

Reading in the Wilderness

Private Devotion
AND Public Performance IN
Late Medieval England

JESSICA BRANTLEY



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*Private Devotion and Public Performance
in Late Medieval England*

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FOR MY PARENTS

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvii

1. Introduction: The Performance of Reading	I
2. “Silence Visible”: Carthusian Devotional Reading and Meditative Practice	27
<i>Backgrounds: The Carthusian Order</i>	28
<i>Carthusians and Books</i>	46
<i>Carthusians and Art</i>	57
3. The Shapes of Eremitic Reading in the <i>Desert of Religion</i>	79
<i>The Desert of Religion as Imagetext</i>	83
<i>“Als Wildernes Is Wroght þis Boke”: Formats of Monastic Books</i>	95
<i>Reading Spiritual Community in the Wilderness</i>	110
4. Lyric Imaginings and Painted Prayers	121
<i>The Eremitic Lyric and Richard Rolle</i>	134
<i>Imagining the Carthusian Reader</i>	152
5. Liturgical Pageantry in Private Spaces	167
<i>Reading the Liturgy: Two Models</i>	169
<i>Performing the Holy Name</i>	178
<i>Performing the Canonical Hours</i>	195
<i>Performing the Seven Sacraments</i>	201

6. Envisioning Dialogue in Performance	211
<i>"In Maner of a Dyaloge It Wente"</i>	215
<i>Allegorical Dialogues: The Pilgrimage of the Soul</i>	240
<i>Mystical Dialogues: The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom</i>	259
7. Dramatizing the Cell: Theatrical Performances in Monastic Reading	269
<i>Dramatic Texts, Lyric Voices, and Private Readers</i>	270
<i>Theatrical Reading in Additional 37049</i>	278
<i>Monastic Closet Drama</i>	290
8. Conclusion: Reading Performances	301
<i>Appendix: Contents of British Library MS Additional 37049</i>	307
Notes	327
Bibliography	395
Index of Manuscript Shelfmarks	450
Subject Index	453

Illustrations

COLOR PLATES *following page 78*

1. “þou synful man þt by me gase,” with Carthusian monk (c. 1460-70)
2. “At þe begynnnyng of þe chartirhows god did schewe,” with pictorial foundation narrative (c. 1460-70)
3. Mary of Egypt, in *Desert of Religion* (c. 1460-70)
4. Wise and foolish virgins; procession of the Holy Name (c. 1460-70)
5. “þe luf of god who so will lere” with Carthusian monk (c. 1460-70)
6. Sacramental flowchart of belief (c. 1460-70)
7. *Querela divina* and *Responsio humana* (c. 1460-70)
8. “Of þe seuen ages note wele þe sayng of þe gode angel & þe yll” (c. 1460-70)

FIGURES

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| 2.1 | “At þe begynnnyng þe of chartirhows god did schewe,” with Carthusian monk reading (c. 1460-70) | 30 |
| 2.2 | Frontispiece, <i>Statutes Ordinis Cartusiensis</i> (1510) | 32 |
| 2.3 | Medieval plan of London charterhouse (c. 1430-40) | 37 |
| 2.4 | Cells inside charterhouse (15th c.) | 38 |
| 2.5 | Inside and outside charterhouse walls (15th c.) | 39 |

2.6	St. Bruno and his students leaving the city for the wilderness, from <i>Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry</i> ; Pol, Jean, and Herman de Limbourg (c. 1408-9)	42
2.7	Carthusian private reader (15th c.)	55
2.8	Carthusian mourner from tomb of Philip the Bold, made for Charterhouse of Champmol, Dijon; Claus Sluter, Claus de Werve, and Jean de Marville (1390-1406)	62
2.9	Floor tiles from St. Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry (1385-c. 1418)	65
2.10	Christ on Cross with praying Carthusian monk, made for Charterhouse of Champmol, Dijon; Jean de Beaumetz (1390-95)	66
2.11	Man of Sorrows indulgence panel (c. 1500)	68
2.12	Dom Benedict Lambres (1949)	70
2.13	Carthusian praying at foot of cross, detail from Enguerrand Quarton, <i>Couronnement de la Vierge</i> (1454)	71
2.14	<i>Virgin and Child, with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vós</i> , Jan van Eyck and Workshop (c. 1440)	72
2.15	<i>Virgin and Child with Saint Barbara and Jan Vós</i> (Exeter Madonna), Petrus Christus (c. 1440)	73
3.1	First <i>passus</i> of <i>Desert of Religion</i> (c. 1460-70)	80
3.2	First tree-diagram of <i>Desert of Religion</i> (c. 1460-70)	81
3.3	"Debate for the Soul" (first half 15th c.)	88
3.4	<i>Vado mori</i> figures and verses (c. 1420-30)	89
3.5	"Debate for the Soul" (c. 1420-30)	89
3.6	<i>Vado mori</i> figures and verses (first half 15th c.)	89
3.7	"Debate for the Soul" (first half 15th c.)	89
3.8	"Behold howe in þe wildernes of þis world me gase"; <i>Vado mori</i> figures and verses (c. 1460-70)	91
3.9	"Debate for the Soul" (c. 1460-70)	92
3.10	"Debate for the Soul" (monastic variation) (c. 1460-70)	93
3.11	First page of <i>Desert of Religion</i> (c. 1460-70)	98
3.12	First page of <i>Desert of Religion</i> (c. 1420-30)	100
3.13	First page of <i>Desert of Religion</i> (first half 15th c.)	102
3.14	First hermit-picture of <i>Desert of Religion</i> (first half 15th c.)	102
3.15	Mary of Egypt, in <i>Desert of Religion</i> (c. 1420-30)	104
3.16	Mary of Egypt, in <i>Desert of Religion</i> (first half 15th c.)	105
3.17	Gifts of Holy Spirit, in <i>Desert of Religion</i> (c. 1460-70)	108
3.18	"The cyte of heuen is set on so hye a hylle" (c. 1460-70)	115
3.19	"Of þe state of religion," with "þe mounte of perfecion" and <i>scala celi</i> (c. 1460-70)	117

3.20	“Of þe state of religion,” with “þe froyte of relygyon” (c. 1460-70)	118
3.21	<i>Scala celi</i> , in <i>Desert of Religion</i> (c. 1460-70)	119
4.1	“Versa est in luctum cithera mea” (c. 1460-70)	124
4.2	Man in tree, fleeing from unicorn (c. 1280-90)	129
4.3	“Behalde here as þou may se,” with man in tree, fleeing from unicorn (c. 1460-70)	130
4.4	Angel with falcon and lure (1256-80)	133
4.5	“Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat” (c. 1460-70)	139
4.6	“Richard hampole” (c. 1460-70)	140
4.7	“Richarde heremite” (c. 1420-30)	141
4.8	Unidentified portrait (hermit? doctor?) in <i>Desert of Religion</i> (first half 15th c.)	142
4.9	Unidentified hermit (Richard Rolle?) (c. 1460-70)	144
4.10	“Þat is on Ynglysche þus to say/he says thynke on þine ending daye” (c. 1460-70)	149
4.11	“As walnot barke his hare is ʒalowe” (c. 1460-70)	153
4.12	“Hayle se sterne gods modyr holy” (<i>Ave maris stella</i>) (c. 1460-70)	155
4.13	“In a tabernakil of a towre” (c. 1460-70)	158
4.14	“Hayl oure patron & lady of erthe” (<i>Salve regina</i>) (c. 1460-70)	160
4.15	Continuation of <i>Salve regina</i> ; “Wyth scharp þornes þt beth kene” (c. 1460-70)	162
4.16	“Thy myghty mercy kyng of blis” (c. 1460-70)	163
5.1	Virgin (c. 1460-70)	172
5.2	Christ (c. 1460-70)	172
5.3	Christ as Man of Sorrows (c. 1300)	173
5.4	Presentation of Avignon Diptych (18th c. copy of lost 14th c. fresco)	174
5.5	Prayer-book of Philip the Good (c. 1450), surmounted by diptych (c. 1430)	175
5.6	Virgin Hodegetria (second half 12th c.)	176
5.7	Christ as Man of Sorrows (second half 12th c.)	177
5.8	Devotions to Holy Name of Jesus (15th c.)	182
5.9	Emblem of <i>Iesus nazareus</i> (c. 1460-70)	183
5.10	Indulgences with emblems of holy language (c. 1460-70)	185
5.11	“Synful or sory how euer þu be” (c. 1460-70)	186
5.12	“Of þe fayrnes of saynt Mary gods moder our lady” (c. 1460-70)	188
5.13	Charter of Christ (c. 1460-70)	190

5.14	Corpus Christi procession (1444/5-1465)	194
5.15	"A deuowte meditacion of þe passione of Jhesu criste after þe seuen howres of þe day" (c. 1460-70)	196
5.16	<i>Septem opera passionis Christi</i> (c. 1310-20)	200
5.17	Mystical winepress with seven sacraments (early 15th c.)	205
5.18	Seven-sacrament vellum sheet (15th c.)	206
6.1	"Lo here myn ♥" (1470-1500)	216
6.2	<i>Querela divina</i> (c. 1460-70)	218
6.3	"A disputacion betwyx þe body & wormes" (c. 1460-70)	222
6.4	"Take hede vn to my figure here abowne" (c. 1460-70)	223
6.5	Continuation of "A disputacion betwyx þe body & wormes" (c. 1460-70)	226
6.6	<i>Transi</i> tomb of Bishop Richard Fleming (d. 1431)	228
6.7	Dialogue between Emperor Antiochenus and his dead father (c. 1460-70)	229
6.8	"Agayne despayre" (c. 1460-70)	231
6.9	"Of actyfe lyfe & contemplyte declaracion" (c. 1460-70)	233
6.10	Continuation of "Of actyfe lyfe & contemplyte declaracion" (c. 1460-70)	234
6.11	Master and student in dialogue (c. 1460-70)	236
6.12	"Fyrst þu sal luf god & drede" (c. 1460-70)	237
6.13	Continuation of "Fyrst þu sal luf god & drede" (c. 1460-70)	238
6.14	"þe A.B.C. of Arystotyll" (c. 1460-70)	239
6.15	Thomas Hoccleve, "Cantus peregrinorum," in <i>Pilgrimage of the Soul</i> (c. 1460-70)	242
6.16	Thomas Hoccleve, "The Angels' Song within Heaven," in <i>Pilgrimage of the Soul</i> (c. 1460-70)	243
6.17	Thomas Hoccleve, "The Angels' Second Song within Heaven," in <i>Pilgrimage of the Soul</i> (c. 1460-70)	244
6.18	Thomas Hoccleve, "The Angels' Second Song within Heaven," in <i>Pilgrimage of the Soul</i> (c. 1430)	245
6.19	"The Apple of Solace" (c. 1460-70)	248
6.20	"The Apple of Solace" (c. 1430)	249
6.21	"The Lamentation of the Green Tree" (c. 1430)	250
6.22	"Nowe gode angel telle me whedyr þe fende þat has so gret delyte to dyscefe" (c. 1460-70)	251
6.23	"A disputacion betwyx þe saule & þe body when it is past oute of þe body" (c. 1460-70)	253
6.24	"A dysputacion betwyx þe saule & þe body when it is past oute of þe body" (?c. 1420-50)	254
6.25	"Cum follow me my frendes vnto helle" (c. 1460-70)	255

6.26	“A vision of saules þat war dampned & put to helle after þe jugement & how þai ar deformed & myschapyng” (?1440-50)	256
6.27	“Of þe relefyng of saules in purgatory” (c. 1460-70)	257
6.28	Scaffold pageant in <i>Pilgrimage of the Soul</i> (c. 1430)	258
6.29	<i>Treatise of the Seven Points</i> , with hellish torments (c. 1460-70)	262
6.30	<i>Treatise of the Seven Points</i> , with speakers (c. 1460-70)	263
6.31	<i>Treatise of the Seven Points</i> , with prayer scene (c. 1460-70)	264
6.32	Heinrich Suso, Christ as “Die Ewig Weishait” (15th c.)	266
7.1	“þe first comawndment: Thow sal luf god with hert intere” (c. 1460-70)	275
7.2	<i>Mappa mundi</i> (c. 1460-70)	283
7.3	Bleeding heart with holy monogram <i>ih̄s</i> (late 15th c.)	285
7.4	Gesturing figures in dialogue (12th c.)	286
7.5	Man with Cardinal Virtues, Spearman Death (1457-61)	288
7.6	Methodius’ “Of þe begynyng of þe world & of þe ending” (c. 1460-70)	295
7.7	“Adame parent of all mankind” (early 16th c.)	296
7.8	Cain’s murder of Abel (early 16th c.)	297

Abbreviations

<i>AC</i>	<i>Analecta Cartusiana</i>
BL	British Library
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Bod.	Bodleian Library
Brown XIII	Carleton Brown, ed., <i>English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932)
Brown XIV	Carleton Brown, ed., <i>Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924)
Brown XV	Carleton Brown, ed., <i>Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939)
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CGCC	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College
CUL	Cambridge University Library
<i>EETS</i>	<i>Early English Text Society</i>
HH	Hatfield House
<i>Illustrated</i>	James Hogg, ed., <i>An Illustrated Yorkshire Cartbusian</i>
<i>Miscellany</i>	<i>Religious Miscellany, British Library London Additional MS 37049</i> , vol. 3: The Illustrations, <i>Analecta Cartusiana</i> 95 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1981)
<i>IMEV</i>	Carleton Brown and Russell Hope Robbins, <i>Index of Middle English Verse</i> (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943)
<i>IMEV Suppl.</i>	Russell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler, <i>Index of Middle English Verse, Supplement</i> (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965)

- IPMEP* R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (New York: Garland, 1985)
- Jolliffe P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974)
- LALME* A. McIntosh et al., eds., *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986)
- MCC Magdalene College, Cambridge
- ME Middle English
- MED* *Middle English Dictionary*
- MWME* Albert E. Hartung, ed., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, 11 vols. (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-)
- NIMEV* Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: British Library, 2005)
- NLS National Library of Scotland
- NYPL New York Public Library
- OCCC Oxford, Corpus Christi College
- OED* *Oxford English Dictionary*
- OUC Oxford, University College
- PL* *Patrologia cursus completus*, series *Latina*
- Revell Peter Revell, *Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations: A Descriptive List of Manuscripts in the British Library* (New York: Garland, 1975)
- STS* *Scottish Text Society*
- TCC Trinity College, Cambridge
- TCD Trinity College, Dublin

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Introduction

The Performance of Reading

The only exact knowledge there is, is the knowledge
of the date of publication and the format of books.

ANATOLE FRANCE

If we accept the conservative epistemology of Anatole France, then in the highly speculative business of literary criticism medievalists are especially far from exactitude.¹ “Date of publication” does not apply conceptually to the literature of a manuscript culture, in which a rough date of composition is often hard enough to come by. Students of the Middle Ages are left, then, with “the format of books” as our only potential access to “exact knowledge.” But here we are fortunate in having recourse to a rich array of evidence, for medieval manuscripts exalt format, demonstrating in the differences among realizations of the same work the importance of physical circumstance for the creation of literary meaning. Each handwritten codex is a unique object, wedding the text it presents to the form of its presentation less transparently, and more meaningfully, than do the mass productions of print culture.² I shall explore here the format of one fifteenth-century English book, not in the real hope of France’s “exact knowledge,” but in recognition of the uniquely authoritative position of manuscripts as the material remains of medieval literary production and reception. Study of texts in the absence of contexts gives an artificial and ultimately misleading impression of the experience of reading in the Middle Ages.³ Attending broadly to manuscript format, however, can reveal in the medieval codex not only the meanings of texts, but also habits of thought.

In this study, I will investigate the late-medieval habits of thought that link reading with performance. The pairing may seem counterintuitive as a description of literary culture in the fifteenth century, a period when the rise of silent, individual reading is customarily thought to have

supplanted the oral and aural modes of reception associated with an earlier time.⁴ Although recent scholarship has amply challenged the simple story of ancient bards and mumbling monks who give way to modern bibliophiles, still the emergence of the private reader—a solitary person silently contemplating a codex—is a standard feature of the narrative by which we understand the literary history of the late Middle Ages.⁵ The increase in private reading signals a movement away from settings more easily characterized as performative, whether the particular mechanism of performance is oral composition, oral recitation, or simply reading *à haute voix*. In the fifteenth century, however, it is not authorial processes of composition or even recitation that show the greatest affiliation with performance, but readerly processes of understanding.⁶ Late-medieval devotional readers, in particular, brought the idea of public recitals into the surprising private space of vernacular manuscripts, not as an atavistic remnant, but as a vibrant means of making spiritual meaning. Their literary activities enlivened the silent page with the imagination of noisy scenes, enriched individual prayer through association with liturgical celebration, and made the individual's quiet encounter with the static book itself a species of sacred performance. Books that enjoin such a mode of performative private reading offer a new paradigm for the complicated and enduring interactions of literacy and orality in late-medieval culture.

The vigorous activities of late-medieval devotional reading might be described in terms other than performative ones. Monastic reading, in particular, from the *lectio divina* to the arts of memory, has been described as a cognitive exercise that calls upon the creative energies of the solitary reader in ways that often overlap with what I am calling performative.⁷ Nonetheless, the vocabulary of performance offers new ways of understanding the particularities of late-medieval vernacular literary culture. The format of some late-medieval books reveals that the performative mechanisms of individual reading were significantly influenced by the social literary structures of the drama. Tellingly, critics have often gravitated toward theatrical metaphors in studies of meditative reading and the memorial arts. Jeffrey Hamburger, for example, describes the iconographic program of the Rothschild Canticles as “an extended drama acted out by the reader in a visionary language derived from Scripture and the liturgy.”⁸ Louis Martz uses still more vivid images to sum up the methods of emblematic visualization central to a seventeenth-century poetics derived from medieval models: “Perhaps it is enough to say that the central meditative action consists of an interior drama, in which a man projects a self upon a mental stage, and there comes to understand that self in the light of a divine presence.”⁹ Paul Zumthor turns to the same dramatic metaphor to mourn the inaccessibility of medieval texts to modern readers: “Now, in our case quite obviously,

it is a matter of dialogue with ancient texts that are masked walk-on character parts in a drama at which we are no longer spectators, and carriers of a discourse that we no longer hear.”¹⁰ Examples could be multiplied.¹¹ But although the dramatic qualities of nondramatic literature in the Middle Ages have been widely noticed, and have been honored in metaphor, my aim in this study is to approach the conjunction of reading and performance in more literal terms. Not only loosely dramatic, but also actual theatrical practices informed the habits of private meditational reading in the period. Through a variety of allusions to the conditions of performance, certain late-medieval devotional texts call upon their readers to imagine public spectacles as a way of creating individual ones.

Such medieval texts pose basic questions about how we might understand an alliance between the read and the performed, when the connection will never be enacted in a literal sense. How does it matter that a work is marked as theatrical, if it is never to be experienced in a theater, or in any manner more spectacular than a private reading? If a bookish text is never to be staged, what is gained by calling it a play? These are problems fundamental to the genre of closet drama, though we do not often use that term to describe any medieval text.¹² The Senecan version of the unperformed play is generally understood to re-emerge in the vernacular only in the seventeenth century, and to flourish especially in the nineteenth.¹³ Assuredly, late-medieval closet dramas do not follow the Senecan pattern; they are neither highly rhetorical nor marked by a lack of “dramatic” action. Rather than employing literate tropes to ennoble the text of a play, these works invoke performed spectacles to animate the lifeless word. But even though the generic term may be unfamiliar when applied to medieval literature, the performative dynamics of a dramatic literature designed for “closet” consumption were familiar to a fifteenth-century audience, and something *is* to be gained by naming them directly. The title of *drama* enforces a useful recognition of the generic slippage between what is read and what is enacted, a slippage that does not reduce the achievements of unperformed plays, but rather suggests the new possibilities available to those poems, privately read, that affiliate themselves with the stage.¹⁴ I will argue in the following chapters that imagining these texts as a variety of closet drama clarifies both our understanding of the nature of theatrical performance, and our sense of the procedures involved in devotional reading.

The connections I seek to trace between private reading and public performance in the fifteenth century emerge most plainly in the format of one small and roughly made book: British Library MS Additional 37049.¹⁵ The British Library purchased the manuscript on 13 May 1905 from the bookseller L. M. Rosenthal, in Munich; beyond this, its provenance is unclear.¹⁶

Linguistic and paleographical evidence suggests that the volume was produced in the north of England in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and it contains fairly certain indications of Carthusian ownership.¹⁷ Apart from these scant facts, nothing of the original context of the manuscript can be known for certain. Although its origins are obscure, however, the book is significant as a rich artifact of medieval literary culture. Additional 37049 assembles Middle English prose and verse of a wide variety—some pieces elsewhere unattested, but others that can be counted among the most popular late-medieval devotional and didactic works.¹⁸ Moreover, almost every one of these texts is accompanied by abundant colored drawings—rough images that do not so much ornament the text, as help to generate its meaning. It is a primary argument of this study that the complex format of this book, particularly its systematic combination of words and pictures, testifies with unusual clarity to the performative culture of late-medieval devotional reading.

It has not always been easy to see the ways in which this bibliographic artifact engages its reader in devotional performances. Often cited but little studied, Additional 37049 has always been considered in ancillary terms. Francis Wormald long ago studied some of the manuscript's pictures, but only in order to discover "connections between them and more important works of art or artistic expression."¹⁹ Recognizing the importance of the manuscript's images on their own, James Hogg published a volume that reproduces most of the illustrated pages of the manuscript, but without interpretation.²⁰ The product of informal rather than liturgical devotion, these drawings are too coarse even to be included in standard catalogues of manuscript illumination.²¹ If the pictures are drawn "in the crudest style," however, as the British Library catalogue has it, it would be wrong to think them therefore uninteresting or unimportant to the history of art.²² Their sheer number, and the enormous illustrative project that they represent, testify to the significance of devotional images in late-medieval private piety.²³ The miscellany is more familiar to scholars of Middle English, who have long acknowledged the value of its literary records. Yet the manuscript's texts have not entirely escaped the disdain heaped upon its images, for where other versions exist, these pieces can seem by comparison disappointingly fragmentary and corrupt. Critical editions have tended to rely on testimony from other sources, obscuring the contributions this manuscript can make to our understanding of the texts it contains.²⁴ And although the importance of the collection is acknowledged *en passant* in many studies, literary historians have not considered the significance of the book's textual juxtapositions, or the shape of the miscellaneous collection as a whole.²⁵ The book has been used almost exclusively for incidental and illustrative purposes, never studied in its own right or in its entirety.

If neither the texts nor the drawings collected in this manuscript have received the individual attention they merit, the intersection of word and picture has received less attention still. No one has fully accounted for the striking fact that every reader notices: these texts depend so heavily on the images that accompany them—the two are so closely linked in the structure of the page—that neither can be said to exist in fullness of meaning outside of this particular context. Taking account of these close connections between the visual and the verbal, Karl Josef Hölzgen has pointed to later developments in emblematics as the progeny of this illustrated book.²⁶ But this miscellany does not anticipate the emblem-book so much as it illuminates contemporary ways of reading, and its combinations of media, taken together, are most valuable for what they reveal about devotional culture in the fifteenth century. The close connections frequently adduced between late-medieval art and literature manifest themselves materially in an object like this, and as a result the book allows for an investigation of the commonplace in concrete terms.²⁷ Because this codex so squarely addresses the intersection of the visual and the verbal, offering the ideational conjunction of text and image through the physical juxtaposition of word and picture, it has largely fallen through the cracks that separate modern academic disciplines. But the interdisciplinary format of this book, so thoroughly miscellaneous in structure as well as in content, in fact presents its most compelling questions. Not only varieties of text, but varieties of representation, make it up. The miscellaneous format of Additional 37049 suggests ways in which the whole book might be significantly greater than the sum of its parts.²⁸

The insistent combination of words and pictures here, a form that W. J. T. Mitchell has suggestively called “imagetext,” picks up most explicitly the book’s connection to performative modes.²⁹ The combination of the visual and the verbal that is central to this manuscript’s art mimics the quintessential experience of theater-goers, who are equally audience and spectators. The similarity is structural, for of all literary forms, only performed drama and illustrated books join the visual with the verbal so explicitly, materially, and indissolubly.³⁰ Although Additional 37049 is singular in its heavy use of this sort of imagetext, similar imbrications of the two representational modes in other contexts suggest more wide-ranging connections between reading and performance. The two fifteenth-century German “spiritual encyclopedias” discussed by F. Saxl might be considered the nearest analogues, though with significant differences of language, style, and substance.³¹ They are mainly Latin books, but they offer their monastic readers equally copious compendia of both devotional and scientific ideas, illustrated with diagrams as well as iconic meditative images—some of the very ones also found in Additional 37049.³² Some

late-medieval vernacular books more clearly develop the dynamics of performance brought by images into written texts, as Kathryn Starkey has noted in such secular German manuscripts as the *Sachsenspiegel*, Thomasin von Zerclaere's *Der Welche Gast*, and especially Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*.³³ Closer to home, a vernacular book like Bodleian MS Douce 104, an illustrated copy of *Piers Plowman*, shows the ways in which even simple illustrations can affect our readings of English devotional poems, as figures in the margins indicate how a reader might privately voice—that is, perform—its words.³⁴ None of these manuscript analogues operates in precisely the same way as this Carthusian miscellany; they represent different devotional cultures, or indeed secular ones, and are in general much less heavily illustrated. Still, all of them together help to sketch broadly a fifteenth-century reading culture that depends upon the mixing of media, upon interactive methods of apprehending both pictures and words, and upon the performative effects of such imagetexts.

Additional 37049 is unusual among late-medieval vernacular books in its comprehensive and deliberate use of mixed media, but the text-image combinations that are so pervasive here also help to indicate the fundamental role of performance in devotional reading generally. Even books with fewer or no pictures can be imagined to offer reading material for private performance—a connection more suggestive for late-medieval England than any similarity the manuscript might show to other illustrated volumes. The imagetexts in this manuscript encourage readers of the words (modern, as well as medieval) to think of their private reading as a performance, and they can teach us mechanisms for reading other devotional books of the period, even when there are no images on the page. Most broadly, these illustrated texts clarify the important relationship between meditative devotional literature and drama itself. Although scholars of medieval drama have noted the ways in which certain plays draw on meditative traditions, fewer have considered the dependence of meditative reading on modes of performance.³⁵ Even though they did not form part of staged performances, multitudes of Middle English devotional lyrics, and many Middle English pedagogical dialogues, draw from the dynamics of plays. Likewise, the kinds of connections that link Nicholas Love's *Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* and the *Book of Margery Kempe* to the theater helped shape both these devotional books and medieval readers' responses to them.³⁶ The imagetexts in Additional 37049 show that some medieval literature—whether lyrics, dialogues, play texts, or narrative meditations—was meant to be privately enacted in the experience of reading.

Critics have long recognized the kinship between the visual and verbal arts in the medieval period, and have traced out the connections between images and drama in both iconographic and formal terms. Following the

lead of Emile Mâle, some scholars have derived artistic imagery from mystery plays, imagining that the memory of dramatic spectacles influenced artists' iconographic choices.³⁷ Such studies use the drama as explanatory background for visual production of all kinds, quoting cycle plays when they pertain to and can help explain stained glass and monumental sculpture, as well as manuscript illumination. In a corollary development, art has been used as evidence of dramatic practice—a complex kind of evidence, to be sure, but nonetheless useful.³⁸ Arguments have equally well been made in the other direction, however, claiming that the substance of the plays draws on artistic *topoi* and conventions.³⁹ According to this reasoning, visual culture forms a background for medieval authors composing plays and designing tableaux that will be realized as visual spectacles on the stage. Recent research has provided increased local specificity for such arguments, recognizing that in its iconography (as in so much else) the English dramatic tradition is far from monolithic.⁴⁰ Connections between this Carthusian miscellany and fifteenth-century theatrical culture on similar iconographic grounds have not gone entirely unnoticed. Some studies have used the manuscript, and reproduced its images, to illustrate plays, contextualizing them in terms of general late-medieval devotional concerns.⁴¹ M. D. Anderson begins her study of connections between drama and church art, for example, by explaining the odd iconography of an angel in Lincoln Cathedral through reference to Additional 37049.⁴² Anderson cites the example only to argue for the importance of interdisciplinary thinking for solving iconographical puzzles; her book is otherwise unconcerned with manuscripts. But even though the connection between this manuscript and staged plays is anomalous in the context of the rest of Anderson's study (and even incidental to it), the comparison is telling.

Whichever way the influence worked in any particular case, the common dependence of both art forms on visual modes of communication argues for the general value of such iconographic comparison.⁴³ It is not the general themes of the drama, which are widespread in art and in other kinds of late Middle English literature, that find their strongest reflection in this Carthusian miscellany. Nor is it even particular visual or verbal echoes that might be used to localize a manuscript or a play geographically or temporally. Instead, it is the textual and visual structures of the drama, and the way it achieves aesthetic and devotional purposes. The combination of dialogue and vision, so clearly reminiscent of dramatic situations, not only presents texts visually but makes possible their animation in a viewer's mind. I do not imagine that the experience of reading Additional 37049 depends upon the memory of any specific dramatic experience, any more than I would argue that a play was produced following its particular scripts. Instead, the repeated reading of an imagetext like this replicates

the experience of dramatic spectacle, the performance of a text before a group in the combined media of sight and sound. This manuscript is not merely a conveniently illustrated representative of late-medieval devotion, in all its visual aspects—although that is the way it has generally been treated by modern readers. Its model particularity is more revealing than its thematic connections to other artifacts of medieval devotion, and its interest in the formal capacities of the drama more revealing than its iconographic similarities to specific plays. It seeks to reproduce the experiential effects of dramatic performance, not just the spiritual and moral message.

Long before Mâle, some medieval theatrical discourses linked painting with theater in just these experiential terms. Most famously, the anti-theatrical, potentially Lollard *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge* uses the metaphor of a play as a “living book” to discuss both the possibilities and the hazards of dramatic representation.⁴⁴ The author first rehearses arguments in favor of the theater, arguments that he considers specious. As “thei” say: “Also sithen it is leweful to han þe myraclis of God peyntid, why is not as wel leweful to han þe myraclis of God played, sithen men mowen bettere reden the wille of God and his marvelous werkis in the pleyinge of hem than in the peyntinge? And betere they ben holden in mennes minde and oftere reherside by the pleyinge of hem than be the peyntinge, for þis is a deed bok, þe toþer a quik.”⁴⁵ The analogy here between theater and visual art seeks to recuperate what might seem dangerous on the stage, since both are merely means to increase the viewer’s exposure to, and memorial retention of, “the wille of God and his marvelous werkis.” Although the analogy does not connect drama with illustrated books precisely, but rather with any kind of painting, the particular correlation is more than implicit in the description of that painting as a “deed bok.” The author of the *Tretise*, however, quickly counters the apologetic arguments he has summarized by reviewing instead what “we seyn”: “We seyn that peynture, yif it be verry withoute minging of lesingis and not to curious, to myche fedinge mennis wittis, and not occasion of maumetrie to the puple, they ben but as nakyd lettris to a clerk to ridden the treuthe. Bot so ben not miracles pleyinge that ben made more to deliten men bodily than to ben bokis to lewid men. And therefore yif they ben quike bookis, they ben quicke bookis to shrewidnesse more than to goodness.”⁴⁶ The author reflects contemporary iconoclastic controversies, worrying about the potential of even painting itself for “lesingis” and “maumetrie,” but he saves his ammunition for dramatic representation; paintings might sometimes serve as letters wherein the truth can be read, but plays never resemble them in that.⁴⁷ If plays are imagined to be “books” just as paintings are, they operate in the service of “shrewidnesse” and should be avoided. But even in this critique, the *Tretise* nonetheless opens a small positive space for one kind of constructive play

in the implied category of “quicke bookis to goodnesse” — even while denying its existence.⁴⁸ This antitheatrical author cannot really imagine such a play, or perhaps even such a “quicke” book, but an illustrated manuscript like Additional 37049, which brings together didactic paintings and plays in the performative act of devotional reading, would seem to be an ideal representative of this phantom class.

The connections between books and enacted spectacles described in the *Tretise of Miraclis Pleying* are encapsulated in the complex associations of the word *pageant* in the late Middle Ages. The Middle English word has long been known to encompass meanings beyond what its modern equivalent suggests; although the term most often meant “a play in a mystery play cycle,” or “a wheeled moveable platform on which a mystery play is presented,” its range of meaning extended beyond the vocabulary of medieval drama. Royal welcomes and civic processions often included pageantry called by that name.⁴⁹ Furthermore, in the fifteenth century the word seems to have represented either the verbal or the visual aspects of the drama alone, as well as their conjunction in a public show, for it is recorded by the *Middle English Dictionary* in the senses both of “a story, tale” and of “an ornamental hanging in a room.”⁵⁰ More recently, A. S. G. Edwards has argued for expansion of the latter definition to include any picture or illustration, whether executed in tapestry or other medium.⁵¹ All of Edwards’s examples of this broader usage come from the arena of manuscript painting in particular, suggesting that such illuminations, at least, as well as tapestries and mystery plays, were sometimes thought of as “pagents.”⁵² The most extreme example (although omitted in Edwards’s account) might be British Library MS Cotton Julius E.iv, art. 6, a manuscript composed entirely of what it explicitly calls “pagents”: nearly full-page drawings that recount the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in pictorial narrative, each drawing combined with a caption of several lines that explains the progress of events.⁵³ As the rubrics explain, each pageant is conceived as part of a narrative unfolding “in processe of tyme” but also as a spectacle that works along visual lines: “In this pagent is pleylnly shewed . . .”⁵⁴ That a simple word could encompass stories and imagery, forms both animated and static, implies a link between both kinds of pageantry in the texts and images of this Carthusian miscellany.

Etymological as well as lexicographical evidence enriches this complex of relations, for *pageant* shares a common derivation with *page*, both from Latin *pagina*.⁵⁵ In fact, some forms of the Middle English word *pagine* are indistinguishable from forms of *pagent*: *pagent*, *pageant*, and *pageaunte* all mean “a page or leaf of a book.”⁵⁶ Conversely, *page* sometimes means “a scene in a mystery play.”⁵⁷ The morphological congruence here must suggest a semantic overlap in fifteenth-century usage of these words, which so neatly

combine the pageantry of mystery plays, spectacular illuminations, and the pages of manuscript books. Like the theories of drama repeated in the *Tre-tise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, the history of this word brings together words and pictures, paintings and plays, books and performances, in a conjunction familiar to late-medieval audiences of all kinds. The pages of Additional 37049, though they do not speak explicitly of “pagents,” offer devotional pageantry in that fuller sense that encompasses imagery both static and performed, linking dramatic performance with what we might call bibliographic performance in verbal and visual artistic constructions.⁵⁸

In reading the manuscript’s combination of text and image through the lens of pageantry and performance, I am arguing implicitly for a certain unity in the miscellany.⁵⁹ I do not mean, however, to flatten the differences among the various texts and images it presents. Although most of the items in the manuscript concern the primary subjects of late-medieval affective piety—the passion of Christ, human sin and redemption, the Virgin and the saints—the contents of Additional 37049 are not unified by theme. Nor can any coherent principle explain the sequence of items. The manuscript opens with a *mappa mundi* and universal histories that could be considered to inaugurate an encyclopedic project, but as the compilation proceeds it comes to resemble more closely a diverse *florilegium*, in which neither comprehensive scope nor rational ordering is the primary goal.⁶⁰ Still, in spite of its lack of evident design, there are grounds for considering this miscellany as an entirety. In spite of occasional intrusions by several hands, the bulk of Additional 37049 seems to have been written by the same scribe and illustrated by the same artist.⁶¹ The physical connections between word and picture are such that it is even probable that artist and scribe were one.⁶² An identical watermark links all the manuscript’s paper leaves, suggesting that even if the leaves were not always bound in their current order, they were written and ornamented at the same time.⁶³ With such material evidence to suggest one idea at work in the making of this book, it is surely right to consider the artistic achievement of the whole. This is a medieval miscellany of extraordinary unity in its variety, a deeply heterogeneous book that seems to have been produced at once and to one devotional end.

The intensely personal nature of this compilation suggests more than that the scribe and artist were the same. In a revealing conflation of production and reception, it also suggests that the creator of the manuscript was at least one of its initial readers.⁶⁴ Even if the miscellany was not created coherently, it was encountered by this reader (and many subsequent ones) as a singular object, and the reading experience establishes crucial relationships among its disparate parts. This is particularly true if, as I think we

must imagine in this case, the typical late-medieval reader worked through the book more than once and with the care and intensity appropriate to devotional reading and seeing.⁶⁵ Of course, the kind of scholarly attention I pay to this book does not attempt to mimic the experience of medieval reading, which would be impossible for a modern person educated in the culture of print to reclaim. But I hope that the kinds of sustained scrutiny that modern scholars can turn toward such medieval books can reveal, if not replicate, the kinds of literary and visionary attention paid by fifteenth-century readers.⁶⁶ A miscellany is most meaningful, not because it was *designed* to work in a particular way, but simply because it *does*.⁶⁷ What unifies this book most powerfully is not any intention of its maker, even though certain continuities are visible in his choices. Instead, the manuscript is unified by the mode of reading it requires; the performative effects of its texts and images, more than anything else, link the disparate parts of this miscellaneous volume.

The nature of any reading experience is determined to a large degree by the identity of the reader, which leads to a fundamental question about this book: what medieval community are we to imagine using it? Most modern scholars have assumed that Additional 37049 was associated with a Carthusian monastery in the north of England, even though no one can confidently identify the particular foundation.⁶⁸ The reasons for locating Additional 37049 in a Carthusian setting are numerous, some textual and some visual. The visual evidence is compelling: numerous pictures of Carthusians illustrate the manuscript, always wearing their white habits with distinctive side-bands.⁶⁹ To be sure, the miscellany also includes pictures of laypeople, indeterminate monastic figures, and even religious of other orders.⁷⁰ But the Carthusians are by far the most numerous as a single group, and because their style of dress marks them in a specific way, they constitute the most conspicuous members of the manuscript's population. The textual evidence for a Carthusian connection is still more suggestive, for the manuscript includes a unique verse history of the origins of the Carthusian Order, "At þe begynnyng of þe chartirhows god dyd schewe." The case for internal composition and consumption here seems strong, especially since the poem refers approvingly to the hierarchy of asceticism by which the pope permitted monks of other (ostensibly lower) orders to enlist in the life of the charterhouse without breaking their original vows:⁷¹

bis holy ordir Carthusiens standes in grace of the court of Rome,
 For it grauntes al oþir ordirs lycence þider for to come
 Ordynatly for hele of saule and more perfeccioun
 To lyfe contemplatyfe lyfe and of þair maners correccioun.⁷²

No texts in Additional 37049 point in such direct ways to other orders or to the lay population. In the absence of more definitive evidence (such as a colophon linking the manuscript to a particular charterhouse), we can be reasonably sure that Additional 37049 has its origin in the Carthusian Order. Although the miscellany cannot be tied to any specific community, its brand of performative reading clearly emerges from this particular monastic wilderness.

It is important to consider in what ways this manuscript might reflect its monastic milieu, for late-medieval English Carthusians boasted a distinctive literary culture that shaped the audiences and uses of their books. Monastic life in the charterhouse was ordered in a uniquely solitary manner, taking inspiration from Egyptian hermits as much as from Benedictine cenobites. Carthusian austerity extended even to the most social aspect of monastic religious life, for chartermonks performed liturgical celebrations as a community only rarely, and always according to their especially sober rite. Profound solitude and silence structured life in the Carthusian wilderness, but—particularly in fifteenth-century England—neither was absolute. What might have proved isolating in fact produced a lively literary community, for the anchoritic monks directed their individual energies toward the making of books. From the earliest days of the order, Carthusians dedicated themselves explicitly to “preaching with their hands”—that is, to copying manuscripts.⁷³ Late-medieval Carthusians in England were no exception, translating and transcribing large numbers of the orthodox vernacular devotional texts that have interested Middle English scholars in recent years.⁷⁴ The books of the solitary Carthusians ironically enabled a lively textual community, and this rich and influential readerly environment shaped the devotional performances of Additional 37049. The fundamental paradox of the charterhouse as a community of solitaries illuminates the complex relations between the categories of private and public in this miscellany, for these most “private” of fifteenth-century encounters between people and books depended nonetheless upon social and communal practices.⁷⁵

Recognizing charterhouse connections, however, does not clarify what it might mean for this manuscript to be Carthusian, or precisely how it might illuminate a culture of performative reading at large. The miscellany’s exclusive praise of Carthusian spirituality and its abundant images of charter monks might most obviously suggest a monastic readership, as well as a monastic provenance. The inclusion of the clearly monastic “Of þe State of Religion,” and the plainly eremitic *Desert of Religion*—a poem about, if not certainly by or for, hermits—shows that the creator and readers of this manuscript were broadly concerned with the imaginative life of the cell.

The Carthusian Order was so popular in the fifteenth century, however, that lay readers might almost as readily have sought out these monastic subjects. Alternatively, it is possible that Additional 37049 reflects pastoral duties, either of the anchoritic monks toward novices or lay brethren, or of the Carthusians generally toward lay people external to the charterhouse.⁷⁶ The rather basic level of the book's meditational reading and its rudimentary instruction in the faith, especially when measured against the spiritual scales outlined in contemporary contemplative treatises, might argue for an unlearned readership. The manuscript's use of the vernacular alone, it has been claimed, could indicate that it was used with or by the laity.⁷⁷ But although the manuscript's devotional pageants clearly serve an instructive function, monks read in English, and they also occasionally took instruction of a very basic kind.⁷⁸ The preponderance of structures such as *scalae celi* demonstrates that medieval piety was conceptually hierarchical and progressive, but contemplative treatises point also to the category of the "mixed life" between the active and the contemplative, a middle category "of such plasticity that almost all could regard themselves as sharing in its rather uncertain prestige."⁷⁹ A Middle English treatise called *A Ladder of Foure Ronges by the Which Men Mowe Wele Clyme to Heven*, translated from Carthusian prior Guigo II's *Scala claustralium*, emphasizes not the distinction but the interconnections among its four "rungs": reading, meditation, prayer, and contemplation. The translator, perhaps anticipating an audience wider than Carthusians alone, writes:⁸⁰ "Thes foure degres be so bounde togedir, and ich of hem seuyth so togedere to other, that the first as lesson & meditacion helpith litel or nouzte without tho that be folwyng as prayer & contemplanon. Also withoute the two former [men] wynne late the two latter."⁸¹ Additional 37049 contains many degrees of medieval spirituality "so bounde togedir" that it is impossible to distinguish them clearly. Yet in the very opacity of its provenance, this miscellany testifies to the deep connections between reading in the monastic wilderness and wider trends in devotional literature outside the charterhouse walls.⁸² Although Additional 37049 is a personal and idiosyncratic Carthusian book, it bears a surprisingly strong relation to its fifteenth-century English community, and though it shows close ties to the world outside the cell, the collection is marked nonetheless with a deep and indelible stamp of charterhouse spirituality.

If the pages of Additional 37049 do not reveal precisely who its fifteenth-century readers were, they do suggest something of how those readers imagined themselves, and how the format of the miscellaneous book served their private devotional performances. On fol. 67v, for example, a small Carthusian figure kneels below and behind a large image of Christ crucified on the "tre of lyf" (pl. 1). The monk prays in silence, while Christ

speaks the Middle English lyric written on the left side of the page, verses derived from the *O vos omnes* theme of Lamentations 1:12.⁸³

pou synful man þt by me gase
 a while to me turne þu þi face
 Behold & se in ilk a place
 how I am dyght
 Al to rent & al to schent
 Man for þi plyght

This text calls upon its reader to perform certain actions—turn, behold, see—and also implies certain spiritual effects deriving from them, feelings of sorrow, responsibility, and guilt. The small monastic figure models the actions and embodies the consequent feelings. Such representations of Carthusian monks at prayer, scattered repeatedly throughout the margins of the manuscript, reflect to its readers their own proper devotional posture. Whether the readerly identification is concrete or metaphorical, whether the first medieval reader was a monk himself or a lay person with an admiration for the cloistered life, the pictures stand for his prayerful activity. The reader thus seeing himself in the book approaches his devotional reading with a heightened self-consciousness about his activity, both contemplation of what he is doing and careful consideration of how he is doing it. Like the owner-portraits commonly found in late-medieval art of all kinds, this image of a monk at prayer represents the viewer to himself, folding the subject of the gaze into the object of the gaze, and joining representation with practice. Part of the way in which this manuscript encourages devotional performances is by requiring its readers to imagine themselves repeatedly in the act.

But what, precisely, is this act of performative reading? The readerly performances facilitated by Additional 37049 constitute Carthusian identity, reflecting both Christian and monastic beliefs, but they also trouble that Carthusian identity, which in its austerity and solitude most obviously stands against any kind of common devotional pageantry. As Sarah Beckwith has argued, “Ritual does not so much assert a set of monolithic beliefs as construct a series of tensions.”⁸⁴ The rituals of reading that this manuscript stimulates work productively around the tensions between secular and religious life, between speeches and visions, and between the human realm and the divine. But instead of establishing (or contesting) the identity of a group through shared practice, as dramatic acts do, performative private reading shapes the individual identity of each reader in relationship with God. The devotional matter of these imagetexts is crucial to the performative dynamic I am describing; the imitation of Christ’s Passion is

an activity that seeks, though it never fully manages, to break down distinctions between observing subject and divine object.⁸⁵ In this counterintuitive paradigm, devotional performance becomes an individual and private activity that nonetheless draws upon communal and public ones, and *this* becomes the primary tension around which the performative reading of the book is constructed. To understand the fundamental relation here between individual reading and communal spectacle, we must consider the ways in which the miscellaneous manuscript engages the slippery category of performance. In the most general terms, what does it mean to call this medieval book, or its solitary method of reading, “performative”?⁸⁶

Modern performance theory, taking its origins from the lectures of J. L. Austin, collected in the posthumous *How to Do Things with Words*, began with a philosophical and linguistic consideration of how performative utterances differ from constative or descriptive ones.⁸⁷ The language of legal contract, such as the “I do” of the marriage ceremony, not only mimics or describes reality, but actively and directly creates a new reality, every time it is felicitously uttered. Austin ultimately shows that all utterances have “illocutionary force,” and later theorists of performativity have sought to broaden its scope still further, investigating not only this particular aspect of language, but a wide variety of linguistic and spectacular practices that can be understood to enact social, cultural, and aesthetic meaning.⁸⁸ Anthropologists and sociologists, for example, have taught us how social realities are constituted and contested by ritual and repetition.⁸⁹ Building upon anthropological ideas, theoreticians of practice have explored “the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations”—Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*—that structures the practice of everyday life.⁹⁰ Deconstructive theorists have emphasized the radical discontinuity between the performance and the meaning of any text, the iteration that defines a performance, and yet can never be precisely achieved.⁹¹ Gender studies have been particularly energized by the concept of the performative as “a dramatic and contingent construction of meaning,” as the work of Judith Butler, among others, can attest.⁹² Not least, the concept of “performance” in the visual arts has sparked ephemeral happenings in which the artist becomes the artwork, the distinction between creating subject and created object completely elided.⁹³ The post-Austinian discourses of performance theory have been memorably characterized as a “carnavalesque echolalia of what might be described as extraordinarily productive cross-purposes.”⁹⁴

In all of the voluminous critical discussion—which would be impossible to summarize adequately here—one question that has remained particularly vexed is the relation between performative language in the Austinian sense and what might more casually be called “performance” itself.⁹⁵

What does language that performs in a legal or contractual sense, for example, have to do with the performances of gender identity that interest Butler? And what does either of these have to do with the actual staging of dramatic literature?⁹⁶ The texts and images in Additional 37049 evoke precisely these questions, and they suggest some answers as well—at least for the late-medieval devotional reader.⁹⁷ The range of bibliographic performances in this miscellany encompasses visual and verbal performances both theoretical and concrete, and constructs the category of devotional performance in its broadest terms.

The medieval vocabulary of performance offers new ways of understanding the particularities of late-medieval literary culture, and the continuities among the textual activities of composing, translating, copying, correcting, reading, imagining, and enacting. Although it does not map exactly onto modern usage, the history of the word itself begins to suggest the many ways in which we can understand the activity of “performing the text.” Victor Turner based his understanding of ritual performance in part on the origins of *perform* in the Old French word *parfournir*, with its meanings of “finish, complete,” or “achieve, carry out.”⁹⁸ But precisely in the late Middle Ages, the meaning of Middle English *performen* was changing from these earliest senses to incorporate also something more like a modern usage—“play a musical instrument, act, sing.” (The still more modern senses of economic performance, “to be profitable,” or sexual performance, “to copulate or have sexual intercourse (esp. satisfactorily),” were also perhaps newly available.)⁹⁹ The word moved from describing an activity that was entirely finished, or completely achieved, to one that emphasized an ongoing process. The complexity of the matter is revealed by Chaucer’s repeated use of the word in the devotional context of the *Prioress’s Prologue*:

For noght oonly thy laude precious
 Parfourned is by men of dignitee,
 But by the mouth of children thy bountee
 Parfourned is, for on the brest soukyng
 Somtyme shewen they thyn heriynge.
 (VII.455–59)

Later, in the tale, it is God who “performs” through the music of a child:

O grete God, that parfournest thy laude
 By mouth of innocentz, lo, heere thy might!
 This gemme of chastite, this emeraude,
 And eek of martirdom the ruby bright,
 Ther he with throte ykorven lay upright,

He *Alma redemptoris* gan to synge
 So loude that al the place gan to ryngē.
 (VII.607–13)

Although the *Middle English Dictionary* cites these lines to illustrate the definition: “to perfect (sb. or sth.), make perfect, make whole; dedicate (a house), consecrate,” *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines Chaucer’s usage here as: “To do, go through, or execute formally or solemnly (a duty, public function, ceremony, or rite; a piece of music, a play, etc.).”¹⁰⁰ God’s praise is perfected by dignified men and the infant sucking on the breast, but is also surely executed by them as a solemn duty. The performance of the Virgin’s praise not only by God, but also through the mouth of a “litel clergeoun” who is quite explicitly singing, makes the contiguities between such consecration and musical performance clear. Moreover, the Prioress links her own literary performance to the clergeoun’s song, comparing herself to a “child of twelf month oold, or lesse” (VII.484), and bringing her own (and Chaucer’s) poetic activity into the same multi-layered performative realm.

Within this shifting complexity of usage, late-medieval authors sometimes explicitly saw themselves as “performing” their devotional books. By way of introduction, the Carthusian author of the *Speculum Devotorum* describes in apologetic tones the long genesis of his passion-meditation: “Gostly syster in Jhesu Cryste I trowe hyt be not yytt fro youre mynde that whenne we spake laste togyderys I behette yow a meditacyon of the Passyon of oure Lorde, the whyche promysse I have not putte fro my mynde but be diverse tymys by the grace of God I have parformyd hyt as I mygthte.”¹⁰¹ Looking forward, rather than back toward an action completed, the author of the *Orchard of Syon* promises in his preface that he writes “in purpose to parfome this fruytefull and ghostly orcharde”: “Therefore nowe deuote sustren helpe me to prayers, for I lacke cunnyngē; agaynste my greate feblenese, strengthe me with youre pyte. Also haue me recommended in your ghostly exercyse to our blessyd lady and salute her in my name with deuote *aues*, hauynge mynde somtyme on her fyue ioyes, and sometyme on her fyue sorowes, whiche she had in erthe. With this labour I charge you not, but as youre charyte styrteth you, with that vertu help me forthe, for hastely I go to labour in purpose to parfome this fruytefull and ghostly orcharde.”¹⁰² He turns the standard modesty *topos* into a request for readerly engagement with his literary labors, a plea for formal prayers — the reader’s “ghostly exercyse” — that is inextricably bound up with the writing of his book. Only an active, pious interplay between readers and author, the parallel “labour” of both in charity, can accomplish and fulfill this text; the performance that had been in the *Speculum Devotorum* entirely the author’s becomes here, at least in part, also the reader’s.

Julian of Norwich alludes still more directly to the ways in which ongoing readerly performances can create devotional meaning when she concludes the long text of her *Showings*: “This boke is begonned by goddys gyfte and his grace, but it is nott yett performyd, as to my syght.”¹⁰³ Some have seen traces of oral performance in the language of Julian’s short text.¹⁰⁴ For Julian herself, here in the long text, that sort of authorial performance is but a beginning. She is most interested in a “performance” of her book that is a completion of it after its creation, its total realization in its most comprehensive, abundant, and perfect form. Both the initiation of the literary work and the complete achievement of it will require God’s intervention, but the ultimate “performance” of the book demands also, as Julian implies here, a particular kind of readerly activity.¹⁰⁵ As Edmund Colledge and James Walsh understand this paradox, “The ‘performance’ of which she now writes is the continuous life-long expression of a Christian’s relationship with all the aspects of the person of Christ.”¹⁰⁶ Importantly, Julian imagines that this unending Christian performance is at least potentially effected—achieved and completed—through her reader’s continuing interaction with her devotional book.

Returning to “pou synful man þt by me gase” with all of these contexts in mind, one can see the many resonances of the devotional performances encouraged by Additional 37049. The identification of subject and object, effected twice through the connection of the reader with the pictured Carthusian, and the empathy of both with Christ’s suffering, collapses the distinctions as performance art might be said to do. That these identifications are imperfect—that an unqualified *imitatio Christi* is impossible—reflects the contingency of any performance, and the distance of the copy from the original, or the happening from the script. Both text and image demand the reader’s active participation in the devotional exercise, just as Julian of Norwich looks toward future readerly activity to complete her book. But while these theoretical performances emerge from the process of considering the book, allusions to more concrete spectacles both reinforce and complicate the dynamics of performative reading here. In the devotional experience represented on fol. 67v, a kneeling Carthusian monk is pictured as the “audience” for a lyric utterance by the huge figure on the cross above him, and as the witness to his suffering. Even though it would seem to represent a private moment of monastic prayer, this lyric also points directly to the sights and sounds of the liturgy. In its vernacular imitation of the reproaches of Good Friday, the poem refers to liturgical performances that Carthusian monks would know well—though they would experience them in community relatively rarely.¹⁰⁷ By contemplating these words of complaint spoken through an image on the page, the reader—whether monas-

tic or lay—re-creates in solitude the liturgical celebrations that reenact and commemorate the events of Christ’s crucifixion.

More intriguing still, this meditative text, though it is presented here as a (liturgical) lyric, suggests also a familiar dramatic situation, a recognizable scene often realized on the stages of late-medieval England. In the spectacle of the liturgy, either celebrant or choir may speak Christ’s words, but no one hangs upon a cross; the ceremonial re-creation of the scene on Calvary occurs in language alone. In the drama, however, similar words are spoken by an actor, “someone standing in” for Christ, just as, in the theology of redemption, Christ himself stands in the place of human sinners.¹⁰⁸ The illustrated page represents that event, offering a pageantry that comprises both voiced words and the embodied figures who speak them. Moreover, the similarity between this lyric and the drama is more than casual, for these very English words are elsewhere incorporated into the Towneley cycle, as Christ’s speech from the cross.¹⁰⁹ What was consumed in the most private of circumstances in this Carthusian miscellany was also spoken publicly from the platforms of a medieval stage. If, in the terms of the *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, we can imagine a religious play as a “quicke book,” we can just as easily imagine this “quicke book” as a play—indeed, some medieval reader seems to have done just that, for the lyric found its way from the manuscript page into the mouth of an actor.¹¹⁰ Because the lyric reproduced and illustrated here does actually “come to life” in the Towneley Resurrection pageant, Additional 37049 makes the familiar metaphor concrete. This correspondence between poem and play clarifies the interconnections among various performative genres, for the silent reading of this imagetext approximates the effects of both liturgy and drama. The “sacramental theater” of late-medieval drama brings plays together with liturgical ritual in an experiential, rather than an evolutionary, mode.¹¹¹ Additional 37049, too, connects liturgy and theater in a “sacramental” experience of private reading that depends upon more public, spectacular, forms. The solitary reader, like the actor, “stands in” for divine speaker of these words, taking the parts of both audience and player in his private devotional performance.

Literary scholarship has until now focused mostly on the meditative lyrics in the manuscript, and indeed the relation between the lyrics and their pictures is especially close.¹¹² These short prayerful poems, consumed in the silence of the cell, confirm our most familiar ideas about the private devotional reading of late-medieval monks, and the associated pictures provide a way of imagining their meditative substance. For all the interest of the short poems in this book, however, it is not exclusively a lyric collection. Like the famous lyrics in the miscellaneous British Library MS Harley

2253, the short poems in this Carthusian miscellany have overwhelmed its other contents, ultimately misrepresenting the experience of reading the whole. When we ask what other genres are included in the volume, we can investigate how they all might be related through their common use of text and image as their mixed medium of representation, and through their reliance on performative modes of reading. The “Towneley lyric” is not an isolated example of the performative dynamic to be found in Additional 30749: the manuscript animates all of its contents, not only the lyrics that sometimes are recorded elsewhere in a dramatic context. As representations of performance—crowds, movement, noise, spectacle, and voices in dialogue—are folded into the codex, all the somatic experiences of a public performance are enabled in the imagination. The pages of the miscellany join effective, incantatory language with self-portraits that construct a readerly identity, spoken dialogues with visual spectacle, and pictorial representations of theatrical acts with play scripts. The book represents and alludes to performances, but it also mimics in itself the modes and effects of performances, as the reader constructs a Christian identity through repeated actions that have actual felicitous salvific effects (at least in hope).

The conjunction of genres in Additional 37049 exposes a distinctive material interaction between the lyric and the dramatic. Others have recognized that the lyric and the drama are affiliated in thematic ways, particularly through such subjects as the complaints of Mary by the cross, but this manuscript provides a revealing site for an investigation of deeper kinds of experiential connection.¹¹³ The scene “Of þe seuen ages,” for example, which could be called a dialogue, demonstrates a kinship with contemporary morality plays—and also anticipates the “seven ages” of Jacques’ famous speech in *As You Like It*. This text stages the “lines” spoken by a man, an angel, and a fiend, offering its readers both speeches and speakers, combining literary art with visual spectacle, as a play does in performance. It has been briefly noted that this text may have influenced the development of the drama, but it remains to account for its presence here, in a monastic manuscript meant for private contemplation. With such references to public spectacle outside the bounds of the codex, the texts and images enclosed in Additional 37049 bring a variety of devotional performances into the book, assembling works that allude to the stage but are meant for private reading. These “closet dramas,” by making performance the *subject* of private reading, also make performance the *manner* of private reading—since only that reading can respond to the performative elements in the text. The public, dramatic imagery in Additional 37049 is not anomalous, despite the interest the manuscript also demonstrates in private meditations. The book carefully negotiates the distance between one mode and the other, bringing public pageantry into the privacy of its pages in the

service of contemplative experience. This study investigates what such generic fluidity may have meant for readers of the devotional texts in this manuscript, and explores how the book animates the devotional imagery that appears on its pages, staging private dramas for eremitic meditation.

Though Additional 37049 engages the performative in a range of senses so wide that it might threaten to escape the bounds of any category, medieval or modern, all of its offerings reflect that fundamental “consciousness of consciousness” that Richard Bauman has seen as constitutive.¹¹⁴ The repetition of reading and viewing that the devotional book calls for, and that the medieval reader undoubtedly experienced, constitutes the kind of “restored” or “twice-behaved” behavior of which (as Richard Schechner has shown) both ritual and aesthetic performances are made.¹¹⁵ The small Carthusian figures that fill the manuscript evince a heightened self-consciousness about the repeated activity of devotional reading that makes it, even apart from its theatrical subjects or its spiritual effects, a species of performance. The reader mirrored in the page is both performer and spectator, reflecting the importance of someone looking, whether that person is the reader scrutinizing the book’s performances, or God watching the reader’s. The image of Christ in the book “looks back,” for devotional performances in the cell always have an audience in the person of an omniscient, omnipresent, divine spectator. Through its representation of the reader looking at himself looking at the Christ he means to imitate, and the thorough-going conflation of subject and object that results, this book “acts” on its reader, as surely as the reader acts on it. Here, in these self-portraits designed for self-viewing, the gap between artwork and viewer is questioned, even if never entirely erased. I will have more to say about these qualities of the performative in what follows, as Additional 37049 offers a concrete site for the exploration of the variety of devotional performances involved in late-medieval reading and seeing. Although spiritual collections such as this were most often read by one person, privately and silently, some depend upon performances extrinsic to them to shape that solitary reader’s experience. In its remarkable range, this manuscript can train us to understand the breadth of ways and contexts in which late-medieval readers encountered performative texts.

*

The fifteenth-century reader of Additional 37049 may have encountered its texts and images in sequence, beginning at the start and reading meticulously through to the end. More likely, the medieval consumer of this devotional miscellany moved around and through it in unpredictable and

varied ways, dwelling first upon one imagetext, backtracking to another, finally jumping ahead, omitting some, often repeating one or more. I, too, will treat the manuscript as a diverse florilegium rather than as a cohesive sequence, analyzing its contents according to their performative mechanisms rather than their physical place in the codex. Although its purposes are didactic, the book should not be understood to advance a progressive moral education as it is read in sequence from start to finish.¹¹⁶ Rather, the miscellany groups widely disparate texts and images that nonetheless participate in a cohesive project, so that in spite of their differences they collectively train the reader in performative methods of devotional reading. Understanding the book in this way can reveal how radically different kinds of texts nonetheless participate jointly in the dynamics of readerly performance.

I will begin my investigation of devotional performance in this miscellany by examining the monastic order that most likely both produced and used it, asking how the book's Carthusian context matters for the performative reading it encourages. The Carthusian Order has been characterized from its origins by a powerful theological and practical commitment to solitude, a commitment that undergirds every aspect of the monks' spiritual life. But in the late Middle Ages, especially, the Carthusian celebration of solitude acknowledged also the necessity of human communities—communities both within and without the bounds of the charterhouse. This oscillation between the most private of eremitic devotions and a demonstrated engagement with more public, pastoral concerns is a hallmark of late-medieval Carthusian piety, and it finds reflection both in the verbal and in the visual arts. The distinctive symbiosis between public and private devotional experience in Carthusian life mirrors the dynamics of readerly performances, for an illustrated book like Additional 37049, which certainly formed an element of one reader's private devotions, also drew upon aspects of monastic, and even lay, community for its methods and meaning. To understand the relations between reading and performance in this manuscript, we must ask what it means to remove display and spectacle from the common liturgical life of the monastery, and insert them into a book designed for solitary consumption. To what extent does the solitude of the cell foster devotional performances through books, and how can reading in the Carthusian wilderness promote the performance of reading among the laity? Chapter 2 seeks to answer these questions by examining the interaction between private and public experience in Carthusian devotion as it is preserved in books and art from the early days of the order through the late-medieval period.

Chapter 3 considers the construction of the private devotional reader though the most extended imagetext in Additional 37049. The *Desert of Re-*

ligion, a long poem concerning life in the monastic wilderness, takes up explicitly the subject of “wilderness books.” Conceived as a necessary admixture of words and pictures, the *Desert of Religion* is one of very few poems in Middle English to have been invariably illustrated; all three known copies include a complex program of pictures, as well as captions and other sorts of ancillary texts. The implication that reading in the wilderness should have required illustration is particularly explanatory for the textual and pictorial dynamic of Additional 37049; this poem thus forms the center of the Carthusian manuscript both literally and metaphorically. A detailed comparison of variations among the three extant versions — found in British Library MSS Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) and Stowe 39, as well as Additional 37049 — reveals the particular implications of its visual format for readers of the Carthusian miscellany. The Carthusian *Desert* celebrates eremitic existence through community, in a paradoxical visual and verbal profusion that signals the importance of public spectacles and readerly performance to wilderness books.

This eremitic brand of performative reading has literary consequences for Additional 37049 that reach well beyond the texts that take monks as their subject. The manuscript contains an important collection of Middle English meditative lyrics that depend as obviously upon the combination of text and image. These lyrics, which have received more scholarly attention than other parts of the codex, suggest a special connection between such meditative texts and the Carthusian Order. Chapter 4 evaluates the ways in which lyrical poems invoke both sights and sounds to create private devotional performances in the cell. Many of the lyrics are in some way associated with the legacy of Richard Rolle, from poems that replicate the sweetness of the famous hermit’s “luf-longing,” to excerpts from his Middle English epistle *Ego Dormio*. Both Passion-meditation and emblems of Marian worship are also prominent here, and this study investigates the ways in which these poems and pictures work, realizing on the manuscript page the imaginative recreation of Passion-events that was so often enjoyed by other Middle English lyrics and prose meditations. Since the manuscript depicts not only the events of Christ’s crucifixion, but also the Carthusian monks who contemplate them, these self-conscious pages can teach us about the performative mechanisms, as well as the meditative subjects, of such devotional reading.

Even these most private meditations point to communal kinds of devotion, but the manuscript’s most telling imagetexts make the performative connections explicit. Chapter 5 considers the question of hermits in the world by examining the inclusion in the manuscript of a complex of popular prayers that use liturgical texts and images to enact piety. Within this vernacular manuscript, a private reader finds unexpected representations

of both liturgical and para-liturgical performance that range from religious processions, to celebration of the sacraments, to singing of the hours. Prayers invoking the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary are especially important, for in them words become emblematic pictures, and Christ hangs on a cross fashioned from the *h* in his sacred monogram (*ih̄s*). Furthermore, these combinations of text and image do not merely represent, but also actually perform, acts of piety; tales of miracles testify to their power. Such devotions are meant for monastic consumption here, but they gesture outward from the confines of this book (and of the Carthusian monastery) toward scenes of civic pageantry, for example, the processions of the Holy Name sponsored by Bernardino of Siena. These imagetexts both represent liturgical piety and also reproduce its performative mechanisms, making such celebrations possible even for a solitary devotional reader. Ultimately the devotional effect of these manuscript pages is based on the peculiar performative power with which the combination of text and image is invested.

Finally, the performances intimated by the texts and images in Additional 37049 are not only liturgical. The insistent visual performance of words throughout the manuscript can also affect the way we understand literary genre in the Middle Ages, for the book and its images push private lyric utterance not only into a public, but even into a dramatic mode. Of course, medieval devotional lyrics often took the form of “dramatic” monologues, and some even found their way into play texts, but the combination here of lyric and dramatic texts and imageries within the context of a single book is of a persistent and revealing kind. The manuscript confirms its interest in dramatic genres by including numerous dialogues that exist only here; it even transforms tracts that are not elsewhere dialogic into this “voiced” and animated form. Additional 37049 shows a pronounced interest in the dialogue as a genre, preserving approximately twelve, of which several are unique to its pages. Some of these dialogues derive from scholastic traditions, but some of them are more properly and unmistakably dramatic. Indeed, rhetorical debate and drama can be linked as allied “performance genres,” a connection that is reinforced in the pages of Additional 37049 by the speaking figures that model both debate and dialogue. Chapter 6 explores these dialogic transformations as the book joins vision and conversation in its explorations of the performance of devotional reading.

Some of the texts and images in Additional 37049 gesture toward performative modes of reading through their suggestion of communal rather than individual literary experience, their inclusion of visual experience along with words as a part of the aesthetics of reading, and their involvement of the reader as a participant in, and even creator of, the textual situation. Other texts intimate performance through their representation

of public pageantry, their replication of liturgical ritual, or their addition of dialogue to otherwise static scenes. But still more explicitly theatrical meditations also surface throughout this book. The imagetexts in this miscellany encourage private acts of devotion by mimicking public ones, complicating the intensely solitary nature of Carthusian meditation by their overt imitation of theatrical spectacle. Chapter 7 explores the animation of the manuscript's dramatic texts and images in the mind of its monastic reader. For if the Carthusian ties to the lyric are strong, Carthusian ties to the drama are unusually telling. In their surprising affiliations with plays, some monastic manuscripts give evidence of the range of performative uses to which they were put and demonstrate the fluidity of the dramatic genre in the late Middle Ages. By placing Additional 37049 within a range of dramatic manuscripts designed for private consumption, this chapter examines the connections between solitary reading and the actual theatrical practices of the medieval stage.

This is a study of a single codex. But the manuscript that is my subject has its origins in what was probably the single most important milieu for the circulation of Middle English devotional writings in the fifteenth century. Even though it is a one-off production without obvious ties to identifiable scribes, artists, or even readers, it illuminates a broad expanse of late-medieval literary history. Monastic reading and civic spectacle, individual meditation and communal worship, lyric and dramatic poetry are all contained within the covers of this compendious book of imagetexts. From the universal histories with which it opens to the eremitical admonitions with which it concludes, the manuscript addresses concerns fundamental to reading and imagining both within the cell and without. In this book, I begin to suggest ways in which the performative reading of this individual miscellany might reflect devotional practices at large, and I hope that this study will encourage further reflection on the connections between reading and performance in the period. For the late-medieval codex is a site where the meanings of words and images are performed, both publicly and privately, in the act of reading.

“Silence Visible”

Carthusian Devotional Reading and Meditative Practice

That frame of social being, which so long
Had bodied forth the ghostliness of things
In silence visible and perpetual calm.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH
on the Grande Chartreuse,
The Prelude (1850), VI.427–29

The Carthusian wilderness is no place to expect pageantry, whether visual or verbal. Even more than other monastic orders, medieval Carthusians eschewed devotional pomp and spectacle, only rarely coming together even in liturgical celebration. These monks were hermits in religious life, and each one lived out an austere and almost completely solitary existence in his individual cell. Yet surprisingly, the imaginative life of the Carthusians, as reflected in their private devotional texts and images, provides some of the community that their vows of solitude renounce, and even some of the pageantry that their outward rites reject. Private devotional performances in the cell substituted for the sights and sounds of communal worship, and Carthusian performative reading in the Middle Ages often operated as a personal analogue to collective liturgical events. The monks' own metaphors show that they understood this compensatory function of their private activities; they understood reading and writing as communal pursuits, for instance, and created the textual society of the charterhouse explicitly to take the place of any bodily one. Moreover, visual images of several kinds were used by Carthusians both for private purposes and for ostentatious display. Carthusian devotional images and texts repeatedly represent communities both monastic and heavenly, constructing their solitary readers and viewers according to their place in those communities. Both books and art work to negotiate the complicated divide between private and public prayer in the charterhouse, a divide bridged by the paradox of private performances in late-medieval Carthusian reading. Even though such pageantry might seem to be at odds with the austerity of the cell, the

performative reading of devotional imagetexts was a fundamental part of medieval Carthusian life.

This chapter explores the complex relations between private and public experience that distinguish the late-medieval English charterhouse, the devotional community in which *Additional 37049* was probably both produced and consumed. The subject of medieval Carthusian spirituality is vast, and my treatment of it here necessarily selective, but some features of Carthusian life prove crucial to understanding this miscellany: both the constitutive qualities that established Carthusian identity at the foundation of the order, and those historical circumstances particular to late-medieval English charter monks. The late-medieval Carthusian environment differed from the textual communities established by lay people, and even by other monastic orders, in ways that put specific pressures on the construction of *Additional 37049* and had significant results for its material form. The manuscript's monastic milieu also bears on the history of its reception: because the environment of the charterhouse determined the literary experience of its original maker and probable audience, that environment carries considerable hermeneutic consequence. Through an examination of both Carthusian books and Carthusian art, this chapter asks how we might understand any public or performative aspect of lives so quiet and inward. Surprisingly, it is their alliances with public spectacle that transform the imagetexts in *Additional 37049* into instruments of the spiritual imagination for Carthusian hermits.

Nor do the miscellany's charterhouse origins mean that its brand of performative reading had no consequence for late-medieval readers who were not Carthusian. The Carthusian community was enormously influential in late-medieval England, and the ways in which these monks specifically engaged their communities beyond the charterhouse walls is equally important to understanding the performative aspects of the texts and images in *Additional 37049*. Although wilderness life was never widespread in actuality—the total number of Carthusian monks in England was always small—a Carthusian brand of wilderness reading was eagerly embraced by spiritually ambitious lay people. As a result, the bookish pageantry of the charterhouse also shaped lay spirituality. The devotional performances of these most private of late-medieval readers suggest a need to reconsider the mechanisms of private devotional reading in the population at large.

BACKGROUNDS: THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER

The short poem “At þe begynnyng of þe chartirhows god dyd schewe” (fol. 22r–v) relates part of the story surrounding the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse.¹ The monastery, and the order, were established in 1084 by

St. Bruno and six companions: the monks Landuin, Stephen de Bourg, Stephen de Die, and Hugh “the Chaplain”; and two laymen, Andrew and Guarin.² As legend has it, the saint was inspired by the miraculous resurrection of the Parisian doctor Raymond Diocres, who rose three times from his funeral bier to warn of the horrors of hell.³ Hoping to lead a more devout life (and tiring of ecclesiastical corruption), Bruno and his followers then sought counsel from St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble. Hugh was able to advise them, as the poem tells, in accordance with a divinely inspired vision:

At þe begynyng of þe chartirhows god dyd schewe
 To þe byschop of gracionapolitane, saynt hewe,
 Seuen sternes goyng in wildernes to þat place
 Wher now þe ordir of þe chartirhows abydyng has.
 And when þes sternes at þat place had bene
 At þe bischop’s fete, þai felle al bedene;
 And aftyr þis visione þe sothe for to saye,
 þe doctor Bruno and sex felows, withouten delay,
 Come to þis holy bischop, cownsel to take,
 To lyf solytary in wildernes, and þis world to forsake
 And at his feete mekly downe þai al felle,
 Praying hym of informacioun and his cownsell to telle.
 (1–12)

Both stars and men fall “at þe bischop’s fete,” and Hugh quickly draws an analogy between the seven heavenly stars he witnessed going into the wilderness, and the seven petitioners who wish for his guidance. He advises them to pursue the life of solitary contemplation they long for, and he directs them to the remote Alpine site upon which they eventually build.⁴

Like almost every item in the manuscript, this Carthusian history takes its form in both texts and images; the narrative is communicated not only by the short poem, but also by a series of five pictures—four preceding the text (fol. 22r; pl. II), and one in the margin (fol. 22v; fig. 2.1). In the first image St. Hugh, both mitred and nimbed, sits on his episcopal throne, dreaming about the seven stars. These fall to the ground, dividing the visionary bishop in the visual syntax of the picture from Bruno, in a doctor’s cap, and his six companions. In the next scene, Hugh relates the dream to the seven who kneel, now, in front of him. He then directs the group to a wilderness place, the desolation of which is indicated by a forest. Finally, the new Carthusian monks, arrayed in their distinctive white robes, enter the monastery they have built, while the bishop presides—whether metaphorically or literally is unclear—in the background. This foundation story was often told pictorially in the late Middle Ages, adorning the

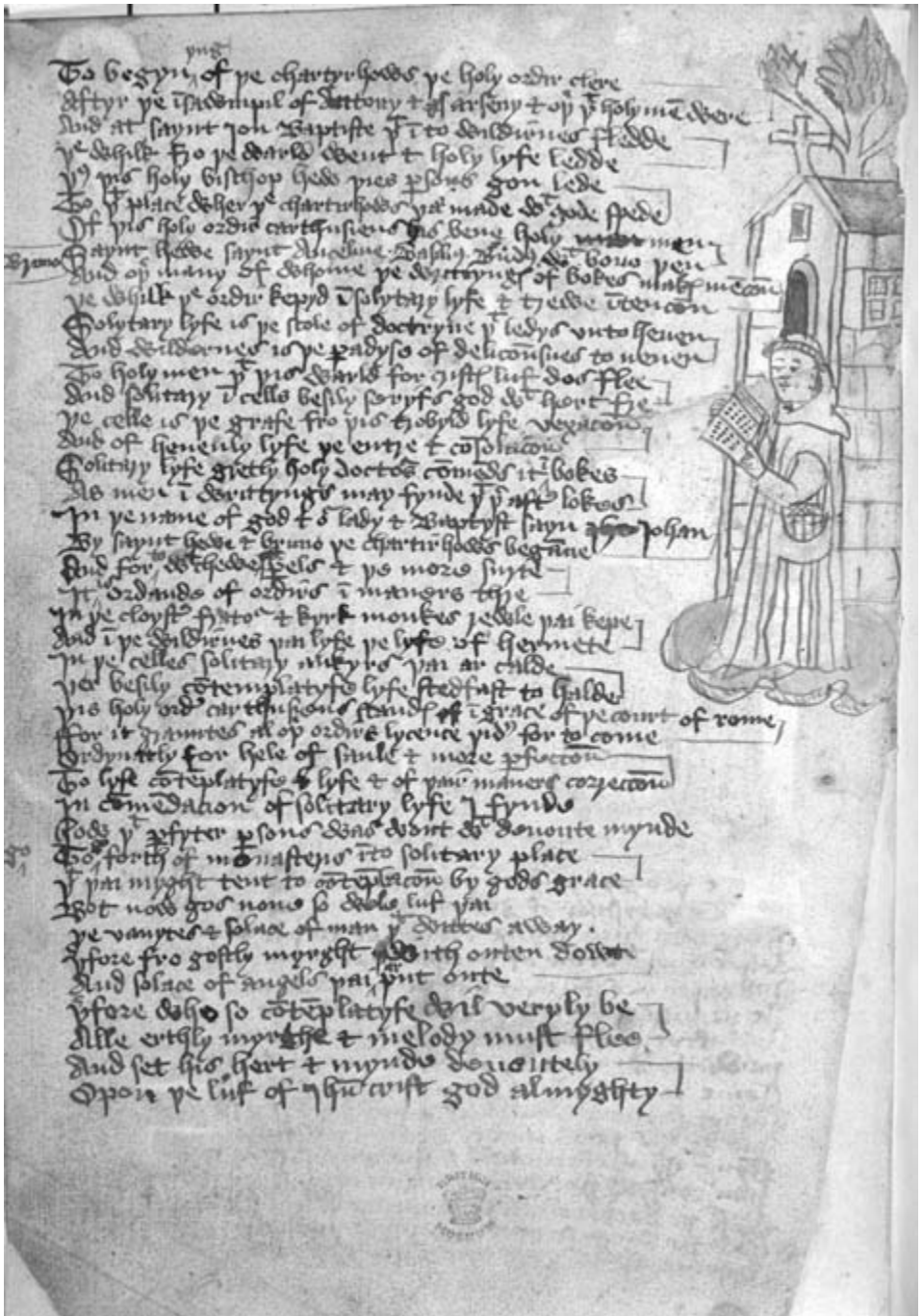


Figure 2.1. "At þe begynnyng of þe chartirhowe god did schewe." Carthusian monk reading. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 22v. By permission of the British Library.

walls of charterhouse churches, refectories, and cloisters. Although the fourteenth-century paintings in the Paris charterhouse no longer survive, there are traces of fifteenth-century cycles remaining in charterhouses at both Basel and Cologne.⁵ One of the earliest complete sequences known is found in a layman's prayerbook, completed c. 1408–9 by the Limbourg brothers for the *Belles Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry. The *Belles Heures* cycle includes eight scenes: Diocres expounding the Scriptures (fol. 94), Diocres crying out from his bier (fol. 94v), the burial of Diocres (fol. 95), Bruno's departure for the wilderness (fol. 95v; see fig. 2.6), St. Hugh's dream (fol. 96), St. Hugh's audience with Bruno and his companions (fol. 96v), the new monks entering the Grande Chartreuse (fol. 97), and a view of the Grande Chartreuse itself (fol. 97v).⁶ These images are aristocratic and grand, but a similar pictorial narrative made its way, in the form of a woodblock print, into a book as practical and as widely disseminated as the 1510 Basel edition of the Carthusian *Statutes* (fig. 2.2).⁷ An extensive late-medieval visual tradition, expressed both in monumental and in less monumental forms, surrounds the founding of the Grande Chartreuse and the saintly life of its founder, Bruno. These images offer useful historical perspective on the importance of the foundation story, revealing how fifteenth-century monks imagined their origins, and conceived of themselves by that means. The four narrative images in the English miscellany, even though they are not derived precisely from any other series, form a part of this tradition of Carthusian self-representation.

The foundation narrative as represented in Additional 37049 articulates many aspects of the Carthusian calling that are essential for a reading of the manuscript. The first of these is the importance of solitude; Bruno and his companions seek “to lyf solytary in wildernes” from the very inception of the order, and the story of the order's establishment is the story of their withdrawal from the world. As the poem explains,

Solytary lyfe is þe scole of doctryne þat ledys vnto heuen,
 And wildernes is þe paradysse of deliciousnes to neuen
 To holy men þat þis warld for cristes luf dos flee,
 And solitary in cells besily seryfs God with hert fre.
 þe celle is þe grafe fro þis trobyld lyfe vexacioun,
 And of heuently lyfe þe entre and consolacioun.
 (27–32)

The author advocates the solitary life as the highest and most effective route to salvation; the spiritually “busy” solitary in his cell is closer to paradise than are people vexed by worldly concerns, since the cell offers both death to the tribulations of earthly life, and entry into the joys of heaven.

ORIGO ORDINIS CARTUSIENSIS

Iusto dei iudicio accusat* sum. Iusto dei iudicio iudicatus sum. Iusto dei iudicio cōdemnat* sum.



Ecce elongavi fugiens: et mansi in solitudine. Psal. 54.



Ep̄s vidit in somnio septē stellas ante pedes suos cadere



Urino & s̄oci ei* cadit ad pedes ep̄scopi: petentes sibi dari locū.



Ep̄scop* stellas sibi ducatu p̄ventibus: ostendit ipsis locum.



In loco eis demoni strato: edificant.



Cartusia cōstructa: in celis contemplant.



Figure 2.2. Frontispiece narrating the foundation of the Carthusian Order. *Statutes Ordinis Cartusienensis* (Bâle, 1510). By permission of the British Library (704.h.21, frontispiece).

This fundamental commitment to contemplation in seclusion has been a defining characteristic of Carthusian houses since their origin.

The Middle English foundation poem insists repeatedly upon the primacy of isolation in the Carthusian vocation. The early holy men who fled to the desert—St. Anthony, St. Arsenius, and St. John the Baptist—are explicitly cited as “þe insawmpil” that medieval hermit-monks should follow (18). The author gestures vaguely toward the recommendations of textual authorities to support his celebration of the solitary life:

Solitary lyfe gretly holy doctours commends it in bokes,
As men in writtyngs may fynde þat þer after lokes.
(33–34)

And, again:

In commendacion of solitary lyfe I fynde
How þat perfyter persons was wont with deuote mynde
To go forth of monasteris into solitary place,
þat þai myght tent to contemplacioun by gods grace.
(47–50)

Both the eremitic and the cenobitic ideals had Christian precedents, of course, but the founders of the Chartreuse chose to model themselves after the desert solitaries of Egypt, rather than pursue Benedictine ideals of communitarian living.⁸ In support of their choice, they might have read “holy doctours” such as Cassian or Jerome. But the second passage quoted above goes beyond the “commendacion” of solitude as the highest form of contemplative experience, to an explicit rejection of “monasteris” as a variety of religious life. As the poem explains, “perfyter persons” will wish to enter the eremitic wilderness, and to leave social forms of religious life entirely behind. This poem insists upon the superiority of Carthusian solitude to all other kinds of monasticism, noting elsewhere that, because of the order’s stringent ascetic demands, a monk from any other foundation might seek without disgrace to be transferred into a charterhouse, though the reverse is not possible. Indeed, the withdrawal of the seven founders of the Carthusian Order from the religious communities of which they had previously been a part—Bruno himself had been chancellor of the cathedral at Rheims—demonstrates that extreme isolation was the key to their search for spiritual purity. Although the Carthusians were not the first medieval solitaries, the new order sought to institute an exceptionally strict monastic isolation, prizing solitude in remote places above all as the necessary condition of a truly contemplative life.⁹

It is a sign of the Carthusian ambivalence toward community that there is no Carthusian Rule *per se*; the early monks left little written evidence of their shared way of life.¹⁰ Because Bruno and his original companions meant to create only a loose association of individuals, it is no surprise that they did not constitute the order in formal documents at its start. But two of Bruno's late letters document his uncodified impressions of the experience of monastic contemplation.¹¹ He writes to Raoul le Verd, provost of Rheims, for example:

What divine profit and joy the solitude and the silence of the desert bring to those who love them, only those know who have experienced it.

For there, restless men can withdraw as fully as they like, live within themselves, assiduously cultivate the seeds of virtue, and enjoy the fruits of paradise. There they can acquire that eye that with its clear look wounds the divine spouse with love, and that, because of its purity, is granted the sight of God. There they celebrate a busy leisure and they are stilled by a quiet action. There God gives to his athletes, for the labor of the combat, the desired reward: that is, a peace that the world does not know, and joy in the Holy Spirit.¹²

In this letter, Bruno describes the paradoxical joys of contemplation in order to persuade Raoul that the "false riches" ("divitiae fallaces") and "provost's dignity" ("dignitas praepositurae") of his life in the world should be abandoned. But the letter attests to these joys only in the context of a private communication, not as a comprehensive and general plan for a mode of monastic living. Indeed, Bruno's primary point is that the value of solitude is almost inexpressible; the life of the Carthusian desert can only truly be understood by those who live it.

It is odd, then, that outsiders give the most valuable testimony to life at the Grande Chartreuse in the early years—visitors to the wilderness who extol the monks' solitude. The earliest detailed description of the structures of monastic living at the Grande Chartreuse comes from Guibert de Nogent's early twelfth-century autobiography, which emphasizes both the isolation and the simplicity of the charter monks' existence:

The church is not far from the foot of the mountain, within a fold of its downward slope. Thirteen monks live there. They have a cloister that is well suited for the cenobitic life, but they do not live cloistered as do other monks. Rather, each has his own cell around the perimeter of the cloister, in which he works, sleeps, and eats. Every Sunday the cellarer provides them with food, namely bread and vegetables; with this each makes for himself a kind of stew, which is always the same. As for water,

whether for drinking or for domestic use, they draw it from a conduit, which leads from a spring and goes around all the cells and flows into each of these little houses through holes that have been drilled for that purpose. On Sundays and great feasts they have fish and cheese—fish, I might add, that they have not bought, but received through the generosity of a few devout people. . . . If they happen to drink wine it is so diluted that it loses its strength and tastes little different from ordinary water. They wear hair shirts next to their skin: otherwise they wear few clothes. . . .

As for the monks, the fervor of habitual contemplation so sustains them that the passing time cannot deter them from their rule; nor do they grow lukewarm, however long their way of living may last.¹³

Guibert's enthusiasm for the ascetic Carthusian project is echoed by William of St. Thierry in his lengthy "Golden Letter" to the Carthusian monks at Mont-Dieu, a substantial treatise celebrating the solitary life.¹⁴ The more practical correspondence of many notable figures in the history of contemporary monasticism—St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable of Cluny, and Peter of Celle—also registers general approval of the early Carthusians' style of eremiticism.¹⁵

Eventually, a set of precepts for charterhouse life did grow out of the monks' actual practice. The first attempt to codify what it means to be Carthusian is the *Consuetudines* of Guigo I, fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse (1109–36).¹⁶ Guigo was also the author of a set of *Meditationes*, as well as hagiographic material and several letters.¹⁷ None of these writings is highly structured or prescriptive; the *Consuetudines* itself was written at the request of new houses that wished to follow the devotional practice of the Grande Chartreuse, and it takes the informal shape of a letter.¹⁸ This Carthusian "Rule" grew and changed organically in the centuries after Guigo, as the order elaborated his *Consuetudines* with further statutes: first the *Antiqua statuta* (or *Antiquae consuetudines*) (1258), then the *Novae constitutiones* (1369), and finally the *Tertio compilatio* (1509). The evolving statutes were collected and printed by Jean Amorbach in Basel in 1510.¹⁹

The structures of Carthusian life, as revealed in these early writings, ensure in quite practical ways the solitude to which the monks were most urgently called. They are to take regular meals together only on Sundays and festival days, fasting on bread and water three days a week, and preparing simple vegetables and cheese for solitary meals on other days.²⁰ Most isolating of all, they are not to talk to each other at mealtime or ever, except at specified times and for specified purposes, or in case of dire emergency. The short list of exceptions to the Carthusian monk's compelled silence testifies to the strength of the prohibition against speech: "If, by his negli-

gence or another's, the monk should find himself without bread, wine, water, or fire, or if he hears a noise or a strange cry, or if a danger of fire arises, he is permitted to go out, to offer or to seek help, and if the danger is great enough, to break silence."²¹ Usually, however, the inhabitant of the cell is to keep it silently; his willed solitude grows easier as its spiritual benefits become apparent, as Guigo explains: "The inhabitant of the cell ought to take care diligently and assiduously neither to create nor accept occasions to go out of it, apart from those that are instituted by the rule. He should consider the cell as necessary to his life and health as water is to a fish or a sheepfold to a sheep. The longer he lives there, the more willingly he will stay; if he grows accustomed to leaving frequently and for trivial causes, he will soon think it hateful. And therefore it is ordained that he ask for what he needs at the hours appointed for that and that he keep very carefully the things he has received."²² The monks' days were, in general, passed alone in their cells, immersed in silent, individual meditative prayer and solitary work. The private devotions of the Carthusian cell were fundamental to the constitution of the Carthusian self.²³

Eschewing even those parts of Christian life most communal by definition, Carthusians celebrated mass simply and infrequently.²⁴ The forms of liturgical celebration in the charterhouse were minimal and uniform; only chants with a scriptural basis were used, and complexity of melody or ornamentation was avoided.²⁵ Moreover, the mere 155 conventual masses generally celebrated every year at the Grande Chartreuse should be compared with about 450 at Cîteaux, and 700 at Cluny.²⁶ As Guigo writes: "You must know that we sing the mass rarely, for our principal activity and our vocation are to devote ourselves to the silence and solitude of the cell."²⁷ Moreover, the *Consuetudines* stipulates that Carthusian monks say morning and evening prayers in community, but celebrate the other hours of the monastic day privately: "For generally, we say Matins and Vespers in the church, but Compline always in the cell. Otherwise—except on feast days, vigils, or yearly celebrations—we do not go to the church."²⁸ Rather than assembling together for prayer, Carthusians brought the ceremonial of the full choir into the cell; praying alone at his oratorium, the Carthusian bowed and kneeled and prostrated himself at the sounding of the monastery bell, observing in solitude what are otherwise communal exercises of devotion.²⁹ The practices Guibert de Nogent observed at the Grande Chartreuse confirm that Guigo's liturgical prescriptions were kept: "They do not assemble in their church, as we do, at the usual hours, but at others. If I am not mistaken they hear Mass on Sundays and on solemn feasts. They hardly ever speak, and if they must ask for something they do it with a sign."³⁰

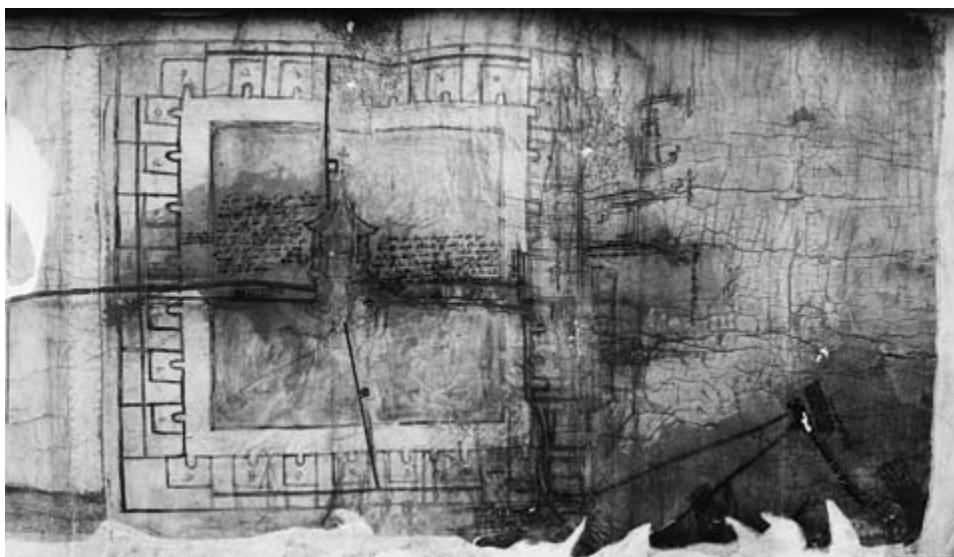


Figure 2.3. Medieval plan of waterworks at London Charterhouse (c. 1430–40). English Heritage Photographic Library.

The ordering of Carthusian life through its physical environment, as well as through its temporal rhythms, demonstrates the overriding importance of solitude for the followers of Bruno. Charterhouses are distinguished architecturally by a vast, empty cloister, surrounded by the monks' private cells (see, for example, the medieval plan of waterworks at the London charterhouse; fig. 2.3).³¹ The central space of the cloister is bounded by a small wall, which prohibits anyone from entering it, and each cell is oriented toward its own private walled garden, communicating with the cloister walk only by a door and an anonymous pass-through, for food and other necessary items. Each cell serves all aspects of a monk's life—sleep, meals, prayer, work, and some recreation—being furnished with a bed, a stove, an oratorium, a chair and table, a bookcase, and a workshop or storage area.³² The cells are not only self-contained, but anonymous, for they are often identified by letters of the alphabet, rather than by monks' names.³³ The architectural division of the charterhouse into many separate buildings dominates one fifteenth-century artist's conception of Carthusian life, as an illustration of a Dutch version of the Carthusian rule shows (fig. 2.4).³⁴ Within the walls of the monastery, many buildings are organized around a central space, but what impresses the artist (and his viewers) above all is the autonomy of the individual cell within the monastic compound.³⁵ This assembly of buildings reveals very little communitarian feeling, for within the collective foundation each Carthusian lives in an almost completely

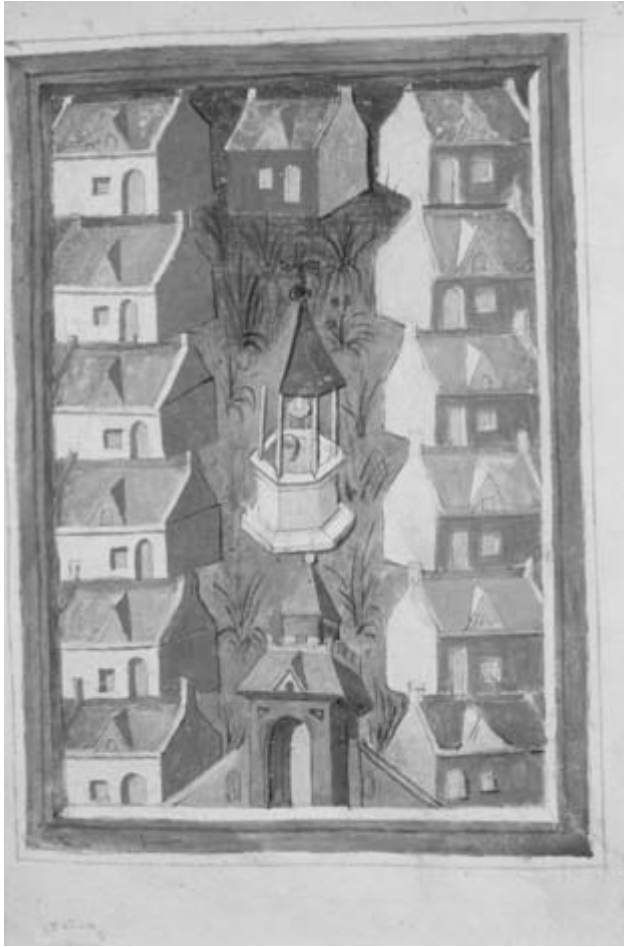


Figure 2.4. Cells inside the charterhouse. London, British Library MS Additional 25042 (15th c.), fol. 12r. By permission of the British Library.

self-sufficient space, in which he remains always completely alone. More than any other monastic building, the distinctive individual cells of the charterhouses allow their inhabitants to approach an eremitic existence within a loosely cenobitic structure.

The ensemble of individual cells also reveals, however, that the cenobitic life is not completely suppressed in the Carthusian monastery. Taking a slightly longer view, the same fifteenth-century artist shows us that there are buildings, also, without the charterhouse walls (fig. 2.5).³⁶ The difficulty of all monastic life—but particularly pronounced for the solitary Carthusians—is to live in the world while rejecting it completely. Since the monks needed to provide themselves with physical necessities such as food and



Figure 2.5. Inside and outside the charterhouse walls. London, British Library MS Additional 25042 (15th c.), fol. 12v. By permission of the British Library.

clothing, they required that intermediaries interact with the outside on their behalf. As at Cîteaux, lay brothers (variously *conversi*, *redditi*, *donati*, or *mercenarii*) provided the most practical way of crossing the divide between the Carthusian desert and the lay world. Guigo makes provision for many lay brethren to attend the worldly needs of the solitaries, stipulating that there be sixteen lay brothers for every thirteen or fourteen monks.³⁷ The *Consuetudines* establishes a separate set of rules of life for these professed lay brothers, providing as carefully for the particulars of their daily lives and spiritual practice as for the monks themselves.³⁸ The lay brothers were to live in a lower house (“la Correrie”) separate from the cells of the upper house (“la Maison Haute”), and were to ascend to the charterhouse

church only for worship at specified times.³⁹ It is not certain that the external buildings pictured here reflect the presence of lay brethren, but they do represent the anchoritic monks' need for assistance from outside their cloistered walls. In spite of the seclusion intended by the rule, and encouraged by the monastic cells' design, Carthusian isolation could not be total.

In addition, the distinction between monks and lay brethren was not absolute: one monk, the procurator, served as liaison between the two houses, and head of the *Correrie*. The prior spent one of every five weeks at the lower house, and on feast days the whole community celebrated mass together. Furthermore, though the lay brothers knew no Latin, they were meant from the beginning to have solid instruction in the faith. Bruno's letter to the community at the Grande Chartreuse praises the *conversi* in particular for their intellectual, as well as spiritual, accomplishments: "I also rejoice, because even though you do not have the knowledge of letters, Almighty God has written with his finger in your hearts not only love, but knowledge of holy law: you show by your works what you love and what you know."⁴⁰ A century later, the lay brothers at Witham charterhouse, in England, "though unlettered, had received such good oral teaching that they would at once perceive any error made by a reader in church, and mark their notice of it by a cough."⁴¹ Although life in the charterhouse was sustained by the distinctions between monks and lay brethren, their solitary ideal did not prevent Carthusians from providing themselves with a limited spiritual and earthly community. Charter monks approach a solitary existence, but, as their indispensable relations with their lay brothers demonstrate, their lives are necessarily built around negotiations between the individual and his society, between the solitude the monks seek inside the charterhouse, and the world that remains outside.

For Bruno himself, in spite of his love of solitude and his clear rejection of some established forms of religious society, was not actually a hermit. He did not live out his days at the Grande Chartreuse, but after just six years answered Pope Urban's urgent call to become a papal adviser in Rome, eventually founding another monastic community in Calabria. Even within the charterhouse, he had pursued contemplative ecstasies in a setting that, although remote from the world, was in some more limited sense also communal. Bruno entered the wilderness in the company of four other religious men and two lay brothers—his "sex felows"—not to withdraw into an anchorhold or a hermitage, but to found a community of like-minded Christians. Their likeness was at its origin a shared desire for solitude, but in choosing any sort of monastic association these monks were ultimately dedicating themselves to a brand of social, rather than rigorously solitary, life. Any "rule" instituted for a community of monks means

that their life is in a sense lived together, even if the rule stipulates that they are to act and live and pray in solitude. This double commitment—to solitude within monastic community, and to monastic community within the solitude of wilderness—was present from the start of Bruno’s foundation, but the late-medieval church also understood that Carthusians were not solitaries. When an English Carthusian from Kingston-upon-Hull petitioned the papal curia for the right to leave his monastery and enter an anchorhold, he was denied.⁴² The specifically Carthusian combination of solitude and community is celebrated memorably by one of the fifteenth-century images that narrate and interpret the foundation story in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 2.6). On fol. 95v, Bruno departs the city for the wilderness, and in the distance one can see clearly the several components of the life to which he goes. The Limbourgs have painted a hermit in his cave, and a lonely sepulchre on the hillside, for the Carthusian monk goes to an eremitic life, where “þe celle is þe grafe” and its occupant is dead to the world.⁴³ But the image shows also, in the further distance, the outline of a grand edifice, the architectural center of wilderness monastic community that Bruno would build in the Grande Chartreuse. The picture suggests that the Carthusian life, though solitary in its inspiration, was communal in its execution. The fifteenth-century artist respected Bruno’s solitary ideal, but he also celebrated the charterhouse community that arose from it.

Moreover, the particulars of the foundation legend reveal the dependence of Carthusian solitaries not only upon their own monastic community—fellow monks and *conversi*—but also upon certain societal and ecclesiastical structures. The early Carthusians entered a remote setting on the advice of a bishop, guided by a divine vision, of course, but one significantly mediated through the “informacioun” and “cownsell” of a representative of the earthly church.⁴⁴ While the poem in Additional 37049 underscores the Carthusian inspiration to solitude, the images on fol. 22r demonstrate more emphatically these social and institutional connections. The influence of the bishop of Grenoble over the founding of the Grande Chartreuse is marked in the last of the miscellany’s four narrative images, where he remains “in” the community even after his part in its founding is done. This inclusion constitutes a departure from the final images in better known pictorial versions of the Carthusian founding-narrative: in the 1509 Basel woodcut, the series ends as the monks go into their solitary cells: “Cartusia constructa, in cellis contemplant” (fig. 2.2). In the *Belles Heures*, the monks enter their common church, rather than their individual cells, but the Limbourgs preserve no trace of the bishop (fol. 97r). St. Bruno, canonized in 1623, is rightly celebrated as the inspired founder of the Carthusian Order, but the charterhouse took its origins as clearly from episcopal authority and under the direction of the earthly church. While the author



Figure 2.6. St. Bruno and his students leaving the city for the wilderness. *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*, fol. 95v; Pol, Jean, and Herman de Limbourg (c. 1408–9). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1).

of the foundation poem in Additional 37049 emphasizes the solitude of the Carthusian vocation, the artist of the fifteenth-century miscellany emphasized this institutional association.⁴⁵

Monasteries generally structure the world into interior and exterior spaces, and charterhouses insist particularly upon such divisions: all monks are separated from the lay population, and charter monks are separated also from each other. But the early Carthusians, as we have seen, were enmeshed in ecclesiastical structures outside the monastery. Moreover, although the inhabitant of each cell lives apart from his immediate com-

munity, some aspects of Carthusian lives unfold in the communal areas of the charterhouse: the cloister walk, the church, the library, the refectory. Aspects of Carthusian community were incorporated within the individual devotions of the cell through the performance of communal prayers coordinated in time through the sounding of a bell. Life in the charterhouse oscillates continually between the social and individual aspects of religious life, a result of the Carthusians' novel attempt to combine an eremitic ideal with a cenobitic structure, to construct a monasticism both communitarian and individual. The structures of Carthusian life in the wilderness, as reflected in visual and verbal records, continually reveal this double emphasis on solitude within community; the active life as embodied by the lay brothers is not so far removed from the contemplative, either in physical space or in philosophy. The architectural and conceptual oscillation between interior and exterior is written into the very statutes of the Carthusian Order. For all its exaltation of solitude, the Carthusian monastery nonetheless provides for some connections among its inhabitants, as well as connections between them and those outside.

This unlikely commerce between Carthusian monks and the affairs of the world is grounded in the foundational narrative and in Guigo's *Consuetudines*, but it became the central fact of late-medieval charterhouse life.⁴⁶ While the Grande Chartreuse was established in a remote location, by 1257 St. Louis had founded a charterhouse in Paris, and in the fifteenth century charterhouses were frequently situated in urban areas. Closely allied to the urban location of these Carthusian foundations in their relations with the world is their increasing reliance upon aristocratic patronage. The late-medieval charterhouses depended not only upon the institutions of the church, such as the Grenoble episcopate, but also upon lay wealth and political influence. In the second half of the fourteenth century Carthusian foundations became fashionable among the Burgundian aristocracy, a trend that issued in the foundations of Champmol in Dijon by Philip the Bold, and of Pavia by Gian Galeazzo Visconti (whose first wife was Isabelle de Valois). The cycle of miniatures in the *Belles Heures* of the duke of Berry, discussed above, could also be said to exemplify the popularity of the order in these aristocratic circles. These dukes of France were drawn to the purity and secrecy of Carthusian devotion, and thought to increase their own spiritual cachet through a connection to these eremitic monks. Even relatively modern descriptions of the "wildly poetical" and "strangely picturesque" Carthusians reflect traces of their fifteenth-century romantic appeal.⁴⁷ Support flowed from the monks toward the laity, as well as from the laity toward the monks; numismatic evidence from Italy and Belgium suggests that, though Guigo discouraged the practice of supporting

penitents, late-medieval Carthusians, at the urging of their founding patrons, distributed alms.⁴⁸

The history of the English Province bears out the increasing interaction between hermit-monks and lay society visible elsewhere in Europe. The Carthusian foundation in England was late, but the order enjoyed a short, intensive vogue in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁹ The first charterhouse, at Witham (1178), was founded by Henry II in expiation (as legend has it) for the murder of Thomas Becket. When the young monastery encountered difficulties, a new prior was sent to encourage the king's support; this prior, after leaving the charterhouse for the bishopric of Lincoln, would be canonized as St. Hugh of Lincoln (d. 1200).⁵⁰ The houses of Hinton (1227) and Beauvale (1343) followed slowly. Around 1345 a royal license was issued for a charterhouse at Horne, in Surrey, but the foundation never materialized.⁵¹ In 1368 the independent English Carthusian Province was officially established, meaning that there would no longer be formal visitation from the Continent.⁵² The next hundred years then saw a wave of foundations, in which twice as many charterhouses were established, each capable of housing many more monks: London (1370), Hull (1378), Coventry (1381), Axholme (1397), Mountgrace (1398), Sheen (1414), and, finally, the Scottish house in Perth (1429). Nonetheless, the order always remained small in absolute terms; the high point of the Carthusian population in England was in 1422, when there were 182 monks.⁵³ The dissolution brought disaster to the English charterhouses, and martyrdom to many Carthusians, most notably John Houghton, prior of the charterhouse in London. A house in exile—Sheen Anglorum—was founded by English refugees in Flanders, and survived there until the eighteenth century.⁵⁴

Like their Continental cousins, the late foundations in England increasingly occupied urban sites and relied upon aristocratic patrons—hardly the wild, “desert” wastelands Bruno and Guigo had envisioned. Even the first English foundation, at Witham, required the initial expulsion of the lay population that had formerly inhabited the new monastic “wilderness.”⁵⁵ The bishop of London, Michael de Northburgh, initially had to argue with the priors of Witham and Hinton for the value of an urban location, but the London charterhouse, once approved, became one of the leading houses in the English province.⁵⁶ Among all English charterhouses, only the northern ones (notably Kingston-upon-Hull and Mountgrace) could be said to be truly wilderness sites. The English aristocracy shared the late-medieval enthusiasm for charterhouse foundations.⁵⁷ Mountgrace was founded by Sir Thomas de Holand, whose brother-in-law Gian Galeazzo Visconti had founded the magnificent charterhouse at Pavia. The large and extravagant charterhouse of Sheen, established by Henry V close to the royal residence

at Richmond, provides a particularly clear example of the effects of royal patronage.⁵⁸ In a strange irony, the king imposed on the monks' seclusion by requiring them to provide for the maintenance of a separate recluse.⁵⁹ And it was not only aristocrats who thought the Carthusians fashionable. After initial resistance from the displaced local population, the London house gathered many benefactors, whose diversity highlights the social range of the order's popularity: knights, aristocrats, bishops, "rich merchants of the city companies," lawyers, and civil servants.⁶⁰ Because a person could endow an individual cell, charterhouses lent themselves especially to this kind of communal benefaction. (It is an irony for an eremitic order that foundation could involve a group of benefactors precisely because the house itself was divided into individual units.) Even after they were established, the English charterhouses continued to interact with their neighbors: the remote Mountgrace had two guesthouses, Coventry and later Sheen seem to have had schools, and archaeological excavation at London has uncovered the remains of a public pulpit.⁶¹ It is also clear from the precision of the architectural wishes expressed in wills that lay people—even women, who were ostensibly barred from entering the monasteries—were inside Carthusian churches frequently.⁶²

The lay world intruded upon the charterhouse, but the desires and pressures of aristocratic patronage also tempted monks (in spite of Guigo's fine words about sheep and sheepfolds) to leave their cells. Richard Methley, early sixteenth-century monk of Mountgrace and author of the Latin works *Experimentum veritatis*, *Scola amoris languidi*, *Dormitorium dilecti dilecti*, and *Refectorium salutis*, also wrote an English epistle of advice "To Hew Heremyte," which explains the core of the eremitic life, as he sees it.⁶³ He advises Hugh of three "thynges ther is nedeful for the to kepe wel": his sight, his cell, and his silence. Both sight and speech must be simply guarded against vanities, but Methley's exhortation to keep the cell reveals some of the particular dangers that challenged late-medieval eremiticism:

God hath prouyded for the, and therfor kepe thy selle, & yt wyl kepe the fro synne. Be no home rynnere for to see mervels no gangrel [vagabond] fro towne to towne, no land leper wayng in the wynde lyke a laverooke [lark]. But kepe thy sel & yt wyl kepe the. But now thoue sayst peradventure thou mayst not kepe yt for thou art sent for to the gentils in the contre whome thou dare not displeas. I answer & say thus Tel them that thou hast forsakyn the world & therfor but in the tyme of very great nede as in the tyme of dethe or suche other great nede: thou mayst not let thy deuocion. And when thou shalt help them loke thou do yt trewly for the love of god & take no thyng but for thy cost.⁶⁴

Methley's alliterative language condemns those "land lepers" who leave their cells "for to see mervels," and in this he echoes Guigo's warnings against departing the cell too lightly. But he also acknowledges and describes at great length the particular temptations that come from pastoral and political pressures. Methley himself received donations in the wills of wealthy laypeople in York—a few shillings here or there meant perhaps to defray the "cost" of the hermit's help "in the tyme of dethe," and certainly to unite the donor to the spiritual joys of the solitary.⁶⁵ The "gentils in the contre," impressed by the simple piety of the enclosed, often successfully sought help from hermits in attaining their own devotional goals. It was one of the challenges of the cell for the monk to keep to it in the face of such requests from those whom humble hermits—both in Carthusian orders and without—"dare not displeas."

This may seem like a familiar story of monastic asceticism grown lax, a gradual falling away from devotional ideals that is in a sense the story of all the orders, for each monastic reform has been both a renewal of and a return to the purity imagined to be at the core of the cloistered life.⁶⁶ Even though it is a commonplace of Carthusian history that the order was never reformed because never "deformed," late-medieval Carthusians demonstrably departed in certain ways from the monastic practices imagined by their eleventh-century forebears.⁶⁷ But the negotiations between solitude and community that configure late-medieval Carthusian life are based on tensions present even at the founding of the order. The increased community in Carthusian life in the later Middle Ages shows more than the failure of these monks to reject the world; it reveals important pressures on their devotional lives and can tell us something about what those lives consisted of. My goal is not to demonstrate that fifteenth-century Carthusians departed from the high ideals of their founders, but rather to explore the implications of both structural and circumstantial ambivalence in charterhouse life for Carthusian devotional reading in the late Middle Ages—particularly for the Middle English miscellany of imagetexts, Additional 37049. How does the performance of reading in the privacy of the cell register the divide between individual and communal spiritual experience, between the interior of the monastery and the world outside? How might it help to cross that divide? This question is in some ways at the core of late-medieval Carthusian devotion, and the remarkably rich bibliographic culture that both facilitated and transmitted it.

CARTHUSIANS AND BOOKS

The second picture illustrating the poem "At þe begynnyng of þe chartirhows god did schewe" in Additional 37049 is perhaps more important than the

first. In the right margin a Carthusian monk stands outside a simple cell in a forest wilderness, reading a book that he holds in front of him (fol. 22v; fig. 2.1). His book is not illustrated, and its text is illegible, but the image nonetheless testifies to the cultural importance of the codex in which it is contained, as well as to the interconnection of that codex with the bookish concerns of the Carthusian Order generally. The image is a simple emblem of Carthusian life, rather than a narrative of the order's history, but it can tell us even more about the devotional environment of the late-medieval charterhouses. Carthusian bibliographic culture was especially rich, and textual scholarship in the last several decades has taken important steps toward describing that culture in particular terms and assessing what influence it had on late-medieval reading at large. What Michael Sargent, in a foundational article, called "the literary character of the spirituality of the Carthusian Order" had tremendous impact on devotional reading by other religious, and also by lay people.⁶⁸ Although Carthusian readers were among the most clearly "private" of the late Middle Ages—reading, as they lived, in the most extreme solitude—they participated in textual communities that give their books a more public face. Even these most solitary encounters between people and books draw upon a shared culture of devotional performance. The complications I hope to introduce in the dichotomy of public and private literary experience do not derive from the possibility that people might have read in groups, or even that they might have read aloud—which Carthusians may well have occasionally done.⁶⁹ Instead, public and private join in a practice of silent, solitary reading that replicates spectacular and social literary forms. Although Carthusian reading is by no means uniform, or readily characterized, Additional 37049 must be seen in the larger context of the wide-ranging Carthusian commitment to spiritual community enacted through books and the private performance of devotional reading.

The emphasis on books and book making within monastic solitude dates from the origins of the Carthusian Order, or as close to those origins as can be recovered. Bruno's letter to Raoul le Verd concludes with a request for a book that is difficult to obtain: "I ask you to send to us the Life of St. Rémy, because it is impossible to find in our region."⁷⁰ In the *Consuetudines*, Guigo I describes in great practical detail the items a monk is to have in his individual cell for the making of books: "And for writing, a desk, pens, chalk, two pumice-stones, two inkwells, a small knife, two razors for leveling the surface of the parchment, a punctorium, an awl, a lead pencil, a ruler, writing tablets, and a stylus. And if a brother is given to another kind of art—which happens very rarely with us—because we teach the skill of copying to almost all that we receive, if it is possible—he will have the tools appropriate to his art."⁷¹ This twelfth-century description

remains the most complete contemporary record of bookmaking supplies available to modern codicologists, and is often used as the exemplary description of medieval scribal materials.⁷² Guigo enumerates so carefully all that is needed for the making of books because, as he says, Carthusians so rarely engage in other occupations. He concedes that those who cannot learn to write will be accommodated, and other work found for them, but his general expectation is that, for the Carthusian, the labor of the cell is the manufacture of books. Guigo goes on to describe more philosophically the Carthusian attitude toward books and the ideals that motivate their assiduous production:

Then, further, the inhabitant of the cell receives two books from the library to read. He has orders to exercise all diligence and all possible care so that these books are not soiled by smoke, dust, or any other stain. We desire that the books be made with the greatest attention and kept very carefully, like perpetual food for our souls, so that because we cannot preach the word of God by our mouths, we may do so with our hands.

In effect, however many books we copy, that many times we are seen to be heralds of the truth; and we hope for a reward from the Lord, for all those who through them are corrected from error, or profess universal truth, and for all those also who repent of their sins and of their vices or who are enflamed by a desire for the heavenly land.⁷³

In addition to the instruments of writing, each Carthusian monk is to have in his cell two books for reading. And knowing the concern with which books are produced, Guigo exhorts the monk to treat his two volumes with great care, keeping them clean of dust and all kinds of stains. The material book is to be kept pristine as an example of spiritual food, guarded from filth as carefully as the food of the body.

Most memorably, in this passage Guigo offers his famous justification of the Carthusian book-making vocation: “so because we are not able to preach the word of God with our mouths, we may do so with our hands” (“*ut quia ore non possumus, dei verbum manibus predicemus*”). The making of books is by this analogy a kind of silent preaching, through which Carthusian monks can speak figuratively to the outside world without disturbing their hushed and solitary lives of prayer. The copying of books thus becomes a task of the highest philosophical and theological importance, for these literary “heralds of the truth” (“*veritatis praecones*”) save souls—both readers’ and monks’ own. Guigo hopes not only that the books copied will bring souls of readers into heaven, but also that the holy work of disseminating truth will speed the monks’ own access to heavenly delights.

Perhaps it is not surprising that the inward-looking Carthusians take the *cura animarum* most seriously as their own means to heaven, and discharge their pastoral obligations through solitary literary activities.⁷⁴ But even if the preaching here is only metaphor, this evocative idea of spreading salvation through writing is quoted by many later Carthusian writers, and had important implications for charterhouse life and literary culture in the late Middle Ages.⁷⁵ Guigo and those who follow him use the language of pulpit performance to express the nature of their Carthusian book making, a figure of speech that transforms the private habits of a solitary scribe into a preacher's public oratory. Through the medium of books, such performances are accepted into Carthusian life and celebrated for their capacity to save souls. This Carthusian conception of the performative method and salvific purpose of devotional books is the background against which *Ad-ditional 37049* was created, and against which it was undoubtedly read.

Even as little as twenty years after its foundation by Bruno, and before Guigo's theological validation of Carthusian literary activity, the Grande Chartreuse had already acquired a reputation for its rich library, as well as for its determined poverty.⁷⁶ Once again, the early testimony of Guibert de Nogent provides useful evidence of Carthusian customs, in this case bibliophilic ones: "Though they live in the utmost poverty, they have built up a very rich library. The less they abound in bread of the material sort, the more they work at the sweat of their brow to acquire that food that does not perish but endures forever."⁷⁷ Guibert corroborates the importance of books in the practical life of the new monastery, and implies that reading, as well as writing, helps feed Carthusian souls. He anticipates Guigo's equation of books with food, but it is the wisdom they contain, rather than the physical volumes themselves, that is carefully collected and guarded. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, also testifies that the Carthusians "occupy themselves continually with reading, prayer, and the labor of their hands, especially the writing of books." Peter provided the Carthusians with a means of building their large library; his letters to the Grande Chartreuse during the priorate of Guigo I reveal an active exchange of reading material between the two houses. I quote one letter at length to demonstrate the extent of the intellectual commerce he describes, the precision of the monks' scholarship, and the hardships sometimes suffered by monastic libraries:

I sent the lives of SS Nazianzen and Chrysostom, as you asked. I also sent the little book or letter of the blessed Ambrose against Symmachus, the pagan praefect in the city of Rome, who, in the name of the Senate, demanded of the emperors that idolatry should be brought back. . . . The treatise of St. Hilary on the Psalms I did not send, because I found

the same corruption in our book as in yours. But if you want it anyway, ask again and I will send it. As you know, we do not have Prosper against Cassian, but we have sent to St. Jean d'Angely in Aquitaine for it, and we will send it if it becomes necessary. And please send us the larger volume of the holy father Augustine which almost at the beginning contains his letters to St. Jerome, and those of St. Jerome to him. For a large part of ours when it was in one of our obediences was accidentally eaten by a bear.⁷⁸

The correspondence between these men reveals the subjects treated by Carthusian books—from writings of the desert fathers to hagiography. More significantly, it also reveals the dedication to preserving accurate texts and physical books that “preaching with the hands,” while living in the wilderness, required.⁷⁹

Initially, the books Carthusians copied were the Latin liturgical books and statutes that all charterhouses needed to function smoothly. As Peter's letter shows, Carthusian libraries quickly became repositories of patristic learning, as well. But increasingly the books that interested the Carthusians in the later Middle Ages—and that most concern modern readers—were devotional and mystical writings, often translations from Latin into the vernacular. The English Province in particular seems to have been active in the copying and transmission of vernacular books, and Middle English scholars have worked to determine the effects on English literary history of Carthusian involvement with these devotional texts.⁸⁰ These effects cannot be easily or simply measured, but some traces of Carthusian literary life suggest that English Carthusian scribes and readers—as well as authors and translators—played a significant role in the performative culture of late-medieval devotional books.

Richard Methley's “Epistle to Hew Heremyte” describes the importance of vernacular reading in the spiritual life of the cell. Methley advises Hew, in his pursuit of the ideal life for the enclosed solitary, to devote himself to “englysshe bokes”: “Now thou mayst aske me how thou shalt be occupied day & nyght I say with thy dewty that thou art bounden to And then with more that thou putttest to yt by grace & thy deuocyon. Fyve thynges ther be accordyng for the that ys to say Good prayer, medytacyon that is callyd holy thynkyng, redyng of holy englysshe bokes, Contemplacyon that thou mayst come to by grace & great deuocyon, that ys to say to forget al maner of thynges but god & for great loue of hym: be rapt into contemplacyon, and good dedys with thy hand.”⁸¹ Methley's recommendations correspond more or less to standard contemporary hierarchies of meditational practice, including specifically Carthusian ones. Reading, prayer, meditation, and good deeds are the four exercises compiled in Adam of Dryburgh's *De*

quadripartito exercitio cellae, for example. And a Middle English translation of the *Scala claustralium* by the Carthusian prior Guigo II, known as *A Ladder of Foure Ronges by the whiche Men Mowe Wele Clyme to Heven*, offers its readers the “foure ronges” of reading (“a besy lokyng vpon Holy Writte”), meditation (“A studious inserchyng with the mynde”), prayer (“a devoute desiryng of the hert”), and contemplation (“a risyng of hert into God”). These rungs comprise “a longe ladder and a meruelous thouze it haue but foure stavis, for the oon ende stondith on the grounde and the other ende thrillyth the cloudys and shewith to the clymber heuenly pryvetees.”⁸² All the performative activity of climbing the ladder—represented by the string of gerunds “lokyng,” “inserchyng,” “desiryng,” and “risyng”—results, significantly, in the accomplishment of a sacred privacy: access to “heuenly pryvetees.” But this text directs its reader to study holy scriptures in pursuit of this effect; Methley modifies that direction significantly by specifying *English* reading.⁸³ “Besy lokyng” in vernacular books is central to the late-medieval English contemplative’s holy tasks, facilitating his ascent of the spiritual ladder toward the highest heavenly ecstasies.⁸⁴

But what kinds of English books were charter monks (and their apprentice hermits) reading? The evidence for English charterhouse libraries ranges from manuscript donations recorded in wills, to colophons recording ownership by a charterhouse, to marginal pictures of Carthusian monks. None provides easy or exact knowledge of Carthusian manuscripts. Different sorts of evidence suggest very different kinds of association; books made outside but used by the monks surely tell us different things about Carthusian life from those made within the order and used for pastoral care outside their walls.⁸⁵ The clearest kinds of Carthusian connections—*ex libris* marks from charterhouse libraries—are also sometimes the weakest, for these books were often made and used outside the order before being donated to the monks. The evidence of wills does not always confirm that the donation was actually made; Henry V’s intention to leave his library to his monasteries at Sheen and Syon, for example, seems not to have been fulfilled.⁸⁶ Conversely, the most speculative Carthusian connections are also the ones that would be most revealing about literary life within the charterhouses; certain genres of Middle English devotional texts can be associated generally with Carthusian interest and promulgation, but of course the presence of such texts in a devotional compilation is no proof of its origins. Deep circularity drives a logic that concludes a manuscript “seems Carthusian” because its content reflects what we think we already know about Carthusian literary tastes. Any general conclusion about the nature of Carthusian books must make sense not only of the conservatism of Hilton, Ruysbroeck, and the *Cloud*-author, but also of the short version of Julian of Norwich’s *Showings*, which appears uniquely in a

manuscript that has clear origins in the charterhouse.⁸⁷ Similarly, it must account for the Middle English translation of Marguerite Porete's heretical *Mirror of Simple Souls*, preserved only in three Carthusian manuscripts, and the sole occurrence of the *Book of Margery Kempe* in a manuscript marked "Liber Montis Gracie. This boke is of Mountgrace."⁸⁸

Although the General Chapter mandated in 1478 that each charterhouse keep a register of its books, none of the catalogues from the English Province (if they ever existed) have survived.⁸⁹ But less official inventories, such as the packing lists of volumes loaned from one house to another, or the ad hoc booklists preserved in manuscripts donated to the Carthusians, can provide an unofficial contemporary account of what charter monks might have read.⁹⁰ Among a group of books loaned from Hinton (possibly to Beauvale?) are *Stimulus amoris et multa alia edificatoria de manu Domini Willelmi de Colle*—probably a "devotional or ascetical collection."⁹¹ Loans from London to Hull in the fifteenth century include the *Chastising of God's Children*, *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, *Scala perfectionis*, *Speculum vitae Christi*, Rolle's *Meditation on the Passion*, a volume *de arte moriendi*, Rolle's *Form of Living*, and part of the Carthusian statutes in English, as well as the Carthusian statutes in Latin.⁹² More detailed still is the list of items taken by the charter monk Thomas Golwynne from London to Mountgrace in 1519, which includes clothes and household items, but also a number of liturgical and hagiographical books.⁹³ Bodleian MS Laud 154 records the gift of books from John Blacman to Witham priory in the mid-fifteenth century, and includes in its list such items as "devota meditacio in anglicis," and even "tractatus de armis in anglicis." These books had an existence outside the charterhouse before finding their way to Witham, but nonetheless they record volumes that Carthusians, if they did not make them, at least cared to keep. Taken together, these lists reinforce the special importance of English books to Carthusian readers, providing a context for the vernacular devotional miscellany Additional 37049.

Booklists form an important body of evidence, but because their references are often vague or incomplete, they can only rarely be connected with extant manuscripts. As a result, lists do not provide much detail about the reading lives of charter monks beyond the titles of texts and occasional descriptions of volumes. More particulars can be gleaned from the manuscripts themselves—for example, those that contain inscriptions connecting them with specific Carthusian monasteries.⁹⁴ English Carthusians apparently did not generally organize the volumes in their libraries with shelfmarks or other identification, although this practice was common in European charterhouses, such as Buxheim, Basel, Cologne, Erfurt, and Mainz.⁹⁵ Only 108 extant manuscripts can be identified with particular English charterhouses, although others can be more loosely associated

with the order.⁹⁶ Among the more certain identifications, Bodleian Library MS Douce 114 belonged to Beauvale, and includes translations of saints' lives and the earliest version of the Middle English translation of Heinrich Suso, the *Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, "drawen oute of the boke that is writen in Latyn and callyd Orogium Sapiencie," a text excerpted in Additional 37049.⁹⁷ Bodleian Library MS Bodley 505 belonged to the London charterhouse, and includes *The Chastising of God's Children* and *The Mirror of Simple Souls*.⁹⁸ A Carthusian "commonplace book" described by Sarah Horrall includes excerpts from *Handlyng Synne*, *Fervor Amoris*, and the *Cloud of Unknowing*.⁹⁹ Other Middle English manuscripts can be securely placed within a Carthusian context because they can be attributed to known Carthusian scribes, such as William Mede, or Stephen Dodesham.¹⁰⁰ The Carthusian James Grenehalgh, who was professed at Sheen before 1499 and died at Hull in 1530, annotated a number of volumes. Grenehalgh left a distinctive monogram as a record of his wide reading, which included Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* in both English and the Latin of fellow charter monk Thomas Fishlake, the *Cloud of Unknowing*, the *Mirror of Simple Souls*, the *Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, and Richard Rolle's *Incendium amoris*, *Emendatio vitae*, and *Contra amatores mundi*.¹⁰¹

All this evidence testifies to the kinds of books found within charterhouses, or to their movement from the secular world to the monastic. But Carthusian interest in a certain genre of vernacular devotional book also influenced readers outside specifically Carthusian contexts. The early literary traffic between the Grande Chartreuse and Cluny was matched in late-medieval England by the active commerce in books between the Carthusian house at Sheen and the Bridgettine house across the Thames at Syon.¹⁰² Moreover, many of the Carthusian translations of mystical and devotional works from Latin into English exist in lay copies.¹⁰³ To take only the most famous example, evidence of surviving manuscripts suggests that Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* probably circulated primarily outside the Carthusian Order.¹⁰⁴ Another vernacular Carthusian Passion meditation, known as the *Speculum devotorum*, exists in two very different, but equally significant, forms: a Sheen copy written by William Mede (Cambridge University Library MS Gg.1.6) and a lay copy most likely produced in a London bookshop and owned by Elizabeth Scrope (University of Notre Dame MS 67 [*olim* Foyle]).¹⁰⁵ Examples of similar transmission of texts from the charterhouse to lay readers could be cited in the works of Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and Jan van Ruysbroeck.¹⁰⁶ The history of the devotion known as the "Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters" illustrates all of these types of textual transmission, since copies of the miraculous prayer entered the Carthusian Order from the secular world,

then traveled between the charterhouses at London and Mountgrace, and finally spread again among outsiders.¹⁰⁷ Through such pastoral circulation of texts, the “preaching with the hands” imagined by Guigo became more actual and less metaphorical in late-medieval England. Given the pulpit at London, and the schools at Coventry and Sheen, the figure became in fact quite literal: pastoral preaching through books became a central part of contemplative Carthusian life.

Devotional reading fundamentally allows for both an eremitic experience and a communal one. Books can most obviously be read alone and silently by an individual monk in his cell, and in fact *lectores* were among the first monks to be granted a private space in otherwise communal monastic orders.¹⁰⁸ As Guigo’s *Consuetudines* indicate, and as illustrations of the statutes in MS Additional 25042 help us to imagine, solitary reading in the cell was the most frequent Carthusian practice (fig. 2.7). The potential of books for private experience was so great that it was occasionally a source of concern; the Carthusian General Chapter admonished a monk of Coventry that he was not to retain books of his own, since they would constitute private property.¹⁰⁹ This record provides evidence that the central organization of the order refused to allow the individual ownership of books, but it also suggests that books *were* privately owned by charter monks in England, and probably far more often than this one instance proves. Books given by lay patrons to an individual Carthusian are recorded among Thomas Golwynne’s possessions, for example. His cargo included: “Item a printyd portews by the gift of M. Rawson,” and “Item a yornall and a printed prymer gevyv by M. Parker.”¹¹⁰ A. I. Doyle has speculated that the absence of library shelfmarks in English books indicates that they were most often housed in monks’ individual cells.¹¹¹ Carthusian books serve as instruments of the spiritual imagination for Carthusian hermits; they structure the experiences of individual contemplation that are the aim and purpose of the order.

Books can constitute social experience, as well, for their transmission and circulation define a textual community. Guigo’s metaphorical defense of book making as a species of silent “preaching” invokes this kind of affiliation through texts. The scribal activities of the charter monks also brought them together quite literally into communities founded on books. According to the *Consuetudines*, the only collective consideration of things useful to the community was to take place on Sundays, after Nones: “After Nones, we come together in the cloister, to speak there of useful things. At that time, we ask the sacristan for ink, parchment, pens, chalk, books, either for reading or for copying; from the cook we ask for and receive vegetables, salt, and other things of that kind.”¹¹² The useful things that Guigo imagines Carthusians may discuss together in chapter include the



Figure 2.7. Carthusian private reader. London, British Library MS Additional 25042 (15th c.), fol. 19v. By permission of the British Library.

essentials—once more he makes an equation between book-making supplies and food. Occasionally the exigencies of the literary work require that monks break silence even at other times: “If some among the monks are correcting or binding books, or are engaged in other such activities, they may speak to each other, but never with the ones who are supervising, unless the prior is there or has ordered it.”¹¹³ So books, while they may seem in their portability and privacy to support individual devotional practice, are the focus of Carthusian community, formed both among the monks themselves and with others outside the order. Isolated monks cooperated with each other through a communal assembly-line of manuscript production.¹¹⁴ As we have seen from the lists of books carried from house to house, the

common industry of copying provided for communication between Carthusian foundations, as monks sought to produce accurate copies of liturgical and theological writings. Books also traveled easily (if not always licitly) from the world to the charterhouse, as we can see from the records of gifts from outsiders to particular monks, and from the presence of such texts as the *Book of Margery Kempe* in Carthusian libraries. Finally, books traveled from the charterhouse to the world, as the history of Love's *Mirror* testifies—though we should not necessarily assume the monks' direct intervention in this transmission. Carthusian books provide for private spiritual experience, but they also establish a commerce among individual monks, among charterhouses, and between the order and the wider world.

Charterhouse participation in the creation and transmission of Middle English devotional texts among the laity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has become axiomatic in the study of vernacular books of religion. It is a truism so commonly and so approvingly cited as to need qualification: the literary legacy we see may be the result of "small literary groups among the Carthusians themselves," rather than a widespread literary culture peculiar to the order.¹¹⁵ It is possible, also, that the Reformation history of the English Carthusians artificially increased rates of survival for their books.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the degree of Carthusian influence on lay reading can easily be overestimated, for, as Vincent Gillespie has recently cautioned, what looks like monastic dissemination of texts may instead simply be monastic preservation of them.¹¹⁷ Apart from the important counterexample of the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, more manuscripts went into the charterhouses through lay bequests than came out of them in pastoral outreach. Orthodox texts such as Love's *Mirror* certainly circulated among lay readers, but "dangerous" books like those of Margery Kempe or Marguerite Porete might have been carefully guarded within the charterhouse. Nor do the volumes traveling between the outside world and the Carthusian cell always contain the vernacular mysticism so often associated with the order.¹¹⁸ The simple facts of textual transmission do not necessarily reveal the social, political, or even devotional purposes behind it, and determining the nature of Carthusian participation in lay literary culture is as important as measuring its extent. Additional 37049 does not represent all varieties of Carthusian reading, nor is its relation to readers outside the charterhouse entirely clear, but its one example must be considered to complicate the picture sketched by the monks' interest in promulgating mystical authors such as Walter Hilton and the *Cloud*-author.

A. I. Doyle has cautioned against finding Carthusian influence everywhere we see a certain kind of Middle English devotional book.¹¹⁹ The connection between these monks and these texts is so strong and so well

established that it is difficult not to attribute to them more influence than they certainly had.¹²⁰ On the basis of the miscellany Additional 37049, I propose something rather different: not that Carthusians were less or more influential than has been thought, but that they were *differently* influential. The possible connections between Carthusians and books are many and varied. The monks may have sent books out of the charterhouse, but they also clearly brought them in; Carthusian readers both affected and absorbed the world outside the charterhouse walls. They read and disseminated vernacular mysticism, but also wrote and read vernacular texts on religious subjects of quite a different kind. Although Additional 37049 has been described as “uniformly and completely orthodox,” the miscellany nonetheless surprises: it suggests that the order is not to be associated only with private, meditative reading undertaken in solitude.¹²¹ The monks had deep interest in the interconnections among various kinds of imaginative literary genres, including a wide variety of performative forms. The intense effort to represent this performative mode within the covers of one miscellaneous book requires that we reconsider what Carthusian private meditative reading involved, and how it might have intersected with and affected broader trends in late-medieval devotional literature. In the way its imagetexts mix private meditation with public performance, the manuscript both embodies and responds to the complexities of Carthusian book culture. The miscellany’s various offerings cohere around their common interest in the performative reading of text and image, a genre that does not depend upon the delineation of literary types so much as upon the melding of literary with artistic ones.

CARTHUSIANS AND ART

Among its miscellaneous devotional texts, Additional 37049 includes a note on the nature of contemplation drawn from Richard Rolle’s English epistles *The Commandment* and *The Form of Living* (fol. 35v).¹²² The excerpts reveal how the Carthusian monk who read (and wrote) the manuscript conceived of his spiritual activities in the cell:

Contemplatife life has two partes, a lawer & a hyer. þe lawer parte is meditacion of holy scripture & oþer gode þoghtes & suete, as of þe passion of our lord Ihesus Criste, & oþer suete þoghtes abowt his luf & his lofyng in psalmes & ympnes & oþer gode prayers.

þe hyger parte of contemplacion is behaldyng & desyring of þe þinges of heuen, & ioy in þe holy goste; þof al þat þe mowthe be not praying, bot onely þynkyng of God & of þe fayrhed of angels & holy saules.

This description begins by asserting the importance of textual artifacts in the monk's contemplative devotion: "holy scripture," "psalmes," "ympnes," and "oþer gode prayers." But soon the passage describes the primacy of spiritual vision over any meditation that can be accomplished through the agency of words. This account of contemplative life draws metaphors of reading ("meditacion of holy scripture") together with metaphors of vision ("behaldyng & desyryng"), and delineates a clear progression from one to the other. Words are affiliated with the lower levels of meditative practice, images with higher ecstasies.¹²³ In the most elevated reaches of mystical rapture, words have no place at all: though "þe mowthe be not praying," the contemplative ponders the "fayrhed of angels." Silent beholding and desiring are spiritual performances by the solitary, enabled by visual experience, and specifically by visual art.

For all the importance of books in Carthusians' interaction with their society, images play an equal role in the monks' spiritual and social lives. The contemplative community of the charterhouse was designed to encourage mystical experience, and we know that Carthusians were fascinated by the firsthand records of such experience. Vincent Gillespie has suggested that an interest in the raw phenomena of mystical vision might explain the puzzling survival of Margery Kempe's *Book*, Marguerite Porete's *Mirror for Simple Souls*, and the short text of Julian of Norwich's *Showings* among the Carthusians.¹²⁴ The mechanisms of Carthusian commerce in visionary texts are exemplified by lay seer Edmund Liversedge, who gave money to both Witham and Hinton, and whose vernacular vision was translated into Latin by a charter monk he calls "my frend of Wytham."¹²⁵ Although the evidence for actual Carthusian visionaries is sparse, such "behaldyng & desyryng" as they did record often indicates interesting interactions between visions of physical objects and immaterial ones.¹²⁶ For example, one Dom George, driven mad by the tedium of meditation on the cross, saw the figure on the crucifix turn its back on him.¹²⁷ Richard Methley's spiritual visions while a monk at Mountgrace also arose from earthly sights, for they occurred during liturgical celebration.¹²⁸ Texts encouraging this sort of individual participation in the communal mass are not unusual in the late Middle Ages, even among lay people.¹²⁹ But Methley's experience reflects the way in which Carthusian visionary life, in particular, provides for a combination of the eremitic and the cenobitic—for private, immaterial ecstasies to arise out of collective, physical celebrations. All of these accounts more generally reveal that spiritual sight in the charterhouse often took its inspiration from, and depended on, more physical varieties of seeing.¹³⁰ To understand the material context for the illustrations in Additional 37049, it is important to consider the artistic culture of the medieval charterhouse, and the ways in which physical images helped the

monks construct immaterial images of a Carthusian devotional self, both individual and communal.¹³¹

The visual culture of late-medieval Carthusians in England is not easy to imagine or to reproduce. The first difficulty, of course, is the iconoclasm of the English Reformation, which resulted in the destruction of most medieval devotional art apart from manuscript painting. Very little remains of what was certainly a lively and rich national artistic culture; consequently, one can never know what buildings, sculptures, or paintings English medieval monks might have made (or even looked at), and one cannot even draw definitive negative conclusions from negative evidence. Moreover, even on the Continent most extant Carthusian art is postmedieval; the canonization of Bruno in 1623 led to a great flourishing of baroque art and architecture in charterhouses where relatively little had been produced before.¹³² Accordingly, most scholarly attention to Carthusian art has focused on European rather than British examples, and those generally later than the fifteenth century.¹³³ The most significant difficulty in investigating any kind of Carthusian art is more fundamental still: the Carthusian Order sought at its foundation to institute an extreme monastic asceticism, avoiding decoration of its churches and any sort of art object that could be considered *de luxe*. Whereas Guigo celebrates books and their fundamental rôle in devotional life, he forbids precious ornament explicitly and almost absolutely: “We do not have any ornaments of gold or silver in the church, with the exception of the chalice and the reed by which the blood of the Savior is taken, nor do we have hangings or carpets.”¹³⁴ The *Consuetudines* is the oldest codification of Carthusian life, but its prohibition of images is repeated, in varying forms, in the subsequent *Statuta antiqua* (1259), *Statuta nova* (1368), and *Tertia compilatio* (1509). It is difficult, given the strength of this early asceticism, to imagine that visual experience could have been important for Carthusians of any time or place.

Yet even these early testaments from the charterhouses do not reject the material world altogether; it is possible to detect in them a certain ambivalence toward the use of luxury materials. Guigo himself recognizes that gold and silver, in moderation, do honor to the furnishings of the mass, and thus to the Lord whose sacrifice the mass celebrates. The *Statuta antiqua* loosens Guigo’s strictures further to allow for some gold or silver, not exclusively on chalice and reed, but also on the priest’s stole and maniple, and on book-markers.¹³⁵ In spite of the order’s basic asceticism, decorative extravagance seems to be admissible where it can be seen to do honor to God, rather than reinforce the pride of man.¹³⁶ The pragmatic distinction implied here between acceptable and unacceptable forms of embellishment suggests that images can be used in a visually plain environment to further devotional purposes, and that, in practice, visual experience played a role

in medieval Carthusian spirituality. In other words, Carthusian strictures against luxury materials do not constitute a thoroughgoing iconoclasm. It is worth remembering that the primary vocation of the Carthusians is not poverty, as for the followers of Francis, but rather solitude within monastic community.¹³⁷ The contradiction between their asceticism and their patronage of art is accordingly less stark, but the implications for their visual environment—both in the cell and in the church—are perhaps the more surprising. Somewhat paradoxically, the prohibition against extravagant decoration seems to have allowed the monks to embrace figural images of a humbler and more instrumental kind. Carthusian images negotiate the differences between public display and private function, reflecting the place of the eremitic individual within spiritual community.

The artistic practices of late-medieval Carthusians generally drew on the ambivalence of the early statutes toward visual display, rather than on their stricter forms of asceticism.¹³⁸ We can learn what was commonly done not so much from the measured idealism of the foundational documents, as from what the later rules feel the need to forbid. By the time of the *Statuta nova* in the mid-fourteenth century, pictures in charterhouses appear to have become so commonplace that they had to be explicitly prohibited, and their removal ordered. The statutes legislate gently against what was obviously a frequent transgression: “Let us not use any kind of tapestry, or cushions decorated with pictures or other extravagances; but decorative pictures, too, should be scraped away from our churches and houses, if it can be done without giving scandal; and new ones should not be allowed to be made.”¹³⁹ The General Chapter of 1424 specified more precisely the removal of the “curiously” painted pictures that had appeared on some charterhouse altars, and of other paintings that contained coats of arms and figures of women.¹⁴⁰ This concern for the abuse of imagery is echoed in the early sixteenth-century *Tertia compilatio*, where visitors are particularly advised to watch for decorative indiscretion in churches and houses of the order.¹⁴¹

These admonitions are revealing, for they indicate that a surprising variety of figural imagery found its way into the stark and simple charterhouse. They also record only qualified objections to pictures—only those that might be taken away “without scandal” are to be removed. But the statutes illuminate, too, the ultimate source of some of the Carthusian concern about imagery, for they record, more precisely, objections to “curious” pictures of life outside the cloister. The repeated admonition against “curiosity” implies a discomfort with the level of ornamentation in particular artworks; a “curious” image is one too elaborately wrought, to no purpose other than the worldly ones of aesthetic and formal pleasure.¹⁴² Simplicity

is a hallmark of art meant to serve the ends of prayer. But of course the objection here goes beyond excessive luxury, to encompass also the particular subjects of these figurative images: lay life outside the monastery. Secular coats of arms and images of women are a far cry from Guigo's golden chalice. As the anxieties of the General Chapter suggest, it was often secular influences that led in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to increased luxury—and more art—in the austere Carthusian environment. Monks increasingly prayed for aristocratic patrons outside the charterhouse, and they also accepted those patrons into the charterhouse, against all expectation of the order's founders. Guigo conceived of the monks' "preaching with the hands" through the copying of books as their only contact with the outside world, but fifteenth-century monks in urban charterhouses had more and closer interactions with the outside world than this would indicate.¹⁴³

In houses such as Champmol, Pavia, and Sheen, aristocratic (or even royal) founders demonstrated their piety, their wealth, and their power through their patronage of art and architecture. At Champmol, in Dijon—perhaps the clearest example of the opulent effects of aristocratic patronage—Philip the Bold designed an elaborate artistic program to enhance the grandeur of his own burial-place. The charterhouse at Champmol was filled with art: from the high altar retable carved by Jacques de Baerze and painted by Melchior Broederlam, to the *Martyrdom of St. Denis* painted by Henri Bellechose, to Claus Sluter's magnificent portal sculptures, his *Well of Moses* in the cloister, and finally his tomb for Philip himself, with its funeral procession and specifically Carthusian mourners (fig. 2.8).¹⁴⁴ The influence of lay patrons was powerfully felt, especially in death, and even against the explicit direction of Guigo.¹⁴⁵ Late-medieval Carthusians allowed the tombs of their benefactors to be built in the monastic church, and the duke of Burgundy symbolized his radical incorporation into the charterhouse community by choosing to be buried in the habit of a Carthusian monk. Less princely foundations, such as Nuremberg or London, responded to secular influences as well. Beauvale, for example, was established as a "mausoleum" for its founder, Sir Nicolas de Cantilupe, and his aristocratic friends.¹⁴⁶ The thirty-nine graves in the Coventry church contained men, women, children, and one executed felon; it is possible, too, that a wall-painting in the refectory honored patron John Langley by representing him in the guise of Longinus at the foot of the cross.¹⁴⁷ As late-medieval Carthusians abandoned their original remote "wildernesses," more numerous foundations in urban areas brought the monks into more frequent contact with devout laity of all kinds, and this close contact, not surprisingly, had material consequences.¹⁴⁸ Carthusian spiritual practice was influenced by



Figure 2.8. Carthusian mourner from the tomb of Philip the Bold, made for the Charterhouse of Champmol, Dijon; Claus Sluter, Claus de Werve, and Jean de Marville (1390–1406). © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon.

the needs of the pious laity; and, as a result, the visual environment of monastic devotion—at least in such venues as the charterhouse church—was to some degree directed by the designs of the surrounding community. Joseph A. Gribbin has explored the ways in which the liturgy in London was affected by such contacts with lay people, and has claimed that outsiders turned the charterhouse there into a “liturgical workshop.”¹⁴⁹

Charterhouse churches, above all, began to show a grandeur beyond what one might expect from a contemplative ascetic order. As the laity worshipped there, they exerted pressure on the visual forms those churches took, instituting oratories and side-chapels that would serve their own devotional needs. The chapel at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, for example, was decorated with elaborate frescoes of the life of John the Baptist (patron saint of the house), including a portrait of Pope Innocent VI (the founder) in prayer to the Virgin.¹⁵⁰ Although nothing remains of the charterhouse church in London, a description of its decorations and furnishings, made by Drs. Thomas Legh and Francis Cave at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539, provides a very full sense of how it must have appeared:

THE QUERE

The hyghe alter of the storye of the passyon of bowne [ivory?]. wrought wyth smalle Imagys Curyouslie, at ether ende of the sayd alter an Image the on of saint John Baptysteye and the other of saint Peter and above the sayd alter iij tabernacles, the nether fronte of the alter of alabaster wyth the Trinitie and other Imagys, at the South Syde of the same at thende of the alter a Cupparde painted wyth the pycure of Cryste.

SAINT JOHNS CHAPPELL

In the Southe syde of the Churche a chappell of saint John thavaunge-luste wyth an alter and a table of the Resurrecyon of alabaster with ij Ymagys of saint John Evaungellyst and the other of saint Augustyne at eyther ende of the said alter.

THE BODYE OF THE CHURCHE

The Rodelofte wyth an Image of Cryste Crusyfyed a mownteyne with ij alters on eyther syde of the quere dore. On the southe syde an alter with a table of the assumption of Our Lady gylte there remaynyng.

THE CHAPELL OF SAINT JEROME

An alter table wythe a Crucyfyx of Marye and John. ij Imagys at ether ende of the sayd alter, the one of Irone [Jerome] the other of saint Bernard, the sayd Chappell being partlye scelyd wyth wayn skotte. Item. An alter of St Mychell wythe a ffayre table of the Crucyfyx marye and John and at eyther ende of thalter an Image the on of Seint Mychell thother of saint John.

MR REDYS CHAPPELL

An alter wythe a table of the Trinitie the iij Doctors of the Churche.

THE NORTH SYDE OF THE QUERE

An alter wythe a table of saynt anne gylte wyth certeyn other Imagys gylt and payntyd. Item a table wyth an aunter of saint anne and owr ladye with certeyn other Imagys above the sayd alter at ether ende an Image wyth a tabernacle and betwyxte every on of the sayd alters above wrytten there ys a partysyon of wayn skotte.

THE WESTE ENDE OF THE CHURCH

On the north syde an alter in the myddes of mary and John, fayer paynted. Item on the southe syde an alter wyth a table of the passyon of Cryste fayr painted.

At the same time, Dr Richard Leyton removed from the London church “12 chalices, a censer, a pyx, an incense boat, 22 cruets, reliquaries of St Sithe and St Barbara, two paxes, and eight spoons, in all some 4047 ounces of silver.” There were also undoubtedly textile furnishings, such as altar cloths and vestments. As Glyn Coppack puts it, “clearly the Carthusians of London furnished their churches and dressed their altars in much the same way as anyone else at this time.”¹⁵¹ Other English Carthusian medieval churches were equally well furnished: in the “fine” church at Coventry, the glass was pictorial, and excavation has recovered late-medieval decorated floor tiles (c. 1385–1418), including patrons’ heraldry as well as geometric and floral designs (fig. 2.9).¹⁵² And in Mountgrace, some window tracery, reconstructed through its close resemblance to the tracery of nearby parish churches at Burneston and Catterick, can be linked to local mason Richard de Cracall.¹⁵³

It is easiest to see the effects of lay involvement with Carthusian life in the public buildings of the charterhouse, such as the church refectory or even cloister.¹⁵⁴ The cenobitic buildings welcomed the world in the form of visitors from outside, as well as in the form of public displays of imagery: architecture, sculpture, and less monumental artworks, such as rich altarpieces, announced the close relations of the charterhouse to temporal wealth and power.¹⁵⁵ But the increased influence on Carthusian life from the world outside was not only seen in the relatively public buildings of the charterhouse, it was also felt within the privacy of the monks’ cells. Aristocratic patrons made luxurious donations to fund the construction of tombs and oratories, but they also made smaller donations: sometimes books, sometimes luxurious clothes, and sometimes figurative images, whether in manuscript or panel paintings.¹⁵⁶ At Champmol, for example, Philip the Bold arranged for each cell to have a devotional picture, such panels probably including the crucifixion images by Jean de Beaumetz now in the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Louvre (fig. 2.10).¹⁵⁷ Each cell also was provided with the image of a saint in the glass of the window.¹⁵⁸ Benefactions to Mountgrace included a gift from Sir John Depeden in 1402, “to the prior a picture of the crucifixion,” and Golwynne’s cargo included “I tabulam cum crucifixione pictam.”¹⁵⁹ The questions sent by the English Province to the general convocations at the Grande Chartreuse record increasing anxiety about the propriety of such gifts. The General Chapter consistently returns the answer—based on Guigo’s *Consuetudines*—that lavish bequests are not allowed, certainly not if given to particular monks for their individual ownership.¹⁶⁰ Even modest gifts were prohibited, as the charterhouse at London discovered, when the monks directed a question to the Grande Chartreuse in 1494: “If anyone wished to give an old book or other thing to a particular person for life, might a prior license the latter

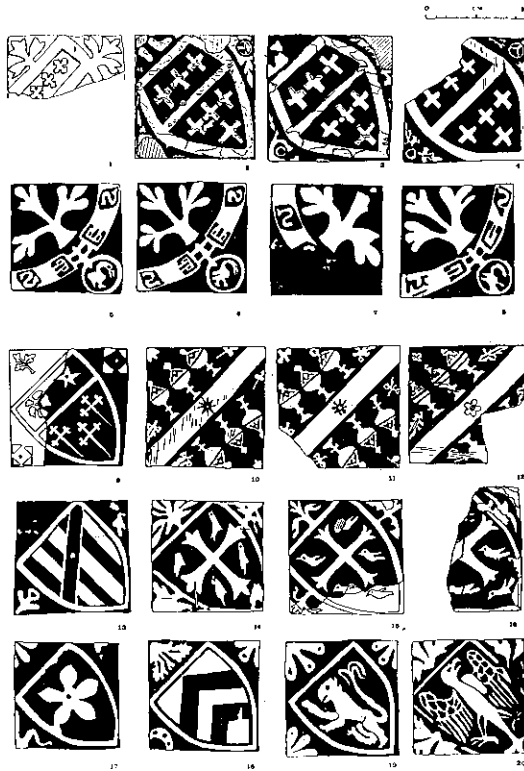


Figure 2.9. Floor tiles from the church, St. Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry (1385–c. 1418). © Iain Soden.

to receive it?" The emphatic answer, even concerning "an old book," was no.¹⁶¹ There is evidence that the English chapter diverged in significant ways from the Grande Chartreuse; the English were reprimanded repeatedly for saying the Office of the Virgin on Saturday rather than the ferial office, and the chapter of 1424 reprimanded the English particularly for allowing monastic servants to dress in particolored clothes, even when they attended on the priors.¹⁶² If there were abuses of imagery among Carthusians everywhere, the English were perhaps particularly drawn to visual display. But the continual questions suggest that the problem arose everywhere, and repeatedly. The toleration of some luxurious objects within the charterhouse seems to have encouraged the spiritual perils of private ownership and individual consumption.

It is tempting to assign all traces of Carthusian art to outside influence from lay sources, without considering how the monks themselves influenced the visual environment in which they lived. Even in Champmol, the powerful aesthetic control exercised by the Burgundian duke did not



Figure 2.10. Christ on the cross with a praying Carthusian monk, made for the Charterhouse of Champmol, Dijon; Jean de Beumetz (1390–95). Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund 1964.454.

completely overwhelm the aesthetic judgment of the monks themselves, who have been characterized as “active participants in the decisions that determined their environment.”¹⁶³ If the visual environment of the individual cell was shaped in part by the donations of patrons, it was also determined in large measure by the monks’ own tastes for spectacle. It is even possible to identify a few Carthusian artists.¹⁶⁴ Observers both medieval and modern disagree on the extent of monastic art in the cells, and since evidence of private imagery is by nature much less durable than evidence of monumental uses, there is perhaps room for debate.¹⁶⁵ Guigo’s *Consuetudines* explicitly limit the personal or individual decoration of the cell: “Also, in the cells, either higher or lower, nothing may be changed or added unless it is first shown and approved, so that the houses made with such great labor are not damaged or destroyed by extravagance [*curiositate*].”¹⁶⁶ Although this rule allows for certain changes to be sanctioned, its testiness

suggests that early monks *were* too often tempted to “change” and “add” things on their own.¹⁶⁷ Internal architectural details of the cells and gardens at Mountgrace, for example, show that they were customized for each occupant.¹⁶⁸ At the suppression, one of the London charter monks showed extreme devotion to the detailing of his cell: “one of the sayd brederne toke away . . . sertayn boordys of waynscothe whyche dyyfaced the Cellys very sore.”¹⁶⁹ Authoritative voices in the order might have wished it otherwise, but it seems clear enough that late-medieval Carthusian visual experience included the monks’ own private uses of imagery, as well as their patrons’ more public ones.

The devotional artifacts through which the spirituality of the Carthusian Order expressed itself visually can show how art was used for the purposes of prayer in the context of Carthusian eremitic life. Small objects other than paintings are known to have been in Carthusian cells—for example, a small fifteenth-century statue of St. Bruno at Mélan, in the Haute-Savoie.¹⁷⁰ Even though devotional objects are usually too carefully kept to turn up in archaeological excavations, rosaries in jet have been found at Coventry and Mountgrace. The prior’s cell at Mountgrace contained a head of Christ carved in ivory, with holes for a crown of thorns, which probably once adorned a rosary. Cast lead strips bearing the words *Jesus nazarenus* in reverse have been unearthed in several Mountgrace cells, and were probably used to make emblems of the holy name for pilgrims traveling from York to Durham.¹⁷¹ An indulgence tablet with an engraving of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, found in Cell 10, also carried the following English inscription: “the p(ar)don for v p(ater) n(oste)r(s) & v ave(s) ys xxvjM yeres & xxvj daes” (fig. 2.11).¹⁷² Fifteenth-century Carthusians in England were active in promulgating this image, which derives ultimately from a mosaic icon in the Roman church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, through woodcuts and even through manuscripts such as Additional 37049 itself.¹⁷³ These objects demonstrate the utilitarian rather than aesthetic value of works of art in a Carthusian setting. They were not “curious”—that is, worldly, expensive, luxurious, or even beautiful. Rather, their purpose is to enhance the individual monk’s devotional experience through imaginative aids to monastic prayer.¹⁷⁴ Such humble objects, used for practical purposes, provide the context in which we should read the relatively clumsy drawings in the fifteenth-century English miscellany.

In spite of the opposition of the General Chapter, private use of some kinds of art objects served to clarify their purely devotional aims. Carthusian iconoclasts, defending their ascetic practice against the criticism of the orthodox, make a place for devotional imagery in cells even while outlining their general objections to art in public places.¹⁷⁵ Guillaume d’Ivrée, author of the apologia *De origine et veritate perfectae religionis* (c. 1313), complicates



Figure 2.11. Man of Sorrows indulgence panel from the prior's cell (Cell 10) at Mount-grace Charterhouse, Yorkshire (c. 1500). © Richard Hall.

our understanding of the visual asceticism of Carthusian life by clarifying the purposes of images in the cell.¹⁷⁶ He responds in this way to objections that the Carthusians have no painted pictures or sculptures:

The Carthusians have in all their churches (and are bound to have, according to the institutions of their Order) one image of the Crucifixion in a solemn and eminent place, as well as many crosses over each altar. In the oratory of their cells they have generally had a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary, and also sometimes of other saints, according to the possibility and means that offer themselves. Their honest and poor religion mandates that they avoid expensive curiosities in painting and in sculpture and in varieties of grand and extravagant buildings, not consonant with the roughness of the solitary life. St. John Damascene taught that the images and pictures on the walls were as scriptures to the laity, and that those who did not know how to read in books, could understand through murals, as if through rough letters, what they could not understand in writing. And therefore it is commendable that such pictures

should be made for churches where people frequently go, but would be useless and superfluous in Carthusian deserts where crowds (except for a few men) do not congregate. . . . Yet, as was said before, the Carthusians in their cells do not refuse nor reject devotional pictures, but accept and seek them freely and eagerly because they excite devotion and imagination, and augment devotional ideas.¹⁷⁷

Guillaume cites John of Damascene as a defender of pictures for the instruction of the laity, confirming the public function usually adduced for such didactic imagery. As one might expect, he points out that this line of reasoning does not apply so well to the devotion of learned, solitary monks. Pictures have a public role to play in “churches where people frequently go,” but they should have no place in the Carthusian solitude. Guillaume’s position embraces a degree of conflict, however; even he concedes the value of images in the monks’ private meditations. A crucifix, an image of the Virgin, and images of particular saints are allowable in individual, eremitic devotion, not because of their didactic function, but because of their affective power. A photograph of a modern Carthusian monk at prayer, though anachronistic, can give some idea of the ways in which artwork might have been used in a private oratory to enhance medieval devotional experience (fig. 2.12).¹⁷⁸

The individual devotional experience pictured here is the subject, as well as the goal, of a surprising number of Carthusian medieval images, for the monks’ representation of themselves in their art is both frequent and conspicuous. As Yvette Carbonell-Lamothe has observed: “No other order seems to have imposed its own image so confidently, to have been so insistent upon the representation of itself and upon its artistic translation.”¹⁷⁹ Her primary example is the altarpiece painted by Enguerrand Quarton in the mid-fifteenth century, for the Carthusians of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. It is probably the most celebrated example of Carthusian panel-painting, both for its beauty and for the detailed copy of the artist’s commission that has been preserved. That commissioning document calls clearly for a depiction of “the cross of our Savior, and at the foot a praying Carthusian,” and indeed Enguerrand Quarton has painted a tiny monk in prayer beneath the splendid coronation (fig. 2.13).¹⁸⁰ But the imposing retable with its memorable Carthusian figure is only one manifestation of the tradition of Carthusian self-representation, for the depiction of the monks themselves in connection with their divine visions is quite widespread. Not only public paintings, such as Quarton’s altarpiece, but also more private artworks included images of Carthusians at prayer before divine figures. For example, the panel-paintings made for the cells at Champmol—those of Jean de Beaumetz—included a picture of a Carthusian monk at prayer in the crucifixion scene,



Figure 2.12. Dom Benedict Lambres praying at the oratory in his cell in the second great cloister of the Charterhouse of Farneta (1949). Photo: Jan de Grauwe.

joining supplicant with Savior in a personalized devotional aid (see fig. 2.10).¹⁸¹ In this conscious depiction of the self, the monks were performing devotional acts: representing themselves continually at prayer, and increasing their access to the divine by figuring it repeatedly in their pictures.¹⁸² Just as Philip the Bold imagined himself in monastic community by wearing a Carthusian habit to his grave, individual Carthusians imagined themselves in divine community through images such as these.¹⁸³ Such images reflect the complicated interactions of private and public in Carthusian life, as monks used both monumental and personal images to constitute their devotional community—on earth and in heaven. Through such images, which show how the earthly activity of prayer can have powerful salvific consequences, the devotions of the cell become a species of performance.

A particularly interesting example of self-representation in the charterhouse—one that shows the fluidity between public and private uses of Carthusian art—is provided by the fifteenth-century monk Jan Vos, who

seems to have commissioned at least two paintings featuring his image. The first is an altarpiece showing the monk at prayer before the Virgin and Child, with St. Barbara and St. Elizabeth standing by (fig. 2.14).¹⁸⁴ This painting adorned the altars in the Carthusian monasteries where Vos was prior: first at Genadedal, near Bruges (1441–50), and then at Nieuwlicht, near Utrecht (1450–58). The second painting Vos commissioned, known as the Exeter Madonna of Petrus Christus, is nearly identical to the first in its iconography, for it omits only St. Elizabeth from the previous tableau, and repeats the portico setting with distant landscapes



Figure 2.13. Carthusian monk praying at the foot of the cross. Detail from Enguerrand Quarton, *Couronnement de la Vierge*, painted for the Charterhouse of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (1454). Musée Pierre-de-Luxembourg de Villeneuve-les-Avignon (France).



Figure 2.14. *Virgin and Child, with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vos*, Jan van Eyck and Workshop (c. 1440). © Frick Collection, New York.

(fig. 2.15).¹⁸⁵ The two images are quite different in function, however, for the small size of the Exeter Virgin—only $7\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches—indicates that it was probably used by Vos himself to enhance his private devotion. That Vos had a public picture essentially reproduced for his private use, transporting almost the same figural substance from the environment of the church into the quiet of the oratory, indicates that he saw no real difference between the decoration of individual and communal spaces. For Jan Vos, the distinction between public and private images must have been extremely fine.

The most private of all manifestations of visual art in the cell, so private that it is not even “publicly” displayed on a wall, is images in books.¹⁸⁶ Books constituted an exception to, or an acceptable way around, Carthusian solitude, as we have already seen in Guigo’s famous pronouncement about the spiritual benefits of preaching with the hands. Similarly, Carthusian book making could require exceptions to strict poverty, and we might deduce that if any trace of material wealth is to be found in medieval charterhouses, it will be in the library. An early anecdote well illustrates both the material demands aristocratic patrons put on the monks’ simplic-

ity, and the bibliographical resolution that was sometimes found. Guibert de Nogent relates the story of a gift to the Grande Chartreuse from the Count of Nevers:

Let me show you how jealously they guard their poverty. This very year the Count of Nevers, a man whose piety is equal to his power, paid them a visit, driven by his own devoutness and their excellent reputation. He warned them repeatedly to guard against the accumulation of worldly goods. Once he returned home he thought anew about their poverty, which he had observed; but he did not heed his own warnings and sent



Figure 2.15. *Virgin and Child with Saint Barbara and Jan Vos (Exeter Madonna)*, Petrus Christus (c. 1440). © Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

them some silver vessels, such as cups and dishes of very great value. But they did not forget what he had told them; for once he made his intentions known he found himself fully refuted with his own words. “We have decided,” they said, “to keep no riches that might come to us from outside, whether for our own upkeep or for furnishing our church; and if we are not to use them for either of these two purposes, what would it avail us to accept them?” Ashamed to have made a proposal that contradicted his own words, the count pretended not to have heard their refusal and instead sent a new offering of oxhides and parchments in abundance, for he knew that they would inevitably make use of these.¹⁸⁷

This revealing episode recalls both the appeal of Carthusian asceticism to pious lay people, and the temptations to decorative extravagance offered by even the most well-meaning benefactors. The story shows, too, that such external pressures were resolved—in this one case, at least—through the monks’ determined bookishness. The gift of rich vessels from a wealthy outsider was accepted only when it was changed into oxhides and parchments, precious materials properly diverted to devotional—and specifically literary—uses.

If books themselves were acceptable luxury objects, the nature of Carthusian manuscript painting remains as difficult to assess as other kinds of Carthusian art. Evidence of Carthusian book painting is even scantier than signs of other kinds of Carthusian artistic practice; we know that monks sometimes decorated books, as well as wrote them, but we can rarely attribute particular images securely to Carthusian illuminators, and when we can, we see that their efforts did not usually go far beyond ornamented initials and rubrication.¹⁸⁸ Illuminators who were not Carthusian also influenced Carthusian devotional life, of course, but as we have seen, the range of criteria by which books are linked to the order is broad. It can be as complicated simply to identify volumes that reflect the life of the cell as to understand how they do so. Because books, unlike monumental sculpture, are easy to transport, it is particularly difficult to pin down their place of origin or determine their likely use. In studying Carthusian illumination, we face the same trouble as in studying Carthusian books generally: identifying which illuminations are “Carthusian” and what kinds of charterhouse connections the label implies.¹⁸⁹ Even among manuscripts already mentioned, Additional 37049 falls in quite a different category of Carthusian books from the *Belles Heures* of Jean of Berry, even though both demonstrate an interest in images of the order. Commissioned by and for an aristocrat, the Limbourgs’ images give little impression of how the monks themselves might have pictured their calling.¹⁹⁰ British Library MS Additional 25042 might provide a better sense of the monastic experience of illustrated

manuscripts, since it contains not only devotional works of Ruysbroeck (in which anyone might have been interested), but also a vernacular version of the Carthusian statutes.¹⁹¹ But in the absence of a colophon or a scribal signature, one cannot be sure; images as formal as these — though certainly less formal than those in the *Belles Heures* — might have come from a professional hand. A few casual sketches survive in Carthusian books that were almost certainly done by readers.¹⁹² Uncertain as even this begins to seem, Additional 37049 probably provides our most certain testimony to the deliberate activity of a Carthusian illuminator.¹⁹³

Here again, medieval booklists can be useful in sketching the varieties of images associated with Carthusian reading. Definitive evidence of a set of illustrated manuscripts in the possession of a particular Carthusian reader is recorded, for example, in the list of items carried from London to Mountgrace by Thomas Golwynne.¹⁹⁴ Golwynne's belongings include a number of codices, fully half of them boasting "fayre" illuminations:

Item a fayer wrytten yornall made by the cost of Masters Saxby havynge a claspe of syluer and an ymage of seynt Ierom gravyn ther yn: the seconde lef of aduent. begynneth. *ierusalem. alleluia.* this boke standyth in makynge iii li. (C7.1)

Item a fayer wrytten sawter with a fayer ymage of seynt Ierom theryn in the begynnynge. the ijde lef of the sawter begynnnyth. *te erudimini.* (C7.3)

Item a boke wrytten conteynynge certeyn masses. with the canon of the Masse and a kalendar in the begynnynge of the boke. with a fayer ymage of Ihesu standynge be for. (C7.5)

Item a wrytten boke of prayers of diuerse sayntis with ymagys lymyd. and dirige. wrytten theryn. (C7.7)

Item a wryten boke of papyr with diuers storyes, and of *Ars moriendi* theryn. (C7.8)

It is not remarkable, of course, to find a fair image of Jesus among Golwynne's books. Nor is it especially surprising that his collection contains two manuscript images of St. Jerome, who was the patron saint of hermits, and so perhaps especially beloved by the eremitic Carthusians. The last item on the list, however, is particularly suggestive: "Item a wryten boke of papyr with diuers storyes, and of *Ars moriendi* theryn." Although the identity of Golwynne's book cannot go entirely undisputed, the book as briefly described is similar to the Carthusian miscellany that forms the subject of this study, if it is not the very volume.¹⁹⁵ Additional 37049 is written "of papyr," and it certainly contains a multitude of "diuers storyes." It also, as we shall see, contains several texts that could be styled *artes*

moriendi, with memorable pictures of grinning skeletons. The connection is weak, the identity unlikely, not least because Golwynne's description of this "wryten boke" makes no mention of illustrations.¹⁹⁶ But if Additional 37049 is not Golwynne's book, his sizable collection of manuscripts with "ymagys lymyd" demonstrates that the heavily illustrated miscellany is not absolutely singular. Incomplete and rare as it is, this list testifies to a Carthusian devotional environment that depended upon visual imagery, as well as upon books, and upon the ways in which both art forms could join to define the religious practices of the solitary's cell, and even structure the devotional imaginings of lay people.¹⁹⁷

The fluidity of the categories of public and private (and the scarcity of evidence) makes it difficult to generalize about the kinds of images one might have found in a late-medieval Carthusian house. The evidence is hard to read because contradictory; there was a fair amount of variation through time and geography, for example, as to where in the charterhouse images were placed. But if the Carthusian image ranged in type and location from the golden chalice allowed by Guigo in the church to the poor paper prints an individual monk kept in his cell, the clearest way that Carthusian art of any description preserved itself from prideful showiness was in its spiritual uses. The imagery in the cells was of a different kind from the imagery of altarpieces, but both served the ends of Carthusian religion in similar ways. For the Carthusian, prayer was finally a way of forming community—not only community with the divine, but also even among human souls. What Guigo says of physical things in general could be usefully applied to a study of Carthusian art: "The greatest value of physical things consists in their use as signs. Many signs necessary for our salvation come from them, such as voices from the air, crosses from wood, baptism from water. Moreover, souls only know each other's feelings by means of physical signs."¹⁹⁸ Like voices and crosses and the water of baptism, Carthusian books and Carthusian art served the monks as signs of the glories of heavenly community, toward which their earthly solitude tended, and as mechanisms to creating metaphorical communities on earth. What is striking, and important, in Guigo's view is the *necessity* ("multa signa nostri salutis necessaria") of such signs. Just as Wordsworth observed that the Carthusians "bodied forth the ghostliness of things," Guigo, too, recognized that the monastic community is a material embodiment of a social spiritual life, a manifestation in the physical world of what is ethereal and holy. Even an order celebrated for its ascetic rigors does its earthly work in "silence visible," where the signs of salvation to be found in books and art are a crucial part of creating devotional community.

Additional 37049 is unusual both among English Carthusian books and among English Carthusian images. The miscellany comprises smaller

and more various textual fragments than many of the vernacular devotional books with which the order is associated, and, of course, it is far more profusely illustrated than any other Carthusian manuscript. Nonetheless, the general functions of both books and art in the late-medieval English charterhouse clarify the ways in which Carthusian readers might have approached this volume, and the ways in which lay readers might have approached their performative devotional reading. Carthusians used both texts and images to work through the oscillations in Carthusian life between their most isolated of individual devotions, and more collective ways of embodying Christian community. Even through their private use of books and images, solitary monks envisioned themselves in Carthusian and heavenly society, and they founded their understanding of themselves on the combination of the most private of practices with a more public imaginary. Reading and seeing were not only private activities for Carthusians; both monastic and lay communities were involved in the literary and visual culture of the charterhouse, and Carthusian devotional practices in the solitude of the cell affected devotional practices in the world outside. Margery Kempe's orthodoxy, for example, is confirmed by precisely the sorts of private performances Carthusians routinely engaged in: two suspicious priests take her solitary histrionics as evidence that her public performances of piety are not mere show.¹⁹⁹ The following chapters will explore the performance of private devotion in the miscellany Additional 37049, illuminating Carthusian use of public pageantry in private prayer and the ways in which ideas of performance shaped the experience of solitary reading and seeing.

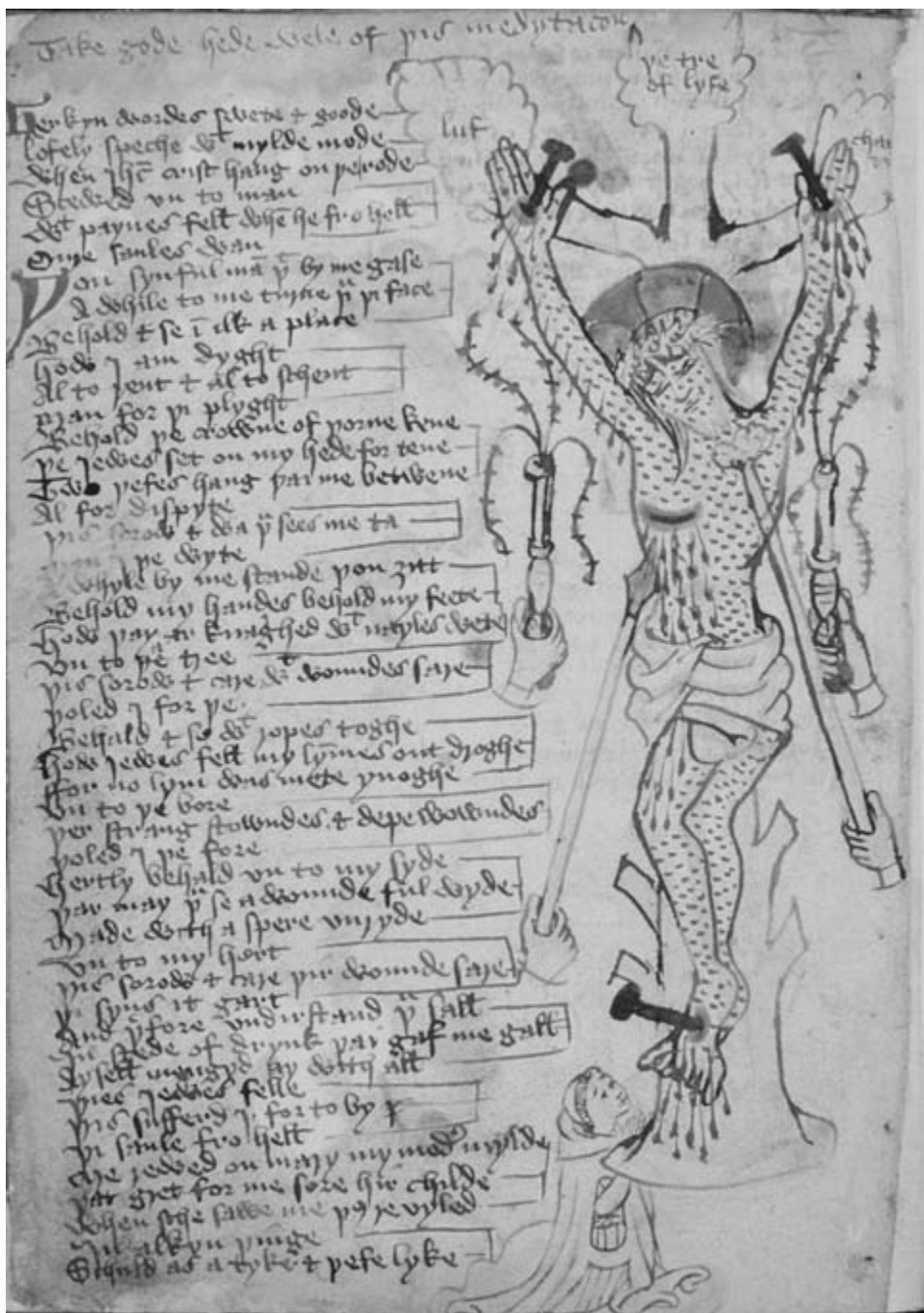


Plate 1. "Dou synful man Pt by me gase," with Carthusian monk. London, British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 67r. By permission of the British Library.



Plate 2. "At þe begynnyng of þe chartirhowe god did schewe," with pictures narrating the foundation of the Carthusian Order. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 22r. By permission of the British Library.

In yis Wood here may y^e see.
Speyngeand full fayr a nother tre.
Wytis leues on alfa hyde be dre.
Wat Wynter & sommer is ay grene.
Alud beres froyte yt is ay rype.
Wat uauue bot make w^t yow may stryke
wis is ye tre of uickenes sode.
Wat our lady vnder stode
In mouthe uickenes schels ut may.
Church four thynges yt 3 fall say.
Church oft Vereyus w^t schryst of all.
Church deuote prayer loue or stal.
Church hert contynud lobbysse.
Church sode scheryus & tcharyse.
In Werk uickenes may be lene.
Church four thynges wat here bene.
Church whytyus of all yt det is es
Church ldy body byrnuues.
Church Wyrkyus of god werkes may
Church herd lyfe ye flesh to chasty
for when a man in penauuce lyfes.
And church penauuce his flesh sretes.
And sleys dyte and kepes hym chaste.
And for t takes yt ye flesh lofes malle
And chastis ut & putris ut law.
yan may neu uickenes thert fall.
yur tuelt degrele wat 3 uols neuen.
leds uerray uickenes enen.
Be fyre partes and makes ut lyght.
In hert in mouthe & wark ryst.
W^t ont yur tuelt in yur fyre
Werray uickenes may uosht be
W^t tre floyschand wat yu lees.
W^t uickenes is ye tuelt deues.
Wat in a uickehart fyrst wysmes.
And sythen vp ward spreds & spreces.
Alud beres ye froyte yt ay is swete
And delycons for to ette.
W^t ludd men sett in yau orthard.
Wat scroves or chynles to heuen ward.
And dyke ut w^t dnye deuocione
Wat Wynd of pepd dnye ut not doune
W^t alle ye froyte y^e on ut scroves.
Retake ye bmdyces ne boshes.

tonnement. ay y^e hare to hape we was



of y^e dyl on flom
you sile be safe fro
castyng dya.



W^t met gnyr sode modur chere
W^t dyl on flom
you sile be safe fro
castyng dya.

Mary Chyppagne fourty zore & soien
W^t dyl on flom
you sile be safe fro
castyng dya.

my Werk. anunge ye rylle me suffe & rent. A moude yt pofuue hysht. Rob. to my charyus sode h^t sent.



Plate 3. Mary of Egypt, in the Desert of Religion. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 48v. By permission of the British Library.

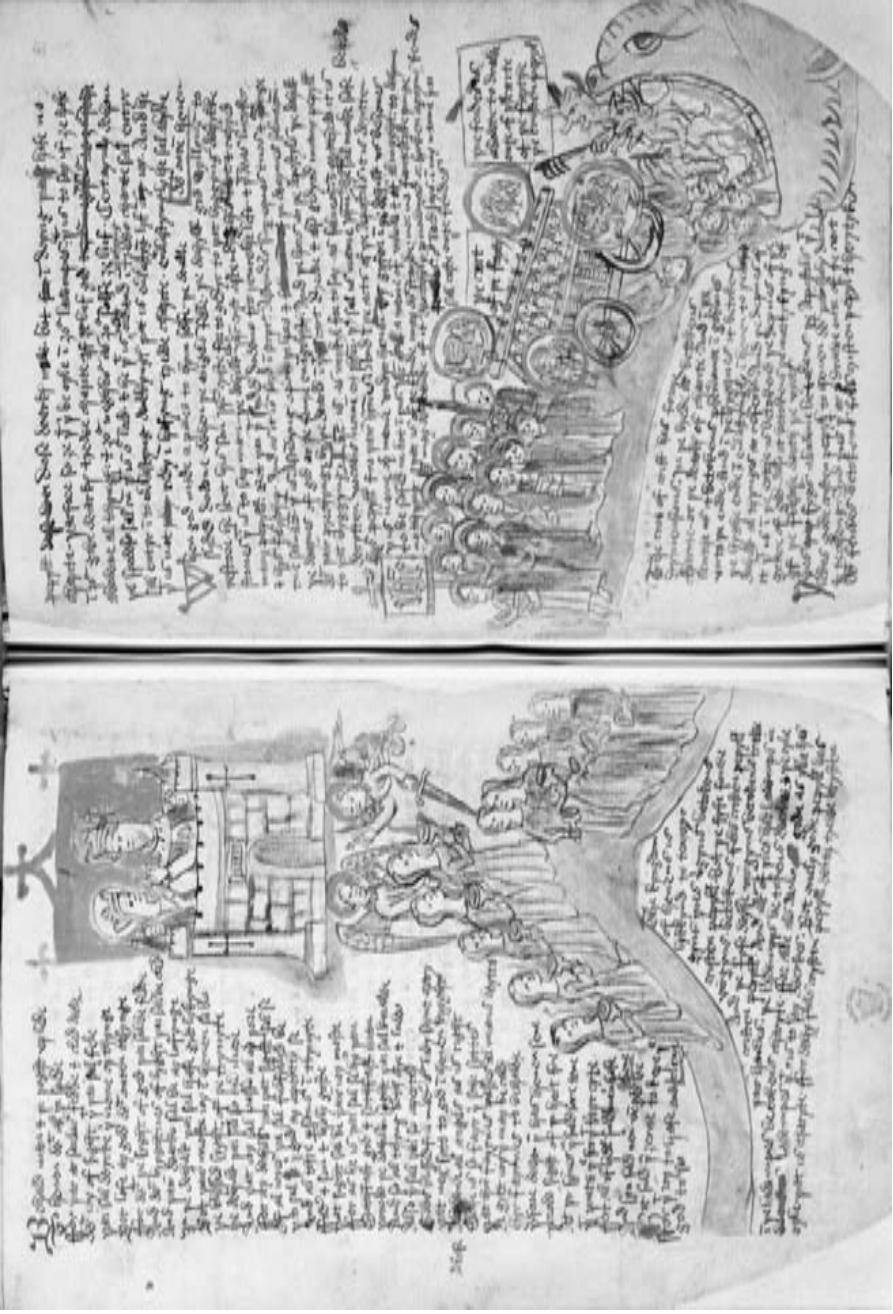


Plate 4. "Beholde man & þi þoght vp lede." Wise and foolish virgins approaching heaven; procession of the Holy Name, with "þe cart of þe fayth." British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fols. 80v–81r. By permission of the British Library.

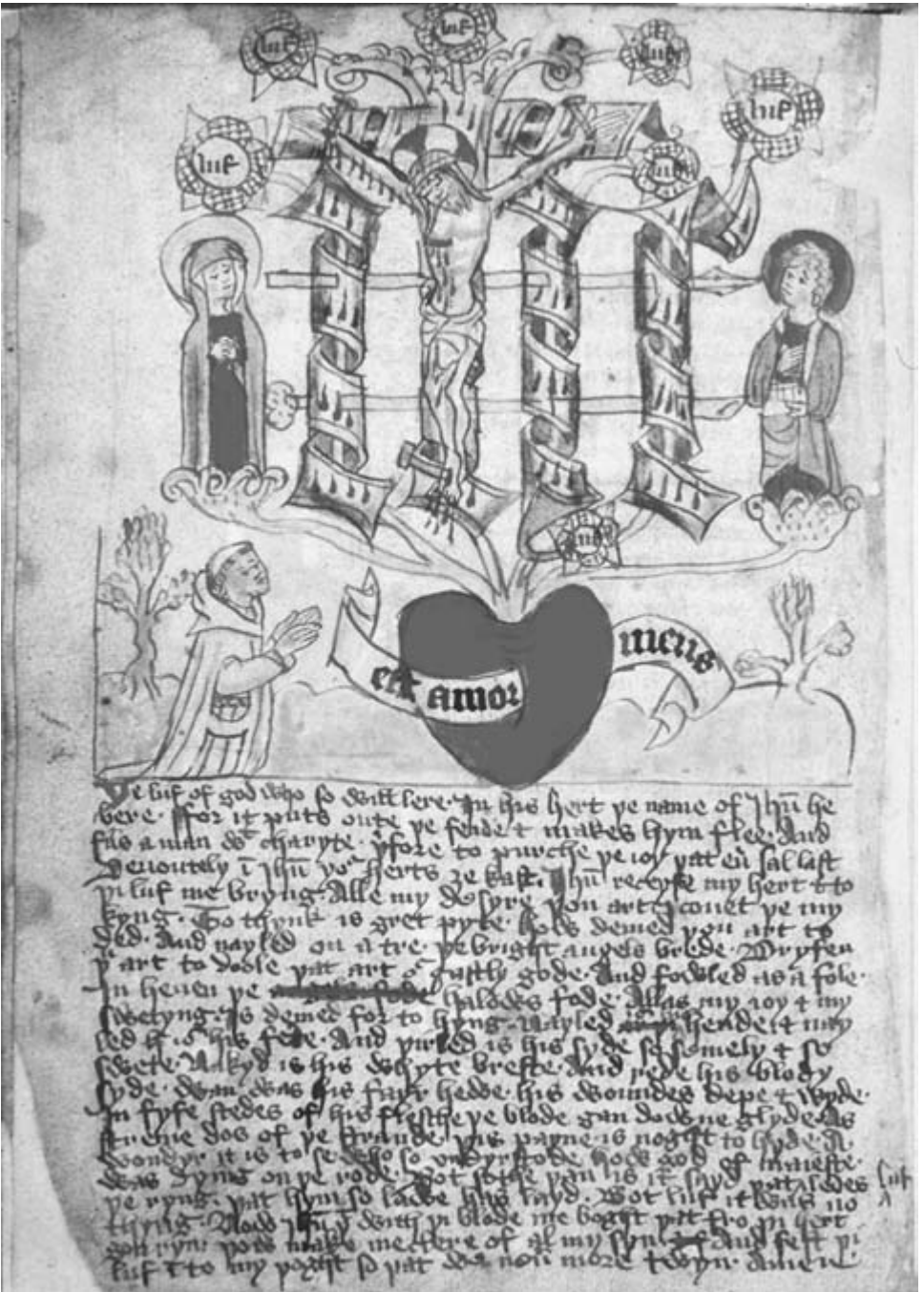


Plate 5. "Ye Ius of god who so will here." Holy Name with crucifixion and praying Carthusian monk. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 36v. By permission of the British Library.



Plate 6. Sacramental flowchart of belief. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fols. 72v–73r. By permission of the British Library.



Plate 7. *Querela divina* and *Responsio humana*. Christ, wounded heart, and praying layman. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 20r. By permission of the British Library.

The Shapes of Eremitic Reading in the *Desert of Religion*

The *Desert of Religion* forms the center of Additional 37049 in a literal sense, for it occupies twenty folios at the midpoint of the manuscript's ninety-six.¹ It is also the longest text in the miscellany, at 943 verse lines. But this long poem is central also metaphorically to the manuscript's designs for textual and imagistic reading in the wilderness, for it depends upon the combination of words and pictures more clearly than any other item in this densely illustrated book. As clearly and as deliberately as the illuminated books of William Blake, this poem attests to its creator's interest in a fully composite art: the joining of picture and word to create a new, independent medium.² The *Desert* presents its readers not only with descriptions of the allegorical trees that make up its ghostly forest of eremitic life, but with graphic representations of those trees: every other page of the poem is an arboreal diagram of vice or virtue. Appended to each tree and its verses are still more reciprocal images and texts: on the page opposite each tree, an inhabitant of the "desert"—often a famous saintly hermit—is pictured with lines identifying and describing his experience in spiritual wastelands. Each opening of the text is thus a complex representational object to be perceived at once but perused at leisure (figs. 3.1, 3.2). Because the *Desert of Religion* was invariably illustrated—all three of the manuscript witnesses to it reproduce its idiosyncratic mixture of image and text—it explores as very few Middle English poems can the role of imagetext as a form of wilderness book. Constructed of a series of allegorical and historical texts and images, thus deeply imbricated, the *Desert of Religion* presents both a discussion and a vision of the solitary life.

The fyrste tre of yis forest schene .
 Is pe tre of vertus pat ay is dene .
 Pat in mekenes festis his rotes .
 Of hym vertus vppward schotes .
 And sprynges & spredes his leues & stoles .
 And buribones bath w^t brāndes & lōsthes .
 Yis tre be takeus mē y^t ar mylde .
 And debouere als a dynde .
 Swyllk ar ye naray scolers rish .
 Of our mayster sod of wysht .
 Anekes falles in hert to dwell .
 Thyrugh yir four thynges to tell .
 Thyrugh olt be thynges vp & dome .
 Thyrugh haly delyte w^t ome .
 And thyrugh veray coutrycroume .
 Thyrugh sufferance w^t oute sradhyns .
 Thyrugh haly delyte w^t oute dhausyns .
 Dr thyrungis of his voredhyns .
 Dr what sod has done h^t war or les .
 Yis thyrcht if he lat nocht pas .
 And vntyhustyns what he was .
 And whye he coue & rish le .
 And what he is & whye der fall he .
 And what he fall be at his end .
 And whye der ward y^e fall wend .
 Hee fall le many thynges knall .
 Hym for to make & for to lall .
 For out of mekenes of ded & thosht .
 Comes all y^e verity en was wroght .
 In seuen braunches of yis tre .
 In seuen vertus may men le .
 And out of ilk a vertu enen .
 Sprynges othir vntus i leues seuen .
 Pat forth bynges ye froyte of lyfe .
 Pat bath lidd couayt mān & wyfe .
 Yis is ye tre of whyllk we here .
 Y^e danyd of spekes in ye lawtere .
 Ye rishdrys is als a tre y^t stande .
 Be lye ye courte of ye wat arande .
 And syfōs his froyte i couabā tyme .
 Whis lefe fall nother fade ne dryne .

And ilk day to me sum dies .
 I praye y^e god of his grei godnes .
 Whare god in a cane .
 Whare y^e in wylder nes .
 Swelld in a cane .
 Whare y^e in wylder nes .
 Swelld in a cane .

We a rabon halle a late .
 Pat up dathes .
 Ware ware & les .
 Of knice pat me sum take .
 In the first hermet .

Figure 3.1. The first *passus* of the *Desert of Religion*. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 46v. By permission of the British Library.

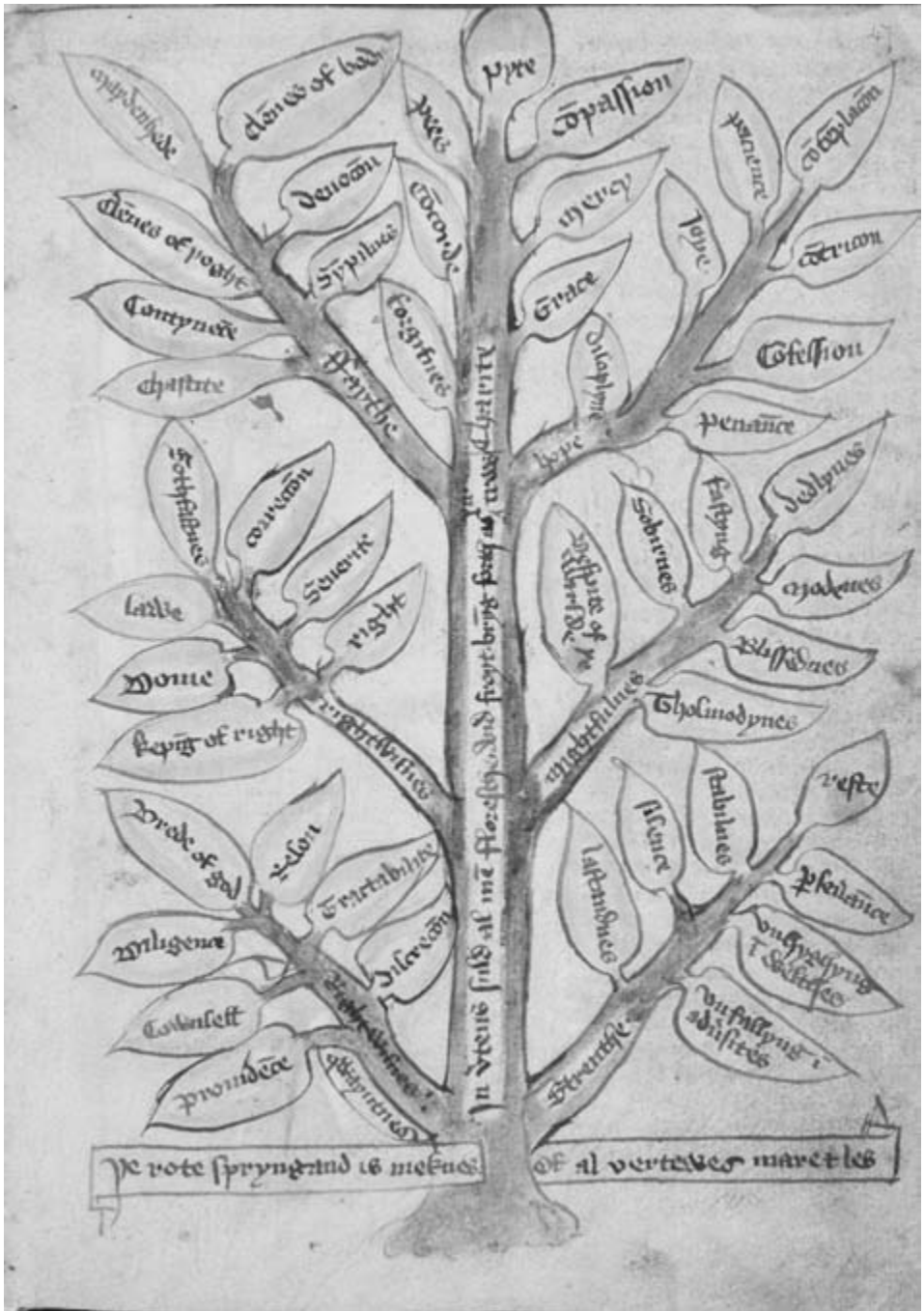


Figure 3.2. The first tree-diagram of the *Desert of Religion*. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 47r. By permission of the British Library.

Hope Emily Allen identified the major source of the poem as the *Speculum vitae*, a didactic work of thousands of lines that is usually ascribed to William of Nassington. The textual borrowings are so frequent and so exact that she concludes that the *Desert of Religion* “can hardly take its place as an original English poem.”³ Few other scholars have studied the *Desert* at all, and generally then for the purposes of devotional rather than literary history. Most of these critics have agreed with Allen’s low assessment of its contributions. Morton Bloomfield only grudgingly grants it “some merit as poetry,” and W. A. Pantin, one of the kindest of the poem’s modern readers, characterizes it unflatteringly as “a comprehensive allegory, made to include all the allegories that the author could find.”⁴ But these critics mistake the poem by considering it as text alone; its originality and its importance lie in its mixing of text and image, and in what the combination reveals about fifteenth-century ways of reading. If the main text shows very little innovation, the artistic project as a whole is novel, and I will argue that the *Desert of Religion* is both less derivative and more important than prevailing critical opinion would suggest. Because the *Desert* takes eremitism as its explicit subject—it is a poem about hermits, and about the difficulties of religious life—its crucial confection of picture and word confirms the importance of imagetext to the performance of reading in the wilderness, and illustrates the ways in which the combination of media works to shape an emphatically solitary kind of performative reader.

The *Desert of Religion* addresses more explicitly than any other text in Additional 37049 the question of how reading imagetexts in the wilderness can become a variety of devotional performance. The *Desert* exemplifies the connection with performative pageantry that the combination of text and image implies, for, like the drama, it is a material fusion of the two art forms. Its visual tableaux in succession recall the Beauchamp pageants unfolding “in processe of tyme,” or even approximate a processional dramatic form like the *Ordo prophetarum*. But the poem also requires nonlinear methods of reading that can take in both texts and images—long, formal verses, and short, informal speeches added to pictures. The physical manipulation of the book required for a reader to work through its complex of texts and images brings the mental activity of this performative reading directly into a bodily realm. This wilderness poem establishes a particularly intimate relation between the eremitic reader and his book that makes the reading of it a self-conscious performance. The performance of the imagetext allows the private reader to imagine his wilderness life through public pageantry, and to position himself by means of his reading in relation to his eremitic community. The activity of reading requires the solitary reader of this book to picture himself fully in his eremitic identity, a devotional reader inhabiting the monastic *Desert*.

This eremitic reader of the *Desert* enters the wilderness world of the book more clearly in Additional 37049 than in either of the poem's other manifestations. The Carthusian miscellany brings out the kinship between this poem's composite art and dramatic pageantry by embroidering the principal text and its static arboreal diagrams with voices, noise, crowds, and spectacle; a series of saintly hermits speak in their own voices through the captions and short verses that supplement their portraits or accompany scenes from their lives. Often, the figures on the page address the reader directly, enfolding him through their prayers into the spirituality of the wilderness. These additions unique to Additional 37049 work to bring the wilderness reader into the text, both verbally and visually, in ways that construct anew a special and particular relation between the solitary reader and the book. The poem and its images draw the reader into an unlikely spiritual community, invoking a pageantry one might not initially expect in the Carthusian desert. Comparison of the Carthusian miscellany with the two other manuscripts in which the *Desert of Religion* is found reveals the ways in which the poem's Carthusian context requires a peculiarly performative reading. The *Desert of Religion* shows how texts and images function together in wilderness reading, and reveals the literary consequences of the characteristic Carthusian oscillations between solitary ideals and communitarian realities.

THE DESERT OF RELIGION AS IMAGETEXT

A consideration of devotional performances in the poem might properly begin with those of the anonymous author himself, who characterizes his working methods in terms that call attention both to what is adapted from textual sources and to what is new. Near the end of the poem, he advises his readers: "Take gude kepe to þis tretis, / That here is writen on englis; / For itt is taken of bokes sere / And made groveand in treys here" (917–20).⁵ The author acknowledges in this passage a variety of materials collected for the writing of this English treatise, and he speaks of its compilation only in the passive voice. Nonetheless, these lines do not obscure entirely the creative processes of authorship, which actively "make" the matter of diverse books grow into trees in its singular context "here." The verb is a particularly striking representation of the continuous and ongoing transformation wrought by authorial agency as the "tretis" is fashioned into "treys," and it recurs throughout the poem; these trees do not simply grow, but are continually *made* "groveand."⁶ The poet gathers the platitudes of popular instruction collected in the *Speculum vitae*, structures

them by means of a new metaphor of a wilderness forest, and reassembles them into a distinctive new shape.

In naming its “treys” so explicitly, the passage quoted above goes beyond asserting the originality of the poem to intimate as well precisely in what that originality inheres. For the trees that grow “here,” are, of course, the multiple illustrations that accompany all medieval versions of the *Desert of Religion*. It is the addition of these pictures, more than any alteration of the words, that makes the catalogue of virtues and vices derived from the *Speculum vitae* grow and flourish in this new context. The poet shapes his allegorical text into the material trees of which it speaks—or at least into the material images that represent them. Words are transformed into explanatory diagrams, as well as treatise into trees, as the author develops visually his compilation of older matter.⁷ The *Desert of Religion* may not be so striking as an original English poem, but it is certainly a most original English *production*, for the author’s decision to join image to text in this way is unprecedented and unparalleled.

The author of the *Desert of Religion* claims to “make” trees “growing” in the course of his poem, emphasizing the energy of his authorial performance. Elsewhere he is even more explicit about the ways in which the innovative textual and visual nature of his work encourages readerly performances. The book’s unusual structure is closely connected to the way in which it is to be used: “Bath þu may *study* and *see* / Vertus to folow and vices to flee” (921–22; emphasis mine). Although the versifying is not skillful, “seeing” does more than provide a convenient rhyme word for this author; instructive vision equals assiduous study in the pedagogical philosophy of this didactic illustrated work. In his most powerful statement of methodology and purpose, the *Desert* poet describes his aims in fashioning the text as *entirely* visual: “In þat entent—als men may loke— / Als wildernes is wroght þis boke” (909–10). This treatise is designed to enable its readers’ looking—and to that end it has been fashioned in this “wildernes” form. The physical form of the book is designed as an iconic rather than an indexical or symbolic sign (to borrow semiotic terminology); it is not only a text about a wilderness, but has claims to being itself a kind of wilderness. The *Desert of Religion* seeks to involve its reader directly in the experience of the desert, by imitating in its combination of trees and hermits the wilderness that is its subject.

Given the strong claims of the poem itself regarding the importance of its composite form, it is particularly unfortunate that modern editions have made no effort at all to reproduce that form. The single published edition of the *Desert of Religion*, W. Hübner’s 1911 version, treats the text as if it can be lifted from its pictorial context without significant loss.⁸ Hübner reproduces just one of the poem’s images, and that not because it pro-

vides necessary insight into the structure or design of the whole, but because it seems to represent the hermit Richard Rolle.⁹ More problematic still, this nearly unillustrated edition does not include even all of the *texts* that make up the *Desert of Religion*; it omits the verses allied to pictures, the frequent and sometimes lengthy ancillary texts commenting on the desert figures.¹⁰ Only a facsimile edition would allow modern readers to approach the medieval experience of this unusual work, yet such an edition could represent just one of the *Desert's* three manifestations. In the absence of a facsimile, it remains difficult for modern readers simply to have access to the work—main text, images, and captions—in its entirety.

By contrast, medieval readers and writers clearly understood the importance of the combination of words and pictures here; the *Desert of Religion* is the only text in Middle English to have been invariably illustrated.¹¹ The poem seemingly cannot exist without its collection of pictures, for whenever the *Desert* has been copied by medieval scribes, they have taken care to replicate the illustrative program of the exemplar, as well as its words. The poem is preserved in two other fifteenth-century manuscripts in the British Library, besides Additional 37049: Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) and Stowe 39. In each case the poem is accompanied by illustrations that are very similar—although, as we will see, they show occasional important differences. The similarities and differences among these three realizations of the poem are a key to any study of it, for they reveal what medieval copyists understood to be its essential features, and what difference the omission or transformation of inessential features might make.

The Cotton manuscript is the largest and most formal of the three, and has consequently received the most attention to date from art historians (see fig. 3.3).¹² The artist is notable, and attempts have been made to identify his work in other contexts: Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.10.12 (*The Privity of the Passion*), or BL MSS Harley 4826 (fol. 1; Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund*), and Harley 2278 (Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*).¹³ Significantly, all of these related hands illustrate English works, and might constitute evidence of an artist (or workshop) specializing in vernacular book production. Some have guessed at the origins of the Cotton manuscript in a wealthy Benedictine house in Yorkshire, but the context in which it could have been made and used remains mysterious.¹⁴ On the basis of its artistic style alone, the book has been dated to approximately 1420–30.¹⁵ The roughly contemporary Stowe manuscript is no less mysterious, though its style is wholly different (see fig. 3.5). Slightly smaller, and much less formal, the manuscript contains quirkily appealing paintings, which show none of the visual sophistication of the tinted drawings in Cotton. This book remains to be thoroughly studied, or even fully described.¹⁶ Before the *Desert of Religion*, Stowe includes a copy of

the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, followed by a schematic picture, across a full opening, of the abbey with its allegorical inhabitants. After this picture, and between the two major texts, is a full-page picture of a kneeling woman, praying to a giant Virgin and Child; the boy plays with a bird on a string. This image has implied to some critics, notably A. I. Doyle, that the manuscript was used in a female religious house of some kind.¹⁷ But the praying figure, though certainly female, is not necessarily monastic. The provenance of this book, also, is unknown.

It remains quite difficult to determine the historical relation of these manuscripts to Additional 37049, or the direction of influence from one to another.¹⁸ They all seem to emerge from the same distinctively northern bibliographic and devotional culture.¹⁹ On the basis of such details as costume, current scholarly consensus seems to be that the Carthusian miscellany postdates the other two books by some decades.²⁰ There is no question that it is related in some way to a manuscript such as Cotton, since they employ the same page layout for the *Desert of Religion*, but the Carthusian miscellany departs from the more deluxe book in the sequence and even the content of its illustrations. It seems surer that Stowe is descended from a manuscript like Cotton, since it replicates with fair accuracy the iconographical substance of its illustrative program, but Stowe departs radically from the other two codices in the orientation and layout of the text. Kathleen Scott suggests that the artist of Stowe was working from a verbal description rather than a visual exemplar, but that possibility only complicates, rather than clarifies, the mechanisms of transmission.²¹ It is impossible to say with certainty exactly how any of these books is related to another.

Although the relationship among the three manuscripts of the *Desert of Religion* cannot be traced precisely, the question is made all the more intriguing by their common witness to several other text-and-image combinations. Two other imagetexts travel with the *Desert of Religion* in all three extant copies, linking the manuscripts still more closely together. All three include an illustrated English version of what are known as *Vado mori* verses, extant also often in Latin.²² Although these verses are commonly found in several languages, illustrations accompany them in no manuscript apart from these three. The text is spoken by a king, a bishop, and a knight, as they relate their individual encounters with Death:

KNIGHT: I wende to dede knight stithe in stoure:
 thurghē fyght in felde I wane þe flour.
 Na fightes me taght þe dede to quell.
 I weend to dede soth I ʒow tell.

KING: I weende to dede a kynge iwisse.
 What helpis honor or werldis blysse?
 Dedede is to mane þe kynde wai:
 I wende to be clade in clay.
 BISHOP: I wende to dede clerk ful of skill,
 þat couth wt worde men more and dill.
 Sone has me made þe dede ane ende.
 beese ware wt me to dede I wende.²³

The point of these verses—that Death levels all traces of worldly station—is made implicitly by the human speakers, but in the Stowe version, the figure of Death himself speaks further lines that make the point explicit:

Be 3e wele now warr wt me:
 My name þen is ded.
 May þer none fro me fle
 That any lyfe gun led.
 Kynge Kaser þen no knyght,
 Ne clerke þat can on boke rede,
 Beest ne foghel ne other wyght,
 Bot I sal make þam dedde.

The Stowe manuscript, then, offers a more fully elaborated variant of the *Vado mori* texts and images than Additional and Cotton, but the substance of all three versions is recognizably the same. They offer a double *memento mori* that capitalizes on the rememorative function of visual art so commonly cited by medieval theorists of the image.²⁴

The other complex of text and image common to all three manuscripts is what I will call a “Debate for the Soul,” a deathbed scene in which the dying soul prays to God for salvation. The forces of heaven—an angel, the Virgin Mary, and Christ himself—are arrayed against the forces of hell—an eager demon—as they sit in judgment upon an individual human life.²⁵ Each figure in the scene speaks verses, ranging from Christ’s intercessory prayer (“I pray þe fader graunt þi son / ffor my sake my moder bone”) to the devil’s provocation (“þis saule I chalange for to wyn / þat I knawe is ful of syn”), to God’s assurance of salvation (“Son als þu byddes sal al be. No thyng wil y denye þe”). Similar verses appear in other manuscripts, in both Latin and English, and are illustrated with the *Vado mori* four times: in these three northern English manuscripts, and also in a central German one (Rome, Bibl. Casanatense MS 1404; fig. 3.3).²⁶ The deathbed scene appears just after the *Vado mori* verses in the Cotton manuscript (fols. 1v–2r);



Figure 3.3. “Debate for the Soul.” Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense MS 1404 (first half 15th c.), fol. 3r. © Biblioteca Casanatense; by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

the two works conjoined across a single opening of the manuscript form a prelude or frontispiece to the *Desert of Religion* (figs. 3.4, 3.5). In the Stowe manuscript the two function instead as a postscript, occupying two sides of the same folio, and thus not visible at the same time (figs. 3.6, 3.7). The figures in the Cotton and Stowe manuscripts are also quite differently disposed; in Cotton the earthly deathbed scene below is quite emphatically separated from the heavenly one above, whereas Stowe omits the dying person altogether, in favor of a small naked figure representing his soul. The Cotton artist fills all the space of the page, while the Stowe artist crowds the figures into the lower right corner, their speech-balloons ascending into the empty space. In spite of these differences, the compilers



Figure 3.4. *Vado mori* figures and verses. London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) (?c. 1420–30), fol. iv. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 3.5. “Debate for the Soul.” London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) (?c. 1420–30), fol. 2r. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 3.6. *Vado mori* figures and verses. London, British Library MS Stowe 39 (first half 15th c.), fol. 33r. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 3.7. “Debate for the Soul.” London, British Library MS Stowe 39 (first half 15th c.), fol. 33v. By permission of the British Library.

of both of these books seem to have understood a close connection between these two texts, and between these two and the *Desert of Religion*.

In Additional 37049, by contrast, these two pieces are less closely connected to the *Desert of Religion*, or to each other; they appear widely separated by other items in the miscellany, and the “Debate” appears twice. The *Vado mori* verses, together with their speakers, claim the righthand column of fol. 36 (fig. 3.8). The lefthand column is occupied by a completely unrelated poem, “Behold how in þe wildernes of þis warld me gase [*Apostolus dicit Ciuitatem hic manentem non habemus*].” This poem is excerpted from the *Prick of Conscience*, a nonce-lyric created from what is, when complete, a very long text.²⁷ Although one could imagine a thematic connection between this excerpt and the “wilderness” landscape of the *Desert*, or even between the *Vado mori* situation and the speaker’s sense of “going” in the world, there is no fundamental relation here between these words and this picture. The figures are crowded, as if they were an afterthought in the design of the page; the king at the top is substantially bigger than the two others, as if the space available had been misjudged. The “Debate for the Soul” appears in its fullest form on fol. 19 (fig. 3.9), with a kind of monastic variation repeated on fol. 38v (fig. 3.10). Unfortunately, the bottom of fol. 19 has been severely damaged, but one can see that the structure of the page is essentially the same as in the Cotton manuscript: the picture occupies two registers, a heavenly one above and an earthly one below. Here, however, Christ and the Virgin mediate between the heavenly and the earthly scene, suggesting a more easily permeable barrier between the human and the divine. Indeed, the Virgin almost seems to stand beside the deathbed. The monastic variation goes still further, omitting any form of divine intercession represented by the Virgin, an angel, or the persons of the Trinity themselves. Instead, a monk standing by the dying man’s side offers this advice: “Comitt thy body to the graue. Pray Christ thy soule to saue.”²⁸ His attention is turned toward the dying man, rather than toward heavenly supplication, but he occupies much the same position as the divine intercessors in other versions of the image.

The incorporation of these additional works into a much more voluminous and highly miscellaneous manuscript points, paradoxically, to the strength of the relation between them and the *Desert of Religion*. Even though these brief scenes are not physically close to the longer imagetext, their sometimes awkward inclusion testifies to a close connection. One suspects that the *Vado mori* verses, for example, were added to a page where (almost) sufficient room could be found, perhaps at the time when the *Desert* was added to the codex as a whole, because the compiler perceived some necessary or at least intriguing relation between the two. The second appearance of the “Debate” underscores the importance of this

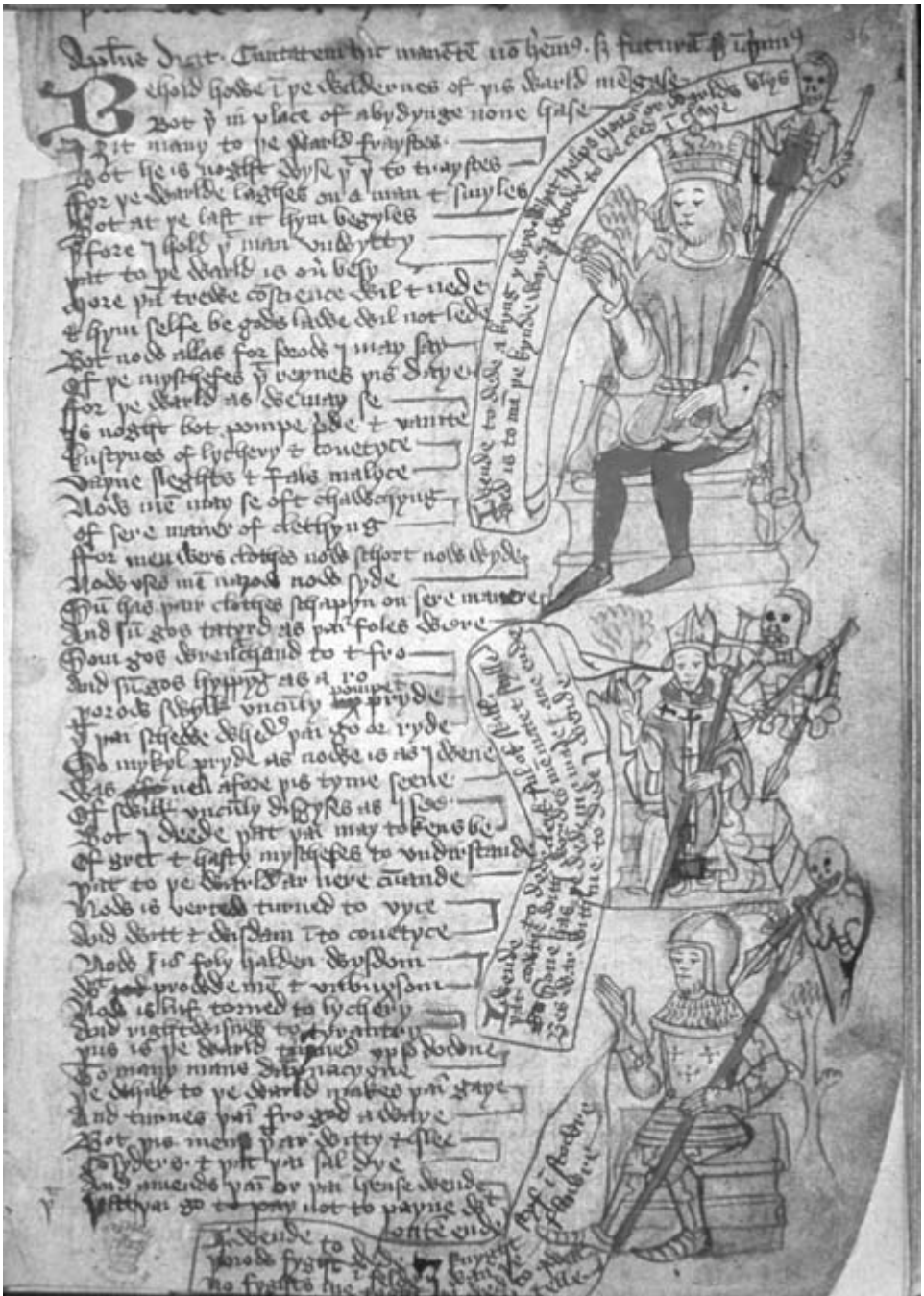


Figure 3.8. “Behold howe in pe wildernes of bis warld me gase.” *Vado mori* figures and verses. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 36r. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 3.10. “Debate for the Soul” (monastic variation). British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 38v. By permission of the British Library.

particular image in conjunction with the *Desert*, but also reflects the monastic interests of this compilation, and the transformations of subject and emphasis those interests can provoke. Although the monk does not appear to be Carthusian—he wears a crossed scapular and attends at the bedside of a lay man—the substitution of a monastic figure for heavenly ones does suggest that the manuscript’s scribe, artist, and readers were interested in acknowledging monks’ proper roles, and in celebrating them.

Clearly, particular versions of these works reflect the local concerns of the books in which they appear, varying with context and the structure of the design. Their common characteristics are equally significant: the appearance of the two composite texts in all three manuscript copies of the *Desert of Religion* signals an intriguing formal interdependence among the

poems, and also among the codices. The loose connections among these three manuscripts make their similarities all the more meaningful; given their variations, their common characteristics must be in some sense intrinsic to the texts and images that they represent. Primary among these common characteristics is the consistent and determined combination of these words and these pictures with a complexity and richness that exceeds what either could signify on its own. These works, which cannot be adequately represented by the idea of either “poetry” or “painting” alone, contain important examples of an intrinsically composite art, with theoretical implications beyond what simple “illustration” suggests.

The formal and material kinship between the *Desert of Religion* and the two works with which it is always found argues even for the idea of the imagetext as the ordering principle governing the compilation of these manuscripts. The *Vado mori* verses and the “Debate for the Soul” might be more rightly called “textimages” than “imagetexts,” since they reverse the proportions shown in the *Desert*, but they demonstrate the same concern for the combined genre. As their authors and scribes have clearly understood (though their modern readers have not), the mixing of text and image is the point of these seemingly unaccomplished works, their conjunction rendering transparent that medieval purpose. A book composed of imagetexts cannot be read in the same way as one might imagine reading a book of texts; it is another sort of object, to be consumed differently. Imagetext as a genre requires a particular kind of performative reading, one that is nonlinear, reflective, even diffuse. The composite art of the “Debate for the Soul,” for example, is not read from upper left to bottom right, as text would be, but in a movement more like bottom left to top right. Not only this, but the piece requires multiple readings and rereadings to discern this sequence, if a sequence is intended at all. And so it is with the *Desert of Religion*, an imagetext that modern editions have squeezed into modern textual categories and linear modes of perception. The *Desert*, in its many textual and imagistic parts, must be ruminated over. This lesson applies to Additional 37049 as a whole, a collection built around the abstract concept of the imagetext and requiring a mode of private reception that nonetheless draws on representational mechanisms more closely linked with performance. The performative conjunction of text and image allied to Carthusian reading and contemplation in this miscellany finds its focal point in this central poem.

This imagetext therefore provides an ideal locus for the investigation of what this combined genre can reveal initially about monastic reading practices. It is not coincidental that the subject of such a *textus* of pictures and words as the *Desert of Religion* is eremitic life in particular terms.²⁹ The connection this imagetext asserts between reading and spiritual wilderness

could not be more clear: The poem describes wilderness life as a renunciation of the flesh: “For when a man for-sakens his flesch / And all thyng þat delycius es / And lyfes in saule be hardnes, / þan enters he in-to wildernes” (905–08). In the following lines, the book is offered as a direct analogue of, or even as a substitute for, that penitent life: “In þat entent—als men may loke— / Als wildernes is wroght þis boke” (909–10). The poem, described in material terms as a book “wroght” in a specific shape, is itself a wilderness for its readers to enter into. Making a book to resemble a wilderness enables vision, of a literal and a spiritual sort, for the wilderness itself (as the text asserts) brings clarity of sight: this book is described as a wilderness one can see. The book-as-wilderness is necessarily a composite amalgamation of multiple arts, where vision is not a temptation to evil, but a protection against the dangers of sin. The *Desert of Religion* sets out to provide its readers with a visual experience of eremitic life, and this impulse leads to the construction of a wilderness book they can fully enter into.

FORMATS OF WILDERNESS BOOKS

The three medieval versions of the *Desert of Religion* offer a case study in the kinds of “exact knowledge” furnished by the “format of books.” Significant differences in structure immediately strike any reader of the three roughly contemporaneous manuscripts, as we have already seen in the *Vado mori* verses and the “Debate for the Soul.” A close examination of what these differences might mean for the longer poem can illuminate the mechanisms of visual reading in the monastic wilderness. Comparison among these three manuscripts affords an especially clear view of the importance of the miscellaneous context of Additional 37049, and of the impact of this book’s format upon the performative meanings of the texts it contains.

The format of the *Desert’s* characteristic tree page is very similar in all three manuscripts: always to be found on the recto, a large tree is centered on the page and its branches labeled with varieties of vice and virtue. These trees are more than mere diagrams; the artists distinguish among botanical varieties and sometimes add details such as acorns (e.g. Cotton, fol. 19r) or fruit (e.g. Additional 37049, fol. 57r). These differences, however, are stylistic rather than substantive. The tree diagrams show such consistency because they are derived more directly than the other images from the words of the *Desert of Religion*. The poem makes an extended allegory of one of the most enduring ideational forms of the Middle Ages. The main text of the poem and the images of allegorical trees are mutually explanatory, often a simple translation of the same information from one artistic medium into another. The first diagram, for example, is described in the following lines: “In seuen branches of þis tre / þe seuen vertus may

men se;/And out of ilk a vertu euen/Sprynges other vertus in leues seuen” (75–78). Although the trees are often more detailed than the verses would suggest, this metamorphosis of treatise into tree diagrams constitutes the main element of the imagetext, as the poet notes. The format of these books bears him out; in their recto position these trees dominate the visual experience of a reader turning each page.³⁰

For all their novelty in the physical construction of the book, however, the *Desert*'s diagrammatic trees correspond to the textual parts of the poem most easily characterized as derivative. As the main verses enumerating varieties of virtue and vice borrow heavily from the *Speculum vitae*, so the schematic images themselves depend upon visual traditions. This arboreal form is as familiar a manifestation of didactic allegory in the art of the Middle Ages as sin-anatomizing verses are in its literature.³¹ Another Carthusian manuscript from Mountgrace, for example, now in the British Library, includes a similar diagram, an *arbor viciorum* with downturned leaves (BL MS Harley 2373, fol. 22v). The more obvious innovations of the *Desert of Religion* lie in the allegorical framework with which it opens, and the transformation of familiar catalogues into a spiritual forest of trees through which the reader must make his solitary way.³² If the *Desert of Religion* has been at all interesting to modern audiences, its “original” allegorical imageries of the wilderness, rather than its “borrowed” taxonomies of sin, are responsible.

The wilderness is a useful image in this poem precisely because of the powerful associations it evokes. The word *desert* in the context of northern Europe is climatically more likely to evoke something like a “forest”—but in either case it implies a general wilderness, a wild and uninhabited land in which one is far removed from quotidian concerns. In biblical history the desert functioned as a place of temptation and redemption, both for the Israelites and for Christ himself. In church history the writings of the desert fathers demonstrated the unexpected fruitfulness one might expect even from such a barren place.³³ Medieval mystics looked to these experiences for language to describe their own contemplative ecstasies.³⁴ Writings as literary as they are spiritual can also be understood through this central image; Giuseppe Mazzotta has called Dante, for example, a “poet of the desert.”³⁵ The desert in the medieval imagination is a special, powerful, dangerous, magical, uncivilized, sanctified place. Whether or not the orderly tree diagrams of the *Desert* form a likely part of such a wilderness, these associations stand behind the poet's effort at representing one.

The importance of this new desert setting is marked by a further formal innovation that may initially seem to be at odds with the idea of uninhabited wilderness: the inclusion of the images of hermit figures and the ancillary texts that sometimes surround them. These denizens of the wilderness might have been inspired by illustrations of the *Vitae patrum*; a Vatican MS

(Cod. Vat. Lat. 375) demonstrates Carthusian knowledge of such illustrative traditions.³⁶ Images of the desert fathers also formed part of the meditative practice of the late-medieval mystic Heinrich Suso, whose influence can be seen elsewhere in Additional 37049. Suso prayed in his personal chapel surrounded by images of wilderness texts: portraits of the desert fathers, each accompanied by representative texts on tituli.³⁷ These imagetexts introduce an eremitic community into the mystic's solitary devotional practice and model visionary experience in the desert. In spite of these parallels, however, the figures populating the *Desert's* wilderness make up a sequence of their own that seems to have little in any obvious way to do with the "forest," forming a counterpoint to rather than an illustration of its allegorical trees. The poem's component media show considerable independence from each other; images do not merely translate texts into more emotional or more memorable terms, but tell their own representative story. The eremitic figures communicate the poem's innovative wilderness setting in the medium of pictures first, and words second, offering an important reminder throughout the poem of the imagistic context in which its trees, and their vices and virtues, are to be seen. Both because the hermits are the *Desert of Religion's* clear addition to the artistic project of the *Speculum vitae*, and because they are not textually determined, they are the more important as a site for exploration of the visual nature of eremitic reading.

It is clear from the first folio of the poem that notable alterations in the orientation and layout of the text and the hermit images separate the Cotton and Additional manuscripts, on the one hand, from Stowe, on the other. In the first two books, the text page is divided into two columns, recalling large-format Bibles, or other books of similar distinction.³⁸ The lefthand column contains the main text of the poem, while the other contains an image of a desert saint or hermit, often surrounded by a shorter caption text. One "reads," first, the primary text, and then the image and its ancillary texts, as if they were similar and equivalent media. There is no structural hierarchy here, but rather an equation between text block and picture block; texts and images occupy positions entirely analogous in the layout of the page. The format of these manuscript pages thus elevates pictures to the level of words, balancing the two media in equal parts to create the innovative imagetext that is the *Desert of Religion*.

In their initial images, the Cotton and Additional manuscripts offer almost the same substance, in addition to the same layout. Additional 37049 depicts a nameless hermit, who kneels and prays in a desert landscape while enduring threats from three beasts below (fol. 46; fig. 3.11). Above him an angel holds a shield emblazoned with the monogram of Jesus: *ihc* with a crossed *h*. The angel also speaks a banderole that reads: "Qui confidet in deo. fortis est vt leo." Thus the one who places faith in God is promised the

Ergo in fugiens + mansi in solitu
 David y^e prophet was die
 In ye saltire booke y^e wegere lavy
 Fleand y^e fled fra uare f les
 And dwelled in herd wyldernes
 y^e wyldernes be taken wele
 herd penance yat men luld sele
 yat fleys fra ye werd yat es y^e flesch
 And sroves in saltely wyldernes
 Als men of religioune dote
 yat fleys ye flesch f ye saide spole
 for quene uan thurst denoctione
 Enters in to religioune
 Ye es als man yat sild weat
 In to ye feldde to f yst w^e f fende
 Whare for god blyssed w^e f fende
 when he of ye fende saynd wald be
 he went in to deserte to dwell
 Als it is wryten in ye gospel
 wud ye ihc i deserte a spū. ut te
 for ye deserte of religioune
 is calld a feldde of temptacione
 f religioune y^e sude me luld hald
 agayn be sude ce yll deserte be calld
 for als deserte comoly is lene
 In lene whare no dayntes bene
 And far fra men deserte it es
 far for men calles wyldernes
 f yst swa ye state of religioune
 yat fallēs to ye hpe of p^eccacione
 Suddre lcharpe in all thynge
 Thyrgh lcharpene of strait hynge
 yat es als a thorne garth to tell
 Agayn ye wykked gaste of hell
 W^e ye whilk ye herpe w closed about
 So hald yas wykked bestes out
 And it in wyldernes men lees
 agayn wykked wyldre bestes
 As beres f tyo wolves f lyons
 yere bot feuds temptacions
 y^e ye sude religioune w^e no myt
 fepes bym fra wthy day f w^eght
 In no saltely foreste sroves
 Trees w^e branches f borches
 Sit in sroves to hene f to hell
 Suni to stand f suni to fell
 Suni to grobe in saltely garth

In myght me grace to dres. all my dedes in dylige. yat no best of yo wyldernes. bptery me byte.

Qui confidit in deo. foris est et les



Is in to yo wyldernes. if y^e will be perfect. f luld hald ye pace in halyntes. als fallēs in gath hertne.

Figure 3.11. First page of the *Desert of Religion*. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 46r. By permission of the British Library.

strength of a lion *against* the lions and other dangerous beasts of the desert wilderness. Around the perimeter of the picture block runs a frame of text, which reads: “Jhesu graunt me grace to dres. all my dedes wt delyte: /þat no beste of þis wyldernes. bytterly me byte. /{F}le in to þis wyldernes. if þu will be perfite: /And hald þe þare in halynes. als falles to gode hermet.” The wilderness is held forth paradoxically as both challenge and comfort to the “gode hermet” who reads this book; that reader prays for delivery from the frightening perils of the wilderness at the same time that he is encouraged to seek perfection there. The format of the book requires the Carthusian reader’s interaction with his wilderness reading, for one has to turn the book and disrupt one’s reading of other words and pictures in order to read these verses, which have both the design function of bounding the picture space and the more meaningful function of recording the hermit’s prayer and the anonymous direction toward the eremitic life.³⁹ The conflation of voices in dialogue here, as the reader is folded into both the prayer for aid (as speaker) and the challenge to wilderness life (as addressee), shows how active and constitutive—how performative—this reading process is.

Strangely, the picture in the Cotton manuscript, which is otherwise almost exactly the same, omits the threatening beasts that seem so important in Additional 37049 (fig. 3.12). A similar hermit, this time nimbed, kneels and prays in a desert landscape. Above him an angel holds a shield with the holy monogram, but the banderole promising leonine strength through faith is absent. The two look at each other along a strong diagonal through the center of the picture, but their voices do not interact; the angel says nothing. The hermit speaks, however: a caption text similar to the one in Additional 37049 runs around the perimeter, although it does not complete the square. The layout here in general is less symmetrical, and the artist organizes space simply. He includes fewer figures, and prefers not to represent visually the text’s suggestion of wild animals, nor to represent textually the angel’s communication with the wilderness supplicant. This first instance intimates what is borne out by the subsequent illustrations in Cotton—that the artist was more interested in an orderly and elegant use of the picture space than in complexity of devotional expression.

One encounters an almost entirely different poem in the Stowe manuscript, even though the textual and visual components are practically identical to those in the other two devotional books. The primary reason for the difference is that the pages of Stowe are laid out along a horizontal axis, rather than a vertical one; the main text occupies the upper half of the page, and the picture and its caption texts the lower half (see fig. 3.16). This physical change entails differences in the way the text creates meaning; the layout seems less monumental and less orderly. The text of the *Desert* looks more like prose than verse, because the rhyme structure in its short lines is



Figure 3.12. First page of the *Desert of Religion*. London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) (c. 1420–30), fol. 3r. By permission of the British Library.

obscured by their being written across the page. There is generally more white space, and less of an attempt to contextualize figures in landscape. The picture space is not bounded, separated from the text space by any sort of text or other marker. Most important, the stanzas that accompany the pictures are invariably written sideways, so that they can be read neither with the main text, nor with the pictures upon which they comment. These lines serve no design function at all—they do not create a border for the picture, for example—but instead they offer a different, all-textual space alongside the pictorial one. This orientation puts considerable pressure on the reader, for interpreting both text and image requires a reiterative, non-linear method of moving through the text(s). The necessary intrusion represented by the turning of the book (or the head) reinforces a sense that this conjoined art form requires a distinctively physical relationship between reader and book, as the interactions between the two serve to disentangle

the meaning of both visual and verbal texts. This way of reading, which requires the reader's physical as well as imaginative activity to manipulate the substance of the book, constitutes one kind of devotional performance.

As a result of these general differences in layout, the initial scene of the *Desert of Religion* is handled in a very different way in Stowe. For one thing, the text proper begins on a recto in Additional 3049 and Cotton, but on a verso in the more independent book (fig. 3.13). It is unclear whether this change was forced by the disposition of other items in the manuscript, or was preferred for aesthetic reasons, but it has aesthetic consequences. In the Stowe manuscript the poem begins with a flourish: a large initial *E* marks the psalm that provides the opening words of, and acts as a touchstone for, the *Desert of Religion*: "Elongavi fugiens et mansi in solitudine" ("Loe I haue gone far flying away: and I abode in the wildernes").⁴⁰ The psalm has obvious relevance for Carthusian life, and, intriguingly, this is the psalm upon which Adam of Dryburgh famously preached when he first arrived at the charterhouse at Witham.⁴¹ The words of the psalm verse itself are written in a larger and more formal script, and fanciful vines ornament the border. In the space where we might have expected to find the angel and hermit, the artist of Stowe has inserted an image that, although traditional, is entirely new here. A monastic preacher stands in a pulpit, pointing to a speech-scroll that also carries the words of the eremitic psalm. This figure speaks the words of the poem, representing its creation rather than its subject-matter. This sort of figure, derived from preaching iconography, represents a common enough kind of author portrait.⁴² But here the image does more than fill space; it also gives us an important meta-textual perspective on the poem that is beginning.

The Stowe manuscript includes the by-now-familiar scene involving a hermit and an angel, but it has been moved to the next recto, where it looks quite different from its counterparts in Additional 37049 and Cotton (fig. 3.14). The hermit does not lift his hands in prayer, but holds a pair of beads and gazes upward. He sees a nimbed, wingless angel leaning out of a cloud; he does not seem to notice the rather unthreatening wild beasts who stand opposite him, at his level. The perimeter text here has been incorporated more fully into the pictorial fiction of the image, transformed into two speech-scrolls that run vertically, working visually to isolate the hermit from his surroundings and verbally to reinforce the speakers' two voices. The hermit's prayer fills the scroll behind him, but the admonitory half of the verse is represented here as the angel's speech, for the angel holds the end of the other scroll and points to it. The reader observes, but is not implicated in, this exchange about life in the desert, for the advice is directed toward the hermit himself. This scene incorporates speech, reflecting a different impulse from the treatment of the perimeter texts

late in the manuscript as separate text blocks. Moreover, this manuscript transforms the quatrain into clear dialogue, by assigning it to speakers.

Although the horizontal disposition of the Stowe manuscript is anomalous among medieval witnesses to the *Desert of Religion*, the kinds of general differences that mark “the format of books” in Additional 37049 are just as striking, and perhaps more important for the meaning of the poem in that context. From the first of the poem’s images, the Carthusian artist eagerly presents a full pictorial range of devotional ideas. The Carthusian image is the only one to include *all* of the elements present singly in the others: praying hermit, threatening beasts, and shield-bearing angel. The angel makes an additional speech, and the reader himself is incorporated into the dynamic of the book. The primary difference between the Carthusian miscellany, on the one hand, and the Cotton and Stowe manuscripts, on the other, is the consistent embellishment of both words and pictures in the later book. This *Desert* is not empty; by contrast, it teems with supplementary images and texts. The tendency of the Carthusian artist to include more explanatory words and pictures, thereby fully exploiting the textual and imagistic potential of the *Desert of Religion*, has important implications for the experience of reading the manuscript. The additions work both to represent and to foster certain kinds of relations between reader and book. Although the Carthusian reader is the most solitary of any, the Carthusian wilderness is anything but deserted.

The relation among the three manuscripts can be explored in general through the examination of one representative case: the picture texts concerning Mary of Egypt.⁴³ In Cotton, the saint stands in a desert wilderness, clothed only with her long hair (fig. 3.15).⁴⁴ The upper portion of the picture is completely blank. The perimeter text reads:

The tyme that I of my mysdede:
and of my trespace me repent.
In to wildernes I ȝede:
to suffire pennaunce and tourment.
My hare to happ me was my wede:
a mange þe rise me rafe and rente.
A monk þt cosmas hight in lede:
to myn ending þan god him sente.

This familiar narrative recounts the *vita* of Mary of Egypt: her conversion from a life of prostitution to an eremitic calling, the growth of her hair to provide a modest covering after her clothes had disintegrated, and finally her death, as reported by the monk Zosimus who found her in time to provide her with the holy communion, and then to bury her (with the help

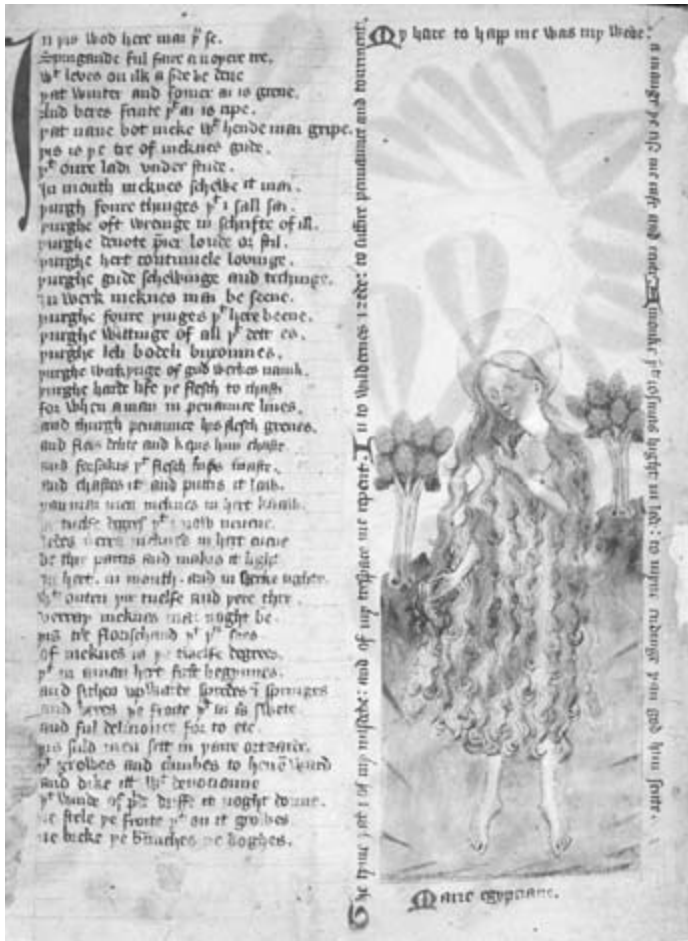


Figure 3.15. Mary of Egypt, in the *Desert of Religion*. London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina B. VI (Pt. II) (?c. 1420–30), fol. 5v. By permission of the British Library.

of a lion).⁴⁵ But no attempt is made in this illustration to realize any of this narrative in visual form. Here, as elsewhere, the Cotton artist prefers simplicity and empty space, offering the most streamlined and simplified set of *Desert* images.

In Stowe 39, by contrast, the eleventh-hour arrival of the monk *is* represented; he kneels below the saint and prays to her (fig. 3.16). There is no suggestion of a desert landscape—the two exist, like all the Stowe figures, in a completely blank vellum space—but Mary's *vita* as it is narrated in the caption text (substantially the same as in Cotton), is reflected in more particular terms by the inclusion here of Zosimus. The saint here wears a truly remarkable costume of her hair.⁴⁶ She holds her hands in a

prayerful position, seemingly floating in clouds—perhaps the image even represents the moment of her death. Although she has no nimbus, the saint is elevated, both figuratively and literally, above the man who prays to her. In providing her with a monastic supplicant, the Stowe artist not only intimates her legend, but elevates her explicitly above even such men of religion. If the readers of this image were actually nuns, as Doyle has speculated, they might have identified with the religious man at prayer; in the terms of the legend, after all, he is the first “reader” of Mary’s sanctity. Perhaps more probably, nuns might also have identified directly with the female saint whom Zosimus adores. These are intriguing possibilities but, finally, no more: there are no unequivocal indications here of how readers should interact with the texts and images on the page.



Figure 3.16. Mary of Egypt, in the *Desert of Religion*. London, British Library MS Stowe 39 (first half 15th c.), fol. 13v. By permission of the British Library.

The most telling treatment of the Mary of Egypt image in the *Desert of Religion* is found in Additional 37049, of all three versions the one most fully crowded with complex representation, both textual and visual (pl. 3). The addition of so much “busy” detail may make the image less successful by some aesthetic measures, but it is unquestionably richer as a devotional object. The added texts and images seem to derive from the legend of the saint directly, rather than from the simple verses that serve as perimeter caption to this image. But they serve purposes local to this miscellaneous manuscript, as well, for they form a part of its gestures toward spiritual community—a community toward which Mary paradoxically reaches, even in her choice to become a solitary on earth. This book makes a crucial link between its solitary reader and the assembly of heaven, not only representing, but finally enabling, the connection.

This Carthusian Mary kneels in the desert, nimbed, and covered only by her hair. There is no trace of the monk Zosimus praying to the saint, but she herself calls upon a vision of the Virgin and Child that appears above her. Mary prays in a standard idiom: “O swet Mary gods moder clere / I beseke þe my prayer to here / And þis world I wil forsake / And to my lyf craft (?) me redy make.” In forsaking the world, she perhaps refers to her hermit’s life, drawing on the familiar equation between entering the desert and “dying” to the world. The Virgin answers in a similar, doubly suggestive, way:

If þu wil over flom
Jordan go—
þou sal be safe fro
lastyng wo.

This vision derives, not from any hint in the *vita* of the perimeter text (substantially the same in this manuscript as in those we have already seen), but from sources such as the *Legenda aurea*, which recounts the episode in Mary’s words: “Then, looking up, I saw there [outside a church in Jerusalem] an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary. I began to pray tearfully to her, asking her to obtain pardon for my sins and to let me go in and worship the holy cross, promising that I would renounce the world and thenceforth live chastely. Having offered this prayer and putting my trust in the name of the Blessed Virgin, I went again to the door of the church and entered without difficulty. When I had worshipped the cross with the utmost devotion, someone gave me three coins with which I bought three loaves of bread, and I heard a voice saying to me: ‘If you go across the Jordan, you will be saved.’”⁴⁷ But the Carthusian book does not represent precisely this incident; instead, it concocts a scene that conflates several signal moments. A vision of the Virgin directs Mary in the desert—perhaps a heavenly ap-

partition, or perhaps a memory of a manmade icon, surrounded as it is by an architectural frame. Indisputably the Virgin's voice leads her. This image further collapses several moments in the narrative into one: even though this vision is said to inaugurate Mary's desert life, her long hair (part of her standard iconography) creates an anachronism by suggesting that the vision occurs long after her entry into the eremitic desert.

More significantly, the scribe/artist has enriched the image by adding some explanatory verses at the bottom of the picture space:

Mary egyptiane fourty zere & seuen
 Dwelt in wildernes ful euen
 Doyng penaunce for hir trespesse
 Seyng no man more ne lesse
 Now swete Ihu þu gyf vs grace
 To mende our lyfe whils we hafe space.

These verses explain the legend of the saint in terms far sketchier than either perimeter text or picture, but they add an important dimension to the whole, for they include a prayer in the reader's own voice for his amendment. This prayer introduces the reader explicitly into the devotional dynamic of the image, delineating a transitive line connecting the saint's devotion to the Virgin, and the reader's devotion to Jesus. The juxtaposition of this readerly voice with Mary's own makes of her life an exemplum: the saint provides a model for entering the wilderness, doing "penaunce" in this way for her "trespesse." She mended her life and gained the community of heaven by entering the desert, and all readers of this imagetext are entreated to do the same. The reader's own voice joins with the saint's as a part of this devotional performance.

This increased complexity of both text and image is sustained throughout the Carthusian *Desert of Religion*: in every case that can be compared, Additional 37049 enriches the *Desert* image substantially over its counterparts in Cotton and Stowe. A bird approaches "Paulus þe first hermet" in Cotton and Stowe, but in Additional 37049 an angel also appears, holding a shield with the five wounds (see fig. 3.1).⁴⁸ The iconographical attribute of a pig identifies St. Anthony in all three manuscripts, but in the Carthusian manuscript God leans down from heaven to bless him, and a figure of Pride flanked by two devils offers a contrast in the lower third of the picture space. After Mary of Egypt, corresponding images (though no longer in corresponding order) continue to show the same pattern. In Cotton and Stowe, the Trinity appears as a diagrammatic *scutum fidei* ("a schelde of fayth"), but Additional 37049 adds the typologically understood scene of Abraham and the angels at Mambre. Moses actually receives the tablets

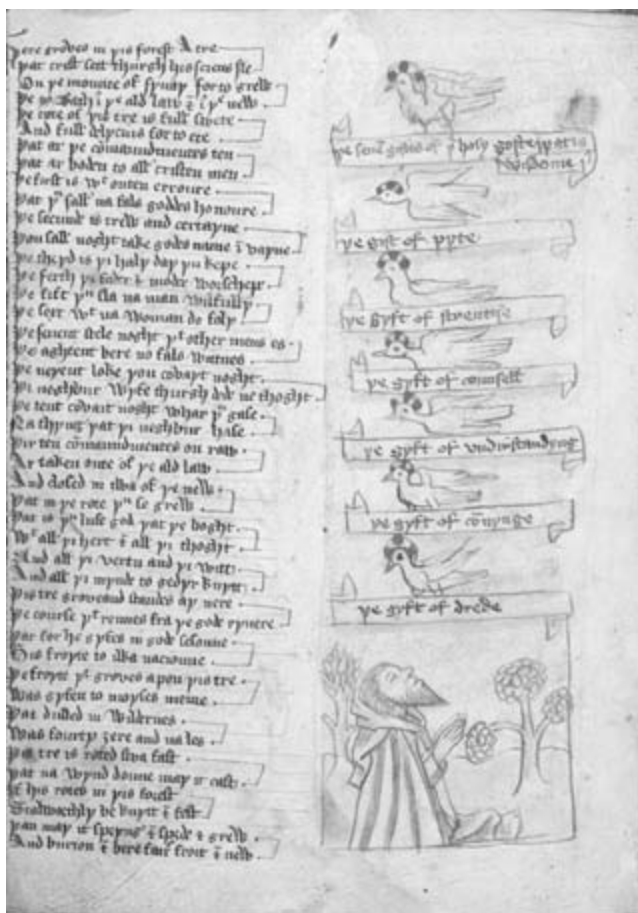


Figure 3.17. Gifts of the Holy Spirit, with monk praying, in the *Desert of Religion*. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 55v. By permission of the British Library.

from God in Additional 37049, whereas in Cotton and Stowe he simply stands holding them. In each case, Additional 37049 represents a conjoining of saints and heaven, a productive crossing of the boundaries between human and divine, and between reader and book, as the solitary hermit is brought into these desert scenes. In another context, it would be fruitful to reproduce and discuss all of these images, for the genius of this particular book is its accretion of detail, and examples could be multiplied. One further case is especially instructive, however. Where Cotton provides a bare schema with birds marked as the seven gifts of the holy spirit, and Stowe enumerates the gifts on a banner pulled by one bird, Additional 37049 includes with this schematic theology the figure of a solitary man

praying in the desert (fig. 3.17).⁴⁹ The voice of the reader we heard earlier, praying to be like Mary of Egypt, articulates the reader's longing to take the place of the saints in the pages of this miscellaneous manuscript. A silent image like this one offers a visual equivalent of that prayer: the wilderness reader has entered the book, pictured alongside the devotional images that he is striving to internalize. Throughout the Carthusian *Desert*, both text and image emblemize the relationship of reader to book by inserting his voice and even his person within its pages. Textual meaning and wilderness identity are constructed in a dynamic process involving text, image, and reader; the Carthusian artist clearly understood and cultivated this aspect of his work.

In this concern for the place of the reader in the wilderness, this artist reflects, more clearly than those responsible for making the other manuscripts, the concerns of the *Desert of Religion* itself with the problematic question of heavenly and even human community in the eremitic life. This "desert of religion," as presented in Additional 37049, is conceived not as empty space, but rather as a space paradoxically filled with divine texts (prayers) and images (visions). The point of both the poem and this busy material manifestation of it is to forge a connection between a solitary earthly person—sometimes explicitly the reader—and the heavenly community to come. The performance of reading this imagetext brings the solitary, eremitic reader into such a devotional community on earth. Returning to the main text of the *Desert of Religion*, we can now ask how the Carthusian artist's communal vision of the wilderness might derive from—and be reflected in—the poem itself.

READING SPIRITUAL COMMUNITY IN THE WILDERNESS

The *Desert of Religion* ends with a revealing etiology that demonstrates its concerns with the paradox of eremitic community:

þis litell tretis of sere degreys
 Of vices and vertus in þir treys,
 A haly man sent itt to his frende
 To haue itt to þair lyfes ende,
 And þan to lefe itt in som place,
 Whar gederyng of pepull wase;
 For was itt nother his will ne rede,
 þat itt suld be lefte in baran stede,
 For itt may in tyme comyng
 Turne som man to gode lyfeyng.
 (923–32)

The treatise serves as unlikely commerce between a hermit and his “friend,” and then, through the rather ambivalent mechanism of a holy man’s “leaving it in some place,” the book is imagined to make its way to a wider public. This kind of trajectory, sketched by the author at the end of the poem, implies that the value of his eremitic imagetext lies in its public dissemination, to be read not only by hermits, but also by those who would be metaphorical hermits even in the midst of their active, worldly lives. Both the impulse to communicate with the world through writing, and some degree of reluctance to communicate too actively, might recall what we know about late-medieval Carthusian transmission of texts. Certainly the author imagined that his book would have a double audience. Although it is about “baran stedes” and is said to have originated there, it is intended to travel also “whar gederyng of pepull wase,” to speak to a wider community.⁵⁰

After this vision of its future, and its important gesture toward instructing a wider community in the ways of “gode lyfeyng,” the poem ends with an attempt to return to the strictly eremitic. It continues:

Haly men, perfite and gode,
 In-to þis wildernes ȝode,
 In werld whilis þai war lyfeand:
 Now ar þai gane to ioye lastand,
 Vn-to þe qwilk ioye he vs brynge,
 þat for our sake on rode gun hyngre,
 þar to duell with haly men
 With-uten ende: amen, amen!
 (933–40)

The poet retreats from his acknowledgment of a “gederyng of pepull” to a renewed celebration of holy men in the wilderness, claiming finally to be most concerned with the eremitic life, even if others may read his work for instructive example. But in its vision of the bliss of heaven, the *Desert of Religion* returns to and ends with a vision of eremitic and general community: not only are the early holy men as a group gone to lasting joy, but “we,” medieval readers of the poem, may also hope to be brought there by the power of Christ’s sacrifice on the cross. The purpose of heaven is not, as one might expect, for souls simply to be with God, or even to live among angels, but also “þar to duell *with haly men* / Withouten ende” (emphasis mine).⁵¹ Just as the earlier prayer included the reader in Mary of Egypt’s penitential practice, this one creates a group of readers—“vs”—and joins that readership to a heavenly community of hermits. It is a markedly

paradoxical phrase, “community of hermits,” but one that can be aptly used to describe the structure of the Carthusian Order itself.

It remains to consider that readerly “us”: the probable audiences of the *Desert of Religion*, and in particular the meanings it may have held for the Carthusian readership of the miscellany Additional 30749. The poem, with its full pages and its final ambiguities, reflects the anxiety of being unable to live in a truly eremitic solitude, as the desert fathers had done. The medieval monastic “hermits” of the Carthusian Order perhaps came closer to this impossible goal than any other group could claim—after all, they made it their particular effort—but the poem, in its exploration of the eremitic endeavor, could appeal to readers anywhere along the continuum from truly contemplative to active life.⁵² There are indications in the text that the poem’s readership was fairly broad. Both “man and wyfe” are advised to covet the “froyt of life,” for example (ll. 79–80). But against such evidence (which is perhaps weakened by its usefulness as rhyme), there are occasional indications of a purely monastic audience for the poem. The fourth tree, a tree of pride, is said to flourish only in “places of religiounē”:

In þis deserte is a-nother tre,
 Sprynges and spredes, as men may se,
 þat nother groves in cite ne in toune,
 Bott in places of religiounē . . .
 þir ar þe tuelfe abusyouns
 þat groves in relygiouns.
 þis tre suld þai nyght and day
 Be a-boute to hew a-way
 With his boghes and with his braunches
 þat in relygiounē makes dystaunces,
 Whar þe saule suld duell in wildernes,
 þat has for-saken þe werkes of þe flesh.
 þis tre has poyound and broght doune
 Many a man of relygiounē.
 (ll. 215–18, 245–54)

Although this is only one tree of twenty, its particular attention to the vices that grow in monastic contexts suggests that the author of the *Desert of Religion* anticipated, at least in part, an audience especially susceptible to such temptations. Lay audiences aspiring to replicate a life of contemplation might expect to see the virtues of religious life extolled, rather than its vices censured. The realities of monastic life form a reference point for the poem, and most likely a more than metaphorical one.

The manuscripts corroborate the poem's loose connection to monastic readers. Although it remains impossible to determine absolutely who was either the intended or the actual audience for any of them, the probabilities include a Benedictine monastery, a Benedictine nunnery, and, of course, a charterhouse. The inclusion of the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* may indicate a lay readership for Stowe, precisely because it is structured around an image of monastic life as a metaphor, rather than a reality.⁵³ But even though neither internal nor external evidence rules out the possibility of lay readers completely, a monastic ideal undeniably informs the poem. The *Desert of Religion* is about hermits, and we can be certain that it was read by monastics—whether male or female, Carthusian or Benedictine—who aspired to eremitic virtues within the communal life of the monastery. Because evidence from the earlier two manuscripts suggests that it was written by or for other kinds of monks, the main text of the *Desert of Religion* was probably not originally Carthusian.⁵⁴ But it holds a special place, nonetheless, in the Carthusian reading collected in Additional 37049. In its exploration of the eremitic effort, and its recognition of the yearning for perfect community awkwardly enfolded within it, the poem speaks powerfully to the concerns of the charterhouse, in particular. Poised between the communal ideal upon which all religious houses were founded, and the solitude and silence so esteemed in the eremitic life, the Carthusian Order was built upon negotiations between the individual and the communal. It is no surprise, then, that the Carthusian scribe and artist of Additional 37049 should have understood and embraced this aspect of the *Desert of Religion*; the imagetext is redefined in essential ways by its location here.

The *Desert of Religion* in Additional 37049 exemplifies a Carthusian brand of reading in the wilderness, but its wilderness reading influences the rest of the book as well. Fol. 67r follows immediately upon the *Desert of Religion*, and it extends both the format and the substance of the long poem (fig. 3.18). Like the verso page within the *Desert*, this recto is divided into two columns, an awkward line rather than a perimeter text running down the center. The left column includes an emblem of the Holy Name, perhaps added to echo the first of many emblematic shields found in the *Desert*, which contains the holy monogram itself (fol. 46r; see fig. 3.11). But this column also contains two new texts, beginning with “The cyte of heuen is set on so hye a hylle,” a short poem comparing the heavenly hill to the meditative ecstasies of holy men.⁵⁵ The poem reads, in its entirety:

The cyte of heuen is set on so hye a hylle
þt no sinful man may wyn þer tyllle.

þe whilk hylle I liken to byral clene
 þt is clerer þan any þt here is seene.
 þat hyll is noght els to vndyrstandyng
 Bot holy þoght & byrnyng ʒernyng
 þat holy men had here to þat stede
 Whils þai lyfed before þair dede.
 For god wil þat þai als hye vp pas
 As þair þoght in ʒernyng vpward was.

This poem forms an instructive coda to the *Desert*, for it also envisions holy men in contemplative raptures. Significantly, it imagines the heavenly reward to which they go not only as a hill, but also as a *city*—a common enough Christian image, but a surprising and telling one in this eremitic context, “nother in cite ne in toune.”⁵⁶ In the drawing that accompanies the text, the city as a fortress dominates the small hill on which it sits.

“The cyte of heuen is set on so hye a hylle” is followed by another set of thematically relevant, though formally different, verses:

Thoughts ar so sotell & so slee,
 And so qwaynt comes ouer qwart,
 þat none may let thaim to flee
 Ne for to entyr mans hert.
 For als þe swallow may not be
 To flee in hows let ne gart
 Bot if sche byg let may we,
 So may we þoghts to byg in hert.

What saves both swallows and thoughts from exile is their busy building, an activity that recalls the heavenly construction on the contemplative hill. But this second poem is more closely connected to the illustration in the second column, an adaptation of an image found in the *Desert* proper in the Cotton and Stowe manuscripts: a man praying to be free from unclean thoughts (“prowde þoght,” “lycherus þoght,” “vayne þoght,” etc.).⁵⁷ These thoughts are inscribed on banners carried by birds, and the man’s prayer is written on a banderole that pierces a heart: “Lord help my hert for vanytes / And foule þoghtes þat abowte it flees.” This image embodies the poem’s fear of “sotell” and “slee” thoughts in the form of birds, making concrete the text’s metaphor. It seems probable that the scribe of Additional 37049, finding that he had failed to include this image in the *Desert*, created this page in order to present it. He then filled in the column on the left with thematically resonant texts and images.

The *Desert of Religion* affected the eremitic compilation of which it is a

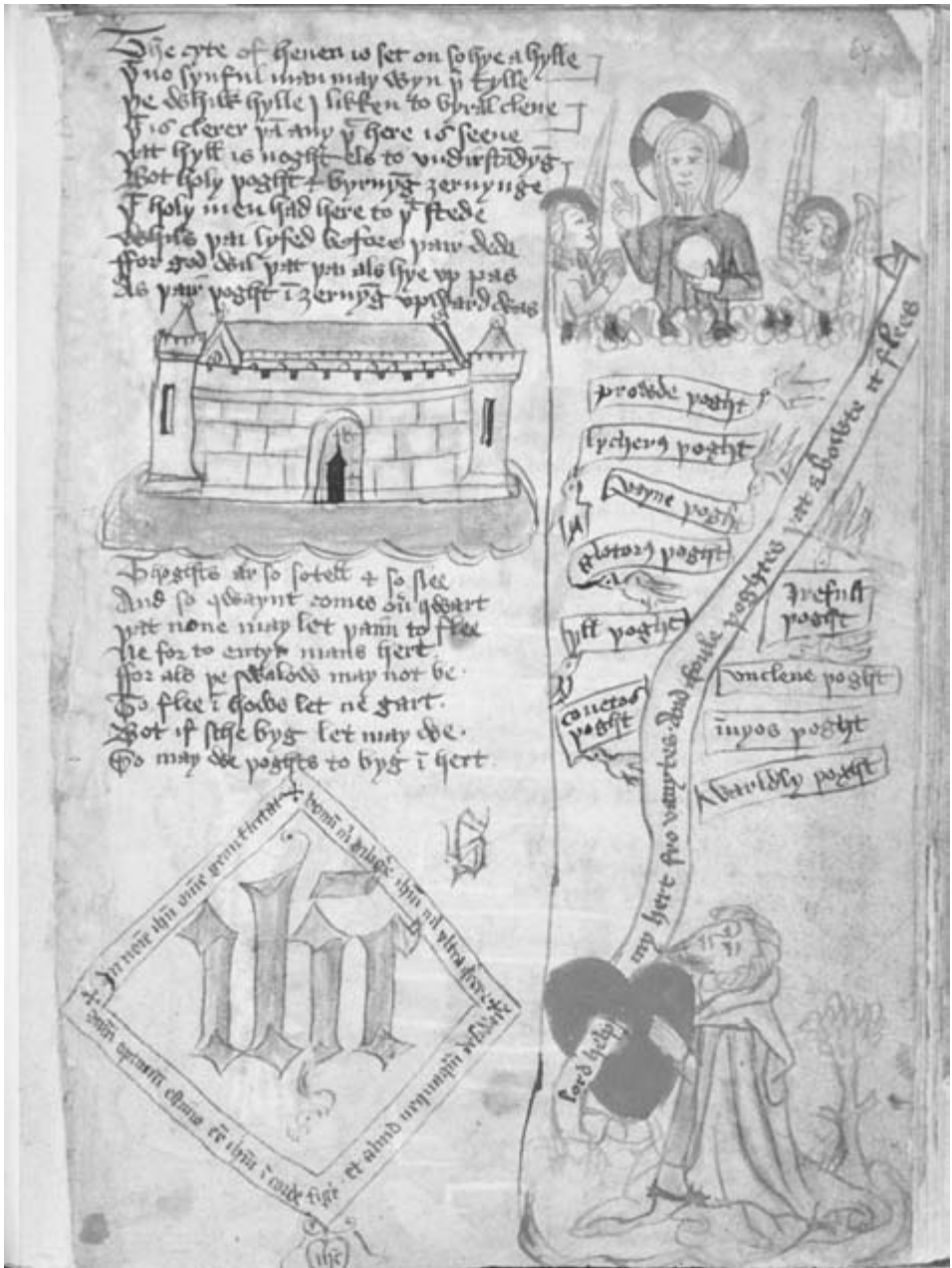


Figure 3.18. "The cyte of heuen is set on so hve a hylle." Holy Name monogram; man praying for freedom from ill thoughts. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 67r. By permission of the British Library.

part, even on folios farther removed from the text itself. The short poem “Of þe state of religion,” which also reflects the manuscript’s monastic readership directly in its eremitic subject matter, includes a pastiche of verses excerpted from the *Desert of Religion* (fols. 37v–38r; figs. 3.19 and 3.20).⁵⁸ This most explicitly monastic text focuses exclusively on the eremitic life of the solitary. It begins:

The state of religioun suld be þorow right intencione
 Far fro the warld as þe boke telles
 Also in deserte þer no man dwelles
 Pat he þat þis state kepis wele
 Pe maners of þe warld nocht fele.
 (ll. 1–5)

The poem continues, describing the way in which a desert dweller is “dead” to the world and to his five senses, citing St. Paul as authority for this despising of earthly things. The man of religion,

he þat is gone þorow deuocion
 Oute of þe warlds conuersacion
 he sal nocht nere þe warld hym hald
 þorow desyryng þat worldly is cald
 Bot he suld drawe hym far away
 For þe warld in al þat he may
 To he be with right intencion
 Opon þe hylle of perfeccion.
 (ll. 69–76)

The benefits of solitary life are elaborated visually in a tree that bears “þe froyte of relygyon.” Just as the trees of the *Desert* exist as instructional devices and schemata, more than as representations or even symbols of actual trees, the arboreal image on fol. 38 organizes seven virtues of the religious life: “To kepe wele þe observuance of religion,” “To hafe gode condicions & maners,” “To desyre & praye for heuently þinges,” “To forsake erthly þinges,” “To oyse [use] besely prayer,” “To hafe deuocion of hert,” and finally, at the pinnacle, “luf to god & his breþren.” This tree, unlike the ones in the *Desert*, does not form the structuring principle of the text, but illustrates its meaning allegorically.

The other image perhaps more closely accompanies the poem. This is a ladder to heaven, inscribed with five rungs: “meknes,” “pouerte,” “obediens,” “chastite,” and “charite.”⁵⁹ This ladder leads to “þe mounte of perfeccion,” where God in blazing glory lifts up the souls of the blessed in a large



Figure 3.19. “Of þe state of religion” with “þe mounte of perfection” and *scala celi*. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 37v. By permission of the British Library.

cloth. Similar ladders appear frequently in medieval devotional schemata: for example, a Carthusian copy of the *Speculum christiani* contains two comparable ladders indicating steps toward virtue and toward vice.⁶⁰ The *scala celi* here finds its most proximate analogue in the *Desert*, however, for it is related to an image in which a hermit figured at the bottom gazes up at an angel, past rungs of “humiliacione,” “conuersacione,” “meditacione,” “contricionne,” “confession,” “satisfaccion,” “orison,” “devucion,” and “contemplacion” (fol. 49v; fig. 3.21).⁶¹ But the changes wrought in the heavenly ladder are as revealing as the initial borrowing. In the *Desert*, the hermit’s ascent takes place in solitude, toward a heavenly goal symbolized by a single figure. The Carthusian miscellany’s version of “þe state of religion” is,



Figure 3.20. Continuation of “Of þe state of religion.” Diagrammatic tree showing “þe froyte of relygyon.” British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 38r. By permission of the British Library.

by contrast, more social; at the base of the ladder, two groups of monks congregate—three Benedictine and two Carthusian—and in heaven God presides over a crowd of saved souls. This is a visual representation of the heavenly community that the *Desert* promises its eremitic readers, and—significantly—of the earthly community that seeks heaven together.

The Carthusians deliberately drew themselves out of the world’s conversation, as the verses insist, but, paradoxically, they continued to participate in it through the medium of books. The image in this Carthusian volume reveals the importance of monastic community to charter monks—“luf to god & his breþren”—suggested here by the presence, not only of *confrères* in white habits, but of monks of other orders, as well.

The *Desert of Religion*, for all its concern with the eremitic life, envisions spiritual living as a common enterprise, and Additional 37049 elaborates richly upon this social theme. Although it is one of the manuscript's most discrete poems, the *Desert of Religion* is not really separable from the concerns, the physical structure, or the textual history of the rest of the manuscript. The long poem has permeable boundaries, since it is made up of lyric snippets, and pictures, in addition to what has been recognized by scholars as the text of the poem itself. The *Desert's* impulses toward small texts, the conjoining of bits and pieces, the building of memorial blocks both textual and visual, mirror the lyric impulses of the compilation as a

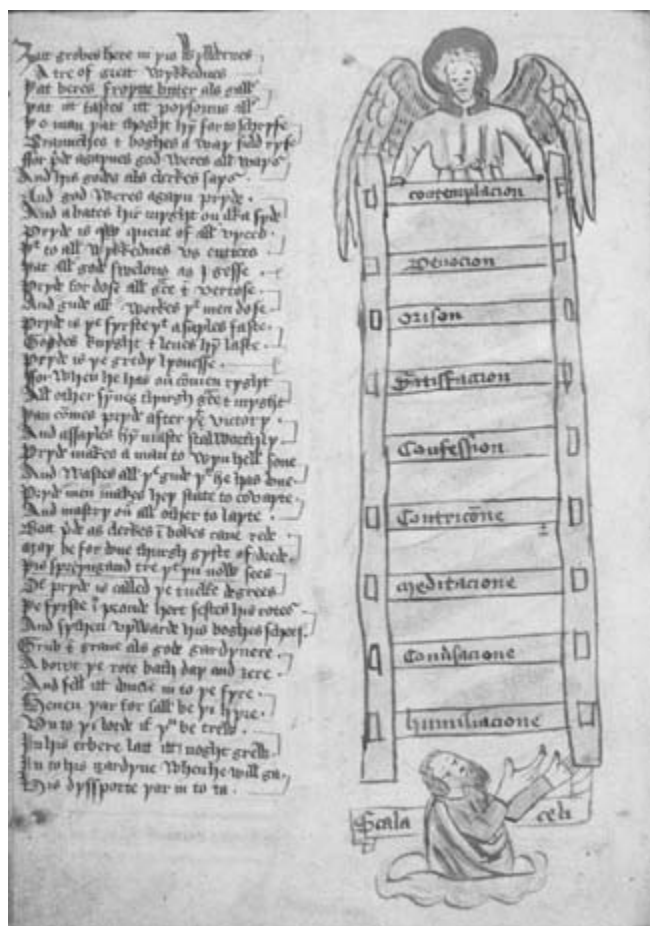


Figure 3.21. *Scala celi*, in the *Desert of Religion*. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 49v. By permission of the British Library.

whole. But more important, this Carthusian *Desert's* interests in bringing the images and voices of community into the wilderness forecast the performative concerns of the collection in which it appears. The particular shapes of monastic reading found here represent eremitic life, but they enrich and complicate the solitude of the charterhouse in that representation. The poem-as-imagetext forges intriguing connections with reading communities outside the monastery, as reading in the wilderness begins to take on a performative shape. The *Desert of Religion* shows how lay readers adopted a wilderness imaginary, and how the solitude of the cell could affect private reading outside it. The reader in the desert becomes the reader in the book, and the book represents the desert wilderness as a species of spiritual community.

Lyric Imaginings and Painted Prayers

Outside of the lengthy *Desert of Religion*, Additional 37049 manifests a general impulse toward the short poem. Rather than copying only a few substantial texts, the compiler collected many brief verses, some excerpted from the fabric of more extensive, narrative works.¹ The *Desert* itself can be understood as an assemblage of small parts: added to the main text are not only its significant pictures—a series of trees and a community of hermits—but discrete perimeter verses that, standing alone, could be understood as complete. Additional 37049 is best known to scholarship as an anthology of illustrated Middle English devotional lyrics; the short, discrete, personal, affective, devotional poems assembled in this miscellany define its fundamental character and literary sensibility.² Small pieces lend themselves to medieval anthologizing (and modern editing) for practical reasons, and the compiler of Additional 37049, in his effort to fill every available space, must have found them convenient. But this miscellany's interest in the short poem extends beyond purely functional concerns to engage more fully generic ones.

Beyond its fundamental brevity, the lyric genre is notoriously hard to characterize. Speaking etymologically, the lyric (from Gr. *lyra*, “lyre”) is often understood to derive from the close relationship of its metrical language to music. Puttenham, among the first to use the term in English, described lyric poems as “songs or ballads of pleasure, to be sung with the voice, and to the harpe, lute, or citheron, and such other musical instruments.”³ Post-Romantic conceptions of the genre more often

depart from literal song to focus instead on the individuality of the singing subject and the intense, personal emotion conveyed by the verse. As M. H. Abrams conveniently sums it up: “In the most common use of the term, a lyric is any fairly short poem consisting of an utterance by a single speaker, who expresses a state of mind or a process of perception, thought, and feeling. Many lyric speakers are represented as musing in solitude.”⁴ Alongside Puttenham’s balladeers, we must imagine other lyricists who, instead of playing to an audience, contemplate their own experience in isolation. In one case the poetic music is directed outward in the pursuit of “pleasure,” and in the other it resonates inward, articulating the contours of the self. Medieval lyrics take both forms; tellingly, contemporary genre words do not seek to describe a unitary category like Puttenham’s, but specify more precisely song, hymn, carol, *virelai*, roundel, lament, *pastourelle*, and so forth.⁵ But whatever their differences, all these conceptions of the lyric grow fundamentally from aural roots; this poetry is an art of sound.

Alongside this musical strain of the lyric—poems that are above all songs—another tradition of short verse employs pictorial modes. From the cross-poems of Fortunatus (sixth century) and Hrabanus Maurus (ninth century) to George Herbert’s “Easter Wings” (1633) and beyond, lyricists have also explored the relation of their art to visible form, the ways in which a reader’s experience of any poetry is enriched by seeing, rather than just hearing, its words.⁶ It is probably no accident that all of these examples are lyrics written in the service of devotional experience, for the attempt by religious poets to communicate the ineffable has often led to an experimentation with multiple media. Among these lyrics of spiritual vision, Middle English devotional poems have a particularly insistent relationship to the physical world. Although medieval scribes did not always attend to the shape of the words they were writing in the manner of *carmina figurata*, the poems nonetheless require that their readers attend to and enrich their visual experience in a variety of ways. For every Middle English poem that calls for its hearers to listen—“lysteth,” or “herkneþ”—another begins with the injunction to look—“beholde,” “looke,” “see,” or even “lo, here.”⁷ These poems call for a kind of “looking” in the mind, for their readers’ imaginative engagement with visual forms and spatial structures.⁸ Some also provide for more literal kinds of sight: the division of English poems into visible metrical lines dates from the Middle English period, and many late-medieval verses are enhanced also with diagrammatic (and unvoiceable) structures of braces that elucidate the structure of the rhyme (see, e.g., pl. 1).⁹ Moreover, a significant number of late-medieval devotional poems—though by no means all—travel with pictures that are integrally related to their meaning.¹⁰ Like Abrams’s musings in solitude, these medieval

poems turn inward, but their emphasis on seeing and beholding does not imply a solitary singer so much as it does a solitary spectator.

The most common way of understanding the visual quality of late-medieval devotional poems is by placing them in the context of meditative practice. Rosemary Woolf, who has studied the corpus of Middle English religious lyrics most extensively to date, observes that “a history of the religious lyric that seeks to be comprehensive must become in part a history of medieval meditation and devotion.”¹¹ That is, these poems discover a balance between the literary qualities that we might most readily expect in lyric verse, and the characteristics of prayer. But although she describes the poems that are her subject from the start as “meditative,” Woolf does not offer a definition of this powerful category, nor does she explore the interpretative consequences of the visual quality it implies.¹² She identifies textual connections between Middle English lyrics and Latin meditations, pinpointing common themes and sources, but does not look directly at the fundamental nature of the meditative experience in either context.¹³ She acknowledges the importance of the imagetexts in Additional 37049, but nonetheless is particularly dismissive of the late-medieval illustrated lyric in general.¹⁴ I take the illustrations instead to be crucially instructive as to how readers approached these texts, and how both text and image contributed to late-medieval spiritual practice. An exploration of how Middle English poetic meditations were realized in material terms can reveal more plainly the fundamental nature of medieval devotional reading: how meditative methods, as well as subjects, surrounded the understanding of vernacular poems.¹⁵ Specifically, close study of the lyrics of Additional 37049 *in situ*, working from reading practice toward hermeneutic theory, can provide a clearer idea of how a late-medieval meditative poetics was informed by ideas of performance. For this collection of illustrated lyrics provides unexpectedly fruitful perspective on the essential nature of meditative reading. What is only implicit in Woolf’s extensive work—that meditative reading depends upon imagetexts realized in imaginative and even bodily vision—becomes explicit in this Carthusian miscellany. The reader of Additional 37049 enacts these meditative lyrics, as they take up performative modes of both authorial and readerly kinds.

An example from Additional 37049 can begin to show how this meditative vision is created in its pages. The lyric speaker, playing the harp, sits in the upper left corner of the page, where he is threatened, from across the verses, by a figure of Death wielding bow and arrow (fol. 84v; fig. 4.1).¹⁶ The poem concerns the fearsome power of mortality—one of the great subjects of Middle English devotional verse, and one that this Carthusian miscellany explores with particular fervor.¹⁷ The text derives from an Old Testament touchstone, ringing a set of macaronic changes on the biblical

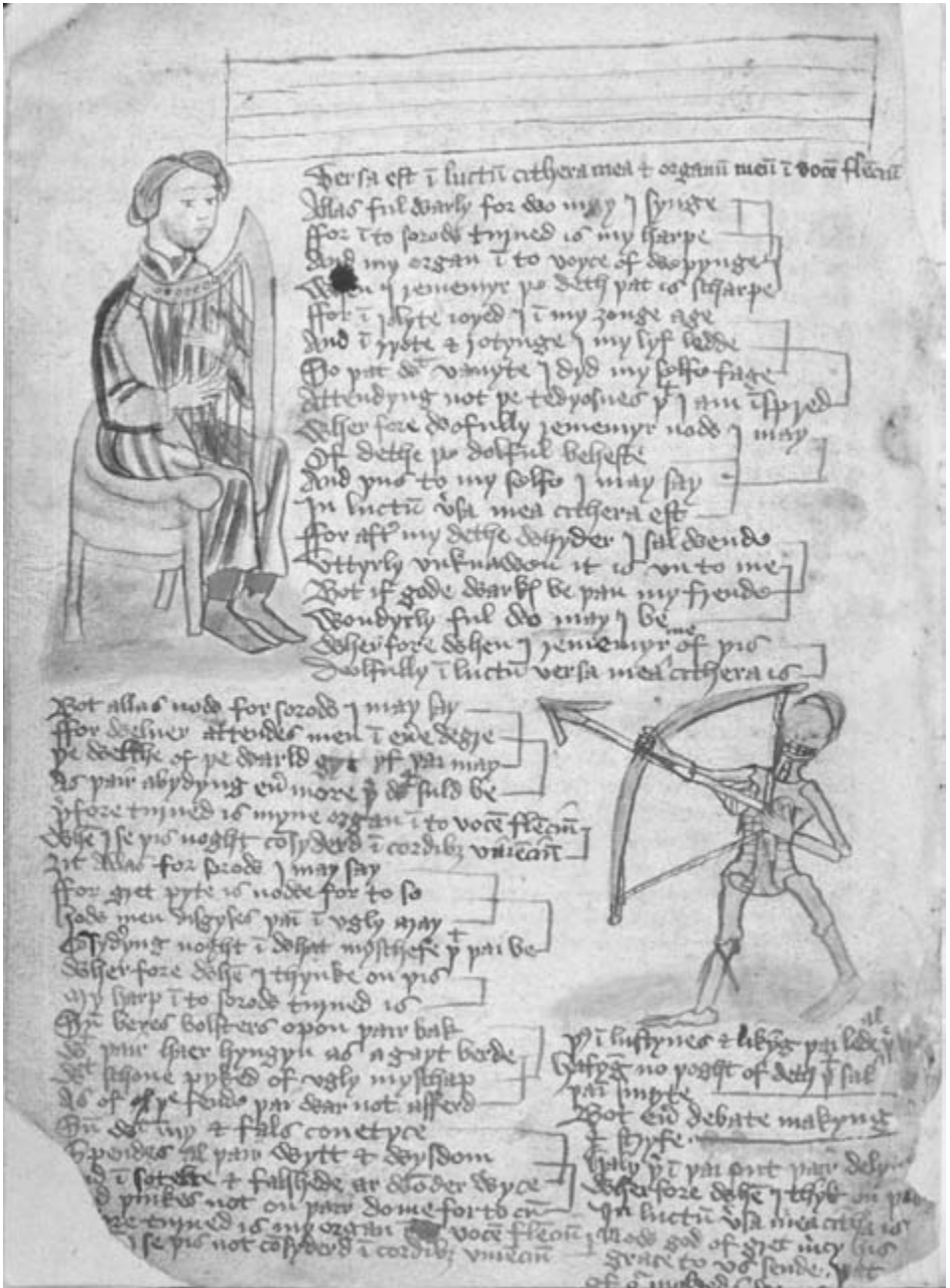


Figure 4.1. “Versa est in luctum cithera mea.” Harper and Death. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 84v. By permission of the British Library.

verse *Versa est in luctum cithera mea* (Job 30:31, “My harpe is tuned into mourning”):

Versa est in luctum cithera mea
 & organum meum in vocem flencium

Allas, ful warly for wo may I synge,
 For into sorow turned is my harpe
 And my organ into voyce of wepynge,
 When I rememyr þe deth þat is scharpe.
 (1–4)

The speaker turns the generalized suffering expressed by Job into an intensely particular fear of death, as he goes on to remember that the folly of his youth should lead him to fear his mortality with good reason. He also laments the variety of sin he sees in others, praying that all will be able to amend their misdeeds at the end. The biblical verse serves as a kind of refrain, and the poet exults in his formal virtuosity, mixing Latin with English words differently each time the refrain appears, in order to produce a different rhyme. For example: “Wherefore when I rememyr me of þis / Doolfully in luctum versa mea cithera is” (17–18). Or: “þerfore turned is myne organ into vocem flencium, / When I se þis nocht consyderd in cordibus viuencium” (23–24). The lyric’s variations on a meditative theme emblemize many aspects of the late-medieval devotional poem, both aural and visual: the harpist’s instrument pays explicit homage to the musical tradition of lyric poetry, and his song of melancholy emotion is presented as a kind of interior conversation. The speaker “thynkes” and “consyders” and “rememyrs,” reflecting on his subject privately, rather than speaking out loud.¹⁸ As he puts it: “Wherefore wofully rememyr now I may / Of dethe þe dolful beheste, / And þus to my selfe I may say, / In luctum versa mea cithera est” (9–12; emphasis mine). The speaker’s individual lyric voice thus offers both a representation of and a vehicle for private meditation.

The visual inheritance of the meditative lyric, as well as the aural, is reflected in this poem and its simple illustrations, for the images depict its substance and facilitate its methods. The reader’s contemplative moment in the cell is embodied by visual forms on the page he sees: both the braces calling attention to the alternation between interlaced rhymes and couplets, and the two figural images. The harpist seems to gaze past the words of his song toward the object of his meditation—the fearsome personification of death that he is straining always to “rememyr.” This last word is especially significant, for it reveals the purpose of the image for the lyric speaker, and for the reader of this manuscript. The macabre

figure is a memorial image, a physical representation of the speaker's interior meditation, and one that will recall the fear of death repeatedly (with repeated reading) to the mind of the reader as well. The poem elucidates the workings of memory as a part of meditative practice, the visual apparatus through which late-medieval readers so commonly thought.¹⁹

Although the visual contemplation of memorial images usually takes place in a private context, such as the one implied here, some meditative lyrics belong to more public environments. Some medieval devotional poems turn outward, moving from private "rememyrings" toward more social functions, from Abrams's solitary musings toward Puttenham's communal performances. Specifically, some devotional lyrics were composed for the use of preachers, set into sermons to enhance the vivid "rememyring" of listeners. Siegfried Wenzel has made valuable studies of these verses embedded in sermon manuscripts, and has argued the persuasive case that this oratorical context should guide, much more closely than it has, our reading of the religious poems. Wenzel's work reveals that "the meditative poems which lie behind the Middle English religious lyric 'lived' in sermons," and this association leads him to claim ultimately that preaching formed "a generative center" for the creation of English lyrics.²⁰ Of course, performed lyrics are familiar also in medieval secular contexts: troubadour poems were often, if not always, sung, and the Middle English carol depends on both song and dance.²¹ Moreover, the language and imagery of the Latin hymn structures many vernacular meditative poems, which take them as an ultimate source.²² But the more surprising implication of Wenzel's study is that devotional poems were often embedded in public performance—in the actual pulpit performances of preachers—so that preaching inflected not only the generation of these texts, but their reception, too. The performative context of delivered sermons, revealed by the manuscripts Wenzel has studied, provides sources not just for the poems' themes, but also for their modes of understanding. From the earliest studies and editions of the Middle English lyric, scholars have called attention generally to the connections between these poems and Franciscan preaching.²³ Some have even suggested that the devotional lyrics frequently found in Franciscan preachers' manuscripts were sung, rather than spoken, from the pulpit.²⁴ But whether the meditative devotional lyrics were musical or not, and whether or not they were necessarily Franciscan, their material contexts indicate that they depended in some measure on performance—whether actual or remembered—to generate meaning.

The poems of Additional 37049 do not form part of a preaching handbook, and the lyrics compiled in it cannot be thought of as the kinds of "verses in sermons" Wenzel has detailed so richly. But a few of the manuscript's lyrics recall those preaching aids, reflecting the currency of per-

formative uses of the lyric in preachers' oratory, and demonstrating how those performances from the pulpit stand behind even the most private varieties of reading. G. R. Owst mentions many of the texts and images in Additional 37049 to illustrate his foundational studies of connections between preaching and literature in medieval England.²⁵ More precise connections can also be found; the verse tituli in Additional 37049 that I have called the "Debate for the Soul" appear also in sermon manuscripts, for example, and similar deathbed scenes seem to have been a familiar part of a vernacular preacher's repertory.²⁶ It is probable that similar scenes were painted on the walls of churches, and that preachers read inscriptions visible to everyone as they brought the scene to oratorical life.²⁷ Such connections between sermons and art make of preacherly performances another kind of imagetext, for many sermons undoubtedly profited in performance from allusion to the furnishings of the church—or to the public art visible in any space—in which they were delivered.²⁸ Even those that do not refer to material objects in the church take advantage of mnemonic imagery to emblemize the sermon's didactic lessons. For example, Robert Holcot and other classicizing English friars of the early fourteenth century constructed elaborate ekphrastic "pictures" for the imagination that correspond to no physical work their listeners could see.²⁹

Lyrics not directly linked to preaching manuscripts can also constitute a part of the performance of preaching. One of the most memorable of the lyrics in Additional 37049 is the tree of "mans lyfe" derived from *Barlaam and Josaphat*, a Christian version of the life of Buddha sometimes attributed to St. John Damascene. This work presents moral lessons contained within a fictional sermon that the hermit Barlaam delivers to the young pagan prince Josaphat, and some of these exempla were so popular, and so memorable, that they traveled independently. The fourth parable situated within Barlaam's sermon, the so-called "unicorn apologue," found its way into the *Legenda aurea* and the *Gesta romanorum*, as well as collections of exempla by Odo de Cheriton, Jacques de Vitry, and Nicole Bozon—collections from which real sermons, not just reported ones, were to be fashioned. In the Middle English version of the story, the unicorn apologue comes as a warning against the dangers of sensual, worldly pleasures. As Barlaam characterizes those who give themselves to "þis presente lustis and likyngis":

Y lykne hem to a man þat fleeth ferre fro a wode vnycorne. 'There was a crewel and a wode vnycorne, and pursewed a man for to slee hym. The man was afeerde of his deth, and fledde fast fro hym. He fledde so ferre þat at þe laste he fylle into a grete pytte and a deepe. And ere he was fully down, he kauzt a bussh with his handis, and þat he helde faste.

And kauȝt vnder his feete a lytel grene tufte, and stode þereon, we-nyngre to hym þat he was sykere ynouȝ, and in pees. He loked al aboute hym, and at laste he saw two mees, a white mowse and a blak mowse. And þei gnewe faste vpon þe roote of þe bussh þat he held hym by. And almoste þei had gnawe it awo. Than he loked downwardis into þe pyttes grounde, and pere he sawe an horrible dragoun kastynge out fyre aboute hym. He lokid on þe man with feers eyen and brennyngre. He had his mowthe ever open and ever was redy to haue deuowred hym. He lokyd to þe tufte þat his feete stoden on, and pere he sawe foure addris heedis þat lokyd out of þe banke vpon hym, redy to haue byten hym. He loked vpwarde aȝen, and þer droppyd out of a branche of þe bussh a litel hony.³⁰

The allegorization follows:

by þe vnycorne Y vnderstonde deth, þat euere persueth to take mankende. þe grete pytte is þis world, ful of euyl and cursed snaris. The white mowse and þe blak mowse arn vnderstonde þe day and þe nyȝt, þat wastyþ vs euermore litel and litel in al oure lyf. The bussh þat we holde vs by is þe prosperite and a litel possession of þis worldly good. The hony is vnderstonde þe swetnes and delite þat we haue in þe worldly good. The foure addris ben vnderstonde þe foure elementis þat we be made of, by whos inordynate conturbacion mannys body is dissolued. The crewel and horrible dragoun þat is benethe is vnderstonde þe depe pytte of helle, þat euere desireth to deuowre hem þat setten more by þe delites of þis world þan by þe blis of heuene.³¹

The efficacy of the apologue as a sermon's memorial ornament is clear: its peculiar allegorical image is delivered orally, and then remembered chiefly by pictorial means. This exemplary preaching image created such a powerful visual impression that the picture, as well as the text, was reproduced in a number of manuscripts, both vernacular and Latin.³² For example, the man in the tree pursued by a unicorn illustrates the Office of the Dead in the late thirteenth-century French psalter perhaps made for Yolande of Soissons (Pierpont Morgan 729, fol. 354v; fig. 4.2).³³

Additional 37049 also translates this meditative image into an actual one (fol. 19v; fig. 4.3). An explanatory lyric poem occupies the left column, the allegorical picture the right.³⁴ The picture shows a dragon ready to devour "þe world," which is composed of "þe foure elements," represented by four snakes. These snakes descend from the roots of a tree, whose trunk is gnawed by "þe white mouse" (day) and "þe blak mouse" (night). A fashionably dressed man climbs this tree of "mans lyf" reaching toward a "hony



Figure 4.2. Man in tree, fleeing from unicorn. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 729 (Psalter-Hours “of Yolande de Soissons”) (c. 1280–90), fol. 354v. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

drope” that falls from a beehive.³⁵ A “unycorne” stands below the tree in a threatening posture, his allegorical significance explained in the accompanying caption: “ded pursues to sla man.” The apologue existed in Middle English verse versions in the *South English Legendary*, the *Northern Homily Cycle*, and the Vernon manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet.a.1), but the particular versification in Additional 37049 appears to be unique.³⁶ The Middle English poem in Additional 37049 is a reading and an explanation of this odd picture, a lyric based on the idea of looking. It begins with the quintessential lyrical call to meditative vision:

Behalde here as þou may see
A man standyng in a tree

And ane vnycorne fast persewyng hym
 þt caused hym in þe tre to clym
 And be nethe hym was a dragon fell
 Gapyng hym redy for to qwell.

By contrast, the verse account in the *South English Legendary* depends on the story's inheritance from "gestes" and "proverbs." The poet likens the world's lovers:

To amon þt me telleþ of : in proverbs I wis.
 Amon wente a tyme, : so we fynde in geste,
 Hymself for to pleyze, : in wilde foreste . . .
 (445–48)³⁷

In Additional 37049, the poem is a type of ekphrasis, since there is no narrative beyond what is implied by the image, no account of what happened "a tyme," but merely a one-to-one correspondence between the visionary experience the text represents and the actual picture on the page. This is a "real" tree, for it contains a beehive full of honey, and the man is shown climbing up to reach it. But it is also, as the text explains, a symbolic tree, representing man's life and the sweetness for which he vainly strives. At the foot of the tree are real and metaphorical perils: the mice of night and day who gnaw at the trunk, felling it and shortening man's life with the passing of time. Even before this can happen, the unicorn of death and the ravening dragon seek to drag man from his life prematurely. Words—both captions and accompanying verse—serve to explicate the pictorial allegory, which otherwise would be wholly opaque.³⁸ But the odd allegorical image has particular value for delivery in a sermon: the stranger the picture, the more memorial potential it has, and the more likely it is (once explained) to remain in visible form in the minds of its hearers.

An equally gripping allegory is expressed—in this miscellany of image-texts—without any illustration at all (fol. 28r). This absence is all the more surprising, since the allegorical image the text offers would seem visually productive, and the words reveal that the poem depends upon visual signs. But this lyric, too, works to activate and reinforce memorial images in the hearer's or reader's mind. It begins *in medias res*, as if the "insawmpyl" has been pulled from a public address already in progress:

Also take hede to þis insawmpyl here
 þat is lykend vnto þe fawconnere
 þe whylk when his hawke fro hym dos flee
 Schews to þe hawke rede flesche to see

And when þe hawke loke þer vn to
 ffast to his mayster he hastes go.
 þus dos criste as ʒe may see
 hynges bledyng opon a tre
 hys body with bloody woundes schewynge
 ffor to reduce to hym mans saule & brynge
 þe whilk fro hym by syn dos fle a way
 And to hym wilt turne agayn wt ouden delay
 þus he has his armes spred man to hals and kysse
 þat to hym by luf wil turne repentyng his mys
 þerfore of saluacion if þu sure wil be
 þe cros of penaunce þou take on þe
 þat is be discret poneschyng of þi body
 And nayled þorow þi left hande for þi foly
 wt schame & displesaunce of all þi syn
 þat letts þe always heuen to wyn
 þe nayle in þe right hande also sal be
 Desyre & luf of heuenly þinges in þi hert fre
 þe nayle sal be drede þt þorow þi fete sal go
 þt in dedly syn þu be not dampned to endles wo
 And þe spere þe whilk sal perche þi hert
 Sal be contricion for syn with sorow smert
 þe blode & þe watyr þt fro þe hert ryngs clere
 Sal be wepyng for þe syns þu has done here
 þus þi selfe here þou sal do crucifye
 þat aftyr in blys þu may be set full hye.

The poem sets up a number of complex equivalences: Christ is like a falconer, but he also represents the piece of meat with which the falconer lures the bird. The reader enters this shifting system of symbols, too, becoming falconer, meat, and crucified savior as he seeks to emulate divine suffering to attain heaven. As difficult as it might be to represent such metaphorical ideas visually, the instruction to attend to the exemplum “here” (1) and the tag-line “as ʒe may see” (7) suggest that in another context this remarkable piece most likely accompanied a picture. The subject-matter is sufficiently bizarre to remain in visual memory: it could have been accompanied by the familiar figure of Christ on the cross, by a falconer holding a bit of meat, or even—if the imagery were still more inventive—by the reader himself sacrificed on the cross. The poem has found another kind of visual analogue in Lincoln Cathedral, where a sculpted angel holds an otherwise inexplicable falcon and lure (fig. 4.4).³⁹ The position of the figure implies an allegorical correspondence, for it stands across from a sculpture of souls presented



Figure 4.4. Angel with falcon and lure. Choir, Lincoln Cathedral (1256–1280). Dick Makin Imaging UK.

to a Christ who ostentatiously shows his wounds. There is no visual representation of the second part of the poem, which advises its reader to follow Christ's example, crucifying himself with nails of dread and shame and longing for heaven, and suffering the sharp spear of contrition. But the poem moves from invoking a meditative image, such as the one at Lincoln, to encouraging a readerly performance, as it explicitly invites the reader's participation, through the book, in the process of crucifixion: "þus þi selfe *here* þou sal do crucifye" (emphasis mine).

Concepts of performance are crucial to the meditative poetics of Additional 37049, which encompasses both the remembered performances that stand behind private imaginings, and the kinds of private performances those imaginings themselves represent. This manuscript reveals that the two strains of the lyric—musical and visual—are not so far apart, and it is neither necessary nor helpful to isolate the aural from the visual definitively. I do not mean to revive the controversial idea that such devotional poems were sung, nor even to suggest that they were always spoken in the midst of a homiletic performance. The lyrics preserved in this Carthusian miscellany were almost certainly read by one person, in silence—their eremitic environment, and even more their illustrations, indicate that these pages were meant to be looked at privately.⁴⁰ But it is not necessary to imagine

Franciscans singing in pulpits to understand the Middle English devotional lyric as a variety of readerly performance: such silent visual reading, private though it was, has more to do with imagining public performances than might be obvious initially. Whether or not the Carthusian reader of this manuscript recognized the apologue from *Barlaam and Josaphat*, whether or not he had heard sermons on self-crucifixion at Lincoln Cathedral, he understood that these kinds of meditative images came from aural and performative origins, and he understood the readerly purpose to which he was to put them. As the oratorical techniques of preachers employed meditative images to drive home theological truths, the meditative practice of solitary readers recalled visual spectacles to animate devotional ideas. A reader who initially serves as auditor and spectator of a lyric speaker's performance begins to enact his own as he works through the complex of texts and images represented here; as reader becomes speaker or turns himself "crucified" into an image of Christ, the meditational dynamic is blurred and changed, transformed finally into a performative one.

The short devotional poems in Additional 37049 highlight the significance of the lyric genre in relation to the questions of private reading and public performance that shape this Carthusian book. The manuscript's embrace of the lyric can tell us about late-medieval devotional genres more generally, and the ways in which they often bring together visual meditation with song, preaching, and other brands of performance. Even when it is read in the most austere solitude, the meditative lyric depends on both the memory of familiar performances and the creation of new ones. How do sounds and sights, words and images, interact in the experience of reading the wilderness lyric? Through what sorts of mechanisms do solitary readers of this manuscript engage in private imaginings? And how do connections between song and vision enable readerly performances? The manuscript's treatment of the important figure of Richard Rolle can shed light on these questions, for Rolle's lyrics, emotional and personal as they are, epitomize the fundamental nature of eremitic song. But in their concern with voice and dialogue, Rolle's lyrics also begin to indicate precisely how eremitic meditation might become a species of private performance. These performances take place far from human communities, but they become public spectacles, in part, by imagining an audience in God.

THE EREMITIC LYRIC AND RICHARD ROLLE

Medieval devotional lyrics are connected with eremitic experience from their earliest beginnings. The twelfth-century hermit St. Godric inaugurated the genre by writing what are usually considered the first devotional lyrics in Middle English, among them this short prayer to the Virgin:

Sainte Marie clane uirgine,
 moder Iesu Cristes Nazarene,
 onfo [accept], scild, help þin Godric, onfang [receive],
 bring hehlic wiþ þe in godes ric.

Sainte Marie, Cristes bur,
 maidenes clenhad, moderes flur,
 dilie [efface] min sinne, rixe [rule] in min mod,
 bring me to winne wiþ self god.⁴¹

Godric's biographer tells us that the saint's lyrical expression arose from a vision, in which the Virgin and Mary Magdalen instructed him to speak these verses whenever he was tempted, tired, or feeling pain.⁴² If the form of a devotional lyric is song, this story suggests, its impetus is vision. This poem's visionary context and its petitionary outline suggest that, like many Middle English religious lyrics, it can be considered a literary form of prayer. It is often difficult to determine the boundary where "prayer" ends and "devotional lyric" begins, for in the spiritual experience of the hermit, one shades into the other. But whether their primary legacy comes from prayers and hymns that could be spoken by any Christian, or from incantations and charms that could be spoken by any person, this poem is the utterance of a solitary voice; no corporate language is available to someone who is necessarily alone.⁴³ Godric's verses move beyond pragmatic devotional language to offer a series of literary images through which the hermit can approach an understanding of the divine, a series of verbal cues for holy imaginings. Its particular images anticipate the aesthetics of the later lyric, for the string of Marian images in the second stanza—"Cristes bur, /maidenes clenhad, moderes flur"—initiates the tropes that are characteristic of fifteenth-century celebrations of the Virgin.⁴⁴ It is no accident that this lyrical language originated in eremitic, visionary life, for the genre, with its individual, subjective voice, lends itself best to the spiritual singing of a recluse.

The early eremitic lyrics of St. Godric influenced the devotional lives of late-medieval hermits directly, and even the lives of Carthusians. Richard Methley, a sixteenth-century charter monk at Mountgrace, understood the pragmatic importance of lyrical prayer in the wilderness, and in his letter of advice to the novice he calls "Hew Heremyte," he recommends it. Methley advises Hugh in particular terms to mimic the prayer of St. Godric when he is alone and in need of help. "And when thou syttest by thy one in the wyldernes & art yrke or wery Say this to our lady as saynt Godryke sayd that holy hermyte: Sancta Maria virgo mater Iesu christi nazareni protege & adiuua tuum hugonem suscipe & adduce cito tecum in tuum regnum vel

in dei regnum. He said adiuaa tuum godricum, but thou may [say] tuum hugonem, for thy name ys hewe. This is thus to say in englyshe Saynt mary mayden & moder of Iesu christ of Nazareth holde & help thy hewe & lede soane with the in thy kyngdom or say in to the kyngdom of god bothe ys good.”⁴⁵ Methley exposes the malleability of this devotional language, for he translates and adapts Godric’s English lyric to fashion it into a Latin prayer, which he then retranslates into English prose for his apprentice. In translating the prayer, he misunderstands (or simply effaces) the metrical aspect of the poem, obscuring its contribution to vernacular literary history. And in adapting these verses for a new speaker, Methley destroys the pun in “Godryke”—“godes rice” as “dei regnum”—suggesting that Hugh should substitute his own name for the twelfth-century saint’s, and that “thy kyngdom” might serve just as well as “the kyngdom of god.” Methley thus turns a bit of literary, inventive, and highly personal language into a practical, pedestrian appeal. But even if he does not preserve fully the artistry of Godric’s petition to the Virgin, it is significant that Methley sees his eremitic student as a spiritual descendant of the earlier lyricist; he advocates lyrical prayer as a remedy available universally against the inevitable weariness of the wilderness. The late-medieval hermit Hugh is advised to adopt—even if he radically adapts—Godric’s wilderness songs.

Late-medieval connections between hermits and lyrics find their center in the person of Richard Rolle, perhaps the dominant mystical figure of the fourteenth century.⁴⁶ Though he was trained in the schools of Oxford (and possibly Paris), Rolle withdrew into the wilderness as a young man, only to exert an enormous influence on the piety of the world through his extensive writings in both Latin and Middle English: most significantly, the Latin treatises *Contra amatores mundi*, *Emendatio vitae*, *Incendium amoris*, and *Melos amoris* (*Melum contemplativorum*); and the Middle English epistles *Ego Dormio*, *The Commandment to Love of God*, and *The Form of Living*. Rolle’s prolific and popular writings make him a significant figure in the development of English literary prose.⁴⁷ But despite his importance as a prose stylist, Rolle was clearly also influential as a lyric poet. Four short Middle English poems are embedded within his long prose epistles, two in the *Form of Living* and two in the *Ego Dormio*. In addition, four manuscripts contain a collection of verse and “prose lyrics” that, in two of them, is explicitly ascribed to Rolle.⁴⁸ His prose *Melos amoris* “aspired toward verse,” and one of Rolle’s readers made of it a “carmen prosaicum.”⁴⁹ The power of Rolle’s reputation as a lyricist has caused nearly all unattributed devotional verses of the period to float into the canon of his works, but the question of authorship is thorny even in the most straightforward cases. For one thing, the famous mystic’s own composition reflects significant borrowing from anonymous tradition; the second lyric in *Ego Dormio*, for example, incorporates bits of the familiar

poems *Respice in faciem Christi*, and *Candet nudatum pectus*. And in addition to these pieces written by Rolle himself in metrical forms, his ideas, and even his prose, were versified by his devotees for mnemonic and prayerful purposes.⁵⁰ Difficulties of attribution are particularly pronounced for these verses, since, to the extent the lyrics are prayers and guides to meditation, they are meant to be spoken and “owned” by anyone reading them.⁵¹

Richard Rolle’s influential lyrics reveal a complex textual history that mirrors precisely the sort of *bricolage* of short pieces so common in Additional 37049. The Rollean lyrical prayers in the Carthusian manuscript testify to the influence of the mystic’s eremitic persona, and the literary and spiritual authority it constructed.⁵² The miscellany includes both lyric poems lifted from their original context in prose works, and prose transformed—by Rolle himself or by a collaborator—into verse paraphrase. There is evidence everywhere of his characteristic mystical “luf-langing,” with its emphases on *dulcor* (sweetness), *calor* (heat), and *canor* (song). Equally pervasive is the manuscript’s celebration of the Holy Name of Jesus—a devotion often associated with Rolle, and enthusiastically recommended by all three of his English prose epistles.⁵³ Rolle’s devotion to “the physical phenomena of mysticism”—the material effects of mystical theology—informs the miscellany throughout.⁵⁴ Scholars have long been interested in the possible historical connections between the famous northern English hermit and this northern English eremitic miscellany: Hope Emily Allen raised the question in her foundational efforts to separate Rolle’s genuine writings from the spurious ones.⁵⁵ Frances Comper, also an early student of Additional 37049, offered this confident assessment: “The lyrics of Richard Rolle are the expression of his life.”⁵⁶ But it is wrong to think of this miscellany solely as a compendium of the famous hermit’s writings, or to approach it only searching for traces of his personal influence. Although he was influential, and although this manuscript is an important witness to his popularity, no conclusive evidence links the book to Rolle in any biographical way.⁵⁷ The importance of Rolle here is not to be sought in the simple presence of devotions associated with him, or even the extensive inclusion of his own writings. Rather, it can be seen in the way in which Rollean material is deployed in the complex of animated texts and images that contribute to the performance of readerly devotion. In spite of their role in promoting the hermit’s spiritual and literary authority, the Rollean lyrics in Additional 37049 also seek to enable the private performance of the reader’s piety; as Nicholas Watson puts it, they function both as “expressions of *canor* and as aids to the achievement of *canor*.”⁵⁸ Together, the Rollean devotions in Additional 37049 typify the workings of the late-medieval religious lyric, combining musical song with visual images to create a series of performative meditations.

The manuscript's investment in visual forms of Rolle's song first becomes clear in an extended excerpt from his well-known prose epistle *Ego Dormio*. An enormous picture introduces a selection from the famous text, which describes at length the three grades of love (fig. 4.5). This picture gives concrete form to the fundamental verse around which the epistle is built: *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat*, from the Song of Songs ("I sleepe, and my hart watcheth" [5:2]). The Latin phrase is translated and expanded at the bottom of the page, much of which unfortunately has been damaged. The sleeper who speaks the verse lies below a heavenly vision of Virgin and Child, featured above in a burst of clouds and light rays. His eyes, as well as his heart, are watchful, an intriguing detail that demonstrates the importance of physical vision to the imaginary of spiritual vision. Words and pictures on this page are so deeply interconnected that it, too, should be called an imagetext. Alongside Rolle's prose, a few lyric scraps interpolated in speech-scrolls announce the concerns of the piece. The speaker's scroll contains the English couplet: "I slepe & my hert wakes to þe/Swete Jhesu þe son of Mary fre." And the infant Jesus holds a responding scroll: "If þou my trewe lufer wil be / My selfe to reward I sal gyf þe." More image than text, this page emblemizes the mystical and passionate relationship Rolle posits between himself and Christ, but it also emblemizes the place of the fourteenth-century mystic in Additional 37049. In addition to the speech-scrolls passing between the two figures, which represent their dialogue as a physical object, the sleeper holds a rolled and unidentifiable scroll that might serve to identify him as an author—the author, in fact, of the epistle to which the biblical verse alludes. This image has been interpreted as a possible "portrait" of Rolle the writer, even perhaps an image of his tomb sculpture, and its circulation has provided some feeble clues as to the manuscript's provenance.⁵⁹ Clearly, this drawing is concerned to represent the poem's speaker, as much as its divine subject. But rather than attending directly to his saintly biography, this image more obviously shows us how Rolle's mysticism combines song and vision to create a wildly popular, if simple, kind of wilderness lyric. Although the source text is a prose epistle, the selections incorporated here are transformed by the additions of both picture and dialogic verse. The images and lyrical texts added here to Rolle's *Ego Dormio* reveal the necessity of both those forms to this kind of reading in the wilderness.

Scholars were first drawn to the *Desert of Religion*—and to Additional 37049—by another fascinating image they knew as a "portrait" of Rolle, found in all three manuscripts of the poem.⁶⁰ In both Additional 37049 and Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) the artist undoubtedly intended to depict the famous recluse, for he is named in both manuscripts: "Richard ham-pole," and "Richarde heremite," respectively (figs. 4.6 and 4.7). The image



Figure 4.5. "Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat." Sleeper and Virgin. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 30v. By permission of the British Library.

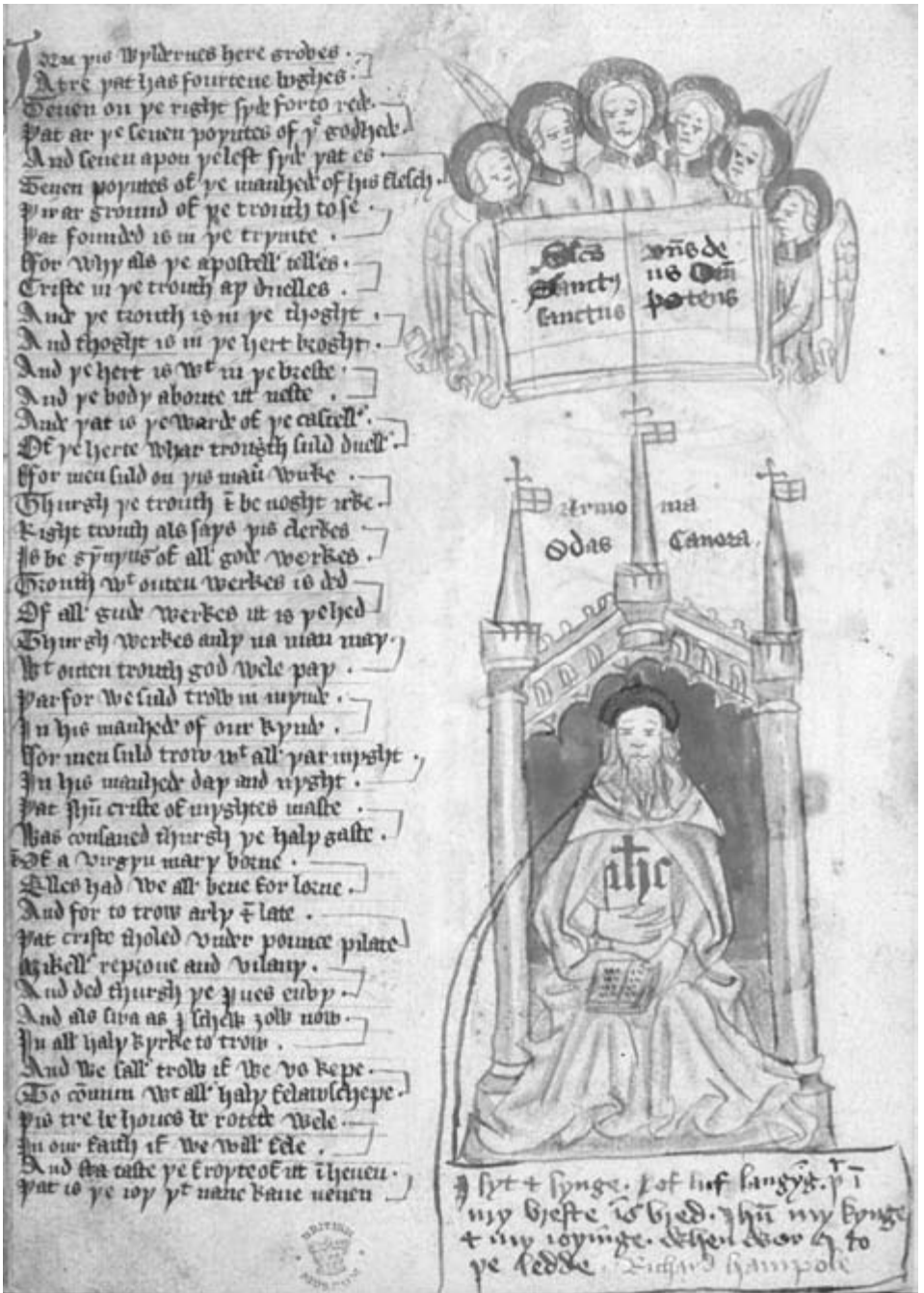


Figure 4.6. “Richard hampole” portrait in the *Desert of Religion*. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 52v. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 4.7. “Richard hermit” portrait in the *Desert of Religion*. London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) (?c. 1420–30), fol. 8v (detail). By permission of the British Library.

in Stowe 39 is less clearly a “portrait” or even a deliberate representation of Rolle, for the seated figure resembles a learned doctor more than a hermit, and he is not more particularly identified (fig. 4.8).⁶¹ Both Cotton and Stowe add perimeter verses in a hermit’s voice:

A solitari here
 hermite life i lede
 For ihu loue so dere
 all flescli lufe i fiede
 Dat gastili comforthe dere
 Dat in my breste brede



Figure 4.8. Unidentified portrait (hermit? doctor?) in the *Desert of Religion*. London, British Library MS Stowe 39 (first half 15th c.), fol. 16v (detail). By permission of the British Library.

might me a thowsand zeere
in heuenly strenghe haue stedd.⁶²

Given its northern provenance and its wilderness subject, the *Desert of Religion* could hardly escape the specter of fourteenth-century Yorkshire's most famous eremitic son—a ghostly image imbued with the personality, and speaking with the lyrical voice, of this vernacular singer.

In Additional 37049, the figure identified as “Richard hampole” sits in an elaborate turreted hermitage, a structure surmounted by obscure words that recall Rolle’s mystical theology of song: “Armonia Odas Canora” (see fig. 4.6). He holds an open book on his lap, and above him a group of angels holds a larger book that reads: “Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Omnipotens.” The holy monogram of Jesus, *ih̄s*, is inscribed on his breast, the ascender of the *h* crossed to evoke the crucifixion. No text surrounds the perimeter of the image, but the figure speaks a short lyric prayer, enclosed in a speech-balloon that precisely locates the verses in his voice.⁶³

I syt & syng
of luf langyng
that in my breste is bred

Ihesu my kynge
 & my ioyinge
 When wer I to þe ledde.

Although, as we have seen, ancillary verses are associated with many of the hermits in all three manuscripts that contain the *Desert*, this lyric is unique to the Carthusian version. It is one stanza of a longer poem attributed to Rolle—the second lyric found embedded in his *Ego Dormio*—here excerpted and reintroduced into the wilderness context of Additional 37049. To a poem that pays homage to historical and saintly hermits, the inclusion of Richard Rolle’s own verse brings local and (near-) contemporary relevance. In a poem that is long and relatively formal, the inclusion of this small, personal lyric allows for close devotional interaction between the speaker and his God. Rolle’s humble poem also allows for an identification between the eavesdropping reader and the voice of the text. As we have seen, this sort of identification has been suggested elsewhere in the Carthusian *Desert*, but the Rollean lyric allows the reader more easily to assume its pious fervor, for its emotions are more universal than those of the descriptive “A solitari here.” In allowing the reader to inhabit so thoroughly the devout voice of the poem, Rolle’s short verse might be said to define the genre of the Middle English devotional lyric. The insertion of this small poem in this unusual place shows the depth of the collection’s engagement with the lyric form. The Rolle “portrait” is most revealing, not as it testifies to the physical features of the fourteenth-century hermit, but rather as it testifies to the ways in which his literary influence shapes this particular miscellany.

The representation of Richard Rolle in the *Desert of Religion* is not unique to Additional 37049. Outside of the long poem, however, this miscellany includes another distinctive complex of texts and images that respond to the more widespread Rolle “portrait” and the *Ego Dormio* lyric (fol. 37r; fig. 4.9). Even the layout of the page recalls the *Desert*, for it presents two regular columns equally filled with texts and images.⁶⁴ The picture is quite similar to the *Desert* portrait: a man in white robes sits on a rock in a wilderness, holding a book on his lap, while above him cherubim unfurl a musical scroll reading “sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.” The open book begins with the word *Ego*, a word that might intimate the way in which life in the eremitic desert forms and shapes a Christian self, but that most likely is meant to call to mind the biblical verse with which Rolle’s popular vernacular epistle begins: *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat*. A crucifixion image hovers above the picture space, grounded in a heart that is pierced by a banderole that reads: “ihc est amor meus.” This sentiment is echoed by a holy monogram on the

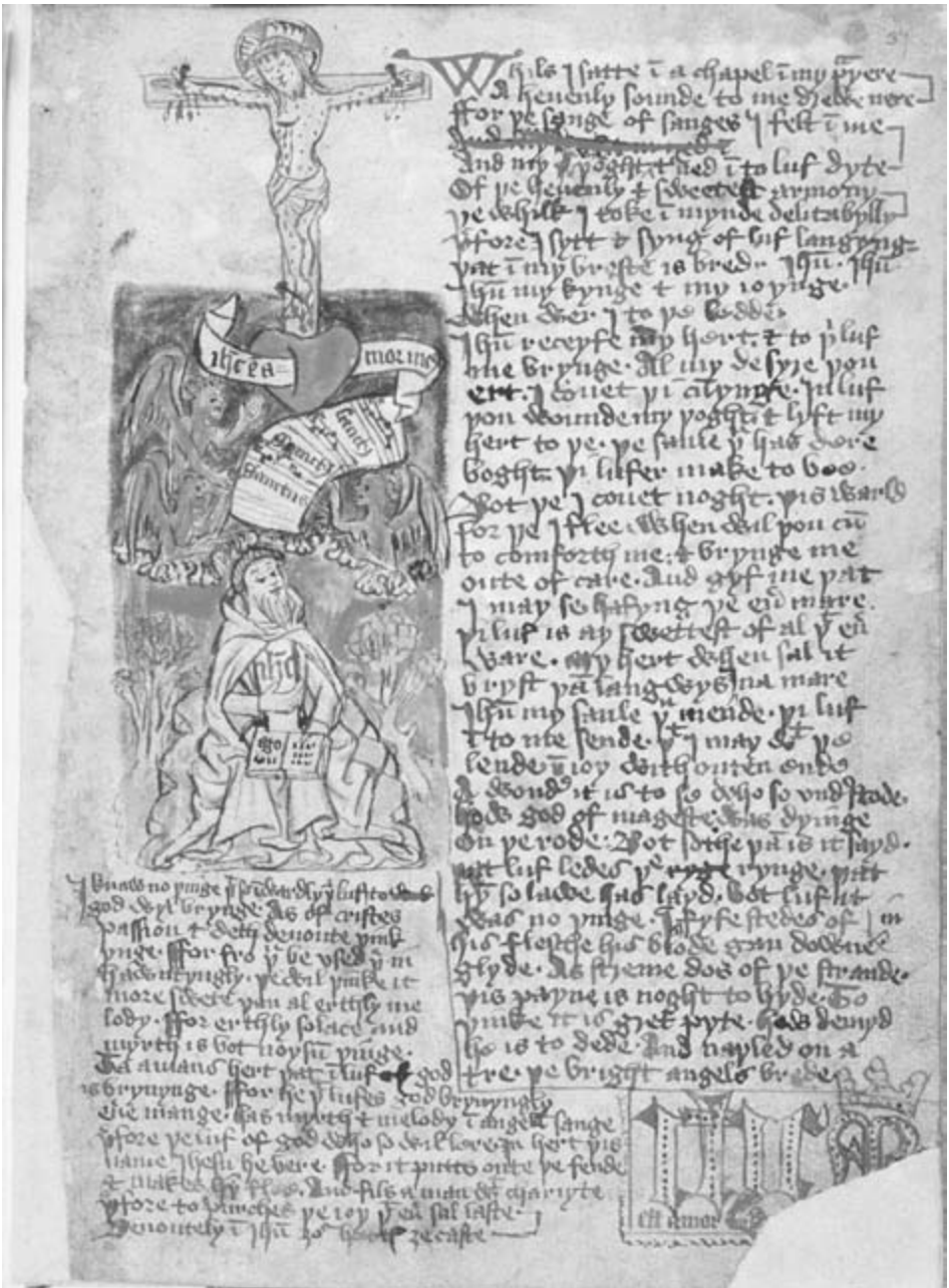


Figure 4.9. Unidentified hermit (Richard Rolle?) with “Ego” book and holy monograms. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 37r. By permission of the British Library.

man's chest, and another in the bottom right corner of the page. The texts on this page reflect the sweet and fervent burning of Rolle's devotional song, and the opening lines are actually a versified translation of a biographical moment from his *Incendium amoris* (XV.189).⁶⁵ They present a song within a song, for they begin with a framing scene:

Whils I satte in a chapel in my prayere
 A heuenly sounde to me drewe nere
 For þe sange of sanges I felt in me
 And my þoght turned into luf dyte
 Of þe heuenly & sweete armony
 þe whilk I toke in mynde delitabyllly⁶⁶

With the arrival of this "heuenly sounde," the poem, as well as the speaker's thought, turns into the same "luf dyte" that was excerpted in the *Desert of Religion*:

þerfore I sytt & syng of luf langyng
 þat in my breste is bred. Jhesu, Jhesu,
 Jhesu my kynge & my ioyinge
 When were I to þe ledde?
 Jhesu receyfe my hert. & to þi luf
 me brynge. Al my desyre þou
 ert. I couet þi cumyng. In luf
 þou wounde my þoght. & lyft my
 hert to þe. þe saule þu has dere
 boght. þi lufer make to bee.

The orderly couplets of the setting turn into the prayerful song itself, which no longer respects the congruence of line breaks with rhyme, but flows ecstatically from one line to the next. It is possible, of course, that the scribe saw the opportunity with longer lines to save space. But his choice of layout creates the effect of varying tempo for the reader of this page, a practice of ecstatic punctuation embraced by the author of *A Talking of the Love of God*, who explains that his treatise is written "in Cadence . . . yif hit beo riht poynted. & Rymed in sum stude. To beo more lovesum. to hem that hit reden."⁶⁷ Tellingly, the final couplet is marked with braces, as are the three regular couplets of the opening. So the layout of the verse frames with orderly lines the ecstatic internal "dyte." The devotional song reproduced on fol. 52v is here augmented by more snippets of the lyrics from the epistle *Ego Dormio*.⁶⁸ When the speaker feels the "sange of sanges"

within himself, it is natural that he should turn to Rolle's epistle founded on allusion to the *Canticum canticorum*. The context for the *Ego Dormio* lyric provided on this folio gives readers of the Carthusian miscellany an enriched sense of what sort of experience the poem emerges from, and some direction in how best to read and understand it.

Rolle's songs and the experience they claim to represent are passionately sensory—love longings that come from hearing and feeling—but they are almost wholly nonvisual. The speaker of the poem does not attempt to represent the object of his desire in visual terms, but inevitably Additional 37049 does seek to render Rollean love longing through a visual experience of song, depicted both in the layout of these poems and in their illustration. The differences are significant: while the illustration in the *Desert* portrait is relatively formal, presenting the hermit in a saintly architectural canopy, the figure on fol. 37r sits in a true wilderness. Angels fly in clouds above him, but they hold a score for musical performance, rather than the purely literary codex. Finally, the object of the love song floats above it all, available to the visionary experience of the hermit, and to the eyes of the medieval reader. But as powerful as the crucifixion image is, the most crucial part of visualizing love longing is imagining its speaker; from the sleeper on the *Ego Dormio* page, to this hermit in the wilderness, the illustrations focus not so much on the subjects of the verse, as on their singers. The illustrations provide insight into what is most essential in imagining these wilderness lyrics: the voices through which the poem is realized.

The patchwork of Richard Rolle's lyrical theology on fol. 37r borrows from another English epistle, in addition to the *Ego Dormio: The Commandment of Love to God*. The final verses on the page begin with a rhymed paraphrase of a section of *The Commandment* that recommends meditation on Christ's Passion, and go on to exalt the heavenly music—"myrth & melody in angels sange"—that comes with "brynnynge" love of God. The excerpt ends with a few lines celebrating the Name of Jesus, and recommending devotion to it as a way of learning God's love:

þe love of God, who so will lere,
 In heart þis name Jhesu he bere;
 For it putts oute þe fende & makes hym flee,
 And fils a man with chariye.
 þefore to purches þe ioy þat euer shal laste,
 Devoutely in Jhesu þour herte þe caste.

The compiler of Additional 37049 drew from a variety of Rolle's lyrical writings, appropriating their mystical theology as his own, and transform-

ing relevant prose passages into verse. Like the verse scrolls added to the prose *Ego Dormio*, the verses created here testify to the generic appeal of the lyric as a vehicle for mystical prayer. This adaptive practice shows the pervasive influence of Rolle, and the freedom with which his brand of eremitic devotion was customized to local need and circumstance, but it also demonstrates the signal importance of the lyric form as an accompaniment to devotional practice. Whether for mnemonic reasons, or more closely to approximate the angels' song that Rolle heard internally, Rolle's wilderness prayer in this miscellany is inevitably lyrical.⁶⁹

Finally, among the lyrical pieces connected with the *Desert of Religion* and the legacy of Richard Rolle in Additional 37049 are three short excerpts from the *Prick of Conscience*, the most popular poem in Middle English, to judge from the 115 extant manuscripts.⁷⁰ Five of these manuscripts attribute the poem to Rolle's authorship, but the case is far from clear.⁷¹ The *Prick of Conscience* is most safely considered anonymous, and indeed the poem, composed c. 1350, seems to have circulated as a kind of common intellectual property in the late-medieval period. As one might expect, such a widely read text had extensive influence, functioning as a compendium of late-medieval religious knowledge.⁷² Patterns of manuscript ownership suggest that the *Prick of Conscience* was occasionally ransacked by parish clergy looking for useful pastoral material.⁷³ The textual history of the poem shows no great care for its accurate transmission, for the text survives in a number of complicated versions, seemingly turned to whatever local purpose its copyists thought would be fruitful. The adaptability of the text is registered by the frequency with which it traveled in excerpts; eight manuscripts, including Additional 37049, reproduce and cobble together short passages of particular interest, refitting them for use in specific manuscript contexts.⁷⁴ These contexts range from astronomical compilations to romance collections, but most often include devotional works such as the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, the *Cursor mundi*, and various writings of Walter Hilton and indeed Richard Rolle. Having proven adaptable to so many miscellaneous devotional frameworks, the poem provides natural material for the compiler of Additional 37049. In addition to the many ways in which the *Prick of Conscience* and its excerpts were deployed in manuscripts, the influence of the poem is also attested by nontextual expressions, far outside of books. The popularity of the text led to its reflection in the visual arts, most famously in a window in the north aisle of All Saints' Church, North Street, York. Much of the painted glass at All Saints' represents iconographic subjects similar to those included in Additional 37049, such as the corporal works of mercy (though a different set), and the orders of angels. But one window depicts images more textually bound: the Fifteen

Signs before Doomsday as they are described in the *Prick of Conscience*, with fifteen verse inscriptions from the long work.⁷⁵ These particular couplets are not included in Additional 37049, but their presence in glass attests to the malleability of the popular poem, and to its assimilation to late-medieval devotional practice in a variety of media.

The first of the excerpts from the *Prick of Conscience* in Additional 37049 is “*Apostolus dicit Ciuitatem hic manentem non habemus* / Behold how in þe wildernes of þis warld men gase” (fol. 36r; see fig. 3.8). This poem, like the amalgams of Rolle’s genuine lyrics that we have already seen, is a series of excerpts rather than an extended quotation, a kind of nonce-lyric created from very short snippets of Book 2 of the longer work. With its initial emphasis on “beholding” and its thematizing of wilderness experience, the poem sorts well with the concerns of the manuscript as a whole, and one might speculate that these interests prompted its inclusion here. But oddly, the poem shares a page with the *Vado mori* imagetext associated with the *Desert of Religion*: the king, knight, and bishop sit in the right-hand column, each threatened by the figure of Death. Although it might be possible to imagine thematic connections between text and image here, it seems most likely that practical considerations of space brought the two unrelated imagetexts together. The second excerpt from the *Prick of Conscience* presents a similar puzzle: “Alle þe warlde wyde & brade” (fol. 72r). This poem addresses similar themes, comparing the world through a collection of familiar monastic metaphors to a stormy sea, a wilderness full of ferocious beasts, and a forest populated by “thefes and outelawes.” But the artist of Additional 37049 has missed an opportunity to realize these themes visually, for no picture appears with the poem. Effectively, since the pictures accompanying the first are not affiliated with the text, and the second includes no picture at all, neither of these excerpts from the *Prick of Conscience* features illustration.

The third collection of verses drawn from the *Prick of Conscience* does not share the wilderness focus of the first two, but it is illustrated in a way that enhances the performative effect of its words. This excerpt works in quite another way, although one that is characteristic of devotional reading in the wilderness. The lyric begins with a Latin quotation, and continues by translating it into English: *In omnibus operibus tuis memorare nouissima tua & in eternum non peccaberis* (“þat is on Ynglysche þus to say / he says thynke on þine ending day”) (fol. 69r; see fig. 4.10). The poem begins with direct address to the reader, quoting what a mysterious “he” (Solomon is specified in the full version) says in Latin and passing it on in the vernacular language. This is not unusual for the *Prick of Conscience*, which punctuates its own verses with frequent quotation of Latin authorities. After giving several good reasons for remembering death always, the poem moves on

In oibz epibz tunc memorare uomissia tua t tunc no p'rabio

¶ It is on ynglysche þus to sa
he says thynke on þine ending daye
by whichen you shuld my warke begyn
and þan sal þi ned more syn
and þfore þi maner i þi warke be sice
and þrike ay dele þat þi sal dye
for you sal dye þi date ned d'geu
ne t' d'gatt stite you sal be þen
ne þi date ned t' d'gatt stite
þi sal dye ne of d'gatt ded.
ffompe skyle q' fynde i sw' stede
d'ghy men spedally shuld d'ede þi ded
d'ne is for ded st'cke is so follo
þit is more payne þi maner can telle
þit eide man sal fele d' m.
d'ghen body and soule sal t' d'ymne
A noy is for ye l'ght þi qe sal pas
of fende þi abodde þi þan sal be
ye t'p'rd is a co'ente þi qe sal z'ke z'ede
of al his lyfe botþi z'ol't'ge t' elde
ye f'orme is for qe is v'ertayne
d'ghed qe sal d'ende to ioy or payne
ye þ' here says þus t' a stede
and spech þus v' to ye dede
O þi gr'ishy d'et' sayd qe
ful byt'w' is þe mynde of ye
v' to ye s'ynful manerly
þit am'nd' q'ym no'ftt or qe dye
þfore me thynke qe is m'k'as
þat mak'as q'ym not here p'edy to dye
for d'et'ge is þ'ow t' so d'ayne
and ye t'yme of his t'ynge v'ertayne
þe fore it morne d'ghen you see l'ght
þrike you sal dye or it be m'ftt
d'ghen you goe to t'p'pe if you be d'ryse
þrike d'et' þi life you shuld l'w'þ'ge not p'p'e
for þ'ym' d'ghen you says i a boke
þat in v' h'ert' d'ye v' l'aste day l'ose
þor d'et'ge so d'it þrike on v' maner
and be d'ayne t' mak' q'ym l'w'þ'ge
and of al his s'yn t' d'ense q'ym d'ole
O d'et'ge com þit qe mon' fele
þan may be t'p'p'ave t' go l'w'þ'ge
þe l'itt'w' þ'ym' of v'ng'tory
and com to ye bl'is of h'ence b'right
d'ghen d' is day t' ned m'ftt.



Figure 4.10. "þat is on Ynglysche þus to sa/he says thynke on þine ending daye." British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 69r. By permission of the British Library.

to allude clearly to a more particular speaker, quoting “þe prophete” in an apostrophe to Death:

þe prophete says þus in a stede
 And spekes þus vnto þe dede
 O þu grisly deth says he
 Ful byttyr is þe mynde of þe
 Vnto þe synful namely
 þat amends hym noght or he dye
 þerfore me thynke he is vnslee
 þat makes hym not here redy to dye.

The prophet continues in this admonitory vein, and Death never offers any response. But the picture promises (and delivers) a more interactive scene: the prophet, identified as such by his elaborate headwear, stands above, gesturing downward toward a skeleton in a gesture of address. The skeleton looks up, listening, his face rubbed out by some fearful reader, holding his five “grisly” arrows in a surprisingly nonthreatening stance. This is not a standard *danse macabre*, in which Death calls human attention to his power.⁷⁶ Instead, it accurately reflects the structure of the verse: an address by the human figure to the allegorical one. The picture depicts the lyric as the formal speech of a prophetic voice, showing the means rather than the subject of its delivery, and animating what might otherwise be considered purely lyrical, by implicit allusion to dialogue.

The degree to which this lyric takes the form of a speech, and approaches the form of a dialogue, can be seen by comparison with a more meditative lyric we have already noticed in the miscellany—comparable in theme, and yet revealingly different in structure. The lyric “*Versa est in luctum cithera mea*” treats the same subject, makes the same admonition—“þinke ay wele þat þu sal dye”—but to quite another effect. In this second poem, the speaker is not a musician playing a harp, thinking internally about his own regrets and others’ folly. Instead, he is a man speaking aloud, casting the same message of repentance in a rhetorical, oratorical form. The figure of Death is not merely a memorial image; rather, even though he does not speak in the text, his visual representation becomes an interlocutor. The small piece of dialogue implied by the text—the prophet’s apostrophe—is seemingly its least significant part. Why should it have been illustrated? The answer must be that the artist was interested as much in the *means* of the lyric, as in its substance. The creator of this page was concerned with representing a speech—both by excerpting dialogue from the many passages available in the lengthy *Prick of Conscience*, and by depicting speakers

in the margins—even when the spoken words would not seem to be the most thematically notable part of the longer text.

With these suggestions of voice and vision in the devotional lyric, we might start to think about another aspect of performance in the private lyrics of Additional 37049. It is not only the ways in which these poems recall oral performances, such as sermons, that makes them performative, but the ways in which they re-create those performances; not just the visual images they summon up through meditative means, but the performers at prayer who speak the poems' words, and enact them with each devout repetition. The devotional lyrics in this manuscript, though meditative, inch toward the dramatic monologue, or even the dialogue, in their eagerness to memorialize the *voices* through which they are spoken. Whatever biographical power the "portraits" of Rolle may have, the repeated citations of him here attest to the importance of the human voice—sometimes immensely authoritative, sometimes less so—that speaks these devotional words. Even in a lyric poem only distantly connected with Rolle, this excerpt from the *Prick of Conscience*, the voice of the poem's anonymous "prophete" interests the artist at least as much as the substantive meditative subjects it might offer. Illustrations add to these lyrics not only the material embodiment of their devotional subjects, but also new mechanisms for their expression.

But whose voices are speaking these lyrical lines? We have heard the voices of external authorities intimated—preachers, apostles, and prophets. We have also seen the particular, near-contemporary voice of the hermit Richard Rolle pictured in the "portraits" of him scattered throughout the miscellany. But the manuscript's attention to voice goes beyond the famous hermit and other external authorities; Rolle is not always speaking, not even always speaking the words of his own lyrics. Another kind of voice is more powerfully represented in this manuscript: the voice of its readers. The Rollean lyrics initiate a conflation of speakers with readers that will prove essential for the rest of the lyrics in Additional 37049. One might expect the reader of this illustrated miscellany to function mostly as a spectator, a passive observer of the flamboyant words and pictures that fill its pages. But the reader himself is pictured in the manuscript, in both general and specific forms, and his voice participates in, or even creates, the devotional dynamic it presents. From beginning to end, this miscellaneous book emblemizes the voices of its readers—many kinds of readers, although most often the particular Carthusian readers who take a monastic vow of silence, but whose voices nonetheless find a place in these devotional lyrics they read silently. Readers of this manuscript are audiences and spectators of the words and images they see, but they are also significantly imagined as speakers and actors. This material embodiment of the lyrical voice is an important brand

of readerly performance, signaled and even effected by the visual images that accompany the texts.

IMAGINING THE CARTHUSIAN READER

What has the lyric sensibility that emerges from the miscellaneous collection in Additional 37049—at once aural and visual, emphasizing readers and speakers over meditative subjects, and requiring a performative reading—to do with this manuscript’s charterhouse origins? Some of the lyrics here look as though they can offer only basic instruction in the beliefs of the Christian Church, made memorable by rhyme, rhythm, and visual images. The presence of such rudimentary teaching in this book has led some to speculate that it was created for the use of Carthusian lay brothers or novices.⁷⁷ And some of the readers pictured in the miscellany are generalized, rather than particular—representative human souls, rather than individual fifteenth-century monks. But other items make it clear that Carthusians themselves were the readers of this volume. More even than the foundation poem, the images of monastic readers interpolated throughout the book suggest not a lay fascination with an austere and exotic order, nor the tangential interests of a community of lay brothers, but a volume used by the eremitic monks themselves. To understand the workings of the meditative lyric in a Carthusian context, it is necessary to untangle the complex dimensions of this self-representation and determine how these poems are related to their monastic audiences and speakers—both represented in the images that are integral to the experience of reading this book.

This investigation of the reader in the book might begin by considering another of the memorial images limned by one of its devotional lyrics. Like the self-crucifixion poem, “Also take hede to þis insawmþyl here,” this lyric’s striking visual image would seem to call for illustration, but like the *Prick of Conscience* excerpt “Behold how in þe wildernes of þis warld men gase,” it is accompanied by images that bear very little relation to its words. The text is a poem on the appearance of Christ, “As walnot barke his hare is ʒalowe” (fol. 25r; fig. 4.11). The physical appearance of the savior is described and celebrated by the text in very concrete detail: “No reprefe was fun þare / In nose nor mowthe, cheke nor chyn / His berd was multiplied wele with hare / Lyke to downe both fayre and clene” (17–20). This is a God who is also a man, a God with the specific physical characteristics of an especially beautiful man: “he is most curteys now sothly / Of al þe creatures as says þe boke” (40–41). The text is a partial Middle English verse version of the apocryphal letter of Lentulus.⁷⁸ Lentulus, according to legend the governor of Judea before Pontius, was imagined to have written to the Roman Senate with a favorable description of the person and demeanor of



Figure 4.11. “As walnot barke his hare is zalowe.” “Arbor amoris: þe tre of ius.” British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 25r. By permission of the British Library.

Jesus. The letter existed in Latin from the thirteenth century, and was well known to fifteenth-century Carthusians, as it was first printed by Ludolph the Carthusian in his *Vita Christi* (Cologne, 1474). The Middle English poetic version recorded here ends neatly with an “amen,” but its first line—“If þai do so he wil þaim safe”—seems to begin in the middle of something, and to have little to do with what follows. It is likely that the beginning of the poem is lost, since the Latin text of the letter begins before this poem does, and the troublesome first line, though not identically close, bears some resemblance to what precedes the start of the poem in its source text.⁷⁹ It is not clear, however, what caused the loss of the beginning in Additional 37049. Nor is it obvious why, given a well-established tradition

of portraits of Christ, the poem is unillustrated.⁸⁰ The text records a visual experience of divinity incarnate, and acknowledges the importance of visually in a late-medieval incarnational theology, but the vision it describes is nowhere pictured.

Instead of the beauty of a divine man, the pictures on this folio present a set of seemingly unconnected trinitarian ideas, abstract representations of the Godhead several times removed from the person of Christ himself. The picture shows a diagrammatic “arbor amoris,” also designated “þe tre of luf,” with instructions in Latin and English in how to love the Trinity: the lefthand branch reads “luf god þe son wysely,” and the righthand branch reads “luf god þe holy gost of al þi mynde swety.” The topmost branch reads in both languages: “Dilige deum patrem fortior: luf god þe fadyr strangly.” At the root a fundamental inscription instructs: “Dilige deum super omnia: luf god abowue al thynges.” Below this tree, an angel instructs a soul in the same lesson, raising his hand, in which he carries a speech-scroll: “luf god with þi hert fre / O god & parsons thre.” The naked soul emerges from a pool of blue water, and appears to receive this mandate dutifully. This folio reflects the interaction of the human with the divine, the soul taking instruction from an angel. These images, surprising as they are in connection with this poem, provide an example of how the creator of the manuscript animates its pedagogical instruction, by linking it to speaking figures. As familiar as an arboreal emblem might be, a static, silent tree alone will not suffice to communicate a performative devotional idea; it must be joined by a speaking angel and a receptive human soul. Most important, the reader of this book can imagine himself in that naked human soul—the most general representation of any human being—located within the scene that he sees depicted. The trinitarian diagram, in a representation at least as interested in the method of its transmission as in its substance, includes both its own explicator and its own audience.

The same general reader is again depicted in the form of a naked soul, as part of the illustration for a Marian lyric, “*Ave maris stella dei mater Maria*” (fol. 27v; fig. 4.12). The text’s devotional instruction is based upon the familiar Latin Marian hymn, translated into English and expanded. The page is more image than text, and it represents primarily the object of the poem’s address. The Virgin kneels inside a fiery orb, praying to Christ enthroned, surrounded by a host of praying angels. Although mother and son are represented in conversation, no words appear on either of their speech-scrolls. At the bottom right corner of the page, a praying man kneels in water, also holding a blank scroll. The relationship of the images to each other is in part explained by the poem itself: “hayle se sterne gods modyr holy / pray þu þi swete son safe vs fro foly / þat walks in þis world lyke vn to þe se / Ebbyng & flowyng ful of vanyte” (1–4). These words provide a ra-



Figure 4.12. “Hayle se sterne gods modyr holy (*Ave maris stella*).” Praying speaker and heavenly vision. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 27v. By permission of the British Library.

tionale for the naked man standing in a pool of water; although the image itself recalls iconographies of baptism, and some have seen it as a type of purgatory, the textual connection seems close enough to warrant the assumption that this figure represents human souls in this unstable world “lyke vn to þe se.”⁸¹ He holds a speech-scroll, but he speaks the text of the poem itself, praying to Mary to intercede with Christ on his behalf. Unlike the previous image of the reader, who plays the role of audience but leaves all speaking to an angel, this figure of the soul bears responsibility for the lyric poem—although his scroll is blank, it serves to indicate that he speaks the main text on the page. It is crucial for the artist of Additional 37049 to represent the speakers of the lyrics it contains, voicing the text, in this case, through the figure of a representative human soul. Subject and audience of this Marian lyric are one, and the speaker forms an important part of the dynamic of the page.

The man praying in the sea before the Marian lyric *Ave maris stella* could be imagined to be beholding the vision, hearing the lyric, and speaking it, as well. In all of these roles, he models the reader’s possible relationships to the imagetext on the page. The audiences depicted in Additional 37049 vary from representative men to generalized human souls, but the number of Carthusian monks among them is especially striking. The identification invited between the reader and the book is so close that a merely “representative” man cannot adequately represent him; even though other kinds of audiences are present, the book as a whole imagines a decidedly Carthusian readership for its lyrics. Interest in the manuscript has focused primarily on these lyric texts in part for this reason, I think—these monks seem so tantalizingly to represent the readers who were using it, and their connection with the lyric poems is as a result supremely intimate. Rosemary Woolf has claimed that the lyric genre is more closely connected to the Carthusian Order than to any other monastic group, and the images of readers in Additional 37049 must be in part responsible for her assessment.⁸² Like the “portraits” of Richard Rolle, these images of contemporary devotional readers seem to bring us closer to a sense of the manuscript’s first audience; the lyrics show a variety of relations between text and image, but this revealing group illuminates also the relations between reader and book.

The images of Carthusian readers are directly connected to the images of Rolle though a complex of texts and images we have already seen. The unnamed hermit on fol. 37r, whose “heuenly sange” comes to him in a chapel, includes in his lyric some verses on the Holy Name of Jesus (see fig. 4.9). These final verses honoring the Name of Jesus on fol. 37r also appear across the opening, as the beginning of another version of the *Ego Dormio* lyric patchwork (fol. 36v; pl. 5). This version of the poem is not written in verse lines, so it occupies the lower half, rather than the left side, of the page.

It consists mostly of snippets, cut and rearranged, from the first lyric in the prose epistle, the Passion-meditation. Above the composite poem, a similar holy scene is depicted, but it is altered in a few significant ways. There is no trace of Rolle's holy person, or of the musical angels. Instead, a Carthusian monk kneels before a representation of the crucifixion, emblazoned on an enormous version of the Holy Name itself. Whereas the crucified Christ on the previous page seems to float above the earthly scene as an incorporeal vision, here human supplicant and divine figure occupy the same space. Precisely identical Rollean lyrics accompany an image that has moved away from any biographical trace of the fourteenth-century mystic, to represent instead his first-century subject and his fifteenth-century readers. This complex and powerful imagetext leads to the more general group of lyrics that dramatize their own reception: those that include images of their Carthusian readers.

These Carthusian figures relate to their lyrics in several different ways. One, for example, is connected to the well-known Marian poem "In a tabernakil of a towre," with the Latin refrain from the Song of Songs, *Quia amore langueo* (fols. 25v-26r; fig. 4.13).⁸³ The poem is a vision, in which the speaker both sees the Virgin in a tower and overhears her complaint:

In a tabernakil of a towre
 As I stode musand of þe mone
 A crowned qwene most of honour
 I sawe syttyng on a trone.
 Sche complayned by hyr one
 For mans saule so wrapped in woo,
 "I may not lofe mankynde allone
Quia amore langueo."

The rest of the lyric is spoken in the Virgin's voice, as she languishes for love of humankind, and from her beloved's indifference to her. She asks plaintively of sinful man, "Why lufs þu not me as I luf þe?" (44). The lyric's courtly language is turned to religious purposes, as a human vision of a royal queen turns into a divine song of love lament. The artist of Additional 37049 has depicted the queen of heaven in a castle, crowned and dressed in ermine as she stands in an architectural frame like a devotional statue in a chapel niche.⁸⁴ She holds her son, who in turn holds an orb and makes a gesture of blessing. And again the visionary speaker, as well as the reader, is represented in the Carthusian monk who kneels under the heavenly sight. He raises his head toward the vision, and speaks this prayer inscribed on a scroll: "O maria þe flowre of vergyns clere / In al oure nede oure prayer þu here." This figure is the representative ungrateful man the Virgin is speak-

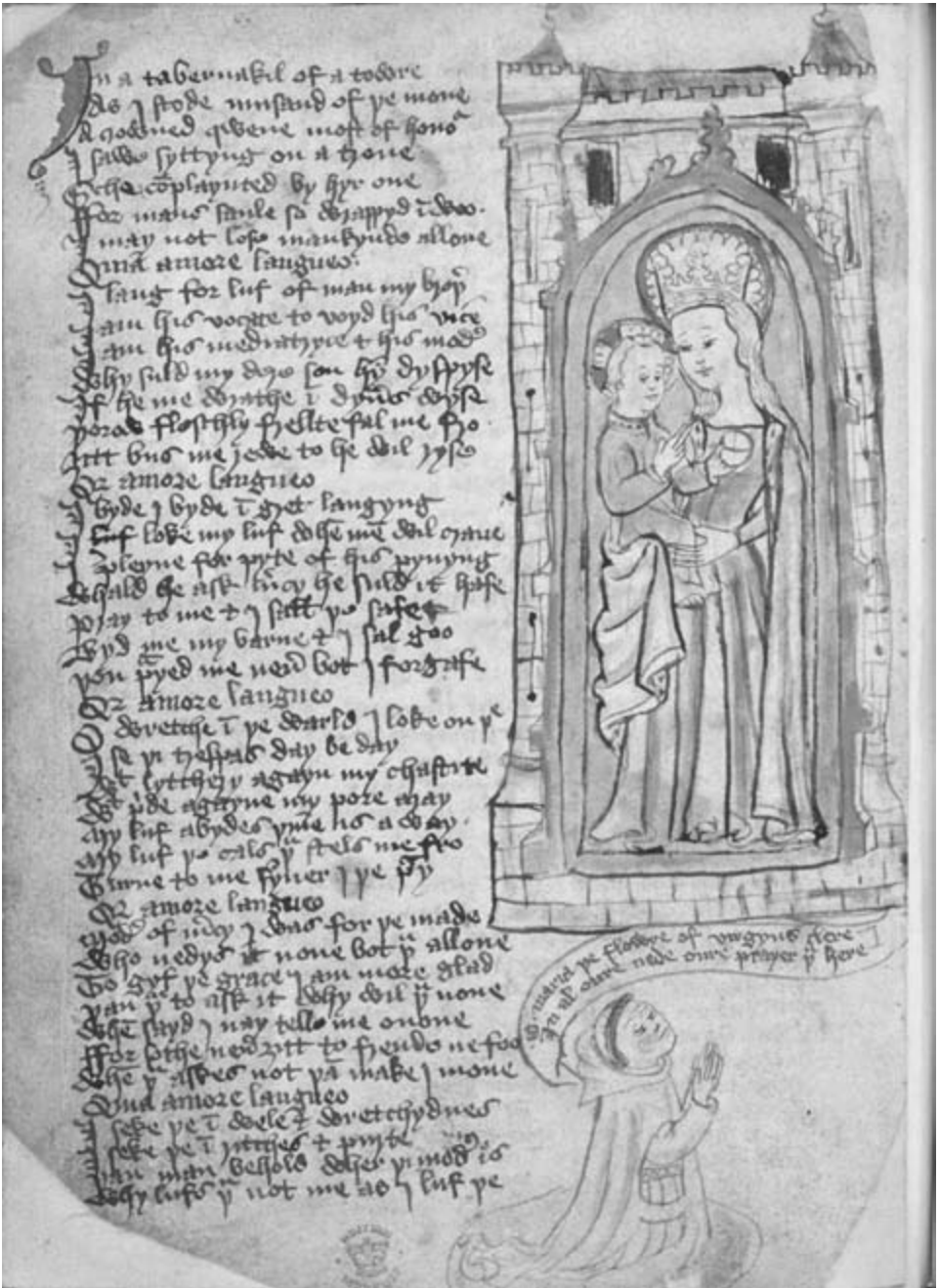


Figure 4.13. "In a tabernakel of a towre." Virgin and Child, praying Carthusian monk. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 25v. By permission of the British Library.

ing to, as well as the particular speaker of this poem who saw the vision. He is also a Carthusian monk, and therefore a clear figure for the reader of this book. He is not, however, the main speaker of the poem, a role that is reserved for the Virgin herself, in an unusual display of Marian agency; the Virgin speaks, though she begins as an image in a sculptural niche, and she gives herself the many titles that are so often devolved upon her by other lyrics of praise.⁸⁵ “In a tabernakil of a towre,” like the illustration that accompanies it, represents relations between two actors: the Virgin and the Carthusian monk who prays to her.

Another Marian lyric with a Carthusian supplicant, “*Salve regina*,” tips the balance slightly back in the direction of the human voice. The upper half of fol. 29v is occupied by large figures of the Virgin and Child, enthroned, and a kneeling Carthusian monk (fig. 4.14). They speak in rather conventional prayer-scrolls:

(MONK) O swete lady mayden mylde, pray for me to Jhesu þi childe.
 (VIRGIN) I am redy for all to pray, þat my son wil luf, god varay.

The poem relies upon an acrostic structure, in which the rubricated Latin words of the *Salve Regina* antiphon descend, one at the head of each line. The English phrases translate and expand each of the Latin terms, so that the whole poem is a kind of vernacular gloss on a familiar devotional vocabulary.⁸⁶

Salve hayl oure patron & lady of erthe
Regina qwhene of heuen & emprys of helle⁸⁷
Mater moder of al blis þu art þe ferth
Misericordie of mercy & grace þe secunde well

The English lines are linked to one another by braces of rhyme, which reveal an interlaced pattern. Although an interaction between Virgin and monk is accomplished through the simple verses on their speech-scrolls, the Carthusian monk here is also clearly the speaker of this poem of praise. He stares up at the vision of Virgin and Child, and while the Virgin returns his gaze, the Child might even be imagined to look out at the reader. The monk is identified with the reader by this connection, and the poem is voiced by both at once. Indeed, there is no single speaker for these verses, which are cast in the first person plural: “Hayle *oure* patron & lady of erthe” (emphasis mine). The poem’s conflation of speaker and reader implies, or even creates, the social framework of a Christian community.

This *Salve regina* poem begins on fol. 29v and continues onto fol. 30r, filling the opening. But at the bottom of the recto page, another poem has

been copied, probably by a different hand (fig. 4.15).⁸⁸ This is a crucifixion lyric, and it introduces the other great theme of the illustrated lyrics in this book. An image of the crucifix stands between the two columns of text; the man on the cross is covered with tiny wounds, as he is elsewhere in the manuscript, blood dripping from his arms and feet.⁸⁹ This poem connects each of Christ's sufferings to one of the seven deadly sins, as indicated by marginal Latin glosses: "contra superbiam," "contra invidiam," etc.

With scharpe þornes þat beth kene
 mye hede was crowned ʒe may sene
 mye blode rane down by mye cheke
 thow proude man þerfore be meke. ...

In al my þriste vpon þe rode
 men gaffe me drynke þat was not gode
 Eyselle and galle for to drynke
 Gloton þer on I rede thow þinke.

Christ speaks directly to the reader of each pain that he feels and he issues a warning against the appropriate sin: his thirst on the cross should caution against the sin of gluttony, for example. This poem is connected to the one it shares a page with by its combination of a Latinate vertical structure (a list of the seven deadly sins) and a vernacular horizontal structure, the unfolding of Christ's pains and those sins in verse. This is a fundamentally visual conceit; no similar diagrammatic effect could be created in sound alone.

When a Carthusian monk is introduced into a similar crucifixion scene, the visual effect is startling (fol. 45r; fig. 4.16). Christ is crucified upon the cross, with Mary and John on either side: a characteristic medieval crucifixion tableau. But a Carthusian, slightly smaller than the other figures in scale, kneels to the left, behind the ground upon which the other figures stand. The presence of this figure deflects the focus from the one in the center; Mary and John quite deliberately incline their heads toward the praying man. Their compassion is directed, not toward the suffering Christ, but toward the sinful man who longs to be redeemed. Moreover, although the inclination of Christ's head may be conventional (and it is not clear in any case that his eyes are open), the redeemer himself looks toward the Carthusian monk, as well.

The poem makes clear that the suffering God on the cross is looking toward the man, even if only in death. The text is a celebration and an explication of the material object of the crucifix, and the benefits of gazing at it, but Christ is also said to return that adoring gaze. The man addresses his lord:

30

Valle yn pe dayle of grace it wilt distende
 Eva hafe done gode lady grace is yn frende
 Ergo yfore send w pte of yn grace
 Advocata Ome advocate make vs afore o ende
 Nostra Ome synes to deestye dofuld we hafe space
 Illos tuos mo yn mayful eene + lusty lobe
 Ad nos cõtre cast opou vo for ome dysparte
 Et ihu And yhu yn babe pat yn flostye take
 p̄dictu So blisset a laerd make vo supparte
 fructu pat fruyt of lyfe may vo comfort
 vestrin of yn dome pe fruyt may suffyke
 Nobis So w dely by de may jostete
 post hoc Aftyr mo exyle to padyse
 v̄m Exyle is grysos t yo dork boye
 ostende Schede vo yn lust pe thonger to fyght
 zengnu Benygne lady + o lo stoye
 o clemes o bryu lanterne zyt vo yn lyght
 o v̄m o meke o castte o blissett f̄e lyght
 o dulas o swete o kynde o x̄ntytte + fr̄e
 maria mayn d̄e yhu pat v̄ntal kynght mayful
 Galue hyle + fare hole + ymbe on me d̄uo



Wyth scharp þornes þt beth kene
 mye hede was crooned to may soue
 mye bledde radre doun ho mye chere
 etlow proude man yfere ho mye
Wyth a spere þt was fulle of ylle
 mye harte was poynted yn me my wyl
 fro lust of mid pat was my dore
 entyse man of luste etlow loc
In al my priste ypon þe rede
 ayon gasho me dryþe þt was not gode
 spelle and gasho for to dryþe
 etlow þt on 7 rede was ymbe
Oho a clone mady þt was kene
 to saue mankynde þt was fulle
 And suffere dore for manes synes
 o lustre posse

Ifo þt ho wrotte o deldre tale wrotte
 wo holdo þe lesson þt þe toctye
 etlow my yst hande þt nail it harte
 yfere forp̄se and ho not wrotte
Aryse up v̄nlyste onto of þt lad
 And beholde mye fere þt bou yllid
 And unled faste to ethe tro
 t̄banke me þt of al was fere þe
 etlow my lost hand a nail was dryne
 etyube þen þt þt wrotte þyue
 helpe þe þere w̄ almyr dode
 And þt m̄ hono st̄al hafe mode
Ihu for ethe wounde fere
 etlow þe pad wole m̄ al þt lyue
 t̄ þe þt lesson ouer wyl þode
 And þt no hope þe þe f̄uile fude

Figure 4.15. Continuation of *Salve regina* ("Wyth scharp þornes þt beth kene"). Crucifixion. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 30r. By permission of the British Library.

Thy myghty mercy kyng of blis
 My syn & me be þu ay betwyx
 For in al my care my moste comforth is
 þe conseyt I hafe of þe crucifix
 þe cros & þe kyng I behold
 In fygur of þe blissed passion
 I am fed with ioy many fold
 For þis conceyt & þis reson
 For wele I wote to mak vs bold
 þi hede is ay inclyned downe
 Redy to here what þat we wold
 When we pray þe with deuocione.
 (1–12)

The speaker appreciates the “conceyt” he has of the physical crucifix, because it allows him to take joy in the sight of his crucified lord, and he knows that Christ’s head is bowed because he is ready to answer prayers. Intriguingly, although its primary meaning is the immaterial “idea,” the word *conceyt* also was used in a fifteenth-century will from Bury St. Edmunds in the sense of a physical art object.⁹⁰ So the speaker has an image in his mind, but also perhaps an artifact in his hand, each representing Christ on the cross. The poem goes on to explicate each of the comforting attributes of a crucifix: Christ’s arms are spread wide “for to embrace redy arayed/þe folke of þi redempcion” (23–24), and his nailed feet signify “þat þu lord wil not fro vs fle/And lefe vs here in oppression” (32–33). This lyric concentrates on the comfort the speaker derives from looking—a situation that is very different from, even the inverse of, the injunction to painful sight that is a part of the “O man unkynde” appeal from the cross.⁹¹ It is Christ who is here “inclyned downe” to the Carthusian reader, and repeatedly enjoined to hear him in his prayer: “Now gode god þu here my oryson.” The directive is in the mouth of the human speaker, rather than the holy figure, as the Carthusian reader participates dynamically in his own salvation. The poem conflates the roles of gazer and hearer, supplicant and benefactor, recalling the complex metaphors that structure the self-crucifixion poem “Also take hede to þis insawmpyl here,” and the ways in which human petitioners are directed to take on aspects of Christ’s sacrifice. Both as spectator and as speaker, the Carthusian reader of the lyrics in this miscellany takes active part in the tableau of Christian redemption.

Although critical attention to the lyrics of Additional 37049 has obscured the interest of the manuscript’s other contents, the book is pervaded by what might be called a lyric sensibility. The usefulness of shorter pieces is due in part to the way the manuscript is structured, and even to practicali-

ties such as finding enough space on a page in which to write a poem. But it also has to do with the way that the miscellany was to be used. Even the long *Desert of Religion* is composed in bite-sized *passus*, which—though not lyrical—lend themselves to ruminative contemplation. With its emphasis on solitary singers and solitary readers, the devotional lyric, as much as the eremitic *Desert*, would seem to provide a natural variety of reading in the wilderness. For historical as well as generic reasons, then, one might have expected the lyrics collected in this manuscript to represent an emphatically solitary kind of poem—private and meditative, silently read. But what the manuscript as a whole teaches us about the performance of devotional reading can bring together the performance of the sung lyric and the materiality of the meditative lyric in a new way. Late-medieval devotional poems are best characterized by their participation in both lyric traditions—the aural and the visual—and the combination of the two compels a method of private reading that is closely allied with public performance. Even though other items in the manuscript have a more direct connection with texts and images that were (or might have been) performed, ideas of collective declamation and communal spectatorship stand behind even this most private of genres. In his individual enactment of lyrical texts, the solitary reader of the late-medieval devotional poem shares more with Abrams's lone singer, and even with Puttenham's companionable lutenist, than we might have first imagined. The Carthusian reader of these meditative lyrics is necessarily both a speaker and an audience, a viewer and the object of another's view.

Despite its eremitic readership and subject-matter, Additional 37049 is a miscellany interested in community. The Carthusian Order was not as solitary in practice as it might have seemed in theory, and the experiences of textual and artistic community that helped to shape Carthusian monastic identity had literary as well as social consequences. Even the clearly eremitic *Desert of Religion* celebrates wilderness through profusion, population, noise, and dialogue. The meditational devotional lyric, too—this most private and individual genre—takes its place among more social cultural and literary forms. We have seen that wilderness reading compels active readerly participation in the textual and visual dynamics of the manuscript, whether the reader is incorporated into its words, as in the prayer to the exemplary Mary of Egypt, or is pictured on its pages, like the Carthusian monks who pray in front of lyric spectacles. The self-conscious activities of meditation and “rememeryng” that the self-crucifixion poem promotes—“bus bi selfe here þou sal do crucifye”—represent another type of readerly performance. But the kinds of verbal and visual experience evoked by the lyrics in this book are not only internal, or meditative, ones; they begin to gesture, too, toward the kinds of public display suggested

by the performative forms that some of them take. The lyrics of the harpist, and the poems constructed from preachers' exempla, bring external spectacles into this world of private, eremitic reading, and set these poems into a framework of more communal kinds of literary experience. Reading a devotional lyric, even in solitude and silence, took place against a background of performances, a background that conditioned the poems' reception and, ultimately, their meaning.

Liturgical Pageantry in Private Spaces

The Carthusian imagetexts in Additional 37049 raise theoretical questions surrounding the performance of devotional reading most urgently where they reflect the public performances with which medieval religious would have been most familiar: the sights and sounds of the Christian liturgy. In ecclesiastical celebration, specifically, powerful ritual performs salvific functions, but human actors also perform in public spectacles founded on combinations of words and images. Liturgical experience—ranging from the cenobitic celebrations in the charterhouse church to the eremitic observances prescribed for each monk in his cell—finds reflection in the process of reading a book such as this one. My interest here is not to trace out specific iconographic and thematic reflections of the Carthusian liturgy in the texts and images the manuscript contains—although that could profitably be done. These vernacular words and images, read in solitude and independent of ecclesiastical ceremony, would seem at first glance far distant from any liturgical ceremonial a monk might see or hear. Additional 37049 is not a liturgical codex; it contains neither a Latin script that could be realized in actual, physical display, nor the elaborate and beautiful illumination that often embellishes such a script. Instead, this unassuming manuscript reproduces through the mechanisms of private reading the character and meaning of liturgical events, reflecting the central position of the liturgy as an “all-consuming dimension of medieval life.”¹

Medieval liturgical experience embraces a remarkably broad spectrum of practices: not only the official prayers written, prescribed, and enacted by the church, but also the “para-liturgical” exercises of devotion that

allude to and sometimes mimic those official prayers. As C. Clifford Flanigan, Kathleen Ashley, and Pamela Sheingorn have written, “To do justice to the historically complex realities of medieval liturgy, we need to begin viewing it as the cultural site for the most inclusive social and political as well as religious performance.”² Although the liturgy represents an officially authorized version of Christian belief and practice, it also constitutes a site of tension concerning the fundamental aspects of the Christian community. As Flanigan, Ashley, and Sheingorn have also observed, the boundary between the liturgical and the extra-liturgical is frequently “unmarked”—especially when private miracles occur in sacred spaces, surrounding relics, and interwoven with official liturgical ceremony.³ Late-medieval devotion to the Passion, so powerful a part of Additional 37049, was particularly susceptible to this slippage of boundaries, as Christ’s suffering was commemorated both by the collective remembrance of the formal mass, and by the personal *imitatio* so often interiorized in the individual’s life of prayer.⁴

Words and pictures can be “liturgical,” therefore, in a wide variety of ways. Some allude directly to liturgical language or imagery, both the official rituals of the church and the more informal practices of personal devotion. Others resemble liturgical events, in themselves taking the shape and aspiring to the effects of liturgical celebration.⁵ If performative language comprises words that “do things,” the relation of this kind of emblematic language to religious celebration of both public and private kinds is especially provocative. Austin’s most celebrated examples come from the marriage ceremony, in fact—to “I do” can be added “I now pronounce you man and wife.”⁶ Miracle-working images, too, can often be understood to “do things,” or even to “be things,” especially “before the era of art.”⁷ The liturgical spectacle that accompanied the late-medieval eucharist—the elevation of the newly consecrated host—became almost as powerful in its effects as the priest’s sacramental language.⁸ Words that do things—joined with images that do things—are at the center of liturgical events. When reading imagetexts is itself a devotional action with salvific effects, it takes on the methods, as well as the subjects, of liturgical performance.

The words and pictures combined in this manuscript reproduce liturgical practices, both in their overt representation of communal celebrations and in the mechanisms through which, like the language and spectacle combined in the liturgy, they seek to perform the essence of salvation. The lyric has already demonstrated links with the liturgical in this miscellany: some of its short poems take their form and theological substance from Marian hymns, for example. And the lyrical Book of Psalms that so deeply influenced Richard Rolle—and upon which he wrote an influential commentary—forms the backbone of medieval liturgical practice.⁹ But the

texts and images in the Carthusian miscellany go beyond those kinds of literary and thematic inheritances, to reflect also the aspects of liturgical experience that are unavoidably communal and necessarily enacted. As strong as the connections may be between lyrical texts and liturgical words, the complex associations between liturgical spectacle and dramatic events prove equally compelling, and equally meaningful to the experience of reading this book. The privatizing of the communal liturgy in the words and pictures of Additional 37049 affects the generic affiliations through which we read and interpret its texts; in this Carthusian miscellany, the liturgy is the hinge around which private prayer turns into readerly performance.

READING THE LITURGY: TWO MODELS

One complex of texts and images in this Carthusian miscellany offers a representation of a pageant more explicitly performative than any we have thus far encountered in our investigation. Across an opening, two roads converge at a walled, heavenly city, within which Jesus and Mary reign with several blessed souls (fols. 80v–81r; pl. 4).¹⁰ The wise virgins of the parable, whose lamps are lit by the “oyle of charyte,” enter eagerly into the gate of heaven (on the left), while the foolish ones with empty lamps are turned away (on the right).¹¹ Along the road to heaven, a procession follows under a banner of the Holy Name, represented here in the form of the holy monogram *IHC*. This procession is led by a group of nimbed apostles pulling a wagon filled with ranks of the faithful—a “cart of þe fayth” that travels on allegorical wheels of the four evangelists, as well as on more earthbound, literal wheels. The text unfolds the allegory further: “þe waynes [carts] of god ar þe foure euangelists, and þe hors ar þe apostyls þe whilk wt þair prechyng by þe warld in þt cart drewe & also gedyrd many peple.” Behind the cart a hell mouth swallows the wicked and demons brandish their flesh-hooks, as a caption explains: “þie fendes is abowte to drawe oute of þat carte of þe faythe þe cristen pepyl.” Prose notes filling the rest of the opening explicate and meditate upon these complicated pictures, and a poem at the far left enjoins the reader, through a familiar meditative imperative, to lead his thoughts up to heaven along with the wise virgins: “Behald man & þi þoght vp lede / to heuen wiþ al þi spede.” But the association of a meditative lyric with a representation of public performance introduces a new element into the readerly dynamic this miscellany encourages. The heavenly procession comes as a surprise in a Carthusian book, for its visual and textual profusion complicates (and compromises) the solitude and silence that structure the experience of the cell. These folios represent such a large number of figures as to constitute a crowd, and their parade across the gutter signifies active movement, rather than holy stillness and quietude. The

abundance of words in this opening, too, shows that the monastic cell is only technically silent, for this text disdains the solemn regularity of columns and text blocks, and noisily spills into every available space.

Such a procession in honor of the Holy Name is unlike anything known in Carthusian practice, which avoided pageantry of precisely this communal kind. As we have seen, charter monks rarely celebrated mass together, more often conducting their daily rounds of prayers individually in their cells. When they did come together in church, their sober and quiet liturgy maintained the ascetic principles for which the order is famous, simpler and more austere than even their most eremitic models.¹² The conservative Carthusian rite was modified to emphasize scripture, simplicity, and tradition, and to reduce the amount of ceremonial surrounding such events as the profession of monks. According to statute and custom, the liturgical experience of the medieval charterhouse was generally stripped of all elements—visual, textual, or musical—conducive to sensual experience.¹³ Charter monks celebrated fewer feasts than their compeers in other orders, and they omitted “popular elements” of ecclesiastical ceremony, such as the dramatic recitation of the Passion, bell ringing, and—explicitly—all processions. As the foundational statutes baldly put it: “Let it be known that we make no procession for any solemnity.”¹⁴ Given the extreme austerity of the Carthusian mass, and the relative rarity with which the monks celebrated it, any trace of liturgical ceremony in Carthusian reading is startling, let alone such an overt representation of communal pageantry as we have here.¹⁵ But the presence of liturgical and para-liturgical imagery in this codex suggests that such pageantry found a more suitable home in personal, meditative books than in actual monastic practice.¹⁶ Just as the Carthusian brought the performance of the liturgy, including choreographed movements such as bowing and kneeling at particular times, into his private cell, so we can imagine the performances of reading to bring in other kinds of pageantry. As a representation of a devotional performance, this image suggests that public performance, both represented and imitated, is the most revealing matrix for understanding reading in the Carthusian wilderness.

The reading of Additional 37049 adumbrates liturgical performance in more subtle ways, as well. The manuscript opens with a double frontispiece: two images painted on vellum pages, the only use of this material in a codex that is otherwise written entirely on more fragile and less luxurious paper.¹⁷ Although this first opening of the book seems certain to have been executed by a different artist, and could even perhaps have been attached at a slightly later date, one medieval reader’s decision to join this first opening to the rest is significant, as a kind of response to, or even a commentary on, the book that follows.¹⁸ This pictorial preface bears an exemplary relation-

ship to the imagetexts that follow, illuminating, among other things, the nature of their liturgical affiliations. The first page presents a half-figure portrait of the Virgin, delicately drawn but brightly colored (fol. iv; fig. 5.1). Her blue halo is ringed with yellow, and she is surrounded by an aureole of bright red rays. Ornamental Greek crosses decorate her veil, floating as insubstantial visions above the cloth on which they might more realistically be seen to rest.¹⁹ Like certain of the images of the Holy Face on Veronica's sudarium, the crosses serve as miraculous markers of sanctity rather than verisimilar depiction.²⁰ The image generally serves iconic rather than narrative purposes, for the Virgin is not shown here with the divine child who establishes and guarantees her importance for the Christian story.²¹ That child is pictured in the figure of Christ as the Man of Sorrows on the opposite page (fol. 2; fig. 5.2).²² He rests in death, eyes closed, and the jeweled, crossed nimbus tilted, with his head, to the left. His arms are no longer stretched out upon the cross, though the holes made by the nails are still visible in his folded hands. The wound in his side bleeds, though not as profusely as some on the following pages. The cross bears the inscription described in Mark 15:26, which reads, in the original, O BACIAEYC TΩN IOYΔAIΩN ("the King of the Jews").²³ Below, on the left, is the Greek abbreviation of Jesus (IC) with a small omega above it (Ω), and, on the right, the abbreviation for Christ (XC), with a small alpha above (A), recalling the words of Revelation 1:8: *Ego sum alpha et omega*. These are the only words in this first opening, and they complete rather than comment on the image, since they are not an extra-narrative titulus, but rather a part of the biblical description of the historical scene. The figure with its closed eyes depicts the dead man, rather than the living God, emphasizing the sufferings of the human Christ in a mode familiar to late-medieval affective devotion. However, the depiction here of Christ crucified, like that of his mother on the facing page, serves an emblematic rather than a narrative function, recalling the events of the Passion in general terms without portraying them more particularly. Neither a crucifixion nor a deposition scene, but some eternal moment in between, these images remind viewers of the horror of the cross, without representing any historical moment in the biblical account.

It has been generally recognized that these pictures of the Virgin and Christ derive in style and execution from Byzantine icons.²⁴ It is not especially surprising to find such influence in English art of this period: even as early as the twelfth-century Winchester Psalter and the thirteenth-century *Chronica majora* of Matthew Paris, it is evident that English artists were interested in Eastern iconography.²⁵ Neither is it surprising to find Byzantine icons in the hands of Carthusians; Carlo Bertelli has traced the development of the "image of pity" from its Eastern inception to the



Figure 5.1. Virgin. British Library MS Additional 30749 (c. 1460–70), fol. 1v. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 5.2. Christ. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 2r. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 5.3. Christ as Man of Sorrows. Mosaic (c. 1300). Rome, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

small mosaic icon at the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome (fig. 5.3). From there, the image traveled through a network of Carthusian dissemination, including paintings, manuscript illustration, and woodcuts, into books such as this one.²⁶ A list of items transferred from the London charterhouse to Hull in the fifteenth century bears out that line of descent, including “a fayre tabyll of seynt Gregorye pyte lyke to the same that ys in Rome.”²⁷ Versions of the *imago pietatis* also adorned such utilitarian devotional objects as the indulgence found at Mountgrace (see fig. 2.11). The image thus circulated in both public and more private Carthusian contexts, retaining always the memory of its authorizing connection to the Roman picture. Even though the “image of pity” was reproduced for more private purposes in woodcuts and manuscript illustration, it takes its origin from communal celebrations in the public space of the church. The image of Christ in Additional 37049 copies the Santa Croce icon especially

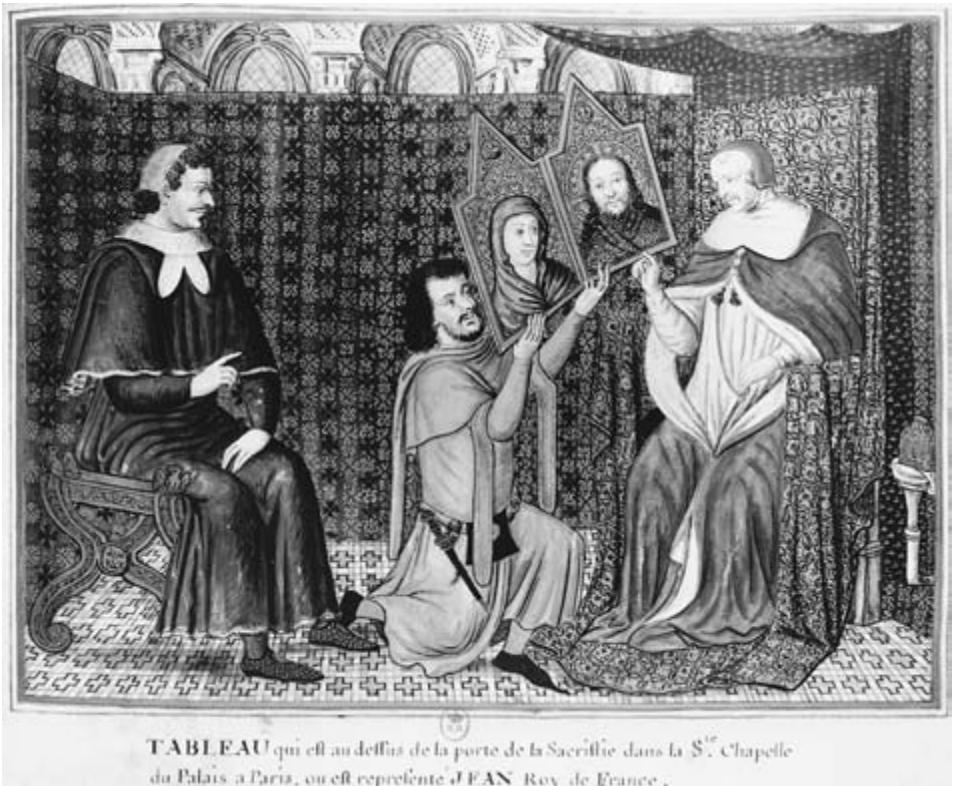


Figure 5.4. Presentation of the Avignon Diptych. Watercolor (18th c. copy of a lost 14th c. fresco in the Sainte Chapelle, Paris). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gagnières Collection.

closely—more closely, even, than the well-known 1499 engraving by Israhel van Meckenem, which claims explicitly to be an “ymago contrefacta.”²⁸

Joining the “image of pity” to an image of the Virgin, the double frontispiece of Additional 37049 suggests formal connections with the large number of late-medieval diptychs that pair pendant images of Christ and his mother in the form of a codex. One could cite many examples, from the two thirteenth-century Umbrian panels recently reunited in the National Gallery, London, to the early sixteenth-century copies after Dirck Bouts now in the Louvre, to the fourteenth-century object known as the Avignon diptych, preserved now only in a watercolor copy of a fresco formerly in the Sainte Chapelle (fig. 5.4).²⁹ The parallel between such diptychs and the form of the codex is made explicit in fifteenth-century wills, which sometimes refer to hinged paintings as “panels made in the shape of books.”³⁰ One extraordinary object makes the comparison materially, by surmounting a codex with a diptych, so that the reader continually keeps the unchanging

images on the panels, as well as the various words and pictures in the book, before his eyes (fig. 5.5).³¹ Western books themselves sometimes incorporate the imagery of such diptychs, as in the thirteenth-century Hildesheim psalter that pairs images of the Virgin and a Holy Face.³²

These Western diptychs, in turn, descend from another type of Byzantine object: two-sided icons used in festal processions that commonly conjoin images of Christ and the Virgin. An early and accomplished double-sided icon now in the Byzantine Museum, Kastoria, Greece, can serve as an example of the genre.³³ On the front, the Virgin in a standard Eastern pose (Hodegetria, “the Guide”) holds her infant son and gestures toward him (fig. 5.6). But on the back of the Virgin Hodegetria is an *imago pietatis* startlingly like the manuscript one, painted three centuries later and hundreds of miles away. Here is one of the earliest versions of Christ as the



Figure 5.5. Prayer-book of Philip the Good (c. 1450), surmounted by diptych (c. 1430). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1800, fols. 13v–14r (NB 12.161-C). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Bildarchiv.



Figure 5.6. Two-sided icon (second half 12th c.). A. Virgin Hodegetria. Kastoria (Greece). 16th Ephory of Byzantine Antiquities, cat. no. 424/90.

Man of Sorrows (Akra Tapeinosis, “Utmost Humiliation”)—defeated but victorious, he remains on the cross but his arms hang by his sides (fig. 5.7).³⁴ The Kastoria icon shows unmistakable signs of processional use, the two sides of the icon alternately visible to crowds in an imagistic dialogue that forms a part of public devotional ritual.³⁵ An example of the Virgin Hodegetria used in this processional context can be seen in a thirteenth-century fresco in a church at Arta in Greece; a lay confraternity, responsible for managing the cult of the icon, carries it along the streets of a city (probably Constantinople), while people both carouse in the foreground and watch in the background from arcades and balconies.³⁶ We can imagine that the Kastoria icon was similarly received as it passed in procession: viewed from a distance, with varying degrees of attention, over a relatively short space

of time. Thus it played an important, if transient, part in the civic and religious—and also the liturgical—life of the community.

A late-medieval English analogue to this kind of processional image can be found surprisingly close to Carthusian experience, in the Bridgettine abbey of Syon so intimately connected with the charterhouse at Sheen. A similar two-sided banner was carried in the ceremony of profession for new Syon nuns, as they promised in their conventual life to follow both Christ and Mary. As the rule explains: “And whanne she [the novice] enterith the chirche, their must be bore tofore hir a redde baner in whiche the ymage of crystis body suffryng must be peynted on the tone syde, and the ymage of the blissid virgyn on the toþer syde, so that the newe spouse beholdyng þe signe of the newe spouse sufferyng on the crosse, lerne paciens and pouerte.



Figure 5.7. Two-sided icon (second half 12th c.). B. Christ as Man of Sorrows. Kastoria (Greece). 16th Ephory of Byzantine Antiquities, cat. no. 424/90.

And in beholding the virgyn modir, lerne chastite and mekenes.”³⁷ The nuns’ eremitic Carthusian brothers could never have been physically present at such a ceremony, but the geographical and cultural proximity of the Bridgettine house suggests, nonetheless, that such a procession might have formed part of Carthusian imaginative life.³⁸ Just as the paired images of the Man of Sorrows and his mother inaugurate the Syon novice’s religious life, so the pendant images in Additional 37049 inaugurate its Carthusian program of monastic reading. The Syon banner instructs a new nun in how to enter into a new spiritual community, and the analogous images in this manuscript instruct its reader in how to enter into reading the book.

Although their close connection with the Roman icon and their distant imitation of a two-sided processional icon might retain a trace of their liturgical origins, in the context of Additional 37049 these images can only have been used for private and individual devotional purposes. The Virgin and the Man of Sorrows at the start of Additional 37049, a product and an instrument of the most solitary kinds of fifteenth-century devotional reading, provide evidence for the transformation of public devotional imagery into private forms well documented in the late Middle Ages. The way in which they function as the frontispiece to this devotional book might also exemplify the kinds of silent, “visual” reading Paul Saenger has amply demonstrated, concomitant with changes in page layout and increased word separation.³⁹ The Carthusian miscellany complicates these stories of increased late-medieval private devotion, however, for its most solitary brand of reading incorporates, too, interior gestures toward a public, performative world, recalling the icons on which they are distantly modeled, and their public use.⁴⁰ The animation and narrative force of the images as they were carried in procession might be lost in a physical sense by their transposition into a book, but that animation can be realized nonetheless within the private reader’s mind. The processional panel-paintings that serve as the frontispiece to Additional 37049 interact in new ways with each other and with their viewers, but they preserve some of the functions of public images, even within this private space.

PERFORMING THE HOLY NAME

Devotions to the Holy Name of Jesus provide an especially rich site for investigation of the role of the liturgy in shaping private reading, for they exist in a nebulous middle ground between informal and official liturgical devotions, between private spiritual practices and communal celebrations.⁴¹ In the Eastern tradition, seven degrees of the prayer to the name of Jesus include several with performative dimensions.⁴² The name makes the reenactment of the Passion possible within the heart, for example, or

becomes a kind of eucharist, an invisible and inner offering to the Lamb of God. Even though it is entirely inner directed, this prayer is understood by analogy to public ceremony. And although prayers to the Holy Name began as an individual devotion, they found their way eventually into the late-medieval English liturgy; the feast was officially established in the course of the fifteenth century, but clearly grew out of and always existed alongside a powerful and enduring popular tradition. So if the properly liturgical identity of these prayers is unclear, their manifestations in this book are particularly significant for that ambiguity. Additional 37049 reflects the fluidity of Holy Name devotions, from the most personal meditations to intimations of ecclesiastical display. In the manuscript's treatment of this private devotion with liturgical leanings, we can see how it negotiates the divide between the two types of devotional performance.

Such devotions take a natural place in Additional 37049, for they necessarily depend upon pictures as well as words. Prayers in celebration of the Holy Name may simply have been spoken, both by individuals and in community, but they more often rely upon imagery as well to complete their meaning. Many private manuscripts use images to convey the power of the name, and the liturgical version of Holy Name devotions also included visual elements, for masses were often said at "Jesus altars" (as at Durham) and also in front of images of the crucifixion.⁴³ The name of Jesus, honored by visual embellishment and decoration, becomes in these prayers as much picture as word.⁴⁴ The name exists precisely at the intersection of textual and visual experience, where holy words become "objects" meaningful beyond their transparent, grammatical sense, and their manifestation in monograms and pictures, often unvoiceable, is imbued with the power to work miracles.⁴⁵ For late-medieval Christians, no word is more efficacious, "does" more in an Austinian sense, than the Holy Name of Jesus. Embedded in these devotions is an implied performative utterance: "(I invoke) the Holy Name." Once the invocation is accomplished, the speaker is protected, just as the pronouncement of a couple performed in the marriage ceremony is followed by certain social and legal effects. The pictorial word becomes the divine person himself, embodying in one symbol the narrative of his life and even replicating emblematically his miraculous performance of redemptive sacrifice.

Medieval devotion to the Holy Name takes its Latin genealogy from Anselm, *Meditacio ad concitandum timorem*; pseudo-Bernard, *Dulcis Iesu memoria*; and Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 15 on *Oleum effusum nomen tuum* (Cantic. 1:2).⁴⁶ Official recognition came in the twenty-fifth constitution of Pope Gregory X at the second Council of Lyon of 1274. The devotion spread widely in late-medieval England, within and beyond the monastic orders, through multiple vernacular translations in the form of lyrics and

prose meditations.⁴⁷ As Denis Renevey has shown, manuscript evidence for popular devotions to the Holy Name is abundant in the fifteenth century, ranging from readers' marginal notes highlighting textual references to the power of Jesus' name, to decorated monograms used as running titles, to the kinds of elaborate pictures contained in Additional 37049.⁴⁸ The widespread private devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus was transformed into a liturgical rite in the fifteenth century, and although it is difficult to pinpoint the rise of the feast precisely in temporal or geographical terms, it seems to have been especially prevalent in England.⁴⁹ The monastic books surveyed by Richard Pfaff show traces of the "liturgizing" of this sort of devotion later and less often than more popular sources, but Pfaff concludes that by 1500 the feast was included in the liturgical observances of "the average parish church and certainly in the great collegiate and monastic churches."⁵⁰ What is most salient in this history is that private devotional prayers always continued alongside liturgical ones, the two practices maintained in productive equilibrium, even within one spiritual community.⁵¹ It also seems clear that this devotion drew its popularity and power from the legendary capacity of holy language to have significant miraculous effects; many miracle stories surround the private observances of the Holy Name, including saying the name aloud, inclining the head at the sound of it, or establishing a confraternity in its honor.⁵² It was believed, as well, that Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury, granted an indulgence in 1411 for saying a mass of the name.⁵³

Although affection for the name is widespread, manuscript evidence in general points to "strong" Carthusian involvement with the devotion, in Renevey's words. He speculates, on the one hand, that the charter monks' dedication to solitude may have increased the use of such private devotions; on the other, that the name devotions may also have provided an attractively compact form of prayer for monks burdened by the obligations of many offices and pressed for time. He thus links this private devotion to Carthusian liturgical experience, but only in a negative way: because the monks were so busy with their exhausting round of prescribed celebration, they had time only for the most streamlined of individual prayers. But a Carthusian booklist confirms the order's interest in the liturgical forms of this devotion as well, for it includes "Item a lityll qware of þe masses. De nomine Jesu et quinque vulneribus."⁵⁴ On the basis of the particular role that these prayers play in the context of Additional 37049, I will suggest that the idea of communal performances stood in some measure behind Carthusian devotions to the Holy Name.

Among all of the manuscript traces of the devotion to the Holy Name surveyed by Renevey and Pfaff, Additional 37049 appears particularly and elaborately engaged with it: there are no fewer than ten distinct manifesta-

tions in the manuscript of the Holy Name (or names, if we include “Maria” as well as “Jesus”)—more than in any other contemporary volume. More typically, a manuscript contains only one large emblematic name or holy monogram, as in Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys MS 2125 (fol. 118; fig. 5.8). Sometimes the name is repeated many times in an identical form—in marginal notes or a running title, as in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley MS 861, which includes the monogram at the top of every page. But no other contemporary manuscript offers so many different treatments of the Holy Name, so many exuberant variations on a central theme. The interest in this devotion here can be explained in part by this book’s concern to explore the dynamic relation between texts and images that such prayers would seem to demand. But the devotion also accords with the manuscript’s exploration of the line between private and public prayer, and with its interest in how performative reading can bring the two together. The visual elaboration of the holy words that name Jesus Christ and his mother Mary forms a crucial part of the structure of this Carthusian miscellany.

Sometimes Jesus’ name itself appears simply as a species of verbal picture, the words enlarged and beautified to indicate their heightened and intensified meaning. On one folio, for example, the words “iesus nazarenius” fill the top of the page, in red, yellow, and blue (fol. 23v; fig. 5.9). The visual aspect of these words is crucial to their significance; they are rather more difficult to read than if they had not been so decorative. The disposition of the two words on the page does not mirror their sense—that is, one unit of verbal meaning (a word) corresponding with one unit of visual meaning (a line). More picture than word, these names are perhaps less legible in the standard sense, but their visual decoration nonetheless has semantic force. They imply a spiritual performance reflected also in devotional objects found at Mountgrace, the lead strips similarly reading “iesus nazarenius” that were probably used to make talismans of the Holy Name for visiting pilgrims.⁵⁵ These holy words mean differently from the other words on the page because they look different (and vice versa). The text they “illustrate”—if that is at all the right word in this case—tells of several miracles demonstrating the power of the Holy Name: St. Edmund is told by Jesus himself to inscribe the name on his forehead; a monk sees a vision of a soul in torment who brings the same instruction; a sinful man is saved by the inscription of the name on his forehead; and a “deuoute knyght” is found upon his death to have the name written on his heart.⁵⁶ It appears from these stories that the practice of writing or saying the name is itself working these miracles, not the Savior whose name is called.⁵⁷ In each case, the miracle-working language is marked in the course of the narrative by slightly larger, red letters, so that the marked inscription of the name in the book mirrors the salvific inscription of the name on or in the body.

The power of the name is performed, in part, on and by the manuscript's textual format.

The salvific power of other sacred words can provide context for the performative workings of these holy names. For example, the manuscript includes papal indulgences for the hearing or saying of a variety of important phrases (fols. 26v–27r; fig. 5.10). The miraculous words, such as *In principio erat verbum*, are written in a more formal script, and to distinguish them further, the scribe has underlined them.⁵⁸ Some of the words appear again in the right margin of the page, where they lose all transparency and serve as emblems, rather than as language: *Verbum caro factum est; et homo factus est; Gloria patri; Ave maria*. It is significant that many of these special phrases have to do with incarnational theology: this holy language, thus pictured in the margin of the page, represents the transformation of the Word into flesh. Other phrases repeat the regularized languages of institutional devotion in the liturgy and encourage the private practices—such as kneeling or kissing the earth—that imitate it.⁵⁹ These enacted devotions are not holy names, but they draw a connection between words and persons, not only by their explicit incarnational subject, but by their own materiality, which embodies the crucial tenets of the Christian faith in physical words and physical actions of particular shapes.


At other times, holy names are incorporated into representational scenes, as where the name “Maria” grows in a tree that also bears a flower of “luf” (fol. 26r; fig. 5.11). (“Maria” appears again in the second flower, on the right.) The symmetry of the flowers makes the visual point that these words are equivalent, and both wield an emblematic power. Below the picture is a short, relevant, though somewhat garbled text, describing the efficacy of the “blyssed name maria” against “invisibil vnseaby l enmys, þat is to say fendes.” Part of the power of the blessed name here, one might infer, is precisely its *visibility*. Although one cannot see the fiends—a circumstance that seems to increase their power to terrify—one can see very plainly on the page the help promised by holy language. A similar insistence on visibility is evident in the longer prose piece “Of þe fayrnes of saynt Mary gods moder our lady” (fols. 21r–v). Tellingly, the text begins with praise of Mary’s physical beauty, but continues with a rhapsody on the interconnection of her name with her son’s:⁶⁰ “fforþi by grace I couet to hafē in my mynde þe name of Mary closed with in þe name of Ihesu. And þe name of Ihesu closed with in þe name of Mary. And so by þe name of Ihesu & þe name of Mary. I sal hafē þe moder & þe son. þe fadyr & þe holy goste.” The power of Mary’s name is so great, so closely identified with the name of her son, that she becomes effectively a fourth person in the Holy Trinity. The piece concludes by narrating a miracle that turns on the invocation of Mary’s name: “sone þe enmy stode stil & sayd: þu synner to me rehersed a bytter

The pope dunt clement p' sp'ite granted a
 jex and xl days to p'don to all nam p' hunc copet
 p' corante z also d'worthy heere or saye saint john
 gospel p' ye to san hu p'ncipio Etat verbu
 And ven to ye end' wherme verbu caro san est
 he sayd and declinid' wotely or knellys or bysshe
 p'g' erthe or v' maytt or a' p'otte he sall have v'
 p'don as it is he for funde also v' forsynd pape
 clement eke some granted a jex z xl days
 t'ill all nam v' heere in v' eved of v' messe p' is
 song or sayd v' words Et homo factus est
 And nam Inclinid' d'wotely or knelys z bysshe
 a forme or v' erthe he sall have v' forsynd
 p'don as it is grantede also v' pope john v'
 p'p' grantede xx' days to p'don t'ill all nam
 v'at in v' salme of Te deu laudam' Dams
 or elys heere d'wotely v'is weesse Te es
 go qe famlis tuus et And nam v' g'nd
 d'wocion knellys down to all v' weisse be fund
 he schall have v' forsynd p'don also v' forsynd
 pope john grantede xl days to p'don to all nam
 p' also oft tymys as v' worshippitt name
 It is namyd or fund d'wotely of any man
 or woman as offring tymys vey schall have
 v' forsynd p'don also v' forsynd pope john gran
 tid' xl days to p'don t'ill all nam v' d'wotely
 Inclinid' v' v'is weesse Gloria pat' z c
 ye in synnyng or sayng et Also mor d'wer
 v' forsynd pop john grantede xl days to p'don
 t'ill all nam v' d'wotely knellys d'wone at
 m' knellyngs of v' bett And saye hee due ma
 d'v' In v' worshipp of our lady q'ed' mod' at
 Emung and at v' more schall have v' forsynd
 p'don z c And also who so v'at some v' or
 soue v'at soldyngs est' when he seys a' croc
 he schall notyht den v'at day no sodayn deth

Verbu
caro
 factum est.
Et homo
factus
est
Te es
go qe
 famlis
 tuus et
Gloria
 pat' z c
due ma
ria

Figure 5.10. Indulgences with emblems of holy language. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 26v. By permission of the British Library.

Synful or sory how euer þu be
 So welcom to me y ar no mo
 I am in syn þu trayster on me
 Or amore langnes
 My chyld is outluded for y syn
 My barne is bett for y trespas
 It pykkes my hert y art so nere my kyne.
 Guld y be dyscesed or daryned allas
 O þu y art goþs joy y moder I had
 y sobbyd my wyse y luf man so
 þou dyed for hy y my hert y had.
 Quia amore langnes
 Man lese y syn for my sake
 Why suld y gref ye y not dealde
 And if y þu tu fawer take
 And trayst on me do y help talde
 In y not y med cald
 Why suld y fley y luf y peer
 I am y ffrende y helpe y need by hald
 þfore ynter þro þynes y cesse
 Why y I say zar why y say may
 may be helpar of y blys
 Comth to me if y wil pray
 y sik forgyf ye al y myse.
 O synful man I say ye yro
 y fondy ety zel if þou bar me fro
 Why may y þu darynt y blys
 Or amore langnes
 I am soborto man knaddlegyn
 Why þu say why calle y why restore
 I luf to safe my of synnyng
 Noðe why I tellt of yd myt more
 no dond. y my hert on þu synnyng.
 O þu y am goð mad dynt may y do
 þoz hy I hafe yd dooztgyppnyng
 Or amore langnes
 I was godned þ made a ghene
 Why was y cald of nyce go dwelle
 Why suld any ertly somman cleve
 þo þe t hoien be þe godone angell
 not for y man y de ye twelvyng to tell
 þfore as þe nyce y sal do
 þat y was o ynd to þ helpe y fro hert
 Quia amore langnes



Luf dule yd bliffed
 name maria. for saynt
 Jude sayd. So my hel
 dyed not vnsyff
 emys. all multytude
 of hostes. do vnsyff
 vnsyff emys. yd
 to say ferdos yd
 ye name þ yelke of
 mary þfore y luf
 y y delyes to offer.
 Take it to be offerd to
 y dooztgyff t yantfulst
 t al acceptabylynd hande
 of mary. If y dult not
 suffer þuttyng luf be




Figure 5.11. “Synful or sory how euer þu be.” Holy name *Maria* in tree; half-figure of Christ in medallion. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 26r. By permission of the British Library.

sange þat hersys þe name of Mary.” On this page, the power of Mary’s name is closely connected to the “fayrnes” of her physical body, represented pictorially by the illustration of a Virgin and Child (fig. 5.12). But the fiend understands that it is the performance of her name aloud, the rehearsal of a “bytter sange,” that guarantees its force.

The Holy Names are still more clearly visual when represented by the holy monogram, an unspeakable sign more emblematic than verbal.⁶¹ For example, a large Jesus monogram follows the *Desert of Religion* (see fig. 3.18).⁶² The monogram is surrounded by a square border containing quotations from Philippians 2:10 and Richard Rolle’s *Incendium amoris* and *English Psalter*: “In nomine Jhesu omne genu flectatur. Omnium optimum esse ihesum in corde figere et aliud nequaquam desiderare. bonum mihi diligere ihesum, nil ultra querere.”⁶³ Latin is rare in Additional 37049, and its inclusion might suggest that the Rollean emblem has been copied directly from some other source. The monogram appears again in a small heart dangling from the larger structure (unfortunately almost completely cropped off the bottom of the page), lending the whole diagram the aspect of a charm or amulet. This emblem of the Holy Name is unrelated to the other texts and images on the page, all of which concern the meditative value of “holy þoght and byrnyng ʒernynge.”⁶⁴ But the connection here of the Holy Name with the legacy of Richard Rolle renews the thorny question of the influence of that hermit on Additional 37049. In England, the history of the Holy Name was broadly connected in both genuine and spurious ways with Rolle’s life and writings. Rolle’s commentary on Cant. 1:2 in his *Tractatus super Cantica canticorum* circulated separately in both Latin and English, as *Oleum effusum* or *Encomium nominis Jhesu*. All three of his English epistles enthusiastically recommend prayers to the Holy Name, and many manuscripts of Rolle’s works, both Latin and English, include traces of the devotion in the form of marginal monograms and similar emblems.⁶⁵ Given the long European history of devotions to the Holy Name, it is probably best to imagine Rolle augmenting, rather than founding, the practice in England.⁶⁶ Whatever the particulars of his influence, Rolle was certainly connected in the general imagination to these devotions and—in a particular surprise—even to their liturgical forms. Although he never wrote any masses of the Name of Jesus that we are aware of, the primer printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1503 ascribes Heinrich Suso’s Vespers and Compline to Rolle, and Cambridge University Library MS Kk.vi.20 attributes to him Suso’s Divine Office and Mass.⁶⁷ Rolle’s genuine writings in relation to this devotion were not liturgical. But the popular and the liturgical versions of the Holy Name devotions blur tellingly here in the figure of the influential hermit.

As we have seen, the large monogram here is surrounded by text derived in part from the *Incendium amoris*, but some other instantiations of Holy

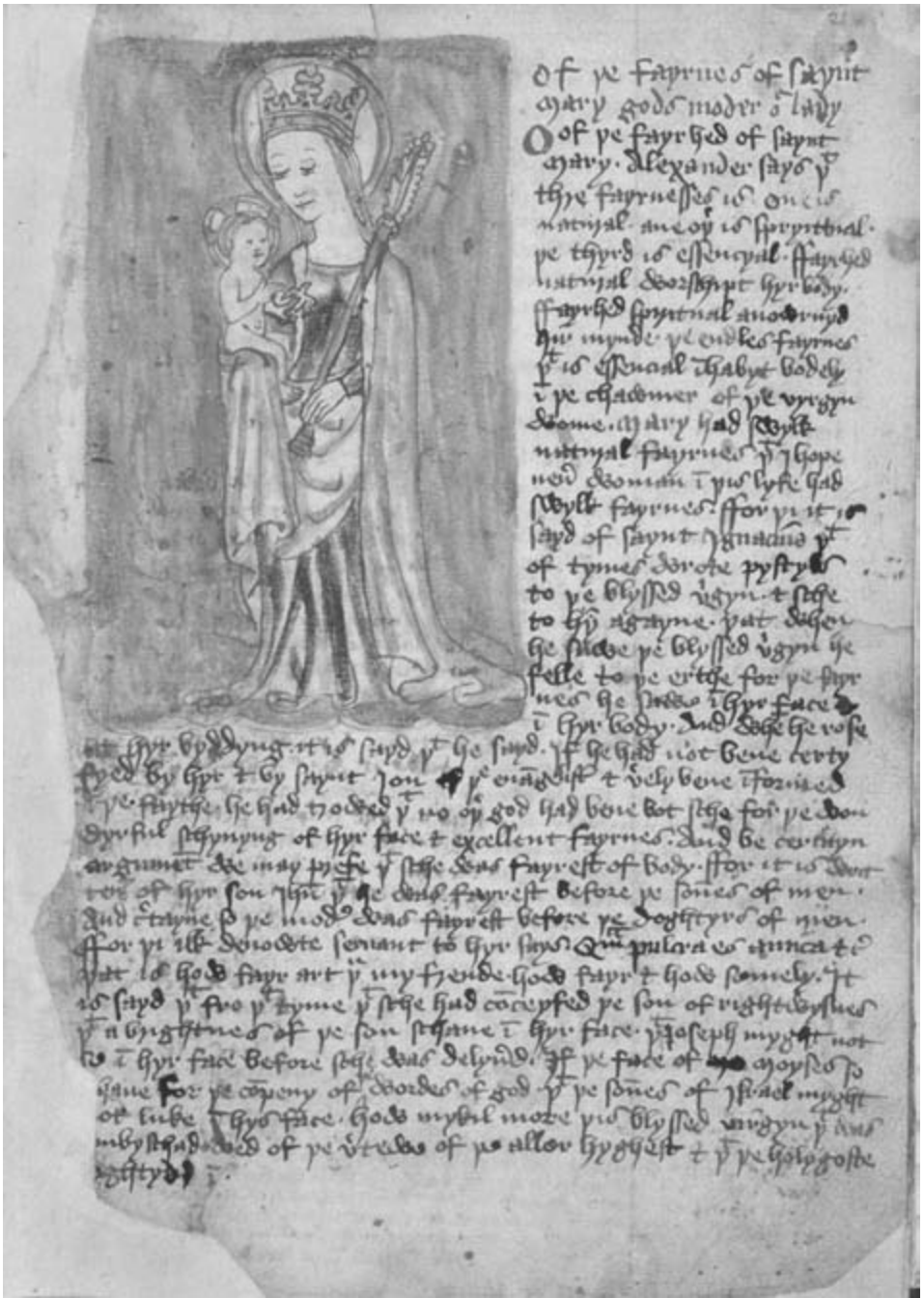


Figure 5.12. “Of þe fayrnes of saynt Mary gods moder our lady.” Sceptered Virgin and Child. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 21r. By permission of the British Library.

Name devotions in the miscellany are connected even more intimately with the person of Richard Rolle. A Rollean portrait we have already considered depends upon a range of uses of the Holy Name (fig. 4.9). The holy monogram is pictured in the lower right corner, and also emblazoned upon the figure's breast. The poem counsels its readers to imitate his performative devotions: "þerfore þe luf of god who so wil lere / In hert þis name Jhesu he bere / For it putts oute þe fende & makes hym flee / And fils a man with charyte." This figure probably represents Rolle, for it is very similar to the image of "Richard hampole" on fol. 52v, one of the hermit saints of the *Desert of Religion* (fig. 4.6).⁶⁸ "Richard hampole" displays an identical monogram on his breast, and also carries a book in his lap. But the "Ego" in the first book (the second one is illegible) also suggests an equivalence between book and body, one that plays around the edges of the devotion to the Holy Names, in which the sacred person becomes a text, and the divine text is frequently inscribed upon a person. Like the miracle stories of *iesus nazarenius*, these texts and images testify to the spiritual capacity of writing to enact the power of the name on the body. The holy monogram, more even than the name of Jesus itself, embodies the double nature of Christ: both Logos (readable word) and *corpus* (bodily incarnation).

An equivalence between Holy Names and holy bodies also structures the "Charter of Christ" (fig. 5.13), one of the miscellany's most compelling imagetexts. Following directly upon the Carthusian foundation-poem (fol. 22r-v), the "Charter" takes the form of a legal document, in which Christ grants humanity the joys of heaven, on the two conditions of love of neighbor and love of God.⁶⁹ The text exists in Latin prose and verse, and also in Middle English verse, in both a short and a long form.⁷⁰ Additional 37049 includes a version of the so-called "short charter," in which the entire poem constitutes a legal document, with no frame or intervening narrative.⁷¹ In this illustrated miscellany, the "Charter" does not merely imitate, but also pictorially embodies, a formal charter, for the text is incorporated into a picture in such a way that its physical form becomes as meaningful as its language.⁷² Christ himself stands behind the document, holding it with his pierced hands. The instruments of the Passion hover all around him, and skulls and bones at his feet signify Golgotha.⁷³ The text begins with the legal formula of medieval charters, *Sciant presentes et futuri*, and continues in Christ's own voice to spell out the terms of human redemption. In case anyone should claim that he has not died on the cross, Christ offers proof:

Witnes þe erth þat þan dyd qwake
 And stonys gret þat sonder brake
 Wittnes þe vayle þat þan did ryfe

And men þat rose fro ded to lyfe
 Witnes þe day þat turned to nyght
 And þe son þat withdrewē his syght
 Witnes my moder and sayn Jon
 And oþer þat wer þer many one.

Finally, he puts his seal to it:

In witnes of whilk þinge
 My awne seal þerto I hyнге
 And for þe more sikernes
 þe wounde in my syde þe seal it is
 With perchyng sore of my hert
 With a spere þat was scharpe.

Christ's "awne seal" hangs from the bottom of the pictured document. It represents the wounded sacred heart, as the text explains, but it also is inscribed with the holy monogram, *ih̄s*, recalling the amulet or charm pictured on fol. 67v. The holy name is appended to the holy body to guarantee the salvation that it promises, to reinforce the authorizing presence implied by both body and documentary seal.⁷⁴

The seal plays such an important role in the authenticating power of the text that even manuscripts of the "Charter" not as committed as Additional 37049 to the performative reading of imagetexts incorporate it into their material form. The seal appears as a drawing in BL MSS Sloane 3292⁷⁵ and Harley 6848.⁷⁶ It is represented as a physical object in the copytexts for BL MSS Stowe 620⁷⁷ and Stowe 1055.⁷⁸ Most remarkable is the BL Additional MS Charter 5960, in which the literary text takes the form of a freestanding document, complete with hanging strips of vellum to which a seal could be, or could have been, attached. Most of these manuscripts imagine Christ's seal to be authenticated by his holy monogram, which represents the divine person in a different way from the legalities of the textual charter, embodying the promise of salvation that the poem-as-document enacts.⁷⁹ As a text that depends upon the performative efficacy of images, the "Charter of Christ" makes significant use of the Holy Name, which is both word and picture. Moreover, this text was also embodied in another, more direct way: as a performed song. The Early Tudor Fayrfax book of songs (BL MS Additional 5465) and Bodleian MS Ashmole 189 both consider the poem to be a musical text; the Ashmole "Charter" is marked as a "hymn," and the Fayrfax MS actually sets these verses to music.⁸⁰ The "Charter," realized either in visual images or in melodious arrangements, commemorates the act of Christ's sacrifice through a documentary performance.

The most complex instance of such integration of Christ's own body with the imagetext of his monogram is found in a case where the text functions as part of the image, and the image provides a visual "gloss" for the text (fol. 36v; pl. 5).⁸¹ The profound interdependence of the two changes the meaning of each. Here the unvoiceable monogram of the Holy Name serves as background to the crucifixion, the *b* crossed to form the very instrument of Christ's death. What sometimes seems to be merely an orthographic bar indicating the need to expand an abbreviation (see, e.g., figs. 3.18, 4.9) becomes in this case the potent sign of the Christian faith (see also fig. 4.6).⁸² The name does not simply represent the body, but instead points directly toward the sacrifice upon the cross.⁸³ But the monogram functions syntactically, too, as the beginning of a sentence that is completed by the scroll below: *(Jesus) est amor meus*.⁸⁴ The poem below meditates on the efficacy of the name, including some Rollean and other familiar material.⁸⁵ It not only describes the inscription of the crucifixion on Jesus' body, which might be considered the point of the "Charter," but also the reverse: the inscription of Jesus' name on the bodies—in particular, on the hearts—of those who will learn "þe luf of god."⁸⁶ Most intriguingly, like the lyrics we examined in the last chapter, this image represents its audience, in the familiar form of the Carthusian monk kneeling at the left and gazing at the enormous monogram. What kind of devotional event is being depicted, or enacted? No Carthusian monk ever saw such an image as any part of his liturgical devotions, as far as we know, but the juxtaposition here of image with audience nonetheless suggests some kind of performance, even if only in the mind. The monk is to envision the Holy Name *as* a spectacle, just as he reads it as a word, and is to include his own participation in the spectacle as a part of the image itself. This image highlights the self-consciousness that is a necessary part of devotional readerly performance.⁸⁷

Even considering the confusion surrounding the contributions of Richard Rolle, there has been very little until this point in our discussion to suggest actual liturgical performance in the representations of the Holy Name filling Additional 37049. Although these names perform holy acts—earning indulgences and occasioning miracles—there is nothing in them that goes beyond the private devotions the name inspired. But Additional 37049 also suggests the potential of these devotions for more public pageantry. One opening in the manuscript suggests that contemporary liturgical pressures did not leave the book—or the Carthusians—untouched. As we have already seen, the image representing a procession of apostles includes the holy monogram as an emblem on a banner, the sign under which the "cart of the fayth" advances (pl. 4). The prose notes provide insight into the appearance of the Holy Name here in apostolic procession. The figures are identified quite explicitly: "þes fygurs abowue betowkens þe apostils þat

ledes gode cristen pepyl to heuen with þair holy doctrine & techeng.” The spectacular procession, then, represents in allegory another kind of devotional performance, the pastoral activities of the apostles. That their “holy doctrine” is instruction in the power of the Holy Name is made clear by the text above: “IHC is as mykyl for to say. as salveour. in Mathew it is wrytten vocabis nomen eius Jhesu. þus sal is name Jhesu be cald. he sal make safe his pepyll fro þair synnes. And in þe acts of þe apostils it is wrytten þer is none oþer name vndyr heuen gyfen in þe whilk vs behoues to be safed in bot in þis. Ihesu is a name of valow & of almyght to whome nothyng þat is of þe fende may withstande nor no fantestyke þinge may withstande if it [be] worthyly pronownced or spoken agayne fendes. our lord says in my name þai sal caste oute fendes.” The apostles teach the value of the Holy Name of Jesus, which, if it be “worthyly pronownced” by faithful Christian people—or “feliculously performed,” as Austin would have it—may save them from all manner of devilish threat.

Although this procession is out of character for the Carthusian Order, it is in harmony with late-medieval devotions to the Holy Name, particularly the influential ministries of Bernardino of Siena.⁸⁸ Bernardino’s ministry was based on public preaching and large gatherings around such banners and emblems of the Holy Name, a practice that inspired preachers in northern Europe as well.⁸⁹ Additional 37049 both points to and incorporates the imagery of civic religious festivals, in images such as these. The spectacle of communal devotion to the Holy Name appears—in the privacy of a codex—still retaining traces of its public life. Significantly, though, it is a heavenly rather than an earthly procession: such is the power of liturgical language (even in para-liturgical expression), that it can transform the civic realm on earth into the heavenly city of the New Jerusalem. The Holy Name procession pictured here is not unique in its association with Carthusian reading. An earthly Corpus Christi procession, for example, forms a part of one of the more lavishly illustrated copies of Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (Advocates MS 18.1.7; fig. 5.14).⁹⁰ The *Mirror* closes with a Treatise on the Sacrament, which is most likely the inspiration for this frontispiece, for it presents a kind of pageantry that would seem completely alien to the text of Christ’s life. It also would seem alien to life in the charterhouse, and in fact the manuscript is not Carthusian in origin. But its connection of a liturgical procession with the most famous of Carthusian meditative texts demonstrates that the two forms of devotional expression are not entirely incompatible. It is clear that medieval readers found the juxtaposition of processional spectacle and meditative reading somehow meaningful, and that the connection existed on a visual, as well as a textual, level.⁹¹ Such processional imagery makes even more sense in the context of Additional 37049 than in relation to Love’s *Mirror*, since the



Figure 5.14. Corpus Christi Procession. Nicholas Love, *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 18.1.7 (1444/5–1465), fol. 149v. © Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

miscellaneous manuscript, despite its meditative subjects and its eremitic readership, shows a consistent interest in public, and performed, kinds of devotional practice.⁹² The apostolic procession of the Holy Name, as a direct representation of communal pageantry, is especially striking, but this manuscript offers more than simple reflection of external shows. It also comprises texts and images that themselves perform devotional meaning. For even when it alludes to actual performances, this is not a liturgical book whose scripts must be translated into enacted spectacle, not a graphic record of actions already past or those yet to happen. Not least because of its indispensable pictures, the manuscript is important as an object of interpretation and a site of performance in its own right, not as a trace of more important performative activities conducted elsewhere.

PERFORMING THE CANONICAL HOURS

The efficacy of the Holy Name is related to performative reading because it derives from the reader's prior knowledge of all that the name can signify—only the active engagement of reader with text can reveal the full meaning and power of the emblem.⁹³ But although devotions to the Holy Name are clearly performative, their connections with the liturgy itself are diffuse and indirect; they work by imitating liturgical means, rather than by mirroring precise liturgical forms. To understand how Additional 37049 makes meditative reading into a private performance in more directly liturgical settings, we need to examine at greater length the specific echoes of liturgical events within the book. Unambiguous allusions to the liturgy can help specify further what ecclesiastical ceremony has to do with the words and pictures in this vernacular codex and how reading it both represents and replicates liturgical experience. One folio, for example, is built upon the singing of the canonical hours in a way that bridges with particular clarity the gap between the lyrical and the liturgical.⁹⁴ Narrative pictures representing the Passion descend the center of the page, schematically related both to verses on the left detailing each of the hours, and to verses on the right concerning the seven gifts of remembrance: the five senses, consent, and free will (fol. 68v; fig. 5.15). Each moment in the Passion story is allegorized as a warning against a particular type of sensual sin. The page begins with a rubric that instructs us in the use of its images and texts, for it refers both to solitary and communal devotional practice: “Here begynnes a deuowte meditacion of þe passione of Jhesu criste after þe seuen howres of þe day ordand in holy kyrke how a man sal remembyr þem.”⁹⁵ This rubric places individual meditation in the context of the structures of the institutionalized church, showing how the memory of liturgical practice “ordand

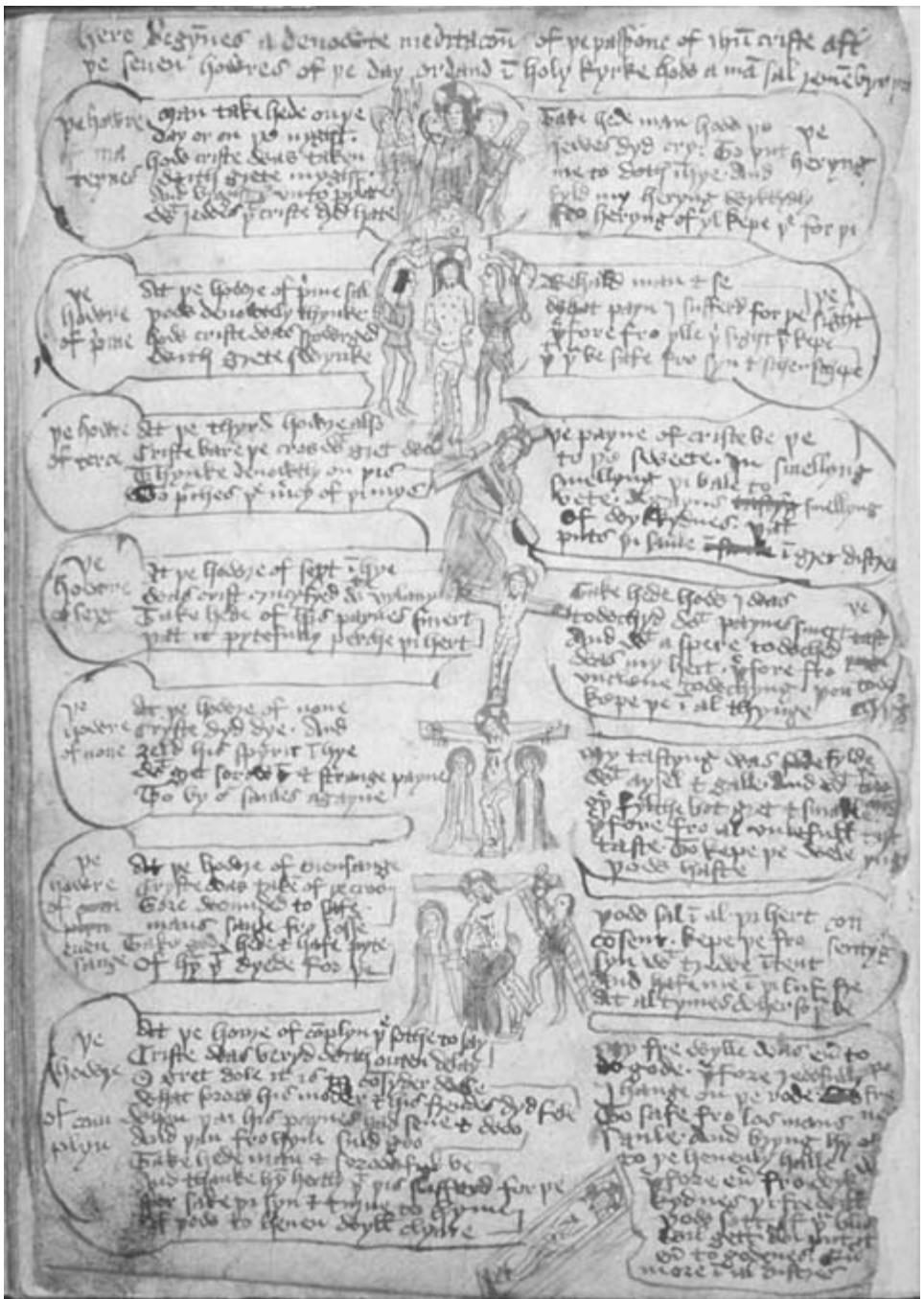


Figure 5.15. "A deuowte meditacion of þe passione of Jhesu criste after þe seuen howres of þe day." Small scenes of the Passion. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 68v. By permission of the British Library.

in holy kyrke” might be used to enliven private enactment of the events of Christ’s Passion.

This poem’s structure links the events of the Passion to the round of daily devotions that organized monastic life. The connection derives from a precise liturgical performance, the communal singing of the canonical hours. It is at least twice removed from that kind of performance, however, for Carthusian monks typically sang all the hours alone in their cells, except for Matins and Vespers, which were sung together in the charterhouse church. Even when alone, however, monks performed the shared movements of the liturgy—kneeling and standing at the appropriate ritual moments. If the private celebration of an individual monk is an individual reflection of what was more typically shared, his silent reading of the hours in this manuscript is a reflection of what, in his own devotional practice, was more obviously performed. But the hours of the Passion in Additional 37049 elaborate on that liturgical experience in a meditative way, one that only an individual reader could fully profit from. Although the singing of the hours recalls the events of the Passion, the visual experience of liturgical celebration does not include narrative images of the Passion, anywhere outside the imagination of the celebrants. The schematic relations among the parts of this poem could not be experienced communally and can only be read silently, for they need to be perused in several different directions; the narrative connections, scanned down the page, and the conceptual ones, scanned across, are both important to the structure of the work.

The balance between text and image varies over the page, as the events of the Passion unfold alongside warnings against human sin. The first set of verses and images is circumscribed within a fairly neat form, containing “þe howre of mateynes” set against “þe heryng.” The picture that connects them depicts the betrayal and arrest of Christ, including the kiss of Judas, the armed soldiers come to apprehend Jesus, and Peter drawing his sword. The first set of verses enjoins the reader to meditate on the pathos (expressed as anti-Semitism) of this narrative moment: “Man take hede on þe day or on þe nyght / how criste was taken with grete myght / and broght vnto pylate / with jewes þat crist dyd hate.” The associated set of verses from the gifts of remembrance also addresses the reader directly, but in the voice of Christ himself, and on the connection between the betrayal and the bodily sense of hearing: “Take hede man how þe Jewes dyd cry. / To put me to deth in hye / And fylde my heryng wykkydly / Fro heryng of yl kepe þe for þi.” The text works hard to forge imaginative connections between the events of the Passion and the gifts of remembrance, for it is not obvious that the cries of the Jews that Christ heard at his arrest and trial should indicate to medieval Christians that they should keep themselves from hearing evil. Even less does the carrying of the cross in the hour of terce—or the more

generalized “payne of criste” the poem cites—suggest that readers should preserve themselves from “smellyng of wykkednes.” But a closer logic knits together other stanzas of the poem: Christ in the hour of his crucifixion reminds us that he was “*towchyd* with paynes” (emphasis mine) as an injunction against “vnclene towchyng,” and in the hour of his death he cites his tasting of “aysel and galle” and “oþer fylthe” as a warning against “vnlefull taste.” The combinations of sense and suffering the poem proposes suggest the performance of an *imitatio Christi*, for they link in the most rudimentary way the story of the Passion with the reader’s experience of living in his human body. Because Christ in all innocence suffered through his bodily senses, those remembering his Passion have all the more obligation to resist the temptations of those senses. The first set of stanzas narrates and celebrates the redemptive sacrifice; the second allows the reader to hear Christ’s moralizing voice from the cross. Insofar as these verses suggest an equivalence between some activity of the Passion story and some activity the reader is enjoined to, they imply a rewriting (and undoing) of the Passion on the level of individual ethics.

One set of stanzas, however, departs entirely from this logic: the verses relating the hour of prime to the sense of sight. Since this book is most intimately concerned with the sensual experience of seeing, the reader discovers Christ’s admonitions closely tied to his immediate activity of reading this imagetext:

At þe howre of prime sal
þow deuotely thynke
how criste was scowrged
with grete swynke

Behald man & se
what payn I sufferd for þe
þefore fro ylle þi sight þu kepe
þat þu be safe fro syn & scenschepe.

Here Christ links sight of “ylle” not to some painful vision that he himself endured in the course of his Passion, but to the agonizing sight the reader of this poem must encounter in the drawings at the center of the page. The reader substitutes his experience for Christ’s, since it is the memory of his own painful vision that will keep him from “scenschepe.” This pairing of verses addresses the devotional performance constituted by reading the poem: by simply reading Christ’s command (and its indispensable pictures), one fulfills it.

Verbal and visual meditations connecting the Passion with the canonical hours are a familiar literary form in the late-medieval period. Many versions of such meditations exist, both prose and verse, Latin and vernacular.⁹⁶ Nor was the pictorial sequence at all rare; books of hours almost always include pictorial cycles that represent the Passion according to the canonical hours. More to the point, the seven acts of the Passion (*septem opera passionis Christi*) are often aligned with the seven gifts of remembrance in Latin devotional books that include the late thirteenth-century collection of diagrams known as the *Speculum theologie*.⁹⁷ The De Lisle Psalter, for example, includes among its tables and diagrams a structure analogous to the Carthusian poem, but without pictures (London, British Library MS Arundel 83 II, fol. 131).⁹⁸ An unillustrated table of the Seven Acts of the Passion is also found in the German “spiritual encyclopedia” that shares so much imagery with Additional 37049.⁹⁹ A few other manuscripts, however, pair the hours of the Passion with the gifts of remembrance in text/image combinations, as the meditation in this Carthusian miscellany does. The fourteenth-century Howard Psalter (London, British Library MS Arundel 83 I), for example, includes the visual elements present here, arranged in a similar meditative structure (fol. 12v; fig. 5.16).¹⁰⁰ Although the organization of the two is similar, the layout in this more sumptuous manuscript is regular and orderly; the vernacular and more heavily textual version in Additional 37049, by contrast, breaks out of the symmetrical pictorial schema with which it begins.

As the poem progresses, its regular quatrains, at first neatly bounded by medallion shapes, give way to sketchier medallions, and the central picture space becomes entirely unbounded. The poem ends with lengthier verse, as well: a pair of eight-line stanzas celebrating the hour of compline, the burial of Christ, and the exercise of free will. Christ admonishes the reader:

My fre wylle was euer to gode
 þerfore rewwfully I hange on þe rode
 To safe fro los mans saule
 And bryng hym to þe heuenly halle
 þerfore euer fro wykkydnes þi fre will þow sett
 if þu blis wil gett
 An put it euer to godenes
 euermore in al distres.

This sums up the meaning of the imagetext: Christ was perfect—though embodied—and so Christians should strive to be. By contrast, the final image of Christ in the tomb seems remarkably unimportant, crowded almost

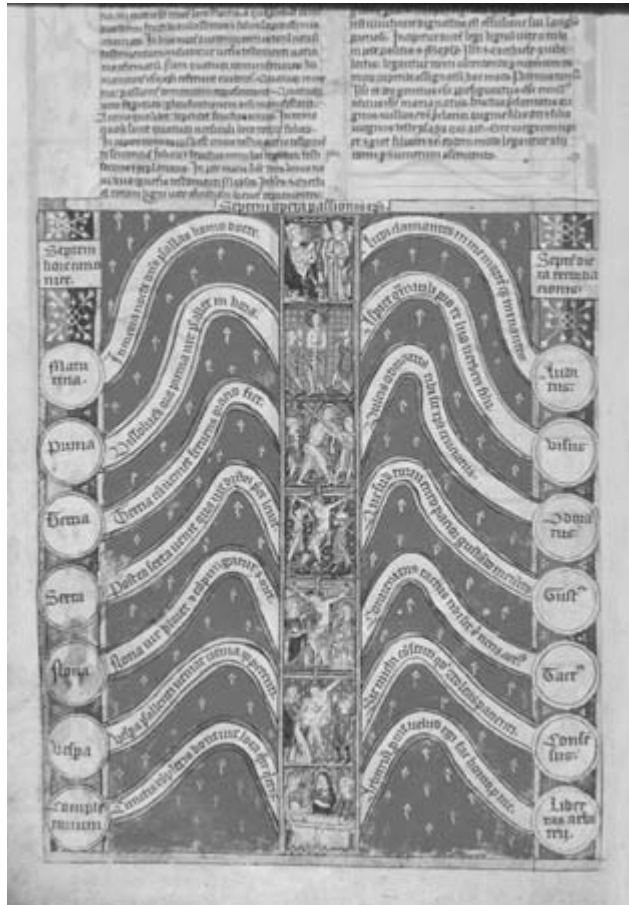


Figure 5.16. *Septem opera passionis Christi*. Small scenes of the Passion. London, British Library MS Arundel 83 I (Howard Psalter) (c. 1310–20), fol. 12v. By permission of the British Library.

off the page by this stanza's abundant words. The elaboration of this final meditation upon the burial of Christ distinguishes this imagetext from Latinate versions of similar material. It is unbalanced, even though carefully structured, by the vernacular poem and vernacular images it folds into the progression of familiar liturgical forms.

This readerly performance of the hours of the Passion—vernacular rather than Latin, private rather than public—complements other versions of the same liturgical matter. It is obviously derived from actual liturgical performance, and from Latin replicas of that performance such as the psalter image that we have seen, even if no Carthusian monk ever did. It is also fundamentally different from the hours a Carthusian monk said with his

fellows in the church, or by himself in his cell, for it incorporates literary artifacts—vernacular verses—into its crisscrossing patterns. Some have even seen this poem's compression of sensation into vernacular liturgical patterns as similar to medieval dramatic performance.¹⁰¹ The private reading of Additional 37049 allows its reader to dwell upon both texts and images, repeating his engagement with them in a performance of viewing that is relatively unscripted. The canonical hours are repeated liturgically, of course, according to the temporal rhythms of the day, but this poem is repeatedly read whenever the reader wishes. Nor is the reader's repeated performance identical each time (any more than an actual performance could be). The complex of devotional material here enforces a different reading experience every time a reader comes to it, for the two independent poems could be read in columns, or pairs of stanzas could be read across the page. The pictures flow from the lefthand column, whose subject-matter they replicate, but the affective pull of the pictures leads to the admonitions of the column on the right. Reading the canonical hours in this context is as much a performance as singing them.

PERFORMING THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS

Direct liturgical allusion also organizes the grand flowchart of belief pictured across an opening (fols. 72v–73r; pl. 6). This complex of texts and images requires an equally contingent and unique performative reading. Even less can these pages be read in a single, linear way, for it is necessary to read and reread, taking different paths each time, to understand the significance of the whole.¹⁰² The opening can be understood as a species of diagram, a visual structure that performs devotional ideas, showing varying relationships and priorities among them.¹⁰³ The actual images presented here sometimes represent the experience of liturgical ceremonies performed in time and space, in the form of the seven sacraments; more important, they replicate in an alternative manner the sacramental processes effected by the activities of priests in churches. Perhaps this page even effects a kind of salvation as the eremitic reader works through it. If not every soul is saved, on the page or in the cell, the opening presents its reader with clear instructions about how salvation can be achieved by sacramental means.

This single opening contains multitudes, but it is fundamentally structured by imagery of the seven sacraments, as it explicates the ways in which sacramental ceremony guides erring souls to heaven.¹⁰⁴ The pages are framed by biblical history: on the far left, Adam and Eve are expelled from a walled “paradyse terestyr” (which includes a female-faced serpent in a tree). The lower corner on the left is filled with worldly evils: men far too fashionably dressed gather around a great lady, identified as “Meretrix

magna,” who confronts the viewer with two great mirrors.¹⁰⁵ These mirrors suggest the vanity of the crowd, but they also clearly implicate the reader, who may see his own reflection in this scene of earthly delights. A rubric at the bottom of the opening explains these scenes: “þies þat cummes downe signyfyes Adam & Eue þe whilk war dryfyn [oute of] paradyse. And þis woman betokens þe lust & lykyng & delectation of þis fals warld & þies pepyl signyfyes þe gentyles & mystrowyng folke þat delytes þaim alle in erthly & fleshly lust & cummes noght to þe faythe of crist Jhesu bot al þair error & so peryches & gos to helle.” Through the mirrors of the “meretrix,” the reader is drawn into the great moving pageant of the page, to join fallen humanity in “lust & lykyng & delectation.”

On the far right, opposite the pictorial story of human error, Lucifer and the angels fall from a similarly fortified heaven, cast out by a feathery cherub from the company of Christ and the saints, within the walls. In the lower right corner, a two-faced hell mouth opens to welcome the fallen angels, already transformed into their devilish guise, who tumble headfirst into it.¹⁰⁶ Another hell mouth opens to receive a line of men, identified by a rubric: “þies signyfyes fals cristen men þat wil no[t r]epent þer syn & so gos to hell.” Above these men, a line of women also enters hell, holding lamps inverted to show that they are empty of oil. These are (once again) the foolish virgins of the parable, as the rubric explains: “þies has no oyle in þer lampes þat is as charite & so ar put oute.”¹⁰⁷ These two lines of people connect the two sides of the image, demonstrating the relation between human sin and eternal damnation. The pictorial narratives that frame this opening draw analogies between the fall of Adam and Eve and the fall of the angels, the infernal punishments meted out to Lucifer and those awaiting the “meretrix” and her company.

But this schematic picture of human life and death also provides for happier outcomes. The center of this two-page opening depicts the seven sacraments, and demonstrates their efficacy in bringing human souls to heaven. At the top of the verso, Christ is crucified, blood streaming from the wound on his side. Seven streams of blood connect the redemptive image to the sacraments of the church. First, “þe sacrament of baptyem,” where a tonsured priest reads from a book and holds a baby over a font. In the sacrament of “confirmacyon” a father presents a young child to a bishop. Next “matrimony,” where a couple kneels, joining hands in front of a priest and a witness. In the scene of “ordinacyon” a group of tonsured men kneels in front of a bishop. Crossing the gutter to the recto, “þe sacrament of þe altyr” is represented by a priest kneeling in front of an altar bearing a book, the eucharistic host, and cup.¹⁰⁸ And finally, “þe last anoyntyng of þe seke” shows a priest reading a book over a man in bed. Each of these six

sacraments occupies its own architectural frame, taking place in separate spaces, and presumably at separate times, but all organized schematically around the figure of Christ on the cross.

The artist is concerned to represent the ways in which the sacraments work, and the ways in which the reader participates in performing them.¹⁰⁹ An addition to his representation of baptism makes this clear, for a line of adults approaches the baptismal font from outside its architectural frame, demonstrating that this is a sacrament not only for infants, but available to anyone: “þies betokyns þaim þat gos & receyfes þe sacrament of baptym,” explains a rubric. Another line of people descends from the baptismal font and moves across the page toward the walled heavenly city from which the angels fall. These people are generalized and various to begin with, but by the time they reach heaven they have become young women holding lamps full of oil. As the rubric explains: “þies signifyfes þaim þat aftyr þair baptym kepyd þaim selfe clene oute of dedly syn & þai ar lykynd to wyse virgyns þe whylk bere byrnyng lamps with oyle þe whilk signifyfes trewe charyte.” At the same time, however, a line of less fortunate people descends toward the “Meretrix magna.” As the rubric has it: “þies þat cummes downe signifyfes þaim aftyr þe sacrament of baptym fyles þaim selfe be dedly syn & delytes in fals delectacion of þis world.” Fortunately, “the sacrament of penance” awaits them there. While the other six sacramental scenes occur within space delimited by architecture, this one occupies a central and unbounded space in the complex of texts and images on this opening, connecting to all the other imagery surrounding it. This sacrament organizes the lines of people flowing into heaven, and underscores human agency as the redemptive point of the whole work. The line of people ascending from the priest’s blessing is marked: “þies signifyfes þaim þat repents þaim selfe of þair dedly sins & schryfes þaim & takes þe sacrament of penance & so gos to blis.” A detour into purgatory provides for two more groups of souls: on the one hand, “þies aftyr confession ar sent to purgatory be cause þai did not dewe penance & satisfaction here,” and on the other, “her þe saules aftyr þair purgatory ar had up into blis.” The first group is burning in purgatorial fires, while the second is lifted in a cloth by angels, above the clouds and into heaven. The opening can be read from left to right, from the beginning of human history into eschatological time. It can equally well be read from top to bottom, from saving sacraments and heavenly joys to earthly sin and hellfires. The movement in the middle is generally upward, through the trials of life in the world, finally to heaven. The words play a role in the visual layout of the pages, and the striking angle of people and words going to heaven through penance demonstrates the powerful effects of sacramental ceremony on human lives.

The derivation of this type of imagery from the iconography of baptismal fonts makes its connection with actual devotional “performances” particularly acute. As Ann Eljenholm Nichols has demonstrated, the seven sacraments often adorned baptismal fonts in late-medieval East Anglian parish churches, so that this kind of artistic imagery was seen alongside the visual spectacle of the sacrament itself.¹¹⁰ The prevalence of such imagery, remarkable as it is, suggests that the performance of the sacraments is not far removed from major themes of fifteenth-century visual devotion. Connecting the seven sacraments to the crucifixion, and especially to the side wound, has a basis in mystical thought: the *Theologica mystica* of Henricus Harphius (d. 1478), for example, explains that “[t]he Wound in his side is in reality the door of the Sacraments, for even as Eve was formed from the rib of the first Adam, so the Church came out from the side of the second Adam.”¹¹¹ The earliest artistic example orienting the sacraments around a central crucifixion is a Carthusian altarpiece painted around 1400, the *Retable of Bonifacio Ferrer*.¹¹² The most famous is probably Roger van der Weyden’s mid-fifteenth-century altarpiece of the seven sacraments in Antwerp.¹¹³ In England, similar crucifixion-centered sacramental images are found primarily in painted glass (in Buckland [Gloucestershire], Llandymog, and Cartmel Fell), and in murals (extant only in nineteenth-century watercolor copies). This iconography appeared in manuscript painting, as well; a roughly contemporary copy of Dirc van Delf’s *Tafel van den Kersten Gbelove* (New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M.691), for example, shows a sacrament scene dominated by a crucifix in successive historiated initials.¹¹⁴ *Der Spiegel des Lidens Christi* (Bibliothèque Municipale de Colmar MS 306, fol. 1) includes an interesting variation centered on the mystic winepress, rather than the crucifixion itself, in a composition similar to our Carthusian flowchart (fig. 5.17).¹¹⁵ The sacraments are even framed by architectural forms on a vellum sheet now in Bruges (Museum Onze-Lieve-Vrouw ter Potterie; fig. 5.18). This image connects its parts through rays of light, rather than streams of blood, and they flow from a crucifix, rather than from a crucifixion, but it demonstrates the rich and variable traditions connecting the performance of the sacraments to Christ’s redemptive sacrifice. The elaborate opening in Additional 37049 is a much more complex imagetext, but its structure is fundamentally based on these sacramental pageants.

This picture can be placed not only in the performative context of ecclesiastical ceremony, but also in the context of dramatic literature.¹¹⁶ In one of the most thorough treatments of the image to date, Francis Wormald focused on the architectural canopies in which the sacramental ceremonies are housed to make a startling suggestion. Even though architectural frames are common in late-medieval art of all kinds, he saw the architec-



Figure 5.17. Mystic winepress with seven sacraments. *Der Spiegel des Lidens Cristi*. Colmar (France), Bibliothèque de la Ville de Colmar MS 306 (early 15th c.), fol. 1r. Bibliothèque de la Ville de Colmar.

tural structures in which the sacraments are “staged” here as equivalent to the “places” (*loca, sedes, domus*) of the medieval stage.¹¹⁷ He compared them to one of the most famous (if questionable) illustrations of medieval drama, the play of St. Apollonia in the Hours of Etienne Chevalier, painted in the mid-fifteenth century by Jean Fouquet.¹¹⁸ One might with even more reason, I believe, connect them to the equally well-known sixteenth-century dramatic illustrations from Valenciennes.¹¹⁹ The Valenciennes pavilions form a clear linear progression from heaven to hell, a structure that certainly appealed to the Carthusian artist (although he made significant use, too, of vertical space).¹²⁰ Even the hell mouth in the Carthusian miscellany has suggested to some viewers a theatrical prop.¹²¹ And, of course, sacramental subjects were taken up explicitly on English stages in dramas



Figure 5.18. Seven-sacrament vellum sheet (15th c.). Bruges (Belgium), Museum Onze-Lieve-Vrouw ter Potterie.

like the *Croxton Play of the Sacrament*, a conjunction that indicates both dramatists and audiences perceived a connection between what happened at the altar and what happened in front of spectators of all kinds.¹²² The sacraments are performances, and the crossing from liturgical to theatrical performance shows the lines of kinship they share. The force of Wormald's article overall is to argue for "rich" artistic relations for the "poor" pictures of this Carthusian miscellany. But the connection with plays—a valid and important one—does not so much suggest that imagery encountered in luxury objects found a place, also, in popular devotional experience. Instead, it points toward a generic crossing: an activation of static, bookish imagery by dramatic allusion to facilitate performative meditation.

Thinking liturgically enriches our understanding of certain kinds of literary reception in the late Middle Ages, for the liturgy is the meaningful practice that joins the lyric—singing of the psalms, for example—and the dramatic. This is not to say that one genre developed from the other through a simple

evolutionary process; the rise of the vernacular drama from Latinate, liturgical performances is a vexed, if familiar, story.¹²³ Scholarship relating the liturgy to the drama has been limited by a progressive bias in literary history, and an inclination to draw causal connections too directly among the fragmentary pieces of evidence that remain. But if the Latin liturgy and Latin liturgical drama did not give rise directly to vernacular plays, nonetheless the experience of the mass and the experience of the theater share certain associated characteristics visible to both modern and medieval interpreters: language, spectacle, and movement enacted for a participating community of viewers and auditors.¹²⁴ Medieval allegorizations of the mass, following Amalarius of Metz, capitalized on these continuities; in the famous comparison of Honorius of Autun, the celebrant of the mass is a “tragic author who represents by his gestures in the theatre of the Church before the Christian people the struggle of Christ.”¹²⁵ Modern commentators would not describe the correspondence so transparently, but medieval audiences undoubtedly experienced the rhetorical and musical and visual performances of the liturgy in ways that ultimately influenced the ontological shift from ritual to representation.¹²⁶ Sarah Beckwith’s concept of “sacramental theater” provides a new way of imagining this “theater of the Church” in late-medieval England, for she argues that the *Corpus Christi* drama constitutes a “commentary upon and an interaction with the liturgy of the mass and offices.”¹²⁷ Lines of thinking about Additional 37049—and indeed about medieval literature as a whole—have too often bifurcated along the separation between the lyric and the dramatic genres. But of course these generic categories arise from postmedieval forms. The quintessential medieval experience of liturgical devotion, however, provides for a link between them, influencing performative continuities in literary forms, whether private meditations or plays.

Even though the Carthusian liturgy was especially sober, charter monks nonetheless experienced devotional performances on the rare occasions when they celebrated mass together. The preference for private celebrations kept a Carthusian monk physically isolated from his community, but it conversely also brought the power of the sacraments into private celebration itself. Individual prayer is understood by analogy with what happens collectively in the church, and metaphors of community express the solitary’s commitment to his cell. As William of St. Thierry puts it, in his “Golden Letter” to the Carthusians at Mont-Dieu: “For both in a church and in a cell the things of God are practiced, but more continually in the cell. In a church at certain times the sacraments of Christian religion are dispensed visibly and in figure, while in the cells as in heaven the reality which underlies all the sacraments of our faith is constantly celebrated with as much truth, in the same order, although not yet with the same untarnished

magnificence or the same security that marks eternity.”¹²⁸ Moreover, the understanding of private prayer as a species of sacramental prayer went beyond metaphors. Evidence from the life of a celebrated Carthusian, St. Hugh of Lincoln, suggests that individual practices were often shaped by liturgical sensibilities, as Hugh’s personal observances and even his private reading mimicked the patterns of liturgy.¹²⁹ Ordinary charter monks, too, imitated the practices of Christians worshipping communally, ritually kneeling and standing with the monastery bell as they performed the canonical hours alone in the cell.

Indeed, it seems that the liturgical environment of the English charterhouses in particular was shaped by idiosyncratic literary influences. The English charterhouses, for many reasons, seem to have been rather freer liturgically than those on the Continent. The General Chapter records many questions and answers regarding liturgical practice, and many of them suggest that the English monks often wished for greater ceremonial leeway than the bureaucratic machinery of the order was willing to allow. English Carthusians, for instance, wanted increased Marian devotion in their liturgy, which the central authorities routinely denied.¹³⁰ In 1471 London was granted a special mass for the Blessed Martha, but this seems to have been the only official concession made to English liturgical idiosyncrasy.¹³¹ This increased independence may have derived from the relative isolation of the English province during the Great Schism.¹³² But James Hogg suggests, as well, that because of the rapid expansion of the order in England and a resulting scarcity of available Carthusian liturgical books, the English Carthusians may have used many more external sources than might otherwise have been the case.¹³³ Hogg’s supposition is supported by instructions to the prior of Sheen in 1420 to conform more closely to Carthusian uses, which specify, among others things, that he have sufficient books.¹³⁴ The link between Carthusian books and Carthusian liturgical practice is explicit here: service books (and the common practices they entailed) formed a community among the far-flung houses of the order. A paradoxical result of the relative isolation of the English province may have been that a richer variety of unusual sources influenced—and perhaps enriched—the liturgical and literary life of those houses.

If this history cannot fully explain *why* this Carthusian book includes traces of the pageantry so deliberately removed from the common liturgical life of the order, it can at least point to the effects of this choice for its readers. Since the liturgy is both lyrical and narrative, though it participates neither strictly nor fully in either genre, the liturgical and paraliturgical performances with which monks must be familiar occupy a verbal and visual middle ground between the meditative interests of some of the manuscript’s contents and the dramatic interests of others. Liturgical ex-

perience is predicated upon the combination of text and image—a quintessentially medieval artistic mode that finds expression in stained glass, manuscript painting, and dramatic performances. Liturgical “pageantry” exists in a region between static images, such as illuminations and ornamental hangings, and dynamic, animated images, such as those found in plays. It encompasses both actual visual experience—processions, golden chalices, hosts, sometimes statues and panel-paintings—and meditative images, recalled to the worshipper’s mind by the biblical images and narratives the liturgy presents. The relation between what one is seeing and what one is imagining is important for liturgical celebration, and for the reading of this book. This fluidity among literary genres and imaginative modes allows the book to stage private dramas for eremitic meditation, animating the devotional imageries (and not only the ones liturgically based) that appear on its pages. The remarkable format of the book—its continual combination of pictures with words in moving tableaux—allows for the kind of self-conscious, imaginative engagement on the part of readers that we can identify as literary performance.

The liturgical offerings in Additional 37049 reveal ways in which meditative reading can be performative. They show us the implications of using vernacular words alongside liturgical imagery—how a static object, privately read, can incorporate (or conflict with) the devotional performances of communal liturgical celebration. Sometimes the manuscript’s texts and images allude to a specific kind of ecclesiastical performance, even picturing liturgical events. Other times they act liturgically on their own, without external allusion, as when texts and images, spoken, read, or beheld, perform miracles or grant indulgences. The book offers to its reader, in these cases, a kind of private sacramental power, in place of the communal processions and liturgical spectacle generally missing from Carthusian experience. Finally, however, the liturgical texts and images in this Carthusian book constitute devotional performances because they require performative modes of reading: an oscillation between texts and images, repeated, unique, and contingent. The bibliographic performances offered by Additional 37049 are not solely liturgical. The miscellany also explores the dialogue as a textual structure, importing alternative voices into monologic texts so that they are animated fully in the reader’s mind. Most obviously performative, the manuscript includes full-blown dramatic texts that we can be reasonably sure were staged in some comparable form. These dialogues and dramas form the subjects of the remaining chapters.

Envisioning Dialogue in Performance

Gregory the Great sought to explain the interaction between a reader and a difficult text by invoking an analogy between interpretation and human conversation. Just as we know nothing of the strangers we see until we begin to speak with them, a student of the Bible only begins to understand its mysteries when he engages in a dialogue with the book. “We see the faces of strangers and know nothing of their hearts, but if we converse with them, we discover their minds in their ordinary conversation. So when we find only the surface story in scripture, we see nothing but the face; but if we cling to this, we can reach its mind as if in ordinary conversation.”¹ Gregory is describing one of the most fundamental and difficult interpretive acts a medieval reader could attempt: the allegorical understanding of what sort of “mind” lies beneath the impassive literal “face” of holy scripture. But his hermeneutic image provides a model for other kinds of textual understanding as well, and for the interactions of medieval readers with other kinds of books. The Carthusian readers of *Additional 37049* engaged in literary conversations in order to know its devotional texts, and those conversations constitute another important kind of readerly performance evoked by the manuscript. Moreover, unlike the biblical Book of Job (which is Gregory’s subject), the vernacular texts in this miscellany are themselves conceived as conversations; many of the works collected here are framed generically as dialogues, marked as such both by their words and by the pictures that accompany them. From the “ordinary conversation” that takes place between reader and text, to these more literal examples of the form, the genre of the dialogue serves

as a medieval figure for textual reception. Using conversation to represent a manner of reading, Additional 37049 imagines dialogues as devotional performances to be enacted between the reader and the book.

It is not immediately obvious that dialogues relate directly to the kinds of bookish performances that have interested us so far in this Carthusian miscellany. Some of the texts and images that fill Additional 37049 are performative because they recall communal spectacles and animate meditational reading, and others are performative because they re-create liturgical and devotional acts. But no comparable public spectacles stand behind most of the dialogues, which seem, instead, to participate in more purely literary categories. The genre of the dialogue has an ancient history distinct from the history of drama, a long inheritance encompassing authors as far removed from the influence of the stage as Boethius and Prudentius.² Philosophical and devotional books—often more directly than holy writ—use the dialogue as a vehicle for spiritual instruction, enhancing understanding and enlivening imagination through an explicit alternation of voices. Such untheatrical dialogues are a commonplace of didactic and pedagogical literature, found often in monastic reading. Gregory himself made the dialogic form the basis of his most famous work, the *Dialogues* (or *Lives of the Saints*), and as a result was known in the East as *Gregory Dialogos*. These pedagogical dialogic forms represent not performances voiced aloud, but processes of private thought, processes framed only metaphorically as “internal, silent disputation” within the mind of one person.³ St. Augustine, for example, uses the structure of the dialogue to configure his tellingly titled *Soliloquies*, which stage a silent discussion between himself and the personified figure of Ratio. Even as the two are engaged in a clamorous debate, Ratio insists that the resulting text must be privately and silently written by a solitary author—not dictated to a listening scribe.

Yet some literary dialogues preserve a close relationship with enacted spectacle and with remembered performances. Together with the internal disputes given voice by Augustine or Boethius, some medieval dialogues also take their inspiration from scholastic contexts, basing their alternation of opposing voices on actual forensic practices in institutions such as universities, law courts, and parliaments.⁴ These dialogues incorporate the memory of public oratory into their meaning, even when read without a sound by a single person. The two forms of dialogue—literary and institutional—come together in the Middle English poetic debates represented in *The Owl and the Nightingale*, for example, or *Piers Plowman*. Such speeches are also more closely connected to theatrical writing than one might think. David Mills has argued, in another context, for a connection between dramatic exchanges in the English cycle plays and dialogue as a

“formal, rhetorical, structuring device.” In his view, dialogue that involves the characters’ direct address to the audience—a defining feature of the mystery plays’ dramatic art—serves the purpose not of verisimilitude, but of Aristotelian presentation of both sides of a case.⁵ Taking seriously the influence of rhetorical traditions and oratorical training on dramatic forms, Jody Enders has made an extended and persuasive case for the importance of rhetoric in the origins and development of the vernacular drama in France, ultimately asserting “a critical conflation of forensic rhetoric and drama that is of the utmost relevance to the origins of drama itself.”⁶ Although dialogues are not plays, literary history tells us that the two are not far apart; the genres share crucial structural features that shape the literary experiences they offer, and even the books in which they are recorded.⁷ The well-attested influence of rhetoric on drama might lead us to ask conversely about the influence of drama on rhetoric; even though individual representatives of the pedagogical dialogue may not bear any immediate relation to spoken performance in a public setting, they do depend upon the same plurality of voices offered on the stage, and upon the performative voicing of their texts in the minds of silent readers.

Given its complex heritage and fluid generic boundaries, the parameters of the Middle English dialogue are difficult to draw. Critics have often tried to distinguish between dialogues that are “scenic” and those that are “unscenic”—that is, those that are spatially located and those that are not—in order to delineate a difference between dialogues and plays.⁸ Another way of categorizing dialogues is to describe them either as horizontal (those in which all speakers exercise the same social or spiritual power) or as vertical (those in which one speaker wields greater authority than others). The horizontal dialogue has typically been seen as more obviously “scenic,” but even this crucial distinction is not always easy to articulate beyond an unverifiable feeling that some dialogues were, or could have been, performed, while others were not. An example of the complication and contradiction inherent in these classifications can be seen in the *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, where Francis Lee Utley attempts a careful and practical definition for the genre.⁹ First of all, for the purposes of bibliography, Utley excludes the works of Chaucer, Langland, Gower, the *Pearl*-poet, and the “English and Scottish Chaucerians,” which are treated extensively elsewhere. He rejects ballads as having too “narrative” a purpose.¹⁰ Finally, he focuses on poems involving two speakers only, thereby excluding “parliaments” and—crucially—staged plays. But although Utley means to exclude dramatic material from consideration, he does take account of “certain complaints of Mary” that take lyrical form and are related to, or even appear in, the cycle plays.¹¹ He implicitly allows both lyric and drama into the category of dialogue he is trying to draw, for he

acknowledges that some “lyrics” involve more than one speaker, and some “plays” as few as two. The dialogue as a medieval genre participates in so many overlapping literary categories that it calls into question the usefulness of modern systematizing.

The evidence of Additional 37049, however, argues for the contemporary coherence of the category, for the manuscript demonstrates a pronounced interest in the dialogue as a form, even beyond Utley’s cautious parameters.¹² Although other Middle English collections include a number of dialogues, this Carthusian miscellany assembles in one place more examples of the form than any other single Middle English book.¹³ More significant still, the manuscript’s magpie compiler has often chosen to excerpt precisely those parts of longer works that can function as dialogues. We have already seen one example of this in the “lyric” from the *Prick of Conscience* known by its English incipit as “þat is on Ynglysche þus to say/he says thynke on þine ending day” (fol. 69v). In other cases, a vertical dialogue is quickly constructed: a question from a student or a questing soul frames a theological tract containing no dialogue, which is then conceived as the response of a learned doctor or angelic authority. Utley does not consider these pieces within his definition of the dialogic form, but if they do not exhibit a thorough-going alternation of voice, the presence of two distinct voices is nonetheless important to their presentation. Moreover, even texts that do not anywhere demonstrate a dialogic structure in their words are transformed into dialogues in the pages of this miscellany by the pictures that accompany them. As often as he excerpted individual lyrics from the framework of longer poems, the creator of Additional 37049 confected dialogues, both by isolating and reproducing the dialogic sections of more varied works, and by importing (or engineering) dialogues whole.

The dialogues of Additional 37049 exhibit a combination of vision and voice, an animated interweaving of words with pictures that is conducive to precisely the kind of reading experience its compiler is most eager to create. I will include all of these dialogues in my discussion, and argue for the inclusion of more texts than Utley considers within this Carthusian miscellany’s dialogic “set”: more than twelve, at final count.¹⁴ This consideration of the dialogue recalls the multitude of voices either expressed or implied in this manuscript, such as the Marian lyrics that match readers’ prayers with the Virgin’s intercessory speech.¹⁵ Some liturgical forms resemble dialogues, too, such as the alternation of voices within the choir or between celebrants and laity.¹⁶ Even the form of the diptych in the manuscript’s first opening sets up a visual “dialogue” between the two portraits of the Virgin and Christ. This compiler’s particular interest in transforming all texts and images into dialogues, whether they are crafted from lyr-

ics or plays, from long narrative poems or illustrative pictures, reveals the kinships among generic forms that we have already seen to animate the miscellany's collection. It is important, then, to consider all these pieces as a group, to ask how to understand their profound dialogic interests in the context of the other performative texts and images assembled in the manuscript. Like Gregory's imagined "conversation" between reader and Bible, these dialogues are generally vertical, but the inclusion of the subordinated second voice is nonetheless crucial to staging the performative reading the collection requires.

"IN MANER OF A DYLOGE IT WENTE"

The question of how to define the dialogic genre in Additional 37049 arises immediately, for the first dialogue Utley catalogues from the Carthusian manuscript is a poem that elsewhere in modern scholarship is classified as a lyric.¹⁷ This text takes the form of a *Querela divina* and a *Responsio humana* divided by rubricated headings into discrete parts, a structure that allows readers both to hear and to see two separate voices in sequence. The two parts of the poem and its associated illustration occupy a full page, the text written in short lines on the far left, and the picture on the right (fol. 20r; pl. 7). (The top, bottom, and outer margins have all been so severely cropped that one can barely recognize that there was once a caption—now illegible—at the top of the page.)¹⁸ In the *Querela divina* Christ asks man to consider his Passion in openly visual terms: "O man vnkynde / hafe in mynde / my paynes smert / Beholde & see / þat is for þe / percyd my hert" (1–6). Man is enjoined to hold in his mind an immaterial vision of his savior's pain, and is then directed in particular to the pierced heart on the page that is the material emblem of that suffering. This vision serves the end of love, as Christ continues to explain: "For whilk I aske / none oþer taske / Bot luf agayne / me þan to luf / Al thyng abofe / þow aght be fayne" (13–18). The man responds, not to the task of beholding Christ's heart, or to the vision that will enable it, but to the powerful words that his savior speaks: "O lord right dere / þi wordes I here / With hert ful sore" (19–21). He then begs for grace to overcome his sins so that in the end he may come into Christ's heavenly "halle" (35).

This encounter between the speaking, suffering Christ and the man who voices the response of all humanity is pictured on the right side of the page. The man kneels on a patch of ground, smaller in scale than the divine figure pictured above him, and dressed as a layman. Christ stands on a cloud, covered with many tiny wounds and bleeding profusely from the five large ones.¹⁹ In addition to the poem's main text, he speaks verses written in a curving banderole: "þeis woundes smert bere in þi hert &

luf god aye / If þow do þis þu sal haf blys with owten delay.” This second speech of Christ transforms the poem into a true dialogue, since it creates a repeated alternation of voice that mimics genuine conversation. He gestures toward an enormous vision of his “percyd” heart, bearing all five bleeding wounds. An inscription in an impersonal third voice surrounds the largest: “þis is þe mesure of þe wounde þat our / Jhesu crist sufferd foroure redempcion.” Christ shows the heart that he instructs man to “behold,” and the text promises that we can gauge in this material image on the page the measure of the sacrifice he has made.²⁰ Following divine instruction, readers are to emulate the Passion by bearing such wounds in their own hearts.

The visual element of these verses is important wherever they appear. Like the *Desert of Religion*, this small poem seems to have been understood in the Middle Ages as a fundamental combination of text and image—an imagetext—for the one nearly always implies the other. The first stanza of the poem, the *Querela divina*, is widespread, and almost always occurs with some kind of image of Christ’s pains: a bleeding heart or other imagery recalling the wounds of the crucifixion. Robert Reynes’s commonplace book (Bodleian MS Tanner 407) fulfills the visual imperative in the simplest way, rebus-like (fig. 6.1).²¹ This poem integrates text and image so thoroughly that they must be read together to make any sense; the active reader is required to solve a visual puzzle in order to release the meaning of the text. A similar poem takes monumental form in the church at Almondbury, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where stanzas of Christ’s *Querela* encircle the walls.²² Here the poem is accompanied, not by a bleeding heart, but by roof bosses representing the instruments of the Passion. The title-page of Henry Pepwell’s 1521 devotional anthology prints the poem, marked “vox Christi,” under a large *imago pietatis* surrounded by the instruments of the passion.²³ In all of these cases, the material expression of these verses calls for, facilitates, and even—in the case of Additional 37049—represents a

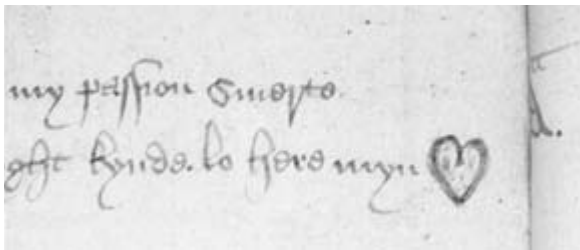


Figure 6.1. “Lo here myn♥.” Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 407 (Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle) (1470–1500), fol. 52v (detail). © The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

kind of meditative experience that depends on art and on dramatic voicing of visual images.²⁴ These short poems, like many of the lyrics we have already examined, can be understood as performative meditations. Although other versions of these lines typically include meditative images, they do not as often include the second, human voice that transforms this lyric into a dialogue. The compiler of Additional 37049 has represented a meditative vision of Christ's suffering and his speaking voice, but also, just as important, he has portrayed a dialogic interaction between the divine and the human, modeling the reader's attempt to understand and meditate upon divine images.

Another version of the popular *Querela divina* is preserved in Additional 37049, and the mechanisms of the dialogue are even clearer in the second case. Several folios after the first, a similar image shares the page with a parallel assortment of verse (fol. 24r; fig. 6.2). A slightly smaller figure of Christ indicates an even larger heart, marked with one large bleeding gash, and inscribed with the number of wounds Christ suffered and the number of drops of blood shed for man's redemption.²⁵ The arithmetical connection between text and image, together endlessly replicating, recalls the ways in which the earlier "mesure" of Christ's wound draws on material images to generate spiritual benefits.²⁶ Lines related to the first stanza of "O man unkynde" proceed across the page, repeating the substance, though not the precise language, of the *Querela divina*: "O man kynde. hafe in þi mynde. my passion smert / And þu sal fynde. me ful kynde. lo here my hert." The earlier poem calls its reader to "beholde & see," but this drawing performs Christ's offering in still more immediate terms—"lo here"—giving pictorial form to the pledge of love promised. After Christ offers his heart directly to "man kynde," a more anonymous voice asserts the number of his wounds. A caption explains in rudimentary rhyme: "þe nowmer of Jhesu cristes wownds ar fyve þowsande foure hondreth sixty & fyftene þe whilk in his body war felt and sene." Twice the scribe has added in slightly more formal lettering the petition "Jhesu mercy."

Among these many changes to the format and contents of this second page, the most intriguing concerns the human petitioner, who in this version of the "man kynde" verses is not the all-purpose layman of the earlier folio, but a Carthusian monk. In the lower right corner, the now familiar kneeling figure of a charter monk folds his hands in prayer, gazing not only toward the vision of the wounded heart, but directly through it to his divine interlocutor. Like the Carthusians we have already seen to gaze at heavenly lyric speakers, or even to become lyric speakers themselves, this figure stands in particular terms for the monastic reader of this book. But here he engages in a verbal exchange with Christ through a dialogue patched together, re-created to replicate the structure of the *Querela* and

Responsio we have already seen. Instead of placing the “human” response from several pages before in the mouth of the historically and culturally specific Carthusian figure, the scribe has imported another short lyric associated with the mystical theology of the hermit Richard Rolle:

Jhesu my luf my ioy my reste
 þi perfite luf close in my breste
 þat I þe luf & neuer reste
 And make me luf þe of al þinge best
 And wounde my hert in þi luf fre
 þat I may reyne in ioy euer more with þe.

These verses resemble Rolle’s style and subjects—and have even been taken by some critics for his.²⁷ The Carthusian figure uses these Rollean words to respond to Christ’s call to meditate on the Passion, answering in a less formal and perhaps more urgent way than the earlier *Responsio humana*. This lyric addresses Christ as directly, but rather than offering mere compliance with heavenly orders, the speaker importunes Christ in return, charging Christ to “close” divine love within a human breast, and to *make* him love Christ “of al þinge best.” This poem takes as its subject the speaker’s heart, as he hopes to imitate Christ’s wounds in his own loving breast. Another stanza in the voice of the Carthusian speaker answers the quantification of Christ’s wounds, promising to “reherse in generall” their enormous number. Even though these lyric snippets (unlike the earlier ones) are nowhere identified explicitly as the monk’s words, or as an extended dialogue, they function responsively here to answer themes introduced by Christ, not least because of their disposition on the page, on either side of the large heart and next to the speaking figures.²⁸ In other manuscript and monumental contexts, the *Querela divina* is presented alone as the appeal of a single voice, but in this miscellany the single lyric stanza is repeatedly transformed into a dialogue, by means of a variety of human and readerly responses. With the addition of the *Responsio humana*, and even more with the addition of the Rollean lyric in a Carthusian voice, the solitary lyric is here reshaped into a performative dialogue. Throughout Additional 37049, we will see the similar intrusion of multiple conversational voices into spaces where we might have expected to hear only one.

The dialogue exchanged between Christ and his human petitioners takes a more historical form in a text that records a conversation between St. Peter and a crucifix (fol. 45v).²⁹ This text, found only here, begins with a prose introduction, which sets the scene: mysteriously, “ane oþer” has concealed himself in a secret nook (a “hyrne”), perhaps doubling the “eavesdropping” Carthusian reader securely enclosed in a “hyrne”-like cell

of his own. He overhears a miraculous dialogue represented in verse, as two short lyrics exchanged between the saint and the speaking image:

It is sayd of saynt petyr of þe ordyr of prechours þat when he was emange gret persecucion & tribulacion opon a nyght before a crucifix he made gret lamentacyon And ane oþer stode in a hyrne & herd his lamentacion And petyr sayd þus.

Ihu criste gods son.
 þt on the rode wald be done.
 What wo & wretchydnes hafe I wrought.
 þat in swylk perels I am broght.
 I frast to flee all maner of syn.
 And ʒitt my angwys wil not blynne.

þan sayd þe ymage þus to petyr.

Petyr why wald I be slayne.
 þt neuer deseruyd to suffer payne.
 Wis I awder (?) prowde or couetowse.
 Envyos slawe or lycherowse.
 þis sorow I suffers & wykkyd woo.
 þi saule to safe & oþer moo.
 Swylk payne sen I profed for þer prowse.
 ffor þi selfe sumwhat sal þowe.

And after þis myrakil petyr toke swylke hardynes þat he was always eftyrward for criste redy for to dye.³⁰

Peter learns in this miraculous dialogue that his own suffering is as nothing to Christ's; his martyrdom is the logical result. But whereas Christ speaks first in the *Querela divina*, asking man to "behold" the bodily result of his crucifixion, St. Peter's anguished prayer emerges from his meditation upon a crucifix. The reproachful verses then become a *Responsio divina* to a human encounter with an affective artifact. Thus this text represents a historical instance of the type of meditation enjoined in general terms by "O man unkynde," and (although the text is unillustrated) St. Peter's midnight vision of the "ymage" of Christ upon the cross parallels the visual and devotional experience of the reader of this book. The miracle depends upon both dialogue and vision, for the speaking voice of the crucifix in response to Peter's prayer prompts the "hardynes" that leads to sanctity.

The connection made continually in this manuscript between con-

templative vision and enacted dialogue recurs in a meditation on the corruption of the mortal body similarly occasioned by material images. The “Disputacion betwyx the Body and Wormes” is one of the most appealing—and one of the most often noticed—texts included in the miscellany. The poem begins with a frame story in which the speaker, on pilgrimage “in þe ceson of huge mortalite / Of sondre disseses with þe pestilence / Heuely reynand” (1–3), enters a church to hear a mass.³¹ Finding he has come too late, he substitutes a private prayer: “I knelyd me downe & to my prayers went / With lawe obeysance mekyd me downe / To ane ymage with gret deuocione” (12–14). The text mentions the role of “ane ymage” only briefly, but the actual picture that accompanies this poem dwells on it (fig. 6.3). A layman in cloak and hood kneels in front of a large representation of Christ on the cross. In the absence of any textual description of the particular devotional object mentioned, the artist chooses a symbol of Christ’s Passion to represent imagistic piety generally, recalling the many representations of Christ on the cross we have already seen and read in this miscellany. The poem implies that the image it describes is a crucifix—a manmade physical artifact—but the likeness of Christ crucified as it is depicted here seems more likely to be an immaterial vision: it stands clearly outside the church building and seems too large to imagine inside.

The text, by contrast, concentrates on describing a material artifact that is nowhere pictured on this page: the tomb of a great and fashionable lady.

Bysyde me I sawe a towmbe or sepulture
 Ful freschly forgyd depycte & depynte
 Compassed & made be newe correcture
 Of sondre armes þer many a prynte
 the Epytaf to loke was I not faynte
 In gylt copyr with goldly schewyng þan
 with a fresch fygure fyne of a woman
 Wele a tyred in þe moste newe gyse
 with long lokkes of þis disteyfyng
 (15–23)

The description of the tomb as “forgyd” “depycte” and “depynte,” “compassed” and “made,” emphasizes its artifice as a constructed thing, while dwelling on its fine materials (“gylt copyr with goldly schewing”) emphasizes its luxury. The image does appear on the previous verso, complete with “sondre armes” and the most fashionable of fifteenth-century fashions (fol. 32v; fig. 6.4).³² Underneath the “fresch fygure” of the noble lady is her decomposing corpse, a skeleton in a shroud eaten by worms and in-



Figure 6.3. “A disputation betwix þe body & worms.” Crucifixion and kneeling lay man. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 33r. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 6.4. "Take hede vn to my figure here abowne." Lady's *transi* tomb. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 32v. By permission of the British Library.

sects. Verses underneath the drawing, the lady's "epytaf," make clear how it is to be interpreted:

Take hede vn to my fygure here abowne
 And se how sumtyme I was fresche & gay
 Now turned to wormes mete & corrupcion
 Bot fowle erth & stynkyng slyme and clay
 Attende þerfore to þis disputacion writen here
 And writte it wysely in þi hert fre
 At þer at sum wisdom þu may here
 To se what þou art & here aftyr sal be
 When þu leste wenes *venit mors te superare*
 When þi grafe grenes *bonum est mortis meditari*.
 (1-10)

The macaronic mixture of English and Latin in the last two verses has been enclosed in a banderole, either by the original scribe or perhaps by a later reader.³³

It is this macabre image that motivates the balance of the poem—"þis disputacion wryten here" and also in the reader's heart—which is a dialogue between the decaying body and the worms that gnaw upon it.³⁴ The speaker falls asleep and witnesses a vision of this verbal exchange:

In a slomer I slept taken I was in syche wyse
 Rapt & rauesched fro my selfe beynge
 Betwyx þis body & wormes hyr fretynge
 Strangly ilk one oþer corespondyng
 In maner of a dyaloge it wente
 þerfore to þis insawmpyl 3e take intente
 (24-29)

The poem continues "in maner of a dyaloge," with rubrics indicating which party is speaking: "þe body spekes to þe wormes," or "wormes speke to þe body." There are occasional indications of speaker within the verse itself—"wormes wormes þis body sayd" (30)—but in general such signs are external to the text, which is usually spoken *in propria persona*. This structure produces a complete transformation from the situation of the frame, in which the dialogue is related in the third person by the visionary speaker, to a more direct readerly experience of the conversation between body and worms. In its oscillation between reported and direct speech, this presentation of the text takes a quasi-dramatic form; it is even pos-

sible that the generic confusion here represents some stage in an incomplete revision.³⁵

Whether or not it actually reflects a process of revision, the confusion emphasizes that the generic complexity of the poem: at once vision and discourse, both images and texts. Thematically (in the switch from frame to dialogue) and structurally (in the combination of pictures and words) the poem participates in many different kinds of literary genres. The illustrations provide for visionary experience, both illustrating and paralleling the speaker's own. The disputants appear in the margins, where the body is represented as a skeleton wearing a fashionable ladies' head-dress, and the worms threaten from above (fols. 33v–34r; fig. 6.5). The body raises its hand in a gesture of speech, a pictorial means of representing the genre of the dialogue. Later, the body takes the upper position, with worms nibbling at its feet (fols. 34v–35r). From the lavish tomb that sparks the vision, to the artist's rendering of the crucifix as the impetus to vision, to the several representations of the body and worms that dispute, the pictures that accompany this poem reflect the richness of its dialogic subject and the complexity of sights and sounds it relates. These are not merely representations of the visions that inspire the speaking voices, but pictorial representations of their dialogue itself.

The end of the poem returns entirely from the dialogic to the visionary realm, reminding us in the speaker's waking moment that all we have seen and heard has been an insubstantial dream. But the rubric, "Now spekes he þat sawe þe vysion," involves the reading "audience," too, in the dramatic structure of the debate:

With þis I woke fro slepe sompnolent
 Or of a slomery meditacion
 To a holy man of hye excellent
 Mefed I þis dreame & strange vysion
 Whilk bad me put it vndir scripcion
 Als nere as I cowde remembyr me verely
 In als fayir langage as I cowde godely
 Vn to þe reders þinge delectabyll
 And a monyscyon both to styr & to mefe
 Man & woman to be acceptabyll
 Vn to our lord. & al lustes for to lefe
 Of warldly þinges whilk dos þaim grefe
 And þe more rather to call vn to mynde
 Oure saueour & to hym vs bynde. Amen.
 (fol. 35r)

poet's vision issues in a writerly performance; he puts his experience "vndir scripcion." The alternation between dialogue and narration might suggest, in another context, that the poem was to be presented aloud by one person in a mimed monologue.³⁶ The difficulty of distinguishing a readerly dialogue from a mimed speech, and the urgent sense that a performance of some kind underlies a text like this, have caused scholars to speculate about whether this sort of textual confusion can reveal aspects of performance practice that remain otherwise unrecorded.³⁷ Even though a public recitation is not the sort of use to which we can easily imagine Additional 37049 being put—solitary Carthusians did not gather in groups to watch spectacles—even a private reading of this text, which slips from narration into mimesis, calls upon the idea of dramatic recitation.

The type of *memento mori* tomb that spurs this speaker's vision reflects the staging of death common to sepulchral imagery throughout late-medieval Europe. The theme of the *danse macabre*, so popular in verse and in painted images, was probably also occasionally performed in processional pageants and dances.³⁸ In Italy, the actual dramatization of tombs included effigies presented to the Virgin by a patron saint, narrative scenes from the life of the deceased, and even curtains that could be pulled to reveal a memorial sculpture.³⁹ Even though the "dramatization" of funerary monuments in the north was less explicit, the *transi* tomb, with its double emphasis on the body in life and in death, also transforms the individual passage from life into death into a public spectacle. Francis Wormald has linked the drawings in Additional 37049 to actual fifteenth-century English edifices of this kind, such as the tomb in Lincoln Cathedral of Bishop Richard Fleming, d. 1431 (fig. 6.6).⁴⁰ Some of these sepulchral monuments include verses through which the corpse speaks, such as these on the tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele (d. 1443) in Canterbury Cathedral: "Pauper eram natus, post primas hic elevatus, / Jam sum prostratus et vermibus escaparus Ecce meum tumulum, MCCCXLIII." This sort of warning most closely recalls the unidirectional "epytaf" of the great lady in her *transi* tomb in the Carthusian miscellany.⁴¹

A second *transi* tomb in Additional 37049, representing the final resting-place of the Emperor Antiochenus' father (fol. 87r; fig. 6.7), elaborates upon the simple declaration of the corpse. In this case the text consists of a verse dialogue between Antiochenus and his father's body, "Fader sum tyme what was þou," which is embedded in a prose narrative ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais.⁴² The prose narrative relates the entire story of the dead father, the prideful son, and the steward who seeks to instruct his young lord about the certainty of his mortality, and it includes the verses spoken by father and son, given first in Latin and then in English. But the dialogue is repeated in a kind of "illustration" of words within the image,



Figure 6.6. *Transi* tomb of Bishop Richard Fleming (d. 1431), Lincoln Cathedral. Dick Makin Imaging UK.

joined to the figures of the young emperor and his steward by the father's grave; the words appear in a large banderole above the speakers, connected to the son's mouth in the manner of a speech-balloon.

Fader sum tyme what was þou	Swylk son as I was art þu nowe
A fowle stynke I fele of þe	Son wele fowler sone sal cum of þe
horrybyll bestes restes with þe	Thow sal cum & rest with me
þi fayr flesche falles & fades away	Son so sal þine do þat is now so gay.

The repetition of these words in the physical environment of the image—even as a part of the image—reveals that they are more intimately connected than simple illustration would suggest. As the narrative itself makes clear, when the son commissions a “paynter” to commemorate the “lyknes of his fader as he lay in his graue,” the speaker’s message depends upon its connection to his morbid image.⁴³ The pictures are indivisible from dialogue because the drawn figures exist to give voice to the words of the text, and the words must be imagined with their speakers. The enacting of dialogues through voice and vision is what the artist of Additional 37049 chooses to represent, and he represents it necessarily in both words and pictures.

ye voyce answerd. Bon dele fowler some sal yowre ai of ye
 ia sayd ye son. Sperrybil bettes restis di ye. ye voyce sayd. Giffad sal
 ai + restis di me pat sayd ye son. Thy fayr flestige fallas + fader
 away. Bon so sal yme do p'is nolle so gay. And sayt he had some
 vis syght + hard vis noyse. he went home + gart bying from a
 paynter. And t'his bed chasmer he gart paynt ye lykes of his
 fader as he lay i his graue. And d'igen he was styrrid to any syn. he
 beheld ye p'mage of his fader. b'nadying dede p' he come fro pe
 ethe + syld tynre to ye ethe. And on vis dysse he oncome his
 sp'ne. So p' y'lytt andri syn take heed at p'is chasmyllt

fader. In tyme wher was you. G'lyt ad 7 d'as art p'nosse
 A fowle stryke 7 fete of ye. — G'lyt ad 7 d'as art p'nosse
 Sperrybil bettes restis di ye. — G'lyt ad 7 d'as art p'nosse
 In fayr flestige fallas + fader away. Bon so sal yme do p'is nolle so gay.



Figure 6.7. Dialogue between the Emperor Antiochenus and his dead father. *Transi*
 tomb with speaking figures. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol.
 87r. By permission of the British Library.

All of the dialogues so far discussed indisputably belong to that genre: some are even called by the generic name of “disputacioun.” Other dialogues in the manuscript, however, exist elsewhere in different formal trappings, and take on the shape of dialogue only here. Like the *Querela divina* “O man unkynde,” these texts are fundamentally changed by their inclusion in the Carthusian miscellany. They show that the dialogic interests of the compiler of this miscellany were so compelling as to become transformative: he worked not only to assemble dialogues collected from elsewhere, but to alter texts from other generic spheres so that they suited the manuscript’s dialogic cast. One question from a despairing person, for example, leads to a disquisition from a learned doctor “Agayne despayre” (fol. 89v; fig. 6.8). The student begins: “Worthy doctor I beseke þe to declare vnto þe ese and to exclude þe heuynes of my herte sum dowtes & mocions with þe whilk I am mefeld.” He explains that when he remembers his many “gret synnes,” he is “in a maner of dispayre,” and desires for his “consolacion” to hear “sum gode doctryne.” The doctor responds with a long discourse on despair. This text exists in this form only here, but it contains matter assembled from a familiar source: William Flete’s *De remediis contra temptationes*, a treatise appearing in its Middle English version in some fifteen manuscripts.⁴⁴ The useful remedies against temptation were often pillaged for material that ultimately takes on another generic identity, as when they were incorporated into an advisory letter to a “dere sister.”⁴⁵ In Additional 37049, however, the text is adapted to a dialogic rather than an epistolary purpose. The treatise proper begins on fol. 93v, but it is woven into a preceding text that is prefaced by a question, a setup for the dialogic situation crucial to the creator of Additional 37049. Moreover, the generic transformation is marked—and in part made—by the illustrations to the text: two figures, set into the text block, raise their hands to indicate that they are engaged in speech. A learned doctor, holding a rolled scroll and wearing a university cap, faces a humbler student, but both participate in the pedagogical catechism that is the text. These two speakers, simple and unaccomplished as their portraits are in visual terms, represent the voices of the treatise “Agayne despayre,” voices that are here made crucial to its interpretation.

Similar figures often represent dialogue and debate in Christian art, in contexts as disparate as the prophets framing a central scene in a *Biblia pauperum*, or the figures Michael Camille has discussed on a twelfth-century tympanum at Rheims.⁴⁶ In the Ellesmere manuscript of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, the celebrated pilgrim portraits represent speakers, each one appearing at the beginning of his tale, rather than next to the description of his appearance in the *General Prologue*.⁴⁷ Illustrated play manuscripts conventionally place images of speaking figures next to the first speeches

al yn lyfe tyme. Gdillt a blynde fegore of ye styng dartre of longyng
 luf may ned defayle of ye mylke ye dequill is god ad qz feto sayd
 i ye boke of luf. d'ger go speke to a lady. I have a luf by fegore
 fante & a lofyng. sayng yf I kniafti coz mei foroz mei unca mei
 & pofa mei. & y had deowided my qe. t. my fystyr. my luf & my fpeake
 yo ful fye fuyt yn hot to qz. ye knythyng t ye fystymyng of
 yfnt to a man's fante is be a gods wylt & a gret defyre to hy onely
 for to kiffe hy t hy i hys blyd godely. ye moze yaf yo defyre is.
 yo fustre is yfnt knyng fuytt to ye fante. t ye led y ye defyre is ye
 looflyng is ye knytt. yo reford day swatyfo alleusfard to ye ordyr
 of forapfyn ye dequill hotokous byrnyng. ffor y is ye fante in
 fuytt to ye mylke luf bozne up t to god. yat gretly ye body be ye
 extendyng of affecons. t of mefnyng. is fuytyme in cruellosly affeict.
 fapnt d potest expe t gret d d'chix. A grayne despayre

Worthy doctor, beske ye to declarye vnto ye eys of and
 to quide yefpynnes of my herte in d'ctores t mocions of ye
 dequill. I am mefed be myne adme coorete t als be
 ye fuygation of myne eny d'nyd tyms on
 yo d'ys. t cohyder t fuyllow yaf my lufpnt
 had not affortune bene so vtrudous ad it aght
 for to be bot y faso bene combyrd d' many d'et
 d'ones ye dequill d'agon y veniemyr yaf. yaf yaf
 t a myner of despayre. d'ger fowr for eny d'p
 lacou yaf dequill to foye in gods doct. yo d'cto
 quide d'ger d'p'fal cohyder ye sayng of fapnt d'ustyr
 No mltu despayre of foraynes of f'ad f'yn. d'ger
 yat attyld forgyfnes y ~~mylke luf~~ f'ede quide
 als ye f'ame d'ctor sayd. G'ost f'utilla i medio ma
 ris. f'it ois t'p'at ad man d'oi. ad a
 f'ubit of f'yer is f'one f'okund t ye myddes of ye f'.
 so is ad ye d'yltydnes of a man vnto ye mercy
 of god. als qe saye ye kyngdom of heven to none
 ye f'pore bot to hy y d'chidit f'yn f'allo y f'is. Yaf f'ore ye f'ys
 dequill ze hafe light of ~~some~~ yaf h'fe. yat d'vrynes take god no aght
 And to ye meydnyng of 30th h'fe als my f'ul ad ze may h'fte 30th yaf
 day of d'ctys f'unt al day before 30th h'fe. And f'aynt d'jeger sayd be
 ch'is no man f'ul d'f'p'yr of ye mercy of god. bot f'yne hy mekely d'
 luf vnto f'yn t cohycon for f'is f'ynes i d'vil to d' no more.
 No man qe saye for ye g'vnes of f'is d'yltydnes f'alle i d'f'p'yre.
 f'is to f'ay t'ab' hope. f'for d'ger ad almyghty god is f'rayte to yaf
 f' f'owd. t yaf f'p'ednes. qe is he myf'ul to yaf yat t'ymed
 vnto hy. And als f'aynt d'ctys saye yaf of ye mercy of god. yn d'
 lord god ar t'oo d'et yaf of qe d'owd'ful myf'udnes. One
 is yat qe paywerty abydes ye t'efp'and. One is yaf qe may
 be ye d'yltydnes. yo is ye d'owd'ful f'ednes of q'p'it
 ye b' f'is of a lord yaf c'f'ite. f'yg'f'und t abydng
 of v'eg'ble. f'is ye d'f'p'and. yat



Figure 6.8. "Agayne despayre." Speaking figures. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 89v. By permission of the British Library.

those characters make.⁴⁸ In Additional 37049, speaking figures appear repeatedly, always emphasizing the importance of representing debate in visual as well as textual terms. For example, such speakers inaugurate the dialogue “Of actyfe lyfe & contemplatyfe declaracion,” in which a student asks a “reuerent doctour” about “þe way of goode lyfyng & how I sal dispose me to cum to euerlastyng lyfe” (fol. 87v; fig. 6.9).⁴⁹ Again the student’s initial question provides impetus for the text, the rest of which consists of the doctor’s answer. Speculating about the reception of this text is a complex matter, for it addresses both those who live in the world and those who have taken religious orders—an audience relevant to the kinds of social crossings we have already seen in the Carthusian milieu generally and in this miscellany particularly.⁵⁰ The piece is complex textually, as well, for it includes verses on penance and the corporal works of mercy set into the middle of a treatise written otherwise in prose. The verses are illustrated by images of a person being confessed by a priest (fol. 87v; fig. 6.9), and narrative images representing six of the seven corporal works (fol. 88r; fig. 6.10). Thus some of the substance of the work, framed by its speakers, is eventually represented in its illustration. The disposition of pictures on the page, however, suggests that the “substantive” images exist only because the short verse lines offered space that could be filled.⁵¹ The two speakers, by contrast, are set deliberately and meaningfully into what would otherwise naturally be the textual space of the prose treatise.

The importance of the two speakers here leads to a final, telling anomaly: some items in Additional 37049, not at all dialogic in their textual form, nevertheless suggest speaking voices in their illustration. The last text incorporated into Additional 37049, most easily identified by its incipit “Mykil folkes þer is þat hopes þat god wil dampne no man,” was also included in two treatises that exist independently elsewhere, as F. N. M. Diekstra has shown.⁵² Using the testimony of these additional witnesses, Diekstra has been able to reconstruct the tract that concludes Additional 37049—if not every word, then at least the general significance of the passage. The treatise cautions against those who believe so faithfully in God’s mercy that they neglect their own responsibility to do good.

But even in its truncated and mutilated form, the realization of this text in this illustrated book offers its reader a devotional pageant that depends just as much on imaginative and animated visualization as it does on a narrower, purely textual conception of what it means to read. What is most notable about this final item among the textual contents of Additional 37049 is the unusual way in which it is illustrated. The pictures do not provide a pictorial version of the tract’s content—representations of God dispensing mercy or of sinners suffering his justice—even though these sorts of images lend themselves to visualization and are depicted



Figure 6.9. "Of actyfe lyfe & contemplatyfe declaracion." Speakers and confession scene. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 87v. By permission of the British Library.

elsewhere in the manuscript.⁵³ Instead, the only visual accompaniment to the text seems to work to another purpose. On fol. 96 two figures are inset into the text block, a doctor and a scholar engaged in disputation across the literary lines (fig. 6.11). These figures are not unusual in the manuscript; many similar ones illustrate the dialogues already discussed.⁵⁴ But their presence here is surprising because they accompany a text that has no other direct connection to the dialogic form. The tract ventriloquizes “lewde folke” indirectly to set up a straw man for debate, but the pictures present this implicit voice as a full participant in the discussion. They turn this formally monologic text into a visual dialogue for its reader to imagine and even perhaps participate in, animating the theological issues the tract ostensibly presents. These figures show us in what interactive mode to read the text, a mode foreign to this tract itself in its other manifestations, but integral to Additional 37049. No less than the manuscript’s initial images, these final texts are drawn from their original environment to make a different kind of sense in this new context. But whereas the Byzantine Virgin and Christ are drawn from public celebration into the privacy of a book, this dialogue is pulled from a scholastic orbit into a dramatic one by the images that accompany it, and by the force of expectation established by the illustrated codex as a whole. This final treatise must be understood in light of the other illustrated dialogues in the collection, for they all show the scribe’s (or artist’s) controlling interest in picturing voices, as he converts what is nowhere else dialogic into an illustrated text that two voices could perform.

In a similar example, a series of moral distichs and precepts is accompanied by two figures, positioned across the text, speaking with raised hands (fol. 85r; fig. 6.12). The artist does not identify these figures precisely, but their costume allows us to recognize the same learned doctor and eager student we have already seen to speak other texts (though here the student holds a closed book and the teacher a scroll). The morally authoritative voice of the *magister* must be imagined to speak the wise words of the distichs, and the reader perhaps puts himself into the position of the student. This student is not a Carthusian, or even a monk, but he offers an analogue nonetheless for the monastic reader of this piece.⁵⁵ Both teacher and student are represented again on the second folio of distichs, but this time the student has changed his attitude: his hand gestures indicate that he listens and takes instruction, rather than responding (fol. 85v; fig. 6.13). This scene thus represents better the textual situation, which only includes one, authoritative voice. Perhaps the change implies a narrative sequence, a progression from one image to the other in the reader’s relation to the authority of the text. Interestingly enough, one of the authoritative voices folded anonymously into this particular dialogue is the voice of the



Figure 6.12. “Fyrst þu sal luf god & drede.” Teacher and student in dialogue. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 8r. By permission of the British Library.

father of English poetry: lines from Chaucer’s “Lak of Stedfastnesse” are conceived here as impersonal “moral distichs,” and given over to the voice of the pedagogical master.⁵⁶ Their setting in this miscellany, embedded within anonymous distichs and illustrated by stock figures appearing to debate, obscures even Chaucer’s strong literary legacy, showing the power of local context. It also shows the significance of the performative framework of Additional 37049, where what is most important is the interactive structure of the dialogue and the appropriation of voices by illustrated speakers and contemplative readers.


The artist of Additional 37049 did not need to illustrate the moral distichs in this way; a similar text, the *ABC of Aristotle*, accompanies an



Figure 6.13. Continuation of “Fyrst þu sal luf god & drede.” Speaking teacher and listening student. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 85v. By permission of the British Library.

academic figure writing at a desk (fol. 86v; fig. 6.14).⁵⁷ There is no representation of performed speech here—what is pictured is a silent private encounter with a book such as would have been very familiar to any Carthusian—but nonetheless even in this case the artist has thought it important to represent the author of the text, rather than any situation it describes. Since the work in question is a series of abstract moral lessons, that choice is perhaps inevitable.⁵⁸ But, as we have seen, even texts that would lend themselves well to fantastic visualization are often illustrated in this book, instead, by simple speaking figures.⁵⁹ As W. A. Davenport observes generally: “Middle English writing tends to aspire to the condition of speech and exploits the relationship between speaker and hearer; in

This is the A.B.C. of Arystotyll of gode worthie
 To amove to aduercer
 Ne anyr not p selfe
 To bold ne to hely
 Ne bound not to hade
 To curtes to crudd
 Ne care not to seie
 To drille ne to hysfull
 Ne dympte not of
 To doquor to exallour
 Ne to cruddful wold
 To fors ne to fangham
 Not foudly of choure
 To gful ne to gloune
 And ghoune y hate
 To hasty ne to handy
 Ne to help i pishot
 To gawne retym to iangyling
 Ne iape not to laize
 To kynde ne to kapping
 And kurre to knappe terys
 To lette ne to lese
 Ne to liberal of gode
 To megher ne to mery
 Not as gode man affere
 To noyas ne to nyse
 Ne to nestfingyll
 To ozyd ne to outgwart
 And other you liate
 To preas ne to prave
 To pryures ne to pring
 To uerant ne to uerelous
 To uerelous ne to uerelous
 To vrotas ne to uerelous
 Ne rage not to ofte
 To sturige ne to sturym
 Ne sturige not to hede
 To trobylos to trobylos
 For rebouance it hater
 To voubmes to vengnyll
 Ne wast not p tyne
 To deylde ne to dymngyll
 Ne waste not to deye
 For a mefuryll mouer best for or all
 I loice to
 I asse to my zede of my frunde
 and



Innocency i speculo hystozial
 Godes hood y was ane empro
 Schill y was cald Antiochery
 pat was a nobyl knyght & a
 doorty conuoy. And of al
 synes y he had vsed myste
 was ye syn of pryde. So ye
 tyme come y he dyed. And
 when he was dede. he was
 ryole beryd i a tabrike of
 gold. yis empro had a son
 y was his name. And he was
 more doorty of hisynge than
 eu was his fader before. yis
 empro son had a frend. schill
 y schill pat his lord was so
 And he come to hy & sayd Gyr
 behald vnto zo fad. schill pat
 was so doorty a knyght. & so
 nobyl a conuoy. take hede how
 he lygges i his graue. doormes
 & snakes etyng opou hym.
 wher he had sayd y. ye lord was
 doorty et hym. to he sadre at
 i dede. as he sayd hym. And so
 he went vnto his fad graue
 & gart opou it. And pa he sadre
 ye body synnyng & doormes &
 snakes etyng opou hy. And when
 he had seene y horribil sight.
 pa he sayd ou his wyse. Gyr go
 pray pden siar in es talle et
 wen. Genas fetore. tu reddes
 detiozem. horrida sut tra.
 venes requeste meai. yis
 y mykel to say y ye son sayd
 to his fader. fad. yis tyme
 schill was pon. a voyce aduysed
 & sayd. schill as y was art
 noble. pa sayd ye son to ye fad
 wofle synke i fele of ye.

Figure 6.14. "be A.B.C. of Arystotyll." Academic figure writing. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 86v. By permission of the British Library.

some works, dialogue becomes a way of being.”⁶⁰ The miscellaneous texts in Additional 37049 show that the dialogic is at least a way of writing and reading, for their illustrations bear out the truth of Davenport’s observation and develop the idea in more particular terms. The scribe/artist recognized that the dialogic “way of being” maintained by certain texts could be represented through visual means, even when the quality of performed speech is not acknowledged overtly by the texts themselves.

ALLEGORICAL DIALOGUES:
THE PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOUL

As we have seen, the dialogic thrust of Additional 37049 is reinforced by the compiler’s choice not only to import (or engineer) dialogues whole, but also to excerpt dialogic sections from the fabric of longer works—such as the three nonce-lyrics drawn from the popular *Prick of Conscience*. The miscellany draws even more heavily on a Middle English version of the *Pèlerinage de l’âme*, the second poem in the popular allegorical trilogy of Guillaume de Deguileville, monk of the Cistercian Abbey of Chaalis.⁶¹ The *Ame* was “Englished” in 1413 in a prose translation (with occasional inset verse) known as the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* or *Grace Dieu*.⁶² The English translator of the prose is unknown, but Thomas Hoccleve seems to have been involved in the verse translations, for he wrote the inset “Lamentation of the Green Tree” (also known as the “Complaint of the Virgin”) for Joan FitzAlan, Countess of Hereford and maternal grandmother to Henry V, and he may have composed the other lyrics embedded in the prose text as well.⁶³ Whoever the author or authors, the Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul* was popular; it remains in whole or in part in thirteen manuscripts, and in a 1483 Caxton print. Concrete evidence of Carthusian readers comes from the monk John Spalding, who carried a copy of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (along with many other books) as he traveled from the charterhouse at London to the charterhouse at Hull.⁶⁴ Although no extant manuscript can be surely identified as Spalding’s, it is possible to imagine that it served as the exemplar for the northern miscellany Additional 37049.

The *Pilgrimage of the Soul* undoubtedly appealed to the compiler of this miscellany for a number of reasons. Most obviously, manuscripts of Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages* were commonly illustrated, in prose and verse, in all the languages into which they were translated.⁶⁵ All the complete copies of the Middle English prose version show preparation for pictures in their layout, and seven extensive, even luxurious cycles remain.⁶⁶ Because its allegories are dream visions, the text depends upon the narration of looking, the description of successive spectacles shown by an angel to a

pilgrim soul. Perhaps for this reason, Deguileville's poems invest significant power in the physical forms of the text; these are texts and images about seeing, and the reader who encounters them in illustrated books in some sense replicates the pilgrim's visionary experience. The poem lays out the structure of the universe for pilgrim (and reader) in a series of verbal and visual tableaux, including a number characterized by V. A. Kolve as "images whose explicit subject is images."⁶⁷ The scribe of Additional 37049 appreciated this aspect of the poem, for he modeled his illustrations where possible on the pictures from the iconographic program of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*.

In spite of the importance of visual experience to the way in which the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* is read, the power of the speaking voice joins with spectacle in these long poems to create a compelling connection between the two. Deguileville's text can be understood broadly, not only as a series of tableaux, but as a series of conversations, where the *cantus angelorum* alternates with the *cantus peregrinorum* in a pedagogical give-and-take like so many of the dialogues in the Carthusian miscellany. The compiler of Additional 37049 capitalizes on the dialogic aspect of Deguileville's text, preserving two voices (even though the angel's speech could have stood alone) and introducing slight variations, which sometimes work to maximize the performative potential of the excerpts. The interweaving of verse with prose, of visionary narrative with inset song, incorporates concrete performances into the verbal and visual dynamic of the text, providing models for the performative practice of reading the miscellany encourages.

The texts most frequently extracted from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* and incorporated in Additional 37049 are its inset lyrics, those verses perhaps translated by Hoccleve. The miscellany contains eight rime-royal songs of angels and souls, including some songs that celebrate the arrival of blessed souls into heaven, and others that commemorate important moments in the liturgical year: Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost. The compiler was drawn to these poems as a celebration of the joys of heaven, perhaps as a counterbalance to the many texts in his collection that deal with the fearful inevitability of mortality.⁶⁸ These poems also testify to the importance of the lyric genre in the miscellany, for short and discrete poems are easily excerpted and assimilated into a new literary environment.⁶⁹ But the compiler did not simply lift all of the isolable lyrics contained in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, nor did he include all extant stanzas of the lyrics he did choose. Although a definitive study of the textual variants awaits a full critical edition, the Hoccleve lyrics, in particular, show considerable discrepancies across the manuscript witnesses.⁷⁰ While most complete copies of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* include fourteen lyrics, the Carthusian miscellany includes only eight.⁷¹ The Carthusian scribe either chose



Figure 6.15. Thomas Hoccleve, “Cantus peregrinorum,” in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. (“Honoured be þu blisful lord on hye”). British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 70v. By permission of the British Library.

idiosyncratically from among the poems in front of him, or he drew directly on an exemplar in a form that has been lost, but in either case the selection of lyrics here cannot be tied directly to any extant model.

But as these angel songs testify to the importance of lyric in this collection, they also point toward the interaction of speaking voices, and the ways the *Pilgrimage* represents them visually. As the prose note introducing “The Angels’ Second Song within Heaven” has it: “þies sygnyfies þe saules þt aftyr þair jugement & delyuerance oute of purgatory went vnto blysse with a ful ioyful toyne euerylk one of þaim more schynyng þan is þe son at mydday hafyng wt þaim ilk one hys angel þt ledde hym. And þis was þe nobyl sange þt þai sange” (fol. 70v). These angels break into



Figure 6.16. Thomas Hoccleve, “The Angels’ Song within Heaven,” in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (“Al worshippe wisdom welthe & worthinesse”). British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 71v. By permission of the British Library.

lyric song, but they are welcoming the voyaging souls into the company of heaven; the drawings filling the margins illustrate both that welcome and the large population of the heavenly community (fols. 70v and 71v; figs. 6.15 and 6.16). Notes transcribed in between the songs identify the singers and the scene: “Than sange þe angels þis sange þt folows” (70v), “Tan þe angels sang ane oþer sang when þe saules wer entyrd into blis” (71r). A more spacious page layout some folios later permits another kind of illustration; the image focuses entirely on the angelic song, and the angels’ performance—as musical as the lyrical harpist whose instrument has been turned to sorrow—takes place in front of the listening soul (fol. 74v; fig. 6.17).



Figure 6.17. Thomas Hoccleve, “The Angels’ Second Song within Heaven,” in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (“Honoured be þu blisful lord Ihesu”). British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 74v. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 6.18. Thomas Hoccleve, “The Angels’ Second Song within Heaven,” in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (“Honoured be þu blisful lord Ihesu”). New York, New York Public Library MS Spencer 19 (c. 1430), fol. 40v (detail). Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

This image comes from the illustrative program that often accompanies the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. Although none of the extant manuscripts agrees precisely with any other about the sequence and subjects of illustration, the cycle, which is derived at least in part from manuscripts of the *Pèlerinage de l'âme*, shows a relatively consistent iconographic shape.⁷² One of the most extensive illustrative programs can be found in New York Public Library MS Spencer 19, which includes twenty-six elaborate and richly realized pictures in a format that Kathleen Scott judges may reflect “an early or influential version.”⁷³ In Spencer 19 the angels and their musical instruments surround the soul in an almost identical, though more richly realized, scene—the only one to accompany Hoccleve’s lyrics in the standard cycle (fig 6.18). Musical angels and their instruments surround a pilgrim soul in a scene that follows in important details the eyewitness description of the dreamer: “I beheld and sawe wher come with gret solempnyte a pilgryme . . . and was brought forth with an huge multitude of aungelys, of wich eche hadde som lusty instument, as harpe, organes, or sawtry, or many other, which I knewe nocht ne kowde hem nocht descrye. And so was he ladde among þat company, his owne aungill hauyng him be the hande, þat songe wonder ioye.”⁷⁴ The variety of angelic instruments is carefully reflected in Spencer 19, and one angel indeed holds the small pilgrim’s hand. Additional 37049, which copies the lyric but does not include the prose

description, features an almost identical illustration. The monastic artist makes do with fewer angels, and he imagines the soul (here and elsewhere) as a naked child rather than as a clothed pilgrim, but in fundamentals he reproduces the image from the standard pictorial cycle of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*.⁷⁵ It is unlikely that Spencer 19 itself served as the exemplar for Additional 37049.⁷⁶ Even so, the pictorial tradition is stable enough that we might imagine that John Spalding's Carthusian copy of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* looked something like this deluxe one. The artist of Additional 37049 has presented the lyric concert of the angels in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* by reproducing not only Hoccleve's poem, but also the image in which the performance is displayed to the viewer. Both these texts, and especially their illustrations, represent more clearly the act of speaking than what is being said.

The Carthusian who created Additional 37049—clearly committed to combining verbal and visual forms of literary experience—appreciated the composite aspect of Deguileville's *Pèlerinages*, and sought to reproduce it at every turn.⁷⁷ He understood the imperative to illustrate so well that where his exemplar provided no image, he invented one of his own. The picture of angelic music is the only illumination to represent Hoccleve's lyrics in the pictorial cycle of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, but across an opening from it, the Carthusian artist made an uncolored pen sketch of the enthroned Christ (75r). This image was perhaps suggested by the verses soliciting divine judgment for the soul ("now receive him to thi glorye"), but the image of Christ in majesty is common enough to have been available from visual repertoires alone.⁷⁸ Other additions include the familiar images of Christ's baptism in the Jordan and his resurrection from the sepulcher (fol. 76r), as well as the holy spirit descending on Pentecost (76v), and groups of saints including Peter and Andrew (fol. 77r).⁷⁹ When this Carthusian artist departs from the pictorial cycle of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, he works entirely within common visual tropes and conventions. But it is significant, nonetheless, that even though he was copying such a full and well-established iconographic program, he invented images to enrich each page further, and to reflect the settings of the poems in the liturgical year.

The artist's additions to these lyrics also go beyond the familiar set-pieces of medieval art to give a specific sense of what he found most important to visualize. Most often, he illustrates the poems by representing the community of saints, angels, and souls who give voice to the verses. To help his reader imagine the *cantus peregrinorum*, for example, the scribe has included the rubric: "þies sygnifies þe saules þt aftyr þair jugement & delyuerence oute of purgatory went vnto blysse with a ful ioyful toyne euerylk one of þaim more schynyng þan is þe son at mydday hafyng with þaim ilkone hys angel þt ledde hym. And þis was þe nobyl sange þt þai

sange” (fol. 70v). In the column of alternating figures at the right, each soul is ushered into heaven by his individual angel (fol. 70v; fig. 6.15). Rubricated notes transcribed between the songs identify the singers and the scenes: “Than sange þe angels þis sange þt folows” (70v), “Tan þe angels sang and oþer sang when þe saules wer entyrd into blis” (71r). The voyaging pilgrims break into lyric song as they are welcomed into the company of heaven (fol. 71v). These are not the quiet, meditative lyrics one might have expected of the Carthusian solitary, but joyful and noisy celebrations of heavenly community. With each new illustration, the blissful souls enter further into the society of paradise. In the first, each angel stands shepherding one soul (70v). In the next, the angels kneel below and outside a heavenly city, while the blessed souls are welcomed by Christ inside the walls (71r). In the last, the viewer, too, is within the heavenly walls, as souls and angels crowd around a loving Christ (71v; fig. 6.16). Both the poetic voices and their illustrations alternate between *cantus angelorum* and *cantus peregrinorum*, creating a kind of progressive close focus on the glorious community, until finally the reader enters paradise along with the blessed. The illustrations, as a result, offer clear commentaries on the texts they illustrate, and the exchanges between souls and angels offer a method of understanding them. The alternation of soul and angel voices in the poems and in their illustration both depicts and encourages the process of readerly understanding.

Even apart from the discrete and easily excerpted angel songs, the opportunity to represent visions with dialogic voices drove this Carthusian compiler’s borrowings from the Middle English Deguileville. A prose passage from the start of Book 4, known as the “Apple of Solace,” is both envisioned and voiced by its illustrations (fol. 69v; fig. 6.19). The text represents a conversation between an angel and a man, and the man begins with a question: “Now gode angel telle me what zondyr pepyl menes þat plays & has þair solace with z on appyll.” The rest of the text is the angel’s reply, which explains that, like every person who sometimes needs comfort, “þies þus playes here to avoyde þair heuynes.” He goes on to explain that their plaything is neither Aristotle’s nor Adam’s apple, but hung on the dry tree (after growing on the green tree) in reparation for Adam’s sins: in short, the apple is Christ.⁸⁰ The images at the top of the page elucidate its textual allegory: on the left Mary stands in a lush green tree, while on the right Christ is crucified on a dry, leafless cross. Between them a group of people “plays and has þair solace” with an apple; one of the monks is wearing distinctive Carthusian robes, though others wear various types of habit, and lay people form part of the group as well. This picture provides a meditative image for the reader of the text, a memorable picture that reflects the substance of the theological conversation. But the speakers



Figure 6.20. “The Apple of Solace.” New York, New York Public Library MS Spencer 19 (c. 1430), fol. 72r (detail). Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

are represented, too, just under the larger picture. The angel and the man stand on either side of the text, raising their hands to indicate that they are speaking.

The importance of these figures can be measured by comparison with the proximate source for the picture—again, the illustrations to the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, such as are found in New York Public Library MS Spencer 19 (fig. 6.20).⁸¹ The differences are revealing: the miscellany is less luxurious than the New York manuscript, of course, and it includes a Carthusian monk among participants in the comforting game. The addition of Mary and Christ to the green and the leafless trees seems to have been borrowed from the Spencer illustration to the “Complaint of the Virgin,” Hoccleve’s long Marian lament that was not included in Additional 37049 (fig. 6.21). But the most remarkable change comes in the representation of the speaking angel and soul: instead of standing at the left, within the bounds of the image, as they do in both images from the New York copy, they are closely affiliated with the text. Angel and soul face each other across the text block, equivalent in structural position though distanced in spiritual authority. The physical separation of the two suggests a difference of perspective that the dialogic form emphasizes: their voices exchange ideas in a pedagogical conversation that the Carthusian reader himself is invited to enter. Even though the “Apple of Solace” does not preserve an alternation of voice throughout, its pictures in Additional 37049 present it as a dialogue as much as a vision—sustaining the voices in which it is originally cast, and recalling them continually to the reader’s mind.

The two remaining prose excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* in this miscellany also take the form of dialogues on theological topics. Here too, when the pictorial tradition provides no model illustration for Degui-



Figure 6.21. “The Lamentation of the Green Tree.” New York, New York Public Library MS Spencer 19 (c. 1430), fol. 78r (detail). Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

leville’s dialogues, the artist of Additional 37049 improvises in ways that reveal his commitment to imagining allegorical voices. Another prose dialogue from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* between a soul and an angel, “Nowe gode angel telle me whedyr þe fende þat has so gret delyte to dyscefe,” is cast, like the “Apple of Solace,” in the form of an angelic answer to a human question about the mechanisms of damnation and the punishments of hell. This text is not illustrated in manuscripts other than Additional 37049, but here it is “voiced” in a simple, but nevertheless significant, pictorial way (fol. 73v; fig. 6.22).⁸² The two disputants stand in the upper corners of the page, raising their hands to indicate that they are engaged in debate. The scribe writes the spoken text as undifferentiated prose, fully across the page, but each time a new speaker is introduced, he has rubricated the name. Even though the layout of this page seems plain, it reveals the importance of the dialogue as a mechanism for spiritual understanding; the very simplicity of this text’s *ordinatio* and its pictorial realization show how vital the speaking voices are to this scribe’s (and artist’s) vision of how it should be read. In these simple images, he finds ways of manipulating and emphasizing Deguileville’s voices while borrowing excerpts from his dialogic allegory.

A final prose dialogue from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* begins with an extended debate, rather than a catechism. “A dysputacion betwyx þe saule & þe body when it is past oute of þe body” takes place after the pilgrim soul

sees his own corpse and begins to reproach it for past sins (fols. 82–84). The two contest the question of responsibility for some time with no resolution, until they are interrupted by the impatient angel. At this point, the Carthusian compiler of Additional 37049 adds a new and separate allegorical fable to suggest that both body and soul share blame equally.⁸³ In this fable, the body is a “crooked” man and the soul is a blind one; working together they manage to steal forbidden fruit from a king’s orchard. Just as neither thief could accomplish the deed without the help of the other, both body and soul are answerable for the sins they have committed. A picture of the theft reinforces the surface narrative of the allegory without elaborating visually upon its interpretative significance (fol. 84r).



Figure 6.22. “Nowe gode angel telle me whedyr þe fende þat has so gret delyte to dyscefe.” British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 73v. By permission of the British Library.

Like the conflation of images in the “Apple of Solace,” these two images offer different perspectives on the text: the picture of two men stealing fruit shows the surface of the allegorical image, while the pictured speakers reflect the ones who are implicated by its meaning. This mnemonic exemplum joined with dialogue leads the solitary Carthusian reader toward greater understanding; the process of envisioning a dialogue performed furthers the text’s didactic purpose.

Even though he offers his readers a new pictorial image with the added fable, the Carthusian scribe/artist also emphasizes the genre of the dialogue in the layout of the text. What are chapter headings in the complete text (“How the soule ansuerith to the body. Capitulum XXVI”) become simple dialogue markers (“þe saule sayd”) in the Carthusian miscellany. This prose “dysputacion” also represents its speakers visually on every page.⁸⁴ The text is illustrated by a number of pictures of the naked figure of the soul in discussion with the skeletal corpse lying shrouded under the ground, and the angel who eventually joins the debate often appears as well (fol. 82r; fig. 6.23). The only manuscript of the complete *Pilgrimage of the Soul* to illustrate this episode is one now in the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne (fol. 140v; fig. 6.24). There are some formal correspondences between these two images in the composition of the picture space, and the shared medium of pen drawing has further suggested to some that the two manuscripts might be especially closely related.⁸⁵ But although these pictures may be stylistically similar, iconographic differences between the Victoria manuscript and Additional 37049 in other images from the pictorial cycle, not to mention significant textual differences between the two, imply that neither was copied directly from the other.⁸⁶ More likely, both manuscripts reflect a common pictorial tradition.

This Carthusian compiler fashions these dialogues from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* by preserving, reinforcing, and picturing the multiple voices in which the work is cast, but in a final excerpt describing a parade of damned souls he joins vision with voice instead by empowering a silent image to speak. Prose portraits of these souls catalogue their deformations as the visible signs of their sin, which also appear in the drawing below (fol. 74r; fig. 6.25). For example, “sum has lang hokyd nayles lyke lyons, þe whilk ar fals, couetos men & extorcioners.”⁸⁷ All the damned souls confront the reader with horrible grins and misshapen bodies as they move toward a yawning hell mouth to the right. A figure with a distended belly (“sum had bolned belys”) may signify gluttony, and the eyes of another seem to be in his cheeks, signifying envy (“sum semed as þair eene hang opon þair chekys”), but the figures do not simply personify the seven deadly sins. The prose description provides the direct impetus for the picture, and both are derived, ultimately, from manuscripts of the Middle

Disputacion betwix the soule & the body when it is past oute of the body.

A disputacion
 betwix the soule
 & the body when
 it is past oute
 of the body
 The soule sayd
 To the body
 Art thou yet
 yettelyng
 p' honyfyll and
 fodely frunt me
 sozmes met
 & noze fygure of
 cozynpocion
 is nold in pyde
 & in fere herit.

& in fere herit. What is in ledid play cūmen. Wher is it nold
 aīmer and had had p' d' alle in p'oyntnes. Some. Botly
 ad me fones q' fachs noid a mare defoamed fygure. And
 deke is d'orty. for I myght naid hafe bene fully avoyd
 on po. ffor deffid p' p' & I was copyld to gedyr. you made
 me ledid a ful unthp'f'fy life. And made me lose many a
 days labur i folowyn p' & my tyme d'istynge be g'olp'd
 days. ffor p' f'oght al day yme aldne of & yme aldne ple
 samer. & made me forod to yn mysgordance al day cōt'ry
 yny to p' p' f'uld hafe bene to myne avayntage. Wher by
 I was b'oght i to g'et d'ise & hemmed. And had made me
 ynogge to so for many a day her after bot if p' m'oy of god
 be my abidge my d'ist'ed. Got not for yn blyssed be hys
 grace p' had put me i th'ymed onte of yest if you had b'oght
 me i. we had not if grace bene q' had bene lost & d'amp'd be yn
 p'v'ent' the body w'uld have to yn f'ull.

Then list the body alytel hys f'olow hede & beg'yn to q'ryn hys h'oz
 t'hyll mod'it' sayng i p' d'ysp. What sayst p' p' he yll be you
 comen i beg'yn h' to d'ysp'p' me f' adde to comfort' me and
 p'ace me also mykil ad d'ed' & po. deq'at p' w'ost if you had gone
 ner & mayf'or of my d'est'ge i' h'yme & at p' f'ul i' bonec. cū to yn
 j'gement at the gen'ral resur'ec'ion of me & of al o' f' at d'ed. had
 p' not v'nd'p'at'ad' h'ore before of p' sayng of d'ic'ed. p' p' d'
 tyme i' avoyson but i' ynd' f'olke & i' ynd' same place sayng i' p' d'
 d'ysp' d'yd' d' esse and're d'yd' d'yd' & d'ye bonec h'ge & p' d'oz'd of
 god. At p' d'el'f' de'ed' ad' bonec d'ont to o'p' r'omyn' nat' f'ull
 a' yow' th'op' p' place. & p'nyngly p' f'p'ny' & p' d'ed' yow' bonec d'
 yst' f'ode w' ad' men i' f'ulle p'f'one. so ad' yn had bonec be f'ore.

Figure 6.23. "A disputacion betwix þe saule & þe body when it is past oute of þe body." Two disputing figures and angel. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 82r. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 6.24. “A dysputacion betwix þe saule & þe body when it is past oute of þe body.” Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94 (c. 1420–50), fol. 140v (detail). By permission of the the Rare Books Collection, State Library of Victoria.

English Deguileville. In Hatfield House MS Cecil Papers 270, for example, a spectacle of similar deformities illustrates the identical passage (fol. 21r; fig. 6.26). Unlike the Hoccleve lyrics, this prose text hardly presents itself as an obvious textual passage to excerpt; instead the image seems to have been so memorable that the verbal description that inspired it found its way into the miscellany.

Yet here, too, the Carthusian artist has followed his own artistic and pedagogical agenda—adding, for example, a hell mouth on the right that may suggest memories of other art forms.⁸⁸ But the compiler’s most significant addition here is textual, rather than pictorial: an otherwise unattested lyric on the pains of infernal torments, “Cum folow me, my frendes, vn-to helle.” The demon in front (perhaps Satan?) speaks lyrical words—a poem about the pains of hell structured, like the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* as a whole, by the description of awful sights. Paradoxically, the supplementary poem expresses the horrors of hell by explicit contrast between the experiences of seeing painted fire, and suffering the heat of real fire. “For as fyre is hoter here anywhere / þan is þe fyre paynted on a walle / Ryght so is þe fyre hoter þere / þan is here þe fyre þat we calle.”⁸⁹ As if to comment on the visionary experience offered by manuscripts of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, Additional 37049 replicates those images in its pages only to undercut the power of pictorial representation on earth. The pains of hell are conveyed here by a prose vision realized in a material picture, but also by a satanic voice reminding the viewer that what he can see, or even feel, pales by comparison with the realities of damnation. By conjoining a spoken poem with the horrific punishments envisaged by the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, this Carthusian compiler transforms one of Deguileville’s demons



Figure 6.26. “A vision of saules þat war dampned & put to helle after þe jugement & how þai ar deformed & myschapyn.” Hatfield (Herts.), Hatfield House MS Cecil Papers 270 (?1440–50), fol. 21r (detail). © Marquess of Salisbury.

into the speaker of a hellish invitation, and he turns the silent image into a powerful speaking picture. Both dramatic lyrics and didactic dialogues bring the power of speaking voices to animate the theological and devotional issues they present. Some of the texts of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* describe visionary images, but just as often the pictures take language as their subject, and depict words.

Takami Matsuda has discerned a new interest in the doctrine of purgatory linking all these excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* in Additional 37049.⁹⁰ One anonymous lyric in the manuscript treats that subject directly, offering theological instruction through a mechanistic diagram, a pulley-system in which wafers are exchanged for Christ, and good deeds for the salvation of souls (fol. 24v; fig. 6.27). The social concerns of this poem and picture are significant for this book: as the poem puts it, “þe saules þat to purgatory wendes / May be relefyd þorow help of frendes” (1–2). And indeed, taken together, the excerpts from Deguileville might demonstrate that the compiler of Additional 37049 was especially interested in the purgatorial aspect of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. But in addition to thematic links, there are equally significant formal and methodological reasons for the inclusion of these particular excerpts. The Hoccleve lyrics, along with the selections we have already seen from the *Ego Dormio* and the *Prick of Conscience*, show a pronounced interest in the lyric form, for they maintain that form even when to do so requires transforming (cutting up or even rearranging) longer poems. Moreover, the prose excerpts from

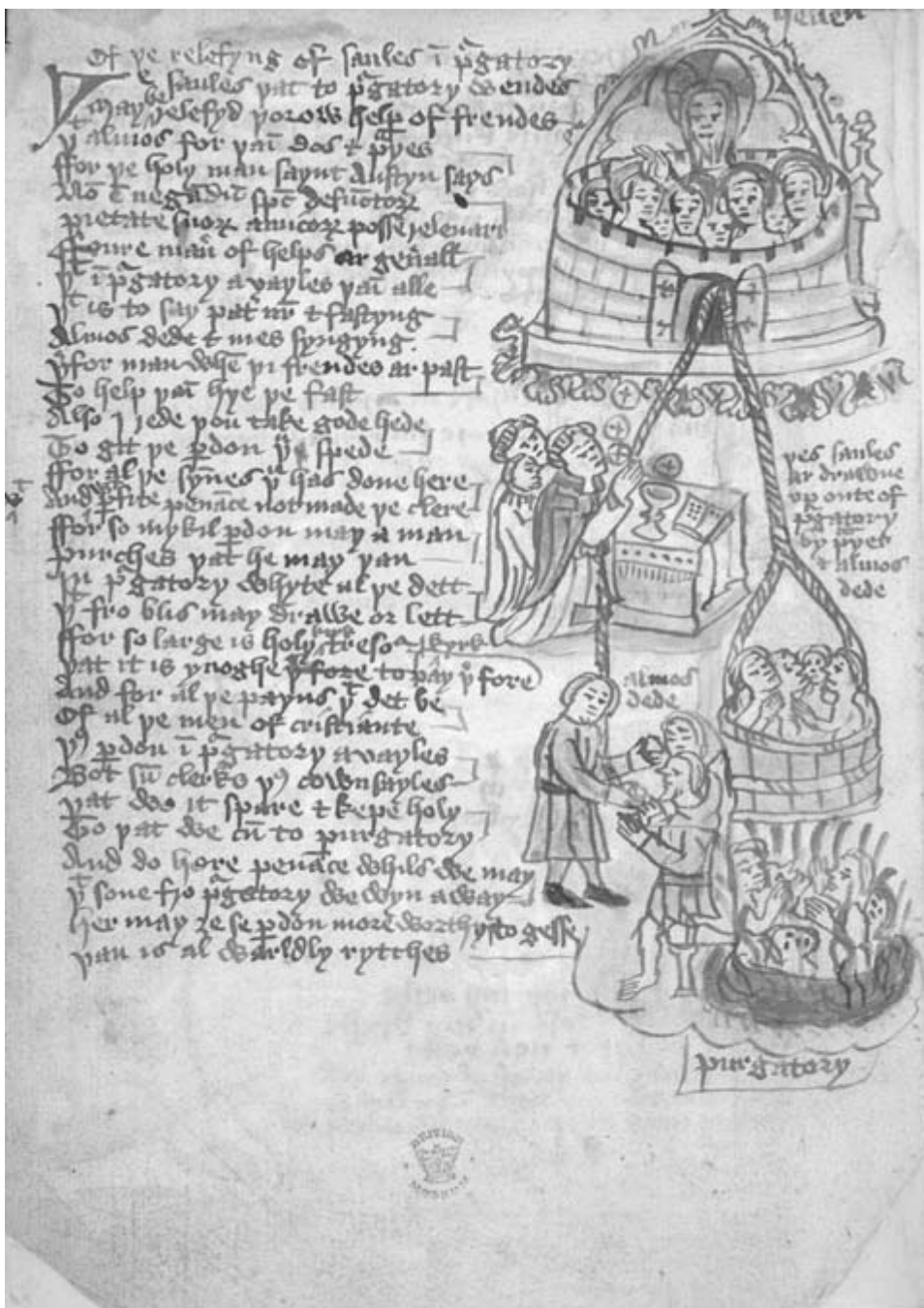


Figure 6.27. "Of þe relefing of saules in purgatory." Mechanical diagram. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 24v. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 6.28. Scaffold pageant. New York, New York Public Library MS Spencer 19 (c. 1430), fol. 12r (detail). Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* uniformly take the structure of dialogue. These short pieces, unexceptionably illustrated, are joined by generic means to other dialogues and speaking figures found throughout the manuscript. The importance of the simple illustrations arises from their context, in a book that consistently uses such illustrations to animate the dialogic texts it borrows and represents. Their presence in this book, alongside the rest of its miscellaneous contents, signals an interest in the dialogic form and in speaking voices, more than in any particular themes.

Dialogues are not plays, and the Carthusian compiler's preservation of Deguileville's pilgrim and angel voices does not necessarily mean that he was thinking theatrically. But there are signs that others, at least, thought the long allegorical *Pilgrimages* offered dramatic potential. Rosemarie McGerr, the editor of Book I of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, has written of the dramatic associations one might derive from certain episodes in the poem, which sometimes mimic the experience of the stage so closely that they seem to represent historical performances.⁹¹ The courtroom scene, for example, in which the soul's merits (represented by his scrip and staff) are weighed, takes place "vpon a scaffold ful highe." The representations of this process in the manuscript tradition reinforce a sense that the juridical scaffold is analogous to a dramatic one, both separated by curtains from a group of spectators below the action, as here in Spencer 19 (see fol. 12r; fig. 6.28). Like the flowchart of redemption in Additional 37049, or even the purgatorial stage engines that lift redeemed souls to heaven (see fig. 6.27), these pictures might be seen to model themselves on the machinery of the stage. More hints of performance are revealed by the

apparatus of other manuscripts of the *Soul*. A copy at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for example, includes rubrics marking five chapters “pagent” or “a pagent” in the margins.⁹² The songs of angels and souls—moments of self-conscious difference in both literary form and textual presentation—can just as easily be thought of as performative pageants that offer Deguileville’s readers both spectacles and speeches.

This kind of evidence requires caveats, of course. It is notoriously difficult (though also notoriously tempting) to glean knowledge about historical performance practices from the testimony of static pictures.⁹³ And the etymological perspective offered by the marginal word *pageant*, though rich, does not confirm the purely dramatic interests of the annotator.⁹⁴ However, additional intriguing evidence does suggest that the long allegories of Guillaume de Deguileville were occasionally performed upon the medieval stage. The first part of the trilogy, the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, was certainly dramatized in the form of the *Jeux de pèlerinage humaine*, which survives in a collection of morality and mystery plays now in Chantilly MS 617.⁹⁵ Kathryn Walls has linked Deguileville’s first poem (or its Middle English translations in prose and verse) to the Chester play of Noah’s flood, through similar iconography of mercy as an archer’s bow (the rainbow) pointed toward God.⁹⁶ Given this certain history, it cannot be fanciful to imagine that the *Pèlerinage de l’âme*, too, may have influenced the drama, and that even in private readings it may have been dramatically understood. Critics have speculated that part of the *Ame* may also have been dramatized.⁹⁷ Even in the manuscripts that do not directly take up the question of public pageantry in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, the progress of Deguileville’s allegory is presented as a kind of spectacle for the small audience of soul and angel, doubled in the even smaller audience of the single reader of the book.⁹⁸ Primarily through its illustrations, the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* becomes a poetry about watching dialogues unfold, with the same kind of representational self-consciousness that the performance of the drama requires.⁹⁹

MYSTICAL DIALOGUES: TREATISE OF THE SEVEN POINTS
OF TRUE LOVE AND EVERLASTING WISDOM

The compiler of Additional 37049 excerpted ready-made lyrics, dialogues, and illuminations from the Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul* in order to add to his performative collection. Another example of this excerpting practice is the scribe’s use of the *Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, a Middle English adaptation of Heinrich Suso’s *Orologium sapientiae* (itself the Latin version of Suso’s *Das Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit*). The *Treatise of the Seven Points* was popular, surviving both

in whole and in part in a number of manuscripts, some owned by Carthusians.¹⁰⁰ The fourth “point” of the seven, an *ars moriendi*, was excerpted more than once, and was translated independently a number of times—once by Thomas Hoccleve.¹⁰¹ The variety of ways in which Suso’s text was used demonstrates his influence on English devotional writing, but it also shows even more clearly how the specific interests of English readers influenced and transformed their reception of German mysticism.¹⁰² Additional 37049 provides a case in point, for it charts an interest in the particular parts of Suso’s legacy that relate to performative devotional reading. The imagery of the sacred monogram inscribed on the chest, for example, connects Suso to the miscellany’s representations of the hermit Richard Rolle, both symbolizing their love-contract with Christ through inscriptions on the heart.¹⁰³ Couplets translated from the *Horologium sapientiae* likewise promise salvation to “Who so rememors criste passion deuoutely.” From the *Treatise of the Seven Points*, the compiler of Additional 37049 chooses to excerpt the popular chapter 4 on “how a man sal lerne for to dye,” along with parts of chapter 5.

The *ars moriendi* from the *Seven Points* must have appealed to this compiler, as it did to so many others, because of its useful lessons on that favorite late-medieval subject: the inevitability of death. More relevant, though, the treatise belongs among the visual and verbal pageants of Additional 37049 because of its dialogic format: a “discipil” asks and receives advice from his “heuenly mayster Wysdam.” In chapter 4, particularly, the text combines dialogue and spectacle, for the disciple participates in an extended vision prompted by Wisdom, who stages and directs a final edifying scene of mortal despair. As the master explains his intention: “And þat þis techyng of me more feruently mefe þe, and þat it be always dwell- yng fest in þi hert vndyr infelabil insawmpyll, I sal schewe be þe priuete of his doctryne, þe whlik sal profet þe gretly to þe begynnyng of gostly hele & to stabil grownde of alle virtewes. Se now þan lyknes of a man dyinge, and þerwith spekyng with þe.” The “discipil” watches “þat lyknes set before him,” and he speaks with “þe ymage of dethe”—not a skeletal figure representing the power of mortality itself, but “þe lyknes of a fayre zonge man, þe whilk was sodanly ouercome with dethe in hasty tyme for to dye & had not disposed for þe hele of his saule.”¹⁰⁴ This unfortunate, in turn, calls upon the disciple to see further visions and hear further voices, offering this advice: “And so behold offtymes þi saule amonge þe brynyng coles crying: O þu beste beloued of al frendes, helpe þi wretched saule. Hafe mynde of me now þat is in so hard prison.” Both mystical vision and participatory conversation, this scene from the *Treatise of the Seven Points* offers the disciple of the text visions within visions, and dialogues within dialogues, and it simultaneously provides the monastic reader of this miscellany with

scenes to be dramatically enacted before what the text calls the “eye of his mynde” and the “eye of his hert.” Robert Twombly has invoked the theatrical metaphor to describe this process of reading Suso’s meditative text, noting that “the devoutly self-exploring imagination (*memoria*) becomes a little inner-theatre of make-believe.”¹⁰⁵

The physical disposition of the text on the pages of the Carthusian miscellany emphasizes its thoroughly dialogic, not to say dramatic, nature. Each time the “discipil” addresses the dying young man, his name is rubricated to call the reader’s attention to the change of speaker. Sometimes the labeling of speakers is discursive (“þe ymage of dethe sayd,” or “Discipul, heryng þies wordes, turned to hym & sayd”) but other times it is staccato (“Discipyl awnswerd,” or merely “Discipil”), indicating who is speaking in the abbreviated manner one might more readily expect of a dramatic script annotated for performance. It is clear in these truncated forms that the idea of performance is being invoked, and also that the reader is to do some creative work to bring these speaking voices to imaginative life. Although the excerpt is illustrated with pictures of the torments of death and purgatory, especially as the dying man passes out of life into the hands of demons (fol. 42r; fig. 6.29), the more important illustrative purpose is revealed by the many speaking figures in the margins, who make the means of the text, rather than its ends, their subject (e.g., fol. 40v; fig. 6.30). The figure of the disciple—dressed as a white monk, if not precisely as a Carthusian—raises his hands in speech to address the “ymage of deth,” who discourses on the terrors of his passing, even as the spearman attacks.

Finally, the conversations of the readerly disciple with the dying and the tormented dead turn into a dialogue with God, as he asks despairingly “Wher is euerlastyng wysdam nowe?” (e.g., fol. 43v; fig. 6.31). He cannot believe the events that have passed before his eyes—“vnethes wote I wheder þat I hafe seene it be so indede or elles by liknes”—but the visions have made a deep impression. He says, “I beleve for certayn þat þis dredful syght sal avayle to my saule for euer.” But it is not only sight that he must attend to, as Wisdom explains by negative example; both eyes and ears, vision and dialogue, must guide the devout to right repentance: “Lyft vp þine eene & loke abowte bysily and se how many þer ar blynde in þair saule & closes þair eene, þat þai loke not vnto þair laste ende, & stops þair eres, þat þai here not for to be conuertyd & helyd of þair syn.” By implication, the disciple of the *Seven Points* and the reader of Additional 37049 should keep eyes and ears open.

Both eyes and ears attended to the teachings of the *Treatise of the Seven Points* in one specific late-medieval context relevant to the readerly pageants of Additional 37049: the morality play known as *Wisdom*.¹⁰⁶



Figure 6.30. *Treatise of the Seven Points*, with speakers. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 40v. By permission of the British Library.

Other pages in the manuscript have presented sacramental imagery that might have been inspired by dramatic staging, or visionary dialogues that might have also been enacted on the stage, but here they offer a direct connection between one of the texts excerpted in the miscellany and a specific fifteenth-century play. It is often thought that *Wisdom's* use of Suso's treatise reflects the author's broad interest in contemplative theology; the play also makes extensive use of other contemplative materials, such as Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* and *Epistle on the Mixed Life*, treatises associated with St. Bernard and St. Bonaventura, and the *Novem virtutes* once ascribed to Richard Rolle.¹⁰⁷ But it is possible, too, that the popular *Seven Points* influenced a dramatic text precisely because of its



Figure 6.31. *Treatise of the Seven Points*, with prayer scene. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 43v. By permission of the British Library.

dialogic form. Suso's dialogic treatise inspired *Wisdom's* opening dialogue between Anima and Christ; the first sixty-five lines of the play follow the *Seven Points* closely.¹⁰⁸ It is perhaps the dramatist's interest in the meditative tradition, and also the devotional author's interest in dramatic forms, that draw the two genres together.

Like Additional 37049, *Wisdom* emerges from a monastic milieu, for one of the manuscripts in which the play is preserved—the Folger Library's Macro manuscript—is connected with the East Anglian abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.¹⁰⁹ Specifically, the Macro plays of *Mankind* and *Wisdom* were owned and most probably written by a monk “hyngham,” as inscriptions at the end of each text explain: “O liber si quis cui constas forte quere-

tur/hynghamque monacho dices super omnia consto.” (“O book, if anyone should by chance ask to whom you belong, you shall say I belong above all to Hyngham, a monk.”) This “hyngham monacho” was most probably Thomas Hyngham, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds who also owned a copy of John Walton’s Middle English verse translation of Boethius’ *De consolatione philosophiae*.¹¹⁰ It seems likely that Hyngham was not only the owner but also one of the scribes who wrote both *Wisdom* and *Mankind*. Hyngham’s involvement with these plays does not mean, of course, that they were performed at the great East Anglian abbey, and not all critics have agreed that monks were a primary audience for the play.¹¹¹ But a strong case has been made: Gail McMurray Gibson has convincingly argued for Bury St. Edmunds as a center for East Anglian devotional theatre of all kinds.¹¹² If the mystical theology represented in the play is not the highest and most exalted variety, this should lead us to suppose, not that the obvious monastic origin of the manuscript does not matter, but instead that monks might have occasionally witnessed plays that were not mystically complex. Moreover, regardless of whether its monastic connections reflect the performance history of *Wisdom*, it is obvious that its text was one of a fifteenth-century monk’s valued possessions, and that it formed part of his private reading matter. Gibson asks: “What evidence is there that Bury St. Edmunds had an active tradition of performing drama rather than just a monk Hyngham interested in collecting play texts?”¹¹³ Although speculating about the play’s performance history is unavoidable, it is as important to wonder what “a monk Hyngham interested in collecting play texts” did with his reading material as it is to imagine an “active tradition of performing” at Bury. The three *Macro* morality plays—*The Castle of Perseverance*, *Mankind*, and *Wisdom*—seem to imply such different performance requirements and contexts that the one environment of theirs we can know without doubt is the manuscript itself: under whatever specific historical circumstances they might have been performed, certainly a monk named Thomas Hyngham owned and read these three disparate plays.

For all of the textual parallels between treatise and play, the sections of the *Seven Points* assembled by the Carthusian compiler do not overlap with the borrowings made in the play of *Wisdom*. Moreover, the drama provides a different kind of visual experience from the *Seven Points* as it is realized in Additional 37049.¹¹⁴ The play’s stage directions provide a richly clothed figure of Anima “as a mayde,” quite different from the monastic disciple of the miscellany. The play also gives us a different sort of Sapientia: “Fyrste entreth Wysdome in a ryche purpull clothe of golde wyth a mantyll of the same ermynyde wythin, havyng abowt hys neke a ryall hood furred wyth ermyne, upon hys hede a cheveler wyth browys, a berde of golde of syres curlyed, a ryche imperyall crown therupon sett wyth precyus sto-



Figure 6.32. Heinrich Suso, Christ as “Die Ewig Weishait.” Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 78.5 Aug 2° (15th c.), fol. 97r. By permission of Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel.

nys and perlys, in hys leyfte honde a balle of golde wyth a cros theruppon and in hys ryght honde a regall sceptor.” This vision of Wisdom recalls the familiar image of Christ in majesty, as pictured for example in a fifteenth-century copy of Suso’s *Orologium* (fig. 6.32). As Clifford Davidson has pointed out, the play’s Wisdom is perhaps marked also with signs of Christ’s Passion: Wisdom himself describes his body as “full of holys, as a dovehows” (1106).¹¹⁵ This familiar mystical image corresponds to some of the Passion iconography so prevalent in *Additional 37049*, and might imply a means of connecting the visual experience of the play to the reading of this illustrated book (see, e.g., fol. 67v). But it is also possible to imagine a comparison between the richly clothed, regal Christ featured in the play of *Wisdom* and the last representation of Wisdom in the manuscript: the Christ of the manuscript may not be richly represented, but he carries an orb, signaling that the same kingly God in majesty is meant (see fig. 6.31). In spite of some iconographic dissonances between *Wisdom*’s realization

of Suso on stage and the illustrated version in this miscellany, the importance of visual elements in each reveals that the process of picturing this drama is as important as what is pictured.

It is also possible that the text of *Wisdom* itself is less fully dramatic, that the lines from the *Seven Points* are less fully incorporated into their new staged setting, than would initially appear. Wisdom ends his first speech by referring to himself in the third person, with the odd summation: "Thus Wysdom began" (16). The play's modern editor asserts that the line means "This was the origin of the name of Wisdom," rather than "Wisdom began to speak thus."¹¹⁶ But the question of the line's meaning might be usefully reopened, for other critics, in their attempts to make sense of this anomalous line, have suggested a variety of possibilities.¹¹⁷ For example, E. K. Chambers observed that the odd speech might have been meant for a prologue.¹¹⁸ Given the generic complications we have already seen in performative devotional reading, and the mixed forms that frequently introduce narrative into pure dialogue, the idea of a narrative prologue to a dramatic text becomes less unreasonable. Although the *Seven Points* takes the form of a dialogue between master and disciple, the lines used in the opening of the play of *Wisdom* seem to add a narrative voice to the number of dramatic speakers.

In the context of the earlier crux, it is possible to see that the play's concluding lines, too, offer a meta-theatrical (or perhaps even untheatrical) commentary on what has gone before: Wisdom says, in conclusion, "That is the doctrine of Wisdom we may pursue" (1163). The opening lines of this play were taken from a popular treatise; it is possible that the play continues to reflect its untheatrical origins, not simply in the aureate diction and slow action of which critics have sometimes complained, but also in lingering verbal reminders of the treatise's narrative form.¹¹⁹ It is possible to understand the illustrations of the *Seven Points* in Additional 37049 conversely as an anticipation of the dialogue's potential for histrionic enactment. That potential is realized here in the private reflections of a single devotional reader, but the demonstrable connection with actual late-medieval spectacle enlivens those private reflections into a devotional experience that is performative in its own right.

The texts and images illustrating the *Seven Points* in Additional 37049 do not have a close relationship with the play of *Wisdom*—it is other sections of Suso's work that are reflected there—but the certain dramatic manifestation of the *Seven Points* signals that the mechanisms and methods of the drama are not too far distant from the excerpts that are included in Additional 37049. With the possibility of lost plays standing behind the miscellany's excerpts from the Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, and the connections (though tenuous) between the miscellany's versions of

Suso's mystical treatise and the Macro morality play of *Wisdom*, we have crossed from a consideration of dialogues that compel a private reading based on ideas of speaking voices, into the realm of the (at least potentially) truly theatrical. The similarities do not mean only that these plays draw on meditative material, but also that certain kinds of reading draw equally on dramatic and even theatrical forms. This potential for theater in monastic reading forms the subject of my concluding chapter.

Dramatizing the Cell

Theatrical Performances in Monastic Reading

Reversing an old antitheatrical bias for literary texts over performance practices, studies of the medieval drama now routinely announce a preference for the stage. As John Alford has approvingly observed, “It is a truism that reading a dramatic script is like reading a musical score. Whatever impression may be conveyed by the printed page, the only measure of worth that matters ultimately is performance.”¹ Some printed (or manuscript) pages lead modern readers directly to investigate performance histories, for they show unmistakable signs of having been instruments of dramatic reenactment. The Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*, for example, exists in a copy that is designed as a chronicle of a past production and an aid to staging a future one, with notes recording when it was played (“at Croxston on Monday”), how many actors a production requires (“ix may play yt at ease”), and so forth.² Dramatic fragments offer an especially instructive perspective on medieval habits of staging, for even without disclosing much about a play’s text they often reveal a great deal about how it was rehearsed or performed. The enigmatic *Cambridge Prologue*, for instance, perhaps the earliest fragment of English vernacular drama, consists of a call in English and French to listen quietly to the “game” or face the punishment of “þ’amperur”—probably an actor playing the part of an emperor. It is most likely that this fragment was recorded as a study aid for the player who was to speak the lines.³ *Dux Moraud* similarly records only one actor’s part, written in a fifteenth-century hand in the margin of a fourteenth-century assize roll for Norfolk and Suffolk.⁴ The *Ashmole Fragment* even includes a cue from the previous speaker before the lines to

be learned begin.⁵ All these manuscripts are primarily means to the end of realizing a text in a theatrical setting, and have proved valuable to scholars for what they imply about those elusive events.

In spite of this tantalizing evidence of medieval rehearsal and performance practices, indications in the manuscripts of other medieval plays suggest that the script itself—the “musical score”—sometimes had an independent existence of its own. These play texts had an imaginative life apart from the trappings of the theater, though never far from them, in individual readers’ experience of books. New research in early modern studies has reinforced the interdependence of the theater and the book, and has particularly focused attention on early readers of Shakespeare, as well as contemporary audiences of his plays.⁶ But the emphasis in this scholarship on the *printed* book leaves the material texts of medieval drama unconsidered.⁷ Those material texts have lately proved important in a reconsideration of the canon of early medieval drama, as scholars have rethought familiar assumptions about how manuscripts reveal or obscure traces of performance.⁸ But the material texts of medieval drama attest most immediately to contemporary reading practices, as well as to more distant performative events. The performative reading of dramatic imagetexts in the Carthusian miscellany Additional 37049 relies upon the broader context established by medieval plays for reading. This category of medieval closet drama—play scripts, privately read—includes those dramatic texts that, in spite of clear marks of performance practice, were also sometimes probably studied in solitude, and also those that were so clearly designed for reading that it is possible to imagine that they were never staged at all.

DRAMATIC TEXTS, LYRIC VOICES,
AND PRIVATE READERS

The “Towneley lyric” discussed in chapter 1 stages lines that are elsewhere part of a dramatic text specifically for private reading (pl. 1). As I have argued, the poem turns on reproducing the sights and sounds of the Passion in a way that links this manuscript page with the experience of theatrical spectacle. But the poem presents a codicological conundrum, as well as a generic one; it begins on fol. 67v, but ends on fol. 45v, where it is entirely unillustrated. It is difficult to imagine what could have produced this state of affairs—why a scribe would begin a text on one folio, and finish it on one twenty pages earlier. Possibly the two texts were conceived separately, and were copied from different exemplars. It seems more likely (since they appear whole in the two other manuscripts that contain them) that their separation reflects the scribe’s adjustment to his limited space, and shows the

meandering and mobile ways in which readers were expected to approach this diffuse collection of scattered bits and pieces. But it is significant that the two folios in question bracket the *Desert of Religion*. The text of the long poem actually ends on fol. 66v, but the subjects and themes of fol. 67r, in addition to its distinctive two-column layout, show that it is in some ways a continuation of the *Desert*. The picture on fol. 67r, a collection of sinful thoughts on banners carried by birds, even plays a part in the *Desert*'s iconographical program in other manuscripts.⁹ So the verso of that folio, with its small monastic figure contemplating the cross, is the first to begin a truly new succession of texts and images. Why the poem's sequence is reversed remains a mystery, but the physical evidence suggests that it might have been added to the manuscript at the same time as the *Desert of Religion*.¹⁰ Thus, like the *Desert*, it is codicologically as well as ideationally central to the manuscript compiler's performative project in imagetext.

A rubric introduces this lyric poem and gives it a generic name distant from drama: "Take gode hede wele of þis medytacion." A large picture accompanies the text, filling the second column of space on the page. This image depicts Christ crucified on a rough wooden cross identified as "the tre of lyfe," sprouting complementary branches of "luf" and "charyte." In an example of the intense blood-piety widespread throughout the manuscript, Christ is covered with wounds, and blood streams copiously from the five primary ones.¹¹ The instruments of the Passion surround the large figure, and below (and behind) the cross a small figure of a Carthusian monk kneels in adoring prayer. Although the drawings are rough, this page presents all the complexity of textual and visual design that characterizes the manuscript as a whole. The poem itself is marked with braces that show rhyme groups, presented with some care as to the visual impact of its sound effects on the individual reader looking at the page. The picture also partakes of diagram, as the tree is divided into contrasting branches of "luf" and "charyte." This version of the crucifixion is a true meditative image, showing no historical moment in the narrative of Christ's Passion, but a mystical moment that exists neither in real time nor in real space. The disruption of space is shown not only by the surrounding instruments of the Passion, but importantly also by the small praying figure in the bottom of the page.¹² He is much smaller than the object of his vision, and he is partially obscured by the base of the cross. Although this monk at prayer in no way threatens to usurp the center of our attention, his presence is crucial, for along with the other Carthusians repeatedly pictured in this manuscript, he demonstrates to the solitary Carthusian reader what his own proper devotional posture before this meditative image should be.

The lyric is voiced in the main by Christ, but it begins with an interesting verse prologue—the call to meditation through both hearing and

seeing. The poem begins with the direction “Herkyn wordes swete and goode,” but it soon describes the message of Christ as both word and image:

Herkyn wordes swete and goode
 Lofely speche with mylde mode
 When Jesu Crist hang on the rode
 Sceded vn to man
 with paynes felt when he fro hell
 Oure saules wan
 (1–6)

Christ as here presented offers both “lofely speche” and “mylde mode,” both speaking and showing man his salvation. The poem continues in Christ’s voice as a variation on the *O vos omnes* theme—“þou synful man þat by me gase”—with the familiar commandments to “behold” the tortures of the cross. The page thus presents Christ as both a suffering body and a speaking voice.

The poem proper begins in Christ’s own words, as he speaks from the cross:

þou synful man þat by me gase
 a while to me turne þu þi face
 Behold & se in ilk a place
 how I am dyght
 Al to rent & al to schent
 Man for þi plyght.

This stanza is one of many vernacular treatments of the familiar theme: Christ calls to all those who pass by to look at him and understand the extent of his suffering for their sake. A similar call to attend and witness structures the *memento mori* found earlier in Additional 37049, in which a fearsome figure from beyond the grave warns “whosomeuer it be þat by þis cummes and gothe” to “stande and behold” both the ravages of death and also “þis litteral scripture,” which presages universal mortality.¹³ In both cases, the reader can actually perform the task he is called to; this page he is scrutinizing presents Christ’s body (in the form of a visual image) as well as his words (in the form of the verse). This simultaneous experience of the visual and the verbal—looking and hearing at once—is closely related to the experience of actors speaking on stage, who often call directly to the audience to attend to what they are doing.¹⁴ And in fact, as we have

seen, this stanza actually forms a part of the drama, where it is spoken by Christ of the Towneley plays.¹⁵ Several other stanzas of the poem are used in the play, which leads to a number of unanswered and perhaps unanswerable questions: Does this mean that the poem existed before the play? And that the play's author(s) used parts of a lyric they knew? Or could the play have existed first? And might the poet then have elaborated upon suggestions from a remembered performance? Whatever the direction of the borrowing, the same text has a dual life as a play-script and as a meditative lyric, which suggests real similarities between the two genres.¹⁶ This illustrated lyric reproduces in a private book the words and visual images that also constituted theatrical spectacle, representing both actor and spectator, and reinforcing through illustration the dramatic affiliations of the text.

The complex textual history of this poem makes an explicit, if surprising, link between the kind of meditative reading this manuscript book requires, and the great civic cycle dramas that constitute the bulk of pre-Shakespearean English theater. These very words and presumably similar images were consumed in the most private of monastic reading and in the public streets of a medieval town. Of course, both the private lyric and the histrionic declamation reflect popular devotional ideas and tropes that circulated widely, and they testify to the general appeal of particular kinds of Passion devotion.¹⁷ Several stanzas of the poem appear, too, in the carol whose burden is "Now synge we as we were wont, / *Uexilla regis prodeunt*," confirming the close connections possible between meditative lyrics and sung hymns.¹⁸ The exact identity of these texts within the ebb and flow of general late-medieval devotional material suggests more of interest here, even a deliberate generic crossing. This unexpected congruence might change our reading of the manuscript's disparate contents or of the plays themselves. Additional 37049 *is* lyrical, as generations of critics have seen, but its interest in lyricality is deeply influenced by more public forms of literary and spectacular art. The religious poems found here, which stage their ideal audience in the tiny but ubiquitous figures of Carthusian monks, reach consistently toward performative modes. The manuscript offers an enormously wide range of devotional performances, but some of them affiliate the private reading of imagetexts not only with the loosely dramatic, but with the more strictly theatrical.

The Passion poem on fol. 67v is not the only isolable lyric from a play that Additional 37049 includes among its performative private reading. An even more familiar text, the Decalogue, is represented here in Middle English words that are also sometimes incorporated into theatrical situations. The Ten Commandments are presented first in Latin, and then translated

into English (fol. 20v; fig. 7.1). Again, the braces added to the English verses may be intended to emphasize the rhyme by visual means, thereby adding to its mnemonic value. The simple illustration in the upper left quadrant of the page pictures Moses in a hilly wilderness, kneeling in prayer to God, who holds the orb of the world and leans down from a cloud. Moses is identified by horns, a result of the common misreading that influenced artistic iconography from the Middle Ages to Michaelangelo.¹⁹ Characteristically, in the persons of God and Moses this picture represents the origin of the text and its speakers, calling attention to the voices expressing the textual ideas, rather than attempting to signify their substance. This particular “Englishing” of the commandments derives from the *Speculum Christiani*, where discrete units of English verse (along with some Latin quotations) are drawn from the long treatise and brought together in the Carthusian miscellany.²⁰ The metrical Decalogue was reproduced on its own in a number of other manuscripts, showing the way in which long works like the *Speculum Christiani* could easily provide shorter material for compiling. But most telling for our purposes here, this very version of the Decalogue is spoken, also, in the didactic Towneley Doctors’ play.²¹ Like the speech of Christ from the cross, the words of the *Speculum Christiani* Decalogue were spoken as a part of a play on the streets of a medieval town, read privately as a meditative lyric by an anchoritic monk, and also studied by many lay people as a part of a long catechetical poem. The illustration here does not represent the situation of the play, where Jesus himself speaks the words of the commandments in order to instruct the temple doctors in fundamental tenets of the faith. The words and pictures of Additional 37049, even when they represent situations that were also sometimes theatrical, are not mere records of historical performances.²² But although in this case the Carthusian illustration does not recreate the Towneley Doctors’ play, it shows the dramatic potential of the Decalogue for readerly performance.

The complications of making generic distinctions between some dramatic speeches and some meditative lyrics have made it difficult to determine what sorts of textual fragments might be read theatrically. The *Cambridge Prologue*, which we have already seen might be the first fragment of a Middle English play, is found on the flyleaf of a miscellaneous manuscript meant for reading, and was originally classified as a lyric, a “hymn.” Only the situation implied by the text—it urges its audience to quiet down, suggesting that an impersonated character of an “emperor” will punish them if they do not—allowed R. H. Robbins to link the verses to a dramatic performance of a play.²³ The dramatic extracts from the fifteenth-century commonplace book of Robert Reynes of Acle include an equally ambiguous “Speech of Delight,” once thought to be a free-stand-



Figure 7.1. "þe first comawndment: Thow sal luf god with hert intere." Moses receiving the Ten Commandments. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 20v. By permission of the British Library.

ing poem, and nearly indistinguishable from a “dramatic” lyric when taken alone.²⁴ The only internal clue to the performance history of the “Speech of Delight” is the following exchange:

My name, serys, is Delyght.
 [I hope not ful holy.]
 Holy, quod sche? Nay, let be!
 (ll. 5-7)

The bracketed line implies an interlocutor, a “sche” who responds to the speaker’s initial announcement, and prompts the continuation of Delight’s speech. But it is the juxtaposition of this text with an “Epilogue” more obviously theatrical that casts the earlier verses unquestionably in a dramatic light.²⁵ The “Epilogue” offers the parts of a play most closely tied to the social and economic realities of performance: direct addresses to the “wurshpeppful souereyns þat syttyn here,” and “ze that arn come to sen our game”; a seeming appeal for money; and allusions to drinking ale. These extended apologies and modesty *topoi* would seem appropriate only for the real situation of the stage:

And for zour soferyng sylens that ze han kept þis day
 In pleyng of oure play withowte ony resystens
 Derely we thank zow with myght, as we may,
 And for your laudabyl lystenyn in good audiens
 That we haue had this day.
 And if we haue passyd ony poynt in oure pleyng,
 Or moved ony materys in oure seyng
 That schuld be to zoure personys displeyng,
 We beseche zou, reporte it not away.
 (5-13)

Meta-theatrical extracts like these have led to the classification of both of these fragments as bits of plays, despite their independent existence in a commonplace book constructed for a solitary reader’s use.

It is easy to understand Robert Reynes’s desire to put the “Speech of Delight” in his commonplace book for repeated reading, since that speech, like Christ’s complaint from the cross or the metrical Decalogue, can meaningfully stand alone. Although the passage does imply an alternative voice, this is the sort of dramatic text that could easily make the transition to private reading. Moreover, Reynes seems also to have copied other theatrical speeches into his private book: for example, three quatrains on King Arthur, Charlemagne, and David, which contain some

first-person declarations: “I am Kyng Davyd that in my lyff/Lv maydenys and wyffves I had at my wylle, /And afterward whan Golyas was styntyd of stryff/I made the sawter my mercy to fullfyll” (fol. 32).²⁶ Other performative excerpts include a number of poems compiled for a St. Anne’s guild, some of which were probably recited publicly at meetings, and nine couplets headed “IX Wurthy” that could be the text of a pageant.²⁷ Robert Reynes apparently had a taste for collecting dramatic quotations. Another possibility is that Reynes acted, and that he copied his own speeches into his book for ease of studying them; it is hard to imagine the “Epilogue” providing particular pleasure for a meditative reader. But even though the motivations of his compilation and the mechanisms of his reading remain opaque, the presence of these dramatic texts in a commonplace book that was privately read suggests that the compiler was drawn to them, at least in part, for purposes beyond the practicalities of rehearsal. The confusion in the critical history of these texts between the genres of lyric and drama shows that dramas can include lyrical speech, lyrics can be dramatic, and a “Speech of Delight” could function as either poem or play. Lyrics and dramatic speeches were not generically distinct in the experience of seeing or of reading in the late Middle Ages; whether enacted publicly or read in solitude, they are tied together by the common element of performance.

Reynes’s commonplace book comprises several pieces that mirror the material performed by the reader of Additional 37049. “O Man unkynde,” with its rebus-like heart, shows the performative dimension of the poem, as well as the visual one; the reader must piece together images with words to make sense of the verse (see fig. 6.1). Reynes’s book also contains verses on the number of drops of blood from Christ’s wounds similar to those in the Carthusian miscellany, as well as a story about a “woman solitarie and recluse coueytinge to knowe the nombre of the woundes of oure lord Jhu crist.”²⁸ This tale demonstrates a numerological interest, and also shows how numerological piety worked in practice, since instructions as to how to use the devotions revealed to her are also included here. More instructions appear in verses about how to use a rosary in church, verses that depend upon a physical object—either a rosary that the petitioner already has, or one that must have accompanied the poem in a church:

Man in the churche not idyll thow stande
but take thy badys in thy hande
And yf thow haue here none of thyne
I pray the take these for the tyme.
And seye a sauter with glad chere
in worchepp of oure lady dere.²⁹

Also included in this compendium of performative texts are various charms and remedies that need to be “acted out” to achieve their ends. That all of these pieces coexist in Robert Reynes’s commonplace book suggests that there was some value in a private reading of texts that imply or even require a performative dimension—both devotional and theatrical. A spectator might understand a long dramatic monologue as a set-piece that could be excerpted from a play for repeated private perusal in the confines of a book. Similarly, a reader encountering a lyric on the page might imagine it voiced and embodied on a stage, and understand it as a piece to be performed.

THEATRICAL READING IN ADDITIONAL 37049

None of the texts in this Carthusian miscellany is far from properly theatrical. The connections between sacramental ceremony and dramatic spectacles are not difficult to see. Some of the dialogues we have been examining come extremely close to script format on the page, breaking from pure discourse only occasionally into first-person narration. As we saw in the “Disputacyon betwyx þe body and þe wormes,” the dialogue format can be so strong that it gradually pulls a narrative frame into its generic orbit. The dialogic narratives of Deguileville and Suso were (or might well have been) transformed into the stuff of plays. And the two isolable lyrics from biblical cycle drama present indisputably dramatic words—spoken from medieval stages, by actors performing sacred history—in the private readerly context of a contemplative miscellany. But if these literary forms are not wholly removed from the drama, they are not precisely theatrical either. The most startling performative texts in Additional 37049 are those that seem the most like drama, the ones that look as though they could function as scripts.

The most direct connection between the theater and the performative reading encouraged by Additional 37049 can be seen not in texts like the Towneley lyric and the *Speculum Christiani* Decalogue that were actually enacted publicly, but in one that could have been. The isolable lyrics bear one kind of demonstrable relation to the stage, but in at least one work included in this miscellany, all the lines are written out as if to be spoken by actors. This comes as quite a surprise in a manuscript generally understood to be “meditative,” one that was certainly privately—even silently—read. To make sense of this anomalous text, one has to address the question of how to understand it *here*, how to read it in the context of this idiosyncratic and miscellaneous collection of texts—texts that perform in a variety of ways. Of course, the scene was not actually written out for actors, and no one would argue that Additional 37049 was ever used as an

actual play text, or performance script. Nonetheless, the presence of a text that looks dramatic in a book that could never have been used theatrically raises the question directly of how the reading of such a work interacts with, or approaches, dramatic experience.

One opening of Additional 37049 presents the text that most clearly functions in this quasi-theatrical manner: “Of þe seuen ages note wele þe sayng of þe gode angel & þe yll” (fols. 28v–29r; pl. 8). The work begins with that rubricated title, which calls its readers to pay attention to the voices (“þe sayng”) it reproduces, and proceeds with rubricated labels indicating who is speaking each set of lines: “þe childe spekes to hym selfe and says as is wrytten beneth,” “þe gode angel says to þe childe & awnswers,” or “þe fende says,” finally dwindling by the end of the scene to abbreviations, “þe angel” or “þe fende.” At the top of the page, a picture introduces the three characters, beginning with the infant in his crib.³⁰ Below him is the universal tableau of moral choice: a good angel on one side, a bad angel (or fiend) on the other, and a perplexed human being in the middle.³¹ Carthusians sometimes wrote about the difficulties of making such choices in the cell; in the sixteenth century Richard Methley of Mountgrace addressed the question of how to tell a good angel from a bad (and, incidentally, how to distinguish either from the voices with which one talks to oneself).³² In “Of þe seuen ages,” an identical moral choice, presented in different guises, follows the representative man throughout his life, from its very beginning (“Nakyd in to þis warlde borne am I”) to its deathbed end. At each stage, the two “angels” offer advice. The dialogue among the three when the human being is a child, for example, lays out the options simply:

þE CHILDE:	I wil go play with my felowe
þE ANGEL:	To goode vertews loke þou drawe
þE FENDE:	ʒonge saynt alde devell is ane alde sawe Begyn not þat jape to kepe gods lawe.

The rhyme scheme generally links the human speaker with the good angel—anticipating his eventual salvation—but it thereby provides also for the fiend to have both lengthier and final say. A similar pattern of rhyme continues throughout the piece as a whole, showing closer communion between the person and the forces of good, even from the start.³³ When the angel speaks four lines—his speech for the first time capable of interlaced rhyme—his message is salvific: “At þis tyme þou hast grace / If þou will for mercy crye / þe fende for þe I sal do chasse / And bere þi saule to blis on hye.” These lines seem to signal an increase in the angel’s power and influence over the man, as well as in the literary qualities of his speech, and the man himself follows this promise with a long declaration of repentance

and amendment. But the “fende” has the last word, and his pictorial equivalent, in the lower right corner of the page, faces the reader for the first time. Even though he is conceding defeat, his last words are belligerent:

þE FENDE: Here þe saule is gone fro me allas
 Al my labour is turned in vayne
 þat I purposed in many a place
 And purposed hafe getyn hym to payne
 Bot mercy has taken hym to grace
 for þat he has lyfed in þis world here
 And els in helle he hade had a place
 Emonge fyre & fendes of vgly chere.

As if to illustrate his own final point, the fiend turns to the reader to confirm the “ugly chere” of the inhabitants of hell.

The aural connection between the good angel and the human is made graphic throughout the scene, for the speeches of the two are often connected, not only by braces, but also by boxes that function as speech-balloons. The speeches of both angels are carefully connected to the figures speaking them, probably drawn as an afterthought to the design of the opening, but testimony therefore to what readers thought was basic to emphasize, through the structure of the page, about the structure of the text. All three figures raise their hands and sometimes point at the words, in an indication of lively speech; the young child even points toward himself in a sign that his speech at that point is inward directed, perhaps a thought rather than words spoken outright. The depiction of these characters on the page embodies their voices, by representing them visibly. Like the speech-scrolls we have seen throughout the book—for example, in the *Ego Dormio* page, or the Marian lyric *Salve Regina*—these bubbles connect speaker to speech and stand as concrete symbols for that speech. But thus far they have most often reflected an artistic, bookish convention of textual illustration. Here even the *ordinatio* of the page, in which characters’ names are clearly marked by their speeches, and the speeches are separated by lines, suggests a performance script.³⁴ This combination of text and image points emphatically outside the static images that can be contained in a book, toward the kinds of spectacles heard and seen on the medieval stage. Utley observes that “the general result is a minor bit of dramatic dialogue”—but if it is minor, it is nonetheless dramatic, and that raises significant questions about the ways in which dramatic material exists on the fifteenth-century page.³⁵

The openness of genre in this scene “Of þe seuen ages” is evident from the broad range of texts that have been affiliated with it, some dramatic

and some nondramatic.³⁶ A Middle English debate poem on the seven ages, though similar in both structure and theme, shows how different in genre the text in the Carthusian miscellany is.³⁷ In the debate poem, a narrator recounts a dream vision:

In wyntir nyȝt or y wakid,
 In my sleep y dreemed so;
 I saw a child modir nakid,
 New born þe modir fro.
 Al aloone, as god him makid,
 In wildirnesse he dide go,
 Til two in gouernaunce it takid,
 Ane aungel freend, an aungil foo.
 (9–16)

The poem offers an intriguing “wildirnesse” version of the scene of man’s life, but it narrates what in “Of þe seuen Ages” is more directly represented. In Additional 37049 the reader bypasses any narrative setting to go immediately to the mimetic scene itself. Accordingly, some have seen its literary affiliations in a more theatrical context, extending as far as the images and iconography of Renaissance dramatic productions. Both its structure and its theme have led to the categorization of this piece as a nascent morality play, related to *Mundus et Infans*, or even the *Castle of Perseverance*.³⁸ Analogues also include Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*, where Jacques’s famous speech outlines a conception of man’s life according to a dramatic model that follows seven ages: “All the world’s a stage, / And all the men and women merely players; / They have their exits and their entrances, / And one man in his time plays many parts, / His acts being seven ages” (II.vii.139–43).³⁹ This speech depends upon a conception of the world based on the same progressive schema assumed by Additional 37049. The development of the trope is remarkably similar—from the “whining schoolboy” who only wants to play, to the lover of women in youth, to the man “full of strange oaths” and soldierly ire. But while the medieval text “Of þe seuen ages” makes the failings of man at each stage into a matter of eternal salvation or damnation, Shakespeare offers wry and rueful observations—a vision of a human life as an inevitable progress, not a series of ethical alternatives. The most memorable aspect of Jacques’s speech is his initial use of the drama as a metaphor for man’s life—oblique references to the Globe itself as a “world” that is a literal stage, along with the idea that the life of man can be divided into ages that are “acts.”⁴⁰ This metaphor of the world as a stage shaped medieval players and audiences, too; as Martin Stevens has argued, the stage was conceived

as a type of *mappa mundi*.⁴¹ Stevens connects the T-O map in the celebrated Hereford *mappa mundi* with the equally famous stage diagram from the *Castle of Perseverance*. Additional 37049 presents a similar T-O map as a part of its pictorial frontispiece; a world map following immediately upon the paired processional icons heralds the *theatrum mundi* that the reader will encounter throughout the miscellany (fig. 7.2). The scene “Of the seven ages” offers the rest of Jacques’s analogy, in which the drama provides a structure for understanding the progress of human life, here played out in a series of scenes staged in the mind of the private devotional reader.

Alan Nelson rightly asserts that “we must reject any thought that the poem and its illustrations record an actual dramatic performance,” but that does not mean that we should (as he does) call the text a “poem” and not a “play.”⁴² This text, more than any other in this collection, seems most nearly to represent a kind of closet drama, a dramatic text that exists for the page rather than for the stage. The important question is what this means for the Carthusians who read “Of þe seven ages,” and all of the dramatic material in Additional 37049. Is this play singular as a representative of medieval closet drama, or were there any other examples of the genre in late-medieval England? Can we imagine more than this one medieval reader making performative sense of a dramatic script in a private setting?

In spite of the critical emphasis on performance, a surprising number of the manuscripts of medieval drama show signs of private reading. The predominance of the York model for understanding English cycle drama has undoubtedly colored scholarly thinking about the relations of page and stage, and the York cycle was “never intended as reading matter.”⁴³ The N-Town manuscript, however, includes both prompt notations to indicate it was used in performance, and also unvoiceable genealogical diagrams that show that it must have been occasionally read.⁴⁴ Some of the later copies of the Chester cycle, in addition to confirming its close relation to the narrative *Stanzaic Life of Christ*, indicate “interest in the play text as a book for private reading as well as a piece of practical theatre.”⁴⁵ More interesting still are the plays that form part of miscellanies. From the celebrated Fleury Playbook to late-medieval scholastic dialogues, many medieval plays are included in compilations not unlike Additional 37049, manuscripts whose other texts were clearly meant for private consumption, as much as for public enactment.⁴⁶ A number of Nuremberg miscellanies, for example, embrace this readerly use of dramatic texts, collecting carnival plays alongside a variety of religious material.⁴⁷ The French farce *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* appears in a miscellaneous volume that Darwin Smith has characterized as a “livre de méditation.”⁴⁸ In England, the Winchester dialogues of *Occupation and Idleness* and *Lucidus and Dubius* occur in a wide-ranging devotional collection that also includes selections from the *South*



Figure 7.2. *Mappa mundi*. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 2v. By permission of the British Library.

English Legendary, the prose *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the *Abbey and Charter of the Holy Ghost*.⁴⁹ These two dialogues fall at the very edge of the genre of the drama, for they are deeply catechetical, growing “increasingly expository rather than controversial” as they proceed.⁵⁰ The texts take the structure of formal debates between “apposing” characters who represent, more or less, abstract positions on moral and doctrinal issues. Whether or not they should be considered plays—whether or not they were ever acted—in the context of this devotional collection they offer their private readers performative ways of reflecting on spiritual matters.

The Northampton *Abraham and Isaac* also forms part of a miscellaneous collection. The play was written in a booklet datable to 1461 that comprises miscellaneous English poems, including part of Chaucer’s “Lak of Stedfastnesse” and various Yorkist political verse.⁵¹ The unrelated version of an Abraham and Isaac play in the Book of Brome finds a similar home among poems, accounts, and other miscellaneous reading matter.⁵² The more literary pieces include: *Ipotis*, “Man in merthe hath meser in mynd,” “The hart lovyt þe wood,” ciphers and antifeminist puzzles, “Fyrst arysse erly,” a poem on fortune-telling by dice, a poem on the fifteen signs of doomsday, “Owen Miles,” a *Life of St. Margaret*, the *Carol of the Annunciation*, part of Lydgate’s *Pageant of Knowledge*, verse adapted from Chaucer’s “Lak of Stedfastnesse,” “I stond as styll as ony ston,” and “Lux ys leyd a downe.” Even though there are indications that *Abraham and Isaac* was marked for performance aloud—namely, red underlining of the first and second words of every speech, as well as various other words in an inexplicable pattern—the inclusion of this drama with so many nondramatic texts in a commonplace book does suggest that at some point someone thought it worth reading.⁵³ Moreover, some of the items in the Book of Brome are illustrated with diagrams—ciphers and sketches of dice—that mandate individual visual reading. There is even a devotional emblem in the form of a bleeding heart with the Holy Monogram (fig. 7.3). This fifteenth-century commonplace book combines drama and meditative devotion, plays and lyrics, diagrams and emblems, pageants and snippets of Chaucer, coming as close as any other book in the English tradition to the profusion of performative imagetexts found in Additional 37049.

The pictures illustrating “Of þe seuen ages” in Additional 37049, more even than the closet morality drama itself, come as a surprise illustrating what might, were it not for its eremitic context, have been taken for a play script. The pictures, paradoxically, mandate that the devotional miscellany be silently and privately read, even as they point in the direction of replicating public spectacle. But the pictures also forge the connection between this private reading and the experience of attending a play, for dramatic texts are visual as well as verbal creations: the ways in which im-



Figure 7.3. Bleeding heart with holy monogram *ih̄s*. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 365 (*The Book of Brome*) (late 15th c.), fol. 14v. Photo: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

ages are realized on the stage are crucial to understanding the effects of the drama upon viewers.⁵⁴ The visual realization of the dramatic imagetext normally took place exclusively on the stage, however, for the manuscripts in which plays are found were hardly ever illustrated in medieval England. The Winchester dialogue *Occupation and Idleness* provides a tantalizing clue to some kind of pictorialism in a rubricated note, half-cropped, that might read “simulacrum . . . pixi” and “pixit simulacrum . . .”⁵⁵ Beyond that, English manuscripts provide only two examples of play texts with illustrative programs. The first is a twelfth-century St. Albans book (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct.F.2.13) containing the plays of Terence.⁵⁶ Its usefulness is



Figure 7.4. Gesturing figures in dialogue. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Auct. F.2.13 (Terence) (12th c.), fol. 30v. © The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

limited for the study of Additional 37049, for it testifies to reading habits of many centuries previous, and to dramatic experience of an archaizing and classicizing, rather than a contemporary Christian, kind. Moreover, the program of illustrations seems to have been closely based on a Carolingian exemplar, and thus reveals less about even twelfth-century reading than might have been imagined. (The first illustration in the manuscript, for example, shows classical masks in a structure meant to resemble a classical *scena*.) Although it formed part of the monastic library at St. Albans, it is uncertain where or why this book was created, and even more uncertain how it was used by twelfth-century monks. Nonetheless, the book implies an intriguing continuity between ancient dramatic traditions and medieval habits of reading, and it suggests parallels to the later miscellany in the animation of its texts by the incorporation of visual images on the page.⁵⁷ Figures from the plays populate the manuscript's margins, giving life to its speeches by means of facial expressions and hand gestures that may even constitute a regular system to be “read” as clearly as the play’s text itself (see, for example, fol. 30v; fig. 7.4).⁵⁸ Even if the dramatic figures illustrating the manuscript have little value as evidence of performance practices (Roman or Romanesque), they create transparent connections between the private reading of this illustrated playtext and the communal experience of seeing it performed.

The second English book to illustrate play texts is a mid-fifteenth-century volume now at Trinity College, Cambridge (Trinity MS R.14.5, c. 1459–60), which can offer a more instructive analogue, both temporally

and structurally, for the morality play in the late-medieval Carthusian miscellany. A different kind of book in most ways, this manuscript is beautifully produced, written in a humanist Latin script. It can be directly connected to its author and compiler, Thomas Chaundler (c. 1418–90), who was chancellor of Oxford University, warden of New College, Oxford, and chancellor of Wells Cathedral.⁵⁹ He made the book for Thomas Bekyngton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and included in it letters between himself and his friend (fols. 46v–49v). He also included the *Libellus metricus de iudicio solis* of Simon de Corvino (fols. 50r–66v), and two of his own works: *Libellus de laudibus duarum civitatum et sedum episcopaliū* (fols. 36r–46r), and—most relevant to Additional 37049—*Liber apologeticus de omni statu humane nature* (fols. 10r–35v).

This last item is a play, abundantly illustrated by fourteen full-page narrative drawings and a presentation image, all of which precede the text. The prose text is lengthy, allegorically elaborate, and in Latin—a very different kind of literary production from the rudimentary scene presented in the pages of Additional 37049. But the plot, though vastly more complicated, is strangely similar to the simpler text in its morality structure.⁶⁰ In Chaundler's play, a representative Man must choose between Reason, who is depicted as a crowned nun, and Sensuality, a fashionable lady. He makes the wrong choice to begin with, and must be forgiven by God through the intercession of his Four Daughters (Mercy, Truth, Justice, Peace). But finally the Man defeats death through virtue, and is given his own heavenly crown. The images that tell this story do not resemble the humbler drawings in Additional 37049, even when they depict similar subjects (see, for example, fig. 7.5, where Death threatens the Man). The pictures in the *Liber apologeticus* are formalized by their uncluttered layout, their clear frames, and the large area of vellum given to them alone. Even the structure of the pictures and words is different: although the Trinity pictures incorporate tituli, the images precede the beginning of the play itself as a self-contained pictorial narrative, physically separated from the main text.

The theatrical status of the *Liber apologeticus* is ambiguous.⁶¹ It seems clear that the play was never staged from this manuscript—this copy must have been meant for private reading—but it does include act divisions and rubrics that can be understood as stage directions. Clifford Davidson imagines that the work was staged at Oxford from more utilitarian copies of the text, saying, “under the circumstances it would actually be surprising to learn that this drama was not presented in one of the college halls, with New College being the leading candidate.”⁶² This is interesting speculation, but the more pressing question, from the perspective of performative reading, is how this text was used here, by Bekyngton, or by any other medieval reader of the Trinity manuscript. Because the images



Figure 75. Man with Cardinal Virtues, Spearman Death. Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.14.5 (Thomas Chaudler, *Liber Apologeticus*) (1457–61), fol. 7r. © Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

are separated from the *Liber apologeticus* itself—one cannot read and look at the same moment—the pictorial narrative is in some ways different from the textual one. One can see the distinction even in the first image, which depicts an event—the fall of the rebel angels—not represented mimetically in the play text itself, but only narrated by God the Father.⁶³ The pictures do not seek, then, to reproduce an actual experience of dramatic literature performed, standing in for what one might see on the stage.⁶⁴ Instead, they provide for visualizations of the play's subject, whether or not that subject is “represented” by the text in the same terms.

The complex relationship of these pictures to the dramatic spectacle they “illustrate” suggests that medieval drama was experienced visually in a variety of ways; this manuscript represents a visual experience outside of what was actually staged. Closet dramas, particularly texts illustrated in this way, offer something other than a simple representation of what was (or is yet to be) mounted on the medieval stage, and yet they gain something by their affiliation with actual performances. Genre seems to be the crucial question: what does calling something a drama add to its meaning? What are the effects of calling something written in a dramatic form by another sort of name? V. A. Kolve has shown that the vocabulary of dramatic criticism in the Middle Ages reveals the ludic as the most important aspect of the genre: “game” was the word by which medieval plays were most often designated.⁶⁵ But we can learn something from this same vocabulary concerning the ways in which plays were experienced visually. Words like *processe*, *processyon*, *pagent*, and *shewe* reveal some conceptions of the drama as primarily visual, and demonstrate affinities with other kinds of spectacle, as we have seen.⁶⁶

Continental dramatic manuscripts are more frequently illustrated than English ones, and despite geographical distance, they can add something to the understanding of Additional 37049. A large number of French play manuscripts include illustration, for example, the *Jour dou Jugement* in Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 579, which is accompanied by eighty-eight small illustrations distributed throughout the text.⁶⁷ This play, a narrative of eschatological events surrounding Antichrist's advent, involves ninety-three characters and spectacular visions, realized in part in the play text's illustrations. Scholars have been most interested in these images as witnesses to medieval staging practices, but their appearance in a manuscript meant for individual reading suggests that it was thought important for private readers, too, to experience the text in a visual form. Richard Emmerson, for example, has analyzed these miniatures as a collaboration of scribe and artist to “transmit a lost theatrical performance” to readers of a luxury manuscript.⁶⁸ While he acknowledges the readership of this manuscript as an important constituency for the pictures, he

retains an emphasis on the “lost performance” that ultimately sidesteps the significance of the miniatures in their context.

The Besançon *Jour dou Jugement* is not alone as an illustrated dramatic text: Graham Runnalls has proposed a typology of French dramatic manuscripts that enumerates thirty-two with pictures, including a number in manuscript copies intended for presentation, or for other purposes separate from performance (his Type G).⁶⁹ These play scripts for reading often exist in multiple copies; they are usually significantly later than whatever performance history we can reconstruct; they are carefully written and use space on the page in a way that seems planned (that is, they place what few stage directions they contain in the center of the page, rather than in the margin); and, finally, they are often decorated in some way. Some of this decoration takes the form of independent cycles of images pasted into a dramatic manuscript, such as the 349 miniatures carefully added to the manuscript of the Arras mystery play.⁷⁰ More integral illuminations appear in several versions of Arnoul Gréban’s massive *Mystère de la Passion*, about which Pamela Sheingorn and Robert L. A. Clark have written insightfully.⁷¹ Sheingorn and Clark trace distinctions even among the read-erly manuscripts in Runnalls’s Type G, arguing that some preserve close ties to voiced performances, while others adopt more literary conventions of presentation and illustration to present the play to future readers. Even in this last and most literary category, however, the luxury manuscripts of Gréban’s *Mystère de la Passion* encourage a mode of “performative reading” that links the experience of an individual person studying a book to the experience of mounting a spectacle on the stage.⁷² Few English manuscripts parallel Additional 37049 so closely, but these Continental examples demonstrate that a culture of performative devotional reading was widespread in late-medieval Europe. If the Carthusian miscellany does not offer the opulent *mise-en-page* of the French playbooks, its humbler imagetexts elicit from its reader a similar kind of enacted private reading.

MONASTIC CLOSET DRAMA

In addition to illustrated play texts, Continental evidence provides for another kind of generic crossing, through connections between plays and meditative devotional literature. Prefaces to the three short scenes included in the Burgos Passion of 1520 provide important corroborative evidence of generic fluidity, for the word *contemplacion* is used there to describe a scene in which the Virgin laments the fate of her son to David, Solomon, Isaiah, and Jeremiah.⁷³ A mid-fifteenth-century discussion from Perugia of the role of dramatic performance in preaching calls such a play a *devozione*, as well as the more general *rappresentazione*.⁷⁴ Important

affiliations to meditative literature are invoked, too, by some of the figures within the English drama. Most obviously, the meta-theatrical figure of *Contemplacio* explaining the substance of the N-Town plays seems to imply that the mental imaging performed by the drama's audience is as important as, and even structures, any spectacle mounted on the stage.⁷⁵ It is quite literally contemplation that makes sense of the pageants presented to both eye and ear, contemplation that links them to their audience, and contemplation that fully performs their devotional meaning.

This last example, closer temporally and geographically to Additional 37049, suggests particular connections between the drama and reading in the Carthusian wilderness. The generic self-consciousness that the figure of *Contemplacio* suggests might ally him with the small readerly figures in the margins of the miscellany. But even if they represented themselves frequently and ostentatiously in such devotional contexts, it seems enormously improbable that monks so austere had anything whatsoever to do with late-medieval spectacle. Moreover, the idea of communal literary entertainment, however pious, conflicts with the premise of solitude fundamental to Carthusian life. To uncover the implications of this dramatic text in a thoroughly meditative book, we must ask what sort of place performed drama had in late-medieval monasteries. The evidence is meager, and the extent and nature of monastic drama remains incompletely known.⁷⁶ The traditional story of the rise of religious drama locates its origins in such places as the monasteries of Winchester, Fleury, and St. Gall. But the cycle dramas of late-medieval England are more closely connected to civic structures than to ecclesiastical or monastic ones.⁷⁷ An important exception to this general rule in England is the late fourteenth-century Easter celebrations undertaken by the nuns at Barking Abbey.⁷⁸ Records of the performance are preserved in University College, Oxford, MS 169, a fifteenth-century manuscript, but the event is attributed to Lady Katherine de Sutton, who was abbess between 1363 and 1376. This kind of production, still closely connected to the origins of the drama in Easter tropes, demonstrates that such spectacle had not fallen entirely out of use, and was even welcomed within the monastic community. There is also evidence that nuns at Canonsleigh Abbey in rural Devon sometimes strayed outside of their foundational walls in search of dramatic shows. In 1329 the nuns were expressly forbidden "for any reason whatever to go outside the boundaries of your convent for a distance too great to allow them to return on the same day without our special license so that they, cut off entirely from common and worldly shows in this way [vt sic a publicis & mundanis spectaculis omnino separate], may be able to serve God more freely and, with the opportunity for unrestrained play removed [lasciuiendi oportunitate sublata], guard their hearts and bodies more diligently for Him."⁷⁹

The prohibition reveals that “common and worldly shows,” even though they were thought antithetical to God’s service, were not completely unknown to the inhabitants of the late-medieval nunnery.⁸⁰

More extensive traces of monastic drama can be discovered in fifteenth-century East Anglia. Gail McMurray Gibson has argued that the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds was at the center of dramatic culture in the region, even though records of actual performances are scarce.⁸¹ The morality plays in the Folger Macro manuscript, as we have seen, exhibit important connections to the Benedictine foundation at Bury, both through a monk’s ownership of the manuscript and also perhaps through performances at the monastery itself. It is not certain that any of the Macro plays was performed in the monastery, but in 1509 the patron saint of the foundation was honored by the performance of an unknown St. Edmund play in the refectory.⁸² Performances associated with Bury St. Edmunds are also implied by the *Rickinghall Fragment*, which records fragments of Latin, Anglo-Norman, and English verse—the English a tail-rhyme speech of “an assertive king,” probably Herod.⁸³ The poetry occupies the recto of a roll whose verso contains Latin accounts for the manor of Rickinghall in Suffolk, which belonged to the abbey. It may be an actor’s part, or—perhaps more likely—it could be the beginning of a text that was discarded after a scribal mistake.⁸⁴ At any rate, it does not clearly suggest the performance of reading by monks at Bury.

The Bury monk most closely affiliated with worldly shows outside the monastery was John Lydgate, whose connections with the pageantry of the Lancastrian court have often been noted. Among his voluminous works, Lydgate composed imagetexts that explore with special intensity what Derek Pearsall has called a “borderland of word and picture.”⁸⁵ Many of his lyrics, for example, depend upon absent pictures, either through ekphrastic techniques of description or by explicit allusion to images said to be “set here in picture.”⁸⁶ These poems make especially rich use of the idea of visual imagery—if not always the reality of it—to achieve complex and sophisticated meditational effects. But other poems participate more clearly in public spectacles, such as “Loo here two kynges right perfit and right good,” which adorned the “soteltyes” at the coronation banquet of Henry VI, or “The Legend of St. George,” written at the request of the armourers of London.⁸⁷ These occasional verses were created to participate in a particular moment of celebration, in a particular space, and in a context of particular visual surroundings that the manuscripts make no attempt to reproduce. Nonetheless, the textualized poems attempt to transmit something of their performative origins to readers far removed from royal banquets or guildhalls. Still more occasional—and more explicitly theatrical—are the many mummings and disguisings that Lydgate

made for court and civic occasions, dramatic works that were meant to be performed, as well as read. As Maura Nolan has observed, the spectacles presented to Henry VI at Eltham and Windsor, and to the Mercers' and Goldsmiths' guilds in London, and the well-known disguisings at London and at Hertford "exist at the intersection of genres and of media—not quite 'poetry' nor yet 'drama.'" ⁸⁸ In the hands of their copyist, John Shirley, anthologized with other nondramatic verses probably for the household of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Lydgate's dramatic works become a species of poetry designed for private reading. ⁸⁹ These Lydgatean imagetexts, in spite of their indisputable performance histories, constitute a kind of monastic closet drama that demonstrates that late-medieval monks were *writing*, if not also reading, plays.

In spite of Lydgate's close engagement with the dramatic world outside the monastery at Bury St. Edmunds, the morality play in Additional 37049 comes as something of a surprise in this monastic book. Can we imagine that Carthusian monks were enacting plays, or even reading them? Even if the nuns at Barking were performing Easter plays, and even if the Benedictine poet Lydgate was creating secular spectacle for town and court, the idea of plays within English charterhouses nonetheless seems farfetched. Charterhouses distanced themselves from "curious" spectacle, and Kingstontown-upon-Hull, a town whose charterhouse might have produced the manuscript, was (unlike York) found by Protestant reformers to be especially unattached to its theatrical practices. ⁹⁰ But scholars have already identified several links between the meditative reading of Carthusians and their lay followers, and dramatic devotional experience. Connections between Nicholas Love's *Mirror* and the N-Town plays have been long appreciated, and one of those connections is precisely the dramatic figure of *Contemplacio* already cited. ⁹¹ Marginal notes in manuscripts of the *Mirror* direct its readers toward the practice of *contemplacio*, and even though these passages do not correspond with the lines spoken by the N-Town character, the connection remains suggestive. Richard Beadle has argued that the "devout ymaginaciouns" enjoined by Nicholas Love rely on sources and methods not only meditative, but pointedly dramatic. ⁹² And Carol Meale has made the argument that the *Book of Margery Kempe*—that most unusual of Carthusian texts—should be understood in relation not only to Continental mysticism, but also to native English dramatic culture. ⁹³ Indeed, meditative literature itself is sometimes best seen as performative: Marion Glasscoe persuasively argues for "evidence of orality" in Julian's short text—which exists only in a Carthusian manuscript. ⁹⁴

More important, another manuscript, Bodleian MS e Museo 160, confirms the Carthusian complication of meditative and dramatic genres in ways that can specifically illuminate the practice of performative reading

in Additional 37049, and can provide directions for future research. Bodleian MS e Museo 160 is a rough sixteenth-century book, analogous in many ways to the fifteenth-century miscellany that has been this study's focus.⁹⁵ It incorporates a verse chronicle that ends in 1520, indicating that it was probably written just after that year. It is thought to have been made and used in the charterhouse of Axholme or Beauvale; the inclusion of Yorkshire local saints suggests a northern provenance.⁹⁶ Written informally on paper, the book contains a miscellaneous collection of texts representing a variety of genres, which range from a lengthy verse chronicle to "The Fifteen Articles on the Passion."⁹⁷ Laviece Ward has argued that the manuscript was used in the instruction of the Carthusian lay brethren, on the basis of a "short sermond" in the vernacular.⁹⁸ Several items are common to both MS e Museo 160 and Additional 37049: poetic histories of the Carthusian Order, extracts from Mandeville's *Travels*, and part of the English *Horologium Sapientiae*.⁹⁹ These textual similarities suggest that Additional 37049 perhaps influenced the later charterhouse manuscript in some way, and they reinforce the Carthusian identity of the earlier book.

The first item in the Bodleian manuscript, the verse chronicle of universal history, was designed as an imagetext; the prologue offers a "prayer to ychon of the said holy faders, patriarkes, and prophets (wt a pictor of the sam)." The initial pages were ruled with space for illustrations, even though only the first few portraits are sketched in. We can directly compare the first images from this verse chronicle with the images accompanying the prose chronicle that appears in Additional 37049. Although the account in the earlier book moves more swiftly than the later version, the form of historical illustration is nearly the same: roughly the top half of the page is devoted to pictures, the bottom half to text. The first page of Additional 37049 shows the Creation of Eve, the Expulsion, and Cain's murder of Abel (fig. 7.6). Comparable pages in e Museo 160 show an angel watching the Fall of Man and Cain's murder (figs. 7.7 and 7.8). Neither artist is especially talented, of course, and all of the illustrations in the Bodleian book are in pen alone, but the style of figure drawing is not dissimilar, especially given the intervening decades. After these initial images, subsequent pictures in MS e Museo 160 have more the look of pen trials than of serious efforts to respond visually to the text at hand.¹⁰⁰

Donald Baker understands this gradual loss of pictures as part of the generic complexity of this text, one mechanism of its transformation from a series of meditations on and prayers to saints, into a historical chronicle.¹⁰¹ C. B. Rowntree takes the opposite view, imagining that the history was transformed into meditation, to accord with the meditative nature and the "medieval world view" of the collection as a whole.¹⁰² The history is really a series of prayers—the authorial prologue names the text both a



Figure 7.6. Methodius' "Of pe begynnyng of pe warld & of pe ending." The Creation, Adam and Eve expelled from Eden, Cain and Abel. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. iir. By permission of the British Library.



Figure 7.7. “Adame parent of all mankind.” Adam and Eve in Eden, Angel with sword at gate. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Museo 160 (early 16th c.), fol. iv. © The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

“trete” and a “sermond”—and so serves the dual purpose of meditation and study.¹⁰³ But even if meditative and historical, this “sermond” shows an unexpected interest also in ventriloquizing particular sacred voices. The voices of both Christ and Mary break into church history in the fifteenth-century section of the chronicle, showing an authorial interest in direct speech. Readers of the text have felt the need to mark these additions by notes in the margin: *vox mariae*, for example, which shows contemporary recognition of a kinship between dramatic voicing and the *planctus* tradition.¹⁰⁴ The interest of this medieval writer and also his readers in the

voicing of the texts mirrors the dramatic interest in voices throughout Additional 37049, and implies the practice of performative reading so pervasively staged in the earlier book.

Textual and generic transformation is not limited in this manuscript to the verse chronicle with which it opens, although images are. The items for which the Bodleian manuscript is most famous are two plays—known to modern editors as *Christ's Burial* and *Resurrection*—and these also provide its most intriguing link to Additional 37049. For these plays, clearly connected to the stage on some level, are presented only partially in dramatic form. The first play is called “a treyte or meditation off the



Figure 7.8. Cain's murder of Abel. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Museo 160 (early 16th c.), fol. 2r. ©The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

buryalle of Criste & mowenyng therat.” The *Burial* appears to have been designed for private reading, for the text continues: “A Soule that list to singe of loue / Of crist that com till vs so lawe / Rede this treyte, it may hymm moue / And may hym teche lightly with awe.”¹⁰⁵ The text also includes narrative links and explanatory descriptions that would be out of place in a dramatic script: “Man harkyn how maudleyn with þe maris ii Wepis & wringes thair handis os thay go.”¹⁰⁶ Although this couplet calls for its reader to hear (“harkyn”) the words of Mary Magdalen and her companions, it also marks the text as silently meditative, for it could not have been spoken by any of these characters in the play; there is no chorus figure here, such as *Contemplacio* in *N-Town*. In this way, these plays fit into a miscellaneous codex that could generally be called meditative, and that was intended to be privately read.¹⁰⁷

The manuscript, however, preserves equally powerful indications that these pieces were performed. A note preceding the two pieces explicitly directs: “This play is to be playede on part on gudfriday after-none, & þe other part opon Esterday after the resurrectione. In the morowe, but at begynnynge at certene lynes which [must] not be saide if it be plaiede.” This annotator preserves the ancient distinction between narrative and performed texts, in which the dramatic genre is defined by characters who act *sine ullius poetae interlocutione*.¹⁰⁸ He directs the players to omit the discursive sections (incompletely deleted) when they speak the play aloud. Beginning with fol. 147v, the texts seem to be entirely dramatic, with no narrative interpolations to be omitted in performance, and the names of speakers indicated succinctly. Both Rosemary Woolf and James Hogg conclude from the evidence of revision that the plays were copied in the first instance as plays, and then incompletely transformed into meditations for reading.¹⁰⁹ In contrast, Baker argues that the text was revised from meditation to play.¹¹⁰ Whichever way we read the conversion, it reveals the generic fluidity evident between a drama to be performed at particular liturgical times and in particular situations, and a meditation to be privately read, presumably at the reader’s convenience. I would argue that the confusion reveals, not only an incomplete process of revision, but also an acknowledgment that the text’s meditative qualities infuse its performance on the stage, and that the theatrical nature of the text remains important even to the private reading of it. The annotator preserves both options so that the text can continue to function in both ways at once.

Donald Baker has frankly addressed the generic question this text so patently raises, concluding that a text is a play when “the writer says it is.”¹¹¹ He does not pretend to know why such a “cloistered” work took the dramatic form it ultimately did, nor how the writer made the transition from “acted meditation” to “play.”¹¹² But he considers the example

important to the history of medieval drama in its largest outlines: “Is it not possible that this instance, cloistered and isolated and crude as its form may be, may actually be helpful in understanding the way that professional or secular play-writers worked?” Baker traces the patterns evident in the author’s revision to develop a theory about how dramatists molded their material into pageants that could be realized on the stage.¹¹³ I am interested, instead, in why it would have mattered in the cloister itself—what was the private reader’s experience of this meditation or play, and why does its genre matter? Evidence from the French tradition makes it clear that the private reading of plays was an option widely compatible with the playing of them. The *Prologue* to the *Creacion du Monde* (part of Arnoul Gréban’s *Mystere de la Passion*), offers this advice: “Et pourtant, qu’il voudroit jouer ce present livre par personnages, il faudroit prendre et commencer a ce prologue qui s’ensuit” (“However, if one would like to play this book with actors, he would need to begin with the following prologue”).¹¹⁴ The *Prologue* to Nicolas de La Chesnaye’s *La Condemnacion de Banquet* offers three equal alternatives for the reception of the text: “jouer ou publicquement representer au simple peuple,” “ouyr la lecture,” or, finally, “lyre particulièrement ou solitairement par maniere d’estude.”¹¹⁵ Even *Everyman* is called a treatise, as well as a play: “Here begynneth a treatyse how the hye fader of heuen sendeth dethe to somon euery creature to come and gyue a counte of theyr lyues in this worlde and is in maner of a morall playe.” The conflation of these multiple possibilities—“treatyse” and “morall playe”—implies that they are not so far distant from each other, and that the medieval reader or spectator gained something from imagining them together. Thinking about the stage while reading in private added a layer of performative meaning to the experience of the text. Even though it is commonly assumed that “medieval plays were not designed as reading matter,” rubrics like this suggest otherwise.¹¹⁶

Laviece Ward explains how reading the meditational dramas of Bodleian MS e Museo 160 differs from play performance: “These are not dramas for sensual display, but for developing the spirituality of the audience through reading or listening.”¹¹⁷ But she does identify a Carthusian context within which the dramatic elements of these literary pieces might have made sense: “The reader, or listener, within the Carthusian cloister, would not have been surprised to be offered such use of drama, as they heard plays read from the pulpit, and were used to seeing directions for dramatic reading like those found in psalters or missals.”¹¹⁸ Both sermons and liturgy, subdued and rare as these ecclesiastical experiences might have been, prepared Carthusian monks for this kind of performative reading. Even though some scholars have refused to read the *Burial* and *Resurrection* plays as Carthusian productions, their physical presence in this

manuscript requires that we come to terms with the likelihood of such dramatic monastic reading.¹¹⁹ A dramatic framework surrounding a devotional text affects the nature of solitary meditation in the cell, not by suggesting that the framework was necessarily realized in public presentation, but by transforming even private reading into a kind of spiritual performance in its own right. The monks who read the *Burial* and *Resurrection* plays in e Museo 160, like those who read “Of the seven ages” in Additional 37049, drew on the communal and spectacular imaginary of the theater to enhance their individual devotional experience.

Conclusion

Reading Performances

The dramatic qualities of nondramatic literature have been of interest to medievalists at least since George Lyman Kittredge invoked them to further our understanding of the *Canterbury Tales*.¹ According to Kittredge, Chaucer's innovation in framing the *Tales* with what could be called the "stage business" of pilgrimage gives them a voiced vitality they would otherwise lack. The miscellaneous collection of tales is brought into some kind of focus and coherence by these structuring (if not ordering) principles, which also lend them a quality that he thought "dramatic." To consider the tales of Canterbury in this light is, according to Kittredge, "manifestly our paramount duty."² Indeed, the dramatic effects in Chaucer's poetry have occasionally been adapted for the histrionic stage.³ Even though Kittredge's insight is now nearly a century old, it retains a powerful, if almost subliminal, hold over Chaucer studies.⁴

The Carthusian miscellany Additional 37049 is "dramatic" in an entirely different sense. This book does not create fully realized Chaucerian characters who give individual voice to the texts it presents. There is little coherence to the collection of images and texts offered here; no unities of time or space allow us to think of the book or of the reading experience as carefully structured. Nor do relatively casual invocations of meditative "theater" fully account for the variety and depth of performative experience represented in this manuscript. But the connections suggested here between dramatic events and what must have been read privately are powerful, nonetheless. The dramatic analogue is more than metaphor in this Carthusian miscellany, for the combination of visual and verbal experience

that is central to this manuscript's art mimics the quintessential experience of the stage. Additional 37049 asks us to take dramatic metaphors of reading seriously, to ask pointed questions about what late-medieval devotional reading has to do with performances of a public and theatrical, as well as a private and readerly, kind. Reading Additional 37049 is a performance, not only because of meditative reading practices that involve the self-conscious and repeated re-creation of "scenes" in the mind, though this kind of meditative reading is involved. Instead, this reading is more closet drama than meditation—performative because of the historical performances standing behind these texts and images, in the form of sermons, civic spectacles, liturgical ceremonies, and even plays.

The imagetexts with which we began our discussion of Additional 37049 make the connection between drama and illustrated devotional books with particular clarity. The *Vado mori* and "Debate for the Soul" that are so intimately (if also mysteriously) associated with the *Desert of Religion* are dramatic in their combination of visual experience with speech.⁵ These are patently "imagetexts," for they are composed of words structured by visual principles. No other classification—artistic or literary—could accurately describe the importance of combined genre to these pieces. But, equally important, both of these imagetexts are also dialogues, "scenes" composed of figures and speeches that could be presently enacted. Their realization in MS Stowe 39 is especially reminiscent of the dramatic situation, for all the characters stand crowded together as if on a stage, gesturing as if in speech (see figs. 3.5 and 3.6). The spatial disposition of the Stowe figures makes sense in a real space, rather than in a manuscript space, illustrating the close relation between what happens inside a book like this, and what happens in the spectacular world around it. Although no one has ever thought to align these images with, say, Fouquet's "Martyrdom of St. Apollonia," they might just as easily be thought representations of medieval dramatic experience. Using and interpreting the visual evidence for medieval drama is famously difficult. Given the uncertainty surrounding even the most celebrated possibilities for contemporary representation of the drama, it is worthwhile to revisit the question of how illustrations in books might relate to what was seen on stage.

If the staging of a play can be difficult to recover from visual records, the text can prove just as elusive. Many medieval works show a startling intrusion of narrative into drama, and this has caused generic confusion among modern readers. Are these unexpected narrative lines spoken by figures outside the dramatic action, chorus figures, or narrators? Or do they instead suggest that what seems dramatic should be considered in another generic light? In her revealing study of theatrical documents in thirteenth-century Arras, Carol Symes demonstrates that "the generic definition of a

play as such was in flux for most of the Middle Ages.⁶ The compositional practice of particular individuals, such as Adam de la Halle, shows that distinctions among lyrics, dialogues, and plays were permeable, and that generic fluidity was a constitutive feature of early-medieval dramatic writing.⁷ What was true for the emerging vernacular drama in France remained true on the cusp of the Renaissance in England: plays are not always distinguishable in the manuscript records from untheatrical texts, and the same texts may have taken different generic forms in their composition and in their reception.⁸ The theatrical text known as the *Durham Prologue*, for example, is related to nondramatic versions of the Marian miracles, including some that perhaps appear in Additional 37049.⁹ The most controversial English example comes from the complex interactions among a trio of texts: *Dame Sirith* (Bodleian MS Digby 86), the *Interludium de clerico et puella* (BL MS Add. 23986), and the Harley lyric “De clerico et puella” (BL MS Harley 2253).¹⁰ Peter Dronke argues that *Dame Sirith* is a “fully fledged play,” rather than a *fabliau* version of the dramatic *Interludium*, more broadly asserting that what have not been considered plays should be, and that the body of early vernacular drama should be enlarged. He writes: “the use of narrative elements interspersed in dialogue need not militate against drama, but can, on the contrary, extend the range of dramatic possibilities in unusual, and at times beautiful and exciting, ways.”¹¹ Dronke further argues that *Dame Sirith* was “presented as a play,” but I am not so much interested in asserting a performance history for these indeterminate pieces, as in thinking about how the genre of the quasi-dramatic affected private readers. Broadening our conception of how words and images can perform in venues beyond the strictly theatrical has proved useful in the investigation of many sub-dramatic medieval cultural forms: civic spectacles and celebrations, games and mummings, festivals and processions (such as the procession of the Holy Name so startlingly depicted in Additional 37049).¹² As the evidence of this miscellany suggests, certain kinds of devotional reading should be added to these other performative activities.

Performative reading depends upon imagining voices, so Kittredge, too, is more pertinent to the reading of this Carthusian miscellany than one might have thought. It is the Carthusian “voicing” of texts such as the lyrics that provides the manuscript with what unity it has. Even though this is a very diverse collection of literary texts, they do interact in important ways in the construction of the book. As I have argued, they have one compiler, one illustrator, and (probably) one primary kind of reader. Moreover, both compiling and reading the contents of a miscellaneous manuscript constitute meditative performances, for although the object itself signals a nonce production, with no perfect iteration, the repeated readings we must imagine its original owner to have performed enliven the

texts and images by scripted repetition. The pictures of the Carthusians scattered memorably throughout its pages unify the object, its performative readers providing a thread of continuity in its subject-matter. Figures of monks and monastic readers obscure the familiar line we understand between Chaucer as pilgrim and Chaucer as poet; like Chaucer, but without his celebrated ironic distance, these monks are engaged in creating images of themselves. The famous portrait of Chaucer in the Ellesmere manuscript (Huntington Library MS EL 26 C 9) signals the poet's authorial relation to the words on the page by pointing to the text. The complexity of voice we find so rich in the secular poet is turned to another purpose by the devotional images here, where a "portrait" of Richard Rolle points toward a holy monogram emblazoned on his breast, and a Carthusian monk becomes the focal point of the crucifixion.

I hope this study has begun the work of thinking of this book as a meaningful unit, work that the physical presence of the codex demands in terms at least as strong as Kittredge's "paramount duty." Whatever the history of each of these individual pieces may be outside of this book, it is the assembly of texts and images here that is the most important determinant of their meaning, and it has been my first goal to address the meanings produced by that compilation. My intention has been to hazard a framework (and to argue for the necessity of such a framework) through which the book's contents, as a totality, make sense in a way they have not previously done. These are not accomplished images, nor even accomplished texts, and they are not the product of a great artist's design. These humble texts and images are, however, unusually revealing about the performative mechanisms and workings of fifteenth-century private reading at large. The manuscript represents performances, embodies performances, and initiates readerly performances, all of which draw on affiliations with the visions and voices offered by public communal spectacles to construct a private devotional self. In this, it is not unlike other late-medieval devotional books, which also encourage their meditative readers to think of their private reading as a spiritual performance.

In spite of its singularity, Additional 37049 claims kinship with many medieval books, from the *Holkham Bible Picture Book* to the enormously popular books of hours. If, as M. T. Clanchy and others have persuasively shown, medieval literacy differed substantially from modern—or even early modern—reading, one important difference concerns the role of visual experience in the understanding of the book. Medieval devotional reading, in particular, depended upon visualization in ways that can be difficult to recapture in a postprint age. But the manuscript we have examined here provides insight into the mechanisms of that visualization. Rather than simply calling for the reader to imagine the scenes it describes,

it presents those scenes on the page. Poems that seek in this way to determine the circumstances of their own reception, and that seem to imagine that their reception depends upon the presence of a work of visual art, provide crucial information about late-medieval conceptions of “art” and “literature” and how these two categories come together in acts of reading. As the connections between this manuscript and communal spectacle suggest, these acts of reading constitute a performance, even if a very private and individual one.

As a result, this miscellaneous manuscript itself, and not just a staging of the works it contains, might be said to be broadly performative. This codex is the primary site of the spiritual activity it represents; even in its own shape and format, the book performs certain kinds of devotional meaning. More precisely, the act of reading it performs devotional meaning. For meditative reading—particularly in the late-medieval Carthusian context in which the book was almost certainly used—is a performance in itself. The kinds of meditations demanded by a book like this one involve the imagination of the reader so strenuously that they can be said to be “enacted” by that reader at each repetition. This direct connection between performance and reading, made in so many complicated ways, is the most important aspect of this book, and what it can offer to an understanding of late-medieval devotional culture at large. Additional 37049 shows that bibliographic performance is not limited to the kinds of technically performative language originally delineated by Austin—nor is it limited to theatrical language, literary language, or even spoken language of any kind. The miscellany shows instead that a silent medieval reader encountering the written word in solitude can participate in aspects of performance.

Appendix:

Contents of British Library MS Additional 37049

Entries in this appendix are organized as follows: item number, folio number, and title; incipit (Inc.); reference entry (Ref.); manuscripts (MS, MSS); and select bibliography (Bib.). Manuscripts are listed in alphabetical order by archive; bibliographical references are listed alphabetically by author. An asterisk (*) preceding the item number indicates that the item is as yet unpublished. Abbreviations used for reference works and institution names are explained in the List of Abbreviations at the front of this book.

1. iv. Byzantine Virgin

Bib.: Bertelli, "*Image of Pity*," 48–49, fig. 14; Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 62, fig. 16.

2. 2r. Byzantine Christ

Bib.: Bertelli, "*Image of Pity*," 48–49, fig. 15; Camille, "Mimetic Identification," 189, pl. 4; Friedman, *Northern English Books*, 168; Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 62, 66n61, fig. 17.

3. 2v. Mappa Mundi (with prose note: "The thre sonnes of Noe dyuyded þe warld in þre partes")

Bib.: *Monumenta cartographica*, 181n11; Taylor, "Early Ideas," fig. 5 (opp. p. 68).

4. 3r–9v. Mandeville, *Travels* (epitome)

Inc.: "The cyte of ierusalem standes fayr emange hylles"

Ref.: *IPMEP* 233.26; *MWME* XIX[5].

Bib.: Seymour, "English Epitome"; Seymour, "English Manuscripts," no. 39.

5. 9v–10v. Martinus Polonus (or Oppaviensis), *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* (translated excerpts)

Inc.: “þe cronikylys tells þat þe cyte of Babylon in brede of þe fielde was”

Ref.: *MWME* XXI[27]; cf. *MWME* XXI[29].

MSS: Bod. Ashmole 791, fols. 60r–84v; Bod. Digby 205, fols. 1r–8r; CUL Ee.4.31, fols.

25r–50r; Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys Library MS 2014, fols. 1r–20r.

Bib.: Embree, “Fragmentary Chronicle”; Levi and Levi, “Medieval Map of Rome,” 589–90, fig. 9.

6. 11r–16v. Ps.–Methodius, *Of þe Begynnyng of þe World and of þe Endyng*

Inc.: “It is to be knawen to vs dere breþer how þat God in þe begynnyng made heuen and erthe and by hym al þinges ar formed and how he made man”

Ref.: *IPMEP* 404 (cf. *IPMEP* 221); *MWME* XXI[31].

Bib.: Bunt, “ME Translations of the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius,” 136–42; Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 48 and passim; Emmerson, “Beyond the Apocalypse,” 99–102; d’Evelyn, “ME Metrical Version of the Revelations of Methodius,” 151; Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 101n6, 102–3; Mullaney, “Fashion and Morality,” 73–75, 79, pls. 1 and 2; Perry, ed., *Trevisa’s “Dialogus,”* 94–112 (lower halves only).

*7. 16v–18r. Prayer on the Last Judgment

Inc.: “Almyghty god for þi gret godenes”

Ref.: Revell, no. 177.

Bib.: Girard, “De l’image,” 151; Hogg, “Unpublished,” 254. Wallner, *Exposition*, 86–90.

8. 18r–v. Prose Note on the Last Judgment (“Of the cumym of þe day of dome”)

Inc.: “The ordyr of þe dome sal be swylk. In þe day of dome oure lorde cumyng to þe dome fyre sal go before hym wt þe whilk þe face of þis world sal be byrntte”

Ref.: Revell, no. 180.

Bib.: Louis, “Two ME Doomsday Poems,” 44–45.

9. 18v. Verses on the Last Judgment

Inc.: “When þe day of dome sall be / It is in gods pryuyte”

Ref.: *MWME* XXII[419]; *NIMEV* 4030; Revell, no. 181.

Bib.: Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 103–4; Louis, “Two ME Doomsday Poems,” 45–46.

10. 19r. Debate for the Soul (trans. *O spes in morte me salua maria precor te*, by “Wilfridus”)

Inc.: “O hope in nede þu helpe me”

Ref.: *MWME* VII[21b]; *NIMEV* 2463 (cf. *NIMEV* 1834, *NIMEV* 2248).

MSS: BL Cotton Faustina B.vi (Pt. II), fol. 2; BL Stowe 39, fol. 32v (see *NIMEV* 1834); Lambeth 260, fol. 66v, col. 2 (see *NIMEV* 2248).

Bib.: Brunner, “Mittelenglische Todesgedichte,” 22–23; Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 104; Heffernan, “Virgin as an Aid”; Walther, *Streitgedicht*, 88, 223–24; Whittingford, ed., *Myracles of Oure Lady*, 121.

11. 19v. Unicorn Apologue from *Barlaam and Josaphat*

Inc.: “Behalde here as þou may se / A man standyng in a tree”

Ref.: *NIMEV* 491; Revell, no. 194.

Bib.: Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," 23–26; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 110; Gray, *Themes and Images*, pl. 7, p. 179; Hirsh, ed., *Barlam and Josaphat*, 199–201; Ikegami, ed., *Barlam and Josaphat*, 100–102, 163–65; Mullaney, "Fashion and Morality," 77–78; Pittman and Scattergood, "Unicorn Apologue," pl. 8b; Ross, "'Emblem' Verses," 274–82; Salter, *English and International*, pl. 6; Saxl, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 96–98.

12. 20r. *Querela divina/Responsio humana*

Inc.: "O Man vnkynde /hafe in mynde / my paynes smert"

Ref.: *MWME* VII[2d]; *NIMEV* 2504; Revell, no. 53.

MSS: BL Add. 36505, fol. 192r; Bod. Laud misc. 330, fol. 14v; Yale Beinecke 410 (roll)

Bib.: Brown XV, no. 108; Bynum, "Violent Imagery," 18–20; Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 317; Comper, *Spiritual Songs*, 262–63; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 108; Gray, *Themes and Images*, pl. 2, pp. 52–54; Höltingen, "Arbor, Scala, und Fons vitae," 382; Hulbert, *Annals*, 25–27; Kolve, *Imagery of Narrative*, 29–30, fig. 9; Morgan, "Longinus," 14–15, fig. 5; Morris, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, "Almondbury," 82; Palmer, *Early Art of the West Riding*, 106, 278–79; Palmer, "Iconography for Swearers," 9–16; Pepwell, ed., *Benyamyn*, A1, A3v, D6; Stevick, *One Hundred ME Lyrics*, no. 52; Taylor, "Reading the Body," pl. 2.

13. 20r. Christ's Speech to Man (scroll)

Inc.: "þies woundes smert / bere in þi hert"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 3560.5.

Bib.: Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 318; Comper, *Spiritual Songs*, 262.

14. 20v. Ten Commandments in Verse, from the *Speculum Christiani*

Inc.: "Thow sal luf god wt hert intere"

Ref.: *MWME* XX[15]; *NIMEV* 3687 (cf. *NIMEV* 1491 and *NIMEV* 1111).

MSS (in *Speculum Christiani*): BL Add. 10052, fols. 22r–27r; BL Add. 21202, fols. 6v–12r (missing third and fourth stanzas); BL Add. 15237, fols. 11r–14r; BL Harley 206, fols. 20v–25r; BL Harley 1197, fols. 82r–87r; BL Harley 2250, fols. 51r–52r; BL Harley 2379, fols. 65r–68r; BL Harley 4172, fols. 110v–14r; BL Harley 6580, fols. 6v–11r; BL Lansdowne 344, fols. 7v–13r; BL Royal 8.E.V, fols. 5r–10r; BL Sloane 1253, fols. 32v–49v; Bod. Bodley 61, fols. 4r–8r; Bod. Bodley 423, fols. 351v–53r; Bod. Douce 107, fols. 51r–53r; Bod. Greaves 54, fols. 1r–7v (lacks first two stanzas); Bod. Laud misc. 104, fols. 3r–4v; Rylands Lat. 201, fol. 130r; Whalley, Stonyhurst Coll. 30 (A.vi.23), fols. 122v–25v; TCC B.15.42, fol. 103v (stanzas 1–4 only); Tokyo, Takamiya s.n., fols. 3v–7r (*olim* Foyle, Christie's 11 July 2000, lot 71); Urbana, Illinois, UL 71, fol. 4.

MSS (occurring separately): BL Harley 7578, fol. 1; CCCC 423, pp. 81–82; CUL Ii.1.26, fols. 88v–91v (in prose tract, *De decem mandatis*).

Bib.: Fawtier and Fawtier, "From Merlin to Shakespeare," 388; Gillespie, "Evolution"; Holmstedt, ed., *Speculum Christiani*, 17–39; Höltingen, "Arbor, Scala, und Fons Vitae," 355–91.

*15. 21r. Prose Note on the Beauty of the Virgin ("Of þe fayrnes of saynt mary gods moder our lady")

Inc.: "Oof þe fayrhed of saynt Mary. Alexander says þt thre fayrnesses is. One is natural. ane oþer is spryritual. þe thyrd is essencyal."

Ref.: Revell, no. 89.

*16. 21v. Prose Rhapsody on the Name of Mary

Inc.: "Frebertus says A Mary a þu gret. a þu mylde. a þu onely lufabyll."

Bib.: Hennessy, "Morbid Devotions," 30n7; Hogg, "Unpublished," 255.

*17. 21v. Prose Tale of the Lazy Servant of St. Anselm

Inc.: "þer was a seruand of saynt Ancelme þt when his felow bad hym ryse of his bed opon a Sunday and go to þe kyrk"

Ref.: *MWME* XXIV[109].

Bib.: Whiteford, ed., *Myracles of Oure Lady*, 120–21.

18. 22r–22v. Verses on the Founding of the Carthusian Order

Inc.: "At þe begynnyng of þe charterhows god dyd schewe"

Ref.: *MWME* VI[18]; *NIMEV* 435.

Bib.: Allen, *Writings*, 307; Bowers, "ME Verses on the Founding," 711–13; Boyers, "Companions of St. Bruno," 784–85; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 110–11; Hogg, "Unpublished Texts," 259–62.

19. 23r. Short Charter of Christ

Inc.: "Wete now al þat ar here / And after sal be lefe and dere"

Ref.: *MWME* XX[187, Version B]; *NIMEV* 4184; Revell, nos. 7–8.

MSS: BLAdd. 5465, fols. 119r–24r (as carol, with music); BLAdd. 24343, fols. 6v–7r; BLAdd. 60577, fols. 114v–15r; BLAdd. Charter 5960; BL Harley 116, fol. 97v; BL Harley 237, fol. 100r–v (much disarranged); BL Harley 3775, fol. 138r–v; BL Harley 6848, fols. 239v–40r; BL Sloane 3292, fol. 2r (six extra lines at beginning); BL Stowe 620, fols. 11v–12r (two extra lines at beginning); BL Stowe 1055, pp. 40–42; Bod. Ashmole 61, fol. 106r; Bod. Ashmole 189, fols. 109r–10r; CGCC 230, p. 58; Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1036, fols. 7v–8r (var.); Cambridge, St. John's College B.15, fol. 53r; CUL Ee.2.15, fols. 107r–11r; CUL Ii.6.44, fols. 1r–2v; CULAdd. 6686, pp. 270–71; Harvard Houghton Library, Richardson 22, fols. 71v–72r; Rylands Lat. 176, fol. 202v; *olim* J. W. Dod (W.34), present location unknown.

Bib.: Amundesham, *Annales*, part 5, 1:457–58; Ashe, "Short Charter of Christ"; Breeze, "Charter of Christ"; Fehr, "Lieder des Fairfax MS," 69–70; Förster, "Kleinere Mittelenglische Texte," 195–97; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 107; Gray, *Themes and Images*, 130, pl. 5; Green, *Crisis of Truth*, 261–63, 276–77; Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, 123, fig. 80; James, *Cat. Latin MSS*, 1:300–301; Luxford, "Sculptural Iconography," 307–10, fig. 5; Morgan, "Longinus," 14–15, fig. 6; O'Reilly, *Iconography of the Virtues and Vices*, 233; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 306–8; Spalding, *ME Charters of Christ*, xxiii–xxiv, 8; Steiner, *Documentary Culture*, 85–87, fig. 8; Stevens, *Music and Poetry*, 383–84; Swanson, "Passion and Practice," 21, pl. 6.

*20. 23v. Verses on the Holy Name: Iesus Nazareus

Inc.: "Our lord JHC crist dyd appere /To saynt Edmunde þe archebischoþ clere"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 2721; Revell, no. 131.

*21. 23v–24r. Three Miracles of Name Salvation

Inc.: "It is writen þt þer was in gret paynes a saule þe whilk a monke saw in vision"

Ref.: Revell, no. 131.

Bib.: Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 107–8.

22. 24r. *Querela divina*

Inc.: "O man kynde /hafe in þi mynde / my passion smert"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 2507; Revell, no. 54.1.

MSS: Bod. Tanner 407, fol. 52v; TCC O.2.53, fol. 69r.

Bib.: Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 318; Davies, *Med. Eng. Lyrics*, 168; Gray, "Five Wounds," 167; Gray, *English Medieval Religious Lyrics*, no. 26 (b); Gray, "Mystical Lyrics," fig. 3; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 108; James, *Trinity College, Cambridge*, 3:173; Louis, *Commonplace Book*, 299–300, 488–89; Person, *Cambridge ME Lyrics*, no. 9; Ross, "Emblem' Verses," 275–76; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 185.

23. 24r. Verses on the Number of Christ's Wounds

Inc.: "þe nowmer of Jhesu cristes wowndes / Ar fyve þowsande four e hondreth sixty + fyftene /þe whilk in his body war felt + sene"

Ref.: Revell, no. 54.2.

Bib.: Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 318; Comper, *Spiritual Songs*, 263; Friedman, *Northern English Books*, 163; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 108; Greene, *Early English Carols*, 401; Louis, *Commonplace Book*, 369; Ross, "Emblem' Verses," 275.

24. 24r. Rollean Lyric

Inc.: "Jhu my luf my ioy my reste"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 1735 (cf. *NIMEV* 1771, for first 3 lines in stanza 2 of BL Harley 2406, fol. 85r); Revell, no. 54.3.

Bib.: Allen, *Writings*, 307; Brown XV, no. 67; Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 318; Comper, *Spiritual Songs*, 263; Gray, *English Medieval Religious Lyrics*, No. 46 (b); Gray, "Mystical Lyrics," Fig. 3; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 108; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 231.

25. 24r. Verses on the Number of Christ's Wounds

Inc.: "The nowmer of our lords droppes alle / I wil rehearse in generall"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 3443 (see also *NIMEV* 807.22, *NIMEV* 807.44); Revell, no. 54.4.

MSS: Bod. Douce 1, fol. 70v; Bod. Tanner MS 407, fol. 10v; TCC R.3.21, fol. 278v (immediately follows *NIMEV* 1439); Sotheby's, 24 June 1980, lot 73 (roll); Wellcome Med. Hist. Lib. 632 (*olim* Pullen) (roll).

Bib.: Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 318 (without first two lines); Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 108; Greene, *Early English Carols*, 401; Hirsch, "Two English Devotional Poems," 6; Louis, *Commonplace Book*, 152, 369–72.

26. 24v. Verses on Purgatory (“Of þe relefyng of saules in purgatory”)

Inc.: “þe saules þat to purgatory wendes / May be relefyd þorow help of frendes”

Ref.: *NIMEV* 3476; Revell, no. 184.

Bib.: Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, 243–44.

27. 25r. Verses on the Appearance of Christ (acephalous)

Inc.: “If þai do so he wil þaim safe / As walnot barke his hare is ʒalowe”

Ref.: *NIMEV* 1426.8; Revell, no. 28.

Bib.: Bowers, “Appearance of Christ,” 430–33; Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 106–7;

Ross, “Emblem’ Verses,” 277–78; Salter, *English and International*, pl. 7.

28. 25v–26v. Poem with Refrain: *Quia amore languo*

Inc.: “In a tabernakil of a towre / As I stode musand of þe mone”

Ref.: *NIMEV* 1460 (11 of 12 stanzas).

MSS: BL Harley 1706, fols. 9v–10v; BN angl. 41, fol. 3v (10 stanzas); Bod. Ashmole

59, fols. 66–67; Bod. Douce 78, fols. 1v–3r; Bod. Douce 322, fols. 8v–9v; Bod.

Rawl. C.86, fol. 69v–71; Lambeth 853, pp. 4–7 (8 stanzas); Rylands Lat. 395, fol. 138
(stanza 11 only).

Bib.: Bennett, *Quia Amore Languo*; Brown XIV, no. 132; Cross, “Virgin’s *Quia Amore Languo*”; Davies, *Medieval English Lyrics*, no. 62; Furnivall, *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, 177–79; Gray, *Medieval English Religious Lyrics*, no. 61; Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 109; Luria and Hoffman, *ME Lyrics*, no. 196; *Quia amore languo* (1902); Riddy, “Provenance of *Quia Amore Languo*”; Saupe, *ME Marian Lyrics*, no. 79; Segawa, *Paris Version*; Silverstein, *Medieval English Lyrics*, no. 50; Stevick, *100 ME Lyrics*, no. 49; Warner, “Quia Amore Languo.”

*29. 26r. Prose Note on the Power of the Name of Mary

Inc.: “luf wele þis blyssed name maria”

Ref.: Revell, no. 73.

Bib.: Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 109.

*30. 26v–27r. Indulgences of Saint Clement (*Verbum caro factum est*, etc.)

Inc.: “Onis Pope Saynt Clement þe fyrst grantyd A ʒer and vl days pardon to all þam
þt byne confest”

31. 27r. Marian Miracle of the Clerk of Oxford

Inc.: “It is red in þe myrakils of our lady þt a clerk luffed wele our lady þt in so mykil
þt he went vn to rome of devocion þt he myght se þe ymage of oure lady þe whilk
as it is sayd sayn luke purtred”

Ref.: *MWME* XXIV [49].

Bib.: Whiteford, ed. *Myracles of Oure Lady*, 71, 94, 120–21; Worde, *Myracles of Oure Blessyd Lady*, no. 46.

32. 27v. *Ave maris stella*

Inc.: “Hayle se-sterne gods modyr holy / pray þu þi swete son safe vs fro foly”

Ref.: *NIMEV* 1079; Revell, no. 71.

Bib.: Brown XV, no. 19; Brunner, "Kirchenlieder," 144–46; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 109–10.

33. 28r. Versification from Suso, *Horologium sapientiae*

Inc.: "Who so rememors cristes passion deuoutely / To hym profets specially two
þinges in hye"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 4140; cf. *IPMEP* 465.

Bib.: Bowers, *Three ME Religious Poems*, 13–14.

34. 28r. Verses on Self-Crucifixion

Inc.: "Also take hede to þis insawmpyl here / That is lykend vn to þe fawconnere"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 269.

Bib.: Bowers, *Three ME Religious Poems*, Poem 2; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 112; Kaiser, *Medieval English*, 278–79, 296; Ross, "Emblem' Verses," 278–79.

35. 28v–29r. Morality Play of the Seven Ages of Man ("Of þe seuen ages note wele þe
sayng of þe gode angel and þe yll")

Inc.: "Nakyd into þis warlde born am I"

Ref.: *MWME* VII[14]; *NIMEV* 2282.

Bib.: Bowers, "Medieval Analogue"; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 110; Hogg, "Unpublished Texts," 263–65; Kolve, "Man in the Middle," 26, figs. 8 and 9; MacCracken, "Source of *Mundus et Infans*," 496n1; Nelson, "Of the Seuen Ages"; York, "Dramatic Form," 484–85.

36. 29v–30r. *Salve Regina*

Inc.: "Hayle oure patron and lady of erthe / qwhene of heuen and emprys of helle"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 1073; Revell, no. 287.

Bib.: Brown XV, no. 26; Brunner, "Kirchenlieder," 138–40; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 110; Gray, *Themes and Images*, pl. 1, pp. 51–52; Luria and Hoffman, *ME Lyrics*, no. 182; Saupe, *ME Marian Lyrics*, no. 69; Vitz, "Liturgy and Vernacular Literature," 522.

*37. 29v. Prayer to Mary (scroll)

Inc.: "O suete lady mayden mylde / pray for me to ihesu þi childe"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 2562.5.

38. 30r. Verses on Christ's Wounds as a Remedy for Sin

Inc.: "Wyth scharp þornes þt beth kene / Mye hede was crowned 3e may sene"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 4200; cf. *NIMEV* 4185.

MSS: BL Harley 2339, fols. 117v–18v; BL Sloane 2275, fol. 245 (stanzas 4 and 8); Bod. Ashmole 61, fols. 150v–51; Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1584, fol. 108v; CUL Ee.5.13, fol. 15v (7 stanzas only); CUL Ff.2.38, fol. 33; Huntington HM 142 (*olim* Bement), fol. 101–v (inserted with stanzas in a different order in *NIMEV* 2577); Longleat 30, fol. 111–v.

Bib.: Brown XIV, no. 127; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 107; Gray, *Themes and Images*, pl. 1, p. 140; Person, *Cambridge ME Lyrics*, no. 8; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 224–25, 227–28.

39. 30v. *Ego Dormio* Prayer (scroll)

Inc.: "I slepe and my hert wakes to þe / Swete Ihesu þe son of Mary fre"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 1367.8.

Bib.: Allen, *Writings*, 307; Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 315; Comper, *Spiritual Songs*, 261; Gray, "Mystical Lyrics," fig. 4; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 109.

40. 30v. Virgin's Reply (scroll)

Inc.: "If þou my trewe lufer wil be / My selfe to reward I sal gyf þe"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 1431.5.

Bib.: Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 315; Comper, *Spiritual Songs*, 261; Gray, "Mystical Lyrics," fig. 4; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 109.

41. 30v–31r. Description of Three Grades of Love from Richard Rolle's Prose Epistle
Ego Dormio

Inc.: "*Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat* / I slepe and my hert wakes"

Ref.: *IPMEP* 160; *MWME* XXIII[9].

MSS: Bibl. Ste. Geneviève 3390, fols. 95v–108r; BL Add. 22283, fols. 147v–51r; BL Add. 37790, fols. 132r–35v; BL Arundel 507, fol. 40r–v (ending imperfectly; abridged); Bod. Eng. poet. a.1, fols. 369r–70r; Bod. Rawl. A. 389, fols. 77r–95r and 95v–99r; *olim* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Bradfer-Lawrence Deposit 10 (now in private hands); Cambridge, Magdalene Pepys 2125, fols. 99r–102r; CUL Dd.5.64 (3), fols. 22v–29r; Longleat Marquis of Bath 29, fols. 43v–47v; TCD 155, fols. 108r–46v; Tokyo Takamiya 66, fols. 25r–29r; Westminster School 3, fols. 225r–31r.

Bib.: Allen, *English Writings*, 61–72; Allen, *Writings*, 308; Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 315; Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:49–61 (at 52–54), 1:415–16.

42. 31v–32r. "Dawnce of Makabre"

Inc.: "O ȝe al whilk þt by me cummes and gothe / Attende and behold þis warldes vanyte"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 2589.

Bib.: Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," 26–28; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 113–14; Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?" 152–54.

43. 32v. *Transi* Tomb Verses

Inc.: "Take hede vnto my figure here abowne / And se how sumtyme I was fresche and gay"

Ref.: *MWME* XXII[388]; *NIMEV* 3252.5.

Bib.: Binski, *Medieval Death*, 144–45; Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," 30; Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 29–30, pl. 10; Friedman, *Northern English Books*, 180; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 114; Hennessy, "Remains of the Royal Dead," 313; Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?" 154–55; ; Mullaney, "Fashion and Morality," 81–82; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 65, fig. 266a; Platt, *King Death*, 159–60, fig. 68; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 313; Wormald, "Popular Miniatures," 284–85.

44. 32v. Macaronic Couplets (scroll)

- Inc.: "When þu leste wenes. *venit mors te superare* /When þi grafe grenes. *bonum est mortis meditari*"
 Ref.: *NIMEV* 4049.6.
 MSS: York Minster XVI.K.6 (formerly XVI.G.5), fol. 26v. Cf. BLAdd. 60577, fol. 52 (first 2 lines of longer poem).
 Bib.: Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," 30; Hennessy, "Remains of the Royal Dead," 313n17.
45. 33r–35r. Dialogue between the Body and Worms ("A Disputacion Betwyx þe Body and Wormes")
 Inc.: "In þe ceson of huge mortalite /Of sondre disseses with þe pestilence"
 Ref.: *MWME* VII[19]; *NIMEV* 1563; Revell, no. 174.
 Bib.: Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," 29–35; Conlee, ed., *ME Debate Poetry*, 50–62; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 113; Gray, *Themes and Images*, 191–92; Hogg, "Selected Texts," 63–69; Jankovsky, "View into the Grave"; Malvern, "Earnest 'Monyscyon'"; Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, 158, 163, 166, 167; Matsuda, "Presence of Purgatory," 99–110; Mullaney, "Fashion and Morality," 80–81; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 312, 328–30.
46. 35v. Prose Note on Despising the World ("Note þis wele of dispisyng of þe warld")
 Inc.: "Werely I knawe no þinge þt so inwardly sal take þi hert to couet gods luf and to desyre þe ioy of heuen"
 Ref.: Jolliffe I.40; Revell, no. 137.
 Frag. from Rolle's *Commandment* (*IPMEP* 660).
 Bib.: Allen, *English Writings*, 73–81; Allen, *Writings*, 308; Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:61–71.
 Frag. from Rolle's *Form of Living* (*IPMEP* 351; see also *IPMEP* 788).
 Bib.: Allen, *English Writings* 85–119; Allen, *Writings* 308; Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?" 144–46; Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:3–49, 416–17; Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, 157.
47. 36r. Excerpts from the *Prick of Conscience* (*Apostolus dicit Ciuitatem hic manentem non habemus. sed futuram inquirimus*)
 Inc.: "Behold howe in þe wilderness of þis warld men gase"
 Ref.: *IMEV* 3428/C; *MWME* XX[18]; *NIMEV* 3428/100; Revell, no. 146.
 MSS (excerpts): BLAdd. 36983, fols. 159r–74v; BL Royal 17 C.xvii, fols. 117r–24r; Bod. Rawl. C.285, fol. 39r; Bod. Rawl D.913, fols. 9r–v, 62r–v; CUL Dd.5.55, fol. 101v; CUL Ff.5.40, fols. 113v–14r; Lincoln Cathedral 91, fols. 276v–77r; TCC O.2.0, fols. 104r–5r, 119r–v.
 Bib.: Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 110; Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?" 146; Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* 1:372–73 (Thornton MS excerpts only); *Pricke of Conscience*, ed. Morris.
48. 36r. *Vado Mori* Verses (scrolls)
 Inc.: "I wende to dede a kyng y-wys /What helps honour or worlds blys"

Ref.: *MWME* VII[21a]; *NIMEV* 1387.

MSS: BL Cotton Faustina B.vi, pt. II, fol. 1v; BL Stowe 39, fol. 32.

Bib.: Brown XV, no. 158; Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," 20–22; Gray, *Themes and Images*, 209–11, pl. 10; McGovern-Mouron, "Desert"; McGovern-Mouron, "Edition of the *Desert*"; Reiss, *Art of the ME Lyric*, 152–56; Mullaney, "Fashion and Morality," 78–79, pl. 3; Oliver, *Poems without Names*, 107–8; Stevick, *100 ME Lyrics*, no. 87; Strutt, *Horda angel-cynnán*, 3:192.

49. 36v. Verses on the Holy Name ("IHC est amor meus")

Inc.: "þe luf of god who so will lere"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 3416 (cf. *NIMEV* 4088, *NIMEV* 4076); Revell, no. 132.

Bib.: Allen, *Writings*, 308; Comper, *Spiritual Songs*, 133–34; Friedman, *Northern English Books*, fig. 46; Gray, "Mystical Lyrics," fig. 5; Hennessy, "Aspects of Blood Piety," fig. 1; Höltgen, "Arbor, Scala, und Fons Vitae" 362–63; Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:57, 66–69.

50. 37r. Rhyming Paraphrase of Richard Rolle's *Incendium amoris* (XV.189) and Two Lyrics from His *Ego Dormio* and *Commandment*

Inc.: "Whils I satte in a chapel in my prayere / A heuenly sounde to me drewe nere"

Ref.: *MWME* XXIII[12]; *NIMEV* 4076; Revell, no. 133.

Bib.: Allen *Writings*, 308–9; Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 315–16; Comper, *Spiritual Songs* 209–10; Hennessy, "Aspects of Blood Piety," fig. 3; Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:57, 60, 69; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 380.

51. 37v–38r. Verses on the Monastic Life ("Of þe State of Religion")

Inc.: "The state of religioune / suld be þorow right intencione"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 3478. See also *Desert of Religion (Suppl.)*; Revell, no. 143.

Bib.: Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia" 111; Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists* 109, fig. 70; Höltgen, "Arbor, Scala, und Fons Vitae" 374–76.

52. 38v. Debate for the Soul with Monk (version of trans. *O spes in morte me salua maria precor te*, by 'Wilfridus'; scroll text added in later hand)

Inc.: "Tho it be late ere thou merci craue / yet mercie thou shal haue"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 3703.8.

Bib.: Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," 22–23; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 104n12; Heffernan, "Virgin as an Aid," 235–36; Whiteford, ed., *Myracles of Oure Lady*, no. 16.

53. 39r–43v. Chap. 5 from *Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom* (trans. from Suso, *Horologium sapientiae*)

Inc.: "Sen it is so þat deth gyfes noght to man"

Ref.: *IPMEP* 465; Jolliffe L.8(b); *MWME* XX [221]; *MWME* XXIII [80]; Revell, no. 140.

MSS (excerpts): BL Add. 37790, fols. 135v–36v (part of chap. 4); BL Harley 1706, fols. 20r–24v (chap. 5); Bod. Douce 322, fols. 20r–25v (chap. 5); CUL Ff.5.45, fols. 14r–22v (chap. 5); CUL Hh.1.11, fols. 45–53v (part of chap. 6).

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Tretyse of ye Seuen Poyntes*; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 104; Hogg, "Selected Texts," 69–77; Horstmann, "*Orologium Sapientiae*," 357; Wichgraf, "Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*."

54. 43v–44v. Excerpts from Chap. 4 of *Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom* (trans. from Suso, *Horologium sapientiae*)

Inc.: "In þe felischip of saints whilk as þe morne sterne schane"

Ref.: *IPMEP* 465; Jolliffe I.23; *MWME* XXIII [80]; Revell, no. 139.

MSS (excerpts): BL Add. 37790, fols. 135v–36v (part of chap. 4); BL Harley 1706, fols. 20r–24v (chap. 5); Bod. Douce 322, fols. 20r–25v (chap. 5); CUL Ff.5.45, fols. 14r–22v (chap. 5); CUL Hh.1.11, fols. 45–53v (part of chap. 6).

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Tretyse of ye Seuen Poyntes*; College, *Chastising*, 10 and n.3; Horstmann, "*Orologium Sapientiae*," 353; Wichgraf, "Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*."

55. 45r. Prayer by the Pains of the Passion

Inc.: "Thy mighty mercy kyng of blis / My syn and me be þu ay betwix"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 3732; Revell, no. 52.

Bib.: Comper, *Spiritual Songs*, 131–32; Hardman, "Reading the Spaces," 262; Riggio, "Wisdom Enthroned," fig. 1.

56. 45v. Continuation of Complaint of Christ on the Cross (stanzas 10–23)

Inc.: "On galows hy" (?-top line cropped off) / "3it stand a while and þink no lange"

See item 62 (fol. 67v).

*57. 45v. Dialogue between St. Peter the Dominican and the Crucifix

Prose Inc.: "It is sayd of saynt petyr of þe ordyr of prechours"

Verse Inc.: "Ihesu criste gods sone / þt on þe rode wald be done"

Ref.: *MWME* VII[12]; *NIMEV* 1673.

Bib.: Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 100.

58. 46r–66v. *Desert of Religion*

Inc.: *Elongavi fugiens et mansi in solitudine* "Dauyd þat prophet was ay / In þe sawter boke þus"

Ref.: *MWME* XX [175]; *NIMEV* 672.

MSS: BL Cotton Faustina B.vi, pt. II, fols. 3–23v; BL Stowe 39, fols. 10v–31v.

Bib.: Girard, "De l'image," 151; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 112; Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, 109, figs. 71–72; Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, 153–54; Hamburger, "Use of Images," 229–30; Hennessy, "Aspects of Blood Piety," fig. 2; Hübner, "*Desert of Religion*"; McGovern-Mouron, "*Desert*"; McGovern-Mouron, "Edition of the *Desert of Religion*"; Mouron, "Rhetoric of Religion," 148–56, figs. 1, 2; Mullaney, "Fashion and Morality," 76–77; Renevey, "Name Poured Out," 141–45, fig.1.

59. 52v. Rollean Lyric

Inc.: "I syt and syng of / of luf langyng"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 1367.3, 1715/2. Cf. *NIMEV* 91.8.

Bib.: Allen, *English Writings*, lxiv; Allen, *Writings*, 309–10; Gray, "Mystical Lyrics," fig. 2; Hübner, "*Desert of Religion*," 74.

*60. 67r. Lyric on Heavenly Heights

Inc.: "The cyte of heuen is set on so hye a hylle"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 3322.1.

Bib.: Renevey, "Name Poured Out" 145, fig. 2.

*61. 67r. Lyric of Moral Counsel

Inc.: "Thoughts ar so sotell and so slee"

Ref.: *MWME* XXII[190]; *NIMEV* 3707.7.

62. 67v. Complaint of Christ on the Cross

Inc.: "Her kyn wordes swete and goode"

Ref.: *MWME* XXIV[123]; *NIMEV* 1119.

MSS: BL Arundel 285, fols. 164v–68; Edinburgh UL 205, fols. 200v–201 (st. 1–20 only).

Bib.: Bennett, *Devotional Pieces*, 261–65; Bliss, *Bibliographical Misc.*, 48–51; Brie, "Skelton Studien," 22–26 (corrected misattrib.); Brown XV, no. 102; Dyce, *Skelton* (false attrib.); Dyce and Child, *Skelton and Donne* 1:144; Gill, "Role of Images," fig. 10.1; Gray, "Mystical Lyrics," fig. 1; Greene, *Early English Carols*, 189–90; Henderson, *Skelton*, 21–24; Kele, *Christmas Carolles*; Reed, *Xmas Carols*, 20–23; Stevens and Cawley, eds., *Towneley Plays*, 342–46; Stevenson, *Pieces from the Makculloch and the Gray MSS*, 33–36; Taylor, "Relation," 26–27; Woolf, *English Religious Lyrics* 202–5, pl. 2; Twycross, "Beyond the Picture Theory," fig. 21.

*63. 68r. Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (acephalous)

Inc.: "þe tent ioy had our lady at þe feste of Architriclyne"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 3483.5; Revell, no. 106.

64. 68v. Acts of the Passion / Seven Gifts of Remembrance

Inc. (Acts of the Passion): "Man take hede on þe day or on þe nyght"

Ref.: *MWME* XX[227j]; *NIMEV* 2075; Revell, no. 40.

Inc. (Gifts of Remembrance): "Take hede man how þe Iewes dyd cry"

Ref.: *MWME* XX[227j]; *NIMEV* 3251; Revell, no. 40.Bib.: Barratt, "Primer and Its Influences," 272; Hennessy, "Passion Devotion" 251–52; Mullaney, "Fashion and Morality," 78 (cited as fol. 59v); Pezzini, "Quattro poesie inedite inglesi"; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*; 223–24.65. 69r. Excerpts from the *Prick of Conscience*Inc.: *In omnibus operibus tuis memorare nouissima tua et in eternum non peccaberis* "þat is on Ynglysche þus to say/he sayd thynke on þine ending day"Ref.: *IMEV* 3428/D; *MWME* XX[18]; *NIMEV* 3428/100; Revell, no. 179.

MSS (excerpts): BL Add. 36983, fols. 159r–174v; BL Royal 17 C.xvii, fols. 117r–124r; Bod. Rawl. C.285, fol. 39r; Bod. Rawl. D.913, fols. 9r–v, 62r–v; CUL Dd.5.55, fol. 101v; CUL Ff.5.40, fols. 113v–114r; Lincoln Cathedral 91, fols. 276v–277r; TCC O.2.0, fols. 104r–105r, 119r–v.

Bib.: Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?" 148–49; Hogg, "Unpublished Texts," 266–67; Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:372–73 (Thornton MS); Morris, ed., *Pricke of Conscience*.

66. 69v–70r. *The Apple of Solace*, from *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (4.1–2)

Inc.: “Now gode angel telle me what zondyr pepyl menes þat plays and has þair solace with zon appyll”

Ref.: *IPMEP* 75 (only partial ed.); *MWME* XX [193]; Revell, no. 134.

MSS: BL Add. 34193, fols. 57–58v; BL Egerton 615, fols. 56v–58; Bod. Bodley 770, fols. 53v–55v; CGCC 124/61; CUL Kk.1.7, fols. 64–67; Hatfield House, MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94; NYPL Spencer 19; OCCC 237; OUC 181, fols. 80–82v.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*; Clubb, “ME Pilgrimage of the Soul,” 184–85, 187–88 (mostly corresponding); Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 109; Hogg, “Unpublished Texts,” 268–70

67. 70v. Thomas Hoccleve, “*Cantus peregrinorum*” in *Pilgrimage of the Soul*

Inc.: “Honoured be blyssed lord on hy / þat of the blyssed mayndyn was borne”

Ref.: *MWME* VIII [39]; *NIMEV* 1247; Revell, no. 187.

MSS: BL Add. 34193, fol. 31; BL Egerton 615, fol. 29r–v; Bod. Bodley 770, fol. 24r–v; CGCC 124/61, pp. 38–39; CUL Kk.1.7, fol. 34r–v; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94, fol. 125r–v; NYPL Spencer 19, fol. 35; OCCC 237, fols. 47v–48; OUC 181, fols. 40v–41.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, D7r–v; Clubb, “ME Pilgrimage of the Soul,” 101–4; Cust, *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, 44 (2 stanzas only); Furnivall, ed., *Hoccleve’s Works*, xxxii–xxxiii; Gray “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 105; Hogg, “Selected Texts,” 77–80.

68. 70v–71r. Thomas Hoccleve, “*Cantus angelorum*” in *Pilgrimage of the Soul*

Inc.: “Almyghty lord oure blistful lord Jhesu / þou mororwre of þe blissed fadyr in maieste”

Ref.: *MWME* VIII [40]; *NIMEV* 263.

MSS: BL Add. 34193, fol. 31v; BL Egerton 615, fols. 29v–30; Bod. Bodley 770, fol. 24v; CGCC 124/61, pp. 39–40; CUL Kk.1.7, fols. 34v–35; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94, fols. 125v–26; OCCC 237, fol. 48r–v; OUC 181, fols. 41v–42; NYPL Spencer 19, fol. 35v.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, D7v–8; Clubb, “ME Pilgrimage of the Soul,” 104; Cust, *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, 45–46; Furnivall, ed. *Hoccleve’s Works*, xxxiii–xxxiv; Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 105.

69. 71r–v. Thomas Hoccleve, “The Aungelles Songe within Heuene” in *Pilgrimage of the Soul*

Inc.: “Al worschip wisdom welthe and worthynes / Al bownte bewte ioy and blystfulhede”

Ref.: *MWME* VIII [41]; *NIMEV* 233.

MSS: BL Add. 34193, fol. 32r; BL Egerton 615, fols. 30r–31r; Bod. Bodley 770, fol. 25r–v; CGCC 124/61, pp. 40–42; CUL Kk.1.7, fols. 35r–36r; OCCC 237, fol. 49r–v; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94, fols. 126r–27r; NYPL Spencer 19, fol. 36v; OUC 181, fols. 42r–43r.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, D8–E1v; Clubb, “ME Pilgrimage of the Soul,” 105–7; Cust, *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, 46–47; Furnivall, ed., *Hoccleve’s Works*, xxxiv–xxxv; Gray, *English Medieval Religious Lyrics*, no. 92; Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 105.

70. 72r. Excerpts from the *Prick of Conscience*

Inc. “Alle þe warlde wyde and brade”

Ref.: *IMEV* 3428/E; *MWME* XX[18]; *NIMEV* 3428/100; Revell, no. 145.

MSS (excerpts): BL Add. 36983, fols. 159r–74v; BL Royal 17 C.xvii, fols. 117r–24r; Bod.

Rawl. C.285, fol. 39r; Bod. Rawl D.913, fols. 9r–v, 62r–v; CTC O.2.0, fols. 104r–5r, 119r–v; CUL Dd.5.55, fol. 101v; CUL Ff.5.40, fols. 113v–14r; Lincoln Cathedral 91, fols. 276v–77r.

Bib.: Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 110; Hogg, “Unpublished Texts,” 271–72;

Horstmann, *Yorksire Writers*, 1:372–73 (Thornton MS); Morris, ed., *Pricke of Conscience*.

71. 72v–73r. Flowchart of Redemption

Bib.: Davidson and Seiler, eds., *Iconography of Hell*, 10–11, fig. 8; Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 106; Matsuda, “Pictorial Compendium”; Mellick, “Defence”; Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, 52–55, pl. 20; O’Reilly, *Iconography of the Virtues and Vices*, 226–58; Schmidt, *Iconography of the Mouth of Hell*, 158–64; Wormald, “Some Popular Miniatures,” 281–83.

72. 73v. Dialogue in *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (Part 2, chaps. 12–13)

Inc.: “Nowe gode angel telle me whedyr þe fende þat has so gret delyte to dysceyfe”

Ref.: *IPMEP* 75 (only partial ed.); *MWME* XX [193]; *MWME* VII [11]; Revell, no. 134; Revell, no. 175.

MSS: BL Add. 34193, fols. 40r–41r; BL Egerton 615, fols. 39r–40r; Bod. Bodley 770, fol. 34r–v; CGCC 124/61; CUL Kk.1.7, fols. 43v–45r; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94; NYPL Spencer 19; OCCC 237; OUC 181, fols. 54r–56r.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*; Clubb, “ME Pilgrimage of the Soul,” 131–34; Hogg, “Morbid Preoccupation?” 149–51; Hogg, “Unpublished Texts.”

73. 74r. A Vision of Damned Souls from *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (Part 2, chap. 6) (“A Vision of Saules þat war Dampned”)

Prose Inc.: “Here folows a vysion of saules þt war dampned and put to helle aftyr þir jugement and how þai ar deformed and myschapyñ”

Ref.: *IPMEP* 75 (only partial ed.); *MWME* XX [193]. Cf. *MWME* VII [11].

Verse Inc.: “Cum follow me my frendes vnto helle”

Ref.: *NIMEV* 637; Revell, no. 185.

MSS: BL Add. 34193, fol. 34r; BL Egerton 615, fol. 33r; Bod. Bodley 770, fol. 27r–v; CGCC 124/61; CUL Kk.1.7, fol. 37v; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94; NYPL Spencer 19; OCCC 237; OUC 181, fols. 45v–47r.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*; Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 221; Clubb, "ME Pilgrimage of the Soul," 113–14; Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 101, 104; Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?" 151–52; Ross, "'Emblem' Verses," 279–81.

74. 74v–75r. Thomas Hoccleve, "The Angels' Second Song within Heaven" in *Pilgrimage of the Soul*

Inc.: "Honord be þu blyssed Ihesu / and prayed mot þou be in euere place"

Ref.: *MWME* VIII [42]; *NIMEV* 1246; Revell, no. 191.

MSS: BLAdd. 34193, fol. 32v; BL Egerton 615, fol. 31r–v; Bod. Bodley 770, fol. 25v; CGCC 124/61, pp. 42–43; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94, fol. 127r–v; NYPL Spencer 19, fol. 37v; OCCC 237, fols. 49v–50r; OUC 181, fol. 43r–v.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, E1v–2; Clubb, "ME Pilgrimage of the Soul," 108–9; Cust, *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, 48–49; Furnivall, ed., *Hoccleve's Works*, xxxvii–xxxviii; Hogg, "Selected Texts," 81.

*75. 75v. Vision of St. Antony

Inc.: "Opon a nyght a voyce come to saynt Anton"

Ref.: Revell, no. 110.

Bib.: Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 101n6.

76. 76r. Thomas Hoccleve, "Angels' Song on Epiphany" in *Pilgrimage of the Soul*

Inc.: "Honourd be þis holy feste day / In worschip of þe swete welle of lyfe"

Ref.: *MWME* VIII [46]; *NIMEV* 1242; Revell, no. 189.1.

MSS: BLAdd. 34193, fol. 93; BL Egerton 615, fol. 99r–v; Bod. Bodley 770, fol. 94r–v; CGCC 124/61, p. 238; CUL Kk.1.7, fol. 119r–v; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94, fols. 204v–5 (additional stanza); NYPL Spencer 19, fol. 124; OCCC 237, fol. 128r–v; OUC 181, fol. 143r–v.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, N5v; Clubb, "ME Pilgrimage of the Soul," 316–17; Furnivall, ed. *Hoccleve's Works*, xlvii–xlviii; Hogg, "Selected Texts," 82–85.

77. 76r–v. Thomas Hoccleve, "Angels' Song on Easter Day" in *Pilgrimage of the Soul*

Inc.: "Honoured be þou Ihesu saueoure / þat for man kynde was done on þe rode"

Ref.: *MWME* VIII [47]; *NIMEV* 1249; Revell, no. 189.2.

MSS: BLAdd. 34193, fol. 93v; BL Egerton 615, fol. 100r–v; Bod. Bodley 770, fol. 95; CGCC 124/61, pp. 240–241; CUL Kk.1.7, fol. 120r–v; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94, fol. 205v; NYPL Spencer 19, fol. 125; OCCC 237, fol. 129r–v; OUC 181, fol. 144r–v.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, N6v; Clubb, "ME Pilgrimage of the Soul," 319–20; Cust, *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, 78–79; Furnivall, ed. *Hoccleve's Works*, xlviii–xlix; Hogg, "Selected Texts," 82–85.

78. 76v–77r. Thomas Hoccleve, "The Song of Graces of All Saints" in *Pilgrimage of the Soul*

Inc.: "Honourd be þou blyssedful lord abofe / þt vowchest safe þis iornay for to take"

Ref.: *MWME* VIII [48]; *NIMEV* 1244; Revell, no. 189.3.

MSS: BL Add. 34193, fol. 94r-v; BL Egerton 615, fol. 101; Bod. Bodley 770, fols. 95v-96; CGCC 124/61, p. 243; CUL Kk.1.7, fol. 121v; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94, fols. 206v-7; NYPL Spencer 19, fol. 126; OCCC 237, fols. 130v-31; OUC 181, fols. 145v-46.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, N7v; Clubb, "ME Pilgrimage of the Soul," 322-23; Furnivall, ed. *Hoccleve's Works*, 1; Gray, *English Medieval Religious Lyrics*, no. 3; Hogg, "Selected Texts," 82-85.

79. 77r. Thomas Hoccleve, "Song of Angels and All Saints at Pentecost" in *Pilgrimage of the Soul*

Inc.: "Honored be þe þu holy gost in hye / þat vn to þe pepyl of so pore estate"

Ref.: *MWME* VIII[49]; *NIMEV* 1248; Revell, No. 189.4.

MSS: BL Add. 34193, fol. 95; BL Egerton 615, fol. 102r-v; Bod. Bodley 770, fol. 96v; CGCC 124/61, pp. 246-47; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, unfoliated; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94, fols. 208v-9 (2 additional stanzas); NYPL Spencer 19, fol. 128; OCCC 237, fol. 132r-v; OUC 181, fol. 147r-v.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, N8v-Oi; Clubb, "ME Pilgrimage of the Soul," 326-27; Cust, *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, 80-81; Furnivall, ed., *Hoccleve's Works*, li; Hogg, "Selected Texts on Heaven and Hell," 82-85.

*80. 77v. Celestial Hierarchy, *Te Deum*, and John 10:9

Inc.: "*Te deum laudamus te dominum confitemur* / O þu al myghty god þe we lofe and þe lord we mak knowlege þe everlastyng fader al erthe worschips"

Inc.: "*Ego sum ostium per me si quis introverit saluabitur* / I am dore be me if any entyr in he sal be safed"

*81. 78r-79r. Tract on Orders of Angels

Inc.: "Saynt Dynnes says þt þer ar neyne ordyrs of angels"

*82. 79v-80r. Heavenly City with Christ in Majesty and Four Evangelists

Inc.: "Saynt Austyn says *quod regnum celorum nulli clauditur nisi excluserit* / þat is þe kyngdom of heuens is stokyn to none bot to hym þat excludes hym selfe perfro"

83. 80v. Lyric on Heavenly Vision

Inc.: "Behald man and þi þoght vp lede"

Ref.: *NIMEV* 493; Revell, no. 182.

Bib.: Hogg, "Unpublished Texts," 273-74.

84. 80v-81r. Heavenly Procession with Cart of the Faith, Wise and Foolish Virgins

Inc.: "The kyngdom of heuens is lykkynd to ten vyrgyns"

Bib.: Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 105-6; Hogg, "Unpublished Texts," 275; Renevey, "Name Poured Out," 146-47; Salter, *English and International*, pl. 5.

*85. 81v. Prose Note on the Ascension

Inc.: "Ascendens Christus in altum dedit dona hominibus / þat is cryste ascendyng in to hyght gaf gyfts to men"

Ref.: Revell, no. 63.

86. 82r–84r. Excerpt from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (Part 2, chaps. 20–27), with added exemplum (“A dysputacion betwyx þe saule and þe body when it is past oute of þe Body”)

Inc.: “þe saule sayd to þe body þus art þu þere þou wretchyd body so horribill and fowle stynkyng wormes mete”

Ref.: *IPMEP* 75 (only partial ed.); *MWME* VII[18k]; Revell, no. 176; cf. *MWME* XX[193].

MSS: BL Add. 34193, fols. 45r–47v; BL Egerton 615, fols. 44v–46v; Bod. Bodley 770, fols. 39r–42r; CGCC 124/61; CUL Kk.1.7, fols. 51r–53v; HH MS Cecil Papers 270, fols. 28r–30r; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS *096/G94; NYPL Spencer 19; OCCC 237; OUC 181, fols. 61v–65v.

Bib.: Caxton, ed., *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, Fv–Fviii; Clubb, “ME Pilgrimage of the Soul,” 147–54; Dudley, *Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and the Soul*, 149n; Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 104, 113; Hogg, “Selected Texts,” 85–89; Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, 158, 160, 162–63, 166–67; Matsuda, “Presence of Purgatory.”

87. 84v. *Versa est in luctum cithara mea*

Inc.: “Allas ful warly for wo may I syngē”

Ref.: *NIMEV* 149.

Bib.: Gray, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 112–13; Hogg, “Morbid Preoccupation?” 146–47; Ross, “Emblem’ Verses,” 281–82.

88. 85r–86r. Moral Distichs

Inc.: “Bot witt pas wylle / Vyce wil vertewe spylle” (prefaced by quatrain, “Fyrst þu sal luf god and drede”)

Ref.: *MWME* XXII[69] (cf. *MWME* XXII[105], XXII[136], XXII[216]); *NIMEV* 558 (incl. *NIMEV* 324, 906, 3088, 4117).

Bib.: Brunner, “Mittelenglische Disticha,” 86–92; Edwards, “Chaucer’s ‘Lak of Stedfastnesse’”; Louis, *Commonplace Book*, 396.

89. 86v. ABC of Aristotle (“þis is þe a.b.c. of arystotyll of gode doctrine”)

Inc.: “To amoros to awnteros / ne angyr not þi selfe”

Ref.: *MWME* XXII[31]; *NIMEV* 3793. Cf. *NIMEV* 471, *NIMEV* 4155.

MSS (without preface): BL Add. 60577, fol. 56v; BL Add. 36983, fol. 263r–v (variant first line); BL Harley 541, fol. 228; BL Harley 1706, fol. 94r; BL Harley 5086, fol. 90v; Bod. Lat. misc. c.66, fol. 26v; Bod. Rawl. B.196, fol. 110v; TCC O.2.53, fol. 69v; TCD 509, p. 104.

MSS (with unrhymed alliterative preface): BL Harley 541, fol. 213r–v; BL Harley 1304, fol. 103r–v; Bod. Douce 384, fol. 3 (last 11 lines only); CUL Ff.5.48, fols. 8v–9r; Lambeth 853, pp. 30–32.

Bib.: Förster, “Das stabreimende ABC des Aristoteles”; Furnivall, ed., *Babees Book*, 11–12; Furnivall, ed., *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, 65–67; Robbins, “Humfrey Newton,” 259–60; Rust, “By Order of the Alphabet,” 72–73; Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 398.

90. 86v. Verse Warning against Lending

Inc.: I lente my godes to my frende

Ref.: *MWME* XXII[130]; *NIMEV* 1297 (usu. four lines).

MSS: BL Cotton Titus A. xxvi, fol. 173v (var.); BL Harley 116, fol. 170v; BL Harley 4800, fol. 54r (var.); BL Stowe 951, fol. 31; Bod. Laud Misc. 23, fol. 114v; Bod. Rawl. D.328, fol. 168r (var.); CUL Ee.4.35 (Part I), fol. 5v; Glasgow UL, Hunterian 409, fol. 27r (6 verses); Lambeth 491, f. 323.

Bib.: Cumming, *Revelations of Saint Birgitta*, xviii; Kaiser, *Medieval English*, 550; Robbins, *Secular Lyrics*, 81, 255; Rust, "By Order of the Alphabet," 78.

91. 86v–87r. Dialogue between the Late Emperor Antiochenus and His Son

Inc.: "Vincencius in Speculo historiali telles how þer was ane emperour"

Ref.: *MWME* VII[25]; *NIMEV* 789.

Bib.: Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 100, 114; Gray, *Themes and Images*, 206–7, pl. 8; Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, 243; Mullaney, "Fashion and Morality," 79–80; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 63–66, fig. 266b.

92. 87v–89v. On Active and Contemplative Life ("Of actyfe lyfe and contemplatyfe declaracion")

Prose Inc.: "I beseke þe reuerent doctour to informe me þe way of goode lyfyng"

Ref.: *IPMEP* 319; Jolliffe H.11; *MWME* XXXIII[84]. Cf. *IPMEP* 784.

Verse Inc.: "Fyrst þou sal make knowlege to god of heuen"

Ref.: *MWME* XX[24] (cited as fol. 87a); *MWME* XX[211] (verse, Version B); *NIMEV* 804. Cf. Jolliffe O.2.

MSS: Compare BL Add. 37790, fols. 234r–36r.

Bib.: Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 101, 111–12; Hogg, "Unpublished Texts," 276–84; Jolliffe, "Two ME Tracts," 88–111.

93. 89v–94r. Against Despair ("Agayne despayre") (fols. 91v–94r incorporate material from "Remedies against Temptations," trans. William Flete, *De remediis contra temptaciones*)

Inc.: "Worthy doctour I beseke þe to declare vnto þe ese and to exclude þe heuynes of my herte sum dowtes and mocions wt þe whilk I am mefeld" (cf. "For asmoche as thapostle sayth yat we may not pleyse god wythout good fayth")

Ref.: Jolliffe K.8(a); Jolliffe K.8(b); Jolliffe K.14; *MWME* XXIII[75]. Cf. *IPMEP* 230; *IPMEP* 528.

MSS: BL Harley 6615, fols. 142v–52v; Bristol Public Library 6, fols. 121v–27v; CUL Hh.1.11, fols. 61r–68r; Glasgow, UL Hunterian 520, pp. 315–35; Leeds University Brotherton 501, fols. 86v–88v; Longleat Marquis of Bath 29, fols. 69r–72v.

Bib.: Colledge and Chadwick, "Remedies against Temptations," 201; Hackett, "William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*," 330–48; Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, "William Flete *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*," 224–26; Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* 2:106–23; Worde, ed., *Remedy*.

- *94. 94r-v. The Drowned Sacristan (damaged)
 Inc.: "Also it is gode for to hafe a special luf"
 Ref.: *Catalogue of Romances*, 2.604, no. 8; *MWME* XXIV [73, Version C].
- *95. 94v. A Hand on the Scales of Justice (damaged)
 Ref.: *MWME* XXIV [90, Version B], cf. [72], [184].
- *96. 94v-95r. A Compact with the Devil Rescinded
 Ref.: *MWME* XXIV [55], cf. [105], [63], [163].
- *97. 95r. A Monk of Cluny Rescued from Despair
 Ref.: *MWME* XXIV [113].
- *98. 95r. The Devil and a Young Man Make a Charter (damaged)
 Ref.: *MWME* XXIV [63]; cf. [55], [141].
- *99. 95v. The Virgin Bares Her Breasts for a Sinner
 Ref.: *MWME* XXIV [170]; cf. [86], [175].
- *100. 95v. The Knight Who Refused to Abjure Our Lady (damaged)
 Ref.: *MWME* XXIV [105]; cf. [55].
 MSS: BL MS Add. 25719, no 555; Durham Dean and Chapter MS 1.2; Archidiaconus
 Dunelm 60, dorso.
 Bib.: Wright, "Durham Play."
101. 96r. Tract on God's Mercy and Justice
 Inc.: "Mykil folks þer is þat hopes þt god wil dampne no man"
 Ref.: Revell, no.8.
 Bib.: Diekstra, "Mutilated Tract on God's Mercy and Justice," 214-22; Hogg, "Morbid
 Preoccupation?" 155-56.

Notes

CHAPTER I. *Introduction: The Performance of Reading*

1. France is quoted in Benjamin, "Unpacking my Library," 60.

2. This is not to say that the format of printed books is not revealing. Among many useful studies of the subject, see, e.g., Chartier, *Forms and Meanings*; Chartier, *Order of Books*. For a superb localized study, see McKenzie, "Typography and Meaning." See also McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, especially "The Book as an Expressive Form."

3. For a particularly unnerving example of critical misreading, see the case cited by Wenzel, "Poets, Preachers, and the Plight of Literary Critics." See further the cautions of Boffey, "Middle English Lyrics," and of Robinson, *Editing of Old English*, 25–35.

4. Thinking about orality, literacy, and the interaction of the two has a long history in medieval scholarship, from the anthropological investigations of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord (and the contested application of their oral-formulaic theories of composition to medieval vernacular literatures), to the more historical studies of Walter Ong, Brian Stock, M. T. Clanchy, and Paul Zumthor, among others. A useful overview, with references, can be found in Green, "Orality and Reading"; see further Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*. More recently, see Amodio, *Writing the Oral Tradition*; Bradbury, *Writing Aloud*; Amodio, ed., *New Directions in Oral Theory*; Amodio, ed., *Oral Poetics in Middle English Poetry*; and Chinca and Young, eds., *Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages*.

5. Coleman, most notably, has argued that the widespread practice of reading texts out loud should complicate our identification of the late-medieval reader as "private"; see *Public Reading and the Reading Public*. See also the wide-ranging case studies presented in Boyarin, ed., *Ethnography of Reading*, especially Howe, "Cultural Construction." Nonetheless, critics have focused more often on the shift to an ever

more completely silent, visual, and literate reading culture; see, e.g., Huot, *From Song to Book*; Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*; and the extensive work of Paul Saenger, especially “Silent Reading,” “Books of Hours,” and *Space between Words*.

6. In Huot’s account of performative dynamics in secular manuscripts, “the scribe assumes a role analogous to the performer: he is an intermediary between the audience and the story, and the book is the space in which his written ‘performance’ takes place” (*From Song to Book*, 26). Zumthor, however, acknowledges that readerly activity can reconstitute, however distantly, a performative element in the text. See *Performance, Réception, Lecture*, 76–77. For a provocative reverse argument—not that a reader becomes an actor, but that an actor is primarily a reader—see Cole, *Acting as Reading*.

7. On monastic reading, see, e.g., Leclercq, *Love of Learning and the Desire for God*; and Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*. More recently, see Burton-Christie, *Word in the Desert*; Griffiths, *Religious Reading*; and Pranger, *Artificiality of Christianity*. For a study of literature’s debt to meditative practice, see Despres, *Ghostly Sights*. See also Carruthers’s influential studies of medieval memory as an active way of constructing thoughts through cognitive imagery: *Book of Memory* and *Craft of Thought*. Carruthers explores the relation of mnemonics to performance explicitly in “Rhetorical *Ductus*.” Similarly active accounts of medieval reading practices are given by, e.g., Amsler, “Affective Literacy”; and Huot, “Polytextual Reading.”

8. *Rothschild Canticles*, 166.

9. *Poetry of Meditation*, xxxi. See also *Meditative Poem*; “Meditation as Poetic Strategy”; and “Poetry of Meditation.”

10. Zumthor, “Text and the Voice,” 68.

11. Carruthers, for example, in her studies of the medieval memorial arts, notes that the language of performance, and even the metaphor of theater, can be used to describe active, creative reading practices. See *Book of Memory*, 181–83, 333n94; and especially *Craft of Thought*, 174–75, 178, 291n102, 314n21. Emile Mâle observes that the author of the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes* has “the instinct for drama” (*L’Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge*, 36). Taylor characterizes late-medieval private readers as “participants in what might now be thought of as an almost cinematographic mental drama” (“Into His Secret Chamber,” 46).

12. In an exception that proves this rule, the tenth-century nun Hrotsvitha wrote Latin plays in imitation of Terence that were probably never performed. Compare also certain Middle English lyrics—those of William Herebert, James Ryman, William Shoreham, and John Audelay—which have been called “closet hymns” (Robbins, *Secular Lyrics*, xxi). Others believe that these lyrics were performed; see, e.g., Jeffrey, “Early English Carols.”

13. The earliest English examples usually cited are Fulke Greville’s *Mustapha* and John Milton’s *Samson Agonistes*. The nineteenth century’s fondness for the unperformed play is exemplified by Charles Lamb’s famous opinion that “the Lear of Shakespeare cannot be acted”; see “On the Tragedies of Shakespeare,” 104.

14. In spite of the seeming antitheatricality of the genre, recent critics are more likely to argue that closet drama necessarily offers its readers “implicit reflections on

theater" (Raber, *Dramatic Difference*, 28). For a provocative and wide-ranging study of the impact of printed plays on theatrical performance, see Peters, *Theatre of the Book*.

15. BLAdd. 37049 measures 10¾ in. × 8 in., and is written for the most part on paper. The only complete description of the manuscript to date (though it is somewhat unreliable) remains the British Library catalogue entry: *Catalogue 1900–1905*, 324–32.

16. All the records at the Munich branch of Rosenthal were lost in the 1930s; see Hogg, "Unpublished Texts," 241n1. See further Angermair et al., *Die Rosenthals*. A tantalizing clue to the manuscript's European circulation, if not to its ultimate provenance, is given by Allen, who notes that a woodcut of the *Ego Dormio* picture (fol. 30v) was owned in 1910 by W. T. Freemantle, Esq., of Barbot Hall, Rotherham. This woodcut was "given him by a friend who had discovered the manuscript, apparently abroad, and Mr. Freemantle believed that the cut had been reproduced in a foreign periodical" (*Writings*, 307–8n2). The woodcut is reproduced in Freemantle, *Bibliography of Sheffield and Vicinity*, pl. 38. Possible traces of provenance on the manuscript's flyleaves include "No. 94," "181c," and an unidentified Latin fragment.

17. *LALME* locates the manuscript's language in Nottinghamshire (Hand A), Lincolnshire (Hand B), and the West Riding of Yorkshire (Hand D) (1:102). On the basis of costume, Scott has dated the manuscript to c. 1460–70; *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:193. Doyle has added watermark evidence to corroborate a "middle or third quarter of the fifteenth century" date: "English Carthusian Books," 128. For discussion of the manuscript's Carthusian connections, see below, chap. 2.

18. Additional 37049 includes excerpts from the *Prick of Conscience* (some 105 MSS) and the *Speculum Christiani* (49 MSS), as well as "The Short Charter of Christ" (24 MSS), "The ABC of Aristotle" (15 MSS), and Chaucer's "Lak of Stedfastnesse" (18 MSS). These numbers are taken from the *NIMEV*.

19. "Some Popular Miniatures," 279.

20. Hogg, ed., *Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Religious Miscellany*. Volumes 1 and 2, which are to include notes and critical commentary, have yet to appear.

21. The manuscript, although cited several times for comparative purposes, is not included in Scott's *Later Gothic Manuscripts*.

22. The *Catalogue* is not alone in calling these pictures "crude"; it is a favorite epithet (see, e.g., Allen, *Writings*, 307). Mellick has more recently argued for "balance and economy" in the miscellany's design ("Defence," 20), but it is not necessary to argue for the beauty of the drawings to recognize their interest. Art historians have demonstrated that unaccomplished images can reveal social and cultural, if not aesthetic, treasures. See, e.g., Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*; and Greenspan, "Medieval Iconographic Vernacular."

23. For a summary of the definitional problems surrounding "private" imagery, "devotional" imagery, and *Andachtsbilder* in the late Middle Ages, see, e.g., van Os, "Early Man of Sorrows"; Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 30–39, 52–58, and references there. I will follow Ringbom in using the words functionally, rather than thematically: "private" imagery is simply used in solitude, just as "private reading" is done alone.

24. For an exception, see Riddy, "Provenance of *Quia Amore Languet*."

25. Plates are reproduced, for example, in Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, figs. 1, 2,

and 3b; Gray, *Themes and Images*, figs. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, and 10; Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*, fig. 9.

26. Höltgen, "Arbor, Scala, und Fons Vitae." See also Ross, "Emblem' Verses."

27. For a variety of such concrete examples, see the influential article by Camille, "Seeing and Reading."

28. For a useful series of meditations on the value of whole-codex study, see Nichols and Wenzel, eds., *Whole Book*, especially Hanna, "Miscellaneity and Vernacularity."

29. See *Picture Theory*, 83–107. Mitchell means the term to have wide application, both to images and texts fused in the manner of Additional 37049, and also images and texts that would seem to be "unmixed." His counterintuitive claim is that every text or image is really an "imagetext," since the arts never achieve the purity to which they sometimes aspire, and textuality is inescapably mixed up with visuality (94–107). Nonetheless, Mitchell acknowledges that certain mixed media ("films, plays, newspapers, cartoon strips, illustrated books") tackle the question directly. For a clear statement of the more general assertion, see also Mitchell, "Spatial Form in Literature."

30. Inscriptions in paintings or on monumental artworks might also be considered imagetexts, although they most often subordinate text to image. For an example, see Gillespie, "Medieval Hypertext."

31. The manuscripts are London, Wellcome Library Western MS 49; and Rome, Casanatense Library Codex 1404. The two are largely similar, but the Wellcome MS, which is probably one or two decades earlier, includes a medical section omitted in Casanatense. For comparative discussion, see Palmer and Speckenbath, *Träume und Kräuter*, especially Palmer, "Die Petronella 'Circa Instans' Handschrift"; Saxl, "Spiritual Encyclopedia"; Seebohm, "Crucified Monk"; and Wormald, "Crucifix and the Balance." For a consideration of Additional 37049 as an English version of such a book, see Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia."

32. Analogous material from these manuscripts includes the following: *Vado mori* verses, emblematic trees of virtue and vice, debates between body and soul, the unicorn apologue from *Barlaam and Josaphat*, various *artes moriendi*, *O vos omnes* verses, and wagons drawn by beasts of the evangelists. For further discussion of the iconography these manuscripts share with Additional 37049, see chapter 3.

33. Starkey, *Reading the Medieval Book*, especially 143–48. For another account of the ways in which secular reading becomes performative, see Vitz, "Erotic Reading."

34. For an important study of "visionary ordinatio" (xii) in Douce 104 and similar scribe-illustrated manuscripts, see Kerby-Fulton and Despres, *Iconography and the Professional Reader*, especially 119–86. The authors mention Additional 37049 as an analogue to the manuscripts they consider more closely, and they consider it "performative," but the Carthusian miscellany shares neither the political context nor the Irish clerical provenance that most interest them (see 11–12, 153–59). For other English manuscripts with marginal illustrations, see also Scott, "Illustrations of *Piers Plowman*."

35. For critics considering the relation primarily from the point of view of the drama, see Craddock, "Franciscan Influences on Early English Drama"; Davidson, "Northern Spirituality and the Late Medieval Drama of York"; Jeffrey, "Franciscan

Spirituality and the Rise of Early English Drama”; Robinson, “Late Medieval Cult of Jesus”; Sticca, “Drama and Spirituality”; and Twycross, “Books for the Unlearned.” For a more balanced emphasis, see Largier, “Scripture, Vision, Performance.”

36. For Love’s connections to the N-Town plays, see, e.g., Beadle, “‘Devoute Ymaginacioun’”; and Sargent, ed., *Nicholas Love’s Mirror*, lxxi–lxxii. For Kempe, see Meale, “This Is a Deed Bok, the Tother a Quick”; and Sponsler, “Drama and Piety.” On the relation between drama and spiritual literature of all kinds in the context of East Anglia, see Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*.

37. Among Mâle’s many influential works, see “La Renouveaulement de l’art par les ‘Mystères’”; *L’Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (translated into English as *The Gothic Image*). See also Pächt, *Rise of Pictorial Narrative*. Important manuscripts to have been considered in this light include the Queen Mary Psalter, the Holkham Bible Picture Book, and, most recently, the Egerton Genesis; see, e.g., Joslin and Watson, *Egerton Genesis*.

38. See, e.g., Davidson, *Illustrations of the Stage*; and Hildburgh, “English Alabaster Carvings.” For cautions about reading this kind of evidence, see Ventrone, “On the Use of Figurative Art”; and Balme, “Interpreting the Pictorial Record.”

39. For just a few examples, see Coletti, “Devotional Iconography in the N-Town Plays”; Collins, “Narrative Bible Cycles”; and Davidson, “Northern Spirituality and the Late Medieval Drama in York.”

40. For useful guides to regional iconography, see Davidson and O’Connor, eds., *York Art: A Subject List*; MacLean, *Chester Art: A Subject List*; and Palmer, *Early Art of the West Riding of Yorkshire*. More generally, see Davidson’s entire *Early Drama, Art, and Music* project, and the Records of Early English Drama series.

41. See especially Twycross, “Beyond the Picture-Theory.” Twycross’s ultimate point, however, is precisely that plays are different from illustrated books, because the presence of human actors in divine roles adds theological complexity to the dramatic experience that is absent from even animated pictures.

42. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery*, 1.

43. I echo the sentiments of Sheingorn and Bevington: “Our interest is not so much in asking which art form influenced the other—indeed, the very degree of proximity argues the likelihood of mutuality—as in the insight afforded concerning the nature of genre. Medieval drama differs from the other visual arts in many particulars, but it shares with them the appeal of the visual mode of perception by means of which all the visual arts enhance both narrative and iconic content through carefully chosen principles of composition” (“‘Alle This Was Token,’” 124). See also Bevington’s “Introduction,” in *Homo, Memento Finis*, 1–14; Sheingorn, “On Using Medieval Art in the Study of Medieval Drama”; Sheingorn, “Visual Language of Drama”; and Stevens, “Intertextuality of Late Medieval Art and Drama.”

44. Clopper has argued that the *Tretise* does not object to plays, specifically, but rather to *ludi* that “make jest of sacred events”; see “Miracula and the *Tretise of Miraculis Pleyinge*,” 878. But compare Olson, “Plays as Play.” For a recent discussion of the text’s Lollard sympathies, see Nissé, “Reversing Discipline.”

45. Davidson, ed., *A Tretise of Miraculis Pleyinge*, 97.

46. *Ibid.*, 104.

47. For a useful, if partisan, account of arguments on both sides of the iconoclastic controversy, see Jones, "Lollards and Images."

48. For a related reading of the ways in which "principled antipathy to theatre characteristically becomes, in medieval practice, constitutive of theatre," see Davis, "*Spectacula Christiana*," 147.

49. Cf. *MED*, "pagent," n. (d). On this sort of pageantry, see, e.g., Kipling, *Enter the King*.

50. Cf. *MED*, "pagent," n. (e) and (f).

51. Edwards, "Middle English *Pageant* 'Picture'?"

52. Edwards's examples are: a scribe's note in Cambridge, St. John's College MS 208 (H.5); a description of a manuscript in an entry for 1463 in the register of the Parish Fraternity of St. Botolph; and notations to illuminators in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237. On the Corpus Christi MS, however, see McGerr, "Pageants, Scaffolds, and Judgment Scenes."

53. See Thompson, "Pageants of Richard Beauchamp"; Carysfort, ed., *Pageants of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick*; Dillon and St. John Hope, eds., *Pageant of the Birth, Life, and Death of Richard Beauchamp*; Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. 1, pl. VII, nos. 9 and 10, p. 393; Withington, *English Pageantry*; and Sinclair, ed., *Beauchamp Pageant*. For a study of the artist of the Beauchamp Pageants, see Scott, *Caxton Master*.

54. See, e.g., Sinclair, ed., *Beauchamp Pageant*, 56, 67, and passim.

55. This etymological connection has also been noted in Spenser criticism. See, for example, Giamatti, *Play of Double Senses*, especially 78–93.

56. Cf. *MED*, "pagine," n. Also notable is the double use to which a "pagine" may be put (c1450(1410) Walton *Boeth.*(Lin.-C103)): "Men ben wont to *writen or portreyen Figures* in a pagyne faire and clene" (emphasis added).

57. Compare *MED*, "page," n. (2) (shortened from *pagent*, n.).

58. On the similarities between oral performances and manuscript "performances," see Dagenais, "That Bothersome Residue"; and Bauman and Briggs, "Poetics and Performance."

59. For different views on the structure of miscellanies and anthologies, as related particularly to BL MS Harley 2253, see Revard, "*Gilote et Jobane*"; and Stemmler, "Miscellany or Anthology." Huot usefully analyzes structural principles in a number of French anthologies (*From Song to Book*, 11–80). See also Boffey and Thompson, "Anthologies and Miscellanies"; Lerer, "Idea of the Anthology"; and, for a thoughtful history of the miscellany, Petrucci, "From Unitary Book to Miscellany."

60. Other possible groupings can be discerned. The *Desert of Religion*, the manuscript's longest text, is precisely in the middle. The excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* are clustered loosely. Images predominate at the start of the manuscript, but text at the end. None of these vague patterns is persistent enough to structure the book, however. For a similar assessment, see Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia."

61. Doty identifies four scribes ("An Edition of British Museum MS Additional 37049"). Although most of the codex is written in the main scribal hand (Doty's scribe A), the indulgences recorded on fols. 26v–27r exhibit a strikingly different script, and almost certainly a different hand, as well (Doty's scribe C). The crucifixion-poem at

the bottom of fol. 30r seems to have been written by a different scribe from the text at the top (Doty's scribe D). The *Desert of Religion*, fols. 46v–66v, presents a series of uncertainties: although it seems probable that the main text was written by a scribe different from the one who wrote the rest of the MS (Doty's scribe B), it is also likely that the rhymed captions were written by the main scribe. Hogg accepts Doty's conclusions in this case ("Unpublished Texts," 249–52).

The manuscript's drawings show an even more consistent style than its scripts. Only a few exceptions to the consistency of the artistic hand can be noted: the opening folios (see discussion below), perhaps the *Ego Dormio* picture (fol. 30v), and also perhaps the image of the Virgin (fol. 27r).

Whatever the variance of interpretation in these particular cases, most students of the manuscript have agreed that there is only one *primary* scribal hand at work throughout Additional 37049—scribe A—and that there is even more certainly only one primary artist. Markedly different stages in the preparation of the manuscript, therefore, cannot be discerned.

62. On fols. 80v–81r, to cite just one example, the integration of text and image is such that the two must have been conceived together. In addition, the same brownish ink seems to have been used throughout the manuscript for both text and drawings, suggesting their simultaneous creation; Ross notes such similarities on fols. 84v and 74r (see "Emblem' Verses," 276).

63. Mellick first noted this information about the watermark; see "Study of Text and Drawings," 90. See also Doyle, "English Carthusian Books," 135n70. Hogg has studied the patterns of damage to the manuscript in an effort to determine which parts of it, if any, might have circulated alone or bound in a different order. He finds discrepancies between fols. 10–11, 45–46, 66–67, and 73–74. But one cannot make too much of this evidence, as Hogg acknowledges, for the scribal hand often remains consistent even across such breaks ("Unpublished Texts," 247). Modern rebinding has unfortunately obliterated all evidence of the manuscript's original collation. I remain convinced, however, that in the fifteenth century the manuscript took something close to its present form.

64. For a study of scribe-illustrated manuscripts through the primary example of Bodleian MS Douce 104, see Kerby-Fulton and Despres, *Iconography and the Professional Reader*. More generally, see Reiter, "Reader as Author."

65. For a clarifying distinction between these late-medieval forms of seeing and earlier medieval ones, see Hahn, "Visio Dei." In the same collection, see also Camille, "Before the Gaze." On the anthology as a vehicle for religious experience in any period, see Griffiths, *Religious Reading*, especially 77–108.

66. For an example of how one religious miscellany can reveal "the devotional mind at work," see Hirsh, "Prayer and Meditation," 56.

67. In taking this perspective, I am influenced by a wide variety of reader-response criticism, particularly the *Receptionkritik* of Hans-Robert Jauss; see *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*. For useful overviews of the field, see Tompkins, ed., *Reader-Response Criticism*; Bennett, ed., *Readers and Reading*; and, for its particular relevance to medieval studies, Travis, "Affective Criticism."

68. The most common guesses are Axholme and Beauvale; see Doyle, “English Carthusian Books,” 128. For book culture generally in medieval Yorkshire, see Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 251–97; and, for Additional 37049 in its northern context, see Friedman, *Northern English Books*, 191–95.

69. Prominent images of Carthusian monks can be found, for example, on fols. 22r–v, 24r, 25v, 29v, 36v, 37v, 45r, 62v, 67v, 69v, and 91r.

70. Images of devout laypeople can be found on fols. 20r, 84v, 85r–v, 89v, 95r, 96r; Benedictines and other non-Carthusian monastic figures appear on fols. 37v, 58v, 59v, 69v.

71. Hogg cites the ordinances regulating reception dating from 1156 to 1589, and notes that this right of transference “caused a good deal of ill-feeling in the Middle Ages” (“Unpublished Texts,” 261n.a). See also the comparable contention in the Carthusian book, Bodleian MS e Museo 160, that Jesus loves the Chartreuse more than other places (Rowntree, *Carthusian World-View*, 43).

72. Ll. 43–46. All texts in Additional 37049 are cited from the manuscript, unless otherwise indicated.

73. These are the words of Guigo I, fifth prior of La Grande Chartreuse (*Consuetudines* XXVIII.3): “We wish books to be made with the greatest attention and guarded most carefully, as eternal food for our souls, so that because we cannot preach the word of God by our mouths, we may do so with our hands (Libros quippe tanquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodiri et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut quia ore non possumus, dei verbum manibus predicemus).” See chapter 2 for a more detailed exploration of this idea, and of Carthusian literary culture generally.

74. Doyle was among the first to call attention to the interest of Carthusian books, in his much-consulted Ph.D. thesis; see “Survey.” Also foundational were Salter, *Nicholas Love’s “Myrrour”*; and Sargent, “Transmission by the English Carthusians.”

75. For monasticism as a “model of private life,” see Duby, ed., *History of Private Life* 3–8, 38–56, and, for Carthusian life in particular, 482–84.

76. See, for example, Pearsall’s assessment that this miscellany was “presumably intended for the instruction of the novitiate” (*Old English and Middle English Poetry*, 138). On fol. 21v, some parts of a rhapsody on the name of Mary are attributed to “a convers,” but this does not certainly indicate that *conversi* were the book’s only readers. Gillespie has also suggested that the inclusion in Additional 37049 of the metrical decalogue from the *Speculum Christiani* implies lay use (“*Cura Pastoralis in Deserto*,” 175).

77. See, for example, Pantin’s discussion of the *Desert of Religion* (*English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, 234). In the charterhouse at Basel, the lay brothers’ library was known as the “*libraria vulgaris*” (Sexauer, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Schriften in Kartäuserbibliotheken*, 181).

78. To cite just one example, a Carthusian manuscript now in Cambridge (Cambridge University Library MS Mm.5.37) includes both Latin meditations and “low” vernacular instruction, including the English directive to “be gladly in þy celle” (fol.

135). The book belonged to Christopher Braystones (d. 1474–75), charter monk at Beauvale.

79. Watson, *Richard Rolle* 15. Watson notes this “plasticity” specifically with regard to the Carthusian ideal of “preaching with the hands,” but he also discusses these questions in connection with Richard Rolle’s writings for Margaret Kirkeby.

80. On the translation of this Carthusian text for a wider audience, see Keiser, “Noght How Lang Man Lifs,” 147–53.

81. Hodgson, ed., *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, 100–117, at 102; and Hogg, ed., *Rewyll*, 253–327, at 308.

82. In spite of the compilation’s “limited” and “conservative” subject matter, Gray nonetheless concludes that it shows “considerable overlap with the more widespread devotional literature of late-medieval England” (“Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 16).

83. “O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus” (“O al ye that passe by the way, attend, and see if there be sorow like to my sorow” [Douai-Rheims trans.]). On this and other Middle English lyrics on this theme, see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 36, 42–45, 203–5, 212, 256, 321–23.

84. Beckwith, *Signifying God*, 28. Beckwith is here taking issue with Mervyn James’s influential (but controversial) claim that the Corpus Christi celebrations were intended only to “contribute to social integration.” See James, “Ritual, Drama, and Social Body,” 4. For a range of nuanced views on this issue, see also Hindley, ed., *Drama and Community*.

85. For useful investigations of the performances involved in both mystical practice and the creation of mystical texts, see the essays in *Performance and Transformation*, ed. Suydam and Ziegler, e.g., Hopenwasser, “Performance Artist.” See also Renevey, “Margery’s Performing Body.”

86. For a useful overview of intersections between performance studies and medieval studies, see Holsinger, “Analytical Survey 6.”

87. See Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*. See also, in his *Philosophical Papers*, “Performative Utterances,” 220–39.

88. For some of the ways in which post-Austinian theorists of performance have sought to characterize linguistic performativity: see, e.g., Searle, *Speech Acts*; Pratt, *Toward a Speech-Act Theory of Literary Discourse*; Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?*; Elam, *Semiotics of Theatre and Drama*; Felman, *Literary Speech-Act*; Rozik, “Speech Acts and the Theory of Theatrical Communication”; Rozik, “Plot Analysis and Speech Act Theory”; and Rozik, “Categorization of Speech Acts in Play and Performance Analysis.” A mere note cannot do justice to the vast bibliography on performance theory, but for a short and useful introduction see Carlson, *Performance*. Postlewait and Davis also give a succinct survey of the range of the concept in “Theatricality: An Introduction.”

89. See, e.g., the many works of Victor Turner, especially *From Ritual to Theatre*.

90. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 78. See also Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*. The last phrase echoes de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*.

91. See, for example, Derrida, “Signature Event Context,” which provides a de-

constructive response to Austin. For a variety of essays addressing performance from a deconstructive standpoint, see Issacharoff and Jones, eds., *Performing Texts*. And for a bracing reading of performance theory from Austin through Derrida and de Man, see Miller, *Speech Acts in Literature*.

92. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 139. For Butler's evolving views, see also *Bodies That Matter* and *Excitable Speech*.

93. For an overview, see Stiles, "Performance."

94. See Sedgwick and Parker, eds., *Performance and Performativity*, 1.

95. For a collection of diverse approaches to this particular question, see Sedgwick and Parker, eds., *Performance and Performativity*. The editors' introduction points out that "the oblique intersection between performativity and the loose cluster of theoretical practices, relations, and traditions known as performance" has been one of the most "fecund" but also one of the most "under-articulated" areas of performance studies (i). See also Dolan, "Geographies of Learning"; and Phelan and Lane, eds., *Ends of Performance*.

96. For suggestive case studies, see Worthen, "Drama, Performativity, and Performance"; and Roach, *Cities of the Dead*.

97. On the particular difficulties involved in studying historical performances, see Franko and Richards, eds., *Acting on the Past*. See also the relation between memory and forgetting outlined by Roach, *Cities of the Dead*; and the illuminating juxtaposition of sixteenth-century performances with twenty-first-century ones in Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire*.

98. Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, 13.

99. *MED*, "performen," v, 2b. For evidence of the sexual sense, see Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*: "And thynges whiche that were nat doon abedde, / He in the gardyn parfourned hem and spedde" (IV.2051–52); and the *Monk's Prologue*: "Haddestow as greet a leue as thow hast myght / To parfourne al thy lust in engendrure, / Thow haddest bigeten ful many a creature" (VII.1946–48). The *Oxford English Dictionary* places the emergence of this sense somewhat later, s.v. "perform," v, 6d and 6e. This and all subsequent quotations of Chaucer's works are taken from the *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson.

100. *MED*, "performen," v, 1c; *OED*, "perform," v, 7a.

101. Later he explains that when he had doubts about his book, his prior "ful charytably confortyde me to parforme hyt." And so: "att the laste oure Lorde of hy mercy yaf me grace, as I hope, to parforme hyt." This text is conveniently excerpted in Wogan-Browne et al., eds., *Idea of the Vernacular*, 73–78. For a full edition, see Hogg, ed., *Speculum Devotorum*.

102. Quoted from *Idea of the Vernacular*, ed. Wogan-Browne et al., 237.

103. *A Book of Showings*, ed. Colledge and Walsh, chap. 86. See also *The Writings of Julian of Norwich*, Watson and Jenkins, eds.

104. Glasscoe persuasively argues for "evidence of orality" in Julian's short text, claiming that "her thinking was governed by the speaking voice rather than by the semantic precision of structured prose" ("Evidence of Orality," 83).

105. For less explicitly performative language describing related activities of reading, see Gillespie, "Lukyng in Holy Bukes."

106. *Book of Showings* II.731n. See also *Writings of Julian of Norwich*, 378.

107. On the ways in which vernacular lyrics, in particular, relate to liturgy, see Vitz, "Liturgy and Vernacular Literature," especially 518–24. See also Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*.

108. This is one of the central arguments of Beckwith, *Signifying God*; see especially 59–71. See also Beckwith, "Ritual, Church, and Theater."

109. The text of the Towneley speech is, despite small differences, demonstrably the same poem. See Stevens and Cawley, eds., *Towneley Plays*, xxvi.244–49. For further discussion, see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 202–5; and below, chap. 7.

110. Although the mechanisms of transmission are not known, the manuscripts that include this text as a lyric (BL MS Arundel 285 and University of Edinburgh MS 205) antedate the Towneley manuscript (Huntington Library HM 1), and it seems most likely that a memorable lyric was borrowed for an actor's speech. Given the play's uncertain history, however, it is also possible that a memorable dramatic monologue was excerpted from the play and recorded for private reading. On the Towneley manuscript, see Meredith, "Towneley Cycle," especially 138–40, 148–50.

111. For the term *sacramental theater* and its implications, see Beckwith, *Signifying God*, 59–117.

112. See Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*; and Gray, *Themes and Images*.

113. See Taylor, *Relations of Lyric and Drama*; Taylor, "Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric"; and Allen, "Middle English Drama and Middle English Lyrics." It is telling, too, that scholars working on the lyric have often written companion volumes on the drama: see, e.g., Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*. Jeffrey has proposed a book on the drama that has yet to appear; see, however, Jeffrey, "Franciscan Spirituality and the Rise of Early English Drama."

114. Bauman, "Performance," 266. See also Carlson, "Introduction: What Is Performance?" In Carlson's summary, "all performance involves a consciousness of doubleness, through which the actual execution of an action is placed in mental comparison with a potential, an ideal, or a remembered original model of that action" (5).

115. See Schechner, *Between Theory and Anthropology*, 35–116.

116. Pace Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?"; and Streeter, "Mirror of the Fifteenth-Century Contemplative Mind."

CHAPTER 2. "Silence Visible": Carthusian Devotional Reading and Meditative Practice

1. The English word *chartirbous* is an alteration of the French *chartreuse* (i.e., *maison chartreuse*), which is itself a corruption of the earlier form *charteuse*, deriving ultimately from Latin *cartusius*. The change probably reflects an association with *chartre* (prison), and emphasizes the ascetic discipline of the order; see *OED*, s.v. "Charterhouse," n.

2. Line 24 of the poem in Additional 37049 has proved something of a problem in connection with this group, since it offers a different list of companions (and Bruno himself is added only in the margin): "Of þis holy order Carthusiens þis bene holy men: / (Bruno) Saynt Hewe, saynt Anoelius, Basilius, Bridus wt Bovo þen; / And oþer

many of whome þe writyngs of bokes makes mencion / þe whilk þe ordir keypd in solitary lyfe and trewe intencioun" (23–26). Bowers suggests that line 24 names Bruno's companions aberrantly ("Middle English Verses on the Founding"). But Boyers shows that the puzzling verse refers, not to Bruno's original companions, but to famous Carthusians generally—Bruno himself (added later), Hugh of Avalon (Lincoln), St. Anthelmus, Basil, Britius, and Bovo ("The Companions of St. Bruno").

3. No mention is made in Additional 37049 of this first part of the story, the accuracy of which has been contested. For Bruno's biography as drawn from contemporary witnesses and a thirteenth-century *vita*, see *Acta sanctorum*, October 3, 491–777; among more recent studies, see Bligny, *Saint Bruno*; and Bligny, "Saint Bruno." A readable modern biography is Ravier, *Saint Bruno*.

4. For the earliest documents concerning the foundation of the monastery, see Bligny, *Recueil*. See also Wilmart, "La Chronique des premiers chartreux."

5. For a complete survey of the genre, see Früh, "Bilderzyklen mit dem Leben des Heiligen Bruno." See also Beutler, "Die beiden Brunozyklen"; and Riggenbach, "Die Wandbilder des Kartause."

6. For a facsimile, see Meiss and Beatson, eds., *Belles Heures*.

7. For a reprint of the Basel *Statutes* see Hogg, *Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes*. A useful consideration of the long editorial history of the *Statutes* can be found in Elie, *Les Editions des Statuts*; the woodcut is discussed on 50–58.

8. For an overview, see the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, "Erémisme en occident." For more specific studies, see Bligny, "L'Erémisme et les Chartreux"; and Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism*.

9. The communities at Camaldoli and Vallombrosa had earlier established groups of hermits, on which Bruno's experiment was in some ways founded. See the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, "Camadules, Ordre des"; and Brooke, *Monastic World*, especially chap. 5, "Hermits." But McGinn locates the innovation of Carthusian spiritual organization in "its original combination of elements of coenobitism to serve the higher hermit ideal" (*Growth of Mysticism*, 353).

10. McGinn calls the Carthusians "notably reticent about writing on their own during the first century of their existence" (*Growth of Mysticism*, 355). For a thorough study of Carthusian theology as expressed through the early writings, see Mursell, *Theology of the Carthusian Life*. See also Barrier, *Les Activités du solitaire en Chartreuse*.

11. For the letters "Ad Radulphum, cognomento Viridem, Remensem praepositum" and "Ad filios suos Cartusienses," see *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, 66–89.

12. *Ibid.*, 70. "Quid vero solitudo heremique silentium amatoribus suis utilitatis jucunditatisque divinae conferat, norunt hi soli qui experti sunt.

"Hic namque viris strenuis tam redire in se licet quam libet et habitare secum, virtutumque germina instanter excolere atque de paradisi feliciter fructibus vesci. Hic oculus ille conquiritur, cujus sereno intuitu vulneratur sponsus amore, quo mundo et puro conspicitur Deus. Hic otium celebratur negotiosum et in quieta pausat actione. Hic pro certaminis labore repensat Deus athleticis suis mercedem optatem, pacem videlicet quam mundus ignorat, et gaudium in Spiritu Sancto."

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

13. Guibert de Nogent, *Monk's Confession*, 31–32. "Et ecclesia ibi est non longe a crepidine montis, paulo sinuatum devexum habens, in qua tredecim sunt monachi;

claustrum quidem satis idoneum pro coenobiali consuetudine habentes, sed non claustraliter ut cohabitantes. Habent quippe singuli cellulas per gyrum claustrii proprias, in quibus operantur, dormiunt ac vescuntur. Dominica a dispensatore escas, panem scilicet ac legumen accipiunt, quod unicum pulmenti genus a quoque eorum apud se coquitur. Aquam autem, tam haustui quam residuo usui, ex ductu fontis, qui omnium obambit cellulas, et singulorum per certa foramina aediculis influit, habent. Pisce, et caseo dominicis et valde festis diebus utuntur: pisce dixerim, non quem sibi ipsi emerunt, sed quem bonorum aliquorum virorum largitione susceperint. . . . Ad eandem ecclesiam non horis solitis, uti nos, sed certis conveniunt. Missas, nisi fallor, dominica, et sollempnibus audiunt. Nusquam pene loquuntur, nam, si quid peti necesse est, signo exigitur. Vinum, si quando bibunt, adeo corruptum, ut nil virium, nil pene saporis utentibus afferat, vix communi sit unda praestantius. Ciliciis vestiuntur ad nudum; caeterarum vestium multa tenuitas. . . .

“Hi igitur tanto coeptae contemplationis fervore feruntur, ut nulla temporis longitudine a sua institutione desistant, nec aliqua arduae illius conversationis diuturnitate tepescant” (Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, 66–70).

14. William de St. Thierry, *Lettres aux frères du Mont-Dieu*. For an English translation, see William of Saint Thierry, *Golden Epistle*.

15. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera omnia*, Letters 11, 12, 153, 154, 250. Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, nos. 24, 48, 132, 170, 186. Peter of Celle, *PL* 202, letters 40–48 (col. 453–74) to various people at Mont-Dieu.

16. Guigo I, *Coutumes de Chartreuse*.

17. In addition to *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, see Guigo I, *Méditations*; Guigo I, *Meditations of Guigo I*; and Guigo I, *Vie de saint Hugues*. For an analysis of the writings of Guigo I and a later Carthusian prior, Guigo II, see Wilmart, “Ecrits spirituels des deux Guiges.”

18. Mursell expresses well the casual nature of this important text: “What is important is that the *Consuetudines* do not neatly fit into any obvious pattern: Guigo is writing at the request of others, not because he wishes to do so: he is describing what actually happens at the moment, not legislating definitively for the future; and he does so in such a way that theological principle is interspersed with minutely practical prescription, and passages of exceptional importance appear under improbably prosaic headings” (*Theology of the Carthusian Life*, 70).

19. For editions of the *Statutes*, see Hogg, *Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes*; and Elie, *Editions des Statuts*.

20. *Consuetudines* 33, 44.

21. *Consuetudines* 31.2. “Quod si qualibet vel sua vel alterius negligentia, pane, vino, aqua, igneve caruerit, vel insolitum strepitum aut clamorem audierit, vel periculum ignis institerit, licebit exire, et subsidium praestare vel petere, et si periculi magnitudo poposcerit, silentium etiam solvere.”

22. *Consuetudines* 31.1. “Cuius habitatorem diligenter ac sollicite decet invigilare, ne quas occasiones egrediendi foras vel machinetur vel recipiat, exceptis his quae generaliter institutae sunt, sed potius sicut aquas piscibus, et caulas ovibus, ita suae salutis et vitae cellam deputet necessariam. In qua quanto diutius, tanto libentius habitabit, et quam si frequenter et levibus de causis exire insueverit, cito habebit exosam. Et ideo statutis ad hoc horis petenda iubetur petere, et accepta tota diligentia custodire.”

23. As Rambuss explains a similar dynamic in the seventeenth century, “Closet devotion is the technology by which the soul becomes a subject” (*Closet Devotions*, 109). Rambuss is concerned with lay Protestant spirituality, but the technologies of the self he ascribes to the early modern “prayer closet” also regulate the devotional lives of Carthusian monks.

24. Bossy, “Mass as a Social Institution”; but for the complications also inherent in eucharistic community see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 1–11.

25. The Carthusian liturgy was influenced by Saint-Ruf (since two of Bruno’s companions had been canons there), and also by Grenoble, Vienne, and Valence. But the conservative Carthusian rite was modified to emphasize scripture, simplicity, and tradition, and to reduce the amount of ceremonial surrounding such events as the profession of monks. See Devaux, *Les Origines du Missel*, especially 99–107; the posthumous publications of Cluzet, *Particularités du Missel Cartusien*, *Particularités du Temporal et du Sanctoral du Missel Cartusien*, and *Sources et genèse du Missel Cartusien*; Nissen, “Signum contemplationis”; and King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*, 1–61. On Carthusian chant, see Becker, *Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers*; Lambres, “Le Chant des Chartreux”; and Steyn, “Principle of Simplicity.”

26. These numbers are reported by Laporte, *Aux sources de la vie cartusienne*, 5:233–35.

27. *Consuetudines* 14.5. “Raro quippe hic missa cantitur, quoniam precipue studium et propositum nostrum est, silentio et solitudini celle vacare.”

28. *Consuetudines* 29.6. “Generaliter autem in ecclesia matutinas et vesperas, in cellis vero semper completorium dicimus. Alias enim, nisi festivis diebus aut vigiliis, aut anniversariis, ad ecclesiam non venimus.”

29. King, *Liturgies of the Monastic Orders*, 35. See also Lambres, “Le Chant des chartreux,” who notes that the offices of the cell are recited “en privé à l’oratoire de l’ermitage de chaque moine, avec les cérémonies de l’Office choral et, autant que possible, au signal donné par la cloche du monastère” (17). Lambres further acknowledges “la probabilité que les ermites chartreux des temps primitifs chantonnaient occasionnellement des Offices tout seuls” (19).

30. *Monk’s Confession*, trans. Archambault, 31–32. “Ad eandem ecclesiam non horis solitis, uti nos, sed ceteris conveniunt. Missas, nisi fallor, dominica et sollempnibus audiunt. Nusquam pene loquuntur, nam, si quid peti necesse est, signo exigitur” (*Autobiographie*, 68). See also *Consuetudines* 45, on occasions when a lay brother may speak to a prelate: “cui prelato sibi possunt de necessariis loqui fratres, petita per signum licentia. Habent enim signa pleraque rusticana, et ab omni facetia vel lascivia aliena, per quae de his quae ad sua pertinent officia, rebus vel instrumentis, possunt adinvicem sine voce commemorari.” “[T]he brothers may speak of necessary things with their superior, having asked permission with a sign. They have signs, mostly very simple, and far from any impurity or impropriety, by which they can discuss among themselves without words the things or the instruments that concern their work.”

31. For the most recent general treatment of Carthusian architecture, see Devaux, *L’Architecture dans l’Ordre des Chartreux*. See also Aniel, *Les Maisons de Chartreux*; and Zadnikar, “Die frühe Baukunst der Kartäuser.” For English charterhouses in particu-

lar, see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*; Hogg, ed., *Surviving English Carthusian Remains*; and Hogg, "Mount Grace Charterhouse."

32. *Consuetudines* 28.

33. The cells at London were also marked by alphabetical *memento mori* verses; see Sargent and Hennessy, "Latin Verses over the Cell Doors."

34. British Library MS Additional 25042, fol. 12r. This fascinating manuscript contains a series of images that tell the Carthusian foundation-story, and also a series that appears to offer scenes from everyday monastic life. For a full description, see de Vreese, *Handschriften*, 518–24. See also British Library, *Catalogue of Additions, 1854–75*, vol. 2, for a somewhat less detailed account.

35. The construction of a compound from monks' individual cells was to impress twentieth-century observers, as well. In 1911 Le Corbusier visited the charterhouses of Pavia and Florence, which inspired his designs for the Immeubles Villas (1922). See Dorigati, *Il Chiostro Grande*.

36. BLAdd. 25042, fol. 12v. It is possible that this vernacular manuscript does not represent Carthusian visions of monastic life, but rather a lay person's adaptation of that life. However, a record of monastic books sent from the London charterhouse to Hull includes an English version of the *Statutes* (C2.21), as well as the Latin version (C2.22). See Doyle, "Carthusians."

37. *Consuetudines* 78. Guibert de Nogent describes the economics of the Grande Chartreuse in slightly different terms, and sets the number of lay men slightly higher: "Only a small portion of the soil there is used for growing grain. They raise sheep in large numbers and use the fleece to procure whatever else they might need. There are also, at the foot of the mountain, little dwellings that house faithful laymen, more than twenty in number, who work under their supervision" (*Monk's Confession*, trans. Archambault, 32). "In quo terra rei frumentariae causaparum ab eis colitur. Verum velleribus suarum, quas plurimas nutriunt, ovium, qualescumque suis usibus fruges comparare soliti sunt. Sunt autem infra montem illum habitacula laicos vicenarium numerum excedentes fidelissimos retinentia, qui sub eorum agunt diligentia" (*Autobiographie*, 70).

38. Among others, see chaps. 16, 17, 42, 43, 74.

39. At the Grande Chartreuse, the monks' buildings are actually built on higher ground than the lay brothers' "lower" house. In England and elsewhere this was not always true, and in fact only the early English foundations preserve a separate structure for the lay brethren; see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, 15, 113–16.

40. See *Lettres des premiers Chartreux*, 84–85. "Gaudemus et nos quoniam, cum scientiae litterarum expertes sitis, potens Deus digito suo inscribit in coribus vestris, non solum amorem, sed et notitiam sanctae legis suae. Opere enim ostenditis quid amatis, quidve nostis."

41. Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 63.

42. Warren, *Anchorites*, 179n. Anchorites were, however, occasionally housed within Carthusian monasteries; see *ibid.*, 24, 178, 288.

43. For the Carthusian cell understood as the grave, see Hennessy, "Remains," 324–26.

44. Guigo I wrote a life of the Carthusians' patron bishop; see *Vie de saint Hu-*

gues. On the close relation between the Grande Chartreuse and the see of Grenoble, see Cowdrey, "Hugh of Avalon." The commerce went both ways, as Cowdrey notes: "On the one hand, bishops who were not themselves Carthusians might so behave as to reflect and propagate Carthusian principles; on the other, a Carthusian vocation might itself lead on to the episcopate" (48). St. Hugh of Grenoble is an excellent example of the first kind of relation, while St. Hugh of Lincoln (Avalon) is perhaps the best example of the second.

45. It is not impossible that the scribe/artist of Additional 37049 was also the author of this poem, which exists in no other copy. If so, he nonetheless stressed Carthusian solitude more emphatically in the text than in its illustration.

46. The post-foundation history of the Carthusians is preserved in a number of projects, some sponsored by the order itself, such as the works of Innocent Le Masson, Charles Le Coulteux, and Maurice LaPorte; and some not, such as the ongoing *Analecta Cartusiana* series. For useful clarifications of a complicated historiography, see Hogg, "Carthusian Annals," especially n. 53; and Martin, "Introduction to the *Analecta Cartusiana*."

47. The adjectives are Anna Jameson's, in 1850. She continues: "Their spare diet, their rigorous seclusion, and their habits of labour, give them an emaciated look, a pale quietude, in which, however, there is no feebleness, no appearance of ill-health or squalor: I never saw a Carthusian monk who did not look like a gentleman" (*Legends of the Monastic Orders*, 133).

48. Gian Galeazzo Visconti made arrangements for the distribution of alms at Pavia (Vallier, "Trois méraux cartusiens"). Compare *Consuetudines* 20.

49. The standard history of the Carthusians in England remains Thompson, *Carthusian Order*. For a recent archaeological study, see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*. See also Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, 375–91; Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, 2:129–38; and Cowdrey, "Carthusians in England."

50. For an introduction to the history of Witham charterhouse and St. Hugh of Lincoln, see Knowles, *Monastic Orders*, 375–91. See also *De Cella in Seculum*, especially Farmer, "Hugh of Lincoln, Carthusian Saint"; and Cowdrey, "Hugh of Avalon, Carthusian and Bishop." See also Cowdrey, "Carthusian Impact upon Angevin England"; and Leyser, "Hugh the Carthusian." For Witham and Hinton, see Thompson, *Somerset Carthusians*; and Dunning, "West-Country Carthusians."

51. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, 36.

52. For a record of the canonical visitation by the priors of Mountgrace and Beauvale to Hull in 1440, see Gray, "*Carta visitationis*."

53. Knowles and Haddock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 360.

54. For events surrounding the dissolution, see Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 371–485; Knowles, *Religious Orders*, 3:222–40; Matthew and Mathew, *Reformation and the Contemplative Life*; and individual histories of the London charterhouse, such as Hope, *History of the London Charterhouse*. Charter monk Maurice Chauncy, writing from Sheen Anglorum, gave his contemporary witness to the events of the dissolution; see Curtis, ed., *Passion and Martyrdom*.

55. In Aston's words, "the isolation sought by such monks had to be created by the eviction and resettlement of lay people" (*Monasteries in the Landscape*, 81).

56. Knowles, *Religious Orders*, 2:131.
57. For an overview, see Tuck, "Carthusian Monks and Lollard Knights." See also Hogg, "Royal and Aristocratic Founders."
58. Beckett, "Henry V and Sheen Charterhouse." For a less cozy relationship between spiritual and temporal authority, see also Beckett, "Henry VI, Sheen Charterhouse, and the Authorities at the Grande Chartreuse."
59. Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 241–42; Warren, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England*, 178; Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, 46.
60. Knowles, *Religious Orders*, 2:132. See also Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, 24–28; and Barber and Thomas, *London Charterhouse*. Benefactions were made at "the bourgeois charterhouse of Nuremberg" across a similar social range; Braunfels, *Architecture of the Monastic Orders*, 123–24.
61. For Mountgrace, see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, 44, 111–13. For Coventry, see Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 213. For Sheen, see Beckett, "Henry V and Sheen Charterhouse," 58. For London, see Barber and Thomas, *London Charterhouse*, 16. Dunning reports another pulpit at Syon, though this is less surprising, since the Syon brethren were preachers.
62. For the prohibition, see *Consuetudines* 21. The question was renewed by the monks of Mountgrace, who asked in 1438 whether women could enter the church for the burial of an important benefactor. The General Chapter refused. See Hogg and Sargent, eds., *Chartae*, 3:27 (quoted in Hogg, "Everyday Life," n. 56); and Hennessy, "Remains," 343–48. For a reconsideration of women's activity in the fifteenth-century charterhouse at Dijon (and in the twenty-first-century charterhouse at Zaragoza), see Lindquist, "Women in the Charterhouse."
63. *Scola amoris languidi* (fols. 11r–24v), *Dormitorium dilecti dilecti* (fols. 25r–48r), and *Refectorium salutis* (fols. 49r–70v) are all found in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.2.56. See Methley, "'Scola Amoris Languidi' of Richard Methley," "'Dormitorium Dilecti Dilecti' of Richard Methley," and "Mystical Diary." *Experimentum veritatis* is preserved with the epistle "To Hew Heremyte" in the London Public Record Office Collection SP 1/239 (fols. 262r–65v); see Sargent, ed., "Self-Verification of Visionary Phenomena"; and Methley, "Epistle to Hew Heremyte," 91–119. Hogg believes that Hew's mobility implies that he is not a Carthusian, but late-medieval departures from the stringency of the *Consuetudines* require, I think, an acknowledgment that he might have been. Even if Hew was not certainly a Carthusian, he is advised by a charter monk to pursue a comparable eremitic life.
64. Methley, "Epistle to Hew Heremyte," 116.
65. Ten shillings from Jane Strangways in 1500, six shillings and eightpence from Robert Lascelles of Brakenburgh in 1508, and ten shillings for the glazing of a window and three altarcloths from Alison Clark in 1509. See Methley, "Epistle to Hew Heremyte," 100–101.
66. For reflections on monastic historiography, see Greatrex, "After Knowles."
67. "Religio Cartusianorum nunquam reformata, quia nunquam deformata." This axiom derives from praise of the order as reflected in papal bulls, such as *Thesauro virtutum* of Alexander IV (8 February 1257), *Romani Pontifices* of Pius II (13 August 1460), and the apostolic constitution *Umbratilem* of Pius XI (8 July 1924). See King, *Liturgies*

of the *Religious Orders*, 1–2. As Knowles memorably puts the same idea: “Never since its early origins has the Charterhouse made any attempt to temper the wind of its discipline to the shorn lamb” (*Monastic Orders*, 376).

68. Sargent, “Transmission,” 240.

69. The complexities of late-medieval reading practice have led Andrew Taylor to the observation that in this period “there was no clear separation between the public and private realms” (“Into His Secret Chamber,” 43). This is certainly true in the case where a king, for example, might be read to with a group in “private” rooms, but in the case of Carthusian hermit-monks—who took strict vows of solitude and silence—“private” reading clearly means a single person alone in a room quietly poring over a book. For an extended exploration of these issues, see Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public*.

70. *Lettres*, 80. “Vitam beati Remegii ut nobis transmittatis oro, quia in partibus nostris nunquam reperitur.”

71. *Consuetudines* 28.2. “Ad scribendum vero, scriptorium, pennas, cretam, pumices duos, cornua duo, scalpellum unum, ad radenda pergamina, novaculas sive rasoria duo, punctorium unum, subulam unum, plumbum, regulam, postem ad regulandum, tabulas, grafium. Quod si frater alterius artis fuerit, quod apud nos raro valde contingit, omnes enim pene quos suscipimus, si fieri potest scribere docemus, habebit arti suae instrumenta convenientia.”

72. See, e.g., Bischoff, *Latin Paleography*, 18–19. Archaeological evidence from Mountgrace confirms that late-medieval cells were outfitted for book production much as Guigo intended; see Coppack and Aston, *Christ’s Poor Men*, 96.

73. *Consuetudines*, 28.3–4. “Adhuc etiam, libros ad legendum de armario accipit duos. Quibus omnem diligentiam curamque prebere iubetur, ne fumo, ne pulvere, vel alia qualibet sorde maculentur. Libros quippe tamquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodiri et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut quia ore non possumus, dei verbum manibus predicemus.

“Quot enim libros scribimus, tot nobis veritatis praecones facere videmur, sperantes a domino mercedem, pro omnibus qui per eos vel ab errore correcti fuerint, vel in catholica veritate profecerint, pro cunctis etiam qui vel de suis peccatis et viciis compuncti, vel ad desiderium fuerint patriae caelestis accensi.”

74. On this topic, see especially Gillespie, “*Cura Pastoralis*.”

75. Adam of Dryburgh, for example, who was abbot of a Praemonstratensian house before becoming a Carthusian of Witham, cites Guigo in his treatise, *De quadripartito exercitio cellae* (PL 153:799–884, at 881–83). See Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 354–67; and Hogg, “Adam the Carthusian’s *De Quadripartito Exercitio Cellae*.” For Adam’s life and work at Witham, see Wilmart, “Maitre Adam.”

76. Today the Bibliothèques Municipales de Grenoble hold 3,543 manuscripts from the Grande Chartreuse. See de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*; and Vaillant, *Les Manuscrits de la Grande Chartreuse et leurs enluminures*.

77. Guibert de Nogent, *Monk’s Confession*, trans. Archambault, 32. “Cum in omnimoda paupertate se deprimant, ditissimam tamen bibliothecam coaggerant; quo enim minus panis hujus copia materialis exuberant, tanto magis illo, qui non perit, sed in aeternum permanet, cibo operose insudant” (*Autobiographie*, 68).

78. Peter the Venerable, *Selected Letters*, 23–24. “Misi et uitas sanctorum Nazanzeni et Chisostomi sicut mandastis. Misi etiam libellum siue epistolam beati Ambrosii contra relationem Symmachi, urbis Rome prefecti pagani, qui sub nomine Senatus ydolatriam in urbem reduci ab imperatoribus postulabat. Qui licet in sua relatione orator acutissimus uideatur, ei tamen et prosa et metro tam supradictus uenerabilis pater quam noster insignis poeta Prudentius potentissime responderunt. . . . Tractatem autem beati Hylarii super Psalmos ideo non misi, quia eandem in nostro codice quam et in uestro corruptionem inueni. Quod si et talem uultis, remandate et mittam. Prosperum contra Cassianum sicut nostis non habemus, sed pro eo ad santum Iohannem Angeliacensem in Aquitania misimus, et iterum si necesse fuerit mittemus. Mittite et uos <nobis> si placet maius uolumen epistolarum sancti patris Augustini quod in ipso pene initio continet epistolas eiusdem ad sanctum Ieronimum et sancti Ieronimi ad ipsum. Nam magnam partem nostrarum in quadam obedientia casu comedit ursus.”

79. For a correctors’ manual that exemplifies the Carthusian concern for textual accuracy, see Oswaldus de Corda, *Oswaldi de Corda Opus Pacis*. See also Rouse and Rouse, “Correction and Emendation of Texts”; and Sargent, “Problem of Uniformity.”

80. The bibliography on Carthusian influence on the development of Middle English literature is extensive. Highlights include the following: Williamson, “Books of the Carthusians”; Doyle “Survey”; Lehmann, “Bücherliebe und Bücherpflege; Salter, *Nicholas Love’s “Myrrouar”*; Sargent, “Transmission”; and Gillespie, “*Cura Pastoralis*.” Even the most superficial scan of recent numbers of the *Analecta Cartusiana*—particularly the series *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*—can provide a sense of the vast quantity and range of scholarly interest in Carthusians and Middle English books. For a brief and useful overview, see Doyle, “Book Production,” especially 13–15.

81. Methley, “Epistle to Hew Heremyte,” 118.

82. Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, 100–117, at 101; and Hogg, *Rewyll*, 253–327, at 307. See also Hodgson, “*Ladder of the Foure Ronges*”; and Keiser, “Noght How Lang Man Lifs.” For a translation of the Latin, see Guigo II, *Ladder of Monks*.

83. Interestingly enough, Methley translated both the *Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Mirror of Simple Souls* from the vernacular into Latin. See Hogg, “Latin Cloud.”

84. For the importance of vernacular reading among both “lered” and “lewed,” see Gillespie, “Lukyng in Holy Bukes.”

85. For a practical method of addressing these questions, see Doyle, “Not Yet Linked.”

86. Beckett, “Henry V and Sheen Charterhouse,” 54. For another misdirected donation, see Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 331.

87. BL MS Add. 37790, which contains both Julian’s short text and the Middle English *Mirror of Simple Souls*, is one of those that contains the monogram of James Grenehalgh, a charter monk of Sheen; see Sargent, *James Grenehalgh*. For a variety of ways of understanding the implications of this Carthusian book, see, e.g., Watson, “Melting into God the English Way”; Cré, “Women in the Charterhouse?”; and Gillespie, “Dial M for Mystic.”

88. Besides Additional 37790, the Middle English *Mirror of Simple Souls* is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley MS 505 and Cambridge, St. John’s College MS 71. For an edition of the text, see Doiron, *Margaret Porete. The Book of Margery Kempe*

might have originated in a charterhouse, but it was most extensively annotated by a later hand identified by Meech as “probably a Carthusian of Mount Grace” (*Book of Margery Kempe*, xliii). This annotator links his reading firmly to Carthusian devotional culture by comparing Margery Kempe’s religious experiences to those of the Carthusians Richard Methley and John Norton, as well as to those of the hermit and visionary Richard Rolle. As Karma Lochrie notes, “Perhaps the greatest irony is that Kempe, who was designated to be a mirror among sinners, should find her readership not among the lay population to whom she appealed, but within an order of monks dedicated to strict seclusion and austerity” (224).

89. “Quod nomina omnium librorum domus ponantur in uno registro et legantur et monstrentur singulis annis semel in conventu” (quoted in Gribbin, *Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions*, 24). See the edition of MS Rawlinson D.318, fol. 87, in *Chartae*, ed. Sargent and Hogg, 77–223.

90. See Thompson, *Carthusian Order*; now superseded by Doyle, “Carthusians,” 607–52. For speculations on layouts and plans of charterhouse libraries, see Large, “Libraries of the Carthusian Order”; and Hogg, “Les Chartreuses anglaises.”

91. Doyle, “Carthusians,” C1.19, 614.

92. *Ibid.*, C2, 615–20.

93. See Doyle, “Carthusians,” C7.9 and C7.10. Also reproduced in Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 327–29.

94. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*; and Ker, *Supplement*.

95. For Germany and Switzerland, see Krämer, *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*. For representative studies of individual charterhouse libraries on the Continent, see, e.g., Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser*; Marks, *St. Barbara in Cologne; Charterhouse Buxheim and Its Library*; and Hendrickx, “De Handschriften van de Kartuis Genadendal bij Brugge.” For a collection of codicological studies, including some of Carthusian books, see De Backer, Geurts, and Weiler, eds., *Codex in Context*.

96. Doyle, “Carthusians,” 609.

97. The connection is proved by the inscriptions: “Beauvall” and “Iste liber est domus Belle Vallis ordinis Cartusiensis in Comitatu Notyngham” (see Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 323).

98. The inscription: “Liber domus Salutacionis Matris Dei Ordinis Cartusie prope London per Edmundum Stegor (?) ejusdem domus Monachus” (see Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 324).

99. Horrall, “Carthusian Commonplace Book.”

100. See Doyle, “Book Production”; also Doyle, “Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen.”

101. For a list of the manuscripts annotated by Grenehalgh, see Sargent, *James Grenehalgh*. See also Sargent, “James Grenehalgh: The Biographical Record.”

102. On Syon’s books, see especially Gillespie and Doyle, *Syon Abbey*. See also Ellis, “Viderunt Eam Filie Syon”; Ellis, “Further Thoughts on the Spirituality of Syon Abbey”; Gillespie, “Syon and the New Learning”; Gillespie, “Book and the Brethren”; Hutchison, “Devotional Reading”; Hutchison, “What the Nuns Read”; and De Hamel, “Library.”

103. From a voluminous bibliography, see, e.g., Gillespie, “Vernacular Books of

Religion"; Keiser, "þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei"; Lawrence, "Role of the Monasteries of Syon and Sheen"; and Sargent, "Transmission."

104. Sargent, "Transmission," 230.

105. See the discussions of Notre Dame MS 67 in *Text in the Community*, ed. Mann and Nolan.

106. For an overview, see Sargent, *James Grenehalgh*; and Carey, "Devout Literate Laypeople," especially 371–77. On Rolle, see Doyle, "Carthusian Participation"; and on Ruysbroeck, see Bazire and Colledge, eds., *Chastising of God's Children*.

107. See Wormald, "Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters," especially 180–81. The meditation is recorded in BL MS Lansdowne 379.

108. Lentes, "*Vita Perfecta*," 140.

109. "Priori domus Sanctae Annae prope Conuentre non fit misericordia, et de usu librorum quem quidam monachus dictae domus petit denegatur sivi ne uicium proprietatis incurrat" (quoted in Hogg, "Everyday Life," n. 52).

110. Doyle, "Carthusians," C7.9 and C7.10.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 610.

112. Guigo, *Consuetudines* 7.9. "Post nonam in claustrum convenimus, de utilibus locuturi. In hoc spacio incaustum, pergamenum, pennas, cretam, libros, seu legendos sue transcribendos, a sacrista, a coquinario vero, legumina, sal et caetera huiusmodi poscimus et accipimus."

113. *Consuetudines* 32.1. "Cum aliqui ex monachis emendandis vel ligandis libris vel alicui tali manciantur, ipsi quidem locuntur ad invicem, cum supervenientibus vero nequaquam, nisi priore presente aut iubente."

114. Excavations at Mountgrace have confirmed that each monk specialized in a particular part of book making: writing, illuminating, binding, even some early printing. As Coppack and Aston observe, "Production on an almost industrial scale was quite possible without the individual monks leaving their cells or meeting each other" (*Christ's Poor Men*, 96).

115. Sargent, "Transmission," 239. For a Carthusian monk who had to argue for the value of his own bookishness to the severely contemplative life the order professed, see the example of Denys the Carthusian; Emery, "Denys the Carthusian."

116. As Michael Sargent explains, "our evidence depends to an extent on the perhaps disproportionate number of Carthusian manuscripts and versions preserved by the English recusant communities" ("Transmission," 240).

117. Gillespie, "Haunted Text," 133–36. I am grateful to the author for allowing me to see this piece before its publication.

118. For instructive evidence that not all Carthusian reading was either mystical or vernacular, see, e.g., Lovatt, "Library of John Blacman."

119. Doyle, "Carthusian Participation."

120. These assumptions do not afflict modern scholars only; the author of the verse-chronicle in Bodleian MS e Museo 160, for example, claims Ruysbroeck as a Carthusian, presumably on the basis of the kinds of spiritual writing he produced.

121. Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 99.

122. The prose tract is known by its title "Note þis wele of dispysnyng of þe world," and its incipit "Werely I knawe no þinge þt so inwardly sal take þi hert to couet gods

luf." It is organized around a passage from the pseudo-Bernardian *Meditationes piissimae* that circulated separately, usually under the title *Augustinus de contemptu mundi*; Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, 157.

123. But compare Christ's words on fol. 77v, where the progression is seemingly reversed: "I am dore be my manhede and þai entyr by þe dore þat is contemplancon and meditacion þat is behaldyng and thynkyng of my passion."

124. Gillespie, "Dial M for Mystic," 243–48.

125. *Vision of Edmund Leversedge*.

126. Thompson reports that "of experiences . . . of mystical nature, such as might be looked for in communities of contemplatives, there are no records concerning the English Carthusians" (*Carthusian Order*, 280). But see her account of Stephen, a fifteenth-century monk of Hinton who spoke to Mary Magdalen in a vision (*History of the Somerset Carthusians*, 270–74).

127. Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 298.

128. Methley, "Epistle to Hew Heremyte," 105.

129. A well-known example written for the nuns of Syon is *The Myrroure of Oure Ladye*, edited by J. H. Blunt. Lay examples include the private prayers in the Teymouth Hours (BL MS Yates Thompson 13), which includes certain words to be said "At the elevation of the host" (James, *Fifty Manuscripts from the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*); and the well-known recommendations made to an early fifteenth-century "devout and literate layman" (Pantin, "Instructions"). The spiritual performances of Margery Kempe, too, whose story is found only in a Carthusian book, were inspired by her participation in liturgical rites and celebrations—even on occasion liturgical drama. See Sponsler, "Drama and Piety," 134; and, for the connection with Methley and other later readers of Kempe's *Book*, see Lochrie, *Translations of the Flesh*, 203–35.

130. On the relation between spiritual and physical vision, see, e.g., Hamburger, "Seeing and Believing"; Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions"; and Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 11–22.

131. For the ways in which religious images construct both individual and social identities, see Morgan, *Visual Piety*.

132. Seventeenth-century Carthusian painting includes works by Zurbarán and Carducho in Spain, and—most famously—Le Sueur's series of the life of St. Bruno painted for the Carthusians of Paris (1645–48). For an overview, see Evans, *Monastic Iconography*, 32–34. For a more specialized study of baroque imagery in a particular charterhouse, see Fischer, *Baroke Bibliotheksprogramm*.

133. For a short introduction to the subject of medieval Carthusian art in France, see Evans, *Art in Medieval France*, 150–57. See also Devaux, *L'Architecture dans l'ordre des chartreux*, 119–41; van Luttervelt, "Schilderijen met Karthuizers"; Le Bras, *Ordres religieux*, 1:562–653; and Gruys, *Cartusiana*, 1:34. Several essay collections devoted to Carthusian art show a decided Continental focus: Girard and Le Blévec, eds., *Les Chartreux et l'art*; Hogg, ed., *Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*; and (though not strictly devoted to the visual arts) *Die Kartäuser und die Kunst ihrer Zeit*.

134. *Consuetudines* 40.1. "Ornamenta aurea vel argentea, preter calicem et calamum quo sanguis domini sumitur, in ecclesia non habemus, pallia tapetiaque reliquimus."

135. *Statuta antiqua* 2.32. Cited by Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 184.

136. An emphasis upon the devotional utility of Carthusian art underscores most apologetic treatments of the subject; see, e.g., Girard, “De l’image en Chartreuse.” For a helpful consideration of monastic attitudes toward the visual arts, see Rudolph, “*Things of Greater Importance*.”

137. See Bligny, “Les Premiers chartreux et la pauvreté.” Carbonell-Lamothe claims that the Carthusians had as great an influence on later art as the Franciscans did in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but that such influence remains largely unexplored; see “Conclusions,” 402.

138. For a consideration of late-medieval Carthusian history, see Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform*.

139. *Statuta nova* 2.1.7. “Tapetia unversa et cussini picturati vel alias curiosi in usu apud nos non habeant: sed et picture curiose ubi sine scandalo fieri poterit de nostris ecclesiis et domibus eradantur: et nove de cetero fieri non permittant.” I differ somewhat from Thompson in my understanding of this passage; compare Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 129. I am grateful to Traugott Lawler for advice concerning this translation.

140. See Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D.318, transcribed in *Chartae*, ed. Sargent and Hogg, vol. 2. Rawlinson MS D.318 and Lambeth MS 413 are cited by Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 266.

141. *Tertia compilatio* 3.5.

142. Rudolph translates “curiosus” as “unusually distractive” (*Things of Greater Importance*, 176n473). For an interesting discussion of the insistent Carthusian use of the adjective, see Elie, *Les Editions*, 193–200. For more general studies of the sin of *curiositas*, see Newhauser, “Towards a History of Human Curiosity”; Newhauser, “Sin of Curiosity and the Cistercians”; Krüger, ed., *Curiositas*, especially Hamburger, “Idol Curiosity”; and, for the afterlife of visual *curiositas* in the seventeenth century, Wood, “Curious Pictures.”

143. Thompson claims that the making of books was the only interaction that Carthusians had with the outside world (*Carthusian Order*, 524). But this is surely the ideal more than the reality.

144. The involvement of so many known and accomplished artists in the decoration of Champmol makes it a particularly interesting—if not exactly representative—case in which to examine the visual environment of Carthusian spirituality; see Lindquist, “Status of Artists.” The standard study of Champmol is Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon*. For the visual environment, see also *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, 164–263; de Merindol, “Art, spiritualité, et politique”; Lindquist, “Patronage, Piety, and Politics”; and Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol*. For a useful recent study focused on Sluter’s portal, see Grandmontagne, *Claus Sluter*.

145. *Consuetudines* 41. A single chapter contains the prohibition against the “tombs of strangers” and the prohibitions against accepting gifts and saying prayers for outsiders—many manifestations of the single problem of external influence on Carthusian life.

146. Coppack and Aston, *Christ’s Poor Men*, 33. For a survey of burials in all English houses, see *ibid.*, 65–68.

147. The Coventry mural is the only wall-painting still extant in an English charterhouse; see Soden, "Propaganda of Monastic Benefaction"; and Gill, "Role of Images," 127–29.

148. Guigo himself drew an analogy between cities and wealth: "307. Considera quomodo paupertas et vilitas in mediis urbibus solitudinem praesent, divitiae turbis heremos impleant" (*Les Méditations*, 204). ("307. Consider how poverty and squalor create solitude in the middle of cities, and wealth fills the desert with crowds" [*Meditations of Guigo I*, 132].)

149. "Ex Oblatione Fidelium," 85. See also Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice*. For specific connections between charterhouse burials and Add. 37049, see Hennessy, "Remains," 326–49.

150. Müntz, "Fresques inédites."

151. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, 55. The account of Legh and Cave is excerpted from *ibid.*, 53–55.

152. *Ibid.*, 56. See also Soden, "Propaganda of Monastic Benefaction."

153. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, 60.

154. For evidence of interaction between manuscript painting and murals at Basel Charterhouse, see Hamburger, "Writing on the Wall."

155. Venard suggests that the common spaces of the charterhouses were the spaces deliberately given over to things of this world, and so were more likely spaces in which to display art objects; he even suggests that the Carthusians thought of their communal spaces as "sacrificed" to the world, a sacrifice that they made to preserve the privacy of their cells. See "Conclusions," 409.

156. For example, the inventory made in 1519 by monk Thomas Golwynne of items he took with him on a journey from London to Mountgrace includes the following: "Item a wyde sloppe furred to put over all my gere, of the gyfte of my Lady Conway," "Item a newe pylche of the gyft of Mr. Saxby," "Item a newe mantell by the gyfte of Syr John Rawson knyght of the Roodes," and "Item a lytell brasyn mortar with a pestyl gevyn by the gyfte of a frende of myne," "Item a new chafyngdysse of laten gevyn to vs," "ij new tyne botylles gevyn by a lynsman of owrs," and "Item a brasse panne of a galone gevyn to vs lyke wyse" (quoted in Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 22; see also Hogg, "Everyday Life," 100–101). Doyle, "Carthusians," provides further information on the connections of the Saxbys to the Carthusian house in London.

157. For these conjectures, see Sterling, "Oeuvres retrouvées." More recently, see also *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, 198–207; and Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol*, 201–3.

158. Devaux, *L'Architecture*, 129; Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon*, 1:135, 171, 269.

159. See Doyle, "Carthusians," for Golwynne's list.

160. *Consuetudines* 49.1. "Si alicui nostrum sive laico sive monacho, ab aliquo vel amico vel propinquo vel vestis vel aliquid huiusmodi missum fuerit, non ei sed alii potius datur, ne quasi proprium habere videatur." ("If clothing or another gift of that kind has been sent to one of us, converse or monk, by a friend or relative, it is not given to him, but rather to another, so that he does not seem to have something to himself alone.")

161. Quoted in Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 274. See Gribbin, ed., *Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions*.

162. Gribbin, “Ex Oblatione Fidelium,” 91; Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 266–67.

163. Lindquist, “Patronage,” 18.

164. See, e.g., de Grauwe, “Bertholet Flémal”; de Grauwe, “Vitreaux de la chartrreuse de Lierre”; and de Grauwe, “Robert-Arnold Henrard.”

165. The conflicts inherent in Carthusian attitudes toward art are reflected by conflicts among scholars. Le Blévec, for example, asserts that the monastic cells remained always “le refuge de l’austerité primitive,” even while pictures covered the walls of the more public buildings (Girard and Le Blévec, eds., *Les Chartreux et l’art*, 14).

166. *Consuetudines* 64.2. “In cellis quoque ipsis sive superius sive inferius, nichil nisi prius ostensum et iussum, mutari fierive sinitur, ne domus laboriose factae curiositate deterantur vel destruantur.”

167. The evidence of an eighteenth-century monk confirms that centuries later things remained much the same. He upholds a distinction between what is appropriate in the church and what in the cell, warning his brothers: “You should avoid the childish weakness of those who decorate their cells like chapels” (quoted in Venard, 408).

168. Coppack and Aston, *Christ’s Poor Men*, 77–84, 89–92.

169. *Ibid.*, 77.

170. Devaux, *L’Architecture*, 135.

171. Coppack and Aston, *Christ’s Poor Men*, 93–94. The guesthouses at Mountgrace have also been linked to the pilgrim traffic that undoubtedly passed by.

172. *Ibid.*, 93. For the use of the *imago pietatis* on indulgences, see Endres, “Die Darstellung der Gregoriusmesse”; and, for indulgenced images more generally, Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 23–30.

173. Additional 37049, fol. 2r. For the history of the image, see Bertelli, “*Image of Pity*.” A single Caxton woodcut in a miscellaneous incunabulum (Cambridge University Library, Inc.5.F.6.3) shows a Carthusian monk kneeling in front of a similar *Image of Pity*. For this and related English woodcuts, see Bradshaw, “Earliest English Engravings”; Dodgson, “English Devotional Woodcuts”; Dodgson, *Woodcuts of the XV Century*, no. 42, pl. LXXI (Man of Sorrows with a monastic supplicant), no. 112, pl. XXXIc (Man of Sorrows); and Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 381; and Luxford, “Precept and Practice.”

174. One might even conclude that instrumental and aesthetic purposes were mutually exclusive. For this suggestion, see Luxford, “Precept and Practice”; and Marks, *Image and Devotion*, 218.

175. The primary objection to the extremities of Carthusian asceticism had to do, not with images, but with diet: the monks’ vegetarianism was feared to impede the treatment of the sick. See Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 104. For details, see Hogg, “Carthusian Abstinence.” For other criticisms of Carthusian severity, see Knowles, *Monastic Orders*, 384–87; and Cowdrey, “Carthusian Impact.”

176. For a thorough discussion of this tract, and the questions surrounding its authorship, see Hogg, “Guillelmus de Yporegia.”

177. “Certum est enim quod Cartusienses in omnibus ecclesiis suis habent, et ha-

bere debent ex Ordinis sui institutis, imaginem Crucifixi in loco solemnem et eminentem, et super plura altaria plures cruces; in oratoriis quoque cellarum suarum generaliter consueverunt habere Crucifixum et imaginem Mariae Virginis, et etiam aliquando aliorum Sanctorum secundum quod se offert possibilitas et facultas. Honestati vero et paupertati Religionis attestatur ipsorum, si refugiunt curiositates sumptuosas in picturis et sculpturis et varietatibus aedificiorum solemnium et mirabilium, quae rusticitati vitae solitariae non concordant. Secundum enim doctrinam Joannis Damasceni, imagines et picturae murorum sunt quasi quaedam scripturae et literae laicorum, ut qui in libris legere non noverunt, in murorum picturis quasi quibusdam literis grossis intelligunt, quae ipsi illiterati intelligere nequeunt in scripturis. Et ideo tales picturae laudabiliter fieri possunt in ecclesiis ubi concurrunt frequentia populorum, quae frustra et superflue fierent in desertis Cartusiensium quo non consueverunt populi, licet aliquando pauci viri, convenire. . . . Ideo et praedicti Cartusienses in cellis suis, sicut praedictum est, devotas picturas non renuunt nec recusant, sed ad excitationem devotionis et imaginationis, et augmentum devotae conceptionis, easdem libenter et affertose recipiunt et requirunt.” See Le Couteulx, *Annales ordinis Cartusiensis*, 1:276–77. Paraphrased from MS Bodley 549 (fols. 25–85v) by Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 106.

178. For a charterhouse museum that reconstructs the artistic environment of the medieval and modern cell, see Koller and Lensen, *Kartäusermuseum Tüchelhausen*.

179. “Conclusions,” 400–401. “Aucun autre ordre ne paraît avoir aussi sûrement imposé sa propre image, avoir été aussi exigeant sur la représentation de lui-même et sur la traduction artistique.”

180. “La croix Nostre Seigneur, et au pié d’icelle aura ung priant chartreux.” See Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton*. Quarton was also a sometime painter of manuscripts, for example, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 358 (a book of hours), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 2661 (Missal of Jean des Martins).

181. Hans Belting claims that the cell paintings at Champmol “always depicted the Crucifixion but also included a portrait of the cell’s occupant” (*Likeness and Presence*, 417). While this claim may seem unduly sweeping, it testifies to the regularity with which Carthusians depicted themselves at prayer. See also Camille, “Mimetic Identification,” 190–92.

182. It is worth noting that Petrus Christus’ “Portrait of a Carthusian” (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1446) represents the monk alone with no divine figures—and hence seemingly to no devotional purpose.

183. See, e.g., Girard, “Les Chartreux et les anges.”

184. See Ainsworth and Martens, Cat. 2, Jan van Eyck and Workshop, “Virgin and Child with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vos.”

185. Ainsworth, *Petrus Christus*, cat. 7, Petrus Christus, “Virgin and Child with Saint Barbara and Jan Vos (Exeter Madonna).” See also Upton, *Petrus Christus*. It is thought that Petrus Christus made this small copy from the larger altarpiece around 1450.

186. Connections between books and art can be architectural, as well. For a study of a postmedieval iconographic/allegorical program in a charterhouse library, see Fischer, *Barocke Bibliotheksprogramm*.

187. *Monk's Confession*, 32. "Intantum, inquam, suae sunt custodes inopiae ut, hoc ipso quo agimus anno, Nevernensis comes, vir omnino religiosus et potens, eos, causa devotionis et optima, quae hinc emanat, opinionis, inviserit multumque super seculari eos cupiditate, ut caverent inde, monuerit, cumque, regressus ad sua, eorum indigentiae, quam viderat, meminisset, et monitorum, quae eis intulerat, nequaquam memor esset, nescio quae argentea, sciphos videlicet et scutras, precii plurimi eis misit. Sed eorum quae dixerat illis nequaquam obliviosos invenit: communicato namque mox consilio, quaecumque dixerat ad integrum refutata receipt. "Nos," inquit, "neque in expensis nostris neque in ecclesiae ornamentis, exterarum quippiam pecuniarum retinere delegimus. Et si in horum alterutro non expenditur, ut quid a nobis suscipitur?" Pudit itaque praevicatoriae contra suum sermonem oblationis comitem et tamen, dissimulata aspernatione eorum, boum tergora et pergama plurima retransmisit, quae pene inevitabiliter ipsis necessaria esse cognovit" (Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, 68–70).

188. Few studies and exhibitions have addressed the question of Carthusian illumination directly, but see de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, especially 48–49, 116–21, 134–42, 192–240; de Forbin, "Les Manuscrits de la chartreuse de Villeneuveles-Avignon"; Früh, "Die Illustrationen in Guigo Engelherrns Manuskripten"; de Merindol, "Les Premières bibles peintes cartusiennes"; Vaillant, *Les Enluminures des manuscrits cartusiens*; and Vaillant, *Les Manuscrits de la Grande Chartreuse*. For English illumination, specifically, one will soon be able to consult Luxford, "Precept and Practice." I am grateful to Dr. Luxford for allowing me to see his essay in an early version.

189. For a useful sifting of external ("forinsic") and internal decoration, see Luxford, "Precept and Practice."

190. For a magnificent English example of an aristocratic "Carthusian" book, see the illuminated Bible from Winchester that King Henry II gave to the charterhouse at Witham (Bodleian MSS Auct.E.infra 1 and 2); Oakeshott, *Two Winchester Bibles*, 33–34. Late-medieval English charterhouses, too, benefited from the donation of magnificent royal books, such as the illustrated Bible given to Sheen in 1419 by Henry V (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 34) or the Wycliffite Bible probably given to London by Henry VI (Oxford, Bodleian MS Bodley 277). For these and other examples, see Luxford, "Precept and Practice."

191. The inclusion of the statutes seems to be one of Doyle's unspoken criteria for determining which manuscripts are certainly associated with the Carthusians; see "Not Yet Linked."

192. Examples on flyleaves include a Holy Trinity (BL MS Royal 12.B.iv), a head of Christ (Ripon Cathedral MS 6), Christ Crucified and Christ Carrying the Cross (CGCC MS 142/192), and a Virgin and child (BL MS Add. 37790). For discussion, see Luxford, "Precept and Practice."

193. Luxford argues that the illustration of the genealogy of English kings in Eton College MS 213 was done by the manuscript's annotator, a Carthusian; see "Precept and Practice."

194. For Golwynne's books, see Doyle, "Carthusians," C7, pp. 627–29. Printed also by Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 326–28.

195. Doyle compares this "wryten boke" to a volume identifiable from John

Blacman's donation, BL MS Sloane 2515—a manuscript that contains three treatises on mortality copied by Blacman himself when he was at the London charterhouse, c. 1460. For another Carthusian “*liber de arte moriendi*,” see Doyle, “Carthusians,” C2.13.

196. It is possible that “*storyes*” here could refer to pictorial representations, as well as texts; see *MED*, s.v. “*storie*” (n.1), 3. The specificity with which Golwynne's list describes other manuscript illuminations makes this interpretation unlikely, however.

197. Hardman suggests that Robert Thornton, for example, could have been influenced by Carthusian art in manuscripts such as Additional 37049; “Reading the Spaces,” 269.

198. “*Maxima utilitas corporum est, in usu signorum. Ex eis enim fiunt multa signa nostri saluti necessaria, ut ex aere voces, ex ligno cruce, ex aqua baptismus. Non norunt invicem motus suos animae, nisi per signa corporea*” (Guigo I, *Les Méditations*, no. 308, p. 204; *Meditations of Guigo I*, 132).

199. *Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Meech and Allen, 200. See also Renevey, “Margery's Performing Body,” 204–11.

CHAPTER 3. *The Shapes of Eremitic Reading in the Desert of Religion*

1. Physical evidence suggests that the *Desert of Religion* may not always have occupied this central place in the manuscript; see Hogg, who concludes that the *Desert* at one time “formed a separate entity” (“Unpublished Texts,” 248). If the poem was deliberately integrated into the middle of the manuscript at some time after its original production—surely a more difficult procedure than simply tacking it on at either end—its central position seems all the more significant.

2. I borrow the term *composite art* from Mitchell, *Blake's Composite Art*.

3. Allen, “*Desert of Religion*,” 389. The *Desert* also borrows, less heavily, from the *Prick of Conscience*, Richard Rolle's *Emendatio vitae* (in the twelve degrees of perfect living), the *Legenda aurea*, and the sermon *De duodecim abusivum gradibus* attributed to St. Augustine, but more likely authored by St. Cyprian. Even passages now unidentified seem derivative to Allen, who thinks it “possible that some of the passages now unaccounted for might be traced, were the investigation a profitable one” (389). For a discussion of the *Speculum vitae* (NIMEV 245) and its relationships to a variety of texts derived from the influential *Somme le roy*, see Allen, “*Speculum Vitae*.” Two of some thirty manuscripts that preserve the *Speculum* claim that it derives from a Latin work by John of Waldeby and cite William of Nassington as the English translator, but neither of these claims can be corroborated.

4. Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 179; Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, 235.

5. This and all subsequent quotations of the *Desert* are taken from Hübner, ed., *Desert of Religion*.

6. Other occurrences of the participial construction in the poem include, for example, “*spryngand*” (132) and “*floryschand*” (163). For notice of the participle, see Freud, “*Desert of Religion*,” 57.

7. On the reading of diagrams as text and image, see Evans, "Geometry of the Mind."

8. Hübner, "*Desert of Religion*." More recent studies of the poem similarly make no attempt to integrate texts with images; see McGovern-Mouron, "Edition of the *Desert of Religion*." While Hübner's edition is based on the text of Additional 37049, McGovern-Mouron chooses Cotton Faustina B.vi (II) as her best text, exclusively because of the superior quality of its illustrations. See also McGovern-Mouron, "*Desert of Religion* in British Library Cotton Faustina B VI"—which argues strongly that the version of the poem in Cotton is "most interesting" because of the quality of its illustrations (159). For an argument that more clearly takes the poem's unusual design into account, see Mouron, "Rhetoric of Religion," 148–56.

9. Curiosity about the famous hermit focused attention initially on the *Desert's* images before its words, but only as documentary icons with memorial, biographical power. The Rolle "portrait" from MS Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) was reproduced numerous times before anyone thought to discuss the other pictures, or the texts appended to them; see Montmorency, *Thomas à Kempis*, pl. opp. 70; Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, frontispiece, pl. opp. 25; Comper, *Life of Richard Rolle*, frontispiece, xix; and Rickert, *Painting in Britain*, 183–84, pl. 183b. See chapter 4 for further discussion of Rolle's influence on all three manuscripts.

10. The *IMEV*, too, only partially accommodates the structure of the *Desert of Religion*. Brown and Robbins cite only the 940 lines of the continuous poem as one text (*IMEV*, 672), but Robbins and Cutler later include in the *IMEV Suppl.* two other poems, considered by them to be separate texts, which are perimeter-texts surrounding images of hermits (91.8; 1367.3 [this latter text is erroneously said to illustrate a "picture of several saints" on fol. 52v]). The six lines identified as *IMEV Suppl.* 1367.3 are excerpted not only from the complex of poem and perimeter-texts and images that make up the *Desert of Religion*, but also from "Ihesu god some lord of mageste/Send wil to my hert etc." (1715), where they are stanza 8 (see Brown XIV, 99–101). Only the texts having to do with Rolle or thought to be authored by him are granted such independent status; other perimeter-texts are folded into the *Desert* as a whole, or (one suspects) ignored. The poem fits uncomfortably into modern bibliographical scholarship, which has hampered consideration of it.

11. Lawton gives a short list of secular Middle English texts that "seem to have been viewed as illustrated books": John Gower's *Confessio amantis*; Stephen Scrope's translations of the *Épître d'Otbéa*, and the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*; John Lydgate's *Troy Book*, *Fall of Princes*, and *Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund*; and the English prose translations of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme* ("Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts," 42n5). Even these works, however, exist in some unillustrated copies. For discussion of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* in Additional 37049, see below, chapter 6.

12. The manuscript has been widely known at least since Margaret Rickert's mention in *Painting in Britain* (183–84), and it merits its own entry (no. 63) in Kathleen Scott's *Later Gothic Manuscripts*.

13. The relationship to the British Library manuscripts was first noticed by Rick-

ert. The Cambridge connection was suggested by E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, and Rickert, but Scott actually makes the solid attribution. See also Keiser, "Middle English Passion Narratives," which includes a short appendix listing points of comparison between the two manuscripts.

14. See Doyle, "Survey," 193; and Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:194. Rickert suggests possible Dutch influence visible in the drawings (*Painting in Britain*, 184), but this leads us no closer to an idea of the book's provenance. Scott thinks the artist "trained on the Continent, perhaps in the Low Countries" (*Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:191).

15. According to Rickert, the manuscript could be "no earlier than the second quarter of the fifteenth century" (*Painting in Britain*, 183); Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, settles on the slightly earlier date.

16. The entry in the British Library catalogue is inadequate; Rickert, *Painting in Britain*, does not treat the manuscript at all; and Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, though she mentions the book, does not give it a separate entry or any extended discussion.

17. See Doyle, "Survey," 193. Barker concludes that Stowe is the most "professional" of the three *Desert* manuscripts because the monastic habits are correctly drawn; see *Two East Anglian Picture Books*.

18. Compare the speculative stemmata in Hübner, "*Desert*"; and discussion in Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:193.

19. See Friedman, *Northern English Books*, especially 191–202. For an account of eremitic culture in Yorkshire, see Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, especially 64–126.

20. See chapter 1, note 17.

21. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:193. Unless the scribe of Stowe was working from an unillustrated exemplar—which is unlikely, given the interconnections in the *Desert* between image and text—it is difficult to understand how an artist could have received only verbal instructions. If we do posit an unillustrated exemplar for Stowe, the lengths to which its makers went to include illustration only reinforce the importance of image for text.

22. In the collections of the British Library alone, Latin versions of these or similar verses can be found in MSS Additional 18347, Additional 24660, Additional 38131, Royal 5E.xxi, Royal 7E.vii, and Royal 8B.vi. For a discussion of the Latin *Vado mori* tradition, see Storck, "Das 'Vado mori.'" The lines that parallel the English are: "Vado mori, rex sum, quid honor, quid gloria mundi?/Est via mors hominis regia: vado mori./Vado mori miles, belli certamine victor./Mortem non didici vincere: vado mori./Vado mori logicus, aliis concludere novi./Conclusit breviter mors michi: vado mori."

23. This text is taken from the Cotton manuscript (fol. 1v). In Additional 37049 (fol. 36), the knight's speech-balloon has been so severely cropped from the bottom of the page that much of it is no longer legible.

24. Many medieval apologists, following Gregory the Great's famous letter to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles, defend imagery on the grounds that it enhances memory. St. Bonaventure, for example, gives a convenient version of the *ratio triplex*. For a selection of such views, see Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art*.

25. See Wenzel, "Latin Miracle"; Heffernan, "Virgin as an Aid." Heffernan calls this text by its Latin incipit: "O Spes, in morte me salua Maria, precor te."

26. On Casanatense 1404, see Saxl, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 95–99, 106–7; Wormald, "Crucifix and the Balance," pl. 40b. For a Continental parallel with Latin verses, see Cohn, "Eine unbekannte oberrheinische Miniatur."

27. For full discussion of these excerpts, see chapter 4.

28. The texts on this page were added by a later hand, probably in the sixteenth century.

29. Jeffrey Hamburger has explored the close relation between enclosure and looking in the case of cloistered nuns; see *Rothschild Canticles*; *Nuns as Artists*; and *Visual and the Visionary*.

30. Both individual texts and whole volumes normally begin on the recto, which is the more important visual position in the codex. Stowe adds material to preserve the position of the diagrammatic tree on the recto, even though other differences in layout would seem to have necessitated moving the tree to the verso.

31. For similar trees in the art of parish churches, see Tristram, *English Wall-Painting*, 99–107; Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, 49–53; and the Web site *Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church: A Developing Catalogue* (<http://www.paintedchurch.org/deadlysi.htm>). More generally, see Evans, "Geometry," 26–29; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 63–68; O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices*, 323–434; and Saxl, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 107–15. See also Bolzoni, *Web of Images*, 83–114; Fingernagel, "De Fructibus Carnis et Spiritus"; and Behling, "Ecclesia als arbor bona."

32. After her careful tally of the numerous borrowed lines, even Allen concludes that "the lines which form the framework of the forest and occasional incidental bits still appear to be original" (389).

33. See Burton-Christie, *Word in the Desert*.

34. LeGoff, "Le Désert dans l'Occident médiéval," in *L'Imaginaire médiéval*, 59–75; and McGinn, "Ocean and Desert."

35. Mazzotta, *Dante, Poet of the Desert*. Mazzotta explains his title: "As a metaphor for both history and text, the desert marks our estrangement from the world and is the perspective from which we can question the very language we use, the falsifications and ambiguities that language harbors" (12). For other accounts of the transformative potential of the desert, see also Harrison, *Forests*, especially chap. 2; and Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 57–83.

36. *Vitae patrum*, Cod. Vat. Lat. 375, fol. 129r: "Iste liber est monasterii sancte crucis in ierusalem de Urbe ordinis cartusiensis." Compare also the illustrations of the hermit saints in New Haven, Yale University Beinecke MS 404 (Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, 143–54).

37. See Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, 151–54, and references there. See also Hamburger, "Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns," especially 229–30.

38. Kathleen Scott notes the rarity of such a layout (*Later Gothic Manuscripts*). She thinks that the pictures were added in columns to use marginal space efficiently, but the picture-blocks are fully as large as the text-blocks, and cannot be thought of as "marginal."

39. As Roger Ellis argues, “Inevitably, words on a circular border create at some point a perspective opposed to the normal and imply that a religious perspective requires the overturning of that by which we usually live. This happens whenever the artist uses upside-down writing. The words are not ours by right, and we can appropriate them to ourselves only if we are willing to reproduce in our lives the distinctive stance of the saints who first spoke them” (“Word in Religious Art,” 31).

40. Ps. 54:8 (Douai-Rheims trans.).

41. Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 73.

42. Scott notes this connection (*Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:193). For a famous example connected with Middle English literature, see the Corpus Christi frontispiece to *Troilus and Criseyde*; and Pearsall and Salter, “Pictorial Illustration of Late Medieval Poetic Texts.”

43. Mary of Egypt is also the last of the desert saints who can be directly compared, for after that the sequence in Additional 37049 differs from the others.

44. From the position of her feet she appears perhaps to be floating, but compare John the Baptist (12v) and other hermits whose feet are visible similarly “standing” on the ground.

45. *Acta sanctorum*, April 1, 67–90. For an English translation of Mary’s *vita*, see Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 65–93. For a Western treatment of Mary’s legend in the late Middle Ages (13th c.), see Rutebeuf, *La Vie de Sainte Marie l’Egyptienne*, ed. Bujila; and on the conflation of Mary of Egypt with Mary Magdalen, see Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 37–38, 124–25.

46. One is reminded of Kathleen Scott’s plausible suggestion that this artist is following a verbal description, rather than a pictorial exemplar. The saint was perhaps described as “covered with hair.”

47. De Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:228.

48. Compare also fol. 61v. The iconography of a shield emblazoned with Christ’s five wounds is reflected in another Carthusian manuscript, the *Book of Margery Kempe*. The “red-ink annotator” of British Library MS Additional 61823, presumably a Carthusian reader, drew five wounds in a capital *T* that offered him the shape of a shield. For an argument that these annotations demonstrate lay readership, see Parsons, “Red-Ink Annotator.” The image is common, too, in monumental forms; see, e.g., roof bosses in the Church of All Saints, Silkstone, and painted glass (no longer extant) in the Church (now cathedral) of All Saints, Wakefield (Palmer, *Early Art*, 111).

49. For a variant Cistercian iconography of the seven gifts, see Rademacher-Chorus, “Maria mit dem Sieben Gaben.” For a prayer structured by the seven gifts, see Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 457–73.

50. Several puns are possible in this passage. The more likely one is *serē*, which means both “various” and “dry, withered” (compare the “baran stedes” of the desert wilderness); *MED*, s.v. “serē” adj. (1) and (2). Less likely, perhaps, but suggestive nonetheless is *lyfeyng*, which shares morphology with both “living” and “leafing”; given its arboreal allegory, it is appropriate that the poem should exhort its readers to “good leaf-making” on the branches of virtue, as well as to good living.

51. Compare ll. 333–34. “And we sall trow, if we vs kepe / To commun with all haly felawschepe.”

52. Pantin suggests, speculating about the poem's audience, that "more devout, educated, and sophisticated laymen . . . would collect and read the more elaborate treatises" (*English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, 234). He calls the *Desert* "the most elaborate treatise of all" (*ibid.*). But he seems to assume, because the poem is in the vernacular, that it was read by lay people. Doyle claims the *Desert* was written "specifically for regular contemplatives, 'people of religiouné', and, unusually for verse of this type, expressly to be seen and studied (memorized, too, no doubt)" ("Survey," 192).

53. On lay imitation of monastic life, see Keiser, "'Noght How Lang Man Lifis." On the *Abbey* in particular, see also Rice, "Spiritual Ambition."

54. McGovern-Mouron suggests that the text was first written for a Carthusian audience because of the importance of the *desert* (a word not particular to, though especially related to, Carthusian houses), the incorporation of a psalm associated with Carthusian use, and the presence of Carthusian lay brothers as an audience for vernacular literature ("*Desert of Religion*"). On the contrary, Freud argues strenuously that the *Desert* is not Carthusian in composition. It hardly matters for this study, however, since in Additional 37049 the poem was clearly "Carthusian" in reception.

55. The British Library catalogue and the original *IMEV* ignore these texts, perhaps because they were assumed to be a continuation of the *Desert*. But see *IMEVS* 3322.1, 3707.7. Because the poems remain unpublished, I will transcribe them here in full.

56. On the contrasts implicit between the wilderness and the city, see Piehler, *Visionary Landscape*, especially 72–78.

57. Compare Cotton, fol. 20v; and Stowe, fol. 29v.

58. *IMEV* 3478. For the verses found, too, in the *Desert of Religion*, see fol. 50v.

59. This ladder is one of the images considered by Höltgen to anticipate the seventeenth-century emblem; see "Arbor, Scala, Fons Vitae." Ladders, however, were also important to medieval devotional iconography, where they form a "very old and remarkably persistent figure"; see Cahn, "Ascending to and Descending from Heaven," 697.

60. BL MS Additional 22121, fols. 43v–44r. For ladder images from Christ's ascent of the cross to monastic attempts to reach heaven, see Bolzoni, *Web of Images*, 102–6; Carruthers, "Le Puits de l'échelle,"; Corrigan, "Constantine's Problems"; Crabtree, "Ladders and Lines of Connection"; Derbes, "Images East and West"; Evans, "Geometry," 39–40; Heck, "L'Iconographie de l'ascension spirituelle"; and Heck, *LEchelle céleste*, 146–48.

61. Compare Cotton, fol. 10v; and Stowe, fol. 18v.

CHAPTER 4. *Lyric Imaginings and Painted Prayers*

1. The isolable lyric forms a part of a surprising number of medieval literary forms: the roundel, for example, in the *Parliament of Fowls*, and the inset songs in *Troilus and Criseyde* (Moore, "Chaucer's Use of Lyric"). See also Ross, "Middle English Poem on the Names of a Hare." The long *Pèlerinages* translated from Guillaume de Deguileville include many inset lyrics, from the songs of angels and Complaint of the Virgin that were probably written by Thomas Hoccleve (see chapter 6), to the poem that was

translated by Chaucer as the *ABC*. On excerpts from Deguileville and the popular *Cursor mundi*, see Thompson, "Textual Instability."

2. The lyrics of Additional 37049 have been edited and reproduced more often than any of its other contents. The primary studies of the Middle English devotional lyric include images from the manuscript; see, for example, Gray, *Themes and Images*, pls. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 10; and Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, pls. 1, 2, 3b. See also Gray, "Medieval English Mystical Lyrics," 210–16.

3. Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 40. I have slightly emended Puttenham's punctuation. Also quoted in Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 111.

4. Abrams, *Glossary of Literary Terms*, s.v. "lyric." For a convenient introduction to the history of the form from this perspective, see also Brogan, ed., *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. For more thorough surveys of problems of definition, see also Welsh, *Roots of Lyric*, 3–24; and Albright, *Lyricality in English Literature*, vii–x, 1–28.

5. The most secure way to typify such a disparate category is simply to call it "the short poem"—though even the criterion of length may be less self-evident than it would initially appear. See, e.g., Burrow, *Medieval Writers and Their Work*, 61–68. For a summary of critics' attempts to delimit the Middle English lyric further, see Greentree, *Middle English Lyric and Short Poem*, 5–37, especially 5–13. Greentree concludes: "we must . . . question the worth of any idea of coherence in the genre" (6). For an exploration of subgenres of medieval lyric in a Continental context, see Paden, *Medieval Lyric*.

6. On medieval concrete poetry, see Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum*; and Adler, "*Technopaigneia*."

7. The most cursory survey of incipits in the *NIMEV* provides this information. Poems beginning with verbs of hearing make up 84 entries (herkneþ, 36; lysteth, 48), whereas those beginning with verbs of seeing number 111 (behold, 28; look, 12; see, 3; lo, 14; here, 54). If the verbs of seeing are expanded to include those that might be imagined to enjoin mental imagery—"seeing" with the mind's eye—we might also include "think," 15; and "have mind for/on," 5. A more thorough survey of the language used in these poems would be necessary for a definitive description of the distribution of verbs of hearing and seeing, but these numbers are nonetheless suggestive. See also Boffey, "Loke on þis Wrytyng."

8. For a discussion of the ways in which visible forms animate medieval reading, though in genres other than lyric, see Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*, especially chap. 1.

9. These braces demonstrate neatly how the seen and the heard are productively combined in Middle English lyric, for even though they can have no vocalization, they exist to elucidate visually the structure of the poetry's preeminent sound effect. Thus they transform the heard into the seen. For an overview of related effects in musical notation, see Holsinger, "Analytical Survey 6," 282–84.

10. Other manuscripts with decorated devotional lyrics include: former MS Amherst 20, Bodleian MS Douce 1, Bodleian MS Eng.poet.a.1 (Vernon), British Library MS Additional 22283 (Simeon), and British Library MS Arundel 285. For studies of

illustrated lyrics, see, e.g., Gray, "Five Wounds"; Gray, "Middle English Illustrated Poem"; and Robbins, "Arma Christi Rolls." More generally, see Gray, *Themes and Images*.

11. For a consideration of mysticism as a context for these poems, see Gray, "Medieval English Mystical Lyrics."

12. Woolf's first sentence makes this claim: "Among the commonest and most attractive forms in medieval English literature are the short, religious, *meditative* poems" (*English Religious Lyric*, 1; emphasis mine).

13. Some of Woolf's assertions about the meditative nature of the lyric are frustratingly circular. She observes, for example, that "the lyrics can immediately be recognized as meditative poems, for their sources are invariably Latin works that are overtly and unmistakably meditations" (*ibid.*, 3).

14. On the one hand, Woolf observes that the lyrics of Additional 37049 "cannot have been communicated orally, for the accompanying illustrations are an essential part of the meditations" (*ibid.*, 375). On the other hand, she endorses the idea that a visual image has the effect of "impoverishing the poem, since it would lack visual description, but making less demand upon the concentration of the reader, who would be spared the effort of imagining the scene for himself" (*ibid.*, 19–20). For another dismissal of the fifteenth-century lyric, see Kohl, "Genre Development."

15. Wenzel's questions about Woolf's work are pertinent here: "The question which her evaluation of individual poems in the light of the meditative tradition thus poses is a historical one: how are we to envision the actual use of these religious poems? Were 'meditative lyrics' indeed used in true meditation? Were they whispered or sung in the stillness of a hermit's or nun's cell? Were they recited from the pulpit? And finally, was their function at all different from that of verses cited in sermons?" (*Verses in Sermons*, 125–26).

16. The face of Death has been rubbed out, in a testimony to the apotropaic power of his frightening visage. Compare fol. 69r.

17. For Woolf it is one of only three main categories, the other two being Marian lyrics and Passion poems (*English Religious Lyric*). For the importance of death and burial in the development of the genre, see Lerer, "Genre of the Grave." Some have characterized Additional 37049 as especially macabre; see Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?" But compare Girard, "De l'Image," 151–53; Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, 151–67; and Matsuda, "Presence of Purgatory."

18. More precisely, the speaker complains that "men" do not adequately "consider" (27–28), but it is safe to assume that his poem itself stands for the kind of "consideration" he misses in others.

19. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*; Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*. See also Carruthers and Ziolkowski, eds., *Medieval Craft of Memory*.

20. Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*; Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*; Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*. The quotations can be found in *Preachers, Poets*, 128, 13.

21. On musical connections, see especially Stevens, *Music and Poetry*; and Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*. But compare Taylor, "Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript." On the carol, see Greene's pioneering work: *Early English Carols* and *Selection of English Carols*.

22. On the relation between vernacular lyric and Latin hymn, see, e.g., Robbins, "Middle English Carols"; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*; Wenzel, *Poets, Preachers*, especially 21–60; and Weber, *Theology and Poetry*. For further discussion of liturgical poems, see chapter 5.

23. See, e.g., Robbins, "Earliest Carols." Connections between lyrics and Franciscans are attested by such manuscript collections as James Ryman's (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ee.1.2) and John Grimestone's (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates' Library 18.7.21).

24. Jeffrey, *Early English Lyric*.

25. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, 540n5 (fols. 28v, 73v, 19r); Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 115n3 (fol. 30b), 286n2 (Suso excerpts), 325n2 (fol. 81r), 335n3 (fol. 96), 338n1 (fols. 17, 74), 344n2 (fol. 33), 272n3 (20b).

26. Wenzel, "Latin Miracle"; and Heffernan, "Virgin as an Aid."

27. For a Franciscan preacher who makes explicit reference to a painting of this scene, see Martin, "L'Imagerie religieuse," 146–47.

28. Martin argues that sermons, theater, and visual art together constitute a "pédagogie religieuse" ("L'Imagerie religieuse," 148). See also Bériou, "De la lecture aux épousailles"; Hamburger, "'Various Writings of Humanity'"; and especially Bolzoni, *Web of Images*. For England, see the very useful work by Gill, "Preaching and Image."

29. Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity*, 165–83. See also Palmer, "Das Exempelwerk der englischen Bettelmönche"; and Palmer, "Antiquitus depingebatur."

30. For the original context of the allegory, see St. John Damascene, *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. Middle English versions can be found in Hirsh, ed., *Barlam and Iosaphat*; and Ikegami, ed., *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Quoted from Hirsh, ed., *Barlam and Iosaphat*, 55–56.

31. Hirsh, ed., *Barlam and Iosaphat*, 56.

32. For a survey of the pictures, see Nersessian, *L'illustration du Roman de Barlaam et Ioasaph*, especially 63–68; Einhorn, "Das Einhorn als Sinnzeichen des Todes"; and Pittman and Scattergood, "Some Illustrations of the Unicorn Apologue." See also Saxl, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," who lists other examples of the man-in-tree motif; Brunner, "Todesgedichte" and references there; and Einhorn, *Spiritualis unicornis*, 310–23.

33. Pittman and Scattergood reproduce this image, as well as Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9416c; and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9229 c. On Pierpont Morgan MS 729, see also Gould, *Psalter and Hours of Yolande de Soissons*. For the problematics of reading the psalter's images—and skepticism of the attribution to Yolande—see Sand, "Vision, Devotion, and Difficulty."

34. The end of the text is imperfect, due to damage to the manuscript leaf.

35. The beehive is the only detail unique to this version of the image. Pittman and Scattergood believe that it demonstrates how far the Eastern story had become assimilated to the English landscape ("Some Illustrations of the Unicorn Apologue," 90).

36. *MWME* II[38]. See also Ikegami, ed., *Barlaam and Josaphat*, 68–80. For a se-

lection of Middle English verse versions, see Horstmann, ed., *Altenglische Legenden*, 126–27 (*South English Legendary*, Bodley 779), 221–22 (Vernon), 233–34 (*Northern Homily Cycle*, Harley 4196).

37. Quoted from Horstmann, ed., *Altenglische Legenden*, 126.

38. The unicorn, in particular, represented a wide range of sometimes contradictory ideas in the Middle Ages, from chastity to courtship, and from Christ to wrath (as, for example, in *Ancrene Wisse*). The unicorn represents death in the numerous manuscript illustrations of this apologue—not always accompanied by explanatory texts—and Death rides a unicorn in both Jean Colombe's *Hours of Chantilly* (1485) and Dürer's *Rape of Persephone*. See Einhorn, *Spiritualis unicornis*; and Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces*, 152–57.

39. This connection was first noticed by Anderson, *Drama and Imagery*, 1. For an analogue in which the falcon pursues a secular love rather than turning to Christ, see “Revertere” (Furnivall, ed., *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, 91–94): “This hauk of herte is zouþe y-wys, / Pursueþ euere þis feisaunt hen; / þis feisaunt hen is likingnes, / And euere folwiþ hir þese ʒonge men” (73–76). Ross notes that a similar image representing secular love appears in a seventeenth-century emblem-book: Daniel Heinsius, *Quaeris quid sit amor* (Amsterdam, 1608) (“‘Emblem’ Verses,” 278n31).

40. As Woolf makes clear, the devotional poems that are her subject were not, in general, sung (*English Religious Lyric*, 3). The exceptions to this rule can prove instructive: “Wofully araide” occurs in the Fayrfax manuscript of the sixteenth century, where it is “the clearest possible example of a poem being chosen for setting for non-musical qualities” (Stevens, *Music and Poetry*, 37). Stevens observes that even this musical setting of the poem retains an interest in its visual manifestation: on the word “strained” “long notes with pauses are introduced in every voice: the performer *sees* an elongated shape on the page in front of him; the listener *hears* a note stretched out” (ibid., 104). For this example, see also Plank, “‘Wrapped All in Woe,’” especially 102–5.

41. Quoted with slight emendation from the text presented in Zutitza, “Cantus Beati Godrici”; see also Rankin, “Hymns of St. Godric.”

42. For Reginald of Coldingham's contemporary account of Godric's life, see Zutitza, “Cantus Beati Godrici.” This story of the visionary origins of Middle English verse is remarkably like the better known story of Caedmon's first poetic efforts in Old English, reported by Bede.

43. For a discussion of the generic inheritance of these early poems, see Rankin, “Hymns of St. Godric.” For the position of the speaker in both modern and medieval lyric, see, e.g., Allen, “Grammar, Poetic Form, and the Lyric Ego.”

44. It is possible, however, that the second stanza is not original; see Rankin, “Hymns of St. Godric.” For the later Marian lyric, see, e.g., Phillips, “Almighty and All Merciable Queene.”

45. Methley, “Epistle to Hew Heremyte,” 116–17. I have emended Hogg's transcription slightly. Gray also notes the connection between Godric and Methley; see *Themes and Images*, vii–viii.

46. See Allen, ed., *English Writings*; Allen, *Writings*; and Comper, *Life of Richard*

Rolle. More recently, see Watson, *Invention of Authority*; Renevey, *Language, Self, and Love*; and McIlroy, *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle*.

47. Chambers, "On the Continuity of English Prose." More recently, see Kubouchi, *From Wulfstan to Richard Rolle*.

48. The manuscripts are Cambridge University Library Dd.v.64, Longleat 29, Lambeth 853, and the Lincoln Thornton manuscript. The first two name Rolle in connection with these lyrics, although it is not always clear how many of the poems are meant to be attributed to him. See Allen, *Writings*, 287–311. See Allen, also, for the description of "Gastly Gladnesse" as a "prose lyric"; *Writings*, 272–74. For an edition of Longleat 29, see Ogilvie-Thomson, *Richard Rolle*.

49. Liegey, "Richard Rolle's *Carmen Prosaicum*."

50. Allen, *Writings*, 291.

51. In the words of Denis Renevey, "The reader, invested with the degrees of love and the faculty of *inventio*, may perform the lyrics as an actualization of their spiritual tenets. That kind of performance requires complete empathy with the level of consciousness which defines the lyric" (*Language, Self, and Love*, 123).

52. For an astute exploration of the ways in which Rolle's broad influence was constructed through the lyric, especially, see Watson, *Invention of Authority*, 232–36.

53. See Allen, *English Writings*, 66 (*Ego Dormio*), 81 (*Commandment*), and 108 (*Form of Living*). See chapter 5 for further discussion of devotions to the Holy Name.

54. This characterization of Rolle's devotion actually originates with his detractors, and so should be treated with caution. See Thomas Bassett's *Defense against the Detractors of Richard*, written in response to the claim of a "learned Carthusian" that Rolle's influence was malign (Allen, *Writings*, 527–37.) For a subtle reading of the role of lyric in Rolle's affective practice, see Gillespie, "Mystic's Foot."

55. See Allen, *Writings*, 306–11.

56. Comper, *Life of Richard Rolle*, vii.

57. Allen, the first modern critic to restrict the burgeoning Rolle canon, is skeptical even of Rolle's authorship: "Probably the rhymed paraphrases and the new combination of lyrics which we find in Add. 37049 were due to the enthusiastic scribe of this book" (*Writings*, 311).

58. Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, 233.

59. See chapter 1, note 16. For the comparison with tomb sculpture, see Allen, *Writings*, 307–8.

60. Additional 37049, fol. 52v; Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II), fol. 8v; Stowe 39, fol. 16v.

61. Allen uncharacteristically misreads the three pictures, claiming explicitly that the Stowe image includes the holy monogram (which it does not), and claiming also that all three include angels holding a book or scroll with the words "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus" (which, again, is not the case in Stowe). She argues that these words and the image of a canopy "would seem to indicate that an effort for Rolle's canonization was still being made" in the early fifteenth century (*Writings*, 55, 310).

62. The inclusion of these verses in both Cotton and Stowe provides no certainty that the figure in the latter manuscript is meant to be Rolle; if the scribe was copying an identical exemplar, it is difficult to see why the name should have been omitted.

63. On the representation of spoken words within pictures, see Flett, “Significance of Text Scrolls.”

64. The layout of many of the folios in Additional 37049 resembles the two columns of the *Desert of Religion*, e.g., fols. 19v, 20r, 24v, 25r, 25v, 36r, and 37v–38r. Perhaps this layout derives from a scribal *horror vacui*, an impulse to fill the whole page with texts and images, or perhaps a full column is simply a useful kind of picture space to associate with short verse lines.

65. “For when I was sitting in that same chapel and I was singing the psalms in the evening before supper as well as I was able, I jumped as if at the ringing, or rather, the playing of stringed instruments, above me. And further, when I strained toward these heavenly sounds by praying with all my desire, I do not know how soon I experienced the blending of melodies within myself and drew forth the most delightful harmonies from heaven, which remained with me in my spirit. For my meditation was continually transformed into the song of harmony, and it is as if I have odes in meditating. And further, I have enjoyed the same sound in psalmody and in the prayers themselves” (*Fire of Love*, trans. del Mastro, 148). For Rolle’s Latin, see *Incendium amoris*, ed. Deanesley; and for a fifteenth-century English translation by Richard Misyn, see *Fire of Love*, ed. Harvey.

66. Another version (*NIMEV* 3416) is found on fol. 36v; see discussion in chapter 5.

67. See Westra, ed., *A Talking of the Love of God*, 2. The work, which appears only in the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts, is also printed in Horstmann’s *Yorkshire Writers*, 345–66. On this sort of affective punctuation in Rolle, see Smedick, “Parallellism and Pointing.”

68. Lines 1–6 and 38–45 are from the second lyric in *Ego Dormio*; lines 7–16 and 30–37 are from the first. This longer lyric is a complex patchwork.

69. As Gillespie explains: “earthly song is clearly flawed, but because of the order which it manifests in itself, it is closer to heavenly song than other kinds of speech” (“Mystic’s Foot,” 211).

70. The poem has been edited by Morris, *Pricke of Conscience*. For information on the manuscripts, I rely on Lewis and McIntosh, *Descriptive Guide*.

71. The copies that attribute the poem to Rolle are: Gonville and Caius 386, Egerton 3245, Lambeth Palace 260, Ashmole 60, Merton 68. Three other manuscripts cite Robert Grosseteste, however: Leeds, University Library Brotherton 500; Digby 14; Laud misc. 486. Allen has argued that Rolle could not be the author, and (noting the poem’s similarities to the *Speculum vitae*) has suggested that William of Nassington is a better candidate; see “Authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*”; Allen, *Writings*, especially 372–97; and Allen, “*Speculum Vitae*: Addendum.” For a more recent reconsideration of the possibility of Rolle’s authorship, see Riehle, “Authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*.”

72. The *Prick of Conscience* shows a close, though often indirect, relationship to a number of other texts, including the *Desert* itself, for which it serves as a subsidiary source (see chapter 3, note 3). The *Prick of Conscience* also serves as a distant source for two poems in Royal 17 B.xvii (“Of þo Flode of þo World,” and “þo Whele of Fortune”), the *Stimulus consciencie minor*, and even Chaucer’s *Parson’s Tale*.

73. Lewis and McIntosh, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 14–15.

74. For the other seven, see appendix, items 47 (fol. 36r), 65 (fol. 69r), and 70 (fol. 72r).

75. Gee, "Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York," 158–62. See also Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, fig. 66.

76. A more standard version of the *danse macabre*—sometimes known as "Dawnce of Makabre," though it is not a true representative of the genre—appears in a lyric on fols. 31v–32r, "O 3e al whilk by me cummes and gothe." Compare also Lydgate's *Dance of Death*. For a succinct introduction to the genre and some of its visual representations, see Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages*, 104–9.

77. See, e.g., Gillespie, "Cura Pastoralis," 175. The combination of such items as "Of þe state of religion" with such basic instruction on the Ten Commandments might lead one to think of lay brethren, but it is not possible to say categorically what monks themselves read or did not read.

78. Ps.-Lentulus, *Epistola de conditione Domini nostri Iesu Christi*. On the history of this apocryphal letter, see Ruh, "Der sogenannte Lentulus-brief"; Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*; 308**–30**. For additional bibliography and an English translation see Lutz, "Letter of Lentulus"; see also Elliott, ed., *Apocryphal New Testament*. Ross does not mention the "Letter of Lentulus" as the source for this poem, but instead cites *Cursor mundi* 18817–62 as a more proximate source.

79. NIMEV considers this poem acephalous; Hogg thinks the first line part of a different text. What precedes it in the "Letter" might be related: "He has a venerable aspect, and his beholders can both love and fear him."

80. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*. Of course, one might imagine some discomfort in the idea that Christ's beautiful human body could be the center of a pious reader's attention. For a consideration of erotic desire as a part of devotional response, see Epp, "Ecce Homo."

81. For a useful survey of the enormous topic of baptismal iconography, see "Baptism of Christ," in Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 127–43. Matsuda notes that, according to a popular exemplum, a figure in water represents a soul in Purgatory, and the level of the water represents the amount of penance done on earth ("Presence," 109).

82. Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 378.

83. Versions of this poem—generally from other manuscripts—are published widely (see appendix). For an argument that the text in Additional 37049 is closest to the original, see Riddy, "Provenance of *Quia Amore Languet*." See also Cross, "Virgin's *Quia Amore Languet*"; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 301–2; and Phillips, "Almighty and Al Merciable Queene," 98–99.

84. For an image of Mary herself as a tabernacle, see Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, fig. 173.

85. See Phillips, "Almighty and Al Merciable Queene," 98–99.

86. See Phillips on the alphabetic, acrostic, macaronic, liturgical, and aureate nature of the many titles given to Mary in these lyrics. She calls attention to the "syntactically unmediated form" of many of these Marian rhapsodies, and says they employ "a lexicon rather than a language" (*ibid.*, 87).

87. An epithet from the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Prymer: “Marie queene of hevene; lady of the word: empressse of helle” (cited in Saupe, *Middle English Marian Lyrics*, 242). Compare *Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Meech and Allen, 188, ll. 31–32. On the significance of the titles, see Koppelman, “Devotional Ambivalence.”

88. See Hogg, “Unpublished Texts,” 251–52. This is also the only text in Additional 37049 written in a southern dialect.

89. In this manuscript, Christ is often shown covered with many tiny wounds: e.g., fols. 20r, 23r, 24r, 33r, 37r, 45r, 67v, 68v, 91r. This is relatively common in contemporary depictions; other interesting examples include the following: Bodley 758, BL Add. 50001, and BL Egerton 615. See Scott, *Later Gothic Illumination*, 2:79. This tradition is related to a popular fifteenth-century devotion, according to which saying fifteen aves and fifteen paternosters a day would duplicate the number of Christ’s wounds in a year (Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 204n2).

90. *MED*, s.v. “conceite” (n.) 4.d.

91. “O man unkynde” appears twice in Additional 37049, in slightly different versions. Although it is classified as a lyric in some modern catalogues, is classified as a dialogue in the *MWME*, and so will be considered in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5. *Liturgical Pageantry in Private Spaces*

1. For a “liturgical challenge” to literary scholarship that has too often ignored its importance, see Holsinger, “Cultures of Performance,” 293.

2. Flanagan, Ashley, and Sheingorn, “Liturgy as Social Performance,” 652.

3. *Ibid.*, 699. For the proliferation of individual interests in sacred spaces, see Binski, “English Parish Church.”

4. On personal and social expressions of Passion devotion, see Swanson, “Passion and Practice.”

5. For the liturgical in literature, see the ongoing work of Evelyn Birge Vitz, e.g., “Bourde jus mise?”; “La Liturgie dans les *Mystères de la Passion*”; and “The Liturgy and Vernacular Literature.” For liturgical images in private use, see, e.g., Bynum, “Seeing and Seeing Beyond,” and Lentes, “As far as the eye can see. . .”

6. Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 5–6.

7. The phrase is taken from Belting, *Likeness and Presence*. For another useful study of the ways in which images can “do things,” see Freedberg, *Power of Images*.

8. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 49–82.

9. For a lyric based on the litany, see Gray, “Illustrated Poem.”

10. The layout of the image has been altered at least once; underneath the clumsy orange canopy that surmounts the heavenly city, it is possible to discern faint duplicate outlines of Christ and a blessed soul, in the upper right.

11. See Matthew 25:1–13.

12. Devaux, *Les Origines du Missel*, especially 99–107; Cluzet, *Particularités du Missel Cartusien*; Cluzet, *Particularités du Temporal et du Sanctoral du Missel Cartusien*; and Cluzet, *Sources et genèse du Missel Cartusien*. See also Nissen, “*Signum Contemplationis*.”

13. As the anonymous Carthusian editor of the *Consuetudines* explains: “Les Char-

treux ont aussi réduit beaucoup ce qui pouvait trop agir sur les sens et l'imagination" (47).

14. *Consuetudines* 6.1. "I. Et hoc sciendum, quod in nulla sollempnitate processionem facimus."

15. Denis Renevey calls the processional image "rather surprising" in a Carthusian manuscript ("Name Poured Out," 146).

16. There is, however, evidence that the Carthusians of Champmol conducted processions outside their monastery in an effort "to seek out and influence their lay public"; see Lindquist, "Women in the Charterhouse," 181.

17. Double frontispieces are very rare in English books of this period, appearing only in BL MS Additional 37049, BL MS Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) (see chapter 3), and Bodleian MS Douce 18 (a psalter). A type of triple frontispiece has been noted in National Library of Scotland Advocates Library MS 18.1.7, a copy of Love's *Mirror*. See Scott, "Design, Decoration, and Illustration," 56n23.

18. Doyle attributes the pictures' differences to "superior foreign models" ("Survey," 191), but Hogg thinks it clear that "the two vellum pages once formed part of another manuscript" ("Unpublished Texts," 247).

19. Compare fol. 24, where traces of a similar cross have survived cropping of the outer margin.

20. Such markings, common on Byzantine Madonnas, are not to be understood as depictions of actual markings on cloth, but as symbols that exist outside the picture's fiction. Compare Wilpert's idea that a picture of the Holy Face was pasted onto the sudarium (*Die römischen mosaiken und malereien*, 2:1123).

21. Compare a Virgin and Child in the Pepys sketchbook (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library MS 1916, fol. 6), for which see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:43. For a brief history of the Virgin depicted alone, see Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 61-65.

22. The origins of the image, and its development in both form and function, have been contested since Erwin Panofsky's classic article, "*Imago Pietatis*." See Van Os, "Discovery of an Early Man of Sorrows"; Van Os, *Art of Devotion*, 40-49; Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 66-69; Belting, "Image and Its Function in the Liturgy"; Belting, *Image and Its Public*; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*; and Ridderbos, "Man of Sorrows." For specifically English examples, see Bradshaw, "Earliest English Engravings"; and Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 389-91. I am indebted to these scholars for my brief account of these images, even though it does not address all of the complexities they raise.

23. In Additional 37049, the inscription over the cross appears to be: OBACI(O(CTIO(O((, or "ho basilous t[on] Iod[ai]on], ho S[oter] E[mon]" ("the King of the Jews, Our Savior"). I thank H. A. Kelly for his help with this transcription.

24. See, for example, Hogg, *Illustrated Carthusian Miscellany*, 3-4. The most detailed account is Bertelli, "*Image of Pity*."

25. See the Dormition and Enthronement of the Virgin in the Winchester Psalter (London, British Library MS Cotton Nero C.iv, fols. 29-30) and the studies of the Holy Face in Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora* (e.g., Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 26, p. 283; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 16, fol. 49v; see also the

Matthew Paris Holy Face inserted into BL MS Arundel 157, fol. 2). More generally, see Stubbelbine, "Byzantine Influences."

26. Bertelli believes that the mosaic is a Byzantine work of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, brought to the Santa Croce church as late as 1385–1386 ("Image of Pity," 46). For the later development of the image in Carthusian hands, see Dodgson, "English Devotional Woodcuts."

27. Doyle, "Carthusians," C2, 615–20; and Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 326.

28. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 66n61. On van Meckenem's engraving, see Parshall, "Imago Contrefacta."

29. Umbrian panels: NG 6572 (Virgin and Christ) and NG 6573 (Man of Sorrows), both by an unknown Umbrian artist, c. 1260. Avignon diptych: Watercolor, in the Gagnières Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; see Pächt, "Avignon Diptych," fig. 29. Copies after panels by Dirck Bouts: Louvre, INV.1986 (Vierge), and INV.1994 (Christ).

30. Eichberger, "Devotional Objects in Book Format," 292.

31. The manuscript is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1800, a prayer-book made for Philip the Good, c. 1450. The manuscript opens with an image of Philip the Good and his son Charles the Bold praying in front of a book surmounted by what appears to be a similar diptych.

32. For the Hildesheim psalter, made after 1235, with an "icon in diptych form," see Legner, ed., *Ornamenta ecclesiae*, 3; no. H.64; and Haseloff, *Eine thüringischesächsische Malercabrlle*.

33. This icon appears in several exhibition catalogues: *From Byzantium to El Greco*, no. 8; Evans and Wixom, eds., *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 72; Vikan, *Holy Image, Holy Space*, no. 9. It also serves as one of Belting's examples; see "Image and Its Function," figs. 2, 3; *Image and Its Public*; and *Likeness and Presence*, fig. 163.

34. It has been argued that the Man of Sorrows image is a "portrait icon" of Christ during the harrowing of hell, between crucifixion and resurrection; see Evans and Wixom, eds., *Glory of Byzantium*.

35. *Ibid.*, 126. See also Belting, "Image and Its Function"; and Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 262. Bertelli reports that there are signs of such processional use on the Santa Croce icon as well, but of course it presents only the single image of the Man of Sorrows ("Image of Pity," 41).

36. See Achimastou-Potamianou, "Byzantine Wall Paintings," fig. 14.

37. Hogg, ed., *Rewyll of Seynt Sauoure*, 67. Hogg reproduces and transcribes Cambridge University Library MS Ff.6.33, fol. 49r.

38. The literary connections between Sheen and Syon are well documented, but the most telling example is the books that passed between Joanna Sewell and her spiritual director James Grenhalgh, in a relationship that may have strained the boundaries of acceptable contact. See Sargent, *James Grenhalgh*.

39. Saenger, *Space between Words*, especially 202–55, on the role of the monasteries of France in spreading new ideals of privacy. See also Saenger, "Silent Reading."

40. For a useful discussion of the ways in which private imagery can be "liturgized," as well as liturgical imagery privatized, see Lentens, "As Far as the Eye Can See," especially 366–71.

41. For popular piety and this liturgy, see Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, chap. 4.

42. See Renevey, "Name above Names," and his citation of *La Prière de Jésus*.

43. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 78–79.

44. For provocative discussions of words as art, see Cahn, "Représentation de la parole"; Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*; and Ellis, "Word in Religious Art." For some examples of ways in which literary words can become holy things, see Fein, "Herbs, Birds, and Cryptic Words"; and Hirsh, "Fifteenth-Century Commentary."

45. For another interesting example of emblematic letters in the charterhouse becoming "poetic objects in themselves," see Sargent and Hennessy, "Latin Verses."

46. For general histories of the devotion, see Biasiotto, *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name*, especially 46–51, 63–66 (for Suso and Rolle); Bulletti, "Il Nome di Gesù"; Cabassut, "La Dévotion au nom de Jésus"; Gougoud, "Les Antécédents de la dévotion au sacré-cœur"; Hausherr, *Name of Jesus*; Sjögren, *Jesus Prayer*; and Wilmart, "Le 'Jublius' sur le nom de Jésus." For England in the late Middle Ages, see Carsley, "Devotion to the Holy Name"; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 113–16; Friedman, *Northern English Books*, 186–202; Renevey, "Name above Names"; Renevey, "Name Poured Out"; and Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 172–79.

47. ME lyrics involving the Holy Name include the following: Brown XIV, Nos. 80, 83, 84, 85, 89, 91, 94; Brown XV, Nos. 125, 144; Gray ed., *English Medieval Religious Lyrics*, Nos. 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53. See also Barratt, "Middle English Lyric in an Old French Manuscript"; and Barratt, "Two Middle English Lyrics in the Bibliothèque Mazarine." In Cambridge University Library MS Kk.1.6, see fols. 150–52, for Eleanor Hull's "Meditacyon of þe name of Ihesus"; on this, see also Barratt, "Dame Eleanor Hull." See Renevey, "Name Poured Out," 131.

48. Renevey catalogues "the Name of Jesus itself, its monogram, and miniatures representing the name or its monogram" ("Name Poured Out," 132).

49. As Pfaff notes: "It seems that England led the way in the liturgical celebration of the Holy Name" (*New Liturgical Feasts*, 77n7).

50. *Ibid.*, 129. Pfaff observes: "In general, monastic books have forms for the Name of Jesus added to them less often than the secular books. Perhaps there was less opportunity in a monastery for the introduction of a new, popular, votive observance" (80).

51. "The Holy Name had the greatest popular appeal [i.e., more than the Transfiguration, or the Visitation]—as its origin as a generously indulgenced votive mass would indicate, not to mention the numerous private devotions to the Name—but was apparently the latest to be liturgically celebrated, and the only one unbuttressed by papal promulgation" (*ibid.*, 130).

52. For many varieties of nonliturgical devotion, see Cabassut, "La Dévotion au nom de Jésus."

53. According to Pfaff, this is only possibly true.

54. See Doyle, "Carthusians," C2.24.

55. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, 94.

56. For the miraculous effects of writing on the heart, see Jager, *Book of the Heart*, especially 87–102.

57. On the magic power of the written and imagined word, see Schreiner, “*Buchstaben-symbolik*, Bibliorakel, Schriftmagie”; and Schreiner, “Das Buch im Nacken.”

58. These seem certainly to have been written by a hand different from the one responsible for the rest of the manuscript.

59. Indulgences will be granted, for example, to the petitioner who “declynes devoutely or knellys or kyssys þe erthe or þe wayll or a stolle,” or who “inclyns devoutely or knellys and kyssys a forme or þe erthe.”

60. According to Hogg, this was probably written by Fredebertis, an eighth-century bishop of Angoulême (“Unpublished Texts,” 255).

61. For uses of the holy monogram in northern England, see Friedman, *Northern English Books*, 186-91.

62. The *s* in the upper right seems to be a later addition, perhaps an attempt to rewrite the lunate sigma (*Ϸ*) that appears in the monogram itself with a more up-to-date version of the Greek letter. The lunate sigma often appears in the holy monogram, suggesting that it stands for “Ihesus Christ,” but in fact it is simply another form of *IHS*, “Ihesus.” The monogram takes both forms in Additional 37049.

63. See Allen, *Writings*, 310. “All should bend the knee at the name of Jesus. The best of all is to hold fast Jesus in the heart and under no circumstances desire anything else. My happiness stands in loving Jesus, and expecting nothing else” (trans. Renevey, “Name Poured Out,” 145).

64. This page immediately follows the *Desert of Religion*, and seems to continue both the format and the thematics of that poem. For a full discussion of its significance there, see chapter 3.

65. See *Ego Dormio*, 66; *Commandment*, 81; *Form of Living*, 108 (all in Allen, *Writings*). Manuscripts of Rolle that include monograms and other emblems of Holy Name devotion include the following: Bodleian MS Bodley 861 (“IHU” on every folio), MS Longleat 29 (“Ihesu” 38 times in the margins), Bodleian MS Douce 322 (heart/wounds/IHS on a coat of arms), and Bodleian MS Rawlinson C.285 (monogram with “maria” and “iohannes” on either side, and other monograms throughout).

66. Renevey argues for a reassessment of Rolle’s contribution to this devotion, suggesting that existing devotions to the Holy Name formed an important context for the reception of Rolle’s works. He explains the widespread name annotations in Rolle manuscripts as the result of “an affective logic prompted by the devotional feelings of the annotator” (“Name Poured Out,” 134).

67. For similarities in the imagery surrounding Suse and Rolle, see, e.g., Hamburger, “Use of Images,” 229-32; and Jager, *Book of the Heart*, 102.

68. Other holy names in the *Desert of Religion* include the holy monogram in a shield above the poem’s very first hermit saint (fol. 46r), for example.

69. Hennessy finds significance in the conjunction of the two poems, suggesting that English Carthusians may have been especially interested in this poetic “charter” because of their own identity as “charter”monks (“Morbid Devotions,” 87).

70. The textual history of the charter has been well discussed, most thoroughly by Spalding, who prints the text from Additional 37049 (*Middle English Charters of Christ*, 8). See also Breeze, “Charter of Christ.”

71. The “long charter,” by contrast, surrounds an inset document with a contextual

frame. Ashe argues that this difference makes the short charter more authoritative, since it is “itself the dispositive document of which it speaks” (“Short Charter,” 32-37, at 35).

72. See Spalding, xxiii-xxiv. Wormald adds that because the death of the testator is essential to the validity of the testament, “the picture of the Crucified Lord is an essential part of the idea, and not merely an adjunct to the poem” (“Some Popular Miniatures,” 280). For the talismanic properties of the document, see also Green, *Crisis of Truth*, 263-61; and Steiner, *Documentary Culture*, 61-90, fig. 8.

73. This image of Christ surrounded by the instruments of the Passion has been linked to the many wall-paintings that represent Christ surrounded by working implements as a warning to those who break the Sabbath. See, e.g., Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, 56n2; and the Web site *Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church: A Developing Catalogue* (<http://www.paintedchurch.org/swearsab.htm>).

74. A similar dynamic of documentary authentication through pictures and bodies can be noted in two world maps: the famous Hereford *mappa mundi*, with the authenticating document and seal of Caesar Augustus, and the Ebstorf world map, with Christ’s head, hands, and feet anchoring the four points of the compass. For the Hereford map, see Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 28-31 (figs. 21, 22, 24); Steiner, *Documentary Culture*, fig. 1; and Westrem, *Hereford Map*. For Ebstorf, see Wilke, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*; and Areford, “Passion Measured,” 228-37.

75. The drawn seal here authorizes not only the name of Christ as testator, but also the names of those who found and transcribed the text. A nearby note reads: “Mr. Lambert a Justice of Peace in Kent found this on a gravestone in an Abby in Kent bearing date Ao Ani 1400 a copie whereof was geuen to Mr. Humfry Windham of Winsecombe in the county of Somerset. Uppon the other side of the seale there was should be a P[e]llican [picki]ng her bloo[d] for . . .” (see Spalding, *Middle English Charters of Christ*, xx).

76. In Harley 6848 the straps that would hold a seal are drawn in, but not the seal itself.

77. Stowe 620 seems to be copied from a version in which the seal was a material object rather than a drawing. A note reads: “ther under nethe in the corner is the olde pointed seale” (see Spalding, *Middle English Charters of Christ*, xxi).

78. Stowe 1055, like Stowe 620, seems to be copied from a version in which the seal was a material object rather than a drawing. A note reads: “In Greek above the Seal ye text of 2 Tim. 2.19. Under the seal upon a label Cor Charite appensum Rosei uice cerne sigillum spreta morte tui solus id equitamor.”

79. The holy name appears on the seals in Add. Charter 5960 and Harley 6848, and is also associated with the text in Add. 24343, where there is no drawn seal. Bodleian MS Ashmole 61 makes a similar connection with Christ’s testifying body through a drawing of a shield with a heart and five suns, which seem to represent the five wounds.

80. For the Fayrfax manuscript, see Stevens, *Music and Poetry*, 351-85, and for the “Charter” specifically, 383-85. For Ashmole, see Spalding, *Charter of Christ*, xxviii-xxix.

81. For a thorough reading of this folio as a “blood-flecked inflorescence” emblematic of late-medieval blood piety, see Hennessy, “Aspects of Blood Piety.”

82. See Bulletti, "Vita inedita," 182-83.

83. Compare Rawlinson C.285, which contains a holy monogram flanked by the names "maria" and "iohannes." Renevey points out that this verbal crucifixion tableau "obliterates somewhat the suffering humanity of Jesus which the cross suggests" ("Name Poured Out," 137). For a similar substitution of names for bodies in a crucifixion scene on a font in the Church of St. Andrew, Kildwick, see Palmer, *Early Art*, 107.

84. Compare the engraved ring of Margery Kempe: "The forseyd creatur had a ryng þe which owyr Lord had commawndyd hir to do makyn whil she was at hom in Ingland & dede hir gravyn þerup-on, 'Ihesus est amor meus' (*Book of Margery Kempe* 78.12-15). Another late-medieval visionary, Carthusian Richard Methley of Mountgrace, decorated the motto with two interlocking hearts (TCC MS O.2.56, fol. 22r). For other examples of the use of this motto, see Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 267-68.

85. For this and related poems, see chapter 4. "Whit was his nakyd brest" appears embedded within this poem—see *IMEV* 2250; Brown XIV, 1.

86. For the popularization of writing on the heart, see Jager, *Book of the Heart*, 103-19.

87. On this kind of self-consciousness in a variety of medieval art forms, see Tomasch, "Breaking the Frame," 90.

88. See Bulletti, "Vita inedita"; Longpré, "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le Nom de Jésus"; McAodha, "Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of St. Bernardine of Siena"; Tosti, "Di alcuni codici della prediche di S. Bernardino da Siena." On the *IHS* monogram, see Arasse, "Iconographie et évolution spirituelle"; Carli, "Luoghi ed opere d'arte senesi nella prediche de Bernardino del 1427"; and Bolzoni, *Web of Images*, 117-95.

89. For related imagery in a German panel-painting and preaching practice, see Suckale and Hennig, *Der Bussprediger Capestrano auf dem Domplatz in Bamberg*. For a broader category of catechetical imagery in public settings, see Slenczka, *Lehrhafte Bildtafeln*. For the Bamberg painting in particular, see Slenczka, *Lehrhafte Bildtafeln*, 139-42, figs. V.3, VI.1.

90. For background on the kind of festival represented here, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, especially 243-71.

91. Michael Sargent has recently made an argument for reading Love's *Mirror* in a liturgical context; see "Liturgical Echoes in Love's *Mirror*."

92. For more on processional performances, and their relation to dramatic performances, see Twycross, "Some Approaches to Dramatic Festivity"; and Twycross, "Books for the Unlearned." See also Stevens, "York Cycle."

93. In Renevey's words: "The moving of the attention from signified to signifier results in the ability on the part of the contemplative to perceive and decode the meaning couched in spiritually charged words. Such sophisticated literary competence is developed in part within the commentary tradition, with the historical, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical readings of the text. It is within this literary tradition that the Name developed all its powerful attributes" ("Name above Names," 110).

94. The modern bibliographic record of this text reflects its structural strangeness. The *NIMEV* considers its two columns two separate poems, and lists them ac-

cordingly: “Man take hede on þe day or on þe nyght” (Hours of the Cross—col. a), *NIMEV* 2075; and “Take hede man how þe Lewes dyd cry” (Appeal to Man by Pains of the Passion—col. b), *NIMEV* 3251. For the many poetic variations on the hours of the cross, see also *MWME*, 227, especially Version J. For a thorough recent study, see Hennessy, “Passion Devotion.”

95. The final word of the rubric is partially illegible.

96. For an account of several other such meditations, none of them associated with pictures, see Glasscoe, “Time of Passion.” More generally, see Philomena, “St. Edmund of Abingdon’s Meditations”; and Barratt, “Primer and Its Influences on 15th-Century Passion Lyrics,” 272.

97. For the connection with the *Speculum theologie*, see especially Hennessy, “Passion Devotion.”

98. It is possible that the De Lisle table was intended for illustration, but the pictures would likely have been marginal, rather than integral (compare fols. 127v and 128r). For the De Lisle Psalter and similar diagrams in other manuscripts, see Sandler, *Psalter of Robert de Lisle*, 64–65, 107–15. For a version in which the diagram takes the form of a tree, see Evans, “Geometry,” 39, fig. 9.

99. Saxl, “Spiritual Encyclopedia,” 108–9.

100. For the Howard Psalter, see Saxl, “Spiritual Encyclopedia.” Another illustrated version appears in Paris, BN MS fr. 9220 (fol. 15v).

101. Hennessy observes that “each text-image functions here much as a cycle-play in miniature” (“Passion Devotion,” 235).

102. For a similar analysis of the “apocalyptic glance” used to explore a nineteenth-century American prophetic chart, see Morgan, *Visual Piety*, 192.

103. For diagrams specifically, see Evans, “Geometry,” especially 45; Sandler, *De Lisle Psalter*; and Saxl, “Spiritual Encyclopedia.” For ways in which vertical and horizontal structures create visual meaning in Anglo-Saxon art, see also Crabtree, “Ladders and Lines of Connection.”

104. See the very detailed and useful treatment of the subject of sacramental imagery in Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, including discussion of these images (52–55). Nichols thinks that the Carthusian scribe/artist may be reducing or enlarging a model, but concedes that “the composition leaves the impression of someone enthusiastically possessed of an idea rather than someone mechanically copying an exemplar” (54).

105. Hogg identifies this “meretrix” with the Great Whore of the Apocalypse (*Illustrated Miscellany*, 115). Wormald cites a comparable illustration from the seventeenth chapter, where she often holds a mirror: Lambeth MS 209, fol. 29v (reproduced in James, *Apocalypse in Latin*, 65, pl. 35b). For the artist’s critique of worldly fashions, here and elsewhere, see Mullaney, “Fashion and Morality.”

106. For this and other multiple hell mouths, see Schmidt, *Iconography of the Mouth of Hell*, 158–64.

107. Compare fols. 80v–81r. The wise and foolish virgins are also pictured in tracery lights above windows of the seven sacraments at Melbury Bubb (Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, 54n107).

108. The depiction of a moment in the mass other than the elevation is rare (Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, 255–56). The unusual iconography here downplays the role of

the priest in the performance of the eucharist, allowing the reader to focus on his own private imaginative celebration.

109. A late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century wall-painting at Swanbourne, Buckinghamshire, provides a similarly diagrammatic image, also contrasting the fates of the penitent and the impenitent soul, but without a particular sacramental emphasis. See Caiger-Smith, *English Mural Paintings*, 29, 127; and the Web site *Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church: A Developing Catalogue* (<http://www.paintedchurch.org/swanbou.html>).

110. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*.

111. Quoted in Wormald, "Some Popular Miniatures," 283. The emphasis on the lateral wound alone is relatively rare in England, and so Nichols deduces Continental influence on Additional 37049 (*Seeable Signs*, 16n30).

112. This painting was a gift to the charterhouse of Porta Coeli, c. 1396; it is now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia. For further discussion, see Baker, "Sacraments and the Passion in Medieval Art." Nichols thinks it quite different from fols. 72v-73r, because in the manuscript "the design makes the sacraments themselves the centre of the drama of salvation" (*Seeable Signs*, 53).

113. See Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:282-84.

114. It has been thought that this manuscript had Carthusian connections, but charterhouse connections seem unlikely to Nichols (*Seeable Signs*, 10n14) and more recent commentators. See also Marrow et al., *Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, no. 5.

115. For the manuscript, see Jänecke, "*Der spiegel des lidens Christi*," especially 65-66.

116. Taking account of the diagram's position in the miscellany, Matsuda connects it to the *Prick of Conscience* excerpts on fol. 72r, which end with a reference to "How Adam was castyn fro paradysse" ("Pictorial Compendium," 238-40). Less convincingly, he also ties it to the surrounding excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (242-43).

117. "It is of course impossible to be certain that we have here the reflection of a *mise-en-scène* of a medieval play, but it does not seem an impossibility to suggest it" (Wormald, "Some Popular Miniatures," 282-83). For a full embrace of the potentially problematic idea that architectural forms in art can help to reconstruct historical stages, see Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*.

118. The Apollonia image can be found in *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, pl. 45. See also Nagler, *Medieval Religious Stage*. For a recent discussion of what precisely the Fouquet miniature can be understood to represent, see the exchange between Gordon Kipling and Graham Runnalls in *Medieval English Theatre: Kipling, "Theatre as Subject and Object"*; Runnalls, "Jean Fouquet's 'Martyrdom of St. Apollonia'"; and Kipling, "Fouquet, St. Apollonia, and the Motives of the Miniaturist's Art."

119. The Valenciennes illustrations date from about a century after Additional 37049, but because most evidence of medieval drama is later than we imagine the performances to have been, they nevertheless remain useful points of comparison. See Konigson, *La Représentation d'un mystère*.

120. Marvin Carlson notes the emphasis on a linear, east-to-west orientation of the late-medieval plays at Frankfurt, Lucerne, and Donaueschingen; *Place of Performance*, 17.

121. Davidson and Seiler, eds., *Iconography of Hell*, 10-11, fig. 8. Compare also Additional 37049, fol. 64v.

122. On the Croxton play, see most recently Strohm, "*Croxton Play of the Sacrament*."

123. See Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*; Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*; Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*. For a convenient guide to the more recent scholarship on this point, see *Cambridge Companion*, ed. Beadle, pp. 6-9.

124. For ways in which the ritual of the mass is itself dramatic, see Dolan, "Mass as Performance Text."

125. *Gemma anime*, quoted in Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, 39-40. For an extended analysis of medieval understanding of classical theater, see Dox, *Idea of the Theater*.

126. For a relevant discussion, see Enders, "Visions with Voices."

127. *Signifying God* 135.

128. *Golden Epistle* l.xi.36 (trans. Berkeley). "Et in templo enim et in cella divina tractantur, sed crebrius in cella. In templo visibiliter et figurative aliquando christiana pietatis sacramenta dispensantur; in cellis vero sicut in caelis ipsa veritate, ipso ordine, etsi nondum ipsa puritatis majestate, vel aeternitatis securitate, res ipsa omnium sacramentorum fidei nostrae assidue celebratur" (ed. Déchanet).

129. For Hugh's insistence on "alternately sitting and standing for the psalms" even in his last days, see Pfaff, "Liturgical Aspects," 21. For para-liturgical readings in Hugh's private devotional practice, see *ibid.*, 24-26.

130. Requests for Marian feasts and offices were denied in 1412 (London), 1413 (Witham), and 1423 (Coventry). In 1422 charterhouses at Witham, Hull, and Axholme were enjoined to conform to common practice. See Hogg, "Everyday Life."

131. *Chartae* 147 (quoted in Hogg, "Everyday Life," n. 71). "Et licentia quam Vicarius et conuentus dicte domus petunt, ad celebrandum missam de Beata Martha die suo conceditur eis."

132. In 1412, after the Great Schism, the whole English Province was exhorted to conform itself liturgically. See *Chartae*, 32 (quoted in Hogg, "Everyday Life," n. 27). "Volumus autem et exhortamur omnes domos Prouinciae Angliae, ut in diuino officio et extra studeant se toto ordini conformare."

133. Hogg, "Everyday Life," 96.

134. *Chartae* 12 (quoted in Hogg, "Everyday Life," n. 33). "Priori domus de Bethlehem non fit misericordia, et in his quae concernunt diuinum officium conforment se ordini prout respondetur eis priuatim, et inungimus et ut prouideat domui suae de libris ordii necessariis et sufficientibus."

CHAPTER 6. *Envisioning Dialogue in Performance*

1. In *Iob*, iv, *praefatio*, quoted in Parkes, "Reading, Copying, and Interpreting a Text."

2. On the ways in which Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* moves away from "forensic, dramatic, and dialectical forms of expression" toward philosophical monologue, see Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue*, 7.

3. *Ibid.*, 47. As Lerer explains in his discussion of Augustine, “the dialogue’s enterprise is propaedeutic to the higher dialogue with the self” (55).

4. See Reed, *Middle English Debate Poetry*, especially “Institutional Context and Poetic Content,” and “The Literary Tradition”; and Conlee, ed., *Middle English Debate Poetry*, xi–xxxvii. For a concise account of the types of dialogues in Middle English, see also Davenport, “Patterns.”

5. Mills, “Look at Me,” 4. See also d’Ottavi, “*Quaestiones Disputatae*.” For the importance of direct address, see also Diller, *Middle English Mystery Play*, 109–59; and Tomasch, “Breaking the Frame.”

6. Enders, *Rhetoric and the Origins of Medieval Drama*, 2.

7. For a comparison between law books and play scripts, see Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 277–78.

8. Voss, *Der Dialog in der frühchristlichen literature* (quoted by Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue*, 47, as “szenisch” and “nichtszenisch”). See also Davenport, “Patterns,” 127; and Henkel, Jones, and Palmer, eds., *Dialoge*.

9. Utley, “Dialogues.”

10. Utley does, however, consider “such chansons d’aventure and carols as are indisputably dialogues” (*ibid.*, 672).

11. *Ibid.*, 671.

12. Utley acknowledges that Additional 37049 shows a “special interest in the form” and that these dialogues are “much in need of integrated study” (*ibid.*, 671, 688).

13. Other manuscripts to show a significant dialogic interest include the following: Vernon MS (Bodleian MS Eng.poet.a.1) (8); Simeon MS (BL MS Additional 22283) (5); Richard Hill’s MS (Oxford, Balliol College MS 354) (8); Jacob Rymer’s MS (Cambridge University Library MS Ee.1.12) (7); NLS Advocates MS 18.7.21 (7); TCC MS 323 (6); and Bodleian MS Digby 86 (6).

14. Utley lists the dialogues of Additional 37049 as numbers 2d, 11, 12, 14, 18k, 19, 21a, and 15. Unaccountably, he claims ten dialogues for the manuscript at one point (“Dialogues,” 671), lists six at another (688), but actually discusses eight.

15. See the prayer exchanges represented by scrolls in, e.g., “In a tabernakil of a towre,” “Salve Regina,” and even the blank scrolls in “Ave maris stella.” Also, one might consider the *Ego Dormio* imagetext to represent a dialogue, since it introduces not only the sleeper’s prayer, but Jesus’ answer.

16. The sacraments on fols. 72v–73r offer examples of penitential “dialogues” between priest and petitioner.

17. See, e.g., Brown XV, no. 108; Stevick, *One Hundred Middle English Lyrics*, no. 52; and Comper, *Life and Lyrics*, 317. Höltingen mentions it in his study of proto-emblems in Additional 37049, but does also call it “diesem meditativen Dialog”; see “Arbor, Scala, und Fons Vitae,” 382.

18. In 1939, however, Carleton Brown read the following heading: “Beati mundo corde qui ipsi Deum vident.” See Brown XV, 169.

19. On devotion to Christ’s wounds specifically, see Gougau, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices*, 80–91; and Gray, “Five Wounds.”

20. For indulgences tied to the measure of Christ’s side-wound, see Buhler, “Prayers and Charms,” 276–77.

21. Louis, *Commonplace Book*, 299–300, 488–89.

22. See Palmer, “Iconography for Swearers.” Palmer maintains that the Almond-bury verses are unique, while recognizing their close connection to other artifacts of late-medieval devotional culture (11). Indeed, only the first stanza bears any relation to the verses in the Carthusian miscellany: “thow man unkynd have in thy mynd / my bloddy face my wondys wyde / on every syde for thy trespas.” See similar treatments of the theme in text and image in the Church of All Saints (now St. Mary Magdalene), Campsall (Palmer, *Early Art*, 105); and the Church of St. Mary (now St. Lawrence), Hatfield (Palmer, *Early Art*, 106–7).

23. Pepwell, ed., *Benyamyn*. This anthology includes extracts from Richard of St. Victor’s *Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Book of Margery Kempe*, and the *Orchard of Syon*, among other devotional writings.

24. For the visual and corporeal emphasis of this poem, see Taylor, “Reading the Body,” 106–8.

25. On the meticulous numbering of Christ’s wounds and drops of blood, see, e.g., Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 202–4; Breeze, “Number of Christ’s Wounds”; Robbins, “Private Prayers”; and Hirsh, “Two English Devotional Poems.” On the corporeal aspects of prayer, and ways of disciplining or controlling them, see also Angenendt et al., “Gezählte Frömmigkeit”; and Lentes, “Die Gewänder der Heiligen.”

26. For the magical relation between explicitly ekphrastic poems and material things, see Freedberg, *Power of Images*.

27. Although this lyric is not confidently attributed to Rolle, Allen and Comper both ascribe it to the works of his school. See chapter 4 for a discussion of the permeability of the Rolle canon.

28. It is possible that the two passages quantifying Christ’s wounds were added by another hand, though it is also possible that the differences result from the scribe’s attempt to fit more text into a smaller space. In any case, the verses on fol. 24r seem to respond to the ones on fol. 20r.

29. The protagonist is perhaps the Dominican St. Peter the Martyr (St. Peter of Verona, d. 1252), who was a great preacher and proponent of devotions to the Holy Name. Fra Angelico painted him, and English pictorial treatments include glass at Long Melford and a retable at Thornham Parva (Suffolk). See *Acta sanctorum*, April 3, 693.

30. Because the text remains as yet unpublished, I have reproduced it here in full.

31. For discussion, see Owst, *Preaching*, 343–44; Huizinga, *Waning*, 126; Kurtz, “Gifer the Worm,” 235. Matsuda notices that the stanza beginning “þe cokkatrys, þe basilysk, & þe dragon” (fol. 34) echoes *De miseria condicionis humane* 1.18 (“Presence,” 105n17).

32. For a convincing interpretation of this image as reflecting relations between Carthusians and the secular world, see Hennessy, “Remains.” For a political reading of this general type of iconography, see King, “English Cadaver Tomb.”

33. These verses are found alone in York Minster MS XVI.G.5, fol. 26b, and as the start of a longer poem in BL Additional 60577, fol. 52. Compare Brown XIV, no. 135. For related lines inscribed on tombs, see Gray, “In What Estate.”

34. On the trope of writing on the heart, see Jager, *Book of the Heart*.

35. For a comparable case, see Bodleian MS e Museo 160, and discussion in chapter 7.

36. For cases where the mixture of narration and dialogue does suggest performance, see Dronke, "Narrative and Dialogue," 109–14.

37. Symes, "Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays." For further discussion of this type of evidentiary problem, see also chapter 7.

38. Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 28n46, and references there.

39. *Ibid.*, 32–33.

40. See Wormald, "Some Popular Miniatures," 283–84. Other English examples include the tomb of John Fitzalan, 17th Earl of Arundel (d. 1435), in the Fitzalan Chapel at Arundel in Sussex; and—probably most closely comparable—the tomb of Alice de la Pole, Countess of Suffolk and granddaughter of Chaucer (d. 1477), in Ewelme church in Oxfordshire. Further, see Mâle, *L'Art religieux*, 432–37; Stone, *Sculpture in Britain* 213–16; Cohen, *Metamorphosis*; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 63–66; and Binski, *Medieval Death*, 139–52.

41. For further examples of such verses on English tombs, see King, "Eight English Memento Mori Verses."

42. See Walther, "Das Streitgedicht," 82 (for a Latin Death and Rich King); and *Belgisch Museum voor de Nederduitse Taalen Letterkunde* 2 (1838):237 (for "De Levende en de doode Koning, Tweespraek"). See also Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 402–4.

43. On the image-making son's "embodiment in the person of the reader," see Hennessy, "Remains," 315.

44. See Hackett, "William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*"; Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, "William Flete *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*," 224–26; and Colledge and Chadwick, "Remedies against Temptations."

45. British Library Royal 18.A.x, fols. 10v–15r.

46. Camille, "Seeing and Lecturing." See also Camille, "Discourse of Images," fig. 4. For an overview of such figures, see "dialog" in *Reallexikon*, 3:1399–1408; and Saxl, "Dialog als Thema."

47. See Woodward and Stevens, eds., *New Ellesmere Chaucer Facsimile*, and its companion volume, *Ellesmere Chaucer: Essays in Interpretation*.

48. On this convention, see Clark and Sheingorn, "Performative Reading," especially 133–41.

49. The poem includes the Form of Confession, Ten Commandments, Works of Mercy, Fourteen Articles of the Faith, and Seven Principal Virtues. See also BL MS Additional 37790, fols. 234–36, for a related Carthusian tract on contemplative life—both translated from Hugh of Balma's *Viae Sion lugent, or De triplici via*.

50. Confusion about the audience of the text reveals itself in modern bibliography, for Jolliffe categorizes it both as H.11 (under "Growth in the spiritual life") and O.21 (under "For those living under rule").

51. The works of mercy were commonly painted on the walls of parish churches. See Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, 53–55; and the Web site *Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church: A Developing Catalogue* (<http://www.paintedchurch.org/7wksintr.htm>).

52. Diekstra, "Mutilated Tract." The first is a compilation on the seven deadly sins

that exists in two manuscripts: British Library MS Harley 6571, fol. 14r-v; and British Library MS Additional 30944, fols. 66–67v. The second is the *Milicia Christi*, likewise preserved in two manuscripts: British Library MS Arundel 286, fols. 20–81v, and British Library MS Egerton 842, fols. 247–56v.

53. See, e.g., fols. 17r, 71v, and 72v–73r.

54. Figures in dialogue appear, for example, on fols. 85r, 85v, 87v, and 89v.

55. Compare Rust, “By Order of the Alphabet,” 67. Rust interprets the figure as a legacy from the young audiences imagined for the “ABC of Aristotle.”

56. Edwards, “New Version.”

57. Compare Add. MS 36983, art. 10. Chaucer’s “ABC” and “Truth” are also found in Additional 36983—moral Chaucer (though unattributed) can travel with religious and didactic verse of this kind.

58. Humfrey Newton suggests a monumental visualization of the distichs: “These byn gode prouerbis to set in þe bordere of þe halle” (Robbins, “Humfrey Newton,” 259).

59. This Carthusian miscellany is not the only manuscript to illustrate nondialogic texts with speaking figures. See, e.g., BNF MS Ital. 115, where the author of the *Meditationes* debates with the contemplative St. Cecilia (Ragusa and Green, eds., *Meditations on the Life of Christ*). I am grateful to Catherine Sanok for bringing this illustration to my attention.

60. Davenport, “Patterns,” 144.

61. All three French poems have been edited by Stürzinger, as *Le Pèlerinage de vie humaine*, *Le Pèlerinage de l'âme*, and *Le Pèlerinage Jhesucrist*. For background on the author and the poems, see Faral, “Guillaume de Digulleville.”

62. No modern critical edition of the full text has been published. Caxton printed it as the *Pylgremage of the Sowle* (Westminster, 1483). For excerpts from Caxton, see Cust, ed., *Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle*. See also Hare, “Newly Discovered Volume.” Book 1 is available in a modern edition as McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. See also Barry, “*Pilgrimage of the Soul*”; Clubb, ed., “Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*”; Flynn, “*Pilgrimage of the Soul*”; and Zehner, “Edition of ‘The Apple of Solace.’”

63. F. J. Furnivall suggested Hoccleve’s authorship of all the poems of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (*Hoccleve’s Works*, vii, xx–xxi), and modern scholars generally accept this attribution (e.g., Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*; and *MWME* 8:[36–49]). For the contrary view, see MacCracken, “Hoccleve and the Poems from Deguilleville”; and Kern, “Een an ander over Thomas Hoccleve en zijn werken.”

64. For Spalding’s book, see Doyle, “Carthusians,” C2.2. McGerr counts six owners of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* who “either had Carthusian connections themselves or owned other books associated with Carthusians (*Pilgrimage of the Soul*, xlv, cxvii n.68). She also notes a similarity between the translator’s marks in the *Soul* and those in *Love’s Mirror* (*ibid.*, xxviii n.34).

65. For a study of the iconography of the *Pèlerinages*, see Camille, “Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguilleville’s *Pèlerinages*.” See also Camille, *Gothic Idol*, especially 283–97; Camille, “Iconoclast’s Desire”; and especially Camille, “Reading the Printed Image.” For illuminations in the English translations, see Henry, “Illu-

minations in the Two Illustrated Middle English Manuscripts"; and Maddocks, "Me Thowhte as I Slepte That I Was a Pilgrime." The most complete discussion of the pictorial cycle in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* is McGerr, ed., xlv–lv.

66. Lesley Lawton lists the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* among seven secular Middle English texts to have been conceived as illustrated books ("Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts," 42n5). Although Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 124/61; and Oxford, University College MS 181 are unillustrated, spaces have been left in each for a pictorial cycle. In the first two, it appears that the planned cycle was never finished. In the last, bits of glue in the blank spaces suggest that illustrations were once pasted in, but have been lost. Oddly, given the unanimity of the manuscript tradition, Caxton's 1483 edition is unillustrated. See McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, xlv–lv.

67. Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*, 53. For other studies of Deguileville's texts and images, see Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, 145–218, on the *Vie*, but see especially 150–51 on the popularity of the *Ame*; Hagen, *Allegorical Remembrance*; and Steiner, *Documentary Culture*, especially 28–46. For an extended study of the self-referential image in Deguileville and elsewhere, see Camille, *Gothic Idol*.

68. Matsuda has argued that an interest in the salvific power of purgatory links the excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* with the other contents of the manuscript; see *Death and Purgatory*, 151–67.

69. The two other manuscripts to include fragments of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* also isolate coherent segments: London, British Library MS Harley 7333 (Book 1, chap. 2), and San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 111 (Hoccleve's "Complaint").

70. McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, has demonstrated that none of the extant versions is copied directly from any other (c–cv). The textual affiliations of Additional 37049 are particularly difficult to trace, for its prose passages often paraphrase, rather than copy exactly, the prose of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. Nonetheless, McGerr claims that its verse excerpts demonstrate a kinship with the α branch of transmission (ci).

71. British Library MS Egerton 615, which contains fourteen lyrics, served as copy-text for the editions of both Furnivall and Clubb, and may be taken to represent the main textual tradition. One idiosyncratic manuscript adds nine new poems to this count and also appends extra verses to three of the lyrics that appear more widely. Melbourne, Victoria Public Library MS *096/G94, which includes both Middle English prose versions of Deguileville, has been described by Henry, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Life of the Manhode*, xxxviii–xlii; Manion and Vines, *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts*, no. 45; McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, lxxxvii–xcii; and Sinclair, *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 217. For the additional texts—all angel songs celebrating liturgical themes—see Roberts, "Unpublished Middle English Lyrics and Stanzas."

72. For the most thorough comparison to date, see McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, xlv–lv. Insofar as there are differences of layout, the two basic pictorial formats correspond roughly with the textual groups McGerr identifies: the α group combines a long-line text format with one-third-page illustrations, while the β group usually presents two columns of text with single-column illustrations. One manuscript has

a two-column layout with illustrations that stretch across the page. For these differences, see also Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, nos. 74 and 75.

73. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 220. Descriptions of Spencer 19 can be found in McGerr, *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, lxxx–lxxxiv; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 74; and *Splendor of the Word*, no. 94. See also Paltisis, “Petworth Manuscript.” Only the Victoria MS offers a larger cycle, with thirty-five images.

74. This quotation is taken from Clubb, ed., “Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*.”

75. For the soul as naked child, see, e.g., fol. 19r. Some other manuscripts of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* also adopt this more standard iconography; see, e.g., Cambridge University Library Kk.1.7.

76. For the provenance of Spencer 19, see McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, lxxxiii–lxxxiv; and Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 74, 219. The manuscript’s probable first owner, Sir Thomas Cumberworth (d. 1451), sheriff, and member of Parliament for Lincolnshire, might also have owned a copy of Love’s *Mirror*.

77. By contrast, the other two manuscripts to contain only excerpts of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* have no illustration.

78. He drew a similar vision of Christ enthroned in a Last Judgment scene on fol. 17v.

79. The detail of an angel holding Christ’s robe at his baptism is found elsewhere in English iconography only in a copy of Love’s *Mirror* (NLS MS Advocates 18.1.7, fol. 46v). See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:274.

80. The sources of this image are to be found in the story of Seth. For a comprehensive study, see Greenhill, “Child in the Tree,” especially 354–57. See also Behling, “Ecclesia als Arbor bona.”

81. It has been thought the Petrus Christus *Madonna of the Dry Tree* was inspired by Deguileville, but recent scholarship has demonstrated that the painting actually commemorates an unconnected cult image, “Our Lady of the Dry Tree,” and the confraternity founded in its honor (of which Petrus Christus was a member). See Van der Velden, “Petrus Christus’ *Our Lady of the Dry Tree*.”

82. On thematic grounds, Utley relates this dialogue to the souls deformed by sin on the opposing page, but of course they are more obviously related by their common source in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*.

83. For the Talmudic theme in the parable of the orchard, see Tubach, *Index Exemplorum*, no. 687; and Dudley, *Egyptian Elements*, 149n. On the significance of this addition, see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 405–6; Matsuda, “Presence of Purgatory”; and Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, 160–63.

84. See fols. 82r–v, 83f–v.

85. McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, suggests that Additional 37049 is related, both visually and textually, to the Victoria MS; see xciii (for pictures), cii (for texts).

86. For example, of all manuscripts to include an image of musical angels alongside the “Angels’ Second Song within Heaven,” the Victoria MS shows the fewest parallels with Additional 37049. See Melbourne, Victoria Public Library MS *096/G94, fol. 127r, reproduced in Maddocks, “‘Me Thowhte as I Slepte That I Was a Pilgrime,’”

fig 14. In addition, the Carthusian miscellany includes no text scrolls in its illustrations of the passages from Deguileville, in spite of its frequent use of them elsewhere (see, e.g., fol. 36r). In light of this sort of difference, it would seem that any likeness is due to style—both manuscripts include pen drawings rather than paintings—rather than to iconographic connections. Moreover, the substantial textual differences in precisely those poems that most interested the Carthusian compiler argue against any consistently close connection.

87. Clubb, ed., “Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*,” 113.

88. See, e.g., BL MS Additional 34193, where demons drag the deformed souls toward a hell mouth on the left (fol. 35r). The previous image of sin’s deformities is linked to this one by a line that encircles the procession of deformed souls (fol. 34r), evidently added in order to anticipate their hellish end. The Victoria MS, like Additional 37049, also shows the deformed souls parading toward a hell mouth.

89. For the same trope in the *Prick of Conscience*, see Ross, “Emblem Verses,” 280n34.

90. Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, 151–67; and Matsuda, “Presence of Purgatory.” See also Matsuda, “Pictorial Compendium,” for a link between the Deguileville excerpts and the flowchart of redemption on fols. 72v–73r.

91. McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. McGerr makes this argument at greater length and in greater detail in “Pageants, Scaffolds, and Judgment Scenes.” See also Roberts, “Some Unpublished Middle English Lyrics and Stanzas.”

92. McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, observes that the annotation is made “as if to note the resemblance between the content of these five chapters and contemporary pageant drama” (li).

93. See chapter 7 for a more extended discussion of this issue.

94. Compare Edwards, “Middle English Pageant ‘Picture?’”

95. McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, liii. See also Cohen, *Mystères et moralités*, 91–130. Cohen cites a fifteenth-century catalogue that refers to the *Vie* as a play.

96. Walls, “Rainbow as Archer’s Bow.”

97. McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, liii. See also Boselli, “Poemetto religioso inedito in antico francese”; Jeanroy, “La Passion Nostre Dame et le ‘Pèlerinage de l’âme.’” But compare Runnalls, “Quatre fragments de manuscrits de mystères de la Passion,” 914–15. Symes mentions the question, too (“Appearance,” 831).

98. See Pomel, “La Théâtralité des *Pèlerinages*.”

99. Compare McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, liii–liv, cxix n.84.

100. Copies known to have been owned by Carthusians include Bodleian MS Douce 114 and BL MS Additional 37790. See Lovatt, “Henry Suso.”

101. See Lerne to Dye, in Furnivall, ed., *Hoccleve’s Works*.

102. For this point, see Lovatt, “Henry Suso,” 54–59.

103. For representations of Suso’s self-inscription, see, e.g., *Heinrich Seuse*, ed. Bihlmeyer, pl. 1; Colledge and Marlier, “Mystical Pictures,” 334, pl. 2; and van Os, *Art of Devotion*, fig. 72. For the connection between Suso and Rolle, see Colledge and Marlier, “Mystical Pictures,” 307; Hamburger, “Use of Images,” 229–32; and Jager, *Book of the Heart*, 97–102.

104. Compare the dialogue with Death itself imagined by Carthusian postulant

John Blacman in the autobiographical note prefacing his book of *artes moriendi*, BL MS Sloane 2515. See Sargent and Hennessy, "Latin Verses."

105. Twombly, "Pardoner's Tale," 253.

106. Correspondences were long ago pointed out by Smart, *English and Latin Sources and Parallels*, 9–25. See also Eccles, *Macro Plays*; and Baker, Murphy, and Hall, *Late Medieval Religious Plays*.

107. For a discussion of *Wisdom's* sources in mysticism, see, e.g., Sargent, "Three Notes," 145–57.

108. For specific parallels and verbal echoes see Eccles, *Macro Plays*.

109. The Macro manuscript (Washington, D.C., Folger Library MS V.a.354) contains the only complete copy of *Wisdom*; see *Macro Plays*, ed. Bevington. The first 752 lines are also preserved in Oxford, Bodleian MS Digby 133; see *Late Medieval Religious Plays*; and *Digby Plays*, ed. Baker and Murphy. According to Milla Riggio, the Macro text was almost certainly copied from Digby (*Play of Wisdom*, 6–18).

110. Many monks with the surname of Hyngham can be traced in fifteenth-century East Anglia, and scholars have argued over the years for different identifications. Most intriguing has been Richard Hyngham, who was abbot of Bury St. Edmunds from 1474 to 1479. Glass at the church in Long Melford offers a portrait of this Abbot Hyngham with St. Edmund, and has been often reproduced; see, e.g., Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, fig. 4.4. But Richard Beadle and Jeremy Griffiths have demonstrated definitively that the Thomas Hyngham who owned a Boethius manuscript (now New Haven, Beinecke Library MS Osborn fa. 43) was both owner and scribe of the Macro plays; see Beadle, "Monk Thomas Hyngham's Hand"; and Griffiths, "Thomas Hyngham, Monk of Bury."

111. But compare Riehle, "English Mysticism and the Morality Play *Wisdom*," who argues for a "popular" audience for *Wisdom* no different from the one imagined for the mystery cycles; and Johnston, "*Wisdom* and the Records," who suggests a performance in the household of a "serious-minded local magnate" (96). See also Godden, "Fleshly Monks and Dancing Girls"; and Clopper, *Drama, Play and Game*, 255–66.

112. Gibson, "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the *N-Town Cycle*"; and Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*. She speculates that the play was staged in the abbot's dining hall before King Edward IV in 1469.

113. *Wisdom Symposium*, 44.

114. For the importance of visual elements in the play, see Bevington, "Blake and Wyght, Fowll and Fayer"; Davidson, *Visualizing the Moral Life*, 83–111; and Riggio, "*Wisdom* Enthroned."

115. *Visualizing the Moral Life*, 85–89.

116. *Macro Plays*, ed. Eccles, 203n.

117. Smart ignored the "irrelevant" words, while Molloy proposed that the character names himself for emphasis. The history of the debate is summarized by Eccles (*Macro Plays*, ed. Eccles, 203n).

118. Chambers, *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages*, 59. Cited by Eccles in *Macro Plays*.

119. For a reply to those critics, see, e.g., Baker, "Is *Wisdom* a 'Professional' Play?"

CHAPTER 7. *Dramatizing the Cell:
Theatrical Performances in Monastic Reading*

1. Alford, "Introduction," 1. For similar sentiments, see also *Cambridge Companion*, ed. Beadle, xiii.

2. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays* VI (TCD MS F.4.20, fols. 338r–56r).

3. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays* IX (Cambridge University Library MS Mm.1.18, fol. 62r). For the first recognition of it as a dramatic fragment, see Robbins, "English Mystery Play Fragment."

4. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays* VIII (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. Poet.f.2).

5. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays* XII (Bodleian MS Ashmole 750, fol. 168r). A unique hand has scribbled about a dozen lines—presumably his own lines preceded by a catchword. See Robbins, "Dramatic Fragment"; and Wright, "Remnant of a Middle English Saint Play?"

6. See, among others, Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*; and Stern, *Making Shakespeare*.

7. On the dominance of print, see especially Peters, *Theater of the Book*. In my view, Peters underestimates the importance of manuscripts for the reading of plays.

8. See, e.g., Symes, "Appearance"; and Sponsler, "Drama in the Archives."

9. For a full discussion of this poem and its iconography, see chapter 3.

10. Seymour supposes, however, that a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century collector joined three manuscripts from one source, interpolating the *Desert* and transposing the adjoining leaves ("English Manuscripts," 206).

11. Similar iconography can be found in more lavish manuscripts such as Bodleian MS Bodley 758 and BL MS Additional 50001 (Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:79). For an exploration of late-medieval blood piety separate from the eucharist, see Bynum, "Blood of Christ."

12. The *arma christi* are a familiar feature of late-medieval Passion devotion, often represented in both text and image: see Berliner, "Arma Christi"; Suckale, "Arma Christi"; and Robbins, "Arma Christi' Rolls." Compare also fol. 23r.

13. For this poem, sometimes known as the "Dawnce of Makabre," see fols. 31v–32r. This sort of poem is related to monumental images such as the famous wall-paintings at the cemetery of the Innocents in Paris, and Lydgate's Middle English verses on the Dance of Death at St. Paul's. Though it was primarily a visual form, there is also fifteenth-century evidence that the *danse macabre* was performed. For an overview, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, 153–59.

14. For a discussion of the "behold and see" convention as an invitation to dialogue, see Mills, "'Look at Me.'"

15. Stevens and Cawley, eds., "Thou synfull man that by me gase/Tytt unto me thou turn thy face/Behold my body, in ilka place/How it was dight:/All to-rent and all to-shent/Man, for the plight" (*Towneley Plays*, xxvi.244–49).

16. Some critics have investigated the relations between plays and the *planctus Mariae*, notably Taylor, "English 'Planctus Mariae,'" who argues that the Digby *Burial* is most clearly derived from the *planctus*; Keiser, "Middle English *Planctus Mariae*"; and Sticca, "*Planctus Mariae* in the Medieval European Theater," and *Planctus Mariae*

in the *Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, especially 118–78. More generally, see Taylor, “Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric”; and *Relations of Lyric and Drama in Mediaeval England*. Continental explorations of “the dramatic rather than the narrative potentials of lyric poetics” have been studied in connection with the lyricist/dramatist Adam de la Halle; see, e.g., Huot, “Transformations of the Lyric Voice,” 148.

See also Pearson, “Isolable Lyrics”; and Osberg, “Hand-List” (which includes twenty-nine short poems from plays). For particular examples of isolable lyrics, see Cutts, “Wee happy hearers here”; and Lepow, “Elevation Prayers.”

17. For a useful account of the way in which dramatic experience incorporates the icons of Passion devotion, see Robinson, “Late Medieval Cult of Jesus.” For the play’s general debts to nondramatic literature, see Meredith, “Towneley Cycle,” especially 148–50.

18. Reed, *Christmas Carols*, 71–74.

19. See Mellinkoff, *Horned Moses*.

20. The *Speculum Christiani* is a popular long catechetical and pastoral work derived from the *Cibus anime*. Both texts were associated with the Carthusian Order, but were clearly also meant for dissemination to the laity. The *Speculum Christiani* itself shows something of the excerpting tendency we have seen in Additional 37049, and has been called an “instant pastoral miscellany.” See Gillespie, “Evolution,” 42. See also Gillespie, *Cura Pastoralis*.

21. The last eight commandments of the *Speculum Christiani* are echoed in Towneley Play XVIII. See Cawley, “Metrical Versions of the Decalogue,” 139–40.

22. This example illustrates one kind of danger of assuming that manuscript illustrations reveal very much about medieval performance history; the words are found in a dramatic speech, but the pictures accompanying them bear no relationship to the way we know they were delivered on the stage.

23. Robbins, “English Mystery Play Fragment.”

24. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays* XI (Bodleian MS Tanner 407, fols. 43v–44v). Louis, ed., *Commonplace Book*, no. 85. Compare also the fourteenth-century dramatic monologue by “byschop Cayface” in BL MS Sloane 2478, fol. 43r.

25. Louis, ed., *Commonplace Book*, no. 86.

26. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays*, cxxi. Louis, ed., *Commonplace Book*, no. 51.

27. The couplets on the Nine Worthies were printed by Ritson in 1783, and by Gollancz in appendix XIII to his edition of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* under the heading “Early Mumming-Play on the Nine Worthies.” See Louis, ed., *Commonplace Book*, no. 53. For the St. Anne’s guild poems, see Louis, ed., *Commonplace Book*, Nos. 46, 47, 49, and 50.

28. Louis, ed., *Commonplace Book*, 264–68.

29. *Ibid.*, 287–88.

30. The awkward layout suggests that the artist began with the child, only later adding the forgotten character of the infant.

31. Kolve relates this moral dilemma to the *Friar’s Tale*; see “Man in the Middle,” 26.

32. See Sargent, "Self-Verification."
33. This is another example of the manuscript's theological optimism. See Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, but compare Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?"
34. Fifteenth-century play manuscripts usually note speakers' names in the right margins, but they do separate speeches by lines and sometimes center stage directions above the text. The sixteenth-century Croxton *Play of the Sacrament* also includes speech-prefixes in the left margin, and lines between speakers. Davis assumes that the absence of such markings argues against theatrical use; compare *Robin Hood and the Sheriff of Nottingham*, in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.2.64 (Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays*, 76). For the layouts of fifteenth-century dramatic manuscripts, see Howard-Hill, "Evolution of the Form of Plays," 112–29.
35. Utley, "Dialogues," 689.
36. Davenport relates the poem improbably to *Pearl*, on the grounds that it shows a "related type of twisting of the pupil/teacher relationship" ("Patterns," 140).
37. For the text, see Furnivall, ed., *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, 58–78. Cited by Davenport as an Ages of Man poem "largely in dialogue for a number of speakers" ("Patterns"). MacCracken argues that it is a new dramatic source for the play *Mundus et Infans* ("Source").
38. For an edition without commentary, see York, "Dramatic Form." For analogues, see MacCracken, "Source of *Mundus et Infans*," 496n1; Nelson, "'Of the Seuen Ages'"; and Davidson, *Visualizing the Moral Life*, 55.
39. Bowers, "Medieval Analogue to *As You Like It*." Bowers claims the fifteenth-century play illustrates "in an amoeba-like form the framing concept of the seven ages of man" (110).
40. For the *theatrum mundi*, see Curtius, *European Literature*, 138–44.
41. Stevens explains, "I mean to suggest that the world as shown in the *mappa mundi* was the controlling image that performers and spectators alike implicitly carried with them to shape their idea of the traditional overall outdoor stage for the performance of religious plays" ("From *Mappa Mundi* to *Theatrum Mundi*," 34). See also Stevens, "Theatre of the World."
42. Nelson, "'Of the Seuen Ages,'" 136.
43. Beadle, "York Plays," 86. See also Beadle, ed., *York Play*. A good brief introduction to the manuscripts and their meanings is Meredith, "Scribes, Text, and Performance"; see also Davidson, "Material Culture, Writing, and Early Drama."
44. The genealogies occur after the Jesse Tree play, and before the *Contemplacio* group. See Spector, ed., *N-town Play*; Meredith and Kahrl, eds., *N-town Plays*; Spector, "Genesis of the N-Town Cycle"; and Spector, "Composition and Development of an Eclectic Manuscript."
45. Mills, "Chester Cycle," 110. Mills also claims that some passages must be read to be understood (118).
46. For the Fleury playbook as a "literary phenomenon," see Campbell, "Liturgical Drama," 640.
47. Simon, "Manuscript Production." For a more general catalogue of the German material, see Linke, "Deutsche Handschriften."

48. Smith, ed., *Maistre Pierre Patbelin*, especially 60–64. See also Hüe and Smith, eds., *Maistre Pierre Patbelin*.

49. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays* (Winchester MS 33). This manuscript is composed of five separate sections, but the first four are in the same fifteenth-century hand.

50. Davis, *Facsimile*, 138. See also *NIMEV* 3352.5 and 3430.5; Davis, “Two Unprinted Dialogues”; Utley, “Dialogues,” 742–44, 900; Lee, “Lucidus and Dubius”; Beadle, “Occupation and Idleness.”

51. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays IV* (TCD MS D. 4. 18, fols. 74v–81r). The evidence for localization is a list of mayors and bailiffs of Northampton on fol. 82v.

52. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays V* (Yale, Beinecke MS 365, fols. 151–221). This Book of Brome (so-called because it was found at Brome Hall, in Suffolk) includes model legal documents, recipes, and notes, as well as poetry.

53. For the mysterious underlined words, see Davis, *Facsimile*, 50. As Davis explains, “Some of them are obviously important, especially names and designations of relationship such as wyffe 7, chyld 12, Fader 14, son 15, all of which are underlined almost every time they occur; but also marked are lyvelod 4, erth 6, creatyrys 8, sacryfyce 39, 42, offryng 49, best 52, hyll 56, lyffe 81, blood 97, fagot 116, handys 120, haret 121, backe 130, and many others equally miscellaneous” (*Non-Cycle Plays*, lxii).

54. See, e.g., Sheingorn, “Visual Language of Drama.”

55. Davis, *Facsimile*, 137: fols. 66r and 67v. Cawley made the suggestion originally.

56. Davidson, *Illustrations of the Stage*, 50–56.

57. For traces of classical theater in Anglo-Saxon art, see Dodwell and Graham, *Anglo-Saxon Gestures and the Roman Stage*. The Bodleian Terence is mentioned on 148–50.

58. Davidson, *Illustrations of the Stage*, 55. For a more skeptical view, see Basore, “Scenic Value,” 277.

59. For the manuscript, see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 103; and Binski, ed., *Cambridge Illuminations*, no. 119. For an edition of the text, see Chaundler, *Liber Apologeticus*, ed. Shoukri.

60. Shoukri connects the *Liber apologeticus* to both mystery and morality plays (Chaundler, *Liber Apologeticus*, ed. Shoukri, 12–14).

61. See James, *Chaundler MSS*, 10.

62. Davidson, *Illustrations of the Stage*, 56. Shoukri also argues that the play was “at least read in Hall,” if not given a full staging (Chaundler, *Liber Apologeticus*, ed. Shoukri, 15).

63. See Davidson, *Illustrations of the Stage*, 58. The fall of the angels is of course a standard medieval artistic subject, and the Trinity artist may have been influenced in his choice by the easy availability of exemplars.

64. Compare the illustration in Additional 37049 of the Towneley Doctors’ Decalogue.

65. Kolve, *Play Called Corpus Christi*, 8–32. He notes other genre-words including *meditation, treatise, song, drama, play, miracle*.

66. *Ibid.*, 13.

67. Perrot and Nonot, eds., *Le Jour du Jugement*; Emmerson, ed., *Antichrist and Judgment Day*.

68. Emerson, "Visualizing Performance," 246. For a debate about the relevance of manuscript illustrations to performance practice, see Sewall, "Arras Miniatures"; and Oakeshott, "Arras Miniatures."

69. Runnalls, "Toward a Typology." See especially the discussion of Type G (107–8). He suggests that plays that exist in more than one copy were often intended for private reading, as well as public performance. See also Lalou and Smith, "Pour une typologie."

70. For a consideration of the production of the Arras manuscript, see Weigert, "Illuminating the Arras Mystery Play."

71. Clark and Sheingorn, "Performative Reading." The three manuscripts Sheingorn and Clark consider closely are Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 815; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 6431; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 816.

72. As Clark and Sheingorn put it: "The act of reading transforms [the written word] into enacted text, and it is this process that we term performative reading" ("Performative Reading," 136). Their general analysis of the ways in which plays for reading are nonetheless invested in performance is very similar to my understanding of the mechanisms of reading exposed by Additional 37049.

73. Quoted in Meredith and Tailby, eds., *Staging of Religious Drama*, 163–64.

74. Quoted in *ibid.*, 248–49.

75. Other plays call a similarly self-conscious figure Expositor, Nuntius, or Doctor—but these seem different in kind, and more clearly external. Sylvia Tomasch observes: "Their explanatory speeches can be seen as substitutions for the texts of the illustrated page that accompany the illustrations. In an interesting reversal of emphasis, scene illustrates text on the page, while on stage, explanatory words take second place to the enacted scenes" ("Breaking the Frame," 84).

76. See Baker, "When Is a Text a Play?" For an argument against plays in monasteries, see Clopper, *Drama, Play, and Game*, 110–13. See also Lindenbaum, "Entertainment in English Monasteries."

77. The manuscript of the N-Town plays (British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D.xiii) preserves an intriguing note made by Richard James, Sir Robert Cotton's librarian, around 1629: "scenice expressa et actitata olim per monachos sive fratres mendicantes." The value of this note for our understanding of medieval practice, however, seems small.

78. Quoted in Meredith and Tailby, eds., *Staging of Religious Drama*, 226–29. See also Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:164–66, 381–84.

79. Text and translation from Young, "Theatre-going Nuns in Rural Devon?"

80. For a college of secular canons who record many *ludi*, see also Beadle, "Dramatic Records of Mettingham College."

81. See Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, especially 107–35. For more extensive records of dramatic activity in nearby Thetford, see Dymond, *Register of Thetford Priory*, 47–52.

82. Beadle, "Monk Thomas Hyngham's Hand," 337n56. I am grateful to Richard Beadle for calling this record to my attention.

83. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays X* (British Library Add. Roll 63481 B).

84. According to Davis, "Greg conjectured that, since there ought to be a rhyme

to 'lond,' the scribe had omitted by mistake most of lines 1–3 and on noticing this discarded the parchment, which was to be used for baser purposes a couple of generations later" (Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays*, cxv).

85. Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, 179.

86. The quotation is from "The Dolorous Pyte of Crystes Passioun" (5), a poem that, despite itself, is not illustrated. See MacCracken, ed., *Minor Poems*, 250–52. Other examples of Lydgate's lyrical imagetexts include "On the Image of Pity" (*Minor Poems*, 297–99) and "The Image of Our Lady" (*Minor Poems*, 290–91). See Cornell, "'Purtreture' and 'Holsom Stories,'" and more recently, Gayk, "Images of Piety."

87. The rubric accompanying this poem is somewhat opaque regarding its use: "Next nowe filowing here bygynnethe the devyse of a steyned halle of the lyf of Saint George ymagyned by Daun Johan the Munk of Bury Lydegate /and made with the balades at the request /of tharmorieres of London for thonour of theyre brotherhoode and theyre feest of Saint George" (*Minor Poems*, 145).

88. For recent discussion of the textuality of Lydgate's dramatic works, see Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture*, especially 71–183.

89. Sponsler, "Drama in the Archives," 121. See also Kipling, "Lydgate: The Poet as Deviser."

90. Badir, "Un-civil Rites and Playing Sites." The archdeacon of the East Riding writing to Cromwell in 1535 finds the Carthusian prior and brethren "conformable to the King's pleasure." He continues, "I suppose there is not a more quiet jurisdiction in my archdeaconry. I think there is no county that requires less setting forward in these causes than the East Riding of Yorkshire" (8). For subtle readings of this evidence, see also Badir, "Garrison of the Godly."

91. See Block, ed., *Ludus Coventriae*, especially Note B, lviii–lx. More recently, see Davis, "Nicholas Love and the N-Town Cycle" (cited by Sargent, in the introduction to his edition of Love's *Mirror*).

92. Beadle, "'Devoute Ymaginacioun.'" It is worth noting, however, that Love's treatise on the sacrament that is appended to the *Mirror* cautions against meditating "curiously in ymaginacion," a cautionary adverb that recalls general Carthusian unease about the use of imagery, whether material or mental. Meale calls attention to the caution, "'This Is a Deed Bok, the Tother a Quick,'" 60.

93. Meale, "'This Is a Deed Bok, the Tother a Quick.'"

94. Glasscoe claims: "Her thinking was governed by the speaking voice rather than by the semantic precision of structured prose" ("Evidence of Orality," 83).

95. See Bodleian Library, *Summary Catalogue*; Smith, *York Plays*, lxviii; Rowntree, *Carthusian World View*; Baker, Murphy, and Hall, eds., *Late Medieval Religious Plays*; and Friedman, *Northern English Books*. The most thorough descriptions are Hogg, "Carthusian Drama?"; and Hogg, "Ways of God." Seymour has also written on a piece in the manuscript in "Mandeville and Marco Polo."

96. Rowntree, *Carthusian World View*, 13, 23. Doyle has guessed that Additional 37049 also comes from Axholme or Beauvale, but neither localization is certain.

97. This shorter piece is written in a different hand, and is not included in the *Summary Catalogue* description.

98. Ward, "Writing and Reading as Remedy," 70. Ward has published several stud-

ies of this manuscript; see “Study of *e Museo 160*”; “Historiography in an Early Sixteenth-Century English Manuscript”; “Historiography on the Eve of the Reformation”; and “Two Carthusian Histories.”

99. For the poetic histories, see Hogg, “Middle English Carthusian Verse Chronicle.”

100. The less serious images include alphabets and figures in medieval dress.

101. Baker, “When Is a Text a Play?” 35.

102. Rowntree, *Carthusian World View*, 22. See also Rowntree, “Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England.”

103. For an analysis of the text as a “devotional history,” see Ward, “Historiography in an Early Sixteenth-Century English Manuscript.”

104. See Ward, “Writing and Reading as Remedy,” 76.

105. Fol. 140r (quoted in Hogg, “Carthusian Drama?”).

106. Fol. 140v (quoted in *ibid.*).

107. Rowntree claims: “There is nothing in this manuscript which could not have been used as an aid to meditation” (*Carthusian World View*, 15).

108. The definition comes from the fourth-century grammarian Diomedes, who distinguished the primary literary genres as mimetic (drama), narrative (lyric), or mixed (epic). Though widely known in the Middle Ages, this definition hardly accounts for staged performances, for it makes Virgil’s *Eclogues* and the *Song of Songs* into plays, but would exclude the Chester and N-Town cycles. See Jones, “Isidore and the Theatre”; Jones, “*Song of Songs* as a Drama”; Kolve, *Play Called Corpus Christi*, 27–28; and, for a full treatment of the commentary tradition, Salmon, “Three Voices.”

109. See Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, 331–35, especially n. 17. As James Hogg considers the possibilities: “It would seem likely that the copyist tried to adapt the dramatic text for meditative purposes, and then either lacked the time to continue methodically and gave up, merely transcribing the rest of the text as it was, or he found the whole process too laborious” (“Carthusian Drama?” 267). It would seem, though, that the rubric about omitting narrative lines would indicate precisely the opposite sequence in the transformation of the text. At least the option to continue to perform the text was preserved, even after some of the meditative revisions had been completed.

110. See Baker, *Late-Medieval Religious Plays*; and Baker, “When Is a Text a Play?” For an extremely useful discussion of these matters, see Meredith, “‘Bodley Burial and Resurrection.’”

111. Baker, “When Is a Text a Play?” 37. See also Baker’s introduction to his edition of the plays. On the question of actual performance in monasteries, Baker observes: “The question of the role that religious drama had in religious houses is a complex one. We have evidence for a great deal in some orders, but almost none in others. The matter continues to be studied” (“When Is a Text a Play?” 37). See also Runnalls, “When Is a ‘Mystère’ Not a ‘Mystère?’”

112. “How the writer got the idea of the play as acted meditation we do not know; his house, if at Hull, was certainly close enough to Beverley for him to have seen the plays there, and perhaps he had seen the cycle at York” (Baker, “When Is a Text a Play?” 37).

113. "The writer simply got as far as fol. 147v in his narrative meditation when he realized that, for whatever reason, he should make it into two plays. He went back and removed all the traces of narrative that he noticed, missing a few, and from fol. 147v on cast the narrative into an essentially dramatic form, including stage directions, speakers' names, etc. Then he put the note at the bottom of fol. 140v, suggesting hopefully that it might be played" (Baker, "When Is a Text a Play?" 37). This seems a plausible mechanism to propose, but does not address the crucial *for whatever reason* that interests me.

114. Smith, "La Question du *Prologue*."

115. De La Chesnaye, *La Condamnation de Banquet*, ed. Koopmans and Verhuyck, 63. The alternatives are roughly "to play or publicly represent for the simple folk," "to hear the recitation," or "to read and study in solitude."

116. For this particular assertion, which mirrors widespread assumptions, see Tydeman, "Introduction to Medieval English Theatre," 1.

117. "Writing and Reading as Remedy," 81.

118. *Ibid.*

119. James Hogg is insistent on this point: "The postulation of Carthusian authorship for the pieces is not only eliminated by the traditions of the Order, but is totally unnecessary to explain their presence in Bodleian E. Museo 160" ("Carthusian Drama?" 270). But Carthusian authorship is not necessary to demonstrate Carthusian reception.

CHAPTER 8. *Conclusion: Reading Performances*

1. Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry*. This book is a reprinting of lectures delivered in 1914.

2. *Ibid.*, 151.

3. See, e.g., John Heywood's *Pardoner and Friar*, which incorporates 83 lines of the Pardoner's Prologue; and possibly William Cornyshe's *Troilus and Pandar*, now lost. Both cited by Axton, "Chaucer and the Idea of Theatrical Performance," 83n3.

4. At the congress of the New Chaucer Society in London in July 2000, Kittredge's name was often invoked. Most often distinctions were drawn between his dramatic principle and more modern understandings of Chaucer, but the continual recursion to Kittredge demonstrates that his ideas remain powerful and worth debating. For different views on this subject, see, e.g., Ganim, *Chaucerian Theatricality*, especially 3-16; and, Lerer, "Chaucerian Critique."

5. Critics have noticed this quality, and have occasionally invoked the drama as a metaphor for understanding these pieces. Thus Raymond Oliver supposes that "the quietly terrifying speeches might have been spoken offstage during a performance of the *danse macabre*" (*Poems without Names*, 107-8), and Edmund Reiss speaks of the "implicit drama" in the presentation of the *Vado mori* (*Art of the Middle English Lyric*, 152-56). Matsuda also observes that the "Debate for the Soul" makes "a small drama of the moment of death such as is seen in a grander scale in the *Castle of Perseverance*, which . . . might have included the debate of the body and soul in the missing portion of the MS" ("Presence," 108).

6. Symes, "Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays," 778. For a "brief and adamantly polemical investigation" of the problem, see also Hult, "Limits of Mime(s)," 61. For *Courtois d'Arras*, especially, see Dronke, "Narrative and Dialogue," 107; Noomen, "Passages narratifs dans les drames médiévaux français"; and Lyons, "Narrative and the Drama in Medieval France," 203-22. For Scandinavia, see Gunnell, *Origins of Drama in Scandinavia*.

7. See, e.g., Huot, "Transformations of Lyric Voice."

8. See also the fifteenth-century Spanish *Querella ante el dios de Amor*, which might have been acted, rather than simply recited. As Peter Dronke characterizes it, "the poet has allowed the dramatic exchange to grow spontaneously out of his own turbulent reflections" (compare disputation; Dronke, "Narrative and Dialogue," 118).

9. *Non-Cycle Plays XI* (Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Muniments 1.2. Archidiac. Dunelm. 60, dorset). For speculations about which Marian miracle the Durham play represents, see Bennett, in *Medium Aevum* 36 (1967), 93-95; Heuser, "Eine neue mittelenglische Version der Theophilus-Sage"; Plenzat, "Die Theophiluslegende"; and especially Wright, "Durham Play." The version or versions that appear among the Marian miracles of Additional 37049 are so badly damaged that certain identification of them is not possible, but they show the outlines of the popular tale of the knight who refused to abjure Mary (see *MWME* [105]).

10. For the *Interludium*, see *Non-Cycle Plays II* (BL MS Add. 23986 [lost, but microfilm, and facsimile]). For the relationships between the two texts, see, e.g., Heuser, "Das Interludium 'De Clerico et Puella'"; Schröder, "Dame Sirith"; and Axton, *European Drama*, 19-23. Intriguingly, Harley 2253 also contains two unrelated pieces (*Harrowing of Hell* and *Gilote and Johanne*) marked for dramatic dialogue or miming; see Revard, "Gilote et Johanne."

11. Dronke, "Narrative and Dialogue," 119. Dronke considers the fragmentary *Interludium* to recount a different plot, and proposes that it is an adaptation of the Latin *Pamphilus* in the vernacular. He does acknowledge, however, that the copyist has set the word *fabel* in the rubric introducing the piece (112n20).

12. Medievalists have made arguments for the theatricality of all of Ricardian literary culture, in contexts far beyond the purely dramatic. See, e.g., Paxson, Clopper, and Tomasch, eds., *Performance of Middle English Culture*. Paxson explains the choice of theatrical subject for the volume in this way: "By 'theatrical' I of course refer to the persistent Middle English mystery and morality plays as well as the lavish public spectacles that occasioned every religious feast or civic observance. But I also mean the theatrical and performative sense that seemed to saturate the poetical contributions of late medieval England, especially the work of Chaucer . . . Chaucerian theatricality mirrors the literal theatricality of Ricardian culture" (1).

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Index of Manuscript Shelfmarks

- Amherst 20 (former), 360n10
- Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 579,
289
- Brussels
Bibliothèque Royale 9229 c, 362n33
Bibliothèque Royale 9416c, 362n33
- Cambridge
Corpus Christi College 16, 368n25
Corpus Christi College 26, 368n25
Gonville and Caius College 124/61,
381n66
Gonville and Caius College 142/192,
353n192
Gonville and Caius College 386,
365n71
Magdalen College Pepys Library 1916,
368n21
Magdalen College Pepys Library 2125,
181–82
St. John's College 71, 345n88
St. John's College 208 (H.5), 332n52
Trinity College 323, 377n13
Trinity College B.10.12, 85
Trinity College R.2.64, 387n34
Trinity College R.14.5, 286–89
University Library Dd.v.64, 364n48
University Library Ee.1.12, 377n13
University Library Gg.1.6, 53
University Library Inc.5.F.6.3, 351n173
University Library Kk.1.7, 382n75
University Library Kk.vi.20, 187
University Library Mm.1.18, 385n3
University Library Mm 5.37, 334n79
- Chantilly 617, 259
- Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale 306,
204
- Dublin, Trinity College D.4.18, 388n51
- Edinburgh
National Library of Scotland Advo-
cates Library 18.1.7, 193–94, 368n17,
382n79
National Library of Scotland Advo-
cates Library 18.7.21, 377n13
University of Edinburgh MS 205,
337n111
- Eton College 213, 353n193

- Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 270, 254,
256
- Lambeth Palace
209, 374n105
260, 365n71
413, 349n140
853, 364n48
- Leeds University Library Brotherton
500, 365n71
- London
British Library Additional 5465, 191
British Library Additional 18347,
356n22
British Library Additional 22121,
359n60
British Library Additional 22283,
360n10, 377n13
British Library Additional 23986, 303,
393n10
British Library Additional 24343,
372n79
British Library Additional 24660,
356n22
British Library Additional 25042,
38–39, 54–55, 74–75, 341n34, 341n36
British Library Additional 30944,
380n52
British Library Additional 34193,
383n88
British Library Additional 36983,
380n57
British Library Additional 37049, 3–4
and passim (See also entries in subject
index)
British Library Additional 37790,
345n87, 353n192, 379n49, 383n100
British Library Additional 38131,
356n22
British Library Additional 50001,
367n89, 385n11
British Library Additional 60577,
378n33
British Library Additional 61823,
358n48
British Library Additional Charter
5960, 191, 372n79
British Library Additional Roll 63481
B, 389n83
British Library Arundel 83 I, 199–200
British Library Arundel 83 II, 199
British Library Arundel 157, 369n25
British Library Arundel 285, 337n111,
360n10
British Library Arundel 286, 380n52
British Library Ashmole 60, 365n71
British Library Cotton Faustina B.VI
(Pt. II), 23, 85–95, 97–100, 103–4,
107–8, 138, 141, 355n8–355n9, 368n17
British Library Cotton Julius E.iv, 9
British Library Cotton Nero C.iv,
368n25
British Library Cotton Vespasian
D.xii, 389n77
British Library Egerton 615, 367n89,
381n71
British Library Egerton 842, 380n52
British Library Egerton 3245, 365n71
British Library Harley 2253, 19–20,
303, 393n10
British Library Harley 2278, 85
British Library Harley 2373, 96
British Library Harley 4826, 85
British Library Harley 6571, 380n52
British Library Harley 6848, 191,
372n76, 372n79
British Library Royal 5E.xxi, 356n22
British Library Royal 7E.vii, 356n22
British Library Royal 8B.vi, 356n22
British Library Royal 12.B.iv, 353n192
British Library Sloane 2478, 386n24
British Library Sloane 2515, 354n195,
384n104
British Library Sloane 3292, 191
British Library Stowe 39, 85–95, 97,
99–105, 107–8, 112, 141–42, 302,
357n30
British Library Stowe 620, 191, 372n77
British Library Stowe 1055, 191,
372n78

- British Library Yates Thompson 13,
348n129
Wellcome Library Western 49, 330n31
Longleat 29, 364n48, 371n65
- Melbourne, State Library of Victoria
*096/G94, 252, 254, 381n71, 382n86
- New Haven
Yale University, Beinecke Library 365,
284–85, 388n52
Yale University, Beinecke Library
404, 357n36
Yale University, Beinecke Library
Osborn fa. 43, 384n110
- New York
New York Public Library Spencer 19,
245, 249, 258
Pierpont Morgan Library 358, 352n180
Pierpont Morgan Library 729, 128–29,
362n33
Pierpont Morgan Library M.691, 204
- Notre Dame, Indiana, University of
Notre Dame 67 (*olim* Foyle), 53
- Oxford
Balliol College 354, 377n13
Bodleian Library Ashmole 189, 191
Bodleian Library Ashmole 750, 385n5
Bodleian Library Auct. E. infra 1 and
2, 353n190
Bodleian Library Auct. F.2.13, 285
Bodleian Library Bodley 277,
353n190
Bodleian Library Bodley 505, 53,
345n88
Bodleian Library Bodley 758, 367n89,
385n11
Bodleian Library Bodley 861, 181,
371n65
Bodleian Library Digby 14, 365n71
Bodleian Library Digby 86, 303,
377n13
Bodleian Library Digby 133, 384n109
Bodleian Library Douce 1, 360n10
- Bodleian Library Douce 18, 368n17
Bodleian Library Douce 104, 6,
333n64
Bodleian Library Douce 114, 53,
383n100
Bodleian Library Douce 322, 371n65
Bodleian Library e Museo 160,
293–300, 347n120, 379n35
Bodleian Library Eng. poet.a.1, 129,
360n110, 377n13
Bodleian Library Eng. Poet.f.2, 385n4
Bodleian Library Laud 154, 52
Bodleian Library Laud misc. 486,
365n71
Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.285,
371n65, 373n83
Bodleian Library Rawlinson D.318,
349n140
Bodleian Library Tanner 407, 216,
386n24
Corpus Christi College 237, 332n52,
381n66
Merton 68, 365n71
University College 181, 381n66
- Paris
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 6431, 389n71
Bibliothèque Mazarine 34, 353n190
Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 815, 389n71
Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 816, 389n71
Bibliothèque Nationale ital. 115,
380n59
Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat.
2661, 352n180
- Ripon Cathedral 6, 353n192
- Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1404, 87,
330n31
- San Marino, California
Huntington Library EL 26 C 9, 304
Huntington Library HM 1, 337n111
- Vatican City, Cod. Vat. Lat. 375, 97,
357n36

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1800, 175, 369n31	Winchester 33, 388n49 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Guelf. 78.5 Aug 2°, 266
Washington, D.C., Folger Library V.a.354, 384n109	York Minster XVI.G.5, 378n33

Subject Index

- Abbey and Charter of the Holy Ghost*, 86,
112, 147, 284
Abraham and Isaac, 284
Abrams, M. H., 122
Adam of Dryburgh, 101, 344n75; *De
quadripartito exercitio cellae*, 50–51
Alford, John, 269
Allen, Hope Emily, 82, 137, 354n3, 357n32,
364n57, 364n61
All Saints Church (York), 147–48
Almondbury, Yorkshire, 216
Amalarius of Metz, 207
Amorbach, Jean, 35
Anderson, M. D., 7
Anselm, St., *Meditatio ad concitandum
timorem*, 179
Apollonia, St., play of, 205
apostles, procession of, 192–93
“Apple of Solace” (Deguileville), 247–49
arbor viciorum, 96
architecture, Carthusian, 37–40
arma Christi, 385n12
Arras mystery play, 290
ars moriendi, 260–68
art, Carthusian, extant, 59
Arta, Greece, 176
artifacts, devotional, 67–69, 173, 181
artists, Carthusian, 66, 348n132
asceticism, Carthusian, 59–77, 351n175
Ashe, L., 372n71
Ashley, Kathleen, 168
Ashmole Fragment, 269–70
Aston, Mick, 342n55, 347n114
Audelay, John, 328n12
audiences, of *Desert of Religion*, 110–12
Augustine, St., *Soliloquies*, 212
Austin, J. L., 15, 168
Avignon Diptych, 174
Axholme charterhouse, 44, 294,
390n96
Baker, Donald, 294, 298–99, 391n111,
391n112, 392n113
baptismal fonts, 204
Barking Abbey, 291
Barlaam and Josaphat, 127–31
Bauman, Richard, 21
Beadle, Richard, 293, 384n110
Beauchamp, Richard, Earl of Warwick,
9, 293

- Beaumetz, Jean de, 64, 66, 69
 Beauvale charterhouse, 44, 61, 294,
 390n96
 Beckwith, Sarah, 14, 207
 Bekyngton, Thomas (Bishop of Bath
 and Wells), 287
Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry, 31,
 41–43, 74
 Belting, Hans, 352n181
 Bernardino of Siena, 193
 Bernard of Clairvaux, St., Sermon 15,
 179
 Bertelli, Carlo, 171
 Bevington, David, 331n43
 Bible: Job 30:31, 125; Lamentations 1:12,
 14; Philippians 2:10, 187; Psalms, 168;
 Revelation 1:8, 171
Biblia pauperum, 230
 Blacman, John, 52, 384n104
 Bloomfield, Morton, 82
 Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus, 212
 Bonaventure, St., 357n24
 book formats, 1; “codex” diptych,
 174–75; and *Desert of Religion*, 95–109
 booklists, 52–53, 75, 180
 book making, Carthusian, 12, 47–49,
 54–57, 72–76, 347n114
Book of Margery Kempe, 6, 52, 56, 58, 293,
 345n88, 358n48
 book painting, Carthusian, 72–76
 books, Carthusian, 49–54, 74
 books of hours, 199, 304
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 15
 Bouts, Dirck, 174
 Bozon, Nicole, 127
 braces, use in Middle English verses,
 122, 271
 Braystanes, Christopher, 335n79
 Bruno, St., 29, 34, 40–42, 47, 59
 Burgos Passion, 290
 Bury St. Edmunds, 164, 264–65, 292
 Butler, Judith, 15
 Byzantine icons, 171–77
 Byzantine Museum, Kastoria, Greece,
 175–77
 Camaldoli, 338n9
Cambridge Prologue, 269, 274
 Camille, Michael, 230
Candet nudatum pectus, 137
 canonical hours, 195–201
 Canonsleigh Abbey, 291
 Carbonell-Lamothe, Yvette, 69
 Carlson, Marvin, 337n115, 375n120
carmina figurata, 122
 carol, Middle English, 126
 Carruthers, Mary, 328n7, 328n11
 Carthusian monks: and devotional art,
 65–77; and Holy Name devotion, 180;
 images of, 30, 47, 55, 69–70, 152–64,
 192, 247–49, 271, 273, 304, 334n69 (*see
 also* hermit images); and private devo-
 tion, 197; in *Querela divina*, 217–19;
 as readers, 11–14, 110–12, 152–66;
 and self-representation, 69–73, 304,
 352n181
 Carthusian Order, 22, 25, 28–46; English
 Province, 44–46, 50, 64–65, 208,
 376n132; and eremitic community,
 111–12; founders of, 29, 40 (*see also*
 Bruno, St.); General Chapter, 54, 60,
 64–65
 Carthusian “Rule.” *See* *Consuetudines*;
Statuta antiqua; *Statuta nova*; *Tertia
 compilatio*
Castle of Perseverance, 281–82
 Cave, Francis, 62–63
 cell, Carthusian, 37–38, 64–69
 cenobitic ideal, 33–46
 Chambers, E. K., 267
 Champmol charterhouse, 43, 61–62,
 64–66, 69, 349n144, 352n181, 368n16
 charterhouses: architecture of, 37–40;
 common spaces in, 350n155; public
 buildings in, 64–65; in urban areas,
 43–44; visual images in, 60–65. *See also
 names of charterhouses*
 charters, 189–91
chartirbows, use of term, 337n1
 Chaucer, Geoffrey: *Canterbury Tales*, 230,
 301; *Lak of Stedfastnesse*, 237; *Merchant’s*

- Tale*, 336n100; *Monk's Prologue*, 336n100; portrait, 304; *Prioress's Prologue*, 16–17
- Chaundler, Thomas, 287
- Chester plays, 259, 282
- Chichele, Archbishop Henry, tomb of (Canterbury Cathedral), 227
- Christ: in majesty, 266; as Man of Sorrows, 67–68, 170–78. *See also* Holy Name devotion
- Christ's Burial*, 297–300
- chronicles, illustrated, 294–97
- churches, Carthusian, art in, 62–64
- city of heaven image, 113–14
- civic cycle dramas, 273–78, 291
- civic religious festivals, 193
- Clanchy, M. T., 304, 327n4
- Clark, Robert L. A., 290, 389n72
- Clopper, Lawrence M., 331n44
- closet devotion, 340n23
- closet drama, 3, 20–21, 282, 289, 302, 328n13, 328n14; monastic, 290–300
- closet hymns, 328n12
- codex form, and diptych, 174–75
- Coleman, Joyce, 327n5
- Colledge, Edmund, 18
- Commandment of Love to God*, 146
- commonplace books, 274–78, 284–85
- community, Carthusian, 42–46
- Comper, Frances, 137
- “Complaint of the Virgin” (“Lamentation of the Green Tree”) (Hoccleve), 240, 249–50
- consciousness of consciousness, 21
- Consuetudines* (Guigo I), 35–36, 39, 47–48, 54, 59, 66
- contemplative life, 57–58
- Coppack, Glyn, 64, 347n114
- Corpus Christi procession, 193–94
- Coventry charterhouse, 44–45, 64–65, 350n147
- Cowdrey, H. E. J., 342n44
- Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*, 206, 269, 387n34
- crucifixion, 202, 204, 219–20
- Cumberworth, Sir Thomas, 382n76
- curiosity, admonitions against, 60–61, 293
- Cursor mundi*, 147
- daily life, Carthusian, 35–40
- Dame Sirth*, 303
- danse macabre*, 150, 227, 366n76, 385n13
- Dante Alighieri, 96
- Davenport, W. A., 238–40, 387n36
- Davidson, Clifford, 266, 287
- Davis, Norman, 388n53, 389n84
- “Debate for the Soul,” 87–94, 127, 302
- Decalogue, 273–74
- “De clerico et puella” (Harley lyric), 303
- De duodecim abusionum gradibus*, 354n3
- de la Pole, Alice, Countess of Suffolk, tomb of (Ewelme church, Oxfordshire), 379n40
- Depeden, Sir John, 64
- desert*, use of term, 96, 359n54
- desert fathers, 33
- Desert of Religion*, 22–23, 79–83, 271, 371n68; association with Rolle, 138–42; and book formats, 95–109; eremitic community in, 109–19; illustrations, 98, 100, 102, 104–5, 108, 118, 140–42; as imagetext, 83–95
- devotional images, Carthusian, 27
- devotional literature, and drama, 6, 290–300
- devotional lyric, 23, 123–26, 133–35, 137, 143–50, 157–59, 161–66. *See also* eremitic lyric; private reading; Rolle, Richard
- devotional performance, 206–9
- devotional reading, performative aspects of, 165–66. *See also* private reading
- devout laypeople, images of, 334n70
- dialogue genre, 24, 211–15. *See also* generic complexity
- dialogues, 214–40, 250, 256–58, 282–84, 302; allegorical, 240–59; mystical, 259–68

- Diekstra, F. N. M., 232
 Diomedes (grammarian), 391n108
 diptychs, 170–78
disputacioun, use of term, 230
 distribution of alms, 44
 Dodesham, Stephen, 53
 Doyle, A. I., 54, 56, 86, 105, 390n96
 drama, 25, 201; and devotional literature, 6, 290–300; and dialogue, 212–14, 261–68; and liturgy, 19, 206–7; and manuscript evidence, 230–32, 269–70, 274–78, 387n34; and private reading, 2–3, 270–78, 282–300; representation of, 258–59, 284–90; and seven sacraments imagery, 204–6; and visual culture, 6–9. *See also* generic complexity; speaking figures; theatrical reading; *titles of works*
 drama fragments, 276. *See also titles of works*
 dream visions, 225–27. *See also Pilgrimage of the Soul*
 Dronke, Peter, 303, 393n8
Durbam Prologue, 303
Dux Moraud, 269
- Ebstorf world map, 372n74
 Edwards, A. S. G., 9
 ekphrasis, 127–31
 Ellis, Roger, 358n39
 Emmerson, Richard, 289–90
 Enders, Jody, 213
 English Province of Carthusian Order, 44–46, 50, 376n132; questions to General Chapter, 64–65, 208
 English Reformation, 59
 eremitic community, in *Desert of Religion*, 109–19
 eremitic ideal, 33–46
 eremitic lyric, 134–52
 eremitism, 82. *See also Desert of Religion*
Everyman, 299
exemplum, 107
- falcon image, 131–33
 Farneta charterhouse, 70
 FitzAlan, Joan, Countess of Hereford, 240
 FitzAlan, John, tomb of (Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel, Sussex), 379n40
 Flanigan, C. Clifford, 168
 Fleming, Bishop Richard, tomb of (Lincoln Cathedral), 227, 228
 Flete, William, *De remediis contra temptaciones*, 230
 Fleury monastery, 291
 Fleury Playbook, 282
 forest metaphor, in *Desert of Religion*, 83–84, 95–97
 Fortunatus, 122
 founders of Carthusian Order, 29, 40. *See also* Bruno, St.
 Fouquet, Jean, 205; “Martyrdom of St. Apollonia,” 302
 France, Anatole, 1
 Franciscans, 126
 Fredebertis (Bishop of Angoulême), 371n60
- game*, use of term, 289
 Genadetal charterhouse, 71
 gender studies, 15
 generic complexity, 20–21, 267, 280–91, 294–300, 302–3
 generic slippage, 3
Gesta romanorum, 127
 Gibson, Gail McMurray, 265, 292
 gifts of remembrance, 197–99
 Gillespie, Vincent, 58, 365n69
 Glasscoe, Marion, 293, 336n105, 390n94
 Godric, St., 134–35
 Golwynne, Thomas (monk), 52, 54, 64, 75, 350n156
Gospel of Nicodemus, 284
 Grande Chartreuse, 341n37, 341n39; library, 49–50. *See also* Carthusian Order
 Gray, Douglas, 335n83
 Gréban, Arnoul, *Mystère de la Passion*, 290, 299
 Greentree, Rosemary, 360n5

- Gregory the Great, Pope, 211; *Dialogues*, 212
- Gregory X, Pope, 179
- Grenehalgh, James (monk), 53, 345n87, 369n38
- Greville, Fulke, 328n13
- Gribbin, Joseph A., 62
- Griffiths, Jeremy, 384n110
- Guibert de Nogent, 34–36, 49, 73–74, 341n37
- Guigo I (Carthusian prior), 76, 334n74. See also *Consuetudines* (Guigo I)
- Guigo II (Carthusian prior): *Ladder of the Four Ronges* . . . , 51; *Scala claustralium*, 13
- Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèlerinage de l'âme*, 240
- Guillaume d'Ivrée, *De origine et veritate perfectae religionis*, 67–69
- habitus*, 15
- Hallum, Robert (Bishop of Salisbury), 180
- Hamburger, Jeffrey, 2, 357n29
- Harphius, Henricus, *Theologia mystica*, 204
- hearing, in lyric poems, 271–72, 360n7
- Hennessy, Marlene Villalobos, 371n69, 374n101
- Henry II, King, 44
- Henry V, King, 44–45, 51
- Herbert, George, 122
- Herebert, William, 328n12
- Hereford *mappa mundi*, 372n74
- hermit images, in *Desert of Religion*, 96–109. See also “Rolle portraits”
- hermit-monks, 33
- Hilton, Walter, 53, 147; *Epistle on the Mixed Life*, 263; *Scale of Perfection*, 263
- Hinton charterhouse, 44, 58
- Hoccleve, Thomas, 240, 260; lyrics for *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, 240–47
- Hogg, James, 4, 208, 298, 391n109, 392n119
- Holcot, Robert, 127
- Holkham Bible Picture Book*, 304
- Höltgen, Karl Josef, 5
- holy monogram, 112, 114, 187, 191–92, 371n62, 371n68
- Holy Name devotion, 112, 114, 137, 142–44, 169–70, 178–95, 370n51, 371n66
- Honorius of Autun, 207
- Horne charterhouse, 44
- Horrall, Sarah, 53
- Houghton, John, 44
- Hrabanus Maurus, 122
- Hrotsvitha (nun), 328n12
- Hübner, W., 84
- Hugh, St. (Bishop of Grenoble), 29, 342n44
- Hugh, St. (of Lincoln), 44, 208, 342n44
- Hull charterhouse, 44, 173
- human soul, representation of, 153–54
- Huot, Sylvia, 328n6
- hymns, 126, 168
- Hyngham, Thomas (monk), 264–65, 384n110
- icons, religious, 170–78
- “image of pity,” 171–77
- imagetexts, 5–6, 103, 127, 179, 302, 330n29, 330n30; *Desert of Religion* as, 82–95; and liturgical practices, 167–69; Lydgate and, 292–93
- imitatio Christi*, 198
- incarnational theology, 184
- inscriptions, as imagetexts, 330n30
- Interludium de clerico et puella*, 303
- Jacques de Vitry, 127
- James, Mervyn, 335n85
- James, Richard, 389n77
- Jameson, Anna, 342n47
- Jeux de pèlerinage humaine*, 259
- John of Waldeby, 354n3
- Jour dou Jugement*, 289
- Julian of Norwich: *Showings*, 18, 51–52, 58
- Kempe, Margery, 348n129. See also *Book of Margery Kempe*
- Kingston-upon-Hull charterhouse, 41, 293

- Kittredge, George Lyman, 301, 303, 392n4
- Kolve, V. A., 241, 289
- La Chesnaye, Nicolas de, *La Condemnacion de Banquet*, 299
- Lambres, Dom Benedict, 70
- Langley, John, 61
- Lawton, Lesley, 381n66
- lay brothers (*conversi, redditi, donati, mercenarii*), 39–40, 294, 334n77
- lay patronage, 43–46, 61–65
- lay readers, 53–54, 56–57, 110–12
- Le Blévec, Daniel, 351n165
- Le Corbusier, and Immeubles Villas, 341n35
- lectores*, 54
- Legenda aurea*, 106, 127, 354n3
- Legh, Thomas, 62–63
- Lentulus, apocryphal letter of, 152–54
- Lerer, Seth, 377n3
- Leversedge, Edmund, 58
- Leyton, Richard, 64
- Liber apologeticus de omni statu humanae naturae* (Chaundler), 287, 388n60
- libraries, Carthusian, 49–54, 56
- Limbourg brothers, 42
- Lincoln Cathedral, 132–33
- literacy, medieval, 304
- literary culture, Carthusian, 12, 27–28, 46–57. *See also* book making, Carthusian; textual community, Carthusian
- liturgical practices, 169–78, 206–9; range of, 167–69; singing of canonical hours, 195–201. *See also* Holy Name devotion; Passion devotion
- liturgy, 169–78; Carthusian, 167, 170, 197, 207–9, 340n25; and drama, 19, 206–7
- Lochrie, Karma, 346n88
- London, British Library Additional 37049: Carthusian connections, 11–14; early readers, 10–11; and evidence of Holy Name devotion, 180–95; focus on dialogue, 214–15, 230–32, 240, 250, 256–58; as imagetext, 103, 302; and liturgy, 167–69, 208–9; as miscellany, 10, 21–22, 57, 75–77, 94, 121; ordering schemes, 170, 270–71, 303–5, 332n60, 354n1; performative aspects, 13–14, 19–20, 212, 301–5; scribe/artist, 10, 170, 235, 246, 332n61; use of Latin in, 187, 227, 273–74. *See also* London, British Library Additional 37049, contents; London, British Library Additional 37049, illustrations
- London, British Library Additional 37049, contents, 294, 329n18; “ABC of Aristotle,” 237–40; “Agayne despayre,” 230–31; “Also take hede to this insawmpyl here,” 131–33; “As walnut bark his hare is yalowe,” 152–53; “At the Begynnyng of the Chartirhowes God dyd schewe,” 11, 28–33; “Ave maris stella . . .,” 154–56; “Behold how in the wildernes of this world me gase,” 90–91; “Charter of Christ,” 189–91; continuation of *Salve regina*, 162; crucifixion lyrics, 161–64; “The cyte of heuen is set on so hye a hylle,” 112–14; “Debate for the Soul,” 87–94, 127, 302; Decalogue, 273–74; *Desert of Religion*, 12, 22–23, 79–119, 138–42, 271, 302, 371n68; dialogue of St. Peter and crucifix, 219–20; dialogues, 24, 214–15, 278; “Disputacion betwyx the Body and Wormes,” 221–27; “Dysputacion betwyx the saule and the body . . .,” 250–53; “Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat,” 138–39, 377n15; “Fader sum tyme what was thou,” 227–29; “In a tabernakil of a towre,” 157; “Ladder of Foure Ronges by the Which Men Mowe Wele Clyme to Heven,” 13; lyrics, 23, 137, 143–50, 157–59, 161–64, 278; Marian lyrics, 157–59; meditative lyrics, 23; Middle English texts, 4; “The mounte of perfection,” 116; “Mykil folkes ther is . . .,” 232–36; note on contemplation, 57–58; “Of actyfe lyfe and contemplatyfe de-

- claracion," 232–34; "Of the Beginning of the World . . .," 294–97; "Of the seven ages," 20, 279–90; "Of the State of Religion," 12, 115–17; *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, 240–59; prayers, 23–24; *Prick of Conscience* excerpts, 147–52; *Querela divina/Responsio humana*, 215–19; Rollean lyrics, 137, 143–50; "Salve regina," 159–60; "Saules that to purgatory wendes . . .," 256–58; theatrical text, 278–90; "Thoghts ar so sotell & so slee," 113; "Thou synful man that by me gase," 14, 18–19; "Thy myghty mercy kyng of blis," 163; "Towneley lyric," 270–73; *Treatise of the Seven Points* . . . , 259–68; tree of "mans lyfe," 127–31; *Vado mori* verses, 86–87, 89–91, 94, 148, 302; "Versa est in luctum cithera mea," 123–26, 150. *See also separate entries for individual works*
- London, British Library Additional 37049, illustrations, 4–5, 21, 329n22; *Desert of Religion*, 79–83; fol. iv–2r, 170–78; fol. 2v, 282–83; fol. 3r, 88; fol. 11r, 294–95; fol. 19r, 92; fol. 19v, 128–30; fol. 20r, 215–16; fol. 20v, 273–75; fol. 21r, 187–88; fol. 22r, 29, 41; fol. 22v, 29–30, 46–47; fol. 23r, 189–91; fol. 23v, 181, 183; fol. 24r, 217–18; fol. 24v, 256–58; fol. 25r, 152–53; fol. 25v, 157–59; fol. 26r, 184, 186; fol. 26v–27r, 184–85; fol. 27v, 154–56, 333n61; fol. 29v, 160; fol. 30r, 162; fol. 30v, 138–39, 329n16, 333n61; fol. 32v–35r, 221–27; fol. 36r, 91; fol. 36v, 156–57, 192; fol. 37r, 143–44, 146, 156; fol. 37v, 116; fol. 38r, 115, 117; fol. 38v, 93; fol. 40v, 261, 263; fol. 42r, 261–62; fol. 43v, 261, 264; fol. 45r, 161, 163; fol. 46r, 97–98; fol. 46v–47r, 80–81; fol. 49v, 118; fol. 52v, 140, 142–43, 189, 216; fol. 55v, 108; fol. 67r, 114, 187; fol. 67v, 18–19; fol. 68v, 195–98; fol. 69r, 149; fol. 69v, 247–49; fol. 70v, 242–43; fol. 71r–v, 242–43, 246–47; fol. 72v–73r, 201–3; fol. 73v, 250–51; fol. 74r, 252–56; fol. 74v, 243–44; fol. 75r, 76r–v, 77r, 246; fol. 80v–81r, 169–70; fol. 82r, 250–53; fol. 84v, 123; fol. 85r–v, 235–38; fol. 86v, 238–40; fol. 87r, 227–29; fol. 87v–88r, 232–34; fol. 89v, 230–31; fol. 96r, 235–36; hermit figures, 96–109; Mary of Egypt, 106–7; speaking figures, 230–40, 246–47, 260–61, 279–82. *See also color plates 1–8*
- London charterhouse, 37–38, 44, 62–63, 173
- Lord, Albert B., 327n4
- Louvre Museum, Paris, 174
- Love, Nicholas, *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, 6, 53, 56, 193–94, 293
- Lucidus and Dubius*, 282
- Ludolph the Carthusian, *Vita Christi*, 153
- luxury, Carthusians and, 59–65
- Lydgate, John, 292–93
- lyric: devotional, 23, 123–26, 133–35, 137, 143–50, 157–59, 161–66; eremitic, 134–52; in *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, 240–47. *See also* Hoccleve, Thomas; Rolle, Richard
- lyric genre, 121–22, 207, 274. *See also* generic complexity
- macaronic verse, 123–25, 224
- Macro* plays, 265, 292
- Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, 282
- Mâle, Emile, 7, 328n11
- manuscripts. *See* London, British Library Additional 37049; *separate index of manuscript shelfmarks*
- mappa mundi*, 282
- Marguerite de Porete, *Mirror of Simple Souls*, 52, 58
- Marian devotion, 208
- Martz, Louis, 2
- Marville, Jean de, 62
- Mary of Egypt, 103–7
- mass: allegorization of, 207; Carthusians and, 36, 40, 170
- Matsuda, Takami, 256, 392n5
- Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, 171

- Mazzotta, Giuseppe, 96, 357n35
 McGerr, Rosemarie, 258, 380n64, 383n92
 McGinn, Bernard, 338n9, 338n10
 McGovern-Mouron, Anne, 359n54
 Meale, Carol, 293
 Mede, William, 53
 meditational practice, 123–26
 meditative reading, 123–26, 209, 217
 Mélan charterhouse, 67
memento mori, 221–27, 272
 Methley, Richard, 58, 279, 345n83,
 373n84; “To Hew Heremyte,” 45–46,
 50, 135–36, 343n63
 Michael de Northburgh (Bishop of
 London), 44
Middle English Dictionary, 9, 17
 Mills, David, 212–13
 Milton, John, 328n13
 miracle tales, 181–84
 Mitchell, W. J. T., 5, 330n29
 monastic reform, 46
 monks, Carthusian. *See* Carthusian
 monks
 monologue, and dialogue, 227, 235
 Mountgrace charterhouse, 44–45, 64,
 67–68, 135, 173, 181, 343n62, 347n114
Mundus et Infans, 281, 387n36
 Mursell, A. Gordon, 339n18
 Museum van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van der
 Potterie, Bruges, 204, 206
 musical texts, 191
 mysticism, 58, 260. *See also* Rolle,
 Richard

 National Gallery, London, 174
 Nelson, Alan, 282
 Newton, Humfrey, 380n58
 Nichols, Ann Eljenholm, 204, 374n104,
 375n112
 Nicolas de Cantilupe, Sir, 61
 Nieuwlicht charterhouse, 71
 Nolan, Maura, 293
Northern Homily Cycle, 129
Novem virtutes, 263
 N-Town plays, 282, 291, 293
 nuns, 105, 177–78, 291–92

Occupation and Idleness, 282, 285
 Odo de Cheriton, 127
 Office of the Dead, 128
 Oliver, Raymond, 392n5
 Ong, Walter, 327n4
Orchard of Syon, 17
Ordo prophetarum, 82
 owner-portraits, 14
 Owst, G. R., 127
Oxford English Dictionary, 17

page, use of term, 9–10
pageant, use of term, 9–10, 259
 pageantry, 209, 258–59; in *Desert of
 Religion*, 82–83; and Holy Name
 devotion, 169–70, 192–95; Lydgate
 and, 292–93. *See also danse macabre*;
 processions, religious
pagina, use of term, 9–10
pagine, use of term, 9–10, 332n56
 Palmer, Barbara, 378n22
 Pantin, W. A., 82
 Parry, Milman, 327n4
 Passion devotion, 168, 195–201, 266,
 273
 Passion instruments, 271
 pastoral duties, Carthusian, 13
 patronage, 43–46, 61–65
 Pavia charterhouse, 43, 61
 Paxson, James, 393n12
 Pearsall, Derek, 292, 334n77
 Pepwell, Henry, 216
perform, use of term, 16
 performance, and dialogue, 212–13
 performance theory, 15–16
 performative language, 168–69, 179–80
 performative reading, 2, 6, 14–15, 17–18,
 27, 82–83, 99–103, 165–66, 260–61,
 270–78, 301–5
performen, use of term, 16–17
 Perth charterhouse, 44
 Perugia, 290
 Peter, St., 219–20
 Peter of Verona, St., 378n29
 Peter the Venerable (Abbot of Cluny),
 49–50

- Petrus Christus, 352n185; Exeter Madonna, 71–73; Madonna of the Dry Tree, 382n81; “Portrait of a Carthusian,” 352n182
- Pfaff, Richard, 180, 370n49
- Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 43, 61, 64
- Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 175
- Pilgrimage of the Soul*, 240–59
- planctus Mariae*, 385n16
- play manuscripts, illustrated, 230–32
- Porta Coeli charterhouse, 375n112
- prayer, 36, 135, 178–79, 197, 208; depiction of, 108–9, 113–14
- preaching: with hands, 49, 61; as performance, 126–28; silent, 49, 54
- preaching aids, 126–27
- Prick of Conscience*, 90, 147–52, 214, 354n3, 365n72
- private imagery, 329n23
- private reading, 2, 6, 47, 54, 227, 238–40, 344n69, 389n69; and drama, 2–3, 270–78, 282–300
- processions, religious, 169–70, 176–78, 192–95, 252–56
- Prudentius, 212
- ps.-Bernard, *Dulcis Iesu memoria*, 179
- purgatory, doctrine of, 256–58
- Puttenham, George, 121
- Quarton, Enguerrand, 69, 71
- Querella ante el dios de Amor*, 393n8
- Raber, Karen, 328n14
- Rambuss, Richard, 339n23
- Raoul le Verd, 34, 47
- reader: Carthusian, 11–14, 110–12, 152–66; conflated with speaker, 151–52; lay, 53–54, 56–57, 110–12
- reading: Carthusian, 50–54; meditative, 123–26, 209, 217; performative, 2, 6, 14–15, 17–18, 27, 82–83, 99–103, 165–66, 260–61, 270–78, 301–5; private, 2–3, 6, 47, 54, 227, 238–40, 270–78, 282–300, 344n69, 389n69; silent, 1–2, 197; theatrical, 278–90
- recitation, and private reading, 227
- Reiss, Edmund, 392n5
- Renevey, Denis, 180, 368n15, 370n48, 371n66, 373n93
- Respite in faciem Christi*, 137
- Resurrection*, 297–300
- “Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters,” 53–54
- Reynes, Robert, 216, 274–78
- Rickinghall Fragment, 292
- Robbins, R. H., 274
- Rolle, Richard, 53, 134–52, 187–89, 219, 260; *Commandment*, 57; *Ego Dormio*, 23, 143; *Emendatio vitae*, 354n3; *English Psalter*, 187; *Form of Living*, 57; *Incendium amoris*, 145, 187
- “Rolle portraits,” 138–44, 151, 156, 189, 304, 355n9
- Rothschild Canticles, 2
- Rowntree, C. B., 294, 391n107
- Runnalls, Graham, 290, 389n69
- Ryman, James, 328n12
- “sacramental theater,” 207
- sacraments, 201–6
- Saenger, Paul, 178
- Saint Albans monastery, 286
- Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 174
- Saint Gall monastery, 291
- Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, 173
- Sargent, Michael, 47, 347n116
- Saxl, F., 5
- scala celi*, 13, 115–18, 359n59
- Schechner, Richard, 21
- Scott, Kathleen, 86, 245, 357n38, 358n46
- Scrope, Elizabeth, 53
- seal of Christ, 191–92
- Second Council of Lyon, 179
- Sewell, Joanna, 369n38
- Shakespeare, William, *As You Like It*, 281
- Sheen Anglorum charterhouse, 44
- Sheen charterhouse, 44–45, 61, 177, 208
- Sheingorn, Pamela, 168, 290, 331n43, 389n72
- Shirley, John, 293
- Shoreham, William, 328n12

- sight, in devotional literature, 122, 198,
240–41, 271–72, 360n7
- silence, Carthusian, 12, 35–36, 55
- silent reading, 1–2, 197
- Sluter, Claus, 62
- Smith, Darwin, 282
- solitude, Carthusian, 12, 22, 27, 31–46, 60,
197, 291. *See also* eremitic community;
eremitic ideal; hermit-monks
- South English Legendary*, 129, 131, 284
- Spalding, John (monk), 240
- speaking figures, 230–40, 246–47,
260–61, 279–82, 284–90
- Speculum Christiani*, 116, 274, 386n20
- Speculum devotorum*, 17, 53
- Speculum theologie*, 199–200
- Speculum vitae*, 82, 96, 354n3
- “Speech of Delight,” 274–77
- Spiegel des Lidens Christi, Der*, 204–5
- spiritual encyclopedias, 5, 199
- staging, theatrical, 302
- Stanzaic Life of Christ*, 282
- Starkey, Kathryn, 6
- Statuta antiqua*, 59
- Statuta nova*, 59–60
- Statutes Ordinis Carthusiensis*, 31–32
- Stevens, Martin, 281–82, 387n41
- Stock, Brian, 327n4
- Suso, Heinrich: *Orologium sapientiae*,
259, 266; *Seven Points of True Love . . .*,
53
- Sutton, Lady Katherine de, 291
- Swanbourne, Buckinghamshire,
375n109
- Symes, Carol, 302–3
- Syon Abbey, 177
- Talkyng of the Love of God*, 145
- Taylor, Andrew, 328n11, 344n69
- teacher and student, representation of,
230–37
- Tertia compilatio*, 59–60
- textual community, Carthusian, 12,
27–28, 46–57. *See also* visual culture,
Carthusian
- theatrical reading, 278–90. *See also* per-
formative reading
- Thomas de Holand, Sir, 44
- Thompson, Edward Maunde, 348n126
- Thornton, Robert, 354n197
- Tomasch, Sylvia, 389n75
- tombs, 227, 229, 379n40; of lay patrons,
61–62; *transi*, 221–24, 227–29
- Towneley Doctors’ play, 274
- Towneley Resurrection pageant, 19
- transi* tombs, 221–24, 227–29
- Treatise of the Seven Points . . .*, 259–68
- tree images, 95–96, 115, 117, 127–31, 271;
arbor amoris, 153–54
- Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, 8–9, 19
- troubadour poetry, 126
- Turner, Victor, 16
- Twombly, Robert, 261
- Twycross, Meg, 331n41
- unicorn apologue, 127–31
- Utley, Francis Lee, 213–14, 280, 377n10,
377n12
- Vado mori* verses, 86–87, 89–91, 94, 148,
302
- Valenciennes drama illustrations, 205–6
- Vallombrosa, 338n9
- van Delf, Dirc, *Tafel van den Kersten
Ghelove*, 204
- van der Weyden, Roger, 204
- van Eyck, Jan, *Virgin and Child . . .*,
71–72
- van Meckenem, Israhel, 174
- van Ruysbroeck, Jan, 53
- Venard, Marc, 350n155
- Villeneuve-lès-Avignon charterhouse,
62, 69, 71
- Vincent of Beauvais, 227
- Virgin Mary: Hodegetria, 175–77; and
Holy Name devotion, 184–87; portrait
of, 170–78
- Visconti, Gian Galeazzo, 43
- visual culture, Carthusian, 57–77
- Vitae patrum*, 96–97

- voices, in devotional literature, 151–52,
 296–97; and speaking figures, 230–40.
See also dialogue
- Vos, Jan (monk), 70–73
- Walls, Kathryn, 259
- Walsh, James, 18
- Walton, John, 265
- Ward, Laviece, 294, 299
- Watson, Nicholas, 137, 335n80
- Wenzel, Siegfried, 126, 361n15
- Werve, Claus de, 62a
- wilderness: in *Desert of Religion*, 84, 94–
 96; spiritual community in, 109–19
- wilderness books, 23
- William of Nassington, 82, 354n3
- William of St. Thierry, 35; “Golden Letter,” 207–8
- wills, and manuscript donations, 51
- Winchester monastery, 291
- Wisdom* play, 261–68
- Witham charterhouse, 40, 44, 58
- women, in Carthusian churches, 45,
 343n62. *See also* nuns
- Woolf, Rosemary, 123, 156, 298, 361n12,
 361n14
- world-as-stage metaphor, 281–82
- Wormald, Francis, 4, 204–6, 227, 372n72,
 375n117
- wounds of Christ, 367n89
- Wynkyn de Worde, 187
- Yolande of Soissons, 128
- York cycle, 282
- Zumthor, Paul, 2–3, 327n4, 328n6

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