the popularity of the devotion. Short poems touching on the devotion are numerous. 116, Bodleian MS Bodl. 622 (Sum. Cat. 2156) reads:

A scheld of red a crosse of grene  
a croune ywrithe with thornes kene  
a sper a sponge with nayles thre

a body ybounde to a tre  
 who this schild in herte wul take  
 Among his enimes þar he noȝt quake.

The Summary Catalogue dates the manuscript as late thirteenth-century, thus suggesting a rather early date for the diffusion of the devotion. Other poems cite specific instruments as objects of meditation: the second of the Three Middle English Religious Poems, edited by R. H. Bowers (Gainesville, 1963), cites the nails, the cross, the spear, and the blood and water that poured out as reminders of Christ's suffering and of human penance (ll. 15-30). But almost any homiletic text will give some such evidence; there are too many to catalogue here, although certainly the most useful account of the devotion in England is Rossell Hope Robbins, "The 'Arma Christi' Rolls," MLR, XXXIV (1939), 415-421, which discusses those devotions that are found on rolls and considers their use in society. Further support to Robbins' theory that the rolls were used in preaching may be drawn from a German woodcut reproduced in Campbell Dodgson, Woodcuts of the XV Century in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum (London, 1935), II, 99, which shows (in part) a friar preaching beside a figure of Christ and the Arms. The woodcut is to illustrate the third commandment, "Remember Thou Keep Holy the Sabbath." The representation does not show a roll as such, but it is difficult to see what form, other than perhaps a wall painting, could be so

illustrated, and the association with preaching suggests a roll most strongly.

A useful point of comparison for the spread of the devotion in the north is found in M. Mackeprang, "Christi Sidelsesredskaber 'Christi Vaaber' in Arkaelogisk-Heraldisk Skitse," Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie (Copenhagen, 1951), pp. 178-198. (There is an English summary, pp. 195-196.) The device of the arms came early in the north of Europe and was known widely by 1350.

Part of the method of the Arma Christi sequence was to break up the story of the Passion into distinct parts and to dwell on each. In so doing the poems depart markedly from the technique of the Biblical narratives, which, as Michael Ramsey remarks in The Narratives of the Passion (London, 1962), present "the story as a unity, as one story and not a string of episodes. In this respect there is a notable contrast between the Passion narratives and the other narratives in the Gospels, where we find separate and self-contained episodes strung together" (p. 11). The technique owes something to the many verse narratives of the Passion which were in circulation and which have been cited in the general introduction: the Northern and Southern Passions, the Stanzaic Life of Christ. The devotional interest in breaking the story into its component parts is evident: Individual parts could be better meditated upon than could the story as a whole as each

incident could be made to engender its own "feeling" for Christ's suffering.

The Old Testament reference to a suffering savior most often cited is the reference to "a man of sorrows." Isaiah, 53.3.

Figure of Christ with Cross, f. 54<sup>v</sup>

The actual use of picture illustrations in manuscripts antedates Christianity, and from the earliest Christian time devotional literature was illustrated. By the end of the Middle Ages the popular books of the hours were widely known and their influence may help to account for the willingness of the prayerbook compiler to incorporate so many illustrations into his manuscript. Some were as small as the Douce in size: BM MS Stowe 17, The Maestricht Book of Hours, produced in the thirteenth century, measures only 3 1/2" x 2 1/2" and is illustrated. On the general background see David Bland, A History of Book Illustration: The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book (London, 1952), p. 40 ff., which has a reproduction from the Maestricht Book of Hours, plate 27. See also E. G. Millar's introduction to The Luttrell Psalter (London, 1932), and C. R. Dodwell, The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066-1200 (Cambridge, 1954), especially p. 33 ff.

Beyond this general influence some English manuscripts

used illustrations to aid devotion: the penitent reader was meant to read the prayers and then further excite his mind with meditation upon the picture. Apart from the Arma Christi sequence one of the clearest examples of affective meditation occurs in BM Additional MS 37049, three leaves of which Rosemary Woolf reproduces as plates 1 (facing p. 186), 2 (facing p. 204), and 3b (facing p. 328), in her English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages. Each of these pictures gives some idea of the reliance of devotion upon pictorial representation: plate 1 includes a heart with a representation of the five wounds upon it, plate 2 a lurid drawing of Christ on the cross surrounded by some of the implements from the Arma Christi sequence. On f. 68<sup>v</sup> of the same manuscript there occurs an even closer linking of devotional poem to pictorial illustration: this folio contains "a deuowte meditacioun of þe passione of Ihu Criste after þe seuen howres of þe day ordaned in holy kirke how a man sal remembyr þaim." The page is divided into seven sections each extending the width of the page and containing a drawing from the narrative of the passion in the center, a two-stanza poem of eight lines, four on either side of the picture, and an enclosed note on the far right and far left of the page showing the hour of office intended and the sense which this particular prayer was intended to discipline. As there were seven hours and only five senses, the last two

hours were given over to the penitent's consent and his free will. It is of course quite impossible that the devotions should have been read at each of the hours suggested as they hardly constitute an office, rather the compiler seems simply to have adopted a useful method of ordering his verses, one that was commonly practiced. The opening verses run:

Man take hede on þe day or on  
                                   þe nyght  
 How Criste was taken with grete  
                                   myght  
 And broght vnto pylate  
 With jewes þat Criste dyd hate.

Take hede man how þe jewes  
                                   dyd cry  
 To put me to deth in hye  
 And fyld my heryng  
                                   wykkydky  
 Fro heryng of yl kepe þe for þi

The sense indicated is "The heryng"; the picture shows Christ kissed by Judas, Peter with his sword, Roman soldiers.

A good example of a late medieval illuminated manuscript is also found in Isa Ragusa and R. B. Green, eds. and trans., Meditations on the Life of Christ (Princeton, 1959), an extremely popular life wrongly ascribed to Bonaventura and translated by Nicholas Love in 1410. The Ragusa/Green edition prints the manuscript illustrations. See also Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien (Paris, 1957), II, 462-512.

Introductory Verses: Arma Christi, 1-12

In his study The Middle English Penitential Lyric (New York, 1911), F. A. Patterson broadly defines "contrition poems" as "those in which the main feeling is (1) a sorrow for sin or (2) a purpose for amendment" (p. 11). These hallmarks of late medieval religious verse are in fact so ubiquitous (Patterson's selection is only part of the whole) that when we consider the nearly formulaic utterances of the introductory verses, it is difficult to decide the degree of affective devotion that they imply. My general introduction considers the practice of affective meditation. Beyond this, Edelgard Dubruck conjectures in The Theme of Death in French Poetry of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (The Hague, 1964), that

The reaction of medieval people to those narrative elements in religious books which implied physical suffering may rather have been an increased susceptibility to mental and physical pain. Or perhaps we should word the problem as follows: Man's commiseration for the suffering of a Saint was directly connected with his own consciousness of pain and the desire to find mitigation by communicating his feeling to another person. (p. 41).

The causes of disorder that are variously cited as dominant in the period--the plague, the growth of popular revolt, the awareness of death--were all undoubtedly influential in helping to establish the popularity of the devotions whose psychological causes must remain less clear. In the end, we are forced to conclude that an irreducible mixture

of traditional practice, present necessity, and the need to find some form of ultimate stability constrained the practitioner of devotions such as those in our manuscript.

Arma Christi, 12

MS Douce 1 reads Affter, probably only a scribal error for After since elsewhere in the manuscript capital F is represented ff, (e.g., Arma Christi, lines, 36, 45, 55, 99).

Picture of the Head of Christ, f. 55<sup>v</sup>

On the many "Veronica" heads see Peter Brieger, English Art 1216-1307 (Oxford, 1957), plates 52a, 52b, 53.

The iconographic tradition for the appearance of Christ is noted in R. H. Bowers, "Middle-English Verses on the Appearance of Christ," Anglia, NS LVIII (1952), 430-433, which prints from the BM Additional MS 37049, and quotes the following description of Christ's appearance as it would have been formulated by late medieval tradition.

He was of middle-height, with a stern but loving face; his hair was long and nut-brown; he had a fair forehead, a forked brown beard, a steadfast look, and clear gray eyes; he spoke clearly, his rebuke was awful. He wept thrice but nobody ever saw him laugh.

(p. 430. See Cursor Mundi, ll. 817-862, ed. Haenisch, EETS 101.)

Vernicle, Arma Christi, 13-26

In his article on "Veronica" for the New Catholic Encyclopedia P. K. Meagher writes:

In the 14th century the story of a compassionate woman wiping the face of Christ on His way to Calvary began to find favor. There is no evidence that this event was a part of a popular belief in earlier times, and it was not pictured in art, so far as is known, before the 14th century. The woman, of course, was identified with the Veronica of earlier legend. (XIV, p. 625).

In The Story of the Relics of the Passion, H. M. Gillett lists present day vernicles "at St. Peter's Rome; in Jerusalem; in Spain, and another in Rome at San Silvestro" (p. 90). Iconographically, the vernicle was a well known device. Langland's palmer wears "moni cros on his cloke and keizes of Rome, and the vernicle bi-fore for men shulde him known" (A. VI. 14), and Chaucer's Pardoner had "a vernycle . . . sowed upon his cappe" (A. (I) 685).

In his English Medieval Sculpture Arthur Gardner notes the existence of "Certain tables with a large head of John the Baptist in the charger, a Resurrection below and Saints on either side, [which] seem to have been made for private worship and were hawked about the country" (p. 311). Although the absence of a crown of thorns suggests that the representation may indeed be St. John the Baptist, the presence of the resurrection scene below, the nativity above, and, in some cases, the placing of

Peter (with a key) as one of the Saints suggests that the head may be Christ's and, when it is placed on a cloth held open by angels (as it is in alabaster on plate 616) it may be the vernicle intended. At any rate, in his Minor English Wood Sculpture 1400-1500 Gardner states that at Altarnun "an angel holds a shield with a bearded head on it, which might be either that of the Baptist, or the cloth of St. Veronica" (p. 27). Not every head of Christ is a vernicle, to be sure, but the device seems to have been usefully employed, when for reasons of space or art a head of Christ was required.

Pelican, Arma Christi, 27-34

The association of the pelican with Christ goes back at least to the second century Physiologus and was a familiar association from Augustine (Enarrationes in Psalmos 101.7) to Dante (Paradiso 25.113), and beyond. See M. R. P. McGuire, "Pelican," New Catholic Encyclopedia, XI, 60. I have found no indication that the number of young, three in this case, had any symbolic significance.

The pelican was widely known in England quite apart from the Arma Christi sequence: Gardner's Minor English Wood Sculptures 1400-1550 illustrates examples at Wilton (plate 137), Great Bealings (plate 148), South Brent (plate 148), and Bishop's Hall (plate 45). Other examples are listed at Bishop's Lydeard, Alford, and North

Brent (p. 35).

30 Pennies, Arma Christi, 35-38

Matt, 26.15. (cf. OT Zech, 11.12)

The coins for which Christ was sold had a history almost as varied as the cross itself. Hippolyte Delehaye gives this summary in The Legends of the Saints, trans. Donald Attwater (London, 1962):

The coins were minted by Abraham's father, and used by Abraham to buy a piece of land as a burial-place for himself and his family. Later they came into the hands of Jacob's sons, being the money paid them by the slave-drivers to whom they had sold Joseph; Jacob's sons in turn paid the same coins over for the corn Joseph supplied them with in Egypt. When Jacob died they were expended on spices for his burial, and that reached the land of Sheba, where they remained till the Queen of Sheba included them amongst other gifts to Solomon's temple. From Jerusalem the coins passed into Arabia to come back with the Magi. The Virgin Mary took them with her on the flight into Egypt, and there lost them. They were found by a shepherd who kept them by him until, stricken with leprosy, he went to Jerusalem to ask Christ to cure him. In gratitude he gave the thirty coins to the Temple, and from the hands of the priests they passed to Judas, the wages of his betrayal. When Judas repented and gave back the price of his crime to the priests, they gave half of it to the soldiers who guarded Christ's tomb, and the other half to the potter from whom was bought a field wherein to bury strangers. (p. 26).

The Northern Passion remarks that Judas sold Christ to get one tenth of the 300 pence he had spent on the ointment with which he washed Christ's feet, one tenth being

what Judas took as his share (ed. F. A. Foster, EETS 145, pp. 19-20).

The coins appear in an Arma Christi sequence carved into a bench-end at Kilkhampton, illustrated by Gardner, Minor English Wood Sculpture 1400-1550 (plate 100), and Male prints a wood sculpture from the Louvre of an angel with the coins which shows more artistic quality in L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France, plate 54 (p. 107).

Lantern, Arma Christi, 39-42

Jn. 18.3 gives explicit reference to this item, though all accounts agree that "Crist was taken in the nyght."

Two Swords, Arma Christi, 43-46

Matt. 26.47; Mk. 14.43; Luke 22.52; Jn. 18.3.

A graphic picture of "The swerdes and battes that thei dyd bere" appears in a twelfth century English Psalter (Cotton MS Nero C. IV) above a scene of the flagellation: the scene is of Christ's arrest, and shows grotesquely drawn men brandishing a variety of swords, clubs, and a lantern. See Ernst Kitzinger, Early Medieval Art in the British Museum (London, 1955), plate 46.

Staff, Arma Christi, 47-52

Mk. 14.48; Matt. 26.47.

It is difficult to fix exact New Testament references for the instruments that were used in the beatings Christ received. According to the gospel accounts he was beaten at least twice, once at the Jewish court and again by Pilate, before the Crucifixion. Other blows are variously recorded, though as H. M. Gillett, among others, remarks, "the use of rods was reserved for freemen, i.e., for citizens of Rome; others, like Christ, would have been scourged." Staffs were however used in the late Middle Ages as a monastic discipline. See Dom Louis Gougaud, Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages, trans. G. C. Bateman (London, 1927), p. 183, and H. M. Gillett, The Story of the Relics of the Passion (Oxford, 1935), p. 96.

Two Hands, Arma Christi, 53-58

Jn. 18.22; 19.3.

A bench end at Braunton shows a hand holding a clump of hair still attached to a man's head. Gardner takes this to be John the Baptist, though it may in fact be Christ: Minor English Wood Sculptures 1400-1550, p. 27 and plate 97.

Arma Christi, 56

pride of heere: a common theme in late medieval writing usually directed against women. The anonymous author of Dives and Pauper warns against it emphatically (Precept VI, chap. 13 in Pynson's 1493 edition).

Cloth, Arma Christi, 59-66

This would seem to be the cloth with which Christ was blindfolded when he was beaten. See Mk. 14.65; Luke 22.64. It is not frequently reproduced in drawing though a twelfth-century English Psalter (Cotton MS. Nero C. IV) does show it clearly in an illustration of the flagellation. See Ernst Kitzinger, Early Medieval Art in the British Museum, plate 46.

Christ's Cloak, Arma Christi, 67-74

Luke 23.34; Jn. 19.23.

In The Story of the Relics of the Passion, H. M. Gillett cites references to what was believed to be the cloak of Christ in 467 and, by St. Gregory of Tours in 591. From 1101 a cloak was venerated as Christ's, though in fact there are two relics that have been claimed to be genuine, one at Argenteuil, one at Trier (pp. 78-82).

Mandeville reports seeing "At Constantinople" Christ's

"cote withouten semes that is clept tunica inconsutilis"  
(ed. M. C. Seymour, p. 7).

Four Whips, Arma Christi, 75-78

Matt. 27.26; Mk. 15.15; Luke 23.16; Jn. 19.1

The whips represented in Arma Christi and other illustrations are of two kinds, both of which correspond to types of disciplines in use in the later Middle Ages. These were either birch twigs tied together (scopa, virgarum scopa, manipilus virgarum) or a whip made of leather, usually having short cords with knots in them (flagellum, scutica, corrigiae, corrigiarum scutica). See Gougaud, Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages, pp. 190-191.

Arthur Gardner's Minor English Woodcuts 1400-1550 reproduces two examples from church bench-ends: one at Ploughhill (plate 99), which is clearly associated with the Arma Christi sequence (the same bench-end shows in a different panel, a pillar with a rope), one at Down St. Mary (plate 98).

Campbell Dodgson reproduces some woodcuts showing Christ as the man of sorrows with ships, Woodcuts of the XV Century in the . . . British Museum, I, XXX A, XXXIII, XXXIV C.

In 1522 Dürer drew a half-length Christ holding two flagella, which is virtually a self-portrait. See Johannes

Beer, Albrecht Dürer als Maler (Munich, 1953), p. 38.

Crown of Thorns, Arma Christi, 79-82

Matt. 27.29; Jn. 19.2

The crown of thorns seems to have been worshipped in Jerusalem perhaps as early as the fourth or fifth century. In 1063 it was removed to Constantinople, in 1239 Louis VII bought it and placed it in Paris. It was placed in Sainte-Chapelle in 1248. H. M. Gillett, The Story of the Relics of the Passion, p. 64 ff.

Mandeville saw

o partie of the crowne of oure lord wherwith  
He was crowned . . . in Fraunce in the Kynges  
Chapelle, and the crowne lyth in a vesselle  
of cristalle richely dyght . . . And yif alle  
it be so that men seyn that this crowne is of  
thornes, yee Schulle vnderstonde that it was  
of ionkes of the see, that is to say russches  
of the see, that prykken als scharpely as  
thornes. For al haue seen and beholden many  
tymes that of Parys and that of Constantynoble,  
for thei were bothe on made of russches of the  
see. But men han departed hem in ii. parties,  
of the whiche o part is at Parys and the other  
part is at Constantynoble. And I haue on of  
the precyouse thornes that semeth liche a  
white thorn, and that was youen to me for gret  
specylaltee. For there are many of him broken  
and fallen into the vesselle that the crowne  
lyth in, for their breken for dryeness whan  
men meven hem to schewen hem to grete lordes  
that comen thider. (ed. M. C. Seymour, p. 9).

Pillar, Arma Christi, 83-88

A part of what was believed to be the pillar was

brought to Rome in 1223; it was in Jerusalem before this date. See H. M. Gillett, The Story of the Relics of the Passion, p. 95.

The pillar appears in an Arma Christi sequence carved into a bench end at Ploughill, illustrated by Gardner, Minor English Wood Sculpture 1400-1550, (plate 99). Male prints a tapestry from the cathedral at Angers which shows an angel with the pillar (L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France, plate 53, p. 105).

Christ Walking with Cross, Arma Christi, 101-103  
Luke 23.28.

BM Additional MS 22,029 (printed by Morris) reads:

The steppys for vs of grace zeue pardon,  
When we goo, wythe deuocyon,  
On pylgrymage on hors ar on fote.  
(ll. 93-95)

The substitution of "grace" for "synne" the usual reading is interesting: the reference may go back to Bernard's De Gradibus Humilitatis et Superbiae, at least in general outline.

Douce's reading of going "on pilgrimage with good mynde," and the other references to going on pilgrimage "wythe deuocyon" reflect the proper devotional attitude with which the pilgrim was meant to comport himself. Chaucer began the road to Canterbury "with ful devout corage" (A (I) 22). For a still useful account of those who were

less conscientious see J. J. Jusserand, English Wayfaring Life (London, 1920), "Pilgrims and Pilgrimages," pp. 192-240.

Arma Christi, 101

All three versions of the prayerbook read ye for thou. I have collated this reading with Bodleian MS Rolls 16 (Summary Catalogue 2975); Bodleian MS Add. E. 4 (Summary Catalogue 29110); Queen's College, Oxford, MS 207; BM Royal MS 17 A xxvii; BM Additional MS 11748; BM Additional MS 22029; and BM Additional MS 32006, all of which contain Arma Christi poems. In each case the same reading is preserved, although the pronouns are distinguished immediately before: see Arma Christi, line 96 sing. thou and line 97 pl. ye in correct usage.

Although it is possible ye in line 101 is simply scribal error, the fact that none of the manuscripts cited above is emended at this point would seem to suggest that the singular--plural distinction had almost broken down, at least to the extent that the scribes in question did not query their exemplar on such distinctions. The scribe of the Douce manuscript writes ye for we in Arma Christi, line 102, immediately following. Both this error and the one in line 101 may be further influenced by Christ's speech, which ends at line 100. It is possible that the scribe was influenced by the use of ye in lines 97 and 98,

and continued the speech beyond line 100, though if the scribe of the Douce manuscript was clear on the use of pronoun reference it is hard to believe that he would have preserved both incorrect readings, in lines 101 and 102.

Three Nails, Arma Christi, 105-108

Jn. 20-25

The nails which held Christ to the cross occur with some regularity in the stories of the Passion. In the Northern Passion ed. Frances A. Foster, EETS 145 (London, 1913), p. 168 ff. the Jews seek out a smith to make the nails but he refuses, pretending that his hand is burnt. When the Jews demand to see his hand it miraculously appears to be hurt, though in fact it is not. The smith's wife then comes forward and makes the nails herself.

The nails were found with the cross by St. Helen. Morris prints a fourteenth century poem How þe Hali Cros was Fundin Be Seint Elaine (pp. 108-121) that illustrates the separate finding of the nails.

At the time of the Douce prayerbook it was believed that in fact three nails were used in the crucifixion: the trend from four nails to three came after the introduction of the more affective attitudes discussed in the general introduction. The late eleventh century English

manuscript drawing of the crucifixion reproduced as the frontispiece to R. W. Southern's The Making of the Middle Ages (London, 1953), partakes clearly of the new devotional attitudes but shows clearly four nails, not three. Morris prints early references to three nails from as early as Gregory Nazianzen and Nonnus, a fifth century Greek poet, but in fact these references are exceptional, and the iconographic depiction of three rather than four nails cannot have been very widely spread before the twelfth century. (See Morris, p. xx, quoting F. C. H., "Greek Cross: Number of Nails," N & Q, Ser. III, vol. 3 (1863), p. 392. An early example of the use of three nails is to be found in the Ancrene Wisse which describes one crucifixion in which Christ is represented with crossed feet:

His scheld, þe wreah his Goddhead, wes his  
 leoue licome þet was ispread o rode, brad  
 as scheld buen in his istrachte earmes,  
 nearow bineoðen, as þe an fot, efter monies  
 wene, set up o þe oðer.

(ed. Geoffrey Shepherd  
 [London and Edinburgh,  
 1959], p. 22).

In his note to the passage (p. 57) Shepherd remarks that the new tradition of using three nails became fashionable "at some time about 1200" though the older custom of four nails remained in use "Until at least 1300." Mandeville reports having seen "at Constantynoble . . . on of the nayles that Crist was naylled with on the cros."

(ed. M. C. Seymour, p. 7). Elsewhere he states explicitly that there was a place in Jerusalem "where the iiii nayles of oure lord weren hidd, for He had ii in His bondes and ii in His feet." (p. 57)

The New Catholic Encyclopedia remarks that at present "some 30 nails" are venerated. (It also remarks that prior to the 6th century only the hands were shown nailed to the cross.) See M. W. Schoenburg, "Nails, Holy," New Catholic Encyclopedia, X, 199.

Two Hammers, Arma Christi, 109-112

There are of course no explicit references to the use of hammers and nails in any of the gospel accounts of the crucifixion, though Thomas' reference to the event (Jn. 20.25) supplied the evidence for later ages. Still, the hammering of the nails--and hence the hammers that drove the nails--proved a popular theme for meditation. De Worde's Contemplacyon or Medytacyon of the Shedyng of the Blood of Our Lord Ihesu Cryste at Seuen Tymes, STC 14546, Duff 107, advises the penitent to

thynke that thou seest hym dryue that is  
dryuer of the grete nayles in to his holy  
& swete handes & feet and the dryuer of the  
nayles . . . without ony rute or pyte smyte  
in euery nayle with many myghty strokes &  
. . . blood sprynge out at euery stroke"  
(Sig. A 4<sup>v</sup>).

Two Jugs, Arma Christi, 113-116

See the notes on the sponge, following. Jn. 19.29 mentions "a vessel full of vinegar."

Sponge, Arma Christi, 117-120

Matt. 27.48, Mk. 15.36, Luke 23.36, Jn. 19.29.

There are references to a veneration of the sponge in Gregory of Tours, Pat. Lat., LXXI, cited by H. M. Gillett, The Story of the Relics of the Passion, p. 96. It seems to have appeared in Constantinople in 615. Mandeville reports having seen "At Constantynoble . . . the spounge and the reed of the whiche the Iewes yaueoure lord eyselle and galle in the cros" (ed. M. C. Seymour, p. 7).

Spear, Arma Christi, 121-126

Jn. 19.34.

The lance of Longinus was believed to have been found in Antioch by Peter Bartholemew in the eleventh century, although Peter's story was doubted almost at once and he was forced to undergo an ordeal in order to defend his veracity. Its falsity was declared by Pope Benedict XIV in the eighteenth century, though it was accepted as genuine in the West during most of the later Middle Ages.

See Stephen Runciman, "The Holy Lance Found at Antioch," Analecta Bollandiana, LXVIII (1950), 197-209.

Mandeville reports that

the spere schaft hath the emperour of Almayne,  
but the heued is at Parys. And natheles the  
emperour of Constantynoble seyth that he hath  
the spere heed. And I have often tyme seen  
it, but it is grettere than that at Parys.

(ed. M. C. Seymour, p. 10).

The part venerated in Paris was worshipped as early as 570. See Gillett, The Story of the Relics of the Passion, p. 72 ff.

On the use of the lance as one of the holy instruments of the passion in vernacular secular literature, see L. H. Loomis, "The Passion Lance Relic and the War Cry Monjoie in the Chanson de Roland and Related Texts," Romanic Review, LXI (1950), 241-260; "The Athelstan Gift Story: Its Influence on English Chronicle Romances," PMLA, LXVII (1952), 521-537; and "The Holy Relics of Charlemagne and King Athelstan: The Lances of Longinus and St. Mauricus," Speculum, XXV (1950), 437-456.

The chief source in England for the spread of the relics associated with the lance is William of Malmesbury in his De Gestis Regum Anglorum, where he tells of Athelstan's possession of the spear of Longinus, relics of the cross, thorns from the crown of thorns, and the sword of Constantine, said to have had one of the nails from the cross inset. The relics had probably belonged

to Charlemagne and were sent out of France after the break-up of Charlemagne's court. There are references to the relics associating them with Exeter as late as the eleventh century, though as Loomis remarks, references to the relics of the cross or the crown are too numerous to prove continuity: references to the spear, and the sword with the nail in it are more exceptional. The relics seem to have stayed in the popular memory for some time; as late as Barbour's Bruce we find a reference to the "Romanys off worthi Ferambrace" where Charlemagne "Wan the naylis, and the sper, and the croune that Jesu couth ber" (I, II, 459). Charlemagne's literary association with the lance goes back to the Song of Roland (ll. 2503-2506).

Rose Jeffries Peebles has a study of "The Lance of Longinus and the Grail," in The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its Connection with the Grail (Baltimore, 1911), pp. 166-221. The same study also examines "The Lance as a Relic and in the Liturgy," pp. 56-71, and "Longinus in English Literature," pp. 80-141.

Ladder, Arma Christi, 127-130

The ladder was traditionally part of the Arma Christi, usually associated with the deposition though as late as Nicholas Love in the fifteenth century it was associated

with the crucifixion: Christ was thought in some accounts to have climbed onto the cross after it was fastened in the ground, and to have been nailed against an already standing cross. Thus Love's translation of the Meditationes Vitae Christi, ed. Lawrence M. Powell (Oxford, 1908), p. 238, describes

tweie ledders / one byhynde and another  
 bifore / at the lifte arme of the croys /  
 . . . and another schort ladder is sette  
 bifore the cross that lasteth vp to the  
 place there his feet schulde be nayled  
 . . . Oure lorde than was compelled and  
 biden forto goo vppon that ladder to the  
 croys. and he mekely doth all that thai  
 bidde hym. And when he come vp to the  
 ouermest ende of that schorte laddre /  
 he torned his bakke toward the crosse /  
 and straght oute on brede tho kynges  
 armes / and his fairest handes 3af vp to  
 hem that crucified hym.

(p. 238. I have modernized  
 old s.)

In the Dream of the Rood, it will be remembered, the Rood describes Christ as "efstan elne mycle þæt he me polde on 3estizan" (l. 34), and the description of the Crucifixion itself is even more clear:

Rod paes ic araered; ahofic ricne Cynin3,  
 heofona Hlaford; hylðan me ne dorste.  
 þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan nae3lum;  
 on me syndow þa dolg 3esiene, opene  
 inþidhlemmas. (ll. 44-47)

The ladder appears in an Arma Christi sequence carved into a bench end at Kilkhampton, illustrated by Gardner, Minor English Wood Sculpture, 1400-1550, (plate 100).

A Pair of Tongs, Arma Christi, 131-134

There are no scriptural references to the tongs, though the deposition with which they are associated is often represented as a good subject for meditation, usually in association with Mary. De Worde's Contemplacyon advises the penitent to

ymagune & thynke that what tyme the body  
of our lorde & blessyd sauour is take downe  
from the crosse our blessyd lady hasteth her  
towarde hit with heuy chere & enbraseth hym  
in her armes & gyueth sorofull kyssynges  
medled with bytter teres

(sig. B2).

BM Additional MS 37049 shows a rare drawing of tongs being used in a crude deposition drawing, f. 68<sup>v</sup>.

Jews, Arma Christi, 135-138

Matt. 27.67, Mk. 14.65.

There are some good remarks on the extent to which late medieval anti-Semitism was practiced in England and elsewhere in Richard J. Schoeck, "Chaucer's Prioress: Mercy and Tender Heart," The Bridge: A Yearbook of Judaeo-Christian Studies (New York, 1956), II, 239-255. A slightly altered version appears in R. J. Schoeck and J. Taylor, eds., Chaucer Criticism (Notre Dame, 1960), I, 245-258. (In each case, the treatment of Chaucer's Prioress is unsympathetic.) There is a good account of the life of Jews in England prior to the 1290 expulsion

in Cecil Roth, A History of the Jews in England (Oxford, 1964).

At least one devotional poem associated the Jews' attack on Christ with the taking in the garden:

Me thoch: Iudas with mony a Iow  
 Take blissit Iesu, our saluour,  
 And schot him furth with mony a schow,  
 With schamfull wordis and dishonour.

("The Passioun of Crist," in Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Scottish Text Society, 3rd series, 23, ed. J. A. W. Bennett [Edinburgh, 1957], p. 266.)

References to the Jews mistreating Christ, or plotting against him, are legion.

#### Cross, Arma Christi, 139-144

The cross had a long history in medieval literature. The Northern Passion breaks off at the point at which Christ is condemned to death, to tell the story of the cross, which was believed to have grown from three seeds brought by Seth from paradise to his dying father, Adam. They were placed in Adam's mouth when he was buried, and there grew into three wands which Moses gathered and used in his lifetime. When Moses died David found the wands and brought them to Jerusalem, where by a miracle they grew into one tree. After David's death Solomon directed that the tree be cut down to be used in the construction of the temple, but when it was cut it proved to be either

too long or too short for the space intended, so it was discarded and finally used as a bridge, though even here it would not fit, and so it fell into the pit beneath. Afterwards an angel stirred the waters daily, and anyone who was bathed there was cured. It was from this place that the Jews drew the tree when they came to fashion the cross. Interestingly the three seeds that Seth brought are remembered, for the cross is found to be of three kinds of wood: the length of cypress, the cross-bar of olive, and the end of cedar.

The story was told at some length (Seth had adventures in Paradise, Moses in the desert) but in general outline the versions are not unlike that recorded in the Northern Passion, EETS 145, ed. Frances A. Foster, pp. 134-167. The story has been documented from Middle English and other sources in Esther Casier Quinn, The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life (Chicago, 1962).

The cross was found by Saint Helena; Morris prints a number of accounts of the discovery, pp. 2-130. Parts of the cross were introduced into England at various times during the Middle Ages. H. M. Gillett in The Story of the Relics of the Passion cites pieces given to Athelstan in 927, to Richard while he was in the Holy Land, and to Edward I in 1282. But England, as Gillett remarks, does not "seem to have been notably rich in relics of the Passion" (p. 102).

Pieces of the true cross are among the most numerous of all relics. They were doubted at least as early as Mandeville, who warned that

sum men trowen that half the cros that Crist was don on be in Cipres in an abbey of monkes that men callen the Hille of the Holy Cros, but it is not so. For that cros that is in Cypre is the cros in the whiche Dysmas the gode theef was honged onne, but alle men knowen not that, and that is euyll ydon for, for profyte of the offrynge, thei seye that it is the cros of oure lord Ihesu Cryst.  
(ed. M. C. Seymour, p. 7).

Another belief was that one relic of the cross allowed pilgrims to break pieces off, and yet did not diminish in size. Calvin said that the relics of the cross would fill the hold of a ship. (See Yrjö Hirn, The Sacred Shrine [London, 1958], p. 45 and n. 26.) There are some examples of other false relics in J. A. MacCulloch, Medieval Faith and Fable (London, 1932), p. 144 ff.

Tomb, Arma Christi, 145-152

Matt. 27.60; Mk. 15.46; Luke 23.53; Jn. 19.41.

The Holy Sepulchre was discovered in 327, excavated shortly thereafter. It quickly became the object of pilgrimage and veneration. See H. M. Gillett, The Story of the Relics of the Passion, p. 25 ff.

Mandeville's Travels gives this description of the tomb:

And yee schulle vndirstonde that whan men

comen to Ierusalem, here first pilgrymage is to the chirche of the holy sepulcre where oure lord was buryed, that is withoute the cytee on the north syde, but it is now enclosed in with the toun walle. And there is a fulle fair chirche alle rownd and open aboue and couered with leed. And on the west syde is a fair tour and an high for bells strongly made. And in the myddes of the chirche is a tabernacle as it were a lytylle hows made with a low litylle dore, and that tabernacle is made in manere of half a compas, right curiously and richely made of gold and azure and othere riche coloures fulle nobelyche made. An in the right syde of that tabernacle is the sepulcre of oure lord, and the tabernacle is viii. fote long and v. fote wyde and xi. fote in heghte.

And it is not longe sithe the sepulcre was alle open that men myghte kisse it and touche it, but for pilgrymes that comen thider peyned hem to breke the ston in peces or in poudre, therefore the Soudan hath do make a walle aboute the sepulcre that no man may towche it. But in the left syde of the walle of the tabernacle, wel the heghte of a man, is a gret ston to the quantytee of a mannes hed that was of the holy sepulcre, and that ston kissen the pigrymes that comen thider.

In that tabernacle ben no wyndowes, but it is alle made light with lampes that hangen before the sepulcre. And there is a lampe that hongeth before the sepulcre that brenneth light and on the Gode Fryday it goth oute be himself and lightneth ayen by itself on the Soreday at that hour that oure lord roos fro deth to lyue.

(ed. M. C. Seymour, pp. 55-56).

The church in question, as Seymour remarks in his note (p. 238), was built in the eleventh century, restored and enlarged after the 1114 earthquake, and reconsecrated in 1149.

Ave Vulnus Lateris

Dreves, XXXI, no. 67. The Hymn is here clearly treated as a prayer, and was probably understood in this context.

(Its title in Dreves is "Ad Latus Salvatoris.")

The wound in the side was an object of special veneration. Vladimir Gurewich writes in "Observations on the Iconography of the Wound in Christ's Side, with Special Reference to its Position," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, XX (1957), 359:

For Augustine, not only does the right side symbolize "vita aeterna" but the wound is the place whence the sacrament flowed forth and the church was born: "For the Church, the Lord's bride, was created from His side, as Eve was created from the side of Adam."

Gurewich cites examples of Christ's heart so pictured as to demonstrate that the thrust was made from the left side, the position of the wound in most medieval representations. See plates 27b, 27c, 27e.

Earlier iconography had depicted the Church's catching the blood that flowed from Christ's right side (in the form of a woman, the spouse of Christ) while another woman, blindfolded and turning away represented the synagogue. Émile Mâle gives some illustrations of this representation, L'Art Religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle en France (Paris, 1925), plate 100 (p. 191) and plate 101 (p. 193). Gougaud discusses the wound in Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages, p. 92 ff. An earlier account is that of W. Sparrow-Simpson, "On the Measure of the Wound in the Side of the Redeemer," Journal of British Archaeological Assoc., XXX (1874), 357-374. Another Latin poem on the

wound in Christ's side may be found in Dreves, XXXI, no. 66.

Drops of Blood Poem

Index of Middle English Verse, No. 3443. The Index lists four versions of this poem, the Supplement to the Index adds two more, though neither Th nor GM is included. In one version (BM Additional MS 37049 f. 24) the poem runs to nine lines and includes a reference to the number of wounds inflicted. See my "Two English Devotional Poems of the Fifteenth Century," N&Q, NS XV (1968), 7, where Douce is printed without knowledge of Th.

The Drops of Blood was one of a number of such poems which Gougoud discusses in Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages, p. 116, n. 14. The total number of the wounds which Christ received during the Passion was variously fixed at 5,466 or 5,475, the number of drops of blood which fell from these wounds at 28,430 or 547,500. In each case the larger number was fixed by reason of a devotion: to worship the wounds one said 15 Pater Nosters and Aves each day for a year so making up 5,475 over the course of a year ( $365 \times 15 = 5,475$ ). To worship the number of drops of blood that fell from the wounds one said 100 Pater Nosters and Aves a day for 15 years so making up 547,500 over that time ( $365 \times 100 \times 15 = 547,500$ ). The

smaller numbers (5,466 wounds and 28,430 drops of blood) were traditional and without the broad devotional significance of the larger figures.

In Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century (p. 323) Carleton Brown quotes Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 601, f. 277<sup>v</sup>, where the devotion to the drops of blood is explained. The 547,500 figure is found in BM Additional MS 37049 printed by Thomas Ross, "Five Fifteenth-Century 'Emblem' Verses from Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049," Speculum, XXXII (1957), 275 and n. 9 and in Bodleian MS Tanner 407 (Summary Catalogue 10237) f. 10<sup>v</sup>. Ross notes Male's suggestion that the devotion to the wounds can be traced back to St. Bernard.

Douce misrepresents the number as 553,000, clearly an error by the scribe who was unaware of the appropriately symbolic number. Of such numbers Vincent Hooper remarks in Medieval Number Symbolism (New York, 1938):

Unlike the more objective medieval symbols (the Pelican-Christ), the abstraction of number was itself shrouded in mystery, to which only a complete metaphysical erudition could provide the key. For this reason, such numerical references as occur in popular literature or, with the exception of Dante, in the literature of the vulgar tongue, are but dim echoes of the notation of science, philosophy, and theology (p. 135).

In England, the chief place of veneration for the sacred blood was at Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire, a Cistercian house at which a phial of the sacred blood was

believed to be preserved. See W. St. Clair Baddeley, A Cotteswold Shrine (Gloucester and London, 1908), and C. Horstmann, ed., Altenglische Legenden (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. 275-281 for a four hundred line poem on the Abbey. A Latin tract "De Sanguine Christi" from the Abbey is preserved in the BM, Royal MS 8. D. xvii. The relic is referred to both by Margery Kempe, who went to Hailes and "per was schrevyn & had lowde cryes & boystows wepyngys" (EETS 212, eds. S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen, p. 110), and somewhat less devoutly by Chaucer's Pardoner, who swears "By the blood of Crist that is in Hayles," (C. (VI) 652).

Later in the fifteenth century a controversy between the Franciscans and the Dominicans would center on the degree of reverence to be paid to Christ's blood. The Dominicans maintained that during the three days between the crucifixion and the resurrection Christ's human blood became united with his divinity and so became itself an object of special veneration; indeed they argued that the blood partook of the divinity. The Franciscans denied any divinity to the blood, and in 1462 Pope Pius II invoked a Coram Papa, whereby neither side was condemned, and both were admonished, though the weight of theological opinion seems to have been leaning towards the Dominicans. The debate occasioned much literature, including Francesco della Ravere's De Sanguine Christi, (Rome, 1467), which gave much support to the Dominican position. On the

controversy see L. D. Ettlinger, The Sistine Chapel Before Michelangelo (Oxford, 1965), p. 83 ff.

#### Five Wounds Poem

Index of Middle English Verse. No. 1011. The Index lists Douce and Th only. The Supplement adds GM. The poem is thus unique to our prayerbook.

See Douglas Gray, "The Five Wounds of Our Lord," N&Q, NS X (1963), 50-51, where the Douce version is printed without knowledge of Th.

There were a number of Latin poems of the five wounds. See Dreves, XXXI, nos. 68-71.

The devotion to the five wounds was especially marked in England and seems to have had a broader popularity than the devotions to the drops of blood or the sum total of wounds that were inflicted on Christ during the whole of the Passion. The Five Wounds cult referred only to those major wounds Christ received in the hands, feet and side. Of the Five, the wound in the side was the most venerated: the poem to it is the one Latin poem that found its way into the Douce prayerbook.

It is perhaps presumptuous to add to the extremely thorough list of the devotion's appearance found in D. Gray's "The Five Wounds of Our Lord," N&Q, NS X (1963), 50-51, 82-89, 127-134, 163-168. Still, to Gray's list I

add that Laurence Minot refers to the devotion at the end of the first of his poems (beginning: "Trewē king, þat sittes . . ."), which concludes:

Ihesu, for þi woundes fiue,  
In England help vs to haue pese.

(The Poems of Laurence Minot, ed. Joseph Hall [Oxford, 1914], p. 4.)

Many manuscripts include a large "full size" picture of Christ's heart showing the mark made by the spear in the center, surrounded by four blackened holes made by the nails, and all of these surrounded by verses. Rosemary Woolf prints a photograph of one such heart as plate 1 of The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Age. An even larger one is to be found in Bodleian MS Lat. Misc. C. 66, f. 129<sup>v</sup>, which has verses relating to Christ's 5,475 wounds (see above, notes to the Drops of Blood poem).

There are illustrations of popular woodcuts of the Five Wounds in Campbell Dodgson, Woodcuts of the XV Century in the . . . British Museum, I, plate XXX.

On the spread of wounds in the form of the stigmata in the medieval period, see Herbert Thurston, S. J., The Physical Phenomena of Mysticism, ed. J. H. Calhan, S. J., (London, 1958), especially "The Stigmata before St. Francis," pp. 32-43, which indicates two false cases in England in 1222 and 1224.

Christ Sitting with His Hands Crossed and Bound

Mâle prints an illustration of this traditional and pathetic pose, a statue at Troyes, in L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age, plate 48, p. 99. Van Dyck executed a painting with Christ in a similar pose; see Denys Sutton, Flemish Painting at the Royal Academy, Les Arts Plastiques, 6th Series, no. 6. (Brussels, n. d.), plate 47 (p. 53).

A Right Hand, Pierced, f. 72

Though the illustrations here are more complex than other drawings in the Douce manuscript, Gray is certainly correct in remarking that they are artistically close to "the crude devotional woodcuts and popular images of piety of the fifteenth century" (p. 168). The references to the wounds as "wells" can perhaps be best explained by reference to the fountain of life motif that was often associated with the Five Wounds. In L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France Émile Mâle treats this devotion at some length (p. 110 ff.), producing examples from Portugal (plate 58, p. 111), Vendome (plate 59, p. 113), Boumois (plate 60, p. 114), Trocadero (plate 61, p. 115), and Fille (plate 62, p. 117); all of these representations show Christ crucified with blood pouring from his wounds into a fountain in which people are washing. The devotion was close to the image of Christ as Wine Press: Mâle shows

representations of Christ's body being pressed for wine, of which the faithful may drink (plate 64, p. 120, and plate 65, p. 121). The devotion takes literally the notion that Christ's blood is the life of the Church, and the motif of the fountain of life in particular shows veneration for the Five Wounds from which the blood springs.

Thus the term well came to take on an iconographic, as well as a literary meaning. Like the icon, the reference to a well of mercy, of pity, of whichever virtue was invoked was usually applied to Christ or his mother. The phrase appears in Chaucer a number of times. In the Prioress' Tale the child refers to "This welle of mercy, Cristes mooder sweete" (VII 656, B<sup>2</sup> 1846), after he has been killed and restored. The Wife of Bath refers to "Crist, that of perfeccion is welle" (III (D) 107) as she prepares to defend the married life. The ABC refers to the Virgin as being "of pitee welle" (ABC 126). The phrase thus had currency quite apart from its association with the Five Wounds. The virtues cited in the poem, however, seem to have been chosen at random from the undefined common stock of virtues that would have been the property of anyone living in the period. They seem to have had no particular order or significance, save that two or three of the five cited in the poem are sometimes found together in the contemporary literature. Again, Chaucer provides examples of the virtues most often paired. Pity and mercy are paired

in the Tale of Melibee (VII 1864, B<sup>2</sup> 3054), and in the Second Nun's Tale the Virgin is addressed: "Assembled is in thee magnificence / With mercy, goodnesse, and with swich pitee. . ." (VIII (G) 50-51). The ABC prays at one point:

Mooder, of whom oure merci gan to springe,  
Beth ye my juge and eek my soules leche;  
For evere in you is pitee haboundinge  
To ech that wole of pitee you biseeche.  
(ABC 133-136)

Mercy is also paired with grace. The two appear in the ABC: "Dowte is ther noon, thou queen of misericorde, / That thou n'art cause of grace and merci heere" (ABC 25-26), and in the Tale of Melibee: "it constreyneth me to doon yow grace and mercy" (VII 1880, B<sup>2</sup> 3070). The other two virtues cited in the poem, comfort and life, appear singly in Chaucer, though not in pairs. The Virgin is associated with comfort in the ABC (ABC 17, 77, 98-99, 121). Christ is identified with (eternal) life in the Wife of Bath's Prologue (III (D) 5) and in the Parson's Tale (X (I) 123).

It is interesting to notice, however, that most of the virtues cited can refer equally to romantic or to divine love and that the longing for spiritual solace to which the poem gives expression could be transformed into the lover's desire for perfect fulfillment. Thus in the Knight's Tale Arcite virtually prays upon seeing Emily "And but I have hir mercy and hir grace, . . . I nam but deed" (I (A) 1120-1122), and the dreamer in the Chaucerian translation of the

Romance of the Rose asks for "mercy and pitee" (RR 3420) in much the same way. The doubtfully Chaucerian Complaynt D'Amours calls upon "mercy, pitee, and deep affeccioun" (Com D'A 26). Although there is no hint of the secular context in the Five Wounds poem itself, it is worth remembering that the emphasis upon love and death, so popular in both the devotional and the secular lyrics of this period, was formed in each case with basically the same vocabulary, and that the idioms of one genre often found their way into the other. On this question see Peter Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric (Oxford, 1965), I, 56-97.

Thus in forming his poem the author of the Five Wounds drew upon these current ideas in order to give a pattern to the poem as a whole. The pattern was complicated in dealing with the wound in the side by reason of the fact that the second stanza of that central part of the poem (ll. 26-32) deals with the blood as "my helthfull fode," the following stanza (ll. 33-39) with "The water that there gan yssue." There may be a hint in each of the sacraments to which the liquids were applied: the blood to the eucharist, the water to baptism. On the extent of these devotions to the Eucharist and Baptism see Gougaud, Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages, p. 80 ff.

Finally the image of the blood from the five wounds

pouring into a chalice and then out again onto the faithful is associated with a representation of the Arma Christi in a most unusual 1473 painting in the church St. Maria zur Wiese Soest, printed in Engelbert Kirschbaum, S. J., ed., Lexicon der Christlichen Ikonographie (Rome, Freiburg, Basel, Wien, 1968), I, 310, s. v. "Blut, Heiliges." The article, by W. Brückner, gives useful manuscript and other references on the spread of the devotion. On the patristic background for the fountains see Gray, "Five Wounds," p. 163, n. 6. Gray cites references to as many as three fountains in the works of Ambrose, Bernard, Bonaventura and others and suggests that there may be an unlocated source for the five in the poem. He also quotes from Skelton's Upon the Dethe of the Erle of Northumberlande:

Therow bounty of Hym that formed all solace;  
Wel of pite, of mercy, and of grace,  
The Father, the Sonn, and the Holy Ghost.  
(ll. 213-215)

#### Blessed Mary Poem

Index of Middle English Verse, No. 534. The Index lists Douce and Th only. The poem is thus unique to our prayerbook.

See C. Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, which prints the Douce version without knowledge of Th or GM as "Mary, Remember Me at my Last Day," No. 44, pp. 73-74.

Latin poems on the Virgin are legion. See Dreves,

XXXI, nos. 117-210. On the cult of the Virgin see Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien, II, 155 ff.

In our prayerbook the poem to the Virgin is the only verse exercise that does not partake directly of the starkly affective devotional traditions. This is so in spite of the fact that, as Joan Evans remarks, early in the fifteenth century the French image of the Virgin of Pity, Mary holding Christ's body across her knees, was introduced into England and spread widely, so identifying Mary with the traditions of affective devotion that were already popular when applied to Christ, English Art 1307-1461 (Oxford, 1949), p. 88. Other representations of the Virgin of Pity, including some that are most starkly affective, may be found in Émile Mâle, L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France (Paris, 1925), plate 67, p. 124; plate 68 (misnumbered 86), p. 125; plate 69, p. 127; plate 70, p. 128; plate 71, p. 129. The treatment of Mary in our poem is closer to the earlier cult of Mary discussed and illustrated by Mâle in L'Art Religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle en France, p. 232 ff., except that the explicit reference to the hour of death suggests a later emphasis. On the popularity and extent of the cult of the Virgin, see J. A. MacCulloch, Medieval Faiths and Fables (London, 1932), Chapter VII, "The Virgin: Cult and Legends," pp. 102-119. One of the most popular legends in England was Lydgate's Life of Our Lady, which exists in

forty-two manuscripts; see the edition by Joseph A. Laurities, C. S. Sp., et al. (Pittsburgh, 1961). See also the sections given to lyrics dedicated to Mary in Carleton Brown's Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, "Marian Laments," nos. 6-10, pp. 8-22, and "Songs and Prayers to the Blessed Virgin," nos. 11-48, pp. 22-78; Brown also prints "Dialogues between the Blessed Virgin and Child," nos. 1-5, pp. 1-8. There are poems to the Virgin in the Vernon manuscript, ed. Carl Horstmann, The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, EETS 98 (London, 1892), including an English version of the Psalms, and the "Miracles of Our Lady," pp. 49-167.

1.1 Blessed mary moder virginal, In The Sacred Shrine Yrjö Hirn points out that the epithets usually applied to Mary relate most directly to her relationship with the divinity, either in herself as a beautiful young woman, rightly singled out to be honored with the Incarnation, or as the rich source of blessing in the Incarnation. Thus the first line emphasizes "Blessed mary," and refers to the Virgin birth, though in fact the word "moder" here may suggest that as Christ's mother Mary is spiritually mother of all men. (See Sacred Shrine, pp. 303-326.)

1.2 Integrate mayden, Integrate, OED = "perfect," "whole," because of her spotless state being free from original sin, and a "mayden."

1.2 sterre of the sea, Hirn suggests that the phrase "is often explained as an interpretation of the Virgin's Hebrew name 'Miriam,' . . . but that it became naturalized in poetry and pious literature . . . (because) men looked up to Mary from 'the sea of the world and of sin,' as to a star of comfort" (Sacred Shrine, p. 323). The epithet often appears in Latin writings. For example see Dreves, V, no. 21; VIII, no. 79; XX, no. 268; XXXII, no. 209, no. 165; XXXVII, no. 93; XXXIX, no. 81, all of which begin with the epithet "stella maris."

1.5 Myrroure without spot, The mirror was recognized as a symbol of creation even before the mid-thirteenth century when Vincent of Beauvais gave the image almost universal currency. See Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W. R. Trask (London, 1953), p. 336, n. 56, for earlier references. Mary reflects all things because she is the mother of Christ, spotless because of the Immaculate Conception.

1.5 red rose of Jerico, As Rosemary Woolf remarks in The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (p. 287), the image of Mary as "the rose of Jerico" ("Plantatio rosae in Jericho" Ecclesiasticus XXIV. 180) sprang from "the long tradition of the rose as a symbol of feminine beauty and the flower appropriate to love." In spite of the rose's association with martyrdom and the Passion, its association

with Mary remained strong. "Red" here is probably intended mainly to suggest beauty and perfection (and supply meter) rather than any suffering on Mary's part. For evidence of the rose's reputation for being the most beautiful flower (so Mary is the most beautiful woman) see Leo Spitzer, "Fleur et Rose, synonym par position hiérarchique," Estudios Dedicados a Menendez Pidal (Madrid, 1950), I, 135-155.

1.6 Close garden of grace, The Song of Solomon 4.12 reads:

A garden shut up is my sister, my bride,  
a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.

For some of the Fathers, Hirn suggests, "The fountain and the garden became images of Mary's virgin womb, which was closed both before, during, and after the miraculous birth. All that was told of the riches of the pleasure-garden in the Song of Solomon was, it was said, matched by the pure and holy bosom of the Madonna" (p. 311).

The fountain was thought by Ambrose, Hesychius and others to be a symbol of grace. And Bernard, amongst others, could pray "Hortus deliciarum nobis est sacratissimus tuus uterus, O Maria," Ad. B. Mariam, Sermo Panegyricus, Pat. Lat., 184, col. 1011, cited Hirn, pp. 311-312. The garden image is connected with the Immaculate Conception in Mirella Levi d'Ancona, The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America and the College

of Art Association of America, VII (1957), p. 25 and n. 55.

Saint George Prayer

Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse No. 2650.5, prints opening lines of verse. The Supplement lists Douce and Th only. The lines are unique to our prayerbook. The prayer in English follows closely the Latin prayer "O Georgi martir," f. 29<sup>v</sup>-30 in the Douce manuscript, and may thus indicate that the Latin portions of Douce may have been taken over from the O<sup>1</sup> MS I have postulated in the preface to the text.

On George see Hippolyte Delehaye, Les Légendes Grecques des Saint militaires (Paris, 1909), Chapter III, pp. 45-76, and Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien (Paris, 1958), III, 571-579.

Saints Sebastian and George were long popular in England. Aelfric's fifth homily is on Sebastian, his fourteenth on George (see Aelfric's Lives of Saints, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS 76, 82 [London, 1885], pp. 116, 306). St. George was particularly popular, and in the later middle ages virtually became the chief saint of the realm. When the Order of the Garter was established in 1344, George was its patron; he was named the patron of the realm and was celebrated under this title as late as 1515 in Alexander Barclay's colophon to The Life of St. George (ed. William

Nelson, EETS 230 (London, 1955).

The romantic story of his rescue of a maiden was grafted onto the spare account of the warrior who may have existed in the fifth century in Jacobus de Voraigne's Legenda Aurea in the thirteenth century. Before that work's broad vernacular dissemination in fifteenth-century England the story would have been known from the many wall paintings that represent episodes from his life. Ethel C. Williams locates 94 murals, mostly fifteenth-century ones showing his fight with a dragon, in "Mural Paintings of St. George in England," Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd. Series, XI (1945), 19-36. The Saint was also widely represented in the carved bench-ends that occur in so many parish churches in England. Arthur Gardner reproduces three examples of his Minor English Wood Sculptures, 1400-1550, plates 67, 68, 72, from Norwich (67), Osbournby (68), and Witherfield (72) respectively; the Norwich carving, which is of particularly high quality, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Gardner also reproduces the statue of St. George from Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster as plate 478 in English Medieval Sculpture.

Campbell Dodgson prints a woodcut of St. George, Woodcuts of the XVth Century in the . . . British Museum, II, 68. Occasionally St. George was invoked against the plague. Johannes Nohl records that in Poland certain of the mendicant friars sold plague coins that showed on the obverse

St. George fighting with the dragon, on the reverse certain signs with the inscription "Signum Rochi contra Pestem Patronius." See The Black Death: A Chronicle of the Plague, trans. C. H. Clarke (London, 1926), pp. 99-100.

Introductory Verses: 1. 1.

St. George is identified as "our lady kny<sub>3</sub>th" in Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, R. H. Robbins, ed. (Oxford, 1955), no. 66, p. 61. The poem is a popular charm, and suggests that the title given the Saint may have been one in popular circulation.

Saint Sebastian Prayer

Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse, No. 2659.6 prints opening lines of verse, and lists Douce and Th, though in fact the lines do not occur in Th but do in GM.

There are references to the historical accounts of Sebastian in B. de Gaiffier, "Les Sources Latines d'un Miracle de Gauthier de Coincy," Analecta Bollandiana, LXXI (1953), 100-132, "Translations des SS. Sebastien et Gregorie par Odilon," p. 108 ff. A Middle English verse prayer to the Saint is printed by Rossell Hope Robbins, "A Middle English Prayer to St. Mary Magdalen," Traditio, XXIV (1968), 463-464. (Index No. 537.) The saint is

discussed in Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien, III, 1190-1199.

In the later Middle Ages St. Sebastian was usually associated with St. Roche, as in our manuscript. The immediate connection between the saints would seem to have come from France: Émile Mâle discusses the two saints under the heading "Les Aspects Nouveaux du Culte des Saints," L'Art Religieux du la Fin du Moyen Age en France, p. 194, and gives some illustrations of St. Roche alone (plate 104, p. 194); of St. Anthony, St. Sebastian, and St. Roche (plate 105, p. 195). In Germany the saints often appeared together: see illustrations 29, 30, 31, 33 and 34 in Paul Heitz and W. L. Schreiber, Pestblätter des XV. Jahrhunderts (Strassburg, 1901). Here as in France the saints were associated with protection from the plague.

In England, the popularity of St. Roche was late, though Sebastian was known as early as Aelfric's fifth homily. The two saints are represented in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, and are illustrated in Gardner's English Medieval Sculpture, plates 5 and 492. Dodgson prints some popular woodcuts of the saint in Woodcuts of the XV Century in the . . . British Museum, plates II, LXXXVII.

Saint Roche Prayer

Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse, No. 2659.3 prints the opening lines of verse and lists Douce and Th, though in fact they do not occur in Th, and of the three versions only Douce has the Latin prose prayers to the Saint. Because the devotions to St. Roche are limited to Douce I have not included them in the text proper, which I have reserved for those devotions which appear in all three versions, Douce, Thompson, and A Glorious Medytacyon. Still, as I have taken my text primarily from Douce I append the following note on the saint. On the iconographic background see Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien, III, 1155-1161.

Although St. Roche (d. 1327) is less well known than either of the other two saints included in the Douce prayerbook his associations with Sebastian may explain his presence in the Douce manuscript and may suggest that the prayerbook was influenced by the plague, which was prevalent in England from 1348. The English verses which open his devotions suggest that the prayers were a part of the original prayerbook, though the fact that they are in Latin and the fact that Roche was less well known than either of the other saints may account for the dropping of the saint in the other versions of our prayerbook.

The saint himself was not widely known until after

1410, even in his own district. Augustine Fliche writes:  
"A Montpellier, S. Roch n'a pas été honoré avant 1410.  
Cette année là, une épidémie de peste éclate dans la cité,  
et l'Université adresse ses prières au seul S. Sebastien."  
See "Le Problème de Saint Roch," Analecta Bollandiana,  
LXVIII (1950), 352.

The English representation of the saint in the Douce manuscript suggests that his fame spread rapidly from France once he became known and associated with protection from the plague, but that he never gained the lasting popularity of the "older" saints.

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## VITA

John C. Hirsh was born on June 26, 1942, to Edward L. and Margaret K. Hirsh in Hartford, Connecticut. He attended Boston College in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, from September 1960 to June 1964, and graduated with an A. B. degree in June of 1964. From September 1964 to June 1966 he was a graduate assistant at Lehigh University, and graduated with an M. A. in June of 1966. From September 1966 to June 1967 he was enrolled at Pembroke College, Oxford, doing a course of studies under Mr. D. Gray. From September 1967 he has been enrolled as a Ph. D. student at Lehigh University.

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