The Rhetoric of Response: Affectivity and Didacticism in Middle English Devotional Experiences of the Passion

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Ph.D.
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Abstract

Affective piety, as a form of devotion which sought special emphasis in the suffering and death of Jesus Christ, resulted in a wide variety of meditative and devotional writings which encouraged personal, "imaginative" participation in the events of Jesus' life and Passion. Hand in hand with this affective emphasis was another, primarily ecclesiastical emphasis on didacticism and efforts on the part of the church to instruct clergy and laity on the principles of the faith. This dissertation considers the interaction of these two elements to demonstrate that affective piety was often used as a vehicle for didacticism.

A close reading of the Passion segments of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, a 1410 adaptation and translation of Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi* demonstrates how Love instructs his reader to use affective response as encouragement toward increased faith, devout action and Christian living. Love's encouragement to his readers to "see" and "behold" imaginatively the events of the Passion, and to "fictionalize" or re-invent them with personal, intimate detail are examples of the ways in which medieval Christians were brought into closer relationship with the divine. The *Book of Margery Kempe* is then considered as a sort of "case study" to demonstrate how a text such as Love's might be read and
actively engaged. While there is no proof that Kempe read Love's *Mirror* itself, there is ample proof that she was exposed to the very type of affective and didactic literature which the *Mirror* exemplifies. Her experience demonstrates an awareness of the role of "truth" and "fiction" in imaginative recreation, as well as the skills of a woman so steeped in the devotional milieu of the fifteenth century that she merges her daily and devotional lives.
I would like to express my thanks and appreciation to my supervisor, Professor E. Ruth Harvey for her guidance and wisdom. I would also like to thank my committee members, Professors Alexandra Johnston and Joseph Goering, and especially Professor Jo-Anna Dutka for her kindness and encouragement. My thanks also to Grace Desa and the Centre for Medieval Studies for many years of support, and to Dr. Yannick Portebois for her friendship and invaluable editing assistance. Finally, thanks to my friends and family, especially my parents for their love and encouragement.
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Chapter 1

The Rhetoric of Response

Introduction

Religious experience in the late Middle Ages took many forms; one of the more popular of these was the use of vivid, detailed texts on the life of Christ as devotional aids and objects of meditation. Such texts encouraged readers or listeners not only to meditate on their contents, but to reproduce mentally the images evoked and often to embellish the events of Christ’s life with their own thoughts and memories, even playing the mental role of participant in the story. A shift in doctrinal emphasis from Christ triumphant to Christ suffering on the cross evolved over a period of several centuries, and by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Passion was the guiding metaphor for a good Christian life and the primary focus in the quest for affective response and mental reenactment. The story of the Passion of Christ could provide a large number of poignant details, meditation upon which would rouse devotion and encourage believers to seek a closer relationship with God through prayer and good deeds. Elaboration of these details was meant to encourage imaginative reconstruction of the events of the Passion and to elicit individual affective response. This form of devotion, known today as “affective piety” and characterized by its christological emphasis, was manifested in popular literature, drama, art, poetry and sermons in Latin and vernaculars, all of which were accessible to a large proportion of the populace, whether literate or illiterate.

Affectivity in religious experience was not new to the later Middle Ages, but the growing concern with and focus on the humanity and suffering of Christ as the primary object came to form the central focus of affective devotion. Christ’s suffering, death and resurrection is the doctrinal
cornerstone on which the Christian faith is built. The religious experience encouraged by meditation on these events was one of compassion and empathy for Christ's sufferings, which was supposed to lead the believer to contrition and deeper faith. In this recreation, the smallest detail becomes crucial in encouraging the believer to personalize the scene as it unfolds; personal or domestic details help to place the believer within an intimate framework with the human Christ.¹

The potential difficulties which arose with the growth of affective devotion have been considered by many. Ph. Sheldrake has noted that:

Two theologies developed: one theoretical and 'scientific', the other devotional, affective and increasingly unrelated to solid doctrine [ . . . ] Spirituality, as a consequence, became increasingly subjective and individualistic. Its basic concern was with private consent to God. Personal faith was put beyond discussion and isolated from intellectual questioning. Experience easily became an end in itself.²

An awareness of the potential dangers of separating doctrine from affection will thus never be far from the surface in this dissertation.

¹ See Michael T. Clanchy, "Literate and Illiterate: Hearing and Seeing: England 1066-1307", Literacy and Social Development in the West: A Reader, ed. Harvey J. Graff (Cambridge, 1981) 16: "The axiom that laymen are illiterate and its converse had originated by combining two distinct antitheses: 'clericus: laicus litteratus: illitteratus'. The latter antithesis derived from classical Latin, where litteratus meant 'literate' in something like its modern sense and also (in the most classical usage of Cicero) described a person with scientia litterarum, meaning a 'knowledge of letters' in the sense of 'literature'. The former antithesis derived from the Greek kleros, meaning a 'selection by lot' and hence subsequently the 'elect' of God in terms of Christian salvation, whereas laos meant the 'people or crowd'. Gradually in the process of Christian conversion those who were specially consecrated to the service of God, the cleric or 'clergy', became distinct from the mass of the people, the laici or 'laity'. The antithesis clerici: laici was thus a medieval creation, while litteratus: illitteratus was of Roman origin [ . . . ] As academic standards declined, literatus, which had meant 'lettered' or 'learned' for Cicero, more often came to mean 'literate' in the sense of having a minimal ability to read Latin. Such litterati were still learned compared with the great majority, who had no Latin or book learning at all." By the twelfth century, clericus came to mean litteratus, and laicus meant illitteratus.

The term “affective piety” has been used as an umbrella under which all different expressions of pious, even pietistic faith are manifested. But affective piety as manifested in specifically devotional literature of the 13-15th centuries was christocentric and focused on Christ’s humanity from the nativity to the Passion, and it also concerned Mary’s compassion for Christ’s suffering. By the 12th and 13th centuries a well-documented concentration on Christ’s sufferings and humanity through affective meditation and prayer was being prioritized as an effective form of interaction with the divine. Sorrow for one’s own sins might be directly correlated to and enhanced by feelings of remorse and guilt for mankind’s historical role in the crucifixion.

3 Jean Leclercq, Francois Vandenbroucke, Louis Bouyer, The Spirituality of the Middle Ages (London, 1968) 250-254. See also Domenico Pezzini, “The Theme of the Passion in Richard Rolle and Julian of Norwich” in ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti, Religion in the Poetry and Drama of the Late Middle Ages in England (Perugia, 1988) 29-66; Leclercq et al., Spirituality, 185 describes the growing interest in meditations on the Passion and the humanity of Jesus as an interaction of “theology” and “piety” which had wider repercussions: “traditional ‘devotion’ was enriched with a new note of intimacy. There was the same broadening out and increasing ‘interiority’ in the attitude to the Blessed Virgin . . . .]. Practices of devotion to Mary became more numerous and took a larger place.”

4 Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1109) but born in Lombardy, Italy, was the first to articulate a penitential theory which later in the Middle Ages evolved as an important element in the theological view of the role of Christ’s human nature in the process of redemption. A skilled teacher and former prior of the Benedictine Abbey of Bec in Normandy, Anselm was an avid defender of Church reform, and his writing was partially responsible for transforming the theology of the redemption. While his predecessors had thought the redemption was tied to Christ’s triumphant divinity, Anselm stressed Christ’s suffering humanity as a triumphant moment and the crucial principle of the atonement. Thus Anselm’s theory of satisfaction locates human sinfulness in human will. The root of this particular Christological emphasis is usually traced back to his Cur Deus Homo where the doctrine of the atonement, or man’s reconciliation with God through Christ’s sacrificial death, took on new emphasis with the idea that satisfaction for man’s sin, which was an infinite transgression against God, required an equally infinite satisfaction. Human guilt necessitated a human sacrifice, but since only a sinless man would suffice, God sent his son, who took on human form, to perform the sacrifice. See Gustaf Aulen, Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement, trans. A.G. Herbert (London, 1965) 85.
St. Anselm of Canterbury for instance focuses devotion upon Christ's humanity and "implicitly affirms what is to the later Middle Ages the overriding significance of Christ's redemptive action on Calvary." This sacrificial focus provided further theological basis for the theory of penance and the need for individuals to examine their consciences, a process which is instrumental in affective devotion to Jesus' humanity. The notion of Penance was equated with satisfaction, "the acceptance of a temporal penalty" to escape eternal loss.  

Affective piety as defined through later experiences of devotion is primarily christocentric piety which is focused on the humanity of Christ and

Anselm helped to shift the focus of Christology from Christ in his divine nature to a deeper awareness of his humanity. Devotional interests changed, and Anselm helped to provide a structure and interpretation for these new attitudes: public consciousness of Christ as a man deepened, along with more intense interest in his human sufferings and emotions. Since only an infinite being, i.e. God, could render such satisfaction, Christ's birth was the necessary prelude to his death, which could in turn pay this debt to God. See Anselm, "Cur Deus Homo", in ST. ANSELM: BASIC WRITINGS, trans. S.N. Deane. (La Salle, IL, 1962). Bk II. ch. 19. 298-99: "Upon whom would [Christ] more properly bestow the reward accruing from his death, than upon those for whose salvation [...] he became man; and for whose sake [...] he left an example of suffering death to preserve holiness [...] What more proper than that, when he beholds so many of them weighed down by so heavy a debt, and wasting through poverty, in the depth of their miseries, he should remit the debt incurred by their sins and give them what their transgressions had forfeited?"; See also Aulen, 98-100; Ellen M. Ross, The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England (New York, 1997) 83-85; Thomas Jambeck, "The Dramatic Implications of Anselmian affective piety in the Towneley Play of the Crucifixion". Annuale Medivale v.16 (1975) 114.

5 Jambeck, "Dramatic Implications", 115.
6 Jambeck, "Dramatic Implications", 118. "With [...] the desire to enflame the pious imagination to a compassionate understanding of Christ's person, there develops as a kind of preliminary step in this meditative mode an exercise in which the mediator is asked to comprehend the significance of the Savior's sacrifice by affective participation in the most moving episodes of his life, particularly his 'Passion and Crucifixion'.

7 Aulen, CHRISTUS VICTOR. 81: "The theory [of the atonement], whether or not it was consciously intended as such, was in fact an explanation of the contemporaneous liturgical development: the exaltation of the sacrament of the eucharist as the primary Christian sacrament and the interpretation of the eucharist as an experience of the real presence of the crucified Christ." Harold
the suffering at the Passion, on not only what Ellen Ross calls the "gospel of
gore," but on the human, intimate and domestic themes and emotions manifested
in the story of an innocent man condemned and executed for crimes he did not
commit.

Jesus Christ's endurance of agony and death reveals a God of
boundless love seeking to heal the breach between humanity and
God. The Passion of the Christ who is willing to suffer on humanity's
behalf offers a vivid narrative of divine mercy, a startling portrayal
of God's love for humanity. To the medieval viewer and reader, the
pathos of the First Person and the willingness of the Second Person
of the Trinity to endure anguish, torture, and death testify to the
immensity of divine love for humankind.8

The expression of piety need not be externally manifested. I am here interested
in how this development in affective devotion to Jesus' humanity and especially
to the Passion took root so strongly in popular texts and what effect it had: a
variety of literary and spiritual texts from the sixth to the eleventh centuries
touch upon affective "procedure" and method, but in the period I am interested
in the method had evolved to include more rhetorical and detailed "literary"

J. Berman, Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition

8 Ross, Grief of God, 5: Meg Twycross, "Books for the Unlearned", Drama and
Religion in the English Mystery Plays: a Re-Evaluation, ed Eleanor Prosser
(Stanford, 1961) 72, suggests that "the meditator is encouraged to think of
[Christ] as a person who relates in the story to those around him, and to whom
therefore he can also relate. This response is largely on the emotional level:
Christ is presented in situations evoking tenderness at his vulnerability (the
baby of the Incarnation), sympathy, or in other words, compassion, at his
suffering (the tortured figure of the Passion), and the contrasting emotions of
desolation at loss and joy, at recovery felt by his followers at the
Resurrection". Twycross cites Love's Mirror in her discussion and suggests
that details such as Jesus' tears at his circumcision or even the removal of the
nails from Jesus' hands by Joseph of Arimathea "speak strongly enough to the
emotions, but the author also explicitly draws our attention to the emotional
reaction we are expected to have. This is most usually seen as compassion; the
tendency to see the sorrow in every incident is a very medieval one, and can
grow cloying to us, but it runs as a continual leitmotif through the narrative"
(73).
forms which were aimed at lay audiences. In addition, an increasing focus on instructing the clergy and laity in the precepts of the faith was a concurrent and overlapping development during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. This dissertation will be concerned with the rhetorical means by which two particular texts, Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* and the *Book of Margery Kempe* define their relationship with the Passion of Christ, and with the way in which this relationship is manifested in affective and didactic forms of rhetoric, and the ways in which affectivity is used as a "vehicle" for didacticism.

A close look at the devotional, literary and historical importance of affective piety will demonstrate that it is not only a religious experience, but a literary experience in which affectivity is primary, a type of affective rhetoric which played a crucial role in medieval devotional life and popular literature. Understanding affective piety can help scholars better understand the psychology behind "popular" devotional texts and what these texts accomplished. Indeed, theological texts *per se* tell us little about methods of dissemination of popular and lay religious experience.

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9 It is only possible here to consider a few early texts, and that primarily to demonstrate the longstanding tradition of affectivity in devotional experience. The very popular pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi* appeared only in the 14th century, and thence made its way into a variety of English versions including Robert Mannyng's (d. 1338) *Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion* and of course Nicholas Love's famous 1410 translation and adaptation entitled *The Mirror of our Blessed Lord Jesus*, the subject of the second chapter of this dissertation. The grouping together in manuscript anthologies of this type of Latin devotional and contemplative text would suggest, especially when the exact provenance of manuscripts can be determined, how they were used within a monastic community, and thence "one can begin to form an accurate conception of the intellectual and literary foundations upon which the devotional life of the 12th and 13th centuries rested", Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1996) 27. Such texts encourage active, imaginative participation in the events of the Christ's
The literature of the period, with its mystery plays, miracles and liturgical dramas, tells us more: it shows the underlying tastes of a world which did not have, as ours does, other forms of entertainment. The mysteries, the plays, and the miracles developed particularly during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their themes were the birth and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the miracles of Our Lady, or events in the lives of the saints. In these the people, who provided both audience and authors, recognized their own devotion.10

This dissertation will explore what is meant by "affectivity" and "didacticism" in the context of medieval devotional literature, how these elements interact, and what the purpose of the interaction is, in seeking to better understand "affective piety", the forms of response it encouraged and especially its didactic benefits. The interplay, and sometimes conflict between affectivity and didacticism, "feeling" and "knowing", will be one of the main issues explored in this dissertation, as well as a variety of other such "paradoxes" which reflect the inherent conflict cum cooperation between affectivity and didacticism: the conflicting yet reconciled notions of sorrow and joy; verbal and visual; ghostly and bodily; internal and external will also be explored.11

In the Middle Ages, "affective piety" represented primarily affective devotion to the suffering humanity of Jesus; but to understand the concept of affectivity and affective response as manifested in the European devotional literature primarily between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries in England, we should first reach back to the theological roots of affective response to explore how and why affectivity, or "feeling", became such an

humanity by means of affective rhetoric in order to incite the reader's pious response.
10 Leclercq et al., Spirituality, 248.
11 John C. Hirsh has considered several Middle English prayers and meditations from a similar perspective of "paradox", suggesting that the events of the Passion in several prayers are arranged according to the reactions "they are expected to evoke from the devout reader. The devotion moves by a series of oppositions of states of mind: guilt and suffering, rejection and adoration, fear and affirmation", "Prayer and Meditation in Late Medieval England", Medium Aevum 48(1979)58.
important consideration in both medieval monastic and popular (that is, "lay") religion. Thus elements such as "affectus" and "compunction" will be considered in the first chapter of this dissertation, which will trace some of these roots in order to suggest some sources of the elements which came to make up affective piety.

One of the elements that does appear in the early texts and is modified for later use is the concept of what Mary Carruthers, in her Book of Memory, calls "triggers", a modern term for what monastic writers such as John Cassian to Hugh of St. Victor meant when they discussed the mental "processes" of meditation and contemplation which relied on key phrases, words or images to move the process along. I will explore briefly their use of "meditative triggers", and show how, in later texts for the laity, similar techniques appear as rhetorical devices which are used to keep the reader/listener of a text mentally on track and present in the text, much like the monastic audiences of Cassian and Hugh's own texts. In the works by Nicholas Love and Margery Kempe to be considered, triggers can be divided into two large groups: external and internal. These "artificial" groupings allow an important distinction to be made between verbal and visual triggers, one that has elicited much debate and will be considered below.

For instance, the experience of meditation might be described in two primary ways: as a "visual" mental experience, or a "verbal" mental experience; that is to say, both experiences can take place as a believer is either reading a devotional text or gazing upon a devotional picture. Although much of the discussion to follow will explore the difference between these two types of "triggers" and the efficacy of and method involved in using both as vehicles for meditative or contemplative experience, my primary interest is in "verbal" triggers, response to a text read or "heard" read. Indeed, such a division is,
when first considered, somewhat paradoxical, but as will be seen in the two Middle English texts considered below, paradoxes and their reconciliation form an interesting rhetorical theme, the purpose of which is to further the affective and didactic agendas of their respective authors.

Moreover, in considering both verbal and visual triggers, one should consider the medieval vocabulary of mental expression which results from the very notion of "triggers". The terms used most often to describe the mental engagement in and re-production of both verbally (oral or textual) or visually-triggered meditations is "oculus mentis", which occurs in Middle English as the "mind's eye", and sometimes the "inner eye", "ghostly eye" or "eye of the soul". The very concept of mental "sight" will be important in the discussion to follow, for, as will become evident, the primary way medieval authors suggest that one's mind internalizes and reproduces both texts and images is "visually", that is in the "mind's eye". Thus I will consider how an author such as Nicholas Love directly urges his reader to "see" or "behold" the specifically "textual" images which the written word produce in one's mind or one's "mind's eye".

In addition to this mental sight, readers of texts are given freedom not only to "see" what is happening in their minds, but to participate, and to make themselves participant in the "plot" of the meditative experience; this can also occur, of course, while hearing a text read or a sermon delivered. Experiential faith need not be "tearful", but must be personal; thus what one reads or hears is transformed into the self and becomes part of one's own inclinations and responses. But the "text" is a fluid entity, and a variety of "readings" can be inferred from aural and dramatic texts as well as the written word. All of these mental scenes not only elicit affective, compassionate and empathic response and create a sense of intimacy between man and God; they also serve a didactic
purpose. Christ speaks through the Holy Spirit, "and through him the word is brought to our minds." The text which urges its reader to "see" or "behold" invites participation in a process of "visual-imaging" which more strictly "theological" or didactic texts do not.

Mental reenactment and participation are further enhanced by the "invention" of material which is personal to each believer. Affective devotional texts urge the reader to invent (a process I will call "fictionalizing") scenes which place him or her in the role of a participant in the events of Christ's human life. This concept of "fictionalizing" raises a series of complex questions with regard to the "safety" (in the sense of "orthodoxy") of the popular imagination in the Middle Ages. "Fictionalizing" elements not found in the Gospels was implicitly permitted to lay audiences; this permission perhaps challenges the root of the very concept of "history", and suggests that "sacred history" was not even governed by the same rules (or lack thereof) governing chroniclers and historians. The choice of details inserted by various authors in the Passion narratives, for instance, shows an awareness of the benefits of this type of personal involvement. Many of the traditional, meditative Passion texts encourage individual, creative extrapolation on the scenes presented, so that each reader/listener can select, recreate or invent details, dialogue, or mental images which best serve to elicit affective response or serve as doctrinal fortifiers. Thus it is imagining and response -- the creation of a "theatre" of one's own imagination and the hermeneutics of response as a reply to affective rhetoric -- that this dissertation is also concerned with.

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12 Leclercq et al., *Spirituality*, 18, notes the image of the tongues of fire at Pentecost used both to teach and to affect (see Greg *Mor.*, XV, 20, PL 75, col. 1094).
Also connected with the interest in "verbal" and "visual" triggers is a long-standing debate on the efficacy and orthodoxy of images in the medieval Church, and some of this debate suggests that "verbally-instigated" meditation is more conducive to devotional expression than that based on painting or sculpture. However, only the individual who experiences the response can say what is more effective; devotional expression is personal and individual.\textsuperscript{14} The history of and debate surrounding the worship of images and their various uses will form part of my discussion, but my main concern is the type of meditation which occurs through the impetus of a text, or "post-reading". As I noted earlier, the form of visualization concerned with here can be either image or text-based, but for the purpose of this dissertation, text-based visualizing (read or listened to) and the eliciting of subjective response from the believer, that is, visualizing a written text and creating one's own mental picture of it, was encouraged precisely because it was so open to interpretation. A reading community may indeed recreate those visual images in correspondence with familiar images, stained glass, paintings or statues, but the freedom remains for the reader to take part in the mental drama, to re-write the dialogue, and to be present at the scene described; thus the image mentally-created and responded to is personal and intimate and should enable the believer to connect more closely with the divine.

\textsuperscript{13} On the various forms of historical writing, see Antonia Gransden, \textit{Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307} (Ithaca, New York, 1974).

\textsuperscript{14} I do not want to concern myself at this point with the relative levels of didactic or affective emphasis of oral or written versus pictorial transmission of "texts", but rather to emphasize that the transmission occurs irrespective of the medium. See M.T. Clanchy, \textit{From Memory to Written Record. England 1066-1307} (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Harvey J. Graff, \textit{The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society} (Bloomington, 1987); Michael G. Sargent, "The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings", \textit{Journal of Ecclesiastical History}, Vol. 27, No. 3, July 1976; Valerie Lagorio, "Problems in Middle English Prose", in
Modern response theory applies secular, "literary" notions to developing a theory of how the reader of a written text is able to bring experience, imagination and affectus to bear on the reading process. But modern literary theory does not consider one's own internal narrative when it constitutes private prayer or meditation instigated by a vernacular devotional text. Modern theorists have explored the question of whether meaning is located in a text, in the written word, or in one's reaction to it, and I would suggest that medieval texts on the Passion are constructed to suggest that one's response defines the meaning of the text, but only when that response is within the boundaries of theological orthodoxy. While modern response theory cannot really be applied to medieval texts which deal with faith and devotion, I would like to consider such theory briefly to demonstrate that some questions being asked by modern response theorists are really quite "medieval”.

According to Wolfgang Iser and modern "reader response” theorists, the audience of a text is responsible for the completion of that text. Iser suggests that "the activity of reading can be characterized as a sort of kaleidoscope of perspectives, preintentions, [and] recollections." No text is a fixed, static entity, but a product of ever-changing interpretations, each new interpretation of the text necessarily excluding other possibilities while at the same time acknowledging the inexhaustible number of possibilities available. Each individual interprets a text in one way, and yet a further reading of the same text will often create for the same reader still a different interpretation.

a different realized potential of that text, a different way to fill the gaps created by the distance between one's expectations and one's actual experience of the text. Impressions change with re-reading, and the reader's own life-experience plays an unconscious role in formulating that impression. The text thus combines with the reader's own thoughts and with the faculty of imagination to produce a new meaning of that text.

But modern response theory deals specifically with fictional texts, whereas the basis for christocentric, affective, imaginatively re-constructed texts is sacred history, not fiction. However, much of the extrapolation and elaboration of "orthodox" texts as found in Gospel harmonies and meditations on Christ's life and Passion relies heavily on "fictionalized" elements that serve to personalize the text and thence one's response to it. Thus response theory might be considered quite "medieval" in considering the role of subjective, "affective" response, although such modern theories per se are far removed from a medieval audience; and so response theory will be used merely as a context in which to consider similar theories which were implicitly operative in the kind of medieval literature I will consider.

Margaret Miles suggests that additions to Scriptural accounts "in verbal and visual media of the fourteenth century were meant to provide greater emotional accessibility." The embellishments to the gospel stories that were woven together in popular meditations, plays, and paintings cannot be dismissed as products of popular credulousness, zealotry, or naiveté. In spite of their fanciful or even playful quality, the stories were understood to promote love for the sacred figures and to provide practical help toward moral improvement ... In visualizing what such a life might feel like and look like -- what words might be spoken, how emotions might be expressed -- fourteenth-century people

trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis, 1982) 3-45.
Iser, "The reading process", 216f.
Margaret Miles, Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture (Boston, 1985) 69.
constructed models for an ideal spiritual life. In turn, these verbal and visual conceptualizations inspired movement toward the goal. Fourteenth-century people wanted not only to worship but also to imitate, to speak and feel and act like their models.\textsuperscript{18}

The acts of composing and embellishing a text employ further levels of subjective response; texts address and shape their audience and therein shape response. Each narrative has a different point of view, a different emphasis, different relationship with the events of the text, and different rhetorical modes. These elements of subjective creation and response will be explored in the next few sections.

Peter Travis has suggested the benefit of using modern response theory as a way to consider medieval texts, especially dramatic representation and the theatre audience's "horizons of expectations" which can be so radically upset by the graphic and emotive actions on stage. He considers the crucifixion play of the "Wakefield" cycle plays wherein the audience is verbally berated for Jesus' suffering and accused of complicity and even "accomplicity". Travis says:

\begin{quote}
T]The expected reaction of the viewers, the role the viewers are intended to play in the remaining drama, is to shift as far as possible away from this profile of spiritual indifference by responding as fully defined Christians to the many remaining events that fill out the cycle's drama of human history. Further, the viewers are expected to translate their dramatic experience into Christian actions performed in their daily lives, such as the works of corporal mercy which Christ articulates in the cycle's concluding play of the Last Judgment.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

Travis suggests a modified Jaussian model in which to consider the cycle plays, which would show how the play's various strategies of audience manipulation and participation succeed, ideally, in effecting a major shift in horizon, not only during the play but after, as the viewers define

\textsuperscript{18} Miles, \textit{Image as Insight}, 73.

a special kind of artistic closure by grounding that new vision in their lives.\textsuperscript{20}

But how different is this "new" modern theory from what was thought to occur during the interaction between an individual whose faith was the starting point of affective response and the "text", be it received aurally (oral text or music), textually (reading), visually (pictures, images), or dramatically (such as the Passion plays)? While most reader response theory allows for its methods only within the realm of fiction, expressions of emotionally-charged, pietistic belief also fit into a framework of elicitation and response. Just as the decision to engage the text belongs to the reader, personal faith and devotional response as internal manifestations can be stimulated through external stimuli. Travis in fact points out that the "aesthetic theories implicit in much later medieval literature [...] assume that a work of art's ultimate meaning is defined by the nature of the responses of the individuals who constitute its audience."\textsuperscript{21}

Thus response theories might not look new to a medieval audience. The principles of such theories can be seen as early as Gregory the Great, who tells his audience that they must internalize and transform what they read so that it can stir their minds, and so that they can use what has been learned in determining future actions: "In nobis metipsis namque debemus transformare quod legimus; ut cum per auditum se animus excitat, ad operandum quod audierit vita concurrat."\textsuperscript{22} Gregory's phrase is useful to begin to understand how affective response (though Gregory is not using christological emphasis

\textsuperscript{20} Travis, "Affective Criticism" 211.
\textsuperscript{21} Travis, "Affective Criticism" 211.
\textsuperscript{22} Moralia in Job. I, 33 (Migne, PL 75, col. 542). Translated in Carruthers, 164: "We ought to transform what we read into our very selves, so that when our mind is stirred by that it hears, our life may concur by practicing what has been heard".
here) is a pathway to moral perfection.\textsuperscript{23} By the later Middle Ages, the notion of didacticism inherent in feeling is prioritized in many devotional texts; within a medieval Christian context, didactic and moral purpose go hand in hand with devotional, affective experience. Similarly, a circular, ongoing method of internalization, response, and subsequent internalization emerges in reader response theory.

Chapter One, in exploring and synthesizing a variety of approaches which have been taken in the quest to understand affective response, will consider a few of the patristic and early medieval roots of affective response to demonstrate that there is evidence to support a parallel between early monastic expressions of affectivity and the lay devotion to the Passion which evolved between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Since such “roots” cannot be considered conclusive without a lifetime of further study, I would suggest that more work should be done on the transmission of early forms of devotion and response before we can fully understand how and why devotion to the humanity and Passion of Jesus became such a powerful force in medieval popular piety.

An intense, psychological “process” combined human memory with the faculty of imagination to evoke images which could elicit emotional response based on the Passion story. Ancient and medieval philosophers and medieval theologians explored the working of the imagination, memory and sensory faculties \textit{per se}, but little has been done on the didactic function of medieval response to literary affective stimuli, specifically the response of a lay audience exposed to affectivity through a devotional textual community of

\textsuperscript{23} Gregory “turns the specialized vocabulary of the monastic life into words appropriate to all Christians”, Leclercq et. al., \textit{Spirituality}. 6.
parish, household or school; and so this will be considered in this dissertation. Much work has also been done on the theory of memory in the Middle Ages, but relatively little has been done the process of "visualizing" or mentally recreating a text visually from oral or aural "reading". It has been considered from the perspective of modern psychology and image theory, but rarely from the point of view of "reading" medieval texts. This type of mental recreation can of course be connected closely with meditation on images or paintings, but in this dissertation I discuss primarily verbal texts -- "primarily" because believers such as Margery Kempe, who will be considered in chapter three, do effect much of their affective response through "seeing" people and images.24

In Chapter Two, a close study of Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ will demonstrate how the methodology constructed in Chapter One is an effective framework in which to consider such a text, its purpose and its effect on an audience. Both author and reader are of interest here, since reception and response are the direct result of authorial intent; moreover, each author is also a reader. I will look closely at the way the

24 I use the term "imagining" to distinguish it from the philosophical and medical theories of imagination and the bodily senses. Here I am concerned with the "mind's eye" and the spiritual imagination as a literary metaphor for the vehicle of response. I do not wish to enter the realm of the actual psychological and physical process by which the imagination creates images and the judging faculties assess them. The practice of devotional "imagining" and affective response can, I think, be examined within the realm of literary response. The audience I am concerned with spent little effort on determining which part of the brain or which faculty was responsible for images; I will therefore consider primarily vernacular, popular devotional texts rather than philosophical and medical works, and their use of visual metaphors such as the "mind's eye" to represent the process of imagining and fictionalizing scenes and images. The creative/recollective event uses what a modern audience would call imagination but in fact involves "meditation", a discursive process involving all the faculties of the soul -- memory, imagination and emotions, intellect and will. See E. Ruth Harvey, The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Warburg Institute Surveys, ed. E.H. Gombrich and J.P. Trapp (London, 1976).
elements of affective response and didacticism are made manifest in his text. and will walk the "reader" through a literary "medieval" affective/didactic experience, considering elements explored in Chapter One such as "fictionalizing", mental/visual imagining and participation, and the eliciting of affective response.

Chapter Three will consider the Book of Margery Kempe to demonstrate how Kempe exemplifies precisely the type of affective response, didactic goals and "visual-imaging" techniques portrayed in Love's Mirror. Moreover, a re-examination of Kempe's experiences of "meditation", "contemplation" and her tears and "dalyaunce" will show that, while scholars have been divided in whether or not Kempe was a mystic, her devotional experiences indeed show that she is both a mystic and an individual whose devotion to the Passion manifests itself in traditional forms of "affective piety" that utilize the elements of visual-imaging, participation, "fictionalizing" and "triggers" to construct a framework of affectivity that, in turn, operates as a vehicle for didacticism. A consideration of Kempe's own daily meditations on the Passion will show the analogous relationship between her experiential devotion and the devotion prescribed through texts like Love's Mirror.
Meditation and Affectus

Affectivity (emotional response) and meditation (one process or method that can be used to initiate it) are here considered together because so much of the meditative process as we know about it throughout history has included the engagement of the emotions and affective response. The process by which the Passion became a legitimate source for affective devotion and mourning by the eleventh and twelfth centuries is a complex one and first requires a consideration of some of the early theological influences and sources of affective response. No clear line or progression can be followed, but it is possible to hypothesize as to the various influences that fed the growth of affective piety by exploring the concepts of emotion and response.25

The states of mind which constitute various responses to both Christological and eschatological stimuli are often referred to in Latin texts as "affectus". This word, which occurs especially in monastic treatises concerned with prayer and meditation, refers to a state of mind or body produced by some external or internal influence. It also refers specifically to one's disposition or state of mind, one's mood, or feelings such as love, desire, compassion or sympathy.26 Mary Carruthers translates "affectus" as "emotion-memory" when she translates Thomas of Celano's description of Francis's avid concentration when reading books. Affectus here, according to Carruthers, "is the agent by means of which rumination and memorization

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25 Elizabeth Saller discusses the evolution, by the late tenth-century, of both Latin and vernacular works dealing with the life and Passion of Jesus which showed an "increase of emotive content", much of it originating in Northern Italy. This "emotive" work preceded Anseim's work on the incarnation, providing perhaps a ripe basis on which to build a "theology" upon a pre-existent "devotion", Nicholas Love's "Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ", Analecta Cartusiana. Ed. James Hogg (Salzburg, 1974), esp. 126-175.
26 Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, A Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1962), see "affectus".
take place; in other words, remembering is an activity in which the emotions must be engaged in order for it to occur at all.\textsuperscript{27}

"Verisimilitude" and "familiarity" are common elements which contribute to cherished, self-created moments which trigger the affectus. By verisimilitude I mean the emphasis placed on the concrete and physical rather than on the abstract and incorporeal, on "imagining" as an act of creation which encompasses other experiences and memories, and re-creates a new yet analogous image. Emotions, often a trigger for the act of remembering, can aid the reader in constructing the mental scene which then becomes the "screen", if you will, on which the meditative focus is placed and the scene reenacted.\textsuperscript{28} The memory-images and created, imaginative images are "visual", as is the terminology used to refer to them.

Modern psychological theories on emotion, like ancient and medieval theories, vary greatly, and no satisfactory definition of "emotion" exists even after all this time. An awareness of the ongoing nature of this discussion is useful when considering medieval texts which were constructed by writers, and for readers, with none of the scientific, psychological or socio-cultural theories operative today; indeed, such modern theories of reception reflect a


\textsuperscript{28} Twycross, "Books for the Unlearned" suggests that one purpose of concrete imagining "is to produce the fullest possible emotional reaction to Christ in his Humanity. This was then seen as producing a chain reaction: compassion, sympathy, leads the reader to identify with the emotions of the characters (the disciples and Mary as much as with Christ); identification leads to love, and an espousing of the loved one's attitudes" (73). The next step, I propose, is \textit{imitatio Christi} in the form of moral action, encouraged by examples of virtuous living in the text.
consideration of questions which are centuries old. Personal experience is an important factor which changes the way one responds to the same or different stimuli, or what Paul Ekman calls "elicitors", and Mary Carruthers calls "triggers". Thus the issue of response is not only literary and devotional, but really an intrinsic part of one's very being; through experience, habits can become established for coping with each emotion.

While Ekman suggests that this takes much time and learning, a medieval monastic "respondant" would probably have ample access to exactly the type of discipline and training needed to develop a finely-tuned framework for responding to set meditative triggers. Ekman suggests that when the "affect programme" is "set off", several internal elements are brought to bear on the process of assessment and response which ensues:

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29 Paul Ekman has suggested, for instance, that in modern studies on the external manifestation of emotions through facial and body movement, two contradictory explanations exist, one concerning the evolutionary, biological factors of such movement, and the other concerning cultural influences. He suggests a tentative framework in which to consider a combination of these two explanations, but acknowledges the shortcoming that both share: a failure to specify what is meant by emotion. Paul Ekman, "Biological and cultural contributions to body and facial movement", in The Anthropology of the Body, ed. John Blacking, A.S.A. Monograph 15 (London and New York, 1977) 54.

As very much a social and cultural issue, emotions are largely indefinable, untraceable, and even confusing, but play a crucial part in psychological theories of response and personal development. The "rules of engagement" with regard to emotion and response change with an individual, a culture, a society, or a text (55). Ekman discusses what he calls an "affect programme", which refers to a "mechanism which stores the patterns for these complex organized responses, and which when set off directs their occurrence" (57; see also 63). Ekman also acknowledges the inability to determine "where" in the brain such a programme might be located, presuming only to "describe what is assumed about how such an affect programme must operate" (57). I would follow Ekman's lead, suggesting, for the purpose of this dissertation, that the "where" is less important than the "what" and the "how", other questions which occupy him as well. It is interesting to note the long-standing difficulty of creating an operative framework in which to discuss response.

30 Ekman, "Body and facial movement", 57: "These habitual ways of coping may become so well learned that they operate automatically and quickly in conjunction with specific stimuli..."
memories, images, and expectations. Then, a further appraising mechanism determines what stimuli or trigger will indeed set off the response, a mechanism which operates so quickly or unconsciously as to seem simultaneous to the one responding, a mechanism which operates mostly unconsciously.

Herein lies an important connection between modern and medieval retrieval systems. With respect to affective response, it is important to note that the mind often reproduces both texts and images pictorially and symbolically, not necessarily verbally. In addition, the chief feature of an image (or a word or phrase which evokes an image) subsequently drawn from stored material is that it is affective in nature, "sensorially derived and emotionally charged." Mary Carruthers reiterates the ancients' views on successful memory schemes, which note the importance of the following:

- Tagging material emotionally as well as schematically, making each memory as much as possible into a personal occasion by imprinting emotional associations like desire and fear, pleasure or discomfort, or the particular appearance of the source from which one is memorizing, whether oral (a teacher) or written (a manuscript page). Successful recollection requires that one recognize that every kind of mental representation, including those in memory, is in its composition sensory and emotional.

Recollection was understood to be a reenactment of experience, which involves cogitation and judgment, imagination, and emotion.

Each "phantasm" or memory-image comprises the actual perception itself, along with one's response to it (intentio). Thus, when the phantasm is "called up" from the memory, by its very (experiential) nature it evokes an emotional response which in turn helps to elicit a moral and ethical judgement.

31 Carruthers, Book of Memory, 18.
32 Carruthers, Book of Memory, 59.
33 Carruthers, Book of Memory, 60.
depending on what response was attached to it -- fear, reprisal, joy, sadness et cetera.  

Jean Leclercq, in his work on monastic learning and practice, discusses the immensely vast talents of the medieval monastic imagination, which permitted [monks] to picture, to 'make present,' to see beings with all the details provided by the texts: the colors and dimensions of things, the clothing, bearing and actions of the people, the complex environment in which they move [. . .] The words of the sacred text never failed to produce a strong impression on the mind.  

Carnal images, he suggests, were renounced in favour of "holy" images, and the "sanctification" of the imagination resulted in concentration on details and particulars of the texts, as well as one's own interpretation of these details.  

The internalization and re-creation of scriptural and devotional images is a basis of meditation: the "triggering" of one's various affectus toward the sought-after response.  As an example of this process, one may read Hugh of St. Victor's (d. 1141) description of the efficacy and stages of meditation in his De Modo Orandi. As a contemplative for whom "there were

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34 Carruthers, Book of Memory, 68; see also 66-69.
37 Even the use of the word "process" when discussing early forms of monastic meditation must be used cautiously, as early meditations were considered spontaneous, "highly subjective and unsystematised". Elizabeth Salter notes that meditations such as those from the eleventh century were a "record of experiences, not interpreted for the use of others as spiritual exercises." Herein, she suggests we will find the same concrete details on the life of Jesus and on their emotional significance, but "here is no analysis of experience into its component parts, no marshalling of material for an express purpose. The Meditation is not yet viewed objectively" (Nicholas Love's "Myrrour", 135).
no divisions between learning, study and contemplation," he describes, in a theological and intellectual framework for prayer, how upon entering into meditation, one will be gradually drawn through the successive stages:

Meditatio namque assidua scientiam parit, scientia vero parta ignorantiam pellet, et compunctionem parit, compunctio autem parta desidiam fugat, et devotionem parit, devotio vero orationem perficit. 

... Compunctio est, quando ex consideratione malorum suorum cor interno dolore tangitur. Devotio est pius et humilis affectus in Deum, qui ex compunctione generatur [. . . ] Devotio igitur est conversio in Deum pio et humili affectu [. . . ] Nihil ergo aliud est oratio quam mentis devotio, id est conversio in Deum per pium et humilem affectum, fide, spe, charitate subnixa. Sed quia multis modis mens per devotionam accenditur, rursum quia ipsa devotio mentis varis modis voce promititur, debemus aliquas sigillatem orationis species distinguere, et apertius valeamus ejus virtutem indicare [. . . ]

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38 Leclercq et al., *Spirituality*, 230.
39 Hugh of St. Victor, *De Modo Orandi*, Cap. I (Migne, PL 176, col. 978-979): "Constant meditation bears knowledge, and knowledge, when brought forth, casts out ignorance, and produces compunction, but compunction, when brought forth, puts flight to idleness, and produces devotion, and devotion in turn perfects prayer [. . . ] Compunction occurs when the heart is touched with inner grief through consideration of the sins it has committed. Devotion is pious and humble feeling toward God, which is generated through compunction [. . . ] Therefore devotion is a turning toward God with pious and humble feeling [. . . ] So prayer is nothing other than devotion of mind, that is turning toward God through pious and humble feeling, relying on faith, hope, and love. But since the mind is kindled to devotion by many means, again, because that very devotion of the mind is brought forth by the voice in different ways, we ought to specify some of those types of prayer one by one, and we will then be able to show more clearly their virtue."

Elsewhere Hugh defines his notion of contemplation as a penetration of the intellect which embraces everything in a clear vision. See Hugh of St. Victor, *Homilia*, 1, 10, 2; PL 175, col. 117. Leclercq et al., *Spirituality*, 233 notes that the steps in meditation toward wisdom and knowledge of God "are classified and designated differently in Hugh's writings, sometimes even in the same work"; see also 233-5.

Susan Aylwin, "Imagery and Affect: big questions, little answers" in *Imagery: Current Developments*, ed. Peter J. Hampson, David F. Marks, and John T.E. Richardson (New York, 1990) 247-267 suggests that the difficulty in determining "what came first", cognition or affect, is complicated by "an avatar of the nineteenth-century debate provoked by Darwin's evolutionary theory, about whether we are the offspring of the angels or the beasts" (247). I am here interested in reaching back farther, into a medieval mindset which was indeed concerned with a less complex, but equally difficult question: whether the pathway of the emotions was a safe one through which to come to God.
Devotion arises from compunction. Hugh presents a cause-and-effect model for affective response, starting with the orthodoxy of knowledge, which, by driving out ignorance and allowing an awareness of one’s sinful nature, invites compunction, or grief for one’s sins. Acknowledging and being contrite for one’s sinful nature in turn makes one more devout and thus fitter to engage in prayer. After this summary, Hugh explains further what the connections are between the different elements of, essentially, “knowing” and “feeling”, suggesting that knowledge paves the way for feeling to engage the “cor” in a feeling of inner grief. Since the mind is kindled in devotion through “multis modis”, the voice of each must be heard. Hugh is aware of the fluidity of one’s mind as it ascends in prayer, or “devotio mentis”, and acknowledges the different methods of approach while suggesting an inherent structure -- movement through knowledge, to compunction, to devotion and prayer, and thence to devout action.

Duo sunt in quibus fides constat: cognitio et affectus. In affectu enim substantia fidei invenitur; in cognitione materia. Aliud enim est fides qua creditur, et aliud quod creditur. In affectu invenitur fides, in cognitione id quod fide creditur. Propterea fides in affectu habet substantiam, quia affectus ipse fides est.40

Here Hugh suggests that the “end of all Christian life is union with God by “affective” faith, in an experience which ultimately is one with love.”41 The prevalence of expressions of affectus in various writers’ conceptions of faith, prayer, and piety is notable as forming a solid base on which to construct later medieval themes which emphasize affective devotion in its many forms. Affectus is thus experiential -- not derived from words alone, but from

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40 Hugh, De sacramentis, I. x, 3; PL 176, col. 332. Cited and trans. in Leclercq et al., Spirituality, 234: “Faith consists in two things: knowledge and affectus. In the latter is found the substantia of faith, and in knowledge its materia. Faith, by which one believes, is one thing; and the object of faith is another. Faith is found in love, and what it believes in knowledge. That is why the substantia of faith is in the affectus, for this affectus is faith.”
memories or "imprints" of past experience. The Psalms as one form of textual meditative "trigger" act like mirrors of our own experience, stirring the various affectus which act "ita magistrantibus effectibus eruditi", as Cassian says, teaching via experience.

The newly developed focus on Christ as an object of affection had many advantages, since it could elicit compassion for his human suffering, a type of affectus which writers of affective texts sought to elicit in order to encourage devotional experience. I would suggest that for others, such as the "average" lay readers of texts such as Nicholas Love's Mirror and Kempe's Book, such affective pathways could lead to a confirmation of belief in the doctrines and theology of their faith while providing a very human and individual means of expressing it.\(^4^2\) Not many readers could attain the type of mystical experience described by Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton or Bridget of Sweden, but they could all partake in an expression of faith which was deeply personal yet connected to something much larger, and experience devotion in a manner which was particular to themselves.

The term "affectus", which captures so much of the experiential notion of compunction and the more general notion of affective response, is further explicated by Hugh of St. Victor. He associates affectus with all emotional reactions, all joy and sorrow: "infiniti enim sunt affectus". In Chapter VII of

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\(^{4^1}\) Leclercq et al., Spirituality, 234.

\(^{4^2}\) Pezzi. "Theme of the Passion" suggests that the "distinction between spirituality and mysticism does not mean either separation or opposition. A particular spirituality can prepare a particular mystical experience, and from a mystical experience a particular spirituality may derive. In this case the message received during a 'vision', often enriched by a subsequent reflection, becomes the core of a spiritual doctrine [...]" (37). See also Marion Glasscoe, "Time of Passion: Latent Relationships between Liturgy and Meditation in two Middle English Mystics" in ed. Helen Phillips, Langland, the Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition: Essays in Honour of S.S. Hussey (Rochester, New York, 1990) 141-160.
De Modo Orandi, entitled "De diversis affectuum modis et quibus psalmis quisque adaptetur" and following, Hugh selects a series of "types" or "stages" of affectus, as the feelings or reactions we have to various "triggers". The highest perfection or excellence of prayer, he says, is to be found "in affectibus pietatis" -- in a state of intense compassion or piety. He proceeds to enumerate those affectus which are most pleasing to God and which are most beneficial to us, while explaining the conditions under which one might experience such reactions. Affectus, like "dilectio" (ardent love), "admiratio" (wonder), "congratulatio" (rejoicing), "humilitas" (humility), "moerens" (grieving, lamenting), "timor" (fear), "indignatio" (displeasure, disdain), "zelus" (zeal) et cetera all have their respective place in one's expression of faith.43 The evocation of dilectio is especially pertinent: "Est affectus dilectionis, cum forte mens vel videns vel reminiscens id quod amat, subito amoris igne corripitur."44 The more intense the response, the more beneficial the result; next, Hugh equates this series of affectus with their various scriptural themes as "triggers", indicating his own understanding of the universal human act of response divorced from textual stimuli. Thus the mind is capable of later "replaying" a scene which is evocative of a particular feeling, and recreating the same feeling along with the moral and didactic lessons initially learned, giving evidence to Carruthers' notion of "emotional tagging", or to Ekmans' "eliciting".45

43 Hugh of St. Victor, De Modo Orandi, Cap. VII (Migne, PL 176, col. 985). In De Meditatione (III.i) Hugh also warns not to incite one's affectus indiscriminately.
44 Migne, PL 176, col. 985.
45 The first three affectus mentioned (dilectio, admiratio and congratulatio) are the most important, and pertain chiefly to the parts of scripture which engender praise. Calling to mind virtue (bonitas) causes the affectus of dilectio to emerge; admiratio, or wonder, is brought forth through recollection.
Hugh later explains how several affectus are often represented in a single part of scripture; the reader is sometimes drawn from one affectus to the next. He moves the reader through an example of a mind's journey, moving from affectus to affectus, and describing how the mind can wander from text to text, allowing the various affectus to infuse it, teaching here a moral lesson, there a point of doctrine. There is an interaction between two forms of affectus -- the "internal", felt affectus being experienced, and the "external", in this case "verbal" or textual affectus which is in the process of being internalized and experienced.

This concurrent movement among different affectus and the way he suggests that such movement is instrumental in highlighting didactic elements is central to the relationship between "knowing" and "feeling". The two concepts interact with each other, supporting, encouraging, substituting or paralleling different emphases as they arise both in the "text" and in the monk's own mind. Seeking remission of sins and other spiritual aid is prayer which truly deserves to be heard; whoever opens his heart with purity and good intent, prays. The association of triggers and affectus, and how one stimulates the other, is just as complex today as it was to Hugh. This is an important consideration because, in Nicholas Love's Mirror for instance, the narrator will go to great lengths to "train" his reader to respond appropriately, and as directed, to many verbal and visual triggers, using the rhetorical tools at his disposal.

Before we can fully understand how and why affectus was such a primary penitential trigger, it would help to understand the workings of one of "poetentiae et fortitudinis" (strength and fortitude), and the affectus of congratulatio (rejoicing) arises through recollection of agreeable events or kindly deeds. See Migne, PL 176, De Modo Orandi, col. 985 and following.
of the most central expressions of affectus, that is “compunction”, sometimes referred to as the gift of tears. Compunction has a long history in the Christian tradition, particularly as an element of the contemplative life in early monastic practice. Early monastic and spiritual writings based on the Gospel Beatitude “blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted” (Mt 5:5) helped to establish a firm tradition of “acceptable” tears. Affective piety has some of its roots in compunction, but the sources and manifestations of compunction are more widespread. “Compunctio” means literally a sting or puncture; other senses imply deep sleep or silence. Psalms 108.17 and Acts 2:37 portray the term’s interior quality, specifically related to the heart. The

\[\text{De Modo Orandi, PL 176, col. 986.}\]
\[\text{Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale” presents a more traditional and popular perspective on contrition and its triggers. Chaucer enumerates six things which should move someone to contrition: remembrance of one’s sins; disdain for that sin; fear of judgement day and the pains of hell; remembrance of good works done and of those left undone. The fifth is the one missing from early triggers to compunction, “remembrance of the passioun that oure Lord Jhesu Crist suffred for oure synnes” (294). The sixth is the hope of three things: forgiveness for sins, the grace of God to forgive one’s sins, and the glory of heaven. “The Parson’s Tale”, esp. 288-296, in The Riverside Chaucer, ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford, 1987).}\]


\[\text{In the Old Testament, the Greek word penthos is used to indicate the grief experienced in either public or private mourning. From the same root as pathos, penthos captures the sense of affliction or mourning represented in its Latin correlate, compunctio. See George A. Maloney, “Penthos -- A forgotten necessity”, Monastic Studies 7 (1969) 151; cf. also Irénée Hausherr, Penthos: The Doctrine of Compunction in the Christian East, trans. Anselm Hültstader (Kalamazoo, MI, 1982) 5f. It is important to note, however, that this early stimulus toward affectus here seen (“gemitiis inenarrabilibus atque suspireis profundit ad Deum”) as elicited through the Psalms is somewhat different from christocentric expressions of affectus which later became instrumentale in the “Afflictiun, et mutuent...”}\]

\[\text{All English biblical references are taken from the Douay version. Psalm 108.17: “But [he] persecuted the poor man and the beggar; and the broken in heart, to put him to death”; Acts 2:37: “Now when they had heard these things, they had compunction in their heart, and said to Peter, and to the rest of the apostles: What shall we do, men and brethren?”;}\]
term had, by the 5th century, come to encompass other terminology such as *lacrima, dolor, flere, plorare* et cetera.³¹ The term eventually and definitively comes to "take on the more specialized sense of mourning, regret or sorrow."³² No one has really thought to trace the connections between early forms of compunction and affective devotion to the Passion, most scholars merely noting that there is a connection, or leaving the discussion to historians of popular religion. Thus an attempt will be made in this work to demonstrate how the important elements of compunction and the concept of affective "triggers" manifest themselves in Love's *Mirror* and Kempe's *Book*.³³

Four primary causes of compunction became conventionalized by the fourth century: the main source of tears of compunction is sorrow for one's own sins or sorrow for those of another; one also mourns at the potential loss

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³² Sandra McEntire, *Doctrine of Compunction*, 32
³³ The term "compunctio cordis" was not used in the West until after the early 5th century, and then was usually identified by its physical manifestation -- tears and weeping. The early Greek Fathers, such as John Chrysostom (d. 407), Basil (d. 379), and Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 389), writing in Greek, used the word "penthos" to refer to this spiritual manifestation. In the 5th century, the term found a Latin correlate in "compungo" with John Cassian (d. 435), a disciple of Chrysostom, and later writers (McEntire, *Doctrine of Compunction*, 22).

Compunctio is used as a function of prayer in the Rule of St. Benedict: "Et non in multiloquio, sed in puritate cordis et compunctione lacrimarum nos exaudiri sciamus. Et ideo brevis debet esse et pura oratio, nisi forte ex affectu inspirationis divinae gratiae protendatur." *The Rule of St. Benedict: In Latin and English with Notes*, ed. Timothy Fry, O.S.B. (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1981), 216. Trans. 217: "We must know that God regards our purity of heart and tears of compunction, not our many words. Prayer should therefore be short and pure, unless perhaps it is prolonged under the inspiration of divine grace." The experience of compunction is not intended to be a transcendent or mystical one, but a functional practice to aid in prayer. It has been used ever since to refer to sorrow caused from privation of what gives joy. Closely connected with penitence, compunction aids the believer in coming closer to contrition.
of eternal life or in longing for eternal life, and in fear of judgement. Not all tears were blessed events, and some difficulty lay in determining which tears were the product of divine grace. By the fifth and sixth centuries, several scriptural texts were considered central to defining the notion of compunction: "For there is no one in death, that is mindful of thee: and who shall confess to thee in hell? I have laboured in my groanings, every night I will wash my bed: I will water my couch with my tears" (Ps. 6: 6-7). The primary scriptural texts concerning this form of sorrowful expression also include Luke 6.21: "Blessed are ye that hunger now: for you shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep now: for you shall laugh" and Luke 6.25: "Woe to you that are filled: for you shall hunger. Woe to you that now laugh: for you shall mourn and weep."

The underlying current is often the potential of humbly moving from sorrow to joy, from one's own sinful nature to a closer union with God's goodness, as in the words of Christ in the Gospel of John:

> Amen, amen I say to you, that you shall lament and weep, but the world shall rejoice: and you shall be made sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy. A woman, when she is in labour, hath sorrow, because her hour is come; but when she hath brought forth the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world (John 16: 20-21)."
The greatest reversal from sorrow to joy was the hope of salvation and the Resurrection which emerged from the Passion; this reversal is at the crux of Christian experience. This movement between sorrow and joy (both expressions of affectus) is a prominent theme in devotional literature and in medieval sacred drama, as the sinner moves from sinfulness to contrition, sometimes under the guise and guidance of compunction. The term affectus, in the broader sense, is not necessarily evocative of externally-manifested emotion; it encompasses non-christocentric but still devotional evocation.

Gregory the Great (d. 604) emphasizes this reversal of sorrow to joy as the essence of compunction:

Disciplina exterior culpas diluit, et extensam mentem compunctio poenitentiae ultione transfigit. Sed hoc inter se utraque haec differunt, quod plagae percussionum dotent, lamenta compunctionum sapiunt. Illae afflictiones cruciant, ista reficiunt, dum affigunt. Per illas in afflictione moeror est, per haec in moerore laetitia.  

These two sides of compunction, sorrow and joy, constitute the central paradox of Christianity, victory in the death of Jesus. Exterior events such as life's
misfortunes cannot be the impetus for true compunction. Also, the early Church taught that one cannot merely incite one's will to receive it, but one can open oneself to its grace, and seek an environment which is conducive to it (especially in a monastic setting), one of vigils, prayers, fasting, silence, and charitable works. Compunction "is an essentially affective response to God's grace acting on the human disposition." But for the early Fathers, God is not a goal to be reached through compunction because compunction is not a pathway to mystic union.

As an example of a standard discussion of how compunction fitted into a life of prayer, Book X, Chapter VI of the Collationes, John Cassian's (d. 435) treatise on prayer (De Oratione) speaks of how the inner sight of the soul, or the mind's eye (internis obtutibus animae), enables us to see Jesus both in his humanity and in his divinity. Only the purest souls, we are told, can truly look upon Christ's divinity, but he is accessible in a lesser image to the laity who are occupied with worldly affairs as well, a notion that will continue to be supported and elaborated in later vernacular texts for the same laity:

[... ] unaquaeque mens in oratione sua vel erigitur vel formatur; tantum scilicet a terrenarum ac materialium rerum contemplatione discedens, quantum eam status suae provecerit puritatis, feceritque Jesus vel humilem adhuc, vel carneum, vel glorificatum in majestatis suae gloria venientem, internis obtutibus animae pervideri [...]. Caeterum videtur Jesus etiam ab his qui in civitatis et castellis ac viculis commorantur, id est, qui in actuali conversatione sunt atque in operibus constituti; sed non in illa claritate qua illis apparuit qui cum ipso possunt in praedicto virtutum monte conscendere, id est, Petro, Jacobo et Joanni (Matth. xvii).

fruits of the active life: inward peace, stillness of heart, and a calm which overcomes the irrational motions of the flesh [...]

62 McEntire, Doctrine of Compunction, 37.
63 Cassian, Collationes X, vi. Migne. PL 49. cols. 826-27. Translated in A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd ed. Vol. XI (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1964) 403. "Each mind is both raised and moulded in its prayer, if it forsakes the consideration of earthly and material things so far as the condition of its purity may carry it forward, and enable it with the inner eyes of the soul to see Jesus either still in his humanity and in
Cassian raises the question of how one may enter into such a meditative state in which one can see Christ with the spiritual sight. Systematic training is encouraged, but training which begins with simple exercises and efforts and graduates to more difficult and complex: first, one must learn through what type of meditation God might be considered, and how one might conceive and keep the concept of “God” present in the mind so that His constant perception is fixed “before one’s eyes”, a perception to which one can return with certainty, knowing it is indeed God.

Translated in A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol. XI, 404: “And we have a slight idea that these are its first principles: viz. that we should first learn by what meditations God may be grasped and contemplated, and next that we should manage to keep a very firm hold of this topic whatever it is which we do not doubt is the height of all perfection. And therefore we want you to show us some material for this recollection, by which we may conceive and ever keep the idea of God in the mind, so that by always keeping it before our eyes, when we find that we have dropped away from Him, we may at once be able to recover ourselves and return thither and may succeed in laying hold of it again without any delay from wandering around the subject and searching for it.”

Cassian’s reference to seeing “Christ with the spiritual sight” (Chrisl oculis retenantes) may perhaps be an early precursor to the “literary” notion of the “mind’s eye”, but refers not so much to a concrete process of “visual-imaging” in the mind as to a vaguer metaphor for spiritual perception, an undetermined “faculty”, that operates as a rhetorical way of translating the notion of spiritual “sight” into something more tangible. It is interesting that early in the Church there was a great awareness of the importance of reaching a lay audience that would not have had direct access to texts such as Cassian’s, and would have had to rely on Bishops and priests for their teachings. The issue of lay education in the early Church is not, however, the
Meditation is considered a form of interior speech, an individual verbal (yet often "wordless") expression which often involves a visual component, a type of discursive prayer, with or without structure. That is to say, different individuals "meditate" differently. Today scientists teach us that we all take in and process information differently; as the most elementary theories on learning practices have demonstrated, some people are "visual" learners, some are "verbal" learners.\textsuperscript{55} But meditation is also an emotional as well as a mental process. A medieval audience knew that images, both physical and mentally-created, evoked different responses from different people; but modern scholarship has suggested that a common consensus in the Classical and medieval worlds held that information which enters the mind through words (visual, aural), symbols etc. is all transformed into a "visual" form. This provides a mental space, if you will, for personal devotion which utilizes a process of reception, internalization and reconstructive imagining. The rhetorical concept of the "mind's eye" is very important in this process. It is this process, and the "mental/visual" forum in/upon which it takes place in the individual which will form the focus of much of the following discussion.\textsuperscript{56}

Margaret Miles explains that meditation has sometimes been described as a "free association" by which "one weaves together one's own experience with the scriptural passage or visual image that focuses the meditation, allowing each to examine and challenge the other." Meditation is a "play of the mind around stimuli; sometimes meditation is organized in stages by a

\textsuperscript{55} See Susan Aylwin, "Imagery and Affect", cited above.
\textsuperscript{56} See Twycross, "Books for the Unlearned", 66-110.
process of moving from one stimulus to another." This is what Hugh and Cassian describe above. In meditation one usually requires what Miles calls a "focusing device" such as a written text or visual image: Mary Carruthers refers to it as a "trigger". As Miles further suggests, western, specifically North American society today is very text-oriented, whereas in Italy, for instance, it is still common to see believers in Roman Catholic churches "praying with their eyes open, gazing at a painting, mosaic, or sculpture." Jean Leclercq describes monastic meditation as "chiefly an act of memory in which the basic exercise was the repeated pronunciation of words and phrases", initially focusing on a written text: "it was always meditation on


68 Unlike the more transcendent, inexpressible experience of contemplation (which cannot really be dealt with here) this form of meditation can be achieved through the believer's own instigation or the type of "triggering" described above. The issue of what exactly "contemplation" is is a complex one, and different for each writer. Bonaventure (d. 1274) describes the ascent of the soul toward contemplation as a threefold journey (purgative, illuminative, unitive) but not in a series of successive stages. He does not give a clear definition of contemplation, but does draw upon Hugh of St. Victor in providing various pathways to it, and on Hugh's notion of contemplation as a 'free penetrating, and fixed gaze'. Contemplation is an act of the will, and thus also an act of the intellect, an affective gaze directed to God, but "not to be confused with the ecstasy of the immediate experience of God, which is comparable to that of taste and especially of touch". Leclercq et al., Spirituality, 309.

69 Miles, The Image and Practice of Holiness, 131. Consider for instance the Franciscan shrine of Varallo Sesia in the Piedmont region of northern Italy, where mini-chapels are placed to mimic the pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem. Each chapel contains life-sized (and extremely lifelike) painted statues representative of different scenes from the life and ministry of Jesus. The chapel of the "Slaughter of the Innocents", for instance, is horrific, as the mothers are depicted grief and terror-stricken, bodies and limbs of infants and young children litter the floor of the chapel, and the soldiers are portrayed with visible cruelty. The shrine remains a very popular pilgrimage site to this day, and the joint didactic/affective agenda which directed its development is still evident. See Alessandro Nova, "Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo", in Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven, Conn., 1995) 113-126.
some word of God that was conveyed through Sacred Scripture and explained by those who had commented on it in one way or another. It was practiced without constraint [...] Attention was aroused, stimulated by the text, and when it disappeared, this was the sign that it was time to resume reading in order to rekindle reflection. Meditation was therefore bound neither to a fixed span of time nor to a method; indeed, it implied the absence of method. It was a 'free' exercise, unlike lectio, which followed certain rules, that is, those of grammar.

John Cassian also emphasizes the importance of feeling and emoting that the Psalms and gospels evoke in the reader, internalizing them and making them one's own; he emphasizes that it is not the words of lectio themselves which are necessarily evocative, but the experiential factors associated with them. Cassian emphasizes the importance of experiential learning (efficacius agnoscamus, et ita magistrantibus effectibus eruditi); elicited feelings teach us. Our feelings are our teachers. This meditation

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70 Jean LeClercq, Christian Spirituality, 418.
71 Jean LeClercq, Christian Spirituality, 419. The processes or systems, however, used to engage in meditation and contemplation vary greatly among different writers, as each "subjectively" has a different interpretation of just what such experiences entail. An actual formula or "method" (to use the term loosely) for such meditation, or continual prayer, is found in Chapters X and XI of Cassian's Collationes. The "image" evoked by the words is the "tag" that the believer attaches to the textual apparatus, and to which he returns to "trigger" the experience of that text. This system of spiritual discipline is just one method of prayerful, constant meditation which helps the wandering mind return to God. One can thus see that the devotional and affective influence of verbal repetition has deep-seated roots in early monastic tradition.
72 See Cassian, Collationes X, xi (Migne PL 49, cols. 838-39): "Omnes namque hos affectus in Psalmis invenimus expressos, ut ea quae incurrerint, velut in speculo purissimo pervidentes, efficacius agnoscamus, et ita magistrantibus effectibus eruditi, non ut audita, sed tamquam perfecta palpemus, nec tamquam memoriae commendate, sed velut ipsi rerum naturae insita, de interno cordis parturiamus affectu, ut eorum sensus non textu lectionis, sed experientia praecedente penetremus, atque ita ad ilam orationis incorruptionem mens nostra perveniat, ad quam in superiore tractatu, quantum Dominus donare dignatus est, ordo collationis ascendit, quae non solum nullius imaginis occupatur intuitu, sed etiam nulla vocis, nulla verborum prosecutione distinguitur, ignita vero mentis intentione per ineffabilem cordis excessum inexpugnabili spiritus alacritate profertur, quamque mens extra omnes sensus
relies on the *affectus* which is triggered in reading the psalms, a reading which Cassian says is more akin to experiencing the text than hearing it read. The text is not merely remembered, but internalized on a deeper level of consciousness, a consciousness that goes beyond word or image, verbal or visual. It is experiential, but beyond sense or thought.

*Lectio divina*, as the the prelude to meditation, involved the application of the mind to memorization, repetition and prayer. After the *lectio* which includes the act of committing to memory and internalizing and reworking the "text" and/or its "image" as reconstructed and internalized as one's own, this image becomes a part of one's mind and its processes, intermingling with one's thoughts and beliefs and experiences to become imprinted on one's mind, much as visibles effecta materias, gemitibus inenarrabilibus atque suspiriis profundit ad Deum."

Translated in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol XI, 408: "For all these feelings we find expressed in the Psalms so that by seeing whatever happens as in a very clear mirror we understand it better, and so instructed by our feelings as our teachers we lay hold of it as something not merely heard but actually seen, and, as if it were not committed to memory, but implanted in the very nature of things, we are affected from the very bottom of the heart, so that we get at its meaning not by reading the text but by experience anticipating it. And so our mind will reach that incorruptible prayer to which in our former treatise, as the Lord vouchsafed to grant, the scheme of our Conference mounted, and this is not merely not engaged in gazing on any image, but is actually distinguished by the use of no words or utterances; but with the purpose of the mind all on fire, is produced through ecstasy of heart by some unaccountable keeness of spirit, and the mind being thus affected without the aid of the senses or any visible material pours it forth to God with groanings and sighs that cannot be uttered."

73 Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, 91. This unity of reading, meditation and prayer is called "meditative prayer" by William of St. Thierry. Leclercq suggests that: "It is this deep impregnation with the words of Scripture that explains the extremely important phenomenon of reminiscence whereby the verbal echoes so excite the memory that a mere allusion will spontaneously evoke whole quotations and, in turn, a scriptural phrase will suggest quite naturally allusions elsewhere in the sacred books. Each word is like a hook, so to speak." For more on the types of commentaries and their textual variations, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Scripturality: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page", in, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable and Carol D. Lanham (Toronto,
like a visual reader-response process. However, the process by which such affective response is elicited is unidentified or vague in many meditative texts for monastic and non-monastic audiences alike, and seldom does a text "walk the reader through" a set of specific steps by which to reach the goal. This is probably because of the subjectivity of human response and the impossibility of really explaining how one can experience such response; however, writers like Cassian, Hugh, and later Bernard and Bonaventure do attempt to systematize in their own particular ways the steps that they were perhaps familiar with, or perhaps even the steps that they themselves had followed.  

Memory is also an important factor in the process of *lectio*, meditation and visual-imaging. "Memory was supplied by the imagination, the image-making faculty of the mind and the sensitive part of the soul which is imprinted with sense impressions. Memory is thus bound to the intense particularities of the sensible world."  

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54 Medieval reading itself is portrayed as not a passive act of absorption, but one in which the reader engages the text and interacts with it. Beginning in study, the mind meditates on a text, a process through which the *affectus* which are connected to certain images implicit or explicit in the text are aroused. Elsewhere Hugh of St. Victor defines what he means by *lectio* in the Didascalicon he presents "reading" as his central theme in the prologue: "The prefaces "reading as his central theme in the prologue: "The things by which every man advances in knowledge are principally two -- namely, reading and meditation. Of these, reading holds the first place in instruction, and it is of reading that this book treats, setting forth rules for it." The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts, ed. Jerome Taylor (New York, 1961) 44, cited in Duggan. "Was art really the 'book of the illiterate'?", *Word & Image* Vol. 5, no. 3, 1989, 247. Latin text is Hugh of St. Victor, Didascalicon de studio legendi, ed. Charles H. Buttimere, Catholic University Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin, 10 (Washington, D.C., 1939). Preface, 2. Hugh does not develop a theory which associates learning with art or images, but he emphasizes the efficacy of both reading and meditation for learning.

are remembered, in contrast to less tangible universals, rests at the center of
this concept, a concept which Aquinas cites Cicero as using as a foundation of
his rhetorical technique.⁷⁶ Also at the root of this concept is the role of memory
in combatting human moral weakness.⁷⁷ Indeed, the emphasis on the reader's
memory and the functions of one's imagination and "mind's eye" in devotional
texts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries may indicate at the very
least an awareness that these earlier theories could be brought to play on
Christian doctrinal instruction and on affective devotion.⁷⁸

In addition to the moral meaning of words, their affective meaning was
likewise central to the process of remembering and re-triggering their
memory at a later date: "images chosen for their memorable qualities in the
classical art of the Roman orator were transmuted by medieval piety into
'corporeal simulacra' of 'subtle and spiritual intentions.'"⁷⁹ Lewis suggests the

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⁷⁶ Lewis, "The English Gothic illuminated Apocalypse", 15; Aquinas, De
Memoria et Reminiscentia, 93.

⁷⁷ Lewis, "The English Gothic illuminated Apocalypse", 15 suggests that while
"the moral interpretation of artificial memory was probably already in place
its shift from the realm of rhetoric to ethics was canonized in the thirteenth-
century scholastic system which treated memory as part of Prudence."

⁷⁸ Yates, Art of Memory, 76 suggests that the transformation of classical arts of
memory in the Middle Ages found expression in devotional literature,
although she does not treat this notion in great detail.

The concept of the "image" is very important in remembering and
recalling; Lewis, "English Gothic illuminated Apocalypse" explains: "[...] artificial
memory works on principles of visualization, association, and order.
Because artificial memory, as defined by its medieval exponents, was by nature
spatial and visual, the function of text illustration was not duplicative and
therefore not redundant. Visual images created an effortless access to the
mind's eye of imagination and hence memory [...] Memory did not replace
the reading of the text, for what was held in the memory were not words alone
but their moral meaning. In this context, pictures could prove useful even for
an individual who must rely on the literacy of others for access to the text
[...]." (18).

⁷⁹ Lewis, "The English Gothic illuminated 'Apocalypse'," 96.
prominence of the "moral and doctrinal thrust" of the textual component of the Gothic Apocalypses she considers in contrast to the "affective" dimension of the pictorial cycles; but to take this notion a step further, it could be suggested that the affective dimension serves as a vehicle for the didactic dimension, whether or not it is accompanied by "didactic" text. In fact, both text and picture could be affective and didactic in their nature. In addition, the combination of images and associations is precisely the concept of textual "triggers" which was perhaps instrumental in encouraging readers of devotional texts to imagine visually the scene and events of a text and become participants in the story-line.
Mind's Eye

Much work has been done on the theory of memory *per se* in the Middle Ages, but relatively little has been done on popular “imagining” as a vehicle for devotion and affective response, specifically response to the Passion narrative, whether transmitted orally, through a written medium, in dramatic form, or through artistic representation. Nor has the process of “visualizing” or mentally recreating a text visually from oral or aural “reading” been greatly dealt with. The interplay of perception and emotion helps to create a new, response-oriented and imaginative scene, and the process for this interplay will be an important consideration in the texts which will be dealt with in Chapters Two and Three.

Exhortations in late medieval Passion narratives to “see”, “watch” and “observe” textual imaginative events imply an active, participatory role for the reader. Imagery of the “mind’s eye”, “inner eye” or “ghostly eye” is found throughout medieval texts on prayer and meditation. Frequent references in medieval devotional texts to these conceptual faculties (for lack of a more accurate term) refer specifically to a collaborative functioning of memory, imagination and emotion, but suggest a spiritual and literary visual metaphor rather than actual faculties. The source of this mind’s eye has been variably considered the soul, the heart, the imagination, or the “vis memorativa”, but the one aspect which many devotional sources seem to share is its use as the primary vehicle for the mind’s process of visualizing elements of devotional narrative. It thus operates as a literary and rhetorical visual metaphor in which the various workings of memory, imagination and emotion merge.\(^\text{80}\)

\(^{80}\) There is a long tradition in the Latin texts as well of references to the *oculus mentis* or *internus obtulus animae/oculorum*, but an examination of these
The mind’s eye is often a perceptual metaphor used to describe the recollective process, somewhat like a projector screen which plays back variations of a recorded movie, with clips and scenes from many other movies which have been stored in the projector, all the clips coming together to rewrite one’s internal narrative. The eye was traditionally the most powerful sensory organ, affecting human response most directly. The inner eye lay claim to that same effect, only metaphorically and mentally, acting as an intermediary between sensory perception and spiritual perception. Just as artistic representation is a visual metaphor of the artistic creative imagination, so is the mind’s imaginative creation parallel to an external scene.

“faculties” in their various texts and authors cannot be undertaken here. I do believe that these phrases, in their later manifestations, mean something very close if not identical to what is meant by the “mind’s eye”, but I do not believe the same can be said for earlier instances in patristic authors and Late Antiquity. See for instance Leclercq et al., *Spirituality*, 23: “In St. Gregory’s work there are often whole passages referring to the heart: with him it is less the affective power than the centre where the intention is formed and purified [...]. The heart is as it were personified, able to perceive the judgments of God: it sees them (oculus cordis), hears them (auris cordis), tastes them and takes them in by the understanding (in ore cordis).”

81 I will uniformly refer to this concept or faculty as the “mind’s eye” except when the terminology changes in the texts to be discussed.


83 Margaret Miles, *Image as Insight*, 8 notes that “Modern theories of vision concentrate on the mechanics of vision without attention to the psychological, moral, or spiritual effects of visual experience; or sociological studies attempt, thus far unsuccessfully, to document the effect of media violence or more subtly transmitted values on young people; or psychological studies attempt to identify the unconscious imagery that organizes individual and communal psyches. None of these approaches highlights the power of physical vision to affect the psyche [...].”
The notion of "visualizing" texts and events in one's mind's eye in order to elicit affective response amounts to a manipulation of traditional notions of image-retrieval specifically to maximize the emotional component. The interplay of visualization, emotion and even didacticism has long-standing roots in classical theory as well; in the Ad Herennium's dictum on the creation of memory-images, the reader is told to make them "imaginæ agentes", active and specific, and to ornament them in a distinct manner. Frances Yates suggests that the author here is clearly attempting to increase memory by arousing emotional affects through these striking and unusual images, beautiful or hideous, comic or obscene. And it is clear that he is thinking of human images, of human figures wearing crowns or purple cloaks, bloodstained or smeared with paint, of human figures dramatically engaged in some activity [...] 84

The lack of many concrete examples to aid the student in learning such mnemonic techniques is, according to Yates, a result of the Ad Herennium, which says that the duty of an instructor in mnemonics is to teach the method of making images, give a few examples, and then encourage the student to form his own. When teaching 'introductions', he says, one does not draft a thousand set introductions and give them to the student to learn by heart; one teaches him the method and then leaves him to his own inventiveness. So also one should do in teaching mnemonic images.85

A similar instructive technique is operative in later devotional texts as well, texts which encourage creative, participatory visualization by readers who are encouraged to use the examples provided to create their own. This visual imaging is characteristic of devotional, affective literature of the late Middle Ages and is central to understanding the impact of affective piety and how some of the components which contributed to it, including compunction and the processes of devotional reading and meditation evolved to accommodate lay

84 See Ad Herennium, III, xxii.
85 Yates, Art of Memory, 10.
audiences. It is primarily the image one constructs in one's mind based on a written, aural or visual text that is the object of focus, and thus this "re-construction" is highly subjective and influenced by one's experience, imagination and personal faith. It is this very subjectivity that makes affective response so unique. The verbal-cum-visual images and scenes described in these texts are themselves products of their authors' own faith and imaginative re-construction, and the medieval reader is in turn able to reconstruct the narrative image on his/her own through a similar process.

This method of meditation or prayer involved calling to mind (i.e. the mind's eye) a graphic, vivid and concrete mental image of a particular scene complete with detailed realism colored by one's own imagination. Exhortations to readers to "see", "watch" and "behold" textual imaginative events imply an active, participatory role of both a literary and non-literary public. Monastic, popular and meditative texts -- even dramatic representations -- all address one's personal, devotional and literary imagination; they encourage a practice of visualizing, participating and responding, but do not spell out the didactic and affective role involved in this practice. Rather, that is part of my task here.87

However, the senses have limitations which Bernard of Clairvaux and others warned against. Their ability and tendency to deceive the believer was well known. The external senses can lead us to sin by tempting us with the

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86 Yates, Art of Memory, 11: See Ad Herennium, XXX, xxiii, 39.
87 Constable, Three Studies, 209-210 notes as well the strong visual element in such texts, and cites a monk of Bec in the first half of the twelfth century who "wrote in a letter [...] to imitate the humble Christ, the chaste John, the faithful Peter, the pious Martin, the mild Anselm, the devout Heluin, and the learned Lanfranc: 'Look at the image of the crucified Christ [...] Give heed to the piercing of the hands and feet and the hole in the side, and look closely at how mercifully He extended His hands to embrace those who love Him'. translated from Jean Leclercq, "Les lettres familières d'un moine du Bec", in Analecta monastica, II (Rome, 1953), 158-9.
splendours of the physical realm. Much of the power of the physical senses comes from their reliance on the will.

Because the senses are dependent on the intellect and will, they can be used, even impelled, to participate in life’s spiritual journey and for the salvation of oneself and others. Because the will, however, is corrupted by original sin, the senses, too, are corrupted and in this way have lost their original value.88

Thus the strength of one’s will determines the use of one’s senses. Bernard writes, in a sermon for the 6th Sunday after Pentecost, that: “The enemy has blocked my ways, and with his darts he wounds through five gates -- my body’s five senses -- and death enters through my windows.”89 Sight is the sense most easily deceived, and so Bernard suggested that it was through hearing that truth could be best perceived and faith best nurtured. As Susan Warrener Smith suggests, “Truth, wisdom, the Word, and faith are all dependent on this sense and on the aid of the Holy Spirit. Words then take on a particular importance, especially words that will be read aloud, preached or sung.”90 Hearing then leads to sight. There is also an inherent connection between hearing and sight not only with regard to words heard proclaimed, but with words read in the mind, transformed into vision, and read “pictorially”; such a position is well-supported by classical and modern theorists alike.91

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89 Smith, “Bernard of Clairvaux”, 7.
91 Aristotle in the De Anima suggests that the soul does not think without a mental picture: “Since [...] there is nothing outside and separate in existence from sensible spatial magnitudes, the objects of thought are in the sensible forms, viz. both the abstract objects and all the states and affections of sensible things. Hence (1) no one can learn or understand anything in the absence of sense, and (2) when the mind is actively aware of anything it is necessarily aware of it along with an image; for images are like sensuous contents except in that they contain no matter”, (Aristotle, On the Soul, Bk III, Ch. 7 (432a) in The Basic Works of Aristotle ed. Richard McKeon (New York, 1941). All thoughts are thus “visual” in nature according to Aristotle, and so memory,
To recall an image out of the memory sometimes necessitates the effort of "recollection" or the "recovery of knowledge or sensation which one had before."\(^{92}\) One may have to hunt through the contents of one's memory to find what one wants, using two other important principles, that of "association" (a modern term which Yates applies to Aristotle's process), and "order". By starting with something similar, one can trace a path to what one wants to find.\(^{93}\) Herein we perhaps also find one of the roots of the "triggering" of the affectus.

According to Aristotle, all thoughts are represented in the mind as "sense-impressions" (phantasmata).\(^{94}\) As Bernard suggests, sight is incapable of grasping the eternal, and is limited to something which is "transient and fleeting", and sight depends upon hearing to confirm what is seen. If these notions were indeed believed by a medieval audience, what greater metaphor for sight perfected, for the imperfect sense made whole, than to suggest a spiritual, ghostly version in the form of the mind's eye? The ghostly sense of taste which chews on and relishes the word of holy scripture through the ruminatio of lectio divina, the mystical sense of smell which detects heavenly

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\(^{92}\) Yates, *Art of Memory*, 34.

\(^{93}\) Aristotle says: "[... ] even the assertion that recollection is the reinstatement in consciousness of something which was there before but had disappeared requires qualification. This assertion may be true, but it may also be false; for the same person may twice learn [from some teacher], or twice discover [i.e. excogitate], the same fact [... ] Acts of recollection, as they occur in experience, are due to the fact that one movement has by nature another that succeeds it in regular order [... ] Whenever [... ] we are recollecting, we are experiencing certain of the antecedent movements until finally we experience the one alter which customarily comes that which we seek." This explains why we hunt up the series [of movements], having started in thought either from a present intuition or some other, and from something either similar, or contrary, to what we seek, or else from that which is contiguous with it". Aristotle, *Memory and Reminiscence*, Ch. 2, 451b, in McKeon, *Basic Works of Aristotle*.
aromas, and the fires of love which make the skin tingle thus have a counterpart in an ocular faculty which apprehends the perfect vision of truth.

Thus vision is redeemed, and the most tangible and affective triggers can be sought without recourse to doubt. But, as with all sensory realities, it is not the actual object which is sensed that generates affectus, the stirring of the affections, but rather the value or significance which that object holds for us --- be it the sight of a crucifix, the pietà, the smell of incense, or the sound of the sanctus bell. It is the way one remembers and imaginatively recreates and participates in the sensory reality that individualizes and subjectifies the experience and makes it one's own; and so, through the mind's eye, we can create the unseen through what we have seen and known. The mind's eye enables one to access a triggered remembrance, a remembrance which is then integrated and rewritten into one's personal narrative and becomes a primary motivator for devout action, because it is a means by which the soul is reformed to virtue. Just as, according to Gregory, the mind can construct "vast theaters of the memory in which people imaginatively carry out their desires for power, position, food, and the like", so can the mind's eye, the spiritual and thus sanctified visual faculty, provide a sacred space in which devout thoughts can be brought forth.

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94 Thus even the blind could think without visual images.
95 Frances Yates, Art of Memory, 91 has suggested, based on her study of several vernacular attempts to translate the arts of memory for lay audiences that the precepts of memory retention and recollection made their way effectively into the lay population.
Affective Piety and Textual Images

Art was an important aspect of the church's expression of devotion to the life and Passion of Christ, so I will consider briefly the process and impact of response to artistic representation. As mentioned above, the evolution of affectus and compunction to embrace what is called "affective piety" was encouraged by a well-documented shift in doctrinal emphasis on Christ's life and death away from the glory of his Resurrection toward the agony of the Passion and the role of his human nature, what Giles Constable calls a "change in emphasis and concern rather than the replacement of one ideal by another."

Iconography of Christ as king and ruler shifted slowly to emphasize the more compassionate side of his nature. As Constable explains further, Christ was often portrayed as wearing a crown, seated on a throne.

The image of Christ as a powerful king and victorious war-leader had important political implications, especially in the post-Carolingian age, which was marked by its Christocentric character, since it served to reinforce the authority of rulers, who were seen as imitating Christ in his royal role.

The crucifix was a symbol of Christ's victory over death, and by the eighth-century was ubiquitous; what changed was the depiction of the demeanor of Jesus on the cross. In the eighth-century he was often "alive and god-like"; by the ninth and tenth centuries eschatology was more prominent, a sense that he was awaiting the final judgement: the "life-sized crucifixes of the tenth century show Christ alone, without attending figures, and concentrated attention on His role as saviour and promiser of things to come."

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96 Constable, Three Studies, 169.
97 Constable, Three Studies, 160. See also Ross, Grief of God, 46.
By the eleventh century generally there was more emphasis on Jesus' humanity and the events of his life and ministry, but "even after this new attitude dominated medieval spirituality, the older tradition did not die out, owing both to its religious appeal and to its roots in the Bible and established theological teaching." Likewise the growing devotion to Mary was reflected in art of the period. An increase in devotional practices which focused not only on the Passion but on Jesus and Mary as fellow humans grew as well into a domestic interest in Mary's own life and pregnancy, as well as her own sufferings at the foot of the cross. Images of Mary nursing, teaching, and weeping are said to have displaced earlier images of her as the proud Mother of God. The growing "participatory" nature of images of Christ suggested an ideal of "imitatio" which was increasingly accessible to the laity, as there was more to identify with in Jesus' fragile humanity than in his divine nature.

In addition, the devotion to the humanity of Christ as expressed by many late medieval saints and mystics offered a model of behavior which was "intended to arouse admiration and to provoke reform rather than imitation." The type of "imitatio" portrayed in texts such as Nicholas Love's Mirror and its precursor, the Meditationes Vitae Christi, suggested a "more internal and moral ideal". In addition, paintings, stained glass, sculpture and drama...
continued to emphasize these changes in perception of Christ's nature, seeking to draw their viewer into a world of empathy, response and re-action. "In the thirteenth century Christ was often shown dead on the cross, leaning forward with His arms bent down or outstretched as if to embrace the beholder, with blood flowing from His wounds towards the beholder."\textsuperscript{103}

Overall, such a shift toward Jesus' humanity is thought to have "reflected a new interest in the behaviour of man, which contributed to the emergence of a more ethical character in Christianity."\textsuperscript{104}

The link between affective devotion to the crucified Christ and the doctrine of compunction is also encouraged by devotion to Mary. In addition, devotions to the Eucharist predate this twelfth-thirteenth century spiritual revival, and in view of the new emphasis on Christ's suffering body, this interest increased and was further popularized.

The preoccupation with the Passion of Christ, his bodily sufferings, and the subsequent blameworthiness of the sinner who caused such agonies in the Saviour, served to shift the focus from God's redemptive activity to the individual's increasing sense of personal sinfulness and unworthiness. As a result, devotion to the passion as a further non-traditional, non-patristic source of tears asserted itself […]\textsuperscript{105}

No longer was Christ in glory the overriding theme associated with the Passion, but Christ in agony. The anonymous \textit{Dialogus Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini}, for instance, is full of the narrative realism and verisimilitude which became so popular. The dialogue which takes place surrounds the eyewitness account of Mary as "imaginatively" reconstructed.

\textsuperscript{103} Constable, \textit{Three Studies}, 221.
\textsuperscript{104} Constable, \textit{Three Studies}, 169,212-3.
\textsuperscript{105} Miri Rubin, \textit{Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture} (Cambridge, 1991); McEntire, \textit{Doctrine of Compunction}, 123.
The Gospel's simple "crucifixerunt eum" (Mt. 27.35, Mk 15.24, Lk 23.33. Jn.19.18) is expanded to include:


Such imaginative reconstruction and elaboration is crucial in expressions of affective piety. The painful image of Jesus' arms being wrenched and then nailed into position, and the contortion of his body is described in such a way as to elicit the reader's empathy and compassion; the connection between emotional triggers and specific events in the lives of Christ and Mary is what affective piety strives to create and foster. The connection is then made manifest in the lives of readers who have experienced mother-child relationships.

Christ's wounds, the instruments of the Passion, the act of crucifixion -- all serve as devotional aids which are created and re-created on an intensely personal level through imaginative reconstruction of the events, events which serve a didactic purpose as well. This quest for affective response continued to be upon Christ's suffering and death and helped to define further the term "affective piety" as the meditation and concentration on Christ's wounds and sufferings as well as the sufferings of Mary which served to elicit

106 Migne, PL 159, cols. 282-283: "After this they lay the cross upon the earth, and stretched him out on it, and first hammered in one nail so tightly that the blood was not even able to seep out, so filled was the wound by the nail. Then they took ropes and pulled upon the arms of my son Jesus and hammered a second nail into him. After that they dragged his feet, and struck in an extremely sharp nail, and he was so tensely stretched out that all his bones and limbs were visible [. . . ] And when he was erect, all the wounds of his body
an inner emotional, affective response. This response would in turn encourage compassion and empathy for Christ’s sufferings and thus lead one to contrition and deeper faith. The path was one paved not only with feeling, but with learning.

One method of eliciting or “triggering” affective devotional response was through physical images and art. But when images, paintings or other physical representations were not available, visualization was a common devotional exercise. Even if this is so, and there is much textual evidence to support it, several issues remain unresolved: why “visual imaging” was considered an important element in textual transmission: how it was thought that such imaging occurred: and what purpose it served. These are the issues that will be explored in part in this segment, and later in Chapters Two and Three when dealing with actual texts which utilize visual imaging. First, however, some time must be spent considering an important debate which did occur with regard to reception, that is the debate concerning the efficacy of images and pictures in contrast to, or in tandem with, the written word.

Much commentary concerning art is from the perspective of the artists themselves, and thus concentrates on the element of skill, not response. The purpose here is not to discuss the specifics of art and sculpture viewed by a medieval audience, but rather to consider a parallel function of perception, mental visualization and response suggested primarily by written texts. Thus both “external” and “internal” images are relative here; in addition, the role

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were ripped and opened because of the weight of his body, and blood flowed freely out of his hands and feet.”

of images, "pictura", is of concern when considering the interaction between didacticism and affective response.

Discomfort with the use of images and icons as objects of meditation or prayer had been an issue since the inception of Christianity, and even before, in Greek and Roman philosophical and rhetorical writing. Later, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Lollard objections to images used as devotional objects or triggers for response increased and expanded to include objections to dramatic representation such as are found in *A Tretise of Miracles Pleving*. The theory of the efficacy of images was challenged not only by

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For a classic exploration of the philosophical and rhetorical use of "imago" and "phantasmata" see Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*. An especially important item to remember for the following discussions is the theory of images found in the pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium*. "Rules for images now begin, the first of which is that there are two kinds of images, one for 'things' (res), the other for 'words' (verba). That is to say 'memory for things' makes images to remind of an argument, a notion, or a 'thing'; but 'memory for words' has to find images to remind of every single word." Things are the subject matter of speech, whereas words are the language in which the subject matter is clothed (Yates, 8). For the medieval artistic expressions of "imago" see Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1972) 42f; Leonid Ouspensky, *Theology of the Icon*, Vol I., trans. Anthy Gythiel and Elizabeth Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY, 1992), esp. 101-150.

For contemporary research on the role of imagery see for example Mark Rollins, *Mental Imagery: On the Limits of Cognitive Science* (New Haven, 1989); Stephen Michael Kosslyn, *Image and Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980) 22. Such works indicate the long-standing nature of the debate on images. By understanding the questions surrounding the creation, efficacy, and content of "images", be they sensory, thematic, or pictorial, perhaps the reader will read the texts in Chapters Two and Three with an openness to the variety of experiences visually-imagining a text can elicit.

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the Lollard controversy, but by reformers as well. Wycliff, however, quoted Gregory approvingly. Yet little or no objection to "imaginative" reconstruction based on "textual" objects of meditation or "visual-imaging" or elaboration of sacred history is to be found in medieval texts, even when that reconstruction consists of "fictional" details within an orthodox framework. It seems that, even in an age of concern for images on the part of the heterodox, and a concern with lay reading of scriptures on the part of the church, imaginative reconstruction based on texts, and even the resulting mental reconstruction of a fictionalized version of that text, was widely encouraged. The reason may lie in the efficacy of subjective response and the deeply personal nature of one's relationship with the divine. There can be no censorship of the imagination; but even in a community experience such as a drama, sermon or mass, the dichotomy of public perception and private response remains. The very act of transmitting the narrative of the Passion is an act of response by an author who is in turn a reader, an act of response which in turn shapes the response of its audience.

But individuals bring to their perceptions of art much the same pre-experiential cognition that they bring to a written text: "One brings to the picture a mass of information and assumptions drawn from general experience." 111

[S]ome of the mental equipment a man orders his visual experience with is variable, and much of this variable equipment is culturally

110 See Lawrence Duggan, "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?", Word & Image, Vol 5, no. 3, 1989, 235-6 and n. 52. At 235 he suggests that Wycliff's "legacy to the Lollards was thus ambiguous. Although they, too, often quoted Gregory to Serenus, they usually focussed on his condemnation of the worship of images."

111 See Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 35; see also 29-43. On 34 he says: "[. . . ] the picture is sensitive to the kinds of interpretative skill -- patterns, categories, inferences, analogies -- the mind brings to it. A man's capacity to distinguish a certain kind of form or relationship of forms will have consequences for the attention with which he addresses a picture."
relative, in the sense of being determined by the society which has influenced his experience. Among these variables are categories with which he classifies his visual stimuli, the knowledge he will use to supplement what his immediate vision gives him, and the attitude he will adopt to the kind of artificial object seen. The beholder must use on the painting such visual skills as he has, very few of which are normally special to painting, and he is likely to use those skills his society esteems highly. The painter responds to this; his public's visual capacity must be his medium. Whatever his own specialized professional skills, he is himself a member of the society he works for and shares its visual experience and habit.\textsuperscript{112}

The artist is to the viewer what the author is to the reader. However, while the general public constituted both the artists and audience of medieval religious art, the debates and theories concerning the efficacy of such art happened very much outside of their scope:

[...] the pictures came within the jurisdiction of a mature body of ecclesiastical theory about images. There is no sign of the more academic elaborations of this theory being active in many people's minds during the fifteenth century, though they were quite often rehearsed by the theologians, but a few of the basic principles still set standards for the pictures much more real for the public mind than some of the artistic theory we make so much of now.\textsuperscript{113}

By the fourteenth century, Miles suggests, there was general consensus on the religious value of both images and "textual" visualization techniques, and she cites as support one of the texts this dissertation is concerned with, the

\textsuperscript{112} Baxandall, \textit{Painting and Experience}, 40. See Margaret Miles, \textit{Image as Insight}, 30, where she discusses, and challenges, the "universality" of images: "The image's universality rests not on its potential for abstraction [...] but on the capacity of the viewer to grasp in the concrete particularity of the image a universal affectivity. The image defines a particular constellation of affective energy that is not foreign to the viewer but that has not, until her encounter with this image, been formulated in quite this way. The universality of the image thus depends on an act of recognition by each viewer. The universality of an image lies in its potential affective availability to everyone who contemplates it with generosity and self-reflection. On the other hand, it is always possible that, from the interested perspective of a particular viewer, an image's formulation of affectivity may be seen and interpreted as inaccurate or oppressive; its potential for universality will then be understood as threatening or dangerous rather than emancipatory."

\textsuperscript{113} Baxandall, \textit{Painting and Experience}, 40.
Meditationes Vitae Christi. Unfortunately, records of public response to paintings and art are scarce.

114 Margaret Miles, *Image as Insight*, 71. On 65: "Twentieth-century people find it relatively easy to comprehend the potential impact of precisely accurate words heard at a time when one is psychologically, intellectually, and emotionally vulnerable, but we find it much more difficult to empathize with someone whose spiritual life was initiated by a compelling vision, whether based on a sensible object, a dream vision, or an extrasensory vision. Because we think of vision as a passive experience imposed by the object of vision, we are often incredulous, for example, at another person's account of an event we have both witnessed. Fourteenth-century people did not, like us, need to be reminded frequently of the active component, usually called 'interpretation;' that governs every visual experience. They recognized fully the extent to which what one sees is dependent on one's visual training, spiritual preparation, and active engagement with the object of vision. A miraculous event, for example, might be witnessed by only one or two people although it occurred in a large company in a public place [...]."


Susan Aylwin, "Imagery and Affect", suggests that three systems of representation are operative in human development, demonstrated primarily through periods of childhood development, systems which I think are relevant here because of their intriguing similarity to three important rhetorical modes found in many devotional texts, that is the emphasis on straight verbal "didactic" instruction; emphasis on vivid visual description; and the encouragement of the reader or listener to "participate" imaginatively and actively in the events of the text, often to the point of re-writing the mental pictorial narrative to maximize one's own affective response.

Historical debate on the efficacy of images is marked by one particularly important statement and its various interpretations. Gregory the Great speaks of the important use of physical pictures as visual texts in a well-known and variously interpreted letter to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles, who was engaged in destroying artistic representations and images in his own diocese. The following is from the second letter sent to Serenus, the first apparently having fallen on deaf ears:

Alius est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturae historiam quid sit adorandum addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes vident quod sequi debeat, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt; unde praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est [. . .] Atque indica quod non tibi ipsa visio historiae, quae pictura teste pandebatur, displicuerit sed illa adoratio, quae picturis fuerat incompetenter exhibita. Atque in his verbis eorum mentes demulcens eos ad concordiam tuam revoca. Et si quis imagines facere voluerit, minime prohibe, adorare vero imagines omnibus veta.116

Scholarly debate concerning this letter has been abundant. When considered as a literal, simple solution (as it may have been read by many of his

suggests that “text-cued imagery, the evocation of stimuli not physically present, elicits readers' emotional responses and serves as a thematic anchor” and explores how writers of literary texts which are designed to provoke response “craft images to increase the intensity of a reader’s response” (109). John R. Suler, “Imagery Ability and the Experience of Affect by Free Associative Imagery”, Journal of Mental Imagery, 9(1), 1985, 101-110 explores how “the access of affect while free associating to cue words can be enhanced by using visual as opposed to verbal responses, by having greater imagery ability, and by interactions of these two variables” (101). I cite such modern works again to demonstrate how very “medieval” such issues are. 116 Greg, Epist. I, ii, Migne, PL 77, cols. 1128-1129). Translated in Carruthers, Book of Memory, 222: “It is one thing to adore a picture, another through a picture's story to learn what must be adored. For what writing offers to those who read it, a picture offers to the ignorant who look at it, since in it the ignorant see what they ought to follow, in it they read who do not know letters; whence especially for gentiles a picture stands in place of reading [. . .] And indicate that what displeased you was not the sight of the story revealed through the witness of a picture, but that adoration which had inappropriately been exhibited to the pictures. And soothing their minds by these words call them back into harmony with you. And if anyone should desire to make images by no means forbid it. yet avoid completely adoring images [. . .]” See Celia M. Chazelle, “Pictures, books, and the illiterate: Pope
contemporaries) to a complex problem of the availability and orthodoxy of
didactic material. Gregory's words seem clear. However, the reproduction
and reconsideration of Gregory's dictum throughout history indicate the near-
impossibility of concluding anything definite in the way of "accepted" notions
of the efficacy of images in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Just as words make present the voices and ideas which create mental
pictures, functioning symbolically as mental pictures, so pictures can serve as
signs or cues to the same voices and make available the same message by
letting us see what scripture teaches. Furthermore, an image expresses the
artist's own feelings and imaginative creation, and is thus itself a product of
response. Texts can function pictorially; pictures can function textually. In
the mind of the believer, the written text can turn into an active picture-text
which constantly reiterates the importance of the action produced by the text.

Yet other than directions in artistic manuals on how a head should be
tilted or hands positioned, the question of "how" to maximize on the emotional

Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles". *Word & Image*, Vol. 6, no. 2,
April-June 1990, 139-140.

117 See for instance Chazelle, "Pictures, books, and the Illiterate", 139: She
suggests that Serenus "was a bishop who, on several occasions in his career,
had his hand slapped by Gregory for behavior that Rome found of
questionable propriety. The fact that Gregory was forced to send a second
letter to Marseilles about images, in 600, is evidence Serenus was someone who
not only did not look to the pope for guidance, but was so insubordinate as to
reject it when it was offered."

See Jones, "Art and Christian piety", 79: "Gregory's defence of images was
based on their educational usefulness [. . .] This didactic role was combined
with an emphasis on their inspirational value. [. . .] "; See also Michael Camille,
"Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and
Illiteracy", *Art History* 8 (1), 1985, 26-49, esp. 32ff. Duggan, "Was art really the
'book of the illiterate'?", 227-25.

118 See Duggan, "Was art really the 'book of the illiterate'?" for an encyclopedic
treatment of the reproduction of Gregory's letter in many contexts throughout
history. Duggan traces the reappearances of Gregory's dicta throughout the
Middle Ages and Renaissance and into the modern scholarly forum (esp. 241-3)
where he suggests scholars have tended either to misquote or misrepresent
Gregory's words, or, as in the case of Hans Belting and Michael Baxandall, both
cited here, not mention him at all.
resources of sight through "pictura" remained, and remains, a largely unanswered (and unanswerable?) question. Here is where the issue of subjective response is so important. Mary Carruthers in *The Book of Memory* suggests that:

Both textual activities, picturing and reading have as their goal not simply the learning of a story, but learning to familiarize and domesticate it, in that fully internalized, even physiological way that medieval reading required. But in order to profit from pictura, one must understand it rhetorically, as directly referential not to an object but to a text ("historia") and thus to the human memorative process called reading and composition.

In the first letter to Serenus of 599, Gregory had expressed a similar view when using the verb "legere" for both books and painting. Chazelle even suggests a challenge to the implication that Gregory believed that an illiterate audience could learn "a totally alien body of information" based on the phrase from the preceding letter of 599:

Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciant saltem in parietibus vivendo legant, quae legere in codicibus non valent. Tua ergo fraternitas et illa servare et ab eorum adoratu populum prohibere debuit, quatenus et litterarum nescii haberent, unde scientiam historiae colligerent, et populus in picturae adoratione minime peccaret.

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119 See Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 41.
120 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 222.
121 Chazelle, "Pictures, books, and the illiterate", 141.
122 Gregory, I, *Epis. 9*, Migne, PL 77, col. 1027. Cited, trans. 139 Chazelle: "For a picture is displayed in churches on this account, in order that those who do not know letters may at least read by seeing on the walls what they are unable to read in books. Therefore your fraternity should preserve those things and prohibit the people from adoring them, so that persons ignorant of letters may have something whereby they may gather knowledge of the story and the people may by no means sin through adoration of a picture." Her argument rests on the ongoing debate as to what "illiteratus", or "hi qui litteras nesciunt" actually meant at different stages in history, a debate which cannot be entered into here. In the early Middle Ages, argues Chazelle, such words meant not people "devoid of almost all learning", but rather "those untrained in how to read or to write" (142). Oral transmission and teaching provided access to much of the same doctrine and theology that written texts did. Likewise, she argues, Gregory does not explain "what" pictures teach, nor "how", an issue which will be important later when considering Nicholas Love's encouragement to his readers to imagine "visually" the events being described in his text. Chazelle argues that Gregory may be referring back to
Pictures are for learning stories, not to be memorized or imprinted as such. They work hand in hand with preaching: pictures function textually, involving both lectio and meditatio, reworking, revising and internalizing the image to make it one's own. The argument can be made for dramatic texts operating in much the same way. It was generally thought that words, both seen and heard, are represented by the mind in the same way -- as images, or phantasmata.123

Baxandall describes the painter of religious art as a "professional visualizer of the holy stories." But the painter's public was also experienced in a similar function, "practised in spiritual exercises that demanded a high level of visualization of, at least, the central episodes of the lives of Christ and Mary."124 He parallels these exterior and interior visualizations, and cites a 1454 text written for young girls and later printed in Venice, the Zardino de Oration, the Garden of Prayer. This work instructs the individual in how to visualize the events of Christ's life and Passion to impress it on one's mind and memorize it. Techniques suggested include shaping "in your mind some people, people well-known to you, to represent for you the people involved in the Passion -- the person of Jesus Himself, of the Virgin, Saint Peter", et

his suggestion that "in ipsa ignorantes vident quod sequi debeant", that is to say, what is being taught is virtuous behavior; according to Chazelle, "nothing indicates that the remark was meant to imply that a picture, by itself, could teach its subject to someone completely unfamiliar with the things represented in it" (142). See also Carruthers, Book of Memory. 340.

123 John of Salisbury (d. 1180) in his Metalogicon which defended the use of rhetoric, grammar and logic, presents a semiotics of letters as well: "Littere autem, id est figureae, primo vocum indices sunt; deinde rerum, quas anime per oculorum fenestras opponunt, et frequenter absentium dicta sine voce loquuntur." John of Salisbury, Bp. of Chartres, Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi in Carnotensis metalogicon: libri IIII, ed. Clement Charles Julian Webb (Oxford, 1929). Bk I, ch. 13: "Letters essentially are shapes which indicate voices. Hence they represent things which they bring forth through the windows of the eyes, and frequently speak, without a voice, the words of those absent."
cetera. Then, alone in one's chamber, one is told to mentally re-visualize the entire process, starting with Jesus' entry to Jerusalem, moving slowly from scene to scene, meditating on each one: "And if at any point you feel a sensation of piety, stop: do not pass on as long as that sweet and devout sentiment lasts [. . .]" Baxandall suggests that the painter could not "compete" with personal visualizations, that the painter "did not as a rule try to give detailed characterizations of people and places: it would have been an interference with the individual's private visualization if he had." Instead, painters and artists often painted unparticularized, neutral individuals and types, a base "on which the pious beholder could impose his personal detail, more particular but less structured than what the painter offered."

The interplay and interdependence of devotional art and literature remains a well-founded notion, as demonstrated by art historians and medieval writers alike. Indeed, Gregory ended his second letter (600) to Serenus with just such a reminder: "Sed hoc sollicita fraternitas tua admoneat ut ex visione rei gestae ardorem compunctionis percipiant et in adoratione sołus

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127 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 47. On "types" of Christ (for whom there existed a fictitious eye-witness account of his physical attributes) and Mary, see 56-57. Ellen Ross explains that the creators of devotional images "sought to produce a rhetorical aesthetic in which viewers would be stirred to respond cathartically with deep emotion, empathy, and sentiment -- and through the process of responding, they would be healed, nourished, and reconciled with God and one another" (Grief of God, 55). Pictures, she suggests, were "part of an ongoing dialectic between the images which visually awakened the imagination to reflect on the stories depicted, and thus shaped how believers heard the sermons and readings, and the sermons and readings which taught the viewers how to "see" and understand the paintings that surrounded them", 55.
omnipotentis sanctae trinitatis humiliter prosternantur." Gregory emphasizes orthodox belief but acknowledges various ways to attain the proper knowledge necessary for that belief. Here perhaps is another connection between didacticism and affective response, for the "pictura" leads one to compunction and acknowledgment of sins, and thereby merges teaching and affection, knowing and feeling.

Still, the issue of whether, and how, pictures teach or affect remains, and may always remain unresolved. How and when pictures and/or words are representative of something remains a mystery as well. Augustine (on John 6.5-14) considered the issue of reading, and how words create individual meaning for each reader.

Aliter enim videtur pictura, aliter videntur litterae. Picturam cum videris, hoc est totum vidisse laudasse; litteras cum videris, non hoc est totum, quoniam commoneris et legere. Etenim dicis, cum videris litteras, si forte non eas nosti legere. Quid putamus esse quod scriptum est? Interrogas quid sit, cum iam vides aliqua. Aliud tibi demonstraturus est a quo quaeris agnoscere quod visisti. Alios ille oculos habet, alios tu. Nonne similiter apices videtis? Sed non similiter signa cognoscitis. Tu ergo vides et laudas; ille vident, laudat, legis et intelligit. Quia ergo vidimus, quia laudavimus, legamus et intelligamus.129

129 Gregory, cited in Chazelle, "Pictures, books, and the illiterate", 140 (trans. 140) "But let your fraternity carefully warn [them], so that from the sight of a past deed [depicted in a picture] they feel the burning of compunction and prostrate themselves humbly in adoration solely of the omnipotent, holy Trinity."

130 Augustine, Tract 24.2, translated in Chazelle, "Pictures, books, and the illiterate", 146: "For a picture is seen in one way, letters are seen in another. When you see a picture there is nothing else to do but to see and to praise; when you see letters this is not everything, since you also feel the urge to read. For when you see letters you say, if by chance you do not know how to read them: What do we think is that which is written here? You ask what it is, even though you already see something. He from whom you seek to know what you see will point out something else to you. 'He has one set of eyes, you another. Don't you see the forms of the letters in the same fashion? Yet you don't recognize their significance in the same manner. Therefore you see and praise; he sees, praises, reads, and understands. Since therefore we have seen [the miracle], since we have praised [it], let us also read and understand it ...']

Chazelle suggests that Gregory's own understanding of the concept of reading comes directly from this sermon of Augustine (146).
Augustine differentiates between one who understands, in this case, a miracle because he “reads” it, and “the simple admirer of the deed.” While Chazelle suggests that this parallels the difference between someone who reads a written text, and someone who views a pictorial text, it could be argued that Augustine shows primarily an awareness of the different responses that various individuals have to both. With written texts especially, he suggests, the letters can signify much more than pictures. The written word provides the reader with the opportunity to visualize the text according to his/her own personal interpretive method, and draw personal significance from it, rather than operate mentally from an already pictorially-defined image. The subsequent images created in the mind from both viewing a picture or reading a text were thought to have some effect on one’s actions. Saint Bonaventure, drawing on Peter Lombard’s Book of Sentences (3.9), the standard theological text at the times, supported three main purposes for the use of images.

*Dicendum quod imaginum introductio in Ecclesia non fuit absque rationabili causa. Introductae enim fuerunt propter triplicem causam, videlicet propter simplicium ruditatem, propter affectuum tarditatem, et propter memoriae labilitatem.*

The first purpose of constructing images follows on Gregory’s comparison of images to books, primarily used to instruct the unlearned. The third purpose, to keep the memory from “slipping”, serves to further internalize the image-and-response process and contribute to long term re-enacting of a visual, experiential state which is inherently didactic. The emphasis on the memory and the recollective function of images is important. The second purpose, to

131 Chazelle, “Pictures, books, and the illiterate”, 147.
132 Bonaventure, *Commentaria in tertium librum Sententiarum M. Petri Lombardi*, III, Dist. 9, Art.1, q. 2, concl., in *Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi, 1887), vol. 3: 203. It is said that images were not introduced into the Church without just cause. Indeed, they were introduced for three reasons, namely because of the simple man’s ignorance, because they stir the affections, and because of the transience of memory.
excite the emotions (affectuum) because they are tarditatem, delayed or impeded, is of special interest here; the association of images with emotional triggers could be manipulated, and either concrete or imaginary pictures could be used to elicit empathy and pathos.

I am interested in the emphasis in the later Middle Ages on imagining based on “textual” visions, without necessarily the benefit of a concrete image, and to this end find myself supporting Lawrence Duggan’s suggestion that “pictures as instruments of precise communication fall far short of words, that a mark of that disparity is that pictures inevitably must be made intelligible in words to the intellect (but not necessarily to other parts of the psyche), and that pictures cannot be ‘read’ in the same way as, or as fully as, books.”133 The written/oral word could do what a picture could not — explain, contextualize, suggest and provoke.134 Yet his comments also leave room for the immediate and affective response so often associated with pictures.135

133 Duggan, “Was art really the ‘book of the illiterate’?”, 244. He goes on to argue that while the “literate” could use pictures to “remind” them of what they already knew, the “illiterate”, faced only with a pictorial representation, may be hard-pressed to render an accurate conclusion as to its meaning: “[...] the illiterate cannot read the picture-signs so as to gain new knowledge, and by definition he cannot read words. He may happen to identify correctly in the picture what he already knows, he may easily misconstrue it, he can ‘read into’ it all sorts of interpretations shaped by his previous experience — but without help from someone (or something) else he can learn nothing new and possibly cannot even guess correctly the primary meaning of the painting. I, on the contrary, can add to my knowledge by reading texts. I may misread a text and mistake an author’s precise meaning; but however imperfect they are, words are inherently more precise than images and can convey new knowledge” (244).
134 On the reception of written versus “heard” texts, see especially Clanchy, “Literate and Illiterate”, 29-45.
135 Duggan, “Was art really the ‘book of the illiterate’?”, 245 also theorizes about a literal reading of Gregory’s letters to Serenus: “Had he reflected on how people ordinarily acquired this knowledge at a young age through sermons and stories, he would have realized that most literates learned most of this from others before they could read and that they thus shared with the unlettered not only this knowledge, but also the way they both came by it.
Suzanne Lewis notes the story of a Benedictine monk who prays fervently before an image of the Virgin which he painted that she will present Jesus to him, in his prayer keeping her face "in mentis suis oculis" in his mind's eye. One night he falls asleep and the Virgin comes to him in a dream:

[... ] directly inspired by his meditation in front of the image. In the concluding moralization, the monk is praised for having painted in his mind or imagination (in animo depingenti) the picture of the Virgin that he had wanted to see. The representation of the monk painting the statue stands as a pictorial metaphor of an inner vision inspired by art, an image held in the mind's eye through an act of imagination.136

Furthermore, in the early Middle Ages, as in many a situation of restricted literacy, the lettered reader would continue to depend heavily on a teacher as mediator and, hence, like illiterates, to learn through the ear. Finally, reading aloud was the custom, and so reading was ordinarily (but not exclusively) aural as well as visual. It was a truism often repeated through the ages that hearing served to correct the fallibility of sight. In this light the gap between literates and illiterates might not seem all that great, similarities might appear to overshadow differences, and comparison and analogy could more easily come to mind than would contrast and antithesis [...]. In addition, he suggests, we cannot really know what Gregory even meant by "books" and "learning" and their interrelationship.

Duggan further suggests that to a medieval audience, "reading" connoted an act of digestion (see notes Ezekiel 3:1-2; "[...] Son of man, eat all that thou shalt find: eat this book and go speak to the children of Israel. And I opened my mouth, and he caused me to eat that book"; "et dixit ad me fili homines quodcumque inveneris comede, comede volumen istud et vadens loquare ad filios Israel, et aperui os meum et cibavit me volumine illo." See also Jeremias 15:16). This is common metaphor from monastic reading (lectio divina) which Gregory was so familiar with. "'Reading' a book, particularly a holy or a wise book, therefo more implied memorizing it, reading was closely associated with memory, and so by extension reading could remind one in a sense of what one already knew."

For other comments see Ralph V. Turner, "The Miles Literatus in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England: How Rare a Phenomenon?"., American Historical Review 83 (1978) 928-45. esp. 930-1; Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record 175-201; David Cressy, "Levels of Illiteracy in England 1530-1730", in Literacy and Social Development in the West: A Reader, ed. Harvey J. Graff (Cambridge, 1981) 105-124; Clanchy, "Literate and Illiterate", 21-22 cautions against "modern" approaches to determining levels of medieval literacy.

136 Lewis, "The English Gothic illuminated Apocalypse", 7 cites Ringbom, "Devotional images and imaginative devotions", 163, for the text.
But perhaps this mental "re-visitation" by the Virgin to the monk represents not only the power and efficacy of the concrete image and its mental counterpart, but the subjective power of the human mind to reconstruct a scene which is intimate and personal.

Despite hundreds of years of reproduction and debate, not until the Council of Trent in 1563 would the Church's definitive stance on the use of images be made clear.\textsuperscript{137}

\begin{quote}
Ilud vero diligenter doceant episcopi, per historias mysteriorum nostrae redemptionis, picturis vel alis similitudinibus expressas, erudiri et confirmari populum in articulis fidei commemorandis et assidue recolendis; tum vero ex omnibus sacris imaginibus magnum fructum percipi, non solum quia admonetur populus beneficiorum et munerum, quae a Christi sibi collata sunt, sed etiam quia Dei per sanctos miracula et salutaria exempla oculis fidelium subjiciuntur, ut pro iis Deo gratias agant, ad sanctorumque imitationem vitam moresque suos componant, excitenturque ad adorandum ac diligendum Deum, et ad pietatem colendam [...] Quodsi aliquando historias et narrationes sacrae scripturae, cum id indoctae plebi expedit, exprimi et figurari contigerit: doceatur populus, non propter divinitatem figurari, quasi corporeis oculis conspici. vel coloribus aut figuris exprimi possit. Omnís porro superstìtie in sanctorum invocatione, reliquiarum veneratione et imaginum sacro usu tollatur [...].\textsuperscript{138}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{137} See Duggan, "Was art really the 'book of the illiterate'?", 238. The Council of Trent "promulgated a long decree on images which proclaimed their manifold worth when properly venerated, particularly their didactic value in imparting to the people the truths of the faith. It explicitly and repeatedly stressed the necessarily passive role of the people and the role of religious art as an adjunct in teaching them."

\textsuperscript{138} Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, ed. Norman P. Tanner. Vol. 2, "Trent to Vatican II" (Washington, DC, 1990) Sess. 25, decree "On Invocation, veneration, and relics of saints, and on sacred images", 774-776, at 775. Translated at 775: "Bishops should teach with care that the faithful are instructed and strengthened by commemorating and frequently recalling the articles of our faith through the expression in pictures or other likenesses of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption, and that great benefits flow from all sacred images, not only because people are reminded of the gifts and blessings conferred on us by Christ, but because the miracles of God through the saints and their salutary example is put before the eyes of the faithful, who can thank God for them, shape their own lives and conduct in imitation of the saints, and be aroused to adore and love God and to practise devotion [...] So if accounts and stories from holy scripture are sometimes etched and pictured, which is a help to uneducated people, they must be taught that the Godhead is
Some scholars support the use of images as the most effective affective and didactic devotional tools. These arguments are based largely on the common store of scriptural material available to the laity and religious alike, scriptural material which, in its pristine form, is sadly lacking in graphic detail or verisimilitude. Christians knew the "narrative content of scriptural stories from sermons and religious dramas, as well as from popular devotional manuals -- frequently read aloud in town squares." However, the affective attachment of the viewer, according to Margaret Miles, was less easy to access; hence viewers of images and paintings were often encouraged to not only imagine themselves present at the scene, but to adopt the position, physically or mentally, of the characters in the image. It is probably a sound assumption that few Christians went through their lives having never seen a visual representation of the scriptural narrative, whether in the form of paintings, statues, stained glass, drama, woodcuts et cetera; and so visual models for such mental "presence" abounded.

Suzanne Lewis, in her work on the Gothic cycles of the illuminated Apocalypse, emphasizes the "mutually reflexive" nature of text and image. Mental images in the process of "visual-imaging" were in turn a necessary component toward feeling empathic devotion, as the mind internalized.

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not pictured because it can be seen with human eyes or expressed in figures and colours. All superstition must be removed from invocation of the saints, veneration of relics and use of sacred images [...]"

Of particular interest is the phrase "quasi corporeis oculis conspici", indicating perhaps a warning against excessive anthropomorphism of the divinity or of divine activities.


140 Miles, The Image and Practice of Holiness, 134: "For example humility is not only symbolized, but stimulated by a bow; compunction, by prostration; intercession and inspiration, by standing, with arms extended; ecstasy, by standing, hands joined and held directly overhead."

pictorially, both concrete images and textually-elicited, imaginatively-created images. When this empathy was focused toward Christ's humanity and suffering, not only affective but didactic aims as well were being met. On the one hand, it is precisely the characters of the letters which are symbolic of meaning. On the other hand, however, one must remember that the tradition of oral transmission remained dominant even after the rapid increase in written documents and reliance on the written word beginning in the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{142} So while oral transmission, although dependent on written text, may not only have persisted, but have been instrumental in disseminating information to those incapable of reading, the internal aspects of reading and writing continued to be important as well. The combination of instruction and emotional elicitation leads ultimately to virtuous action, and both word and image were harnessed to serve this purpose.

Unaided mental visualization did draw on a storehouse of visual images in the believer's own mind, many of which had concrete roots. In fact, perhaps the type of meditation encouraged by written texts for a lay audience was a later form of the monastic practice of \textit{lectio divina}: slow, meditative reading, a form of devout prayer. Any picture, icon or image is by its very nature an objective, idealized version of a subject; in contrast, mental recreation is a subjective, verisimilar version of an objective reality, intrinsically more "realistic" because of its intimate relationship with the one producing it. To this assertion could be added the notion that just as visual narratives had their own "textual" format, so did "textual" narratives have

\textsuperscript{142} M.T. Clanchy, \textit{From Memory to Written Record}, 202-219. The emphasis on "hearing" a text, due primarily to a scarcity of manuscripts, was also thought to be a more effective tool of transmission. See also Clanchy, "Literate and Illiterate", 42: Many medieval literary works, especially those written in the vernacular, address an "audience" rather than a "reader", referring to "all who hear" the text.
inherent in them a "visual" format which relied heavily on subjective, imaginative engagement with the rhetoric of the text. This notion will be central in the exploration of the "affective rhetoric" of the texts of Nicholas Love and Margery Kempe, but one must remember that perception and response are individual -- there can be no general rule of preference for "visual" or "textual" images.
Affectivity and Didacticism

Many texts used the message of the crucifixion to bring mankind closer to the divine Christ through his humanity and encourage methods of affective response while also being conscious of instructing their audience in the precepts of the faith, moral exempla or theological matters. For instance, Aelred of Rievaulx (b. 1109-67), an Englishman and contemporary of St. Anselm, provides in De Institutione Inclusarum guidance to recluses and a meditative structure through which to become one with Jesus through his crucifixion by concentrating on affective, emotional stimulation. The text serves as an example of the integration of this shift toward affective devotion to the Passion with monastic society. The elements of ruminatio and repetitio are prevalent and used to engage and guide the reader; indeed, the roots of later, more interactive efforts such as Love’s Mirror in re-creating scriptural scenes are seen here in Aelred’s work. Believed to have been written between 1160-1162 at the request of Aelred’s sister, this text is one of the earliest instructions for recluses written in England, and was later used by the author of the Ancren Riwle (c. 1220), also a text for anchoritic rule. The De Institutione Inclusarum includes rules for bodily observances by which a recluse may govern the behavior of the “outward” man, and directions for cleansing the “inner” man from vices and adorning him with virtues, as well as a threefold meditation to arouse the love of God in oneself.

It is this third objective, to arouse the love of God and keep the fire of love burning, that is of particular interest, for Aelred devises an intensely

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143 Two Middle English versions of the De Institutione Inclusarum are extant, a late fourteenth century translation (Vernon MS), and a mid-fifteenth century version (MS Bodley 423). Aelred of Rievaulx’s De Institutione Inclusarum: Two English Versions, ed. John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, Early English Text Society *287* (London, 1984) xiii.
Christocentric process of "visual-imaging" which serves to elicit affective response with the goal of bringing the recluse closer to God. It is especially noteworthy precisely because it is so intensely Christocentric and concerned with visualizing the Passion, like Gregory's reminder to internalize, visualize and manifest.

Aelred guides the recluse in perfecting the "inner man" and the "outer man", and then proceeds to guide her in meditation:

The desire of thy sole is norsshed with holy meditacions. Than if the loute of lesu shuld growe and encresse in thy desire, thre things the nedeth to haue in mynde. That is, thinges the whiche ben passed, thinges that ben present and thinges whiche ben to come.144

The recluse is encouraged to meditate on the events of Christ's life, and to put herself in the context of those events, to be present and to interact with the characters of the scriptures in a more physical, active and Christocentric participation than seen in earlier monastic meditations. Aelred's text shows how imaginative re-creation and response engage the recluse in using her own deductive powers to re-create a scene or series of events which draw not only on the text, but on her own experience and imagination. Such "presence in mind" requires intense, affective concentration.

Aelred starts with a brief overview of Christ's life, reading along with Mary the books which prophesy the virginal birth through to Christ's Passion, and leading his own reader into an intensely emotional meditation on Christ's sufferings.145 The recluse is exhorted again and again to "beholde".

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144 De Institutione Inclusarum (MS Bodley), II. 690-694.
145 Leclercq et al., Spirituality, 243: "Historians of spirituality have often held that sensible devotion to the humanity of Christ, and especially to the mysteries of his earthly life that most appeal to the human heart -- his birth, his passion, his death on the cross -- was in a sense a discovery of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, above all by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and especially St. Francis of Assisi. This view overlooks the fact that there was an ardent devotion to the Humanity in the early ages of Christianity; it existed also in the East, and is particularly notable in Origen."
"mervale", and "se", using mental, visual imagining to place herself there as the events unfold. The recluse is told to visualize the annunciation and to greet Mary along with Gabriel with the words "Ave Maria gratia etcetera; rehearse and elte rehearse the saam, merueilynge what fulnes of grace this might be [...]."\textsuperscript{146} The suggested repetition of the Latin prayer is like the repetition of a mantra or meditation-trigger, a form of \textit{ruminatio}: prayers or devotional catch-phrases are repeated for their recollective ability and emotive qualities, for their "triggering" effect. Sometimes the recluse is told to interact with the characters in the text, but more often she just tags along with Mary in the visit to Elizabeth, and with Christ through his ministry, the entry to Jerusalem, and finally to his trial and execution in the role of an active spectator and sometime participant.

Aelred intersperses his tour with bits of dialogue between Christ and his disciples and with brief commentaries on the events: he walks the recluse through the trial and Passion with an ongoing, emotionally charged commentary. Her reactions and emotions are taken firmly in hand by the text, and she is carefully guided toward the appropriate responses; for example, as Christ waits to be scourged, eyes downcast, Aelred exhorts his reader:

\begin{quote}
Seest thou not now hov he fallith down and praieth and how he sweith blood for anguisshe of his passyon! Why stondist thou stille? Go furthe and gadere vp cleene these sweete dropes, for certeyn they ben ful precious [...].\textsuperscript{147}
\end{quote}

Aelred calls attention to Christ's torn flesh and the blood and spittle which cover him in order to emphasize his humanity and thus draw on the reader's empathy; he also instructs his reader to participate in the action, not just to observe passively. The emphasis on active reading in this sense is central to the underlying function of this and other texts -- the integration of

\textsuperscript{146} De \textit{Institutione Inclusarum} (Ms Bodley), ll. 704-705.
instruction and emotion, the "mind" and the "heart"; one might better remember a lesson learned under emotional circumstances than one learned passively, even by repetition. But when repetition is accompanied by or framed within a structure that is based on "emotional tagging", a memory of the event is more easily created and recalled.

Aelred thus places emphasis on his reader's emotive reaction, guiding that reaction through vivid, evocative images:

Beholde now and se hou he stondeth as a meke lombe before the iuge, bowyng down his heed and his eyen, spekyng fewe, nedy to suffre repreues and betynge. Se than hou his face is buffeted, his heed is crowned with thornes and his hondes despitously bounden with bondes. I woot wel thou maist not suffre this, natheles yit toke vp with thyn wepynge eyen and beholde hou he berith his cros to his passyon with a clothe of purpure arrayed, cleuynge ful sore to his forbeten woundes.\(^{147}\)

The image of the suffering lamb makes Christ's suffering the sole responsibility of the recluse; she might even imagine that it could be herself undergoing the torments. Aelred wants her to put herself in the place of Christ and, imagining how he might feel, to look upon and cry for his suffering. The visceral descriptions and the use of ocular metaphors enhance the visual nature of her meditation, but each reader is responsible for picturing this scene in her mind, and each picture will be different, as Gregory's response theory dictates.

However, little freedom is granted the reader to explore alternate versions of the account; there is little or no explicit encouragement for her to create new or different scenarios outside those prescribed. The reader is given the freedom freely to choose a response, but urged in a particular direction. All is clearly dictated and tightly structured, yet clothed in emotive language and visual images which invite the reader to create a "personal"

\(^{147}\) De Institutione Inclusarum (Ms Bodlely), ll. 822-825.
scene and implicitly to construct an image in her mind’s eye which
corresponds only to her own inner thoughts and beliefs. But by not explicitly
granting such freedom Aelred remains within the realm of orthodox fiction
without censoring his reader’s imagination.

The Virgin Mary’s own grief is held up as an example of how one is to
grieve over Christ’s sufferings:

Seest thou not how oure Lady wepith? What eyleth the that thou
maist not wepe? Why ben thyne even so drye, and thorugh the
soule of oure Lady wente a swerde of sorwe [. . .] An harde hert is
that, pe whiche may not wepe now.149

Aelred chastises his reader for not reacting like Mary, using guilt as a
persuasive counterpart to compassion for the recluse’s not immediately giving
herself over to affective response. Aelred’s aims are clear; in this instance he
prefers affective response over intellectual, theological understanding. Then,
to provide further models of devotional response, Aelred tells the reader to
observe what Jesus’ contemporaries did as they approached the cross. The
perspective the reader is given is that from inside the wounds of Christ: “Crepe
in-to that blessed syde where that blood and water cam forthe, and hyde the
ther as a culuer in the stoon, wel likynge the dropes of his blood, til that thy
lippes be maad like to a reed scarlet hood.”150

This is the meditation “on the past”, and Aelred guides his reader in the
use of this and other such devotions in the present life. A final visualization
exercise is of the last judgement: “that is of thy deth, how thou shalt dye” in a
pure or impure state. The recluse is told to turn her eyes toward the damned:
“On the left syde a wrecched companye with gret stenche, gret drede and gret

148 De Institutione Inclusarum (Ms Bodley), ii. 838–845.
149 De Institutione Inclusarum (Ms Bodley), ii. 850–863.
150 De Institutione Inclusarum (Ms Bodley), ii. 863–866.
sorwe, gnastyng with her teeth, horrible in sight." The description is visceral, as he uses all the senses to describe the stench, the sound of gnashing teeth, the shame and horror on the faces of the damned; but she is to imagine herself on the side of those who are saved. Thus does Aelred shift rhetorical modes between didactic, homiletic, affective and eschatological positions.

The process of visualizing has an almost healing power and seems to guide the reader toward the right path. The Vernon, but not the Bodley, manuscript concludes by referring to the past exercise as intending to arouse an emotional response, either inviting compunction or leading the reader into an affective devotional experience:

\[\text{pu hast bodyly informaciouns, after } \text{pe whiche } \text{pu schalt rule and gourne } \text{pe outward man; and also } \text{I haue itake } \text{pe a maner forme by } \text{pe whiche } \text{pu migi purge } \text{pe inward man fro vices, and maken hym fayr in vertu. } \text{pu hast in } \text{pre maner of meditacioun how } \text{pu schalt nursche } \text{pe, and ferenctly excite } \text{pe in-to } \text{pe love of God} \]

Meditation on the Passion both excites the affectus, and nourishes the soul with theology and love, learning and feeling. Thus the inherently didactic nature of affective devotion as manifested and practiced by visual imaging is instrumental in initiating personal "change".

Parallel to this growing affective focus as represented in Aelred's text was a further development of didactic emphasis through clerical education. The church was concerned with its own didactic responsibilities, both to its lay members and to its clerics; there was not much available in the way of guides

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151 De Institutione Inclusarum (Ms Bodley), II. 957-959.
152 De Institutione Inclusarum (MS Vernon), ll. 1420-1424. The latin text reads: "[...] ut meditatio affectum exerceat, affectus desiderium pereat, lacrymas desiderium excitet: ut sint lacrymas tuae panes die ac nocte, donec appareas in conspectu ejus, et suscipiaris ab amplexibus ejus, dicasque ilud, quod in Canticis scriptum est: Dilectus meus mihi, et ego illi (cant. I. 12) [...] Habes in triplici meditatione quomodo in te dilectionem excites, nutrias, et accendas"
to this type of educational "pastoral care" before 1200 other than books on sacramentals and simple instruction manuals for priests. Most texts were concerned with the acquisition of theoretical knowledge, while what was lacking were practical handbooks instructing priests how to do their jobs better. The transmission of sacramental knowledge and penitential teaching was put into the hands of the Bishops at the First Lateran Council in 1123. Lateran III attempted to further promote the education of clerics, but without much success, and so the gap between parochial clergy as distinct from monastic regular clergy was increasingly one of education. Indeed, the first pastoral aids were often in the form of summae, compiled in the schools of law and theology, with no medium through which to filter them to a needy and largely un-reading clergy.\footnote{\textit{Migne}, PL 32, col. 1474 (cols. 1451-1474 titled "De vita eremitica ad sororem liber").}

In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council under the papacy of Innocent III declared a new path for the Church, a path of increased devotional practice, of doctrinal education among clergy and laity, yearly penance and communion, and an overall increase in clerical attention to the laity’s devotion and theological knowledge. This further necessitated media through which the clergy might reap the knowledge they were to sow. In the role of examiners as well as confessors, priests needed to know how to elicit a proper confession while testing penitents on the Church’s precepts.\footnote{See Leonard E. Boyle, "The Inter-conciliar Period 1179-1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals" in \textit{Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III} (Siena, 1986) 45-56; Boyle, "Aspects of Clerical Education in Fourteenth-Century England", in \textit{The Fourteenth Century}, Acta, Vol IV, 1977, 19-31.}

Thus manuals of

\footnote{Jean Delumeau, \textit{Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th-18th Centuries}, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York, 1990) 199-200: "The first preoccupation of the handbook writers was to aid the confessors by explaining how to interrogate the penitent (notably on the Deadly Sins) and so simplify the diversity of special cases. They also explained how to guide the penitent}
confession, treatises on the vices and virtues as aids to confession, and even tracts on preaching aimed at instructing the laity to perform as better Christians became very popular. These differed greatly from the old penitential books with their lists of stock penances which showed little concern for the penitent’s circumstances and contriteness. Rather, the new manuals were both reflective and practical, and were “directed toward the intellectual preparation of priests for the prudent, discreet, and informed exercise of the office of confessor.” All of this instructional literature has been called Pastoralia by Leonard Boyle, but I would suggest that his definition of Pastoralia as any manual or technique which might provide a priest with the materials or knowledge to instruct the laity and administer the sacraments can and perhaps should be expanded to include a larger range of devotional and affective texts which use affectivity as a vehicle for didacticism.

Lateran IV also decreed that every Christian (Omnis utriusque sexus) must confess to his or her pastor at least once every year. This implied an educational priority both for the priests who must be instructed in hearing

through his or her examination of conscience, how to illuminate motives and circumstances, and thus how to evaluate the magnitude of an offense, and how to overcome obstacles (fear, shame, presumption, despair) to a good confession.”


156 Ellen Ross touches upon such a connection, without developing it, in her Grief of God, 134: “I argue that there is a basic affinity between saints’ lives, martyrs’ narratives, and the self-authored works of medieval women like Margery Kempe.” See also Joseph Goering and Daniel S. Taylor, “The Summulae of Bishops Walter de Cantilupe (1240) and Peter Quinet (1287)”, Speculum 67 (1992), 576-594; Valerie Lagorio has suggested that affective texts be classified as borderline mystical texts, in “Problems in Middle English Mystical Prose”. 
confessions and examining their charges, as well as for the lay folk who must understand the sins they commit. Thus a form of cross-examination in the confines of the confessional was an important means of religious instruction.158

More literature continued to be produced after the first wave of pastoral manuals which lasted up to about 1260; this second wave of literature had a broader audience in mind, and began to appear in vernaculars all over Europe (intended not only for clergy, but also for a literate laity) which included treatises on the virtues and vices, as well as more meditative and devotional works such as the Meditationes Vitae Christi, Bonaventure's Lignum Vitae and more elaborate devotional lyrics, gospel harmonies, and mystery plays.159 It is perhaps not unreasonable to classify this body of devotional literature as “dramatic pastoralia” and “devotional pastoralia” respectively, for it strives to fulfill the two main qualifications of pastoral literature, didactic edification and spiritual enrichment, leading, it was hoped, to deeper faith through contrition and penance. These are the types of literature which should perhaps be allowed to escape their modern labels of strictly “meditative” or “devotional”, “affective” or “didactic” and be seen as combination texts which seek either to instruct with little emotional stimuli, or to achieve a didactic purpose by arousing pious compassion through concrete narrative detail, allowing affectivity to be the vehicle for spiritual and penitential didacticism.

These are thus the types of texts I would like to see included in an expanded definition of pastoralia.\textsuperscript{160} While not all of this material was affective in nature, nor did it all seek to elicit emotional response, it did all share a common didactic thread; different levels of implicit or explicit didacticism operate within different texts, affective or otherwise.

The results aimed at through pastoralia in general, and devotional, sometime affective literature in particular, were predominantly internal results which were individual for each reader, listener, audience member. Response was sought through affective triggers which had become central to iconography, meditative texts and devotional poetry.\textsuperscript{161} Theological texts about the incarnation served to reinforce this ideal, but the message may not have reached the masses until the texts were available to priests, preachers and the laity alike. In England, the Council of Lambeth in 1281 again emphasized many of the reciprocal requirements of clergy and laity with regard to knowledge of the basic tenets of the faith.\textsuperscript{162} The educational focus of the Catholic Church in England can be traced in works like (Franciscan) Archbishop Peckham’s \textit{Ignorantia sacerdotum}, a list of requisite theological knowledge put forth at the Council to raise the standards of clerical education, and which was to be expounded in the vernacular to the laity at least four times per year. His scheme of instruction was to be used in various forms up

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{160} See Goering, \textit{William de Montibus}, 58-99, esp. 75ff.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{161} See Sixten Ringbom, “Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Private Piety”, \textit{Gazette-des-beaux-Arts} 73 (1969), 159-70 and David L Jeffrey, \textit{The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality} (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1975).}
until the sixteenth century. His list is thought to have been based on Richard of Wetheringset’s *Qui bene presunt*, a pastoral manual written to instruct the clergy in the same body of knowledge, written shortly after Lateran IV, which likewise provided a list of the intended points of theological knowledge:

1. The creed, with its twelve articles of faith;
2. The Lord’s Prayer, with its seven petitions;
3. God’s gifts, especially the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit;
4. The four cardinal virtues (justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance) and the three theological virtues (faith, hope, and charity);
5. The seven capital vices (pride, anger, envy, avarice, sloth, gluttony, and lust);
6. The seven sacraments (baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, holy orders, marriage and extreme unction);
7. The two evangelical precepts (love of God and neighbor);
8. The ten commandments of the Law;
9. The rewards of the just and the pains of the wicked;
10. The things in which many people are misled;
11. The things to be avoided (i.e. sin, assent to sin, and whatever is prohibited by one’s superiors);
12. The things to be done (i.e. that which is proper to each person’s office and status, and especially that which is commanded by God or by one’s superior).\(^\text{163}\)

In 1357, Archbishop Thoresby of York revised, expanded and provided a translation of Peckham’s constitutions in Latin and then in English, the

English in the form that we call the *Lay Folk's Catechism*. This version appeared in simple, rude verse to provide for easier commitment to memory, and more frequent instruction on all the enclosed precepts was required by the clergy, many of whom would have been able to read only the simplest English version or had limited Latin. It was divided into six sections (fourteen points of truth; ten commandments and two Gospel commandments; seven sacraments; works of mercy; seven virtues; seven sins).

Didactic treatises on virtues and vices such as the *Fasciculus morum*, saints' lives, moral fables, collections of prayers and devotions all fed the need for religious knowledge. The *Lay Folk's Catechism* is just one of many texts that provided guidance, offering instruction on the precepts of the faith.

“Primers” (as they were known in England) or books of hours were the most common type of devotional text found in the hands of the laity; these contained parts of the breviary and the penitential psalms, and also prayers and meditations to be read and contemplated during mass for those who could read Latin, together with illustrations and woodcuts of devotional and scriptural scenes for the illiterate. Texts such as the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* also instructed the laity to respond to certain key gestures or phrases in the mass by changing posture, bowing the head or saying certain prayers. Such texts

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were designed to assist a devout laity in fuller participation at mass, wherein certain actions of the priest might even be related to the incidents of Christ's life and Passion, or to certain aspects of Christian doctrine.

For instance, the elevation of the host, increasingly practiced around the time of Lateran IV, added to the momentum and devotion of the Mass, and since communion was a rare occurrence, it was taught that seeing the host provided a similar effect of grace on the beholder. John Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests* describes both the congregation's expected actions during and the benefits received upon seeing the host lifted:

Teche hem also, I the pray,
That whenne þe preste a-gayn hem comyne,
Goddes body wyth hym berynge.
Thenne, wyth grete deuocyon,
Teche hem þere to knele a-downe;
Fayre ne fowle, spare þey noghte
To worschype hym þat alle hath wroghte;
For, glad may þat mon be
þat ones in þe day may hym se;
For so mykyte gode doþ þat sygt.
As seyn austyn techeth a-rygl,
þat day þat þow syst goddes body,
þese benefyces schalt þou haue sycurly;
mete & drynke at thy nede,
Non schal þe þat day be-gneded;
Idete othes and wordes also
God for-geueþ the bo [...].

The benefits go on, as Myrc claims that the sight of the host will protect one from sudden death or sudden blindness. Nonetheless, historians suggest that the people as a whole rarely went to Holy Communion; their sense of respect for the Eucharist, their fear of sacrilege, and their consciousness of sin kept them away from the altar. Faith in the Eucharist as manifested in a large variety of Eucharistic miracles likewise served to increase popular devotion.170

Preaching was also increasingly prioritized as a method of disseminating doctrinal, theological and moral ideas, aided by the spread of the mendicants throughout England; after 1215 the two most prominent mendicant groups were the Franciscans and Dominicans, the founders of which were thought to have been in Rome during the Fourth Lateran Council to hear Innocent III proclaim the need for more instruction of both clergy and laity.\textsuperscript{171} The appearance of a class of literate laymen and the rise of cities had also created a need for educated preachers, especially in the interim while local bishops and parochial clergy were catching up with Lateran IV's educational requirements. Mendicant preachers, therefore, while their path among the secular clergy was not always a smooth one, gained a high profile and provided a popular and effective source of religious instruction. Indeed, Medieval sermonizers were what Ellen Ross calls the "popular media of their day, and the Passion of Christ was one of their dominant theological themes."\textsuperscript{172} Preaching took place not only in churches, but in town squares and other gathering places. The popularity of such public itinerant preachers is well documented by Margery Kempe as well as many others.

And so through art, preaching and prayer the possibility of union with the divinity of Christ through his humanity, specifically through devotion to his wounds, the implements of the crucifixion and his suffering was made almost tangible. Imaginative reconstruction of these events marks a turning point in the practice of christological theology, a turning point which allowed for concentration on the literal reading of scripture, but one not limited to scriptural text. One was permitted, even encouraged, to recreate or rewrite

\textsuperscript{171} Leclercq et al., \textit{Spirituality of the Middle Ages}, 284-343.
\textsuperscript{172} Ross, \textit{Grief of God}, 4.
mentally the scriptural details within an orthodox framework. The visual emphasis, which had been a less clearly-defined factor in practices of lectio divina and became central and shifted its emphasis toward the physical manifestation of Christ's suffering; in many vernacular affective texts, the "mind's eye" became the most important vehicle for affective devotion. Meditation on Christ's actions on the cross was intended to trigger a reaction and re-action achieved via affective response, merging didactic and affective motives. Such a universal image provided humanity, each member of which has a different relationship with and access to theology and the divine, with a least common denominator and a vehicle through which to seek God in affective response.
CHAPTER 2

Nicholas Love’s “Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ”

Introduction

The first work to be considered is Nicholas Love’s Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ, a translation and reworking of Pseudo-Bonaventure’s Meditationes Vitae Christi. It would be presumptuous to assume that the affective qualities of texts such as these had a similar effect on everyone, or even that the majority of believers pursued the sort of affective religious practice encouraged therein. However, the flourishing of texts about the Passion both in Latin and in the vernaculars suggests that not only was this a very popular mode of personal devotion, but a very effective one. Thus I want to examine the effectiveness of Love’s Mirror by examining the rhetorical and stylistic means by which it engages readers and encourages them toward affective response which at the same time initiates a didactic process. I will also give some consideration to the Mirror’s relationship with its Latin predecessor in considering some of Love’s changes to the Latin original, changes which he implements in order to focus the reader’s attention on his own joint affective / didactic agenda.

The lessons in the Passion story are intended primarily to be forms of moral instruction, encouragement to “do” better, and increase awareness of one’s failings which leads to contrition and penance, another emphasis of Lateran IV. But we are also moved to moral response and action through empathy and compassion. Individual response is not limited to those pursuing higher spiritual or intellectual goals; elements that serve as common affective

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1 See Bestul, Texts of the Passion, 26-68.
triggers to people of all faiths and backgrounds include relations with family and friends, pain and suffering, the loss of a loved one, guilt for something not done, or for something done that should not have been. These are universal emotional elements which are found in the story of the Passion, and it is these, primarily human, familial and homely elements and the emotions they evoke which serve to elicit affective response, and which are utilized by Love in the Mirror.

First I will consider briefly the nature of the text Love's recension and translation is derived from, the Meditationes Vitae Christi. During the Middle Ages, the Latin text was thought to have been written by Bonaventure; it is now thought to have been the work of Tuscan preacher Giovanni de Caulibus de Sancto Gemeniano in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The Latin text was intended as a "sermon or series of sermons for the edification of the laity," and may be the "closest we can come to retrieving Franciscan sermons as actually delivered to the laity in medieval Florence." It is an

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3 Daniel Lesnick, Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality (Athens & London, 1989), 143. De Caulibus "focused on behaviors and themes of action and involvement useful to members of the city's class of artisans, shopkeepers, and professionals realistically interested in upward political and social mobility during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In his 'sermons' --- sometimes brief, sometimes extended -- he presents his audience with illustrations and models of behavior on voluntary poverty, enduring temporary tribulations, humility, charity, the active life versus contemplative, anticlericalism and the franciscan meditative process itself" (144).

For a discussion of the date of the text, see Sarah McNamer, "Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaurentur Magna Mentiones Vitae Christi," Franciscan Studies 50 (1990) 235-261. See Lesnick, Preaching in Medieval Florence, n. 40 (268) for a discussion on the provenance and authorship of the text and n. 46 (269) for some of the other influences.
excellent example of the kind of Passion meditation which became widely disseminated, read and used for devotional purposes.

The Meditationes were probably originally intended as a series of sermons for preaching, since the author uses a variety of rhetorical techniques in speaking to his audience with great familiarity. The Latin Meditationes, a "devotional work for the urban laity", made great use of the works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and other theologians. More than 200 manuscripts are extant in Latin, Italian and other vernaculars. Several of the Latin manuscripts are illustrated; such illustrations of Christ's life and ministry "contribute to the concreteness and palpability of the text; they reinforce the importance of experience in the exercise of piety [...] the Franciscans were encouraging nonmediated experience and the greatest possible involvement with both event and image." Early translations of the Meditationes into English and other vernaculars came to appeal to a larger lay audience, and from the early fourteenth century, the sections on the Passion circulated as a self-contained treatise. The text of the Meditationes was used by Ludolph of Saxony, the Southern Passion, the Fasciculus Morum, and French and English religious drama.

Lesnick, Preaching in Medieval Florence 144.
6 Lesnick, Preaching, 145.
7 Bestui, Texts of the Passion, 48.
In addition, the descriptions of Jesus’ life and death in the *Meditationes* probably served a larger devotional and artistic purpose: “Devotion and attention to Christ’s humanity inspired the *Meditationes*, which in turn inspired artists and playwrights to turn their attention to painful details of the Passion, to tortured crucifixes and pieta.”

**Nicholas Love’s Mirror**

Nicholas Love, an English Carthusian monk of Mount Grace Charterhouse in Yorkshire, England translated and edited the text around 1410, as the *Mirrour of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Love’s text was first printed by Caxton in 1486 and then reprinted by him in 1490. Pynson and de Worde printed editions in 1494, and more followed into the sixteenth century, to make a total of nine known editions between 1486 and 1533. Several manuscripts omitted a treatise on the sacrament which Nicholas Love himself included in his 1410 edition. A revised edition appeared in Douai in 1620, called *The Mirroure of the Blessed Life of oure Lord and Savioure Jesus Christe*. A modernization of Love’s version was made in 1739, one in 1908, and another in 1926. The most recent edition, and the one to be cited here, was by Michael Sargent in 1992, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. The popularity of the *Mystère de la passion en France du xiv au xv siècle: étude sur les sources et le classement des mystères de la passion*, 2 vols. (Paris and Dijon, 1903, 1904).


of Love's Mirror paralleled that of the Meditations. Eamon Duffy suggests that Love's version of the Meditations, which circulated freely in late medieval England, was "probably the most popular vernacular book of the fifteenth century."

Love's purpose in composing the text in English is thought to have been twofold: as part of a polemical effort to combat heresy, namely that of the Lollards, and as a devotional aid; so it is, by its very editorial nature, both a didactic and an affective text. It is addressed not to a monastic or religious audience, but primarily to a lay audience made up of men and women, as well, perhaps, as clerics. Love's original was "presented in London to Archbishop Arundel, who, having scrutinised it, returned it with his commendation and with his licence for its dissemination 'ad fidelium edificationem et hereticorum sive Lollardorum confutationem' -- for the edification of the faithful and rebuttal of heretics and Lollards. Arundel at the time sought to

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11 Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c1580 (New Haven & London, 1992) 235. Clarissa W. Atkinson, Mystic and Pilgrim, suggests that "Love wrote near the crest of a great wave of lay piety which included royal and aristocratic men and women as well as the urban middle class" (152). Christopher Harper-Bill, in The Pre-Reformation Church in England, 84 suggests that the "two most popular and influential texts, both written in the north in the late fourteenth-century, were Walter Hilton's The Scale of Perfection, and the Mirror of the Blessed Lyfe of Jesu Crist, translated by the Carthusian Nicholas Love [...]. The Mirror was at once a book of spiritual guidance and a 'translating of the summary of the foospels' as availability did much to compensate for the ban on an English Bible imposed to counter the Lollard threat [...]. Orthodox religious works, indeed, poured off the presses from the late fifteenth century, and the printing houses [...]. I were primarily seeking to make a profit by satisfying popular demand. Fifteenth-century wills reveal a steady increase in lay ownership of popular liturgical and devotional works, and it appears that these were the staple reading matter of the literate laity. By 1500 a very large number of lay people must have had an understanding of the faith which a century and a half before would have been restricted to the better educated among the clergy."

stipulate the terms for translation of scriptural material, and required that any such translations be approved by the local diocesan. More will be said later about Love's editorial agenda as represented in the prologue and text of the Mirror and as pertains to his particular audience because his intended audience played an important role in his alteration of the original Meditationes.

Nicholas Love's work retains approximately the overall structure of the original Meditationes, but he changes the order of much of the material, omits some thirty chapters, abridges others, and substitutes or adds much of his own material. Most of the additions or changes he has made to de Caulibus' text are marked in the manuscripts with the initials "N" and "B", indicating that it was particularly important to Nicholas Love, or to the ecclesiastical authorities to whom he submitted his translation, that the material that he personally had added to the Meditationes should be distinguishable from his source-text.

13 Sargent, Nicholas Love's Mirror, xlv-xlvi. Sargent notes as well that not only Arundel, but Love himself conceived of the text as both for edification of the faithful and to combat the Lollard heresy: "For among the greatest of the alterations that Nicholas Love made in adapting his Latin, Franciscan original to a contemporary English audience was the addition of a good deal of material commenting directly on Wycliffite positions. These additions group themselves around three primary themes: obedience to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the related question of church offerings; auricular confession; and the sacrament of the Eucharist" (xlvi). This emphasis however will not be a primary concern in this dissertation.

14 Nicholas Love's Mirror, xxx. He also, says Sargent: "signalled his major abbreviations and rearrangements of the text of the Meditationes Vitae Christi with Latin notes inserted in his own text. The fact that these notes were in Latin is in itself interesting: for they would have been useful only to those who could compare the translation with its original. They appear to have been inserted for the guidance of Latinate religious who wanted to supplement their reading of the Mirror with those sections of the Meditationes that it did not translate" (Nicholas Love's Mirror, xxxii).

The *Mirror* comprises sixty-three chapters and a treatise on the Blessed Sacrament which, suggests Sargent, "rounds out the form of the *Mirror* to reflect the cycle of feasts of the liturgical year beginning with Advent in November, and ending in mid-summer with Corpus Christi."15 The book, Love explains, is divided into seven parts, after the seven days of the week (like the *Meditationes*), and also belongs to the times of the liturgical year, from Advent through to Lent.16 It covers apocryphal stories such as the intercession by the angels for fallen humanity, the dispute among the four virtues, the youth of Mary through to the birth of Christ as well as Biblical tales of Christ's early life and ministry, and the events leading to and including the Passion.

The vaguely identifiable medieval audiences of many devotional and meditative texts that circulated through the strata of society are aimed at a wide Christian audience. This audience is only differentiated by its respective levels of class, education and orthodoxy. One might say that medieval texts aim at a collective, whereas modern texts are aimed at the individual, but I would suggest a slightly different angle at which to consider their relevance. Medieval texts, especially the devotional, affective and didactic works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are aimed at stirring individual response.

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15 Sargent, *Nicholas Love's Mirror*, xxxviii-xxxix. See also Sargent, liii-lviii for a brief explication of the contents of the treatise on the sacrament, which treats the Eucharist and its miracles.

16 Constable, *Three Studies*, 205f notes that it was common for meditations on the life of Christ to be fit into the liturgical year and so organized by divisions of the day, week, month or year. Ross, *Grief of God*, 44 explains that "In fourteenth-and fifteenth-century English Books of Hours, it is also common to find scenes from the Passion cycle used to mark the movement through the day. In general, these images marked the transition from one hour to the next following a consistent pattern: the Agony in the Garden or the Betrayal of Judas initiated matins, and the Betrayal or Christ before Pilate initiated lauds [. . . ]": See also Ross, *Grief of God*, 46-48.
but have mass appeal. While the specific medieval audience of most texts may be impossible to reconstruct, it is possible to reconstruct the intent of much of the literature produced, and that reconstruction lies firmly on a subjective, individual basis, much like the results achieved by contemporary literature. Jane Tompkins suggests that "Reader-response critics who are interested in individual reactions to literature, therefore, do not describe them as responses to a social situation, but as projections of the reader's psyche onto the text." But modern readers must still move tentatively through a Middle Ages in which individual response is further shaped by a collective, Christian and social response while sometimes treading a fine line between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. In this sense, each individual reader is the society of which he/she is a part.

Moreover, Tompkins (and most critics in general) avoids the issue of religion altogether. Indeed, religious response presents a problematic issue if often unsustained attempts to facilitate the use of books through the application to vernacular texts of learned techniques of layout and systems of apparatus. Texts which had originally been written for the limited needs of enclosed communities were adapted, translated, and quarrried to supply the needs of a wider clerical and lay audience, and classics of spirituality from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries enjoyed new leases of life in the fifteenth."
for secular critics: how does one approach a religious text which encompasses biography, fiction and history with the tools of contemporary critical method? Perhaps one cannot. The narratives of Christ's life and death are texts which encompass all these genres and more. In examining one of these texts by considering its dual affective and didactic roles, and seeing it as having clearly laid-out frameworks of response, I hope to show that medieval texts on the Passion are not only very "modern" in their subjectivity, but worthy of more critical consideration than has thus far been shown them.

The patterns and themes which are found in many poems and devotional texts dedicated to the Passion are varied; varied, too, are the emphases placed upon different scenes and events. For instance, some texts emphasize the time it took Christ to die, drawing out his time on the cross for maximum affective benefit; others emphasize and personalize the deposition, drawing on the literary personalities of Jesus' friends and family and concentrating on their sense of loss. Still other texts place the primary emphasis on Mary's own suffering and loss, and use empathy for her motherhood as the crux of the story. Repetition, amplification, the convention of complaint, pathos and the dynamics of human relationship all play a part in eliciting affective response. This chapter will consider the rhetorical and thematic patterns in one text which may be considered representative of devotional, meditative texts, Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ in order to explore how it maximizes affectivity and uses it as a vehicle for didacticism -- how feeling leads to knowing.

The issue of didacticism, of what makes a text didactic, is itself a complex one. The Mirror on the one hand instructs its readers in the precepts of the

ethical, doctrinal and theological effects prescribed by Christian medieval society.
faith such as the commandments, the vices and virtues, and the efficacy of prayer and Christian living both through direct instruction and through behavioral example. These range from common-sense advice to more theological considerations such as the nature of the trinity or the Eucharist. Thus the way Love builds a relationship with his audience by playing the role of guide and instructor. The average medieval Christian was not, perhaps, theologically very sophisticated, but rather someone who sought to follow the commandments, do good works and strive for orthodoxy in belief. All Christians are drawn repeatedly between the polarities of sorrow for Christ's suffering and death, to joy at the resurrection and the message of hope it represents.

In turn, the rhetoric of affectivity itself varies from chapter to chapter. Nicholas Love uses many different techniques and emphases to reach its audience. An examination of the entire work has already been done from the point of view of its thematic relationship with the Meditaciones, and with its place in the overall scheme of devotional "Lives of Christ." 21 I wish here to concentrate on the way Love's text invites and urges its reader to participate in the story of Christ's life and death, and how the reader is drawn into the scenes as a participant whose implied reactions and re-actions serve to demonstrate how, through a process of "visual imaging", affective response can be a vehicle for didacticism and an instrument of personal change.

The call to visualization in the Mirror does not merely prescribe calling to mind an image to meditate on; rather, the image is developed into a scene, a mini-play with characters, a plot, themes and imagery. Many devotional and affective texts which encouraged active participation in the drama of the

Passion also included images and drawings to act as more direct pathways into affective response. But perhaps the text, for those who could read it, provided so much more in cases such as these that the image only served the secondary purpose of providing a visual, stabilizing point to which the believer could return if the active process of visualization, which required large amounts of concentration, went off track. Only the individual viewer / reader him/herself can determine what "works" best. Christ's humanity was by far the most empathic affective trigger, and meditation on his Passion engaged humanity’s most tender and painful emotions: sorrow, compunction, horror, compassion and even empathy.

Love’s text operates on the premise that, to imagine, one generally needs “material” to draw on, be it “seen” visually, or “heard” textually. Both visualization and the presence of images as raw material for one’s visualization contributed to the accessibility of the gospels. Images were long used as affective triggers; this is seen in the volumes of scholarship on

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22 Freedberg, Images of the Holy, 177: “From the middle of the fifteenth century onward, images for meditation reached an incomparably larger audience than ever before; they were cheap and expendable. But above all, they became standardized in undreamt-of ways. No longer was it a matter of painters and sculptors doing their best to adhere to quite specific descriptions of the central figures of Christianity; it now became possible for whole sections of the public to meditate on exactly the same image.”

23 See Tom Bestul, Texts of the Passion, 145-164. He suggests that “the trajectory of increasing bodily violence in the narrative representations of the Passion is paralleled by and related to a significant historical occurrence, namely, the rise in the thirteenth century of the systematic use of judicial torture, a scheme under which the human body is also subject to excruciating pain” (149); See also Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215 (Philadelphia, 1982) 132-165.

24 Miles, Image as Insight, 67 suggests: "Even the ordinary worshipper without aspirations to mystical experience could expect that his contemplation of the images surrounding him in his local church would erase the distance between his personal existence and the sacred events and figures of scripture, thus placing his life in the context of the divine scheme of creation, redemption, and eschatology. Images encourage the identification of the life of the worshipper with past and future sacred events by revealing a visually present
the subject. The memory of the image could then, it is suggested, be recalled for later meditative purposes. The parallel between unassisted visualization and meditation on an image or the making of an image is implicit in many meditative texts. The role of visual imaging unaided by concrete stimuli is pervasive throughout the Middle Ages; this role perhaps moves beyond support of the use of images to increase doctrinal education, provide a stimulus and focus for affective devotion, and act as moral and didactic aids, to support an entirely imaginative, self-directed and personal devotional act.

Imaginative images are not limited to corporeal boundaries, as is seen in Aelred of Rievaulx's text above. Aelred does suggest that the sisters keep a devotional image in their cells as an effective way to begin meditation, but acknowledges that the individual must move beyond the concrete and re-create the image in the mind. Love's text suggests that the images and scenes created in the mind are just as, if not more, poignant and affective than universe. The medieval worshipper became, through concentrated vision, present at the nativity, the crucifixion, the resurrection, and Last Judgment. Freedberg, Images of the Holy, 162 suggests that this use of images and the theory behind it are based on the view that "meditation profitably begins in concentration. By concentrating on physical images, the natural inclination of the mind to wander is kept in check, and we ascend with increasing intensity to the spiritual and emotional essence of that which is represented in material before our eye -- our external eyes and not the eyes of the mind." The other method of visualization of concrete images is, says Freedberg, "visualization unassisted and ungenerated by a present figured object, but dependent on recollections of real images and stored knowledge of them." Freedberg, Images of the Holy, 169 points out that the ever-popular Meditationes Vitae Christi also showed off this emphasis on visualization. It is in this text that all the stuff of meditative practice gathers: 

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physical images precisely because they are much more than tableaux vivants. Mental visualization based on a written text enables the believer to be present in the image, and to participate in the action of the scene, not merely contemplate a still-life. The Meditationes Vitae Christi and Nicholas Love's Mirror are both predicated on the use of active visualization and recreating dramatic scenes which were played on the mind's own stage.27

Moreover, many elements in this, and other, texts, are embellished or "fictionalized" to further their authors' didactic and affective agendas. Thus I will also be exploring the issue of sacred, historical "truth" and the audience's role and responsibility in actualizing that truth. The narrator of Love's Mirror proposes to tell the events of Christ's life as they occurred or might have occurred, depending on the individual reader's imaginative interpretation of the events. This is conscious reader-response "writing", a system of internal "fictionalizing" which encourages subjective engagement in the events of the text but does not necessarily bind the reader to the "facts" therein. The reader is even presented with alternative realities for many of the reported events and is encouraged to develop new scenarios and to imagine the self as a participant in Christ's own life and death; it is clear that the role of imagining, of "fictionalizing" in personal devotion (and all devotion is, by nature, personal) was central to the reception and application of God's message.

Emotional response can act as a primary motivator.28 However, the stigma attached to emotional response by contemporary western society, as

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27 Freedberg, Images of the Holy, 179 suggests that internal, unassisted "inward construction of appropriate mental images" was itself conceived largely in terms of a comparison with real image-making. This certainly is the easiest model for understanding the meditative process, as the mind constructs visual metaphors representative of concrete images: "the mind can only grasp the invisible by means of, or with reference to, the visible" (188).

28 Much has been done in the study of emotions especially of non-Western communities, and the Middle Ages might be considered as radically "other" in
irrational, a sign of weakness, or unsuitable for public display, creates boundaries which medieval scholars have, in the past several decades and especially in feminist studies, begun to cross. Although we tend to sensationalize affective response, concentrating on images of Margery Kempe howling in church, Henry Suso tearing the acronym IHS into his chest with a stylus, or Julian of Norwich, Catherine of Siena or Bridget of Sweden enraptured in visions, there is room for more study. This dissertation is a study of the response of a fictional lay or clerical audience whose experience of the divine is not privileged like that of mystics or visionaries, but whose resulting actions are just as prescribed by devotional texts as those of the privileged few. In addition, although scholars have tended to deal either with affective or didactic elements as manifested in devotional works, I am interested in how the didactic function is made possible and intensified through affective vehicles.


Editorial Intent

Nicholas Love is careful to point out at the beginning of the Mirror both his text's relationship with its Latin predecessor, and the ways in which the Mirror will deviate from or support the structure and purpose of the Meditaciones Vitae Christi. Love's editorial intent is clearly laid out, and should be examined carefully, for the precepts laid out here form the framework for the text's development as both an affective and didactic text: his awareness of his particular audience and their needs; his choice or omission of material from the Meditaciones: his "fictionalizing" of many events; his emphasis on visual imagining and participation. Love begins the Mirror's prologue with his some personal comments, reminding the reader of the inherent didacticism in the life of Jesus, and offers his own agenda before beginning to translate the Meditaciones:

Ande more ouer þer is no synne or wikkednesse, bot that [he] schal want it & be kept fro [it] þe whiche byholdeþ inwardly & ioueþ & foloweþ þe worðes & the dedis of that man in whome goddes sone gaff himself to vs in to ensuample of gode leuyng. Wherfore nowe hope men & women & euery Age & euery dignite of his worlde is stirid to hope of euery lastyng lyfe. Ande for þis hope & to þis entent with holi wrihte also bene wrytten diuere bokes & tretles of devoute men not onelich to clerkes in latyne, but also in Englyshe to lewde men & women & hem þat bene of symple vndirstondyng. Amonge þe whiche beþ wrytten devoute meditacions of cristes lyfe more pleyne in certeyne partyes þan is expressed in the gospell of þe foure euangelistes (9-10)

The reader's method of "reading" and internalizing the text is spelled out along with the benefits the text is meant to offer. Through Jesus' words and deeds sins will be avoided and the reader's faith will be increased; through this faith one will seek forgiveness for "synne or wikkednesse". The method by which the reader is encouraged to partake of this text is to "byholdeþ inwardly", to "ioueþ" what is read and to "foloweþ þe worðes & the dedis" portrayed therein.
Love as author and narrative voice at times plays the more intimate role of spiritual director, guiding the spiritual life of his listener by offering moral rules to live by. Love, it will be seen, often changes the Latin imperatives to include himself in the reader's experience of the text; he also uses different "voices", voices of comfort, direction, argument and sympathy, at times implying the existence of a narrative voice outside of himself and with whom he can disagree or empathize. At times it seems he experiences and learns from the text along with his reader, a reader whose role is also central to an understanding of how this text operates within a rhetoric of affectivity and didacticism. The text and its author construct the audience / reader / listener carefully; we are thus invited, cajoled, chastised, instructed and befriended by an author who takes his role very seriously, and who is constantly aware of his audience's limits, abilities and expectations.

From the outset Love spells out the process which best leads to affective response: visual-imaging of the events described, affective, loving response and subsequent behavior modification as a result of one's "experience" of devotion. One should "byholde\(^{i}\) inwardly", visualizing the text mentally; thus throughout the Mirror the reader will be encouraged to "see", "beholde" and "visit", to visually-imagine the events which unfold. In turn, the didactic function of the Mirror is accomplished through both words and deeds, "verbally" and "visually". Hand in hand with didactic edification goes affective response, as one "loue\(^{e}\)" what is seen and heard and responds to it. The elements of didacticism and affectivity are prevalent throughout the Mirror and contribute to the ultimate moral goal of devout action, manifesting in one's behavior and faith the lessons learned in hope of "euerly lastyng lyfe".
Love is very conscious of the range of his audience, and places his text within an established tradition of "diuerse bokes & trettes of devoute men" which have the same moral goals. This body of literature was available "not onelich to clerkes in latyne, but also in Engîyshe to lewde men & women & hem pat bene of symple vndirstondyng", again justifying Love's own intended audience. In translating the Meditaciones Love will be careful to maintain the integrity of the original Latin while writing for a very different audience. His choice of English likewise indicates his interest in reaching out to a wider audience; the reader of Love's text has similar, yet different needs to that of the Meditaciones. Faced with the dangers of Lollardy, fifteenth century society perhaps required closer, but carefully guided, inspection of Biblical truth.

Love believed that Pseudo-Bonaventure wrote the original Latin version of the Meditaciones for a religious woman, both for affective and didactic purposes

Ande as it is seide pe deuote man & worthy clerke Bonaventre wrot hem to A religiouse woman in latyne pe whiche scripture ande wrytyng for pe fructuouse matere perof steryng specially to pe loue of Jesu ande also for pe pleyn sentence to comun vndirstondyng [slemp amonges opere souereynly edifiying to symple creatures pe whiche as childryn hauen nede to be fedde with mylke of lygte doctryne & not with sadde mete of grete clargye & of [hye contemplacion] (10)

Love is here equating his audience of "symple creatures" with Pseudo-Bonaventure's "religiouse woman"; Love is for his part an excellent storyteller, and takes great pains to explain the difference between a "lewde" audience which requires not only a text in the vernacular, but a different rhetorical and devotional approach from that of a learned audience which is capable of comprehending the "mete of grete clargye & of [hye contemplacion].” By shifting his focus to a different audience, he creates a very different text from the original.
Devout meditations on Jesus' life form part of a large body of devotional literature, literature which often has as part of its rhetorical construction both the omission and addition of scriptural and apocryphal material, "more pleyne in certeyne partyes þan is expressed in the gospel of þe foure euangelistes". This is another important element of Love's agenda, which will be discussed at greater length in the next section.\textsuperscript{30} The primary features of difference are his editorial changes and omissions to Pseudo-Bonaventure's text as well as his interest in "fictionalizing" the sacred truth of scripture as found in the \textit{Meditationes} (which the \textit{Meditationes} itself does in turn to the scriptures) to meet his own affective and didactic aims. He will variously omit segments of Jesus' life represented in the Latin original, and in turn expand and develop others with "fictional" material used to enhance elements of the story. Such material adds both an interesting dimension and an interesting problem to a consideration of Love's \textit{Mirror}, and the question of what constitutes "truth" and "fiction" in the realm of devotional, pseudo-scriputral texts will form part of the discussion below.

Wherefore at þe instance & þe prayer of some devoute soules to edification of suche men or women is þis drawynge oute of þe forseide boke of cristes lyfe wryten in engysche with more putte to in certeyn partes & wipdrawynge of diverse auctoritis [and] maters as it semeth to þe wryter hereof moste spedefull & edifying to hem þat

\textsuperscript{30}Gospel harmonies like the \textit{Meditationes} and by extension the \textit{Mirror} draw on many sources and texts for material and structure. Tom Bestul characterizes these and other Passion texts, especially the Latin texts, as "products of a productive and complex textual community built upon mutual relationship and interdependence in which many works reveal the textual traces of many other works, and in which the texts themselves are not static, but, attributed to various authors, subject to revision, recension, and modification [...]

(\textit{Bestul, Texts of the Passion, 51}). Scriptural history is embellished with small details or entire episodes, glossed with homilies on Christian virtues and moral instruction. Such glosses make the text accessible to his "symple audience". Elizabeth Salter, \textit{Nicholas Love's 'Myrrour'} suggests only that "The additions [Love] makes are no less in the interests of a varied class of readers; simplification of points of doctrine and obscure saying, and provision of further affective comment, are prompted by the same desire -- that of making the text more accessible to all" (48).
bene [of] symple vndirstondyng to pe which symple soules as synt Bernerde seye contemplacion of pe monhede of cryste is more lykyng more spedefull & more sykere pe is hyge contemplacion of pe godhed ande perfore to hem is pryncipally to be sette in mynde pe ymage of crystes Incarnacion passion & Resurreccion so that a symple soule pat kan not penke bot bodyes or bodily pinges mowe haue somwhat accordynge vnto is diecion where he maye fede & stire his deuocion wherefore it is to vndirstonde at pe bygynyng as for [a] pryncipat & general rewle of diuerse ymaginacions pat folowen after in his boke pat pe discriuyng or speches or dedis of god in heuen & angels or opere gostly substances bene only wryten in his manere. & to his entent pat is to saye as devoute ymaginacions & likenessey styryng symple soules to pe loue of god & desire of heuenly pinges for as Seynt Gregory seip, 'pefiore is pe kyngoome ol heuene likenet to erply pinges'. pat by po pinges pat bene visible & pat man kyndly knowep', he be stirede & reuyshede to loue & desire gostly inuisible pinges, pat he kyndly knowep not (10)

In addition to “drawyngge oute”, or “fictionalizing” material to make the text more “spedefull & edifyng”, Love makes the visual images and scenes in the text as concrete as possible, and creates a rhetorical framework in which the reader’s “reading” is portrayed as a “visual” activity. His reader, a “symple soule” may have to rely on the “bodyes or bodily pinges” in order to “fede & stire his deuocion”. Love also emphasizes the affective response which can act as a vehicle for the lessons and precepts being imparted symbolically. In his own introduction, Love insists that the physical being of Jesus be “sette in mynde” as more accessible to common believers; Jesus can be reached through one’s “affecion where wip he maye fede & stire his deuocion,” and whereupon the material for “diuerse ymaginacions” (the “discriuyng”, “speches” and “dedis” of God) have been written of here as tangible, concrete

\[31\] Love draws on the monastic metaphor of digestion for \textit{lectio divina}, here made accessible to a lay audience. Jean Leclerq explains that “This repeated mastication of the divine words is sometimes described by the use of the theme of spiritual nutrition. In this case the vocabulary is borrowed from eating, [and] from digestion [...].” \textit{Love of Learning}, 73. The pronouncing of words with one’s lips in a low murmur is referred to as \textit{ruminatio}, which results in “more than a visual memory of the written words. What results is a muscular memory of the words pronounced and an aural memory of the words heard.”
images so as to be more easily comprehended. Herein lie different modes of address to the believer: descriptive, fact-based narrative to satisfy some; “speches” which could constitute instructional material or didactic sermons for others; and the “dedis” of Jesus on earth as tangible behavioral models for others.

Love’s instruction shows a deep concern for the education of the laity as well as their means of salvation, but he also seems aware of the potential dangers of positing as truth “devoute ymaginacions & likenessis styryng symple soules to be loue of god & desire of heuenly pinges” (10). In addition to the focus on affectivity and didacticism, Love deals openly with the issue of the limits of such popular imagining, focusing on what amounts to “fictionalizing” an already imaginative text in order to elicit affective response. Indeed, as a combatant of Lollardy, Love is always vigilant against the potential dangers of his own rhetorical method, and strives to caution his reader of these dangers while acknowledging that this method is also the most effective -- and affective -- for attaining his goal of mankind’s desire for “gostly invisible pinges” (10). Love is aware of the theological dangers of expanding on the gospel story, but suggests that the benefits outweigh the dangers. Love not only addresses his rhetoric to a popular audience, but also deals with some of the issues and problems particular to a religious, contemplative or clerical audience.

Not only does he himself invoke an editorial privilege which produces a text “with more putte to in certeyn partes”, but he also constructs a rhetorical space in which the reader is made free to develop the story and to place him/herself within the story as a participant. This form of participation takes

Hence meditation is inseparable from reading, or lectio. But since Love’s audience cannot read, he provides pictures to “chew on”. 
a very concrete and active role in the text, the goal at each instance being affective response and, by extension, didacticism and then devout action as the reader is urged to make him/herself present in the actions and events. In addition, since the purpose of the text is to elicit love of Jesus and stir the “affectionous” into a state of emotional arousal necessary to create and benefit from “diverse ymaginacions”, the principles of elaboration or “fictionalizing” he uses serve a purpose “moste spedefull & edifying” to his primarily “symple” audience by further encouraging such participation. Indeed, this text is very consciously a teaching text, and the goals of accessibility and clarity are visible through the techniques of repetition, comparison, and clarification. In clear narrative prose, Love will instruct, exhort, chastise, appeal to and share with his audience while urging them to participate in the scenes he depicts.\footnote{Janel Mueller further suggests that the distinctly “oral” tone of Love’s prose style creates a “voice that would be listened to, in the sense of believed and obeyed [. . .]. This sense of purpose regarding his authorial self-assertion is so strong that it acts as a framework in which the various features of Love’s style find their place and function: the direct address, the intrusive appositives and parentheticals, the insistent sound similarities, the peonism, the conjunctions of differing clause types. Above all, this sense of purpose infuses Love’s stance as an intermediary between the Bible and the people. It is thus we see him at work in his prose -- preselecting, predigesting,}
question of what constitutes historical or scriptural truth is seen as open to some interpretation and scripture is to be interpreted to serve a variety of functions and roles. In an age when the written word was a source of great power to a largely-illiterate populace, Love chooses to bring forth as evidence things that “bene not written” in the Gospels. Love connects this editorial privilege with his primary purpose which is to bring his audience into a closer relationship with Jesus by encouraging empathic response, and the “stirying of devotion”, devotion enhanced by subjective involvement with the text. Scripture thus provides a framework of events which can be elaborated on and embellished according to their particular affective and didactic qualities; and so Love explains that the reader or listener should aim to treat each part of this text not as an historical account, but as an opportunity for meditation to serve this greater purpose.

Love repeats and clarifies this aspect of his editorial agenda several times, each time touching on the orthodoxy of his method and its usefulness for his reader:

Also seynt Jon seip hat alle þo pinges þat Jesus dide, bene not written in þe Gospelle. Wherfore we mowen to stirying of devotion ymagine & penk diuerse wordes & dedes of him & oper, þat we lynde not written, so þat it be not aȝeyns þe byleue, as seynt Gregory & oper doctours seyn. þat holi writte may be expownet & vndurstande in diuerse maneres, & so diuerse purposes, so þat it be not aȝeyns þe byleue or gude maneres.

And so what tyme or in what place in þis boke is written þat þus dide or þus spake oure lorde Jesus or oper þat bene spoken of, & it mowe not be preuet by holi writ or grondet in expresse seynges of holy doctours; it sa! be taken none operwyes þan as a deuoute meditacion, þat it migt be so spoken or done. And so for als miche as in þis boke bene conteyneþe diuerse ymaginacions of cristes life, þe which life fro þe bygynnynge in toþe endyng euer' blysséde & withoute synne [ . . . ] may worþyly be clepéd þe blysséde life of Jesu crist, þe which also because it may not be fully discriued as þe lifes of oper seyntes, bot in a maner of ilknes as þe ymage of mans face is shewed in þe mirroure' (11)

instructing, and exhorting [ . . . ]", in The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style, 1380-1580 (Chicago, 1984) 83.
Love emphasizes the affective nature of his work, "to stiryng of deuotion", and how verbal and visual material operate as stimuli; one is encouraged to "ymagine & þenk diverse wordes & dedes" of Jesus and others. The cooperation of words and deeds goes hand in hand with different types of perception and response: "ymagine" for visual-imaging, and "þenk" for reasoning and didacticism. He will often join the terms "ymagine & þenk", showing that he is aware of the different abilities each reader brings to the text; he also encourages his reader to merge their affective and didactic, "feeling" and "thinking" modes of perception and response. Scripture can be "expownet & vndurstande" in many ways, and so many ways must be found for one to respond to it. Love is concerned here with the process of perception and response -- "expownet" is the first step, the step which gives the reader the material which he/she must strive to "vndurstande"; transmitting the material both verbally and visually, affectively and didactically serves this "process" well.

The fact that Love says that such creativity is not to be considered "ageyns be byleue or gude maneres", indicates both an awareness of the danger of "fictionalizing" scripture, and also grants permission to do so under controlled circumstances. In emphasizing orthodoxy when devising examples he takes a cautious stance concerning the fictionalizing of scripture by emphasizing that such action should be only taken as "deuoute meditacion". Thus all the times Jesus "spake" or "dide", whether or not it is "preuets" by scripture or in the works of "holy doctours", shall be understood as a "deuoute meditacion" so that it can be "spoken or done", told to others or acted upon in the spirit of Christianity. Thus truth and fiction merge to produce an affective and didactic text which, when "understood", urges one toward devout action.
He duly warns his audience that this exercise is really nothing more than that -- an exercise, emphasizing this point by using the analogy of "ymage" and "mirroure", reflecting the title of his text which is renamed from a "meditation" to Mirrour of be blessed life of Jesu criste. Jesus' life is to be seen as an image in a mirror which is not a tangible, exact replica, but an image, "imago", a reflection which can never apprehend the true prototype, the standard of existence and behavior which it represents. At the same time, the "mirroure" reflects back at the believer who gazes at the image the very essence of what he/she is -- or is not. The viewer sees in the reflection what he/she needs to see (or needs to be), and Love's role is to help the viewer discern the contents of the vision.

The concrete "Mirror" may supplant the abstract "Meditationes" deliberately. Love's characterization of the editorial format as "by meditaciones" is interesting in that it might support the suggestion that, by the fifteenth century, the term had lost its earlier devotional significance, and was primarily used to represent a genre of writing. Love consciously moves away from characterizing his text as a "meditation", choosing a different title, and often translating Pseudo-Bonaventure's own encouragements to the reader to "meditare" as to "penk inwardly", or "deuoutly ymagine".

An additional point of interest which might be considered is the frequency with which the term "meditation" is used to represent the genre of an increasingly large variety of devotional texts.²³ It might be suggested

²³ Thomas Bestul makes this point in a consideration of the term "meditacioun", suggesting its first titular use in the twelfth century and spreading from there to great popular use in the fifteenth century, when it was "especially popular, perhaps even modish [...] when it was used in connection with almost any kind of devotional writing in verse or prose." Thomas H. Bestul, "Chaucer's Parson's Tale and the Late-Medieval Tradition of Religious Meditation", Speculum 64 (1989) 60. Elizabeth Salter, Nicholas Love's 'Myrroure' suggests that "meditation on the Sacred Humanity develops a specific function and
that perhaps this increased use of the term "meditation" and its cognates as a way of classifying a body of devotional literature served to encourage authors to in turn emphasize the "process" or method of meditation suggested therein by referring to it by the less common term of "contemplation". By referring to the "act" of meditation as "contemplation", one could imply a less watered-down description of how the reader was encouraged to participate, while using the titular "meditationes" to emphasize the role of devotional exercise.

For instance, Love often uses the term "contemplation" instead of "meditation" for many of his references to meditative participation in the text. This may very well rise rhetorically from his concern for his lay audience's inclusion in a pseudo-monastic version of the steps to salvation represented in so many devotional writings for religious audiences, which, "we passe ouere with gret processe of contemplacion" (121). Love says this in a segment for Thursday (Chapter XXXIIJ) on the active and contemplative life. He suggests

form, both literary and devotional. Here change rather than continuity should be stressed. It is obvious that, however little its content has altered, the Meditation as it appears in the *Myrrour*, with a clearly defined function, a set devotional and literary form, has progressed far from the earliest written examples we possess [...]. Between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries the Meditation has undergone systematisation as an exercise of devotion" (133).

34 Bestul, "Chaucer's Parson's Tale", 602. Bestul emphasizes that the term "contemplation" was usually associated with "contemplative works which recorded an individual speaker's private communion with his soul or with the deity and which were somewhat free-ranging in form." Bestul also points out that the "purpose of meditation came to be more precisely understood as leading beyond the arousal of emotions of fear of God's judgment and love for Christ toward systematic self-examination as a prelude to penance, an emphasis of late-medieval popular meditative literature that has been somewhat overlooked by modern students, who have inclined to be more interested in the devotional writings concerned with the heights of contemplation aimed at a narrower audience" (604).

35 Elizabeth Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour"* suggests that it is "obvious that the conception of meditation on the Humanity of Christ as an instrument by which a more intimate spiritual access to the Deity could be gained, would have been well known both to Love and to his varied fifteenth century public [...]. Love preferred to adapt the *Meditationes* for those, both secular and religious, who were not drawn towards the more rarified state of contemplation. To such
that few contemporary religious have true knowledge of contemplative life because of a deficiency in knowledge of the two forms of active life. Love nonetheless suggests that his lay audience is privileged with spiritual tools that are ignored by many of their religious counterparts; he suggests that many who engage in lives of solitude and prayer actually fall prey to idleness. And so, with contemplation in Love's text separated radically from mystic union or even traditional contemplative union, his sometime-use of "contemplation" instead of "meditation" might then be considered a further rhetorical ploy to engage the reader in a deeper spiritual activity and the type of visual-imaging which the reader is encouraged to create and engage in is constructed to have long-term effects.

But to return to Love's Prologue: he next introduces and takes up the translation of "pe forseide clerke Bonauenture spekyng to pe woman forseide in his proheme", and translates the Latin prologue quite literally, describing the devotion of "pe holy virgin Cecile" who continually read the gospel in order to meditate on Jesus' life and deeds. Each time she finished the text she began again (et cum plena circulatione reiciens iterum [ . . . ] (510)). A similar instruction occurs in the Meditationes, but occurs at the very end of Pseudo-Bonaventure's prologue (Meds. 511b); instead, Love chooses to begin his translation of the Meditationes with it. Love, before this point, had been writing his own agenda, modifying the Latin text's editorial intent and prioritizing it as his own before beginning the cursus of Jesus' life as found in the Meditationes. Pseudo-Bonaventure does not assess the literal "truth" of readers the first fruits of meditation, compassion and moral virtue were most profitable, and he cultivated them" (175). She also thinks it is for this reason that Love omits much of the section in the Meditationes which deals with the contemplative life (Meds. 582-588).
his retelling of the Gospels, but offers an imaginary reconstruction shaped to provide beneficial information to his reader.

The three chief benefits of meditation on Christ's life as Love gives them are directly taken from the Meditations:

First I say that bisy meditacion & customable of the blessed life of Jesu, stabeleþ þe saute & þe herte ageynus vanites & deceyuable likynge of þe worlde [...] Also as to þe seconde: whereof hauen martires here strengh, agayns diuers tormentees; bot as seynt bernarde seþ, in þat þei settin ale here herte & deuocion in þa passione & þe wondes of criste [...] And as to þe þride point, þat þis keþ þro vices, & disposeþ souereynly to getyng of vertuþ; preueþ wele in þat þe perfection of alle vertuþ is fonden in cristes life [...] (12)

Meditation on Jesus's life and torment is a powerful protector against vice and temptation, for only in "þe lord of vertuþ, whose þif is þe mirrour of temperance & alle oþer vertuþ" (12) is such protection to be found. By maintaining the spiritual and didactic emphasis of the Meditations, Love can shift perspective and focus toward his own particular audience while relying on the already-established authority and orthodoxy of the Latin text.

Love introduces the plan for the structural divisions of the meditations to follow, indicating that it is:

[...] dyuuyded & departet in vij parties, after vij dayes of þe wike [...] þerefore at þe Moneday as þe first werke day of þe wike, bygyynþ þis gostly werke, tellyng first of þe deuoute instance & desire of þe holy angeles in heuen for mans restoryng, and his sauacion, to stire man amongis oþer þat day specialy to wyrshipe hem [...] Also not onelyþ þe mateþre of þis boke is pertynent & profitable to be hade in contemplacion þe forseide dayes, to hem þat wolen & mowen; bot also as it longþ þe tyymes of þe þere, as in aduent to rede & deuoutly have in mynde þro þe bigynnyng in to þe Natiuite of oure lorde Jesu, & þere of after in þat holy feste of

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36 The Latin reads: "Dico primo quod jugis meditatio vitae Domini Jesu roboret et stabilit mentem contra vana at caduca [...]. Secundo fortificat contra tribulationes et adversa, ut patet in Martyribus. Circa quod sic dicit Bernardus: 'Inde tolerantia martyrii provenit, quod in Christi vulneribus tota devotione versetur, et jugi meditatio tuum devoretur [...]. Tertio dico, quod docet circa gerenda, ut nec hostes nec vitia irruere vel fallere possint; hoc ideo, quia perfectio virtutum repetitur ibidem [...]." (Meds, 510)
Cristenmesse, & so forp of ober matires as holy chinch makep mynde of hem in tyme of pe gere [. . . ]
And amongis opere who so redip or herib pis boke felyng any gostly swetnes or grace pereporth; pray he for charite specially for pe auctour, & pe drawere oute pereof, as it is written here in english, to pe profite of symple & deuoute soules as it was seide before. And bus endip pe proheme, & after folowepe pe contemplacion for Moneday in pe first partie, & pe first chapitre (13)

Love contracts his text as a useful tool for meditation and response: the Meditatiores likewise has a seven-day structure. But Love picks up on the earlier notion of Cecilia's reading and re-reading the text on a regular basis, making it a daily, weekly, and yearly devotional exercise, further expanding the Mirror's usefulness and function.

In subsequent chapters of the Mirror Love continues to emphasize and expand upon the elements introduced in the prologue: the reasons for his writing in English; the function and benefit of "visual-imaging"; didacticism; affective response; and fictionalizing the text of scripture. For instance, in a meditation for Wednesday (Chapter XV) on Jesus' temptation in the desert, Love takes the opportunity to discuss further both his choice of English and the underlying reasons for omitting some of the original material in the Meditatiores. Love likewise borrows from the Meditatiores the common reminders to "viset" mentally the events as they unfold: "[. . . ] euery cristen soule ouht to viset him pere oft tymes by deuoute compassion[ . . . ]" (73) 37

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37 The Latin reads: "Quaelibet enim anima fidelis debere eum in die semel ad minus visitare [. . . ]" (Meds. 539). Denise Despres suggests that "Although imagination in the Meditations still refers to the faculty responsible for visualization or recollection, the rudiments of fiction-making, or 'phantasia', as we know it, are evident. The Meditations legitimize the re-creation of Gospel events, and even supplemental or fictional events, if imagination increases devotion and provides a better understanding of Christ's words and actions. The issue is not whether such occurrences actually happened, but whether they are morally 'true' and thus fulfil the primary function of meditation: to teach us how to live", 255 in "The Meditative Art of Scriptural Interpolation in The Book of Margery Kempe", Downside Review 106 (1988).
While the *Meditationes* ends this chapter with Jesus’ return to his mother in Galilee, Love inserts the following:

Bot for als miche as hit were longe werke & perauenture tediose bope to pe rederes & pe hereres hereof, if alle pe processe of pe blessed life of Jesu shold be wryten in englishe so fully by meditaciones as it is git hidereto, aftur pe processe of pe boke before neme of Bonauenture in latyne; &fore here aftur many chapitres & longe processe pat semen litel edificacion inne, as to pe maner of symple folk pat pis boke is specialty written to: shal be laft vnto it drawe to pe passion, pe which with pe grace of Jesu shal be more pleynly continuede, as pe materes pat is most nedeful & most edifying. And before onely po materes pat semen most fructuoze & pe chapteres of hem, shoten be writen as god wolte gife grace.

Wherefore as pe same Bonauenture biddeþ pou pat wolte fele pe sweetnesse & pe fruyt of pees meditaciones take hede algate, & in alle places deuoutly in þi mynde þendibyn þe persone őf oure lorde’jesu in alle hese dedes, as when he stant with hees disciples, & when with oper sinfulmen. And when he precheþ to þe peple, & how he spekeþ to hem, & also when he worcheþ myracles, & soþ forþ takynge hede of alle hese dedes & hees maneres, & principaly beholdynge his blessed face, if þou kynne ymage þi, þat semþe to me most harde of alle opere, bot as I trowe it is most lykyng, to him þat hal grace þerofi. And so what tyme þat singulere meditaciones bene not specifiede; þis generate shale sufficiþ. Amen (77-78)

Love clearly states that anything which will be potentially “tediose” to his reader is best left out, but still encourages his audience to elaborate at will, demonstrating his awareness of a collective and individual audience who have different experiences of the text. He suggests that if the whole “processe” of the life of Christ were written in English as completely “by meditaciones” as it is in the book of “Bonauenture in latyne” the process would be overly-long and not particularly edifying to his unlettered audience. The word “processe” captures the sense of a sequence, progression or the order of a narrative while also pointing toward the goal or transmitting Christ’s message.\(^{38}\)

\(^{38}\) See MED. “process”.
“trowe” suggests again the notion of believing or “supposing” something to be true, but with more confidence or trust in its veracity.

He also justifies his omission or condensing of chapters of the Meditatones which may not serve his immediate purpose and which, he feels, are sufficiently represented elsewhere. Anxious not to lose the concentration of his reader, lest it be “longe werke & peraumente tediose bope to be rederes & be hereres hereof”. Love suggests that what he is offering is something quite different from the original Latin text. He is conscious of a larger variety of audience, lay and clerical, “rederes” and “hereres”.

Conscious perhaps as well of the frequent need to use two or more English words to effectively represent one Latin word, the length of the text seems to be a major consideration for Love. In addition to length, the efficacy of the Latin text’s didactic passages is also of primary concern to Love, for he suggests that “many chapitres & longe processe pat semen tittel edificacion inne, as to be maner of symple folk” will be omitted or shortened. Love is very conscious of his reader, and while the Mirror, as he must have suspected, would spread to clerical and monastic audiences as well as the laity, Love writes primarily for his lay audience, sometimes sacrificing complexity or length, but never orthodoxy. It is the Passion segment where Love is conscious that it is both the most “nedeful & most edifying” and full of the most “fructuose” material for a “symple” audience that is most important: his “symple” audience, he feels, will find more to respond to. Even Love’s choice of two words, “nedeful” and “edifying” emphasizes the process which is occurring: he identifies areas of concern and instructs in how to help.

The affective tone is prevalent throughout the Meditatones as well, but Love prioritizes response with his own audience in mind, just as “Bonaventure

39 See OED, “trowe”.
placing affectivity ("sweetness") alongside the didactic "fruyt" which is so "nedeful & most edifying", a combination of "feeling" and "knowing", affectivity and didacticism. He also emphasizes the visual nature of such meditation, urging his reader to "beholde" in his/her mind the concrete, human deeds of Jesus, to hear his preaching and to note "how he spekep to hem" and note his "maneres". In fact, we are told, at times in the text where clear reminders do not occur, such visual and aural cues should serve as models by which to deduce the affective and didactic messages. Watch for what Jesus does, how he speaks and to whom, how he behaves, comports himself et cetera: "And so what tyme bat singulere mediaciones bene not specifiep; pis generale shalte sufficiep".

Love further achieves his joint affective / didactic aim by encouraging his reader to visually-imagine and participate in the events of the Mirror. Love's Mirror, like the Meditationes Vitae Christi, encourages the reader to internalize the story of Christ's life and Passion by mentally visualizing the scenes depicted, and by participating in the events of the story. This method of visualization is meant to foreground subjective experience while tempering it with didactic and objective perspectives. The reader is encouraged to step back and forth between different layers of subjective involvement with, and response to, the text and to Love.

Visual meditation is central to the affective and didactic techniques employed. The reader is instructed on how to read and enact the meditations:

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40 It is prevalent in early Cistercian spirituality as well, and is manifested in what Denise Despres, "Exemplary Penance", 124-25 describes as a process of scriptural embellishment which "resulted naturally from imaginative penitential exercises taught to the laity by the Franciscans." See also Salter, Nicholas Love, 128-29f.
Love qualifies the Latin “tuis auribus” with “bodily” ears, emphasizing the dichotomy of literal versus spiritual experience. Love in fact often qualifies references to the senses he translates from the Meditations as “bodily” to make a clear distinction between the literal and the figurative. Full concentration of all “pi pought” and “entent” can make one present at and participant in the scenes which are described. Thus reading/hearing the text is an active, not a passive activity, an activity which is undertaken “bisily, likyngly & abydyngly” (diligenter, delectabiliter et morose), analogous to concretely hearing and seeing the scene unfold before you with bodily senses. This urgent encouragement to focus and concentrate not so much on the words of the text themselves, but on one’s mental reenactment of them, is prevalent throughout the Mirror and characterizes the type of meditative activity that is promoted.

Continual appeals to the audience’s sight, and his directions to “see”, “behold”, “be present” and “viset” continually serve to instruct the reader in how to be involved with the text by creating a visual forum for devotional experience and expression. Elicited emotion leads to experiential learning; Love’s text credits the active process of visualization with great power, emphasizing how it can be used to encourage heightened emotional awareness such as compassion and sympathy which in turn will encourage moral

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41 The Latin text reads: “Tu autem, si ex his fructum sumere cupis, ita te praesentem exhibeas his quae per Dominum Iesum dicta et facta narrantur, ac si tuis auribus audires et oculis ea videres, toto mentia affectu diligenter, delectabiliter et morose, omnibus alis curis et sollicitudinibus tunc omissis” (Meds. 511b).
Love essentially presses imagination into the service of virtue. He constructs scenes which are not only indicative of human nature, but which also admit a plethora of visual imaginings. The reader is offered different types of detail (visual, aural, olfactory, tangible) which sometimes provide a pre-fabricated physical setting which would encourage little variation, but sometimes leave a blank canvas for the reader to paint. Rarely are the characters themselves described in terms of their physical characteristics such as hair or eye color, height or clothing. These details are left to the reader's imagination. What is prominent in the text is the relationship of the characters with each other and with the audience, as well as the Love's own relationship with his reader.

Love is very concerned with reaching his lay reader. In Chapter XXIII for Wednesday, concerning Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well, Love emphasizes Jesus', and the Meditationes', views on interaction with an uneducated audience:

Also in dat he spake so homely with dat simple woman al one, & of so grete pinges, as pouh it hade be with many grete wise men; pe pride & pe presumption of many grete clerkes & prechours is confondet & reprouede, pe whech if pei sholde shewe hir wisdome or hir

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42 Salter, Nicholas Love's "Myrrour", 163. The language of Love's encouragement to his reader to imagine, visualize, feel, fictionalize, and be participant in Jesus' life and sufferings has, by that time, "a technical significance; it refers to the clearing and concentration of the mental faculties as a preliminary to meditation, and to the excitement of compassion by the written Meditation which follows" (164). "Love presupposes a certain knowledge of such processes in his readers. Moreover, the material for the Life is chosen according to its 'compassionate' and 'moral' value -- that is, according to its power to bring to maturity the 'fruits' of meditation on the Humanity of Christ. Love's Myrrour must indeed be seen against a background of formal Meditation on the Sacred Humanity" (167).

43 Denise Nowakowski Baker, Julian of Norwich's Showings: From Vision to Book (Princeton, 1994) 25 suggests that affective spirituality, developed by the Cistercians in the twelfth century and continuing in force with the Franciscans in the thirteenth century, "fostered a three-stage program for spiritual growth progressing from compassion to contrition to contemplation."
konnyng not only to one man, but also to sewe men þei wolde halde al as loste, & siche a simple audience telle vnworþi, to take hir proute spech (97)\textsuperscript{44}

The dichotomy of "homely" speech and "grete þinges" captures in a sense the essence of preaching, the topics of which are, by their very nature, "grete þinges". Love here follows Pseudo-Bonaventure in reassuring his reader that while he will deal with elements of theology which may be difficult to understand, his primary loyalty is to his "simple audience", an audience which he accuses "grete clerkes & prechours" of alienating through excessive argument and complexity. He chastises the clergy for what he perceives as a lack of interest in reaching out to the same audience with more than just simple explanations. In addition, by drawing a rhetorical and mnemonic parallel between Jesus' audience and his own, Love builds a bond of trust with his reader while reassuring his reader that he/she is just as worthy of and capable of comprehending the knowledge of "grete þinges" as are the priests and clerks whom he criticizes. For his part, Love advocates offering the complexities of theology in forms which are user-friendly for that same audience. This tone of patient explanation is prevalent throughout the \textit{Mirror}.

To this end Love moves quickly past some events, such as when Jesus preaches to his disciples in the meditation for Wednesday (Chapter XVIII). While acknowledging that there is something to be said, he just has no intention of saying it at this time. Jesus leads his disciples up a hill "þat is cleped Thabor", where he preaches a long sermon that

\begin{quote}
[. . . ] conteneþ at þe perfeccion of cristien lyuyng. For in þat sermente he tauht hem first whech men ben blessed of god, & worþi to haue his blisse. Also he tauht hem þe trewe maner of prayere, of
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44} The Latin reads: "Non enim dedignabatur eam; sed talia cum ea dicebat, quod si multis sapientissimis respondisset de talibus, magnum fuisset. Non sic superbi faciunt: si enim ampulliosa verba sua funderent inter paucos, neddum cum uno, ea perdita reputarent, sed nec ilios judicarent dignos suscipere verba sua" (Meds. 550).
Believers should not only meditate on or visualize the events, but internalize them and use them as models of behavior and devotion. The text requires the full attention not only of one's eyes and ears, but of one's spiritual senses, the soul and heart as well. He draws an analogy between "bodily" and ghostly hearing and sight, suggesting a parallel between spiritual or mental experience and physical manifestation (i.e. action) of that experience. This analogy serves both the rhetorical purpose of placing the reader in the pseudo-reality of Jesus' presence, and emphasizes the interaction between the human and divine realms in which Jesus operates.

Knowledge of the "trewe maner of prayere", fasting and alms-giving contribute to a "perfite" Christian life, yet they are not explained in detail because the same brief lessons are both repeated several times throughout this text, and are quite commonly heard in sermons and other didactic and

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45 Love paraphrases and expands the Meditations, adding the mention of "bope in latyn & english" (underlined segment added by Love): "Legas eum diligenter et saepe, et commenda memoriae quae in ipso dicuntur; quia spiritualissima sunt. Ea tamen nunc non prosequeor, quia nimis foret longum, nec tales expositiones bene videntur semper in meditationes cadere: quamvis ad tuam instructionem talia, prout mihi occurrent, interseram, et etiam moralia, et auctoritates sanctorum" (Meds. 544a).
meditative materials. Thus even the Meditationes is cautious not to overburden its reader with excessive material, an awareness which Love manifests to an even greater extent than Pseudo-Bonaventure.

Love also takes advantage of the image of "mirror", often translating the Meditationes' simple "speculum" as "mirrour & ensaumple" to qualify the English use of the word as a didactic/rhetorical tool. The mirror image is likewise important in Love's construction of his text. He at one point invites the reader to step into the reflection, in a segment for Wednesday (Chapter XV) after considering Jesus' fasting in the desert:

And þus hauyng in mynde þe maner of lyuyng of oure lord Jesu crist in desert so in penance þo xi dayes; euery cristen soule ouht to viset him pere of þymes by deuoute compassion, & specialy in þat þyme begynnyng at þe Epiphanye when he was baptizet in to xi dayes aftur, in þe which he fasted & lyued þere as it is seide (73).47

The notion of being present and participant is very important, and the pathway to this experience is not always knowledge, but feeling such as "compassion". Also, the "mynde", as the traditional seal of the imagination, emotion and memory, provides a metaphor which encompasses the process of visualization, including recalling stored images, mingling them with the new, and writing an internal narrative for the "viset". Representing the thinking process itself, the "mynde", when combined with verbs such as "haven", also suggests meditating or reflecting upon an event or image as well as the intent or wish to perform some action.48 Thus the constant references to "mynde" encompass many nuances of mental application and a concept of something

46 The Latin reads: "Non enim expedite potest sequi Christum paupertatis speculum, qui oneratus est temporalibus rebus" (Meds. 544a).
47 The Latin reads: "Ipsum autem Dominum saepe in hac solitudine visita. Consipcies eum qualiter conversatur ibidem, et maxime, qualiter jaceat de nocte in terra. Quaelibet enim anima fidelis deberet eum in die semel ad minus visitare, maxime ab Epiphania usque ad quadraginta dies quibus ibi manebat" (Meds. 539a).
remembered as memorable, as well as the engagement of affectus. The notion of Christ as a mirror is also an effective way to bridge the abstractness of faith with the concreteness of sacred history, merging elements of affective response, theological instruction and visual imaging. Again, the reader “sees” him/herself reflected back in the perfect model of behavior which is Christ -- and the reflection is imperfect.

\footnote{\textit{MED}, see “Mind”.}
TRUTH AND FICTION

The classification of "history" and historical truth is problematic when dealing with medieval texts. The issue of truth and un-truth is present in devotional literature as well. Love's Mirror is a product of religious belief, and draws on and elaborates the sacred history so sparsely portrayed in the Gospels, constructing fictional truth under the umbrella of orthodoxy. Roger Ray suggests that the concept of historical truth, "veritas" was fluid, and closely connected with the rules of rhetoric. The Mirror is both individual and communal; it is defined by its own set of rules governing truth and fiction, sacred and secular; in fact, perhaps the telling of the Gospel stories was just as

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49 Ruth Morse, Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality (Cambridge, 1991) 86 suggests that "Like 'Rhetoric' itself, 'history' meant, and still means, a subject: it implied a style, the verisimilar, which might be carried over into other types of writing, fiction (pure or mixed), for example. Plausibility or inconsistency offer no obvious means of verification or falsification; the reader who wanted or needed to make judgements about the truth or falsehood of a historical account had to rely in large part on literary grounds. It was almost impossible for untrue history to be falsified where there was no exterior criterion of verifiability beyond the memory and judgement, even the taste, of the individual reader."

50 Roger Ray, "Historiography", in ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg, Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide (Washington, DC, 1996) 639 suggests that "the historian, like [Cicero's] forensic orator, takes veritas to be his special subject matter. This truth is only vaguely analogous to our modern notion of historiographical objectivity [...]. Veritas meant real event, as opposed to events that sprang from sheer imagination." For Cicero on history, see De Oratore II, xii-xiii. Ray further states that "classical and medieval historians took for granted that veritas embraced both the real and the verisimilar, and that the final judge of these was not the historian himself but the anticipated audience. If in the narrative the readers saw veritas, it made no difference whether the material rested on real events or just on plausible grounds" (640).

Margaret Miles, The Image and Practice of Holiness, 105 suggests that "Authors visualized the formation of a differently configured religious self according to the style of worship they assumed. Since worship is one of the most fundamental of religious duties, the orientation of worship -- whether to words, images, or to silent, imageless contemplation -- differently forms and focuses the religious self. Thus, although extensive theologies of worship were not usually to be found in devotional manuals, particular styles of
It is also the product of a writer who is in turn a reader writing for other readers; Love manifests his own individual thoughts on truth and convention; one cannot put oneself in the place of a medieval reader or author and "see" a text through his/her eyes; one can only experience a text in one's own way, with one's own preconceptions and expectations.\(^5\)

Imagination and "fictionalizing" in one's imagination as a vehicle for devotion and mental visual acuity, that is the ability to be present and to see scripture unfold before the mind's eye, are central to Love's mission of bringing his audience into a closer relationship with the divine. When encouraging the audience to "imagine" a narrative fiction around various events in which he wants us to actively engage, he uses visual and imaginative analogies which act as frameworks in which the reader can safely create his/her own version of the text. Love's method of extrapolation

worship are assumed, implied or described in the course of discussing what the author considers the appropriate orientation of the religious self.”

\(^5\)Ray, "Historiography", 641 suggests that the commentaries on the Bible which proliferated throughout the Middle Ages taught that the Gospels "were the same because all alike reflected one veritas, but different because each Evangelist had his own didactic intention. It was accordingly taken for granted that other narrators might disagree in details while recounting to differing ends the same actual events.” This indeed seems to be what is happening when writers like Nicholas Love extrapolate on the veritas of scripture, and so here I will explore the more complex possibilities within Love's own text, and look at how "truth" is manifested through its rhetorical framework. See for instance The Vita Sancti Malchi of Reginald of Canterbury, ed. Levi Robert Lind (Urbana, IL, 1942), on the "intentione" of his biographical approach (38-40).

\(^5\) Suzanne Fleischman, "On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages", History and Theory 22 (1983) 278-310 offers yet another possible reading of history in the Middle Ages by considering the relationship between the story and the author, seeking to discover how medieval categories of history and fiction were different from ours, considering factors such as "authenticity" of material, the "intent" of the text itself, and the "reception" of the work. This threefold approach is interesting because it represents three similar concerns of my own: the notion of "fictionalizing" sacred scripture, the author's role, and the reader's reception and response.
and omission serves his intent of instruction and elicitation of affective devotion.

In rhetorically constructing his own text, Love often uses the word "suppose" as an invitation both to the reader and to himself to fictionalize events which are not fully expounded in the scriptures. For instance, when Jesus is left alone in Jerusalem at the age of 12 (a meditation for Tuesday), Love invites the reader to join him in inventing a probable sequence of events which would fill the time between his disappearance and reunion with his parents:

In pis forseid processe of Jesu what hope we pat he dide or where & in what manere lyued he po pre dayes? We mowe suppose pat he went to some hospitale of pore men, & here he shamfastly praiede & asked herbohr, & per ete & lay with pore men as a pore child. Not factual, but apocryphal and "supposed" information serves to fill in the gaps left by the gospels, gaps which, when filled, lend the story both intimacy and credibility. While the Latin begins with a simple interrogative, the English text engages the reader directly. Again, Love invites the reader to "join" him not only in supposing what Jesus might have done, but in "hoping" what he did, that is to say, fulfilling one's own imaginative and devotional fantasies. For the Latin "conspice", Love says "we mowe suppose", and he replaces "Jesus pauper" with "pore child", increasing the affective image and emphasizing Jesus' fragility and innocence. He also builds on the image of

53 The OED says that to "suppose" means to hold as a belief or opinion or as a fact, as well as to imagine or conceive, supporting quite well the notion that reconstructed scenes in the mind are to be considered "as pēi" they occurred in reality.
54 The Latin reads: "Sed quid fecit praedictus puer in iste triduo? Conspice etiam eum attente, quomodo se reducit ad aliquod hospitale pauperum, et cum verecundia petit se hospitari, et ibidem comedit, et hospitabatur cum pauperibus Jesus pauper" (Meds. 530b).
55 MED "hopen" means not only to hope or trust as well as assume, but also has the sense of expectation or belief.
family, reminding the reader that this is a young boy, lost in a strange city, and isolated from his parents.

In a meditation for Monday (Chapter VIII) on the Epiphany, Love invites the reader to "suppose" what Mary might have done with the gold and riches which Christ received from the three Magi.

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Bot what hope we was done with hat at of so gret prise? Wher as a young boy, los1 in a strange city, and isolated from his parents.

In a meditation for Monday (Chapter VIII) on the Epiphany, Love invites the reader to "suppose" what Mary might have done with the gold and riches which Christ received from the three Magi.
identify Jesus, referring only to "ali voluntatem", while the English text refers to "hir blessed sonnes wille", again personalizing and clarifying the story while showing how Jesus "taught" his mother.\footnote{Later in the text for Thursday (Chapter XXXIX), Jesus preaches at the Last Supper: "pus we move ymagine & suppose of pe maner of his sittyng at be borde. Also we move vnurstande in pe etyng of pe paske lambe; pat in pat tyme pei stoden about pe borde vriht, haldyng stafes in hir handes after pe biddynge of Moises lawe, pat our lord came fulfile. So pat pou pei stoden in pat tyme, neuerles pei seten also in opher tyme, as pe gospel tells; in diverse places, & elles mith not John haue leid his hede & rested him in maner of liggyng opon be breste of Jesu" (148). Sargent, \textit{Nicholas Love's Mirror}, 286 notes that these are sequential events in Love, but in the \textit{Meditations} are treated as two alternative possibilities for meditation (\textit{Meds} 596b.54-597a.2). We should "ymagine & suppose", fictionalize and visually-imagine the following events, following the scriptural, textual framework, but feeling free to play with the details. At this particular time, we are told, the disciples stood around the table, although at other times they were seated. Love also emphasizes the tender relationship between Jesus and John while providing evidence and logic for how John's position at the table came about. Couched in a didactic lesson, one might both "ymagine", as stated in the Gospels, and "suppose", as one prefers.}

Love again translates a Latin word or phrase with two, often similar words of phrases: when Mary gives away the gold she received as a gift, it was done "infra paucos dies", in English "withinne a fewe dayes & short tyme", emphasizing the eagerness with which she disposed of it; likewise, for the "magna" offering which the Magi gave Love translates "gret & riche", emphasizing the honor and respect it demonstrates in addition to its monetary value. Mary's deed is a lesson in poverty, almsgiving and generosity. The Holy Family, who have nothing, are still eager to give away what they do have. There is nothing in the Gospel about the fate of the gifts; in fact, the very mention of them is secondary to the devotion displayed by the Magi. But the \textit{Mirror} and the \textit{Meditations} are both careful to present their disposal in such a light as to encourage the reader to think on the transience of possessions; Mary gives the gifts away both through her own generous spirit, and through "hir blessed sonnes wille", emphasizing the already fully-defined nature of
Christ as humble and giving. The near-forceful image of Jesus, just a few days old, "turnyng awey oft sipes his face fro pat gold, or spittyng per vpon" and asserting his "wille" on the world around him leaves no doubt in the reader's mind as to the correct action to be taken -- the giving away of the gifts to "pore men".

Another very domestic scene is "fictionalized" in a meditation for Tuesday (Chapter X) on the Flight into Egypt.

Here move we deveoutly ymagine & penk of pe maner of lyuyng of hem in pat vncouh londe, & howoure lady wrought for hir lyuelode. pat is to sey with nedil sewyng & spinnyng as it is wrioten of hir, & also Joseph wirching in his craft of Carpenterie, & how pe child blessed Jesus aftur he came to be age of v gere or pere aboute, gede on hir erndes, & halpe in pat he miht, as a pore child to hem, shewyng in alle hese dedes duxumnesse, lowenesse & mekenesse.

Here, Love chooses only one English word for two Latin words: "pia et compassionate" becomes "deuoutly", a standard word in his vocabulary; but "meditatio" becomes "ymagine & penk", again emphasizing the visual-imaging component as well as the "thinking", didactic component here relevant. Once again, Mary demonstrates her humble and generous nature by earning the family's living by "nedil sewyng & spinnyng", as it is "wrioten" of her, perhaps in apocryphal texts. Also, Love is concerned not only with "quomodo vivebant" the Holy Family, but specifically how they managed in "pat vncouh londe", wanting the reader to have a notion of the hostility and danger they faced on the run. Love even adds a reference to Joseph that is not found in the Meditationes, creating for the reader the image of a real family.

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59 This segment and a bit following is condensed from a longer segment in the Meditationes (526a.43–527a.3). Several times in the longer segment of the Meditationes the words "meditare" or "meditatio" are used. Love, however, does not reproduce this vocabulary.
even down to how Joseph contributed to the livelihood of his family (this is to replace another Latin reference to Mary, the “paupertatis amatrix”).

Jesus’ own virtues are expanded, however, from “ea” to “buxumnesse, loweness & mekenesse”; likewise, his parents have been described as people who would raise a child to display just such virtues. The theme of “buxumnesse”, obedience, is prevalent in the events of Jesus’s life, obedience both to his parents and to God. By expanding small domestic and social images such as this, Love humanizes and personalizes the Gospel stories: he invites his medieval reader to empathize with the hardships of the Holy Family, hardships which are also shared by the reader: poverty, hard work, and raising children.

Love and the author of the Meditationes are both interested in how Jesus spent the years and days of his life which are not accounted for in the Gospels. In a meditation for Tuesday (Chapter XIII), Love discusses how Jesus might have spent the unaccounted-for years between the ages of twelve and thirty-three, and again expands on the Latin in adding a reference to Joseph to create a more cohesive sense of family:

Fro be tyme þat oure lorde Jesus was gone home to Nazareth with hees parens, when he was xij gère olde, as it is seide before, vnto his xxxti gere, we fynde nght expressed in scripture autentike, what he dide or how he lyued, & þat semè ful wondurful. What sal we þan suppose of him in alle pis tyme, wheþer he was in so miche ydul; þat he dide noht or wroght nght, þinge þat were worþi to be wriþen & spoken of? God shilde. And on þat oþer side, if he dide & wroþt, whi is it not wriþen as oþer dedes of him bene? Soperly it semè merveilouse & wondurful. Bot neuerles, if we wole here take gude entent; we shole mowe se þat as in nght doyng; he dide gret þinges & wondurful. For þer is no þinge of hees dedes or tyme of his lyuyng withoute misterye & edificacion, bot as he spake & wroþt vertuesly in tyme; so he holde hispees & restede & wipdrove him vertuesly in tyme. Wherefore he þat was souereyn maistere & came to teche vertues & shewe þeþrew wey of every lastying lyf; he began fro his gouþe to do wondurful dedes, & þat in a wondurful maner & vnknowen, & þat was neuer erer herde before,
Love challenges his reader to "suppose" how Jesus might have spent the intervening years, expressing his amazement at the Gospel's omissions on this point. He clarifies the reference to scripture with "autentike", perhaps wishing to make the point that such things "are" found in apocryphal texts, and indeed, in texts such as the *Mirror*. For the reference to all that Jesus did that is not recorded, "quod in toto isto tempore aliquid fecerit." Love chooses to omit the temporal reference and replace it with "what he did or how he lyued", more concerned with his actions and maner of living.

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What then shall we "suppose" that Jesus did (Quid ergo mirabimur et imaginabimur ipsum fecisse)? Love is consistent in his choice of vocabulary, and "suppose" often is used to replace either "imaginare" or "meditare", and in this case also "mirari". By suggesting first that Christ "might" have been "ydul", or "wroght noght" anything worthy of report, he sets up the soil for a more likely supposition. "God shilde" that one should even "suppose" Jesus behaving in such a manner. In fact, if Jesus had indeed behaved this way, the very omission of such deeds from the Gospels is itself to be wondered at. Jesus' intervening years were spent in a way which corresponds more appropriately to the didactic model he represents.

It all seems "stupor", which Love translates as "merveilouse & wondurful" to increase the expressiveness of the language and increase the reader's own amazement. Love describes the few lines in a cause-and-effect manner, for "if" we here "take gude entent", we would see that in doing nothing, Jesus in fact did "gret pinges & wondurful". Moreover, in doing "noght", Christ is portrayed as "doyng" in his own time, a time which is cloaked in "misterye & edificacion", and in a "wondurful maner & vnknownen" ("sed moro mirabili"). Love suggests that Christ may indeed have performed "wondurful dedes" from his youth, but these deeds are largely unknown to us; thus it is the responsibility of the reader to "suppose" what and how Jesus performed such deeds, and what they were, which would serve as examples of virtue and "shewe be trewe wey of euery lastyng life". This time was spent by Jesus in preparation for a life of work and preaching, and even his preparation took place in the humblest of synagoges. Again, by "deuoutly ymaginyng" the events of Jesus' life which are not present "by holi writ or doctours apreuede", one might attain the main goals of the Mirror, that is "edificacion & stirying of deuocion", as stated in the prologue. Love is very
concerned to make the point that one cannot omit consideration of Jesus' early years merely because they are unaccounted for.

Love is concerned too with the "truth" of his sources. Here the Latin: "Nulla tamen in hac meditatione tibi affirmo, quae per auctoritatem sacrae Scripturae vel doctorum sacrorum non probantur" is rendered "not fully affermyng in his or oher pat we mowe not opynly preue by holi writ or doctours apreuede", with the addition of "bot devoutly ymaginynge to edificacion & stiryng of deuocion". This makes clear his own editorial choice and objective with regard to the reader: devout imagination should lead to didacticism and affectivity, "edificacion & stiryng of deuocion" (and thereby devout action). Thus we should "suppose" that Jesus withdrew from the company of men, visiting the synagoge and being occupied in prayer. Love expands the simple Latin "in loco viliori se ponens", to "bot not in pe hyest & most wirchipful place, bot in pe lowest & pryuest place", wanting the reader to think of Jesus' two contrasting choices, and the choice he subsequently made. Love also adds a reference to Joseph which again is not found in the Meditationes, in order to keep the image of a real family focused in the reader's mind.

After the temptations in the desert (Wednesday, Chapter XV) Love tells us, angels came to minister to Jesus, and this scene is set forth as another devotional exercise in extrapolation:

Bot nowe here take we gude hede & behold we inwardly oure lord Jesu etyng alone, & pe angeles aboute him, & penk we devoutly by ymaginacion bo pinges pat folowen here aftur, for pei bene ful faire & stiryng to deuocion. And so first we mowe aske what maner of mete it was pat pe angeles seruede him of, aftur pat longe fast? Here of spekep not holi writ, wherfore we mowe here ymagine by reson & ordeyne pis worpi lest as vs likep, not by errour affermyng bot devoutly ymaginyng & supposyng, & pat aftur pe comune kynde of
Love is quite careful and specific in inviting his audience to partake in creating the events spoken of — "behold we inwardly" and "penk we devoutly by ymaginacion" — because they will stir our devotion. Love does not just send, but accompanies his audience on a visual journey, engaging their trust while acting as guide and mentor. The Latin imperative "attende" is translated as "take we gude hede", and "conspice" as "behold we inwardly", again emphasizing the interaction between visual-imaging and didacticism. Then, "considera bene" becomes "penk we devoutly by ymaginacion", encouraging the reader not only to "see" what is happening, but to actively invent and participate in it. The following will be "pulchra sunt et devota", but Love makes the adjective "devota" into "stirynq to deuocion", not content that the reader will act upon the passive "devota", and so indicating in addition what effect it should have.

What kind of food might the angels have fed Jesus? Again, an opportunity to "suppose", for scripture does not discuss it. Jesus lived only within the boundaries of his humanity, and so whatever form of sustenance the angels were to procure for him must be within the context of that humanity; one's imagination can safely posit such a meal because it is technically within the realm of the human, not the divine. By offering a conjecture as to the type of food Jesus was fed with, Love introduces a very domestic and homely image, replacing the Latin "quid" with the image of real food.

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61 The underlined is an addition by Love; the Latin reads: "Hic autem diligenter attende, et conspice Dominum comedentem, solum circumdantibus angelis, et considera bene omnia quae sequentur, quia pulchra sunt et devota vaide. Et quaero quid angeli ministarabant, ut comederet post tam longum jejunium? De hoc Scriptura non loquitur: possimus autem hoc victoriosum prandium, sicut volumus, ordinare" (Meds.539b-540a).
food. The image of "mete" occurs several times throughout the *Mirror*, representing not only actual food, but spiritual "mete" as well. The reader is asked to "ymeagine by reson" (ordinare) and choose whatever meal would most appeal to him/her, adding the words "devoutly ymaginyng & supposyng" according to social "kynde" or custom. It is here safe to "ymeagine by reson", for the historical truth is unknown, and no real damage can be done to orthodoxy if one were to reconstruct the type of food the angels gave Jesus.

And so the angels speak:

> Oure worpi lorde ge haue longe fastode, & it is now gour tyme to ete; what is gour wille pat we ordeyn for pow? And pan he seide, Gobe to my dere modere, & what maner of mete she hape redy; bringep to me, for er is none bodily mete so lykyng to me as pat is of hir dignityng (75)⁶²

Again, a reference to Jesus' "wille", extrapolated from the Latin "quid vultis", which might not have the emphasis ("what do you will/wish?") that Love was aiming for. Also, Jesus' sending the angels to his mother for food indicates a clear preference for the "mete" of human relationship, rather than the simple "quid" of the Latin text. The reader is stirred to devotion by the intimate nature of both the angel's caring for Jesus and by the personal role which one imaginatively plays in determining the nature of that care. Then the "cibus" of the Latin text is qualified with "bodily mete" to remind the reader of the dual nature of "mete", both spiritual and bodily. The "mete" [his mother's] thus becomes the object of a lesson in humility and solitary life, as Jesus' hardship while eating alone and on the cold ground is put forth as both a symbol of monastic solitude and of Jesus as the "mete" that provides ghostly sustenance to all the faithful.

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⁶² The Latin reads: "Dicunt ei angeli: Domine, multum jejunastis, quid vultis ut vobis paremus? Et ille: Ita ad matrem meam charissimam, et si quid habet ad manus, deferte; quia de nullis cibis sic libenter vescor, sicut de suis" (Meds. 540a).
These following lines are an added by Love, and perhaps indicate his own interest in monastic culture:

pis fellowship hast þou þou þou þe hem not, when þou estest alone in þi cell, if þou be in charite, & specially when þou hast þi herte to god as þe owep to haue after þe biddying of þe Apostile, þe which seip to vs þat wheþer we eten or drinken or any opere þinge do; alle we shole do in þe name of oure lorde, þe which name Jesus we shole algates blesse & þonk him in herte, haue we miche haue we litel, haue we gude haue we badde, & so ete oure mete þou þe bene alone; as þei we seene bodily þo blessed angeþes þat bene present gostly. (76)

He continues with the Meditationes (540b):

And herewip hauyng inwarde compassion of oure lord Jesu, & behoidyng in mynde him þat is almigty God, souereyn lord & makere of alle þe worlde, þat giueþ mete [escam] to alle fleshly creatours: so mekede, & in maner nedet to bodily mete [cibi corporalis], & þerwip etyng as a noþer erþely man; miche owt we to loue him & þonk him & with a gladd wille Lake penance & suffre disese for him þat so mich suffred for vs (76)

The first "mete" in the segment from the Meditationes reads "escam", and the second "cibi corporalis": the reader is encouraged to visualize the angels who bring Jesus his mother's "mete", a juxtaposition of celestial and worldly; Love presents Jesus as humbling himself to eat "as a noþer erþely man", while the implication is that Jesus feeds his own physical body so that he might in turn feed us spiritually. The humanity of Jesus, his affection for his mother, and his loyalty to mankind are all prevalent.

The image of "mete" and spiritual food is picked up again in the meditation for Wednesday (Chapter XXIII) on the Samaritan woman. When the disciples urge Jesus to stop in his ministering to eat a meal:

Also in þat he answerede to his disciples first when þei beden him go to mete, & seide to hem þus. I haue mete to ete þat ge knowe not, for my mete is þat I do & worche þe wille of him þat sent me (97)⁶³

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⁶³ The Latin reads: "Nam cum discipuli eum, ut comederet, invitarent, dixit: Ego cibum habeo manducare, quem vos nescitis. Meus cibus est, ut faciam voluntatem ejus qui misit me" (Meds. 550b).
This is reminiscent of John 4:32: "But he said to them: I have meat to eat which you know not". Jesus is concerned not merely with bodily, but with "ghostly fedyng", and with his actions sets an example for "prechours & curates for do"; likewise, in part of Thursday's meditation, on the feeding of many with "brede multipliede". Love again draws an analogy between ghostly and bodily "mete" through a concrete example, adding the following segment to replace lines of the Meditationes:

[. . .] & perfore ordeynyng remedy & helpe before, by hir bodily sustinance, pat was nedful to hir travaile to come aftur. And so in hir spech & dede of Jesu is doctrine & ensample of discretion to prelates & hem pat hauen cure of oper, to take hede of hir infirmite & of hir travaile. & thereafter ordeyn to hem bodily sustinance covenable & sufficient, pat pei faile not by defaut in pe way of pis bodily lyuyng in erbe (104).

The "spech & dede" is paralleled by "doctrine & ensample", not just stating, but demonstrating the two ways Jesus taught his followers. The "spech" represents "doctrine" which the reader now knows has its source in Jesus. Indeed, Love connects the necessity of a healthy body with that of a healthy spirit. Priests are urged to take care of themselves so that they might continue their spiritual work, but not to indulge in excesses.

Love considers Jesus' domestic life, his preaching, and relationships, all the while being concerned with drawing his reader into active participation in the events of the text. Love condenses Jesus' actions of one week into a few short pages, and his tone is cautious as he goes back and forth between asking the reader's "opinion" of Jesus' deeds, and suggesting some possibilities.

Bot on pat opere part, what dide oure lourd Jesus & his blessed cumpany pat day? We fynde not writen expresse in pe gospete, for

64 "ille autem dixit eis ego cibum habeo manducare quem vos nescitis".
65 This replaces: "[. . .] qualiter deficere poterant, et qualiter aliqui eorum de longe venerunt. Vides ergo quam sapida, et quam melliflua ista verba fuerunt" (Meds. 551b).
sope it is þat he went not in to jerusalem, nor aperede opunely to þe jues þat day. what trowe we þan þat he didde alle þat day? me þinke it resonably to be trowede, þat he was þan for þe moste part occupiende in praiere for þe performyng of redempcion of mankynde þat he came fore, & not onely for hees fрендes þat trowede in him & louede him; but also for hese cruel enemies, fulliying þe perfecion of charity þat he hade tauht before to hees disciples in praiere for hir enemies. & hem þat shold pursuene him, & þerwip knowynge & seynge in spirite þe forsied male of judas þe traytoure & þe jues in þat day vtturly kast ageynus him, & in to his dep (145)

By positing what, in all likelihood, jesu of the scriptures would (or should) have been doing at undocumented moments in his life, Love both constructs a didactic model for the reader and builds on the legend of the historical Jesus. Through a lesson in the “perfection of charity” Jesus is seen praying for the enemies who will cause his death. By foreshadowing the events of Friday, Love here adds to the notion of Jesus’ innocence, and in addition, the difference between Judas and the orthodox reader is implied: Judas and his type “so maliciously conspirede ageynus him & after obstinatly continuede in hir sinne,” unlike, it is hoped, those who are touched and influenced by this text.

Love continually encourages his reader to “ymagine”, “suppose”, and “viset”, but he also cautions his reader about the use of the imagination in instances which might question theological or doctrinal “truth”. For example, when describing the Annunciation and Incarnation, he encourages the reader to

Now take hede, & ymime of gostly þinge as it were bodily, & þenk in þi herte as þou were present in þe sigl of þat blessed lord, with how benyng & glad semblant he spekë þees wordes (21)

66 The Latin reads: “Attende hic et recordare, quae tibi in principio supra dixi, ut discas omnibus, quae dicuntur et fiunt, te exhibere praeuentem. Hic ergo imagineris, et aspicias Deum, ut pote, quia incorporeus est: sed aspice eum tanquam magnum dominum, sedentem in solio excelsu, vulta benigno, pio et paterno, quasi reconciliare volentem, sive reconciliatum esse. haec verba dicentem [. . .]” (Meds. 514b). Love omits the underlined Latin segment here cited, and Sargent suggests that in “this and the immediately following
The audience is encouraged to be present to witness the event, and is permitted to use imagination to further devotion. For the Latin “attende hic et recordare” Love says “take hede, & ymage”, emphasizing visual and imaginative response over the less visual “recordare” (be mindful of/remember). Love also adds his usual emphasis on “bodily” versus “ghostly” understanding, encouraging the reader to see the event, a “ghostly pinge”, as if it were “bodily”, and to make oneself “in þi herte as þou were present”.

analogous to watching with one’s eyes. The Latin “te exhibere praesentem” does not admit the contrast Love offers; however, the reader is warned to exercise caution and not to confuse imagination with the theological “truth” that the Incarnation was the work of the Trinity:

For þou shalt vndurstand þat þis blessed Incarnacion was þe hoe werke of at þe holy Trinite, þowh it so be þat at only þe person of þe son was incarnate & bycame man.

Love continues with his own insertion:

But now beware here þat þou erre not in imaginacion of god & of þe holi Trinite, supposyng þat þees þre persones þe fabere þe son & þe holi gost bene as þre erpy men, þat þou seest with þi bodily eye, þe whiche ben þre diverser substances, ech departed fro opere, so þat none of hem is oþer. Nay þat is not so in þis gostly substance of þe holi trinyte, for þo þre persones ben on substance & on god, & git is þere none of þees persones oþer. Bot git maiþ þou not vndurstande by mannes resone ne conceyue with þi bodily wiþ, & þerfore take here a generale doctrine in þis mater now for alygate. What lyme þou herest or þenkeþ of þe trinyte or of þe godhede or of gostly creatours as angeles & soules þe whiche þou maiþ not se in hire propre kynde with þi bodily eye, nor fele with þi bodily witte; study not to fer in þat matere occupy not þi wiþ þerwþ þou woldest vndurstande it, by kyndly resone, tor þit wiþ þe ymage we þre in þis buystes body lyuynge here in erpe. And þerfore when þou herest any sych þinge in byleue þat paseþ þi kyndly resone, trowe sopfastly þat it is sop as holy chirch techer & go no ferþer.

And so þou shalt byleue in þis matere of þe Incarnacion, þat þe seconde person in trinyte goddus son of heuen cam in to erpe & toke
Love sternly warns his reader to “beware” not to “erre” in imagining God or the Trinity; in other words not to mistake “ghostly” for “bodily” representations. The analogous relationship between what is imagined mentally and what is seen corporeally that works so well when visualizing and participating in so many of the events of Christ’s life is here reconstructed to warn “against” just such activity. If one were to “suppose” that the Trinity is analogous to three “erly” men, one would be in error. Love is consistent in his choice of terms. He often uses the word “suppose” to represent the activity of imagining and fictionalizing events which are not in the Gospels, and here makes the point that such an activity is inappropriate when dealing with high theological matters; he again emphasizes that one must not freely imagine things such as this, “in his gostly substance of be holi trinyte”.

The Trinity, like the Eucharist, cannot be comprehended by “mannes reson ne conceyue with pi bodily wit, & perfore take here a generale doctrine in pis mater now for algate” (22). Whenever the Trinity or other such matters are conceived of, the rules of imaginative engagement must change, and one must rely on faith, not knowledge. If such a concept cannot realistically be seen mentally as though “in hire propre kynde with pi bodily eye”, do not try to understand it, for such understanding comes after this life. Love effectively closes the door to debate on the issue of what is imaginatively appropriate, directing his reader away from the heterodox or heretical. He urges the reader to avoid questions which should not be asked: “And perfore when pou herest any sich ping in byleue pat passeb pi kyndly reson, trowe sopfastly

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67 All of this replaces the following in the Meditationes, 51 4b: “Quemadmodum in tunicam induenti, duo ex lateribus ejus stantes adjuvarent eum, et tunicae
`pat it is sop as holy chirch techep & go no therper" (22). Some things are bound by different rules of "sacred truth"; in essence, the reader is instructed to take it on faith, for not everything can be understood with reason. Love understands the intellectual limits of his audience -- and of imagination itself.

But Love then moves past the theology lesson and back to the actual scene of the Incarnation, suggesting once more that the reader "take hede & haue in mynde as pou wer present in pe pryue chaumbur of our lady where pe holi trinete is present with his angele Gabriel" (22). By moving away from the "theological" and back to the "historical", he takes his reader back to a safe imaginative forum, a forum in which it is permissible to interchange truth and fiction.

At the very end of the text, in the final treatise "De Sacramento", Love addresses directly the use of the mirror metaphor while explaining why faith is necessary for understanding the true nature of the eucharist, which cannot be known by reason alone. He compares this process to the transmission of words, for

"his may not be comprehendet fully by mannus reson; bot onely standep in blyeue. Neueres þere is a maner of like merueile in kynde, þat a worde spoken of one man to miche peple, is holty in him þat spekeþ it, & also in alle þoo þat hernen it be þei neuer so many.

It is also a grete merueile þat so grete a body of our e lorde Jesu is fully & holty comprehendet in so litel a quantite of þe hooste, & þerwþ also if þat hooste be departede in to many smale partes, it is als fully in every part, as it was in alle þe hooste.

Hereto also is a maner of likenes þat ws seene in kynde. Howe þe ymage of a mannus grete face, & of a grete body is seene in a litel Mirrour, & if it be broken & departede: hit in every parte it semþ alle þe hole ymage, & not in partye after þe partes of þe glasse so broken (229).

The first paragraph suggests that "a worde spoken of one man to miche peple; is holty in him þat spekeþ it, & also in alle þoo þat hernen it be þei neuer so

manicas tenerent".
many”. This is reminiscent of Gregory’s instruction to internalize a text and make it one’s own. The author is also a reader, and so sees through a reader’s eyes as well. But the hint of reader-response attitude here is actually presented as a theoretical framework for the next little paragraph describing the mystery of the Eucharist, a minuscule fragment of which can in itself contain the whole body of Jesus. Love presents this analogy within the framework of the previous paragraph, and the reader is meant to understand that, like the ephemeral word, which has its source and meaning in one man but is available to many “in toto”, so can the integrity of the Eucharist in each of its parts not be understood by reason. The image is not diminished in accuracy or wholeness, no matter the size of the reflecting fragment.

The earlier reference to “wordes” probably refers as well to the word of God, the “logos”, and its bodily/spiritual manifestation in the Eucharist. Any person, regardless of status or education, is capable of reflecting the mirror of Jesus in him/herself. The lay portion of the audience to whom this text is addressed is therefore invited to partake of the truth of the Eucharist, and not be hindered by lack of theological knowledge; the truth of the Eucharist need not be comprehended by “kyndly reson & our bodily wittes” to be accessible by faith. Indeed, Love warns that:

Many opere wonderfulle merueiles oure lorde god alle mihty worcep in pis precious sacrament, of his endeles mercy to oure gostly confort & hele of soule, he whiche we move not comprehende, by kyndly reson & our bodily wittes; bot onely by trewe byleue, & perfore it is grete foly & gostly perile, to seke curiously in ymaginacion of reson he merueiles of pis worbi sacrament. Bot it is moste sikere namelry to a symple soule, & sufficeth to sauacion touchinge he forseide merueiles & alle opor of pis blesseded sacrament, to þenke & fele in þis manere, us hauen holy doctours taught, & holie chyrch determinede, & perfore þus I trowe & fully byleue þat it is in sopenes, þouh my kyndely reson ageyn set it (229)

Love implies perhaps that “ymaginacion” and “reson” are mutually exclusive, or that reason is not a fitting subject for imagination, unlike faith and feeling.
For, as he recites St. Gregory in support of this, "Feiḥ hash none merite, to be which mannyus reson giuep experience" (229). The source of this comment is, according to Sargent, unknown, but again seems to emphasize an inherent paradox between knowing and feeling, between things taken on faith, and things determined through reason. This paradox is reflected throughout the Mirror, and contributes to both the tension and the cooperation between experiential, imaginative affective devotion, and didactic, knowledge-based instruction.
Affectivity and Didacticism

In this section I will discuss certain passages which illustrate more clearly Love's attitude on affectivity and didacticism: the reader of Love's Mirror is not only instructed by explicit and implicit didactic messages, but is encouraged to be constantly open to affective stimuli and willing to discern the didactic messages operative in such stimuli. The reader must also be able to apply what is learned and act upon it; any orthodox means which serves that end is justified. However, instruction must precede and follow persuasion so that affective response is grounded in orthodox doctrinal teaching. Love is thus careful to instruct before and during, and reiterate after, eliciting affective response. It is clear that for Love, emotion is very important to experiential learning, and instrumental in creating imaginative detail. The text is meant to elicit an empathic response through visualization, recreation and participation, thus ensuring the emotional involvement of the reader: this in turn opens the door to spiritual involvement.

The overt didactic call to improve moral behavior is often seen to occur hand in hand with the call to feel compassion for Jesus' various sufferings. Love carefully guides the responses of his readers while encouraging individual "affective" license; at the same time he maintains a continual line of didactic material. Indeed, he encourages full expression of response only when the appropriate didactic lesson and resulting action are perceived. He sometimes uses a didactic approach alone; he sometimes follows a didactic with an affective passage; he sometimes starts and ends a segment with affectivity alone, or emphasizes the didactic message which arises from it. The continual oscillation between moral and doctrinal teaching and affective response serves to draw the reader back and forth between the paradoxes of thinking and feeling, ghostly and bodily, adding emphasis to both while creating a
sense of rhetorical imbalance which increases the reader's reliance on the text for narrative focus. The dichotomy of sorrow and joy which pervades the life of Christ and by extension all that Christianity represents is also a central metaphor in Love's text, and the dramatic tension created likewise serves as a catalyst for growth; it spurs believers on to transcend their feelings of helplessness at being unable to assist Jesus in his times of need, and encourages them to enact their desire to overcome the tension in the way they live their lives, focusing on the text for instruction in how to do so.68

Love uses various human frameworks to demonstrate how didacticism and affectivity interact; one is the affective context of relationships. For instance, the events which describe Mary's own upbringing emphasize her humility and poverty, building on a rhetoric of pathos and relationship which will culminate in the reader's empathy for Mary weeping at the foot of the cross. The text begins to construct a framework for this empathy with Jesus' circumcision, representing the first of several times he will shed his blood for mankind, and Mary's tears for her son. On the seventh day after Jesus' birth, we are told, two important events occurred: the first was the granting of the name "Jesus": "he seconde þinge þat was done þis day, worpi to be hade in mynde is' þat þis day oure lord Jesus began to shede his preciouse blode for oure sake. He began betyme to suffre for vs, & he þat neuer dide synne; began

68 The existence of such tension is irrefutable within a Christian context, a context in which good and evil are combatants, and human nature is more often associated with its evil preoccupations than with any natural ability to combat them. This tension has been operative in Christianity since its inception: "The introspective knowledge to which medieval Latin Christians were invited was always more than a knowledge of the nature and powers of the soul. Rooted in an existential recognition of our sinful condition, it was a knowledge of both the grandeur and the misery of humanity -- one of the major rhetorical themes of the medieval Latin tradition," Bernard McGinn, "Western Christianity", in Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century, ed. Bernard McGinn, John Meyendorff, and Jean Leclercq (New York, 1985,1997)315.
His day to bere Payne in his swete tendire body foroure synne" (41). The rhetorical paradox of sorrow/joy draws the reader into this dramatically visual scene, emphasizing how sudden the shift can be and establishing "triggers" which are used throughout the text. The reader is often reminded of the joy inherent in this faith which is built upon sorrow, and one's reaction and subsequent response is clearly dictated:

 Michele owht we to wepe & haue compassion with him, for he wept his day ful sore, & so in hees gret festes & solempnites, we shoulde make miche mirpe, & be joyful for ourhe hele, & also haue inwarde compassion & sorowe for he peynes & anguysh þat he sufferd for vs. For as it is seid before, þis day he shedde his blode, when þat aftur þe rite of þe lawe, his tendere flesh was kut, with a sharp stonen knift, so þat gonge child Jesus kyndly wept for þe sorow þat he felt þeþborn in his flesh. For without doute he hade verrey flesh & kyndly suffrable as haue oper children. Shold we þan not haue compassion of him? þis sopely, & also of his dere modere. For wele mowe we wit, þat when she sey hir louely some wepe' she miget not withhold wepyng, & þan mowe we ymage & þenk how þat litel Babe in his modere barme seynghe hir wepe, put his litel hande to hire face, als' he wold not þat she shold wepe," & she ageynswar' inwardly stired & hauyng compassion of þe sorowe & þe wepyng of hire dere son, with kissyng & spekyng, conforted him as she miget, for she vndurstode wele by þe inspiracion of þe holi gost þat was in hire þe wille of hir son, þouh he speke not to hir, & þerfore she seid, Dere sone if þou wold þat I sees of wepyng, sese þou also of þi wepyng. For I may not bot I wepe: what tyme þat I se þe wepe, & so þorh þe compassion of þe modere, þe child sesed of sobbyng & wepyng. And þan his modere wippyng his face, & kyssyng him & puttynge þe pappe in his moupe; conforted him in alle þe maneres þat she miget, & so she dede als oft os he wept. For as mowen suppose he wept oft sipes as oper children done, to shew þe wrecchednes of mankyng þat he verreyly toke, & also to hide him fro þe deuel, þat he shold not knowe him as for god. (4,1)

Mary's role as comforter is seen throughout in her relationship with Jesus. The image of the infant Jesus stroking his mother's face is one of utmost tenderness, displaying Jesus' willingness to suffer for mankind and later paralleled by images of Mary holding Jesus' body in her arms. Images of this sort abound in Passion narratives, drawing readers into a world of familial relationship, guiding feelings and reactions to moments which are at once representative of the divine on earth, yet so intimate and domestic as to be universally relevant to any audience: images of motherhood, the bond between mother and son, a story of a lost child and his frantic parents, or the death of a child.

Another instance in which Mary is the primary object of affective devotion is in a meditation for Monday (Chapter XI) on her Purification; this segment uses graphic and evocative language to draw the reader into the roles of participant and co-creator of the text; at the same time the reader is told to consider not only the joy of the event, but the sad condition of the humble dwelling in which the family lives. Love merges affective and didactic motives while emphasizing the domestic, homely image of the Holy Family. The emphasis on visual reproduction is especially emphasized when the author of the Mirror describes physical and concrete images which provide the reader with a pre-fabricated image which can then be embellished and personalized:

Nowe if we take gude entent to be forseid processe & how longe tyme pe hauen tyen out of hir owne house in so gret povere & simplenes; by reson we shold be stired to compassion, & to lerne by

\[\text{tergebat, et vultum vultui applicabat: lactabat eum, et omnibus quibus poterat modis consolabatur. Et sic faciebat quoties piorabat: quod forte saepe puerorum more faciebat, ad ostendendum miseriam naturae humanae, quam vere assumperat, et ad occultandum se, ne a diabolo cognosceretur} \] (Meds. 521a-b). The Latin "hominis" is translated at "children" to emphasize the relationship which is being formed.
The intimacy of the Holy Family’s relationship is emphasized with descriptions of the poverty they suffered, their simple lives and itinerancy. Despite, or perhaps because of these hardships for which we should feel empathy, the didactic message arises naturally. In addition, by “reson” we should be stirred to compassion; this implies that one’s response should be natural and predetermined under the circumstances. Thus Love guides the response of his reader who, hearing this, is meant to “expect” a certain reaction. By implying expected response in this way, Love maintains a firm hold on the reactions of his readers. We are told that in addition to compassionate response, we will also “lerne by ensaumple” through Mary’s obedience, humility and poverty, demonstrated in her own deeds and in her following of “be lawe”. Love thus combines the affective and didactic subtly yet firmly.

Love here joins the reader in his/her devotion and response, choosing the inclusive pronoun “we”. While constructing a complex narrative which serves both a didactic and affective purpose, Love plays on the heartstrings of a medieval audience by emphasizing things such as the poverty of the Holy Family.

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70 The corresponding segment on the purification of the Virgin found in the *Meditationes* (524a-525a) contains only the first paragraph here cited: “Si autem in praedictis vis aformari de humilitate et paupertate, considerata oblatione et redemptione, ac legis observatione, de facili potes advertere” (*Meds*, 525a). The second paragraph is an addition by Love.
Family, their hardships in the flight to Egypt, and their sacrifices, including the ultimate sacrifice, and the death of a son, all the while joining his reader in their affective journey. By keeping in mind the "pouertee & simplenes" of the family it is hoped that the reader will be "by reson stired to compassion", as though the response is natural, even expected in view of such a trigger. In addition, we should "lerne by ensaumple" both humility and obedience, virtues taught not by word, but by the example of the family’s humble dwelling and lifestyle.

This is a particularly beneficial moment to participate in, and Love encourages his reader to "visit" the scene with "deuocion & gostly mirpe" at least once each day. The scene is one of both joy and potential sorrow, as the Christ child lies in his bed, poor and meek, obedient to God’s will. Thus affective response and didactic lessons merge in the one who "visits" and responds through visualization, "visityng hem by contemplacion" systematically "at pe leste ones on pe day". There are many repetitive reminders of the visual and imaginative nature of one's participation in the story: "seene", "visityng", "havyng [.] in mynde" -- providing a mental vehicle for internalizing the lessons taught so that one can enact them "in dede".

Earlier in the Mirror, during the Holy Family's flight into Egypt (Tuesday, Chapter X), the theme of sorrow and joy is also prevalent, this time set forth as a message to the reader on the virtue of fortitude, which classically enabled one to stay "balanced" between prosperity and adversity:

Also in his forseid processe if we take gode hede; we mowe se many gode ensaumples & notable doctrines to vs. First if we take gode hede, how oure lorde Jesus toke in his owne persone sumtyme prosperite & welpe, & sumtyme adversitee & wo; we shold not be stired to impacience, what tyme hat it befatle to vs in pe same maner, bot in tyme of prosperite & of confort, so ageynward on hat oper side, & if pou wolt se ensaumple hereof in Jesu; lo first in his
birpe he was magnifiede to be herdmen as god & honoured & wirchiped of hem as a god with ioy, & sone aftur he was circurncised as a simple sinful man with sorow. Aftur, pe kynes comyng to him wirchiped him souereynly bope in hir persones, & in gret gîtes, & of hem as a god with ioy, & gret duelled he stille in pat stable among bestes in pouerte, wepyng as a noþer child of a simple mannes. Aftur, he was presented in pe temple with ioy, & gret þinges was prophecied of him as of god almighty; & now he is beden of þe angeie to fie Cro Heroude in to Egipte, as he were a pore man withoute mignt.

And so forþermore we moove lynde in alle his life prosperite & adversite meyned 10 gedire to ensaumpîe & lechyng of vs. For he sent vs diuerse confortes to liit vp oure hope Talle not be despeire & perwip he sent vs tribulacion & disconfortes to kepe vs in mekenes pat þerby knowyng oure owne wrecCnehnes; we $la&a $laigale in' nis'arâe. (51-52)71

Love again uses the inclusive “we”, and leaves out little reiterative details of the story in order to talk “about” what happens in a didactic way. For "praedicta" Love uses "processe", and for the first "meditare" he uses "take gode hede", calling upon the reader's attention; he then expands "multa et bona" to "many gode ensaamples & notable doctrines to vs", again emphasizing the words and deeds Jesus produced as well as their relevance "to vs". The Latin's "negotio" becomes Love's "processe", a word indicating a narrative discourse, story or historical account (MED).72


72 See also Nicholas Love's Mirror, 77, 91, 107, 110.
Love adds didactic instruction in the second paragraph, demonstrating how all of Jesus' life and its sorrows and joys "meyned to gedire to ensaumple & techyng of vs", never letting the reader forget that there is a larger purpose to the meditations here, a purpose which should transcend the immediacy of the text and manifest itself in devout action. The reader is instructed to pay attention and prepare for a didactic lesson, the first represented in Jesus' patience while undergoing both "prosperite & welpe", and "adversitee & wo". Indeed, this is clearly directed to the average Christian reader, a reminder that life's ups and downs are part of a larger picture and should be tolerated, even welcomed if one maintains the virtue of fortitude.

Then Love sets out the instances in Jesus' life which demonstrate his willingness to accept what befell him. It is not the worship of the Magi which Love notes first, but the humble adoration of common folk, an important segment of his readership, when Jesus was "magnifiede to pe herdmen as god & honoured & wirchiped of hem as a god with ioy". Next, the joy of the Magi's visit is juxtaposed with the poverty in which he lived, "wepyng as a noper child of a simple mannes". Love here also implies that not even the riches of the Magi bring joy, emphasizing the intangibility of true joy and virtue.

Love often uses two English words to translate one Latin word, striving for as full a meaning as possible. For instance, for the Latin "prospera" Love says "prosperite & welpe", qualifying the notion of prosperity as being something tangible; again, "adversa" becomes "adversitee & wo", here presenting opposites which remind the reader of the movement from joy (prosperite & welpe) to sorrow (adversitee & wo). Then, the Latin phrase "eam juxta montem inveniès vallem" is expanded to "what tyme þat it befalle to vs in þe same maner, bot in tyme of prosperite & of confort, so ageynward on þat oþer side, & if þou wolt se ensaumple hereof in Jesu [...]" Love takes the
opportunity to remind the reader of the combined sorrowful and joyful time now being experienced; then this message is reiterated when Love adds that the shepherds "wirchiped of hem as a god with joy"; next the circumcision is qualified as happening "with sorow". Finally, the presentation in the temple is described "with ioy", but is tempered by the flight from Herod, "as he were a pore man withoute migl". All of these additions to the Latin are demonstrative of what Love does throughout the Mirror: choosing themes such as sorrow-joy / bodily-ghostly et cetera to frame events, he cleverly intersperses them into the text to support the implied teaching on fortitude, demonstrating that adversity will naturally be overcome if one has faith. The message is thus also one of hope.

After constructing the three reversals, Love points out the didactic message implied: these central events are all considered in view not only of how they might create hope in the reader, but also in how they might keep the reader humble: "For he sent vs diuere confortes to lift vp oure hope bat we falle not be despeire & perwip he sent vs tribulacion & disconfortes to kepe vs in mekenes bat perby knowyng oure owne wrecchednes". Every moment of Jesus' life is somehow representative of a lesson to be learned, and each joyful moment is tainted, yet at the same time redeemed, by the sorrow of how that life will end; then in turn the sorrow is redeemed by the joy of the final lesson -- the resurrection -- which we will be left with. This is an example of how Love uses the central paradox of joy-sorrow to add both affective and didactic elements to his text.

The relationships within the Holy Family provide a common emotional denominator for most readers; meditation upon this relationship is encouraged because it is a familiar one in which readers can easily place themselves. It is within the literary context of relationships that the rhetorical paradox of
sorrow and joy is most prevalent. For instance, the reader is told how Jesus returned from his journey in the desert to his mother.

Ande what tyme þat he was come home, & his modere hade þe siht of him; no wondur þouh she was gladde & joyful in so mych þat þere may no tonge tell. Wherefore anone she rose & cippynge & kissyng him, welcomede him home, & þonked þe fadere of heuen, þat hade bouht him safe to hir. Bot þerwþþ beholdynge his face lene & pale; she hade gret compassion, & he ageynward reuerently enclynande dide her worchepe as to his modere, & also to Joseph as to his trowede fadere, & so duelled he with hem as he dide before mekely bot in an opere maner of liuyng, as by shewyng without forþ of his perfeccion more & more, as it sal shewe here aftur (77)73

Through such homely images, the lay reader is brought into a closer sense of verisimilitude with the text, and is able to draw a parallel between family life and devotional life. The scene is by extension instructional to its audience on how to treat one's parents with respect -- Jesus' reverence even for Joseph, as to his "trowede fadere", both emphasizes Jesus' own gentleness as a man and reminds the reader of his divine provenance while emphasizing the "type" of the solicitous mother and polite child. Mary’s response is described as natural, according to Love: "no wondur þouh she was gladde & joyful", and the reader is urged to join in this mind-set and observe as she "rose", "welcomede", and "þonked" God for his return. At the same time she notices his "lene & pale" face and displays compassion, merging her sorrow and her joy as she reflects on their domestic situation.

Soon after Jesus preaches to his disciples (Wednesday, Chapter XVIII) on a hill "cleped Thabor" (the underlined segments are added by Love).

& þere he made to hem a longe sermone & ful of fruyte þe which as seynt Austyn seþ in þe byginnynge of his boke þat he made of þat same sermone; it conteneþ at þe perfeccion of cristien liuyng. For in þat sermone he tauht hem first whech men ben blessed of god, &

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73 The Latin reads: "Cum autem domum devenit, mater eum videns, ultra quam dici possit exhilarata, surgit, occurrît, et in amplexus strictissimos recipit: cui ipse reverenter inclinavit, et etiam nutritio suo Joseph et cum eis more solito mansit" (Meds. 541a).
worpi to haue his blisse. Also he taught hem þe trewe maner of prayere, of fastyng & of almesdede, & ðerere vertues longyng to þe perfite life of man, as þe text of þe gospel opynly telleþ, & diverse doctours & clerkes expowen it sufficently, þe which processe we passen ouere here for as mich as it is written bohe in latyn & english in many ðerere places. And also it were ful longe processe to touch alle þe poyntes herof here as by maner of meditacione. Wherfore at þis tyme we shoote specially note, pat oure lord began þis sermone first at pouerte, doyng vs to vndurstonde. pat pouerte is þe first grounde of alle gostly exercise. For he þat is ouerleide & charget with temporel gudes & worldly riches; may not frely & swiftly folowe crist, þat is þe mirour & ensaumpie of pouerte, namely he þat hab his lyking & his affeccion vndre bees worldly yudes, for he is not fre, bot þraile & as in bondage of hem. For of þat þinge þat a man louve inwardly & by affeccion; he is made wilfully þraile & servuant. And þerfore is þe pore man blessede, þat is to set he þat inwardly louve no þinge bot god, or for god, & þerfore he desipsec alle ober worldly þinge for god. For in þat he is knit to god as for þe more part [. . .] Blessed be þei þat bene pore in spirite, for hir mede is þe kyngdome of heuen. Lo he seip not hir mede shal be, bot as nowe, hir mede is (84-85)74

Love omits, adds to, paraphrases and rewords the relevant segments in the Meditationes, adding portions.75 While emphasizing the virtues of “prayere”, “fastyng” and “almesdede”, Love nonetheless does not want to spend too much time discussing them, as such edifying material can be found elsewhere, in both “latyn & english”, a linguistic distinction he himself adds.

Poverty is put forth as the “þe first grounde of alle gostly exercise” (quod paupertas est totius spiritualis exercitii primarium fundamentum). Love emphasizes the importance of poverty as the root of all virtues (poverty here supercedes charity, the traditional root of virtue), perhaps extrapolating from the Beatitudes: “Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs in the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the meek: for they shall possess the land” (Matt 5: 3-4).76 But he considers the concept of poverty in both its internal and external manifestations: overindulgence in or excessive concern with worldly goods

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74 See Aug. De Sermone Domini in Monte, PL 34, cols.1229-1308.
75 See Sargent, Nicholas Love's Mirror, 273 for relevant notes.
76 “beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum. Beati mites quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram.”
hinders one's spiritual development and one's ability to "frely & swiftly folowe crist" who is both internally and externally a "mirrour & ensaumple" of poverty (Christum paupertatis speculum). Love also draws an analogy between the external "bondage" to riches and internal bondage to the vice of pride. Both virtue and vice can begin inside or outside. One's "bodily", external habits or behavior can taint one's spiritual, "internal" behavior and vice versa; thus the reader is warned that "if pat pinge pat a man loueþ inwardly & by affeccion; he is made wilfully pratte & servaut". Love then cites the the beatitudes directly (blessed be þei þat bene pore in spirite) for theological support, expanding the abbreviated Latin text (Beati pauperes spiritu etc.). He completes the Gospel quotation expressed by Pseudo-Bonaventure on the definitive nature of one's reward, "hir mede is þe kyngdom of heuen", suggesting that the present tense, "is", instead of the future tense, "shal be", indicates that one's spiritual rewards for poverty of life and spirit are to be found in "this" life; there is no need to wait for the next.

Other doctrinal elements such as Penance and Satisfaction are especially prevalent in the text as well. In the chapters which precede the Passion sequence, Love draws attention again and again to the concept of satisfaction and the necessity for Christ's death. This theological point is a topic of several discussions, debates, and short sermons, preparing the reader for the culminating event of Jesus' death; in this way, the text cements the reader's belief and grounds it in one of the cornerstones of the Christian faith. For instance, the audience is told that the time when Lazarus is raised from the

77 Again, two words, "mirror" and "ensaumple" are used to translate "speculum" in order to emphasize not only what Jesus represents, but how that representation is to be interpreted, as an "ensaumple".
dead is particularly rich in "faire & gret notable pinges", and so Love suggests that:

Bot now as to oure principale purpose fort speke of pe reising of pe prid deede body, pat is to sey Lazare foure daies deede. For as miche as in his processe bene continede many faire & gret notable pinges; perfore we shote here more specialty gedere in oure entent, & make vs by ymaginacion, as pei we were present in bodily conversacion not onely with oure lord Jesu & hees disciples; bot also with pat blessede & deouett meyne, pat is to sey, Martha, Marie & Lazare, pas was specialty belouede of oure lord Jesu, as pe gospel witneseth (128).

In this segment Love conflates segments from two chapters of the Meditaciones (Chapters LXV and LX), but adds these particular lines himself. Love is a willing participant on the imaginative journey that is mapped out; the reader and Love together enter a world of visual imaging which, we are told, should be so "real" that the reader should experience the events "as pei we were present". It is clear here that "processe", focus and order are important elements in structuring the text, its transmission, and our reception; "entent" implies purpose and method in the imaginative process, and the visual, concrete nature of the process is in turn emphasized by the analogy of "bodily conversacion".

Imagination also functions as a visual stage on which are painted relationships that will both strengthen faith and encourage learning. For example, the reader is prepared to accompany Love on the journey to Lazarus' tomb, but Love pauses to insert a didactic aside. He describes how Jesus wept, as did the sisters, Jews and disciples, and suggests that the reader behold "inwardly" this behavior.

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78 Imagination also functions potentially, for those who misuse it, as a root metaphor for error. The narrator, before proceeding with the story of Lazarus, pauses to tell a brief tale of Jesus' visit to the temple at the time of the "feste of pe dedicacion". He was surrounded by Jews who accused him of betraying Caesar and Rome, but Jesus, "knowyng hir fals ymaginacion,"
Who so wolde pan here inwardly take hede & beholde how oure lord Jesus wepe, ce sistres wepen, ce Jues wepen, ge & as reson telle he disciples wepene: skilfully he may be stired to compassion & wepyng, at he teste inwardly in hert namely for synne in custome, pat is so harde to overcome, & to rise out of, as oure lord Jesus shewed in gostly vndurstandyng, by he gret dificulte pat he made as in wepyng & in maner of turblyng himself [. . .] (132)

Forms of the word “wepe” are repeated five times for emphasis in these few short lines. Love also reminds us to “take hede & beholde”, i.e. note as important and “see” happen what will be described. He brings the reader into the text, setting a very affective tone, but indicating as well that “reson” dictates that the disciples wept as well. The inherent logic implied in their, and our, reactions serves perhaps to eliminate any self-consciousness felt by the reader who is not sure what is an appropriate response. Indeed, through “reson” and example, the reader should be “skilfully” stirred to compassion and weeping; thus such response is privilieged as a skill, one which can be at least practiced “inwardly in hert” if not externally in regulation of “synne in custome” or habitual sin.

Love draws what would appear to be an unlikely connection between Jesus’ grief at losing Lazarus and instruction of the reader on the necessity for compunction. He then stops to direct the reader, “now go we to be graue of lazare, folowyng oure lord Jesu [. . .] & so we more se by deuout yimaginacion [. . .]” (133) how Jesus walks, with whom, and by what path. When they arrive at the grave, with “stinke of pat carione” (133) (an olfactory trigger which one can presume was quite effective!) the reader is finally instructed in the relevance of the earlier admonition to experience compassion, but is now present at the tomb and can smell the “stinke” of what the lesson is all about.

The tomb is covered with the “stone of dedely sinne in custome” (134), for which the previous “wepyng” partially occurred; this allegorical reading temperede wisly his answere [. . .]” (128), which suggests that the reader is
of the stone being representative of sin is continued as Jesus raises the stone and Love asks him to also raise “pese folk” from their own sinful natures, because "his stone of wicked custome ouerleip men in alle degres, not onely lered & lewede seculeres, but also religious nyheby in alle astates [...]" (134). This comment is explicitly aimed at a general audience. Jesus’ personal healing grace is invoked by a narrative voice which seems frustrated by an overt will to sin which pervades all strata of society: “A lord Jesu crye to alle pese menne with a gret voice [...] I reise hem to life of grace, puttyng awey that heavy stone of wicked custome, as pou reised Lazare [...]” (134), who subsequently walks out of the tomb and is greeted with great rejoicing, the experience of penance and satisfaction, sorrow and joy.

An analogy is thus drawn between the act of leaving one’s grave, stinking and decomposing, and seeking forgiveness for one’s sins; commission of sin implies that one is “gostly dede, & if pou contynuest customably þereinne. þan are þou dede & byriede” (134). Self-awareness and confession ("when þou forpenkest withinforþ, & shryuest þe & knowlechest þi sinne withoutforþ") will lift one out of the grave, but will still not wash away the guilt of sin. For that, absolution “by goddus ministres” is needed. By providing a lesson on penance as a commentary on the raising of Lazarus, he creates a memorable and sophisticated meditation which serves yet another of the text’s objectives, in erecting a barrier to false Lollard teaching on the sacrament of penance “ageynus hem þat repreuene confession ordeynet by holi chirch” (135). The meditation mingles sensory and dramatic scenes with doctrinal instruction and tools to combat heresy, using a rhetorical

privileged with true imagination.

79 See Nicholas Love’s Mirror, note on 317: “nyheby”, adv. “nearly”.
80 See also Nicholas Love’s Mirror, 140, 144, 153.
framework which integrates the paradoxes of ghostly and bodily, sorrow and joy, and feeling and knowing.

Love is at times more direct in his didactic agenda, showing the ways Jesus instructed his disciples and friends. For instance, Chapter XV, the first segment for Wednesday, tells the story of Jesus’ fasting and temptation in the desert. Love uses the venue to draw an analogy with monastic life, and tells the reader how Jesus’ life is to be read as “ensaumle” of moral and virtuous deeds and a model for solitary prayer.\(^{81}\)

Now giue we here gude entente to ourde Jesu; specialy & to hees dedes. For here he techep vs & giuep vs ensaumple of many gret vertues. As in that he here is solitarie, & faste & preyep, & wakep, & lyð & slepe vp on pe erpe, & mekely is conversant with beestes. In pe whiche processe bene touched foure hinge, that longen specialy to gostly exercise & vertuose lyuyng, & wonderfully holpyng eche opere to gedere, pat is to sey, Solitary beyng, Fastynge, Prayere, & Penance of pe body, by pe whiche we mowe come best to that noble vertue pat is clennesse of herte, pe which clennes we owep souereynyly to desire in als mich as it is most nedeful to vs, & comprehendepe in it self alle opere vertues in manere, pat is to sey, Charite, Mekenesse, Pacience & alle opere vertues. And also it puttep awaye vices. For with vices or with defaute of vertues; clennes of herte may not stande & last (71)

Love joins the reader in the process of the meditation, inviting him/her to participate with “giue we here gude entente”; this is unlike the Latin imperative “Considera ergo hic et attende conspice ipsum” which directs an

\(^{81}\)Love translates much of Chapter XVII from the *Meditationes* 538a-541a, emphasizing the didactic benefits of meditating on this event: “Considera ergo hic et attende conspice ipsum: plurium enim virtutum exempla tibi demonstrat. Vadit enim in solitudinem, jejunat, orat et vigilat; jacet et dormit in plana terra, et humiliter cum bestiis conversatur. Comparetur ergo ei, quia semper et ubique, sed hic maxime vita sua poenosa est, et corporis afflictiva. Ac ejus exemplo disci ab eo in his exercitari. Nam quatuor hic tanguntur, quae spiritualis exercitii sunt, et mirabiliter se invicem adjuvant scilicet solitudo, jejunium, oratio, et afflictio corporis. Et per ista maxime pervenire possumus ad cordis puritatem, quae puritas utique est nimum peroptanda, eo quod in se omnes virtutes quodammodo comprehendit. Continet enim charitatem,
outside reader to an as-yet undefined object of meditation. Conversely, the English text identifies immediately what the object of devotion is: "oure lorde Jesu", while the Latin simply uses the pronoun "ipsum".

Jesus' methods of instruction are both verbal and visual: he teaches with both word and example, but it is his "dedes" which the reader is "specialy" noted to consider. The emphasis is on long-term effects, "gostly exercise & vertuese lyuyng" (71), by which one gains "clennesse of herte" which helps the individual combat vice. His own isolation represents monastic solitude, and within that solitude he practices fasting, prayer and bodily penance. Jesus' example here serves to reflect back to the reader the qualities and virtues which should be emulated. He in turn instructs the reader in these four primary things which will lead one to "clennesse of herte", tying the four themes into the wider scheme of virtues including charity, humility and patience. The text does not merely encourage virtue, but rather emphasizes that virtue acts as a deterrent to vice, and likewise, one must reject vice in order to maintain virtue.

These four things belong "specialy to gostly exercise & vertuese lyuyng" (which Love translates from the Latin "spiritualis exercitii sunt"); Love here emphasizes the practical application of the didactic model, and how the model is to be not only considered, but applied in "vertuese lyuyng". But in order to "do", one must first "know", hence such clear instruction. Such instruction is prevalent throughout the text as a type of didactic pastoralia, reflecting both the "gostly" or spiritual concepts of virtue, and their physical or "bodily" manifestation in the mirror which is Jesus (in a sense a rhetorical reuniting of active and contemplative lives). In passages such as this, a

humilitatem, patientiam, et caeteras virtutes, et remotionem omnium vitiorum : quia cum vitiiis, vel cum defecta virtutis non stat puritas cordis" (Meds. 538a-b)
"paradox" of "ghostly" and "bodily" weaves its way through the text, creating a tension which is at the same time a struggle made necessary by mankind's fallen nature and exemplified by the perfect god-man nature of Jesus whose likewise perfect representation of virtue is mirrored for the audience of the text.

Love at times uses direct affective response as a didactic tool by teaching his audience how to feel and respond. Like the paradoxical reversals and reconciliations of images of "ghostly" and "bodily" representation, "verbal" and "visual" instruction, there is also an overriding theme of "sorrow" and "joy" in the text which operates on both didactic and affective levels. On the largest scale, the sorrow of the crucifixion is reconciled by the joy of the resurrection. This reconciliation is seen in microcosm in many parts of the text. For example, Jesus' procession into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday (Thursday, Chapter XXXVII) is used to demonstrate the transience of life since the movement from joy to sorrow takes precedence. Jesus is greeted as a king, but largely by those who suffer from "gostly byynnges", the same lack of spiritual sight which will cause his death. The words here lack the "visual" nature of clear descriptors, but Love's use of apostrophe invites the reader to watch Jesus's reaction to words which Christ himself cannot hear:

A lorde Jesu what siht was pis to se pe kyng of kynges & lorde of alle pe world; ride in sicke araye, namely in to p[atsolempne Cite of Jerusalem. Bot sopely pis pou diste as alle pis opere dedes to oure enformacione & ensaumple. For we mowe se & vndurstande p[at in pis manere of worldes wirchipe takyng; pou despisede fully al pe pompe of veyn worides wirschipe, hauyng instede of golden harneys & curiouse sadeles & brideles simple clopes & hempen hellres.

And when pe peple herde of his comynge, by cause of pat gret miracle pat was publishet before of pe reisyng of lazare; pei wenlen ageynus him, and receyuet him as kyng wip ympnes & songellg & gret ioy strawyng in his wey hir clopes & braunches of trehen. Bot wip pis ioy oure lorde Jesus meynede sorowe & wepyng. For when he came nihe pe Cite' he wept pere vpon, seynge before pe destruccon
perof, pat came aftere & sorowynge for heere gostly blyndnes (141-142)\textsuperscript{82}

The use of apostrophes such as "kynge of kynges" and "lorde of alle pe world" as well as the adjective "solempne" to describe Jerusalem set a dignified tone to the segment; Love here points out a clear didactic motive on Jesus' part, indicating that the entry, like so many of his other deeds, was done "to oure enformacione & ensaumple", an observation which the Meditations does not make. We, the audience (which Love here considers himself a part of) "mowe se & vndurstande" that one must deplore pomp and ceremony.

The people are said to have heard of Jesus' coming "by cause of pat gret miracle pat was publishet before of pe reisyng of lazare", an adjustment to the Latin "cum sciverunt"; Love here connects his own editorial choices to help the narrative flow. The joy with which the people greet Jesus is likewise elaborated upon by Love: "wip pis joy oure lorde Jesus meynede sorowe & wepyng", reflects the Latin "Immiscuit autem cum ista laetitia fletum", emphasizing the merging of sorrow and joy.

The moment of joy is overwhelmingly tainted with Jesus' own sorrow at the spiritual vacuum which greets him, the ignorance of the true meaning of what he has taught them. We are told here that Jesus cried three times: at the death of Lazarus, upon entering Jerusalem, and for

\[\text{pe pridde tyme he wept pe gret trepasse & malice of man & pat was in tyme of his passion hangyng on pe crosse.} \]

For he sauh pat his

passion was sufficient for redemption of all men, but neuerlese it toke not effecte of profite in alle, for not in reproued & harde hertes & obstinate to do penance þat wolde not forþinke & amende hem of hir sinnes (142)

The three moments are connected by their common theme of loss. Jesus will weep on the cross, we are told, for the souls which even his death cannot save. The tragic irony is that, although the sacrifice is sufficient to save all of mankind, many will not be saved because of their lack of contrition. Those are the souls who deny the hope that he offers, who refuse to be contrite for their sins. Love thereby posts a reminder to the reader of the importance of the sacrament of penance: the underlying message is his joy of reconciliation with God.

Another example of Love's didactic agenda coupled with the rhetorical construction of paradoxes is from the meditation for Friday (Chapter 11) when the three Marys visit Jesus' tomb after the burial, pausing first to visit the site of the deposition:

[... ] And þan with grete sorwe & shedyng of teres [falling done vpon hir faces, þei wirchipede inwardly & kissed devotly þe crosse of oure torde þat was þan spreynede wiþ his precious fresh rede blode. And forþmore þei risyng vp & goynge towarde þe graue; seiden to óper, who shalle ouerturne to vs þat grete stone fro þe dore of þe sepulcre, & þerwip þei neiþyng þereto & inwardely beholdyng; seene þe stone ouerturnede & an angele sittyng þervpon & seying to hem, Dredep not, ge sechene jесu, & so forþ as þe gospel telleþ (198)

83 The Latin reads: "Et debes scire, quod tribus vicibus legimus Dominum Jesum flevisse: una de morte Lazari, scilicet, humanam miseriam; alia hic, scilicet humanam caecitatem et ignorantiam: hic enim flevit, quia non cognoverunt tempus visitationis suae. Tertia vice flevit in passione sua, scilicet humanam culpam et malitiam, quia videbat, quod passio sua omnibus sufficiebat, et tamen non omnibus proficiebat, quia non reprobis, et duris corde, ac impenitentibus" (Meds. 594b-595a).
84 The Gospel text of Mark, 16:3 reads simply: "And they said one to another: who shall roll us back the stone from the door of the sepulchre?"; "et dicebant ad invicem quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti". See Sargent's note on Spreynede. The Latin reads: "Et tunc cum magno clamore, et inundatione lacrymarum, procidentes in facies suas adoraverunt crucem, et
Love personalizes the already-affective scene for his own reader by describing how the women "wirchipede inwardly & kissed devoutly the crosse", expanding the Latin "adoraverunt crucem et osculatae sunt eam". By suggesting that they worshipped "inwardly", the English text is less literal than the Latin, but addresses directly the response of the reader who will likewise worship and imagine "inwardly": this brings the events of the text closer to the reader's own experience. The women kiss the "crosse" while Love repeats the word to enhance the mental reproduction, and kiss it "devoutly". Love once again adding a qualifying adjective to emphasize the emotional state of the characters. Love then adds the descriptive adjective "fresh" in "his precious fresh rede blode", replacing "pretioso [...]
sanguine rubricatam". "Fresh" blood is warm and still expresses the life of the one it has left, and emphasizes how recently Jesus died.

Next Love ends the image with another reference to how they "inwardely" beheld (viderunt) the overturned stone, implying the reader's own experience of the events of the text, and not merely the characters' experience of the events. He again completes the Gospel dialogue: the Latin's "etc.", becomes "se sechene Jesu", ending this little segment with a final reference to the one whose "fresh rede blode" was recently shed. It is interesting to note here that Love's "narrative" voice steps out of the internal timeline of the narrative mid-sentence when the dialogue with the angel shifts immediately into direct speech with "& so for þ as þe gospel telleþ".

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osculatae sunt eam, pretioso adhuc Domini sanguine rubricatam. Deinde surgentes, et euntes versus sepulcrum, dicebant: Quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti? Et aspicientes, viderunt revolutum lapidem, et angelum Domini sedentem super eum, qui dicit eis: Nolite timere, etc., ut in Evangelio continentur" (Meds.617b).
The women in the text express their own devotion internally and externally; internally is where true devotion occurs, but its external manifestation is necessary to set an example for others. The cross is "spreynede wip his preciouse fresh rede blode", an image which is both graphic and evocative of Jesus' suffering, as well as reiterative of that same suffering, and thus didactic. They near the grave, "inwardely beholdyng" the sight of the sealed tomb and wondering how they will remove the stone; the external sight of the "stone overturnedede" which is "seene" with their bodily eyes is both a classic reversal topos and a reconciliation of inner and outer sight.

The women are "desturblet in hir wittes & abashede", and take no comfort in the angel's words of comfort; they then return to the disciples and tell what they saw. "And Pen Petur & Jone runnene towards pe sepulcre, & with hem also pe forseide women, & alle pei runnene for fervent loue to Jesu sechyng hir herte & hir life." They all seek both their inner and outer natures, seeking answers which are not within their scope. They reach the tomb but do not, according to the "processe of pe gospel" find Jesus therein, and return home. Love uses this sequence of events to demonstrate that:

[... ] here we owep to haue inwarde compassion of hem, for sopely at pis tyme pei were in ful grete desolacion & sorowe, when pei souht so hir lorde & fonde him not, nor wiste where pei sholde seke him more.

Also here we haue ensaumple pat oft sipes before grete joy; comep grete disconfort, & sorowe, pe which is to be born paciently for pe tyme, & euer Jesu to be souht & callede one by deuout praier & feruent desire vnto pe tyme pat he be fonden as pe processe after folowyng shewep (198)85

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85 John 20:2 reads: "She ran therefore and cometh to Simon Peter and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved and saith to them: They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre: and we know not where they have laid him": "cucurrit ergo et venit ad Simonem Petrum et ad altum discipulum quem amabat Iesus et dicit eis tulerunt Dominum de monumento et nescimus ubi posuerunt eum." Luke 24:12 reads: "But Peter rising up, ran to the sepulchre and, stooping down, he saw the linen cloths laid by themselves: and went away
The first paragraph encourages "inwarde" affective response, while the second points out how the affective responses of "desolucion & sorowe" demonstrate the reversal of joy to sorrow. The reader's compassion for them should be "inwarde", a true and spiritual compassion, not merely the external manifestation of an empty sentiment. The affective response of the disciples who seek Jesus "& fonde him not" is paralleled by their seeking of "hir herte & hir life", as they look all around for meaning and truth in events which they cannot reconcile with their own experience.

Here, the reader is told, we "haue ensaumple" of how another central paradox is often reconciled: "before grete ioy; comeþ grete disconfort, & sorowe". The paradox of sorrow - joy is central to Christianity. Jesus was born, died, and rose again in a cyclical reversal of fortune which our own lives parallel. We and the disciples are encouraged to bear such reversal in life "paciently" as they must wait for Jesus to "be fonden" and, on a larger scale, each reader waits for the day Jesus will return. Love constructs a precise, balanced and tightly-organized moment which unfolds with myriad meanings and interconnections. He continues at the same time to urge the narrative forward, "as pe processe after folowyng shewep", but intersperses movement with still moments rich in meaning and complexity.

Other segments of the Mirror emphasize a more directly didactic method of instruction. For instance, Jesus, in Chapter XXXVI on his arrival at Bethany the Saturday before Palm Sunday, is described as:

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wondering in himself at that which was come to pass"; "Petrus autem surgens cucurrat ad monumentum et procumbens videt linteamina sola posita et abit secum mirans quod factum fuerat."

86 The Latin reads simply: "Compatere ipsis, quia in afflictione magna sunt. Quaerunt Dominum suum, et non inveniunt, et nesciunt ubi amplius quaeere debeant" (Meds. 617b).
Oure lord Jesus souereyn doctour & maister of al vertues not onely by worde teching, but also by ensaumple giuyng: riht as in be processe before seide to oure edification he vsede be vertue of Prudence, in fleynge fro hees enmyes, & egybely shewyng pat we also shoten wisely wydraye vs fro be wodenes of hem pat pursuene vs maliciously, pat is to sey, when be place & be tyme askep: so nowe he vsede be vertue of gostly strengh in his turnynge augeyne to hese enmyes, when be dewe tyme was come in be which he wolde by his fre wilde offre him to be passione, & strongly & myghtyly suffre be matice of hese pursueres in to be viturest ende, pat was be harde deþ. 

bus also an opere tyme he vsede temperance, what tyme he flewe, eschewyng worldes wirchipe, when be peple haue made him hir kynge; & augeynwarde he vsed rihtwisnes, when he wolde be wirchipet as a kynge as it foloweþ here aftur, what tyme be peple comen ageynus him, with branches of trene & opere manere of gret reverence doyng to him in pe cite of of Jerusalem (137-138).87

The first sentence (underlined) is added by Love, and sets up a rhetorical framework for Jesus’ teaching by word and deed. Love then follows the Meditationes in using the scheme of the cardinal virtues to construct the passage in order to define Jesus’ actions or instructions according to their appropriate virtues; but he omits the specific reference to the virtues being “cardinales” as in the Meditationes.88

Love explains how Jesus’ actions in fleeing his enemies represent prudence, strength, temperance and righteousness, qualifying strength with “gostly” to make the point that he is not talking about physical strength, but about spiritual force and committment. Then, after reiterating the idea, he urges the reader to “take hede inwardly” of these “notable poynitis”. These virtues show Jesus as being not “variant or inconstant”, and it is implied that others who practice them will be considered the same. It is likewise implied

87 The Latin reads: “Sicut in superioribus ad instructionem nostram Dominus Jesus fugiendo usus est prudentia, ostendens quod pro loco et tempore furorem persequentium caute declinare debemus; ita nunc utitur fortitudine, quia debito tempore imminente, sponte redit, ut se offerat passioni, et se in manus ipsorum persequentium tradat: sicut alias fuit usus temperantia, cum fugit honorem, quando turbae voluerunt eum facere regem. Et contrario usus est justitia, cum voluit tanquam rex honorari, quando populus cum ramis aborom occurrit eidem [. . .]” (Meds. 593b).
that orthodoxy must be consistent and unvaried, for such consistency will also protect the reader who engages the text imaginatively from straying into "error". The life of Jesus is not only used as a model in itself, but as a starting point for other models, always grounded in the certainty of orthodox teaching. By selecting different doctrinal and theological frameworks in which to position the events of Christ's life, Love follows the Meditatio[nes] in repeating lessons several times in different ways, uncovering inner meanings. Many events in the text are "tagged" with doctrinal or theological signposts, reinforcing the orthodoxy of the text while providing a fascinating array of rhetorical techniques to keep the reader moving forward.

In addition to the overt didacticism of the message of Jesus' life, many subtle and implicit messages are delivered to the reader as well, such as the "dedis" of the disciples. The reader is taught the principles of a good Christian life both through positive examples and through contrasting evil behaviour of characters such as Jesus' prosecutors and the soldiers; the reader is also taught repeatedly through direct instruction ("speches") on the precepts of Christianity. For instance, in the segment on Jesus' sermon at the Last Supper (Thursday, Chapter XXXIX), it is Jesus' actions, not his words which instruct the reader in virtue. But Love is still careful to point out the exact meaning. The following segment is Love's own addition to the Meditatio[nes]:

Here move we haue in mynde þat oure lord Jesus gaf vs ensaumple in þis eventyde & niht of hyue grete vertues, þat is to sey first of profunde mekenes, as it is seide in þe washyng of hese disciples fete. Aftere of souereynge charite, in þe excellent sacrament of his blessede bodie, & in þat swete sermone fully of brennyng koles of charite. And þe pride of passynge pacience, in so benigne suffryng of his tratour, & alle þe despite done to him after; þe ferþe of perfite obedience; in takyng wilfully þat harde passione & bitter deþ after þe fadere wilhe; And þe luff of deuout praier, continuede þre tymes in longe & feruent praying & his precious blode shedynge.

88 See Nicholas Love's Mirror, 284 for note.
The use of the pronoun "we" invites the reader to join the author who will be the guide through the process. Herein Jesus has just given the reader "ansaumple" of five virtues: the washing of the disciples' feet represents "mekenes", as Jesus lowers himself before his followers and performs the most menial of tasks; both the blessing of the sacraments and the sermon he delivers are taken as examples of "charite". In fact, both events are accompanied by equally didactic explanations by Love, but here he nonetheless pauses to reiterate their overall meaning: Love states the virtue represented, and cites an example to demonstrate it, re-emphasizing by word and deed precisely "how" Christ "gaft ansaumple" and how we are to follow in his path. Love also qualifies each of the five "virtues" with an adjective which, like an epithet, is necessary only in creating a better mnemonic by which to remember it: "souereyn" charity, "swete" sermon, "passynge" patience, "perfite" obedience, and "deuout" prayer.

Jesus' submission to Judas' betrayal demonstrates his obedience to God's will. The three times he will pray to God to spare him his fate (the third time "his precious blode shedyng", a foreshadowing of the crucifixion), teaches "deuout praiere". The passage then ends in the form of a prayer and an

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89 This chapter in particular is full of numeric references (in both the *Meditationes* and the *Mirror*), designed primarily around four primary events: "pat bodily sopere [... ] pe washyng of pe fete of pe disciples [... ] pe ordynance & pe consecracion of pat precious sacrament [... ] pat noble & [ructuouse sermon pat he made to hese disciples [... ]" (146). These events constitute important enough information that Love chooses to "not abregge as we haue in opere places; bot rapere lengh it in processe"(147), and this he does by dividing and sub-dividing the events and their significance again and again. As a mnemonic device, the numbering of lessons, virtues, vices et cetera is another didactic aid.
exhortation to the reader to accept the grace represented by the virtues which Jesus has granted, and by which we should follow his example. Both didactic and affective, devout and practical, the passage serves to conclude Chapter XXXIX.

Another example of Love's treatment of an explicitly didactic passage is in Chapter XVIII for Wednesday, where Jesus preaches to his disciples on the hills outside of Nazareth and the reader is invited to listen to and join Love in the experience:

But now leuyng his matere turne we vs to be contemplacion, beholdyng oure lord Jesu howe lowely & mekely he sittep vpon pat hille, & hees disciples about him & with how lowely & sadde chere, he spekep bo wordes full of edificacione & techep pat noble lesson of souereyn perfeccion. And also how mekely & ententely hees disciples beholde his blessed face & heren bo swete wordes, & setten hem bisily in hir mynde. And so haue pei gret toy & gostly likyng bope in his speche & in his siht (85).

First, Love translates the Latin "meditationem" as "contemplacion" but retains the Latin's first-person "redeamus". He does omit the Latin imperative "conspice ergo et considere", using instead "beholdyng", a word which invites the reader not only to "watch", but to be present at the scene. Next, "humiliter" becomes two words, "louely" and "mekely"; also, the Latin implies that Christ then stands or remains (stat inter eos) among them, qualifying the relationship (quasi sit unus ex eis), while the English keeps Jesus sitting on

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90 The underlined section is omitted by Love; the Latin reads: "Sed redeamus ad meditationem. Conspice ergo et considera Dominum Jesum humiliter in terra sedentem super illo monte, et discipulos suos circa eum, quomodo stat inter eos, quasi sit unus ex eis, et quomodo affectuose, benigne, et pulchre, et efficaciter eis loquitur, induceret eos ad dictos actus virtutum. Et semper ut supra in generali consideratione libi dixi. respicere coneris faciem eius Conspice in discipulis, quomodo reverenter, humiliter, et cum toto mentis intentione aspiciunt eum et auscultant illa verba mirifica, et ea memoriae commendant, et jucunditate magna fruuntur, tam in verbis quam in aspectu" (Meds. 544b).
the same level with the disciples throughout. There is thus no need to qualify
the relationship.

The Latin "quomodo affectuose, benigne, et pulchre" becomes "with
lovely & sadde chere", adding a reference to Jesus' actual face rather than
relying merely on adverbs to express his demeanor. Jesus' sadness and fear at
his impending death is emphasized and the reader is reminded to look at his
face, which will show all. Next, "inducens eos ad dictos actus virtutum"
becomes "he spekep bo wordes full of edificacione & tecgeh pat noble lesson of
souereyng perfeccion". Love emphasizes both the words and deeds by which
Jesus teaches, here even repeating not only that he spoke words of
"edificacione", stating his didactic purpose. The segment advising us to
consider Jesus' face above all, which Love omits, has already been integrated
in the paragraph with "sadde chere", but in a way which is less directive and
objective and more personal and intimate.

The disciples "setten" Christ's words "bisily in her mynde," obviously
engaging in interpretation, thinking how best to apply the lesson to their own
lives while experiencing the joy of his presence and words. The active nature
of one's mind is thus co-opted as a device to implement behavioral change,
aided by affectus. The disciples, when listening to the words of Christ,
understood his teachings not only "after pe lettur, bot also pe rwyb pei hadden
porh his grace pe gostly vndurstandying of ech peticion porof" (85). It is the
spirit of Jesus' teachings which is of importance here, the semantic, not the
syntactic detail; thus the reader "hears" the textual words, which describe the
disciples physically listening with "bodily" ears, to Jesus preaching on
"ghostly" concepts which must then be in turn manifested "bodily". Likewise,
the text here has moved from a sermon on poverty spoken by Jesus directly
into a visual image of Jesus manifesting poverty by his physical demeanour of humility and deference.\(^1\)

In Chapter XXII for Wednesday, on the conversion of Magdalen, Love places great emphasis on the necessity of contrition and penance, an example of which is "shewed in his woman Maudleyn, as we haue heerde, pe whiche penance as alle holy chyrch techeþ, stant in sorowe of herte in shrift of mouþe & in satisfaccion of dedefe" (92).\(^2\) Her example is used to combat the Lollard heresy which suggested that the sacrament of penance, or "shrift of mouþe is not nedeful, bot pat it sufficeþ onely in herte to be shriuen to god" (92). Magdalen did not verbally "confess" to Jesus, but only because she had no need to put her confession into words to him; God reads hearts.

Bot hereto is an answere resonable pat oure lorde Jesus to whome she made hir confession in herte; was þer in bodily presence verrey

\(^1\) This passage also serves to illustrate Love's extrapolation of scriptural accounts for affective and didactic purposes. St. Paul said (2 Cor. 3:6): "Who also hath made us fit ministers of the new testament, not in the letter but in the spirit. For the letter killeth: but the spirit quickeneth"; "qui et idoneos nos fecit ministros novi testamenti non litterae sed Spiritus litturae enim occidit Spiritus autem vivificat." Spiritual, or "gostly" understanding serves also as a perceptual metaphor to aid the uninitiated, a reference to orthodox belief. A Christian must not only be able to understand the words, but their meaning as well. Yet at the same time one is taught by Christ's demeanor, the tone of his voice, the tilt of his head.

And so says St. Augustine, in On Christian Doctrine: "[... ] a man speaks more or less wisely to the extent that he has become more or less proficient in the Holy Scriptures. I do not speak of the man who has read widely and memorized much, but of the man who has well understood and has diligently sought out the sense of the Scriptures. For there are those who read them and neglect them, who read that they may remember but neglect them in that they fail to understand them. Those are undoubtedly to be preferred who remember the words less well, but who look into the heart of the Scriptures with the eye of their own hearts." Saint Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, trans. and intro. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (Indianapolis, 1958) 122.

\(^2\) Chaucer's "Parson's Tale" handles the issue of ocutar confession in a similar way: "Penitence, with certeyne circumstances, is verray repentance of a man that hald himself in sorwe and oother peyne for his giltes. And for he shal be very penitent, he shal first biwaylen the synnes that he hath doon, and stidfastly purposen in his herte to have shrift of mouþe, and to doon satisfaccion" (288). He dycit, ""פינית יפיניתב ופיינית יפינית יפינית יפינית" ופינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינית יפינيث
god & man, to whom by vertue of pe godhede was also opune pe poulht of hert; as is to man pe spech of moupe, as oht sipes pe processe of pe gospel tellelp, & specially here opune, bope of pe woman & also of pe pharise poulht. Wherfore pe poulht of herte onely was pan to him als miche, as is now herwip spech of moupe to man bodily. And for als miche as nowe in pe newe lawe what tyme pat we sinnen dedely, we offenden him not onely after his godhede, bot also after his manhede pat he bouht vs with, fro synne & gostly dep, perfore vs behouep to do satisfaccion to him after bope kyndes, by trewe penance knowelteching our treppaspe bope to god & man, & askynge forgijenes. And siben we haue not here his bodily presence as Maudleyn hade; perfore in his stede vs behouep to shewe to pe preste by worde, pat we haue offendet him as man, as we shewen to him by repentance in herte, pat we neaue offente as god, pat is to syx at pe lestey dedely sinne. For perby onely we be departede fro him & vnkyndly lesen pe grete beneffice pathe safe vs in his manhede (93)

Love draws an analogy between the “poulht of herte” and “spech of moupe”, indicating that Jesus hears our thoughts just as we hear words. We are not capable of hearing “inner/ghostly” speech, only “outer/bodily”. Since Jesus died for us as a man, and since now when we sin we offend both of his natures, we must in turn confess both inwardly and outwardly, confessing outwardly (verbally) to Jesus the man in the form of a priest, and inwardly to Jesus the God in our hearts. Under the new Christian law one offends both Jesus’ human and divine natures, and so penance and satisfaction must be both internal and external. The offence parallels the manner in which one makes amends: one confesses externally/bodily to a priest while one confesses internally/ghostly to God. Love emphasizes the absence of Jesus’ own “bodily” presence and its replacement with the “bodily” presence of a priest. Although verbal confession was not necessary for Magdalen because Jesus “knewe fully hir herte” (94) she is also said to have nonetheless “shewed pe effecte of his confession parfitely in dede” (94) by choosing as her venue the home of the pharisee, where “it miht be to hir as opune reproue & shame” (94). Magdalene

93 See Sargent, Nicholas Love’s Mirror, xlviii-xlx.
thus sets an example for the reader by performing external penance where none is necessary.

The constant reversals and paradoxes ("verrey god & man", "bouht of hert", " spech of mouhe") and the "replacement" of confession of heart with verbal confession serve the rhetorical function of placing the events of the text within a "frame" which helps the reader define the events more objectively. Here, the reader thinks about not only the doctrine of penance and the necessity of satisfaction, but about the internal and external manifestations of reconciliation.

Another scene of reconciliation occurs later when Love goes on to describe how Jesus stopped for dinner at Simon the leper's house, where "Marie", sister of Martha anointed his feet with oil; this particular event is singled out for both its didactic and affective motivation. The author's instruction to "take hede inwardly" serves to point out the importance of noting, remembering, and acting upon lessons which are explicated. The reader's mental visualization and participation in the scene is used both as a model for empathetic behavior and as a manifestation of the tension between or reconciliation of sorrow and joy. The image of the ointment with which

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94 Inner and outer, bodily and ghostly, verbal and visual are all important frames which reoccur throughout the text. For instance, the meditation for Wednesday (Chapter XX) on the healing of the paralyzed man, is expanded from a shorter Latin segment: "In his gospel we haue ensaumple & doctrine, pat oft sipes bodily sekenes: comep of gostly sekenes, pat is synne, & pat pe helyng of gostly sekenes: is oft cause of bodily hele. In pat oure lord first forgafe to pe paletyke hees synnes, & aftur heled him of pe bodily palesye" (89).

The Latin reads: "[...] secundum, quia propter peccata veniunt infirmitates, et ex absolutione a peccatis aliquando contigit liberatio infirmitatum" (Meds. 545b). Here Love emphasizes the "didactic" evidence for the relationship between inner/"gostly sekenes, pat is synne", and external/"bodily" sickness, for the body follows the spirit, just as external manifestations of sin really begin in the spirit. "Jesus teaches through "ensaumple & doctrine", deed and (sacred) word; he is also seen reconciling the bodily and gostly/outer and inner by first healing the man's spirit, and
Mary bales Jesus’ feet evolves into and merges with her tears of contrition for her own sins. She does not yet know that he will die, but the reader does, and is able to make the further connection that her tears represent as well the tears of mankind for Jesus’ suffering.\textsuperscript{95} Then her reaction becomes one of “unspeakable joy & ful swete teres of devocioun” upon receiving the gift of God’s grace and forgiveness. Her own joy at experiencing forgiveness and moving beyond contrition represents as well the joy at the resurrection.\textsuperscript{96} The reader is thus reminded that the sorrow of the crucifixion is necessary for the joy of salvation to be attained, a reminder which occurs within a framework of didactic instruction, affective response, and visual imaging.

Love adds a long segment which reiterates the four virtues taught above and comments on her affective response of contrition and devotion after anointing Jesus’ feet with oil:

Now let vs abide here awhile & take hede inwardly of be forseide notable poynits, & first how oure lorde Jesus wolde haue his sopere specialty in pat house of be forseide Symonde pat was a pharisee, as it is seide before, & in whose hous pat self; Marie anoyntede him with precioue oynam, & with inwarde sorow & bitter teres of contricioun, bot nowe more perfittely with unspeakable joy & ful swete teres of devocioun, & pat knewe wele oure lorde before, & for pat one skil he chase pat place at pat tyme, specialty for Maries sake as we

then healing his physical infirmity. The “paradoxes” as they operate here have an implied or explicit reconciliation.

\textsuperscript{95} Love does not indicate whether he is conflating Magdalene with Martha’s sister. See David Mycoff, \textit{The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of her Sister Saint Martha: A medieval Biography translated and Annotated by David Mycoff} (Kalamazoo, 1989) (Translated from the Latin text in PL 112, cols. 1431-1508). Introduction, 2. suggests that Magdalene is “sinner, penitent, and contemplative -- something to appeal to practically every order of medieval society [...] monastics could find in the story of the contemplative Mary a language, imagery, and pattern by which to interpret their experience and concerns; laics in the world could discover in the repentant and forgiven Magdalene hope for deliverance from the moral ambiguities of their lives.” The person of Magdalene is most often seen in literature as a conflation of the scriptural Magdalene, Mary of Bethany and the penitent woman of Luke 7:36-50.”\textsuperscript{96}

mowe resonably suppose. For no doute þat she louede specialy þat place in þe whiche she fonde first þat grete grace of forgyuynge, of hir grete synnes as it is seid, & so it was more likyng to hir þere to do þat excellent dede of deuocion shewyng hir feruent loue to Jesu.

Also he wolde haue þat sopere in Symondes house, knowyng his charite & trewe afeccion continuede to him & to hees disciples, not withstandyng þe frendely reprehension before bycause of Marie, & also for þe more opun witnesse of þe trewe reysying of Lazare þat ele & dranke as oper dede in þat hous of þe pharisee opunly & in presence of many Jewes þat comen at þat tym[e] bidere to se no onely him self Jesu; but also Lazare as John specialy telleþ. And so we mowe se at þat sopere & in þat house þees foure persones doyng to oure lord Jesu trewe seruyce in diuerse maneres, þat is to sey þe maister of þe'house'by charitable hospitayte, Lazare by opun witnesse of his trewe godhede, Martha by bisy mynistringe, as longeþ to trewe actife life, & Marie by feruent loue & deuout wirchipyng, as longeþ to hye contemplatif life (138-139)

Love invites the reader to "abide here awhile" and "take hede inwardly" what has gone before, contemplating the ways it can be interpreted. Again, "inwardly" invites the reader to participate in and repeat the episode. Mary anointed Jesus' feet with precious ointment, inward sorrow and bitter tears of contrition (another form of precious ointment), instructing the reader indirectly in the doctrine of penance. But her sorrow of contrition is immediately turned to the joy of satisfaction and forgiveness, and she sheds tears of "unspekable ioy & ful swete teres of deuocion". Thus contrition is again shown to lead to forgiveness, and then to a desire to do good deeds: all the time faith increases, and "so it was more likyng to hir þere to do þat excellent dede of deuocion shewyng hir feruent loue to Jesu."

The events are also given an added layer of didactic meaning since the duties performed by the various attendees stand as further exempla of Christian behavior. The master of the house showed "charitable hospitayte"; Lazarus displayed "opun witnesse of his trewe godhede"; Martha displayed "bisy mynistringe, as longeþ to trewe actife life," and "by feruent loue & deuout wirchipyng, as longeþ to hye contemplatif life" (139). But the alternative to such Christian behavior is warned against as well, and the
author is careful to draw attention to the manner in which sinners may interpret the events which occurred. Here some of the deadly sins are systematically presented, clearly laid out for the reader who might not have realized the implication that the good behavior presented must always guard against vice. Love's text abounds with mini-schema such as this, opportunities to draw on doctrinal or theological precepts which emphasize or illuminate the narrative. The rich complexity of doctrinal, theological, and even common-sensical layers with which the text unfolds is structured carefully to meet Love's affective and/or didactic requirements.

Next, the reason for holding the dinner at Simon's house is used to instruct the reader in "charite & trewe affection" by acting as a theatre for Mary's actions and to advertise the raising of Lazarus, who was present. And so, as the reader is told, or rather invited, "we mowe se at pat sopere", and note how in that house four persons did service to Jesus, and learn from their actions: charitable hospitality, witness to his divinity, the "bisy mynistring" of Martha according to the active life, and the "seruent loue & devoue wirchipyng" of Magdalen according to contemplative life.

97 Each section of each day's meditation is a self-contained narrative whole with no loose ends, and worthy of its own detailed exposition, if only space permitted.

98 The foil to such virtue, the reader is told, is the evil nature of Judas as a foil to the virtues here enumerated: "Bot on pat opere side we mowe se in contrarie manere, opere giyng occasion of offense to oure lord Jesu, by enuye, fals coueitise, & wrongful demyng, as enuousy Judas, pat fort colour his fals coueitise, gruccchyng as of lossee of so miche money spendet in pat preciouse oynement, pretendel falsly pe releuyng of pore men hereby, & seide pat it miht better haue bene solde for pre hundret penys & giuene to hem pat nedet, & oher also meuede by hees wordes bot oherwise & in gude entent as it semede for pore men; grucchede & were gretly stirede ageynus Marie, as for so grete losse of pat preciouse oynement. 'bot she kepynge silence, oure iorde answered for hir, as he dide tweyn tymes before, nowe reprehedyng hem & declaring pat gude dede, euer to be hadde in mynde as in anonyntyng before of his body in to be biryng pat folowede after" (139).

Judas' actions are shown in "contrarie manere", contrary to orthodoxy and faith, and representing the vices of "enuye", "fals" covetousness, and "wrongeful demyng". Judas' covetousness is "fals" because he fraudulently
When Judas complains that the money could have been better spent on the poor, Jesus intercedes for Mary, who is wounded by the words:

A lorde Jesu how soryfull & disconfortyng was pis worde, pat so openly declared pis dep; to Marie specialy & to alle opere trewe freendes pat pere weren, bot souereynly to pis blesseded modere. For os we may sopely byleue pat worde persede hir herte more sharply þen any swerde. And so þan was alle þe mirpe of þat feste turnede in to sorowe.

In addition to framing an episode around the themes of sorrow and joy, the idea of words being an instrument of pain and prosecution is also a subtle reference not only to the image of the Logos, word made flesh, but to the sword which will pierce Jesus' side on the cross. Wounded by words, Mary is nevertheless a silent object of empathy; likewise, Jesus' own silence on the cross in the face of his suffering is a primary element in his role as voluntary sacrifice for mankind. Once again the joy-sorrow image is used to frame a scene with many little complexities: by expanding and developing this image to both foreshadow the crucifixion and create an affective image of Mary's suffering as representative of Jesus' own. Love draws on his readers' emotions and also encourages them to note the contrast of virtue and vice, right and wrong.

Love draws attention to the difference between the actual words Judas spoke and his intent (giving the money to the poor may very well have been a better option; or would Judas have only kept the money for himself?), but does not point out the nuance to the reader who is left to draw his/her own conclusions. In the narrative, the example of Mary's pained response serves as chastisement enough for Judas; it again brings to the forefront the subsequent shift from sorrow to joy which Jesus triggers by his words of

claimed that the money spent on the ointment should have been given to the poor when his actual intentions were more insidious, and all the more "fals" because his actions were undertaken under the guise of virtue. Here, too, is a
comfort and emphasizes the efficacy of words and their potential spiritual meaning. It also demonstrates how, with great rhetorical and narrative subtlety, the scene unfolds without the need to overly-explain the result. In this case, fewer words are better, as the reader "sees" Judas react appropriately to Mary's response. Jesus also implies his own ability to combat with his spirit the death which will flow from the words of betrayal spoken by Judas to the high priests; likewise the words of this text are only a garment which clothe the author's intent, and in many cases provide a starting point for imaginative re-writing of the narrative in the reader's own mind.

The image of the evil Judas is juxtaposed anachronistically in the next few lines which Love adds himself:

Here mowe we forbermore note specially to oure purpose þat þei are of Judas parte þat reprehenden almesdede, offrynges & òpere deuociones of þe peple done to holî chirche, halðynge ale siche giftes of deuocion bot foly, & seyng þat it were more nedeful & bettur, to be giuen to pore men (140)

The marginal gloss to this segment is "nota contra lollardos" wherein Love stresses the abiding relevance of his story: there are still people like Judas around. Judas is implicitly associated with Lollardy to give Love's contemporary reader a standard of measurement by which to consider that foreshadowing of Jesus' own silence on the cross in Mary's "kepyng silence". Jesus speaks up to defend her, but later will not defend himself.

99 In a later segment (Chapter XXXVII1) on what Jesus did from Palm Sunday to the following Thursday, Love again adds a small passage which picks up on the metaphor of words used to help or to hurt: "[...] he occupiede him þat day þe more speacyly with hem in gostly confort of hem, by hese edificatife & holi wordes, as he was wonte alwey to do, but nowe at more leyzere to strengh þem & confort hem agenþs þe gret sorowe þat was to come after bycause of his passion. And souereynly as we mowe trawe in homely comunyng with his blessed moder to hir speciale confort, & also with Maudieyn speacyl þat euer was þristye to drinke of his swete gostly wordes. Of þe whiche he giue vs taste & sauour Jesus crist blessede with out ende. Amen" (146). The word can not only wound, but sustaine and 'heal as well as educate and affect. It is Jesus; the suffering one, who offers solace to those whose roile is to react and re-act to his
heresy. Love goes on to address Judas directly for his behavior and what it represents:

O Judas thou pat pretendest with thi mouth be releuynge of pore men, pere as sobely in be entent of thi herte pat is grondet in enuye ageynus men of holi chirch; it perteneb not to be of pore men; bot rapere thiene owne fals coueitise in excusacion of thi nygunrye, pat hast none deuccione & nouht wille of thi owne gode. For experience opunly techeb, thi communely alle sech Judas felawes bene als coueitous or more pen any opere, & thi shal he finde sobely in dede, who so hap to do with hem in one manere or opere (140)

With these words Love addresses both the historical Judas and his contemporary audience, especially those among them who are “Judas felawes”. He integrates the vices of envy and covetousness and greed (“nygunrye”) as well as absence of devotion and unwillingness to do good unto others. Judas does not only deceive his listeners “with thi mouth”, but his deception harms the ones who can least afford it, the “pore men”; Judas practices “fals” or fraudulent deeds when he “pretendest” with his mouth. His “word” is something other than he means, something which is intended to harm another. Love then shifts to a cautionary mode, as Judas’ own sin of covetousness becomes the topic of a short treatise on that vice, accompanied by careful instructions to be aware of such a tendency in ourselves and others.

In addition, the reader is told that Jesus chose the venue and time to display the physical presence of the now-risen Lazarus, who dines with him that evening: "& also for be more opun witnesse of be trewe reisyng of Lazare pat ete & dranke as oper dide in pat hous of be pharisee opunly & in presence of many Jewes" (139). The “trewe” raising of Lazarus is juxtaposed with the falseness of Judas; herein Jesus encourages tolerance for the persecuted and less fortunate. The emphasis on Jesus’ divinity just before the crucifixion also

pain. The sense of nourishment that his words offer also continues the digestive metaphor prevalent in lectio divina.
serves as a buffer or a foil to the psychological and physical suffering he will soon endure, reassuring the audience of his dual nature before concentrating on the part of Jesus that must die.

Again and again Jesus teaches by both word and deed. A form of *repetitio*, Love's (and Jesus') method ensures focus and clarity of the message by clothing it in these two modes of address which serve a reiterative function for some believers, or at least access the different learning abilities of those who perhaps learn visually or aurally. There is a double emphasis on word and deed at the washing of feet, for instance, which also provides another lesson on both humility and forgiveness; one can, Love implies, learn equally well through instruction and demonstration.

When his washyng was don in misterye as it is seide; he went ageyn vp to be place of be forseide sopere, & when he was sett with hem; he tolde hem be cause of be forseide dede, & bat was bat bei sholde folowe him in mekenes eche to Oper; as he gaif hem ensaemple, bat hir lord & maister, & bat bei sholde not onely wash oper efe; bot also forgeue trespasses done to oper, & wille & do gude to oper, as it is vnderstande by his wordes bat folowen
aitur, when he seide to hem. *If men knewen beese bat I have do to sow: se shole be blessed if se fulfille hem in dede* (150).

Again, the theme of penance and satisfaction is expressed in a joint didactic/affective framework, one which also admits the paradoxes of “inner” forgiveness and “outer” good deeds, since one can “vnderstande by his wordes”, a verbal reiteration which emphasizes the deed of washing feet. Love is very conscious of the flow of his narrative and insists on the close attention of the reader. He moves from an openly didactic mode of rhetoric back to a narrative mode, sometimes marking the boundaries between the two. The inherently persuasive quality of multiple forms of exposition such as “deed” and “word” serves him very well.

Various tones of exhortation, appeal, warning and instruction serve to keep the reader involved with the text.

The closer Love gets to the crucifixion, the meditation for Friday, the more affective and penitential the emphasis becomes, just as the text becomes more thorough in its representation of the events. He builds suspense toward the climactic moment by drawing further attention to the persons who interacted with Jesus in his final days and moments. By offering a variety of individuals whose behavior can be emulated by the reader, Love makes it easier for believers to be present at the scenes. Those who do not take creative license with the story or who cannot feel the intensity of emotion which Love describes can at least experience it vicariously through the models provided.

When describing the Last Supper, “Of *pat worpi sopere pat oure lorde Jesus made pe niht before his passion,*” Love draws the reader further into the

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100 The underlined is added by Love. This passage is an expansion of the *Meditationes*’ “Hoc autem completo ministerio, redit ad locum coenae, et iterum recumbens, eos ad suum exemplum imitantum confortat” (597b).

role of participant in the unfolding drama, and instructs how best to use affective triggers to meditate on Jesus' trials.

We shote vndurstonde pat foure pinges spesialy befel at his sopere, of he whiche inward meditacion shal by reson stir oure loue to oure lord Jesu, & kyndele pe gostly fir of oure deuocioun (146).102

In the Mirror, the feeling of love is stirred "by reson", the intellectual faculty; this indicates not only the cooperation of affection and reason, but also the mutual benefits of affectivity and didacticism. Didacticism is the goal, but affectivity is the means.

The will is subject to our fallen nature and so we must try to regain the simplicity and obedience which existed before the Fall. Paradoxically, the very dangers inherent in imagination and emotion are harnessed to that end, the manifestation of Christian truth through faith and action. The reader is told to "have in mynde" the events, which means to visualize and thus remember them for future meditation; the mind is the seat of both reason and imagination, and so is operative in both experiencing and implementing the messages it receives. Love's meditative process is then laid out carefully, both verbally and visually, and the reader is given explicit instructions on how best to utilize and benefit from the following.

After enumerating the four things which occurred at the supper (the actual meal, the washing of feet, the consecration of the Eucharist, and the sermon which Jesus spoke), Love proceeds to offer a detailed exposition on each individual meditation, carefully instructing the reader how to visualize the scene mentally to create a "space" in which to watch what happens. He also emphasizes the close relationship Jesus has especially with John:

And when alle pinges were redy; seynt John pat was most homely & familiere with oure lord Jesus, & bisily went to & fro, to se pat alle pat

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102 The Latin reads: "Circa ipsam igitur quatuor principaliter, quae ibi notabiliter facta fuerunt, meditanda occurrunt" (Meds. 596a).
...were ordeynet & done; came to him & seide, Sir ge mowe go to sopere when ge wole; for alle þinges bene redy.

And þan anone oure lorde Jesus with þe xij apostles went vp, bot John algate nekst him & by his side without departyng. For þer was none þat so trewly & familierely drow to him, & folowde him as he dede. For when he was take he folowede him when oper fledde, & was present at his crucifiying & at his dep, & after he laft him not til al was done, & he was biriede. And so at þis sopere he sat nekst him, þouh he was gongere þan oper (147)\(^\text{103}\)

The scene is very intimate, even parental, as John's closeness is emphasized in three ways: "nekest him", "by his side", and "without departyng". John's devotion, "trewly & familierely" remains even in the face of great adversity, and so provides the reader with a better model of devotion than that of Peter or the others; also, as a surrogate son, John represents what Jesus can leave behind for his mother.

Love is careful to specify that proper procedure was followed, that "alle þat nedet were ordeynet & done". The reader is drawn into this scene while reminded of Jesus' fate and the desertion of the other disciples. In the detailed narrative which follows, the reader is told to "beholde oure lorde Jesu" as he speaks with his disciples who wait for the meal to be prepared. To "beholde" here implies more than just visual reenaction: it implies listening and understanding as well as seeing and feeling. Little fictional details, such as John ushering Jesus into the room, the manner in which they sat at the table, and even the size and shape of the table itself add to the intensely visual description while serving also to explain oblique elements found in the

\(^{103}\) The relevant Latin reads: "Cum autem essent omnia in coenaculo parata, dilectissimus Joannes, qui sollicito ibat et redibat ad parandum et juvandum in praeparatione praefata, venit ad Dominuum Jesum, dicens: Domine, vos potestis coenare, quando placet vobis, quia omnia sunt parata. Surgit ergo Dominus Jesus, et discipuli ejus cum eo. Joannes vero ejus lateri se jungens, ab eo se deinceps nullatenus separavit: nullus enim sic fideliter ac familiariter adhaesit et, sicut Joannes. Nam cum captus fuit, introivit cum eo in atrium principis sacerdotum, nec in crucifixione, nec in morte, nec post mortem
scriptures, such as Jesus' words that "He puttep his hande in to pe dishe or doblere' he shal betraye me" (148).

The table is described as square with three disciples on each side so that Jesus' words are made intelligible: "bus we mowe ymagine & suppose of pe maner of hir sittynig at pe borde" (148). Sargent notes that the dimensions of the table derived from the existence of its relics during the Middle Ages at the Church of St. John Lateran. Love follows the author of the *Meditationes* in explaining carefully certain logistical questions raised by the gospels. This adds to the sense of historical presence and verisimilitude created by the narrative; while some details are left to the reader's imagination, others are carefully and concretely explicated so as to allow little or no room for invention. Both texts go into great detail regarding the difference between those who ate the Passover meal standing with staffs in hand according to the old law, in comparison with other times, "as pe gospel tellep in diverse places," to explain why Jesus and his disciples are said to have sat together at the table. This way, we are told, John was able to rest his head on Jesus' breast (148) (quia nec Joannes necumbere supra pectum Domini aliter potuisset. *Meds*, 597a). Love is here concerned with a personal and domestic image which will bring the reader closer to feeling both the love and empathy of John, and the building tension of the upcoming crucifixion.

Jesus announces to his disciples that one among them will betray him, and the reader is told that "pis spech went to hir hertes as a sharp swerde" (148), a reminder of how Judas' words wounded Mary so deeply when "bat worde persede hir herte more sharply ben any swerde" (139). John in particular is "wondet with gret sorow to pe herte" (148), and in silence lays his

dimisit eum, quousque fuerat ipse sepultus. In hac autem coena juxta eum sedit, licet esset minor aliis" (*Meds*, 596b).
head upon Jesus' chest. The "hert", as the seat of the conscious self, the "true self as opposed to the outward persona", as well as the organ physically affected by emotion, is conventionally where psychological suffering occurs. In addition, both instances bear sorrow which is tinged with the expectation of joy; the audience is directly instructed here as to how, like the disciples, one should respond, for "if we take gude hede we owep to haue inward compassion, bope of oure lord Jesu & also of hem. For it is no doute þei were in ful gret sorowe" (148).

Love's method is to use emotion to instruct the reader in the faith, engaging the reader in a continual cycle of reversal which will end only with Christ's, and mankind's, resurrection. Then he calls on the reader to recognize the deeds Jesus performs as acts of charity and humility; Jesus is seen treating his enemies the same as he does his friends, behaving "contrary" to the reader's nature. Love is explicit as to what didactic lesson should be drawn from this, Jesus' "experiential" demonstration -- a "perfite lesson" of humility and charity. The complexity in the text is not only theological, but rhetorical, and challenges the reader to unveil the many varieties of information being transmitted.

Orthodoxy

Again, Love is careful to distinguish elements of the scriptures which are open to interpretation and expansion while drawing the line at elements of doctrinal or theological orthodoxy. For instance, the Last Supper is

104 Nicholas Love's Mirror, 285-286, n.147.41-42.
105 MED, "hert".
carefully described as the first Mass, and in this we are again reminded of the Lollard attack on the Eucharistic sacrifice. Love himself adds the following segment, in which he expands on the *Meditationes*: "Circa tertium vero meditando obstupesce illam charissimam dignationem, et dignantissimam charitatem, qua nobis tradidit semetipsum, et reliquit in cibum".¹⁰⁷

Here also after the first Messe that was paske lambe as it is seid before; when these were washen & made cleane; he servuede hem with the seconde Messe of his owne precious body, that was deyntep of alle deyntepês, as men vseen in bodily fedyng & festes, first to be servuede with buystes & homely metes, & after with more delicate & deyntepês. Whereof folowep here after touching the bridde article (150)

The third element of this "messe" instructs us, the readers, to:

[... ] lift we here vp ourer hertes souereynly & bepenke we inwardly wonduryng of that moste worp dignacion & vnspekable charite, þorh þe which he betoke him self to vs & laft to vs in to mete & gostly foode, makyng & ordeynyng þat precious sacrament in þis manere (151)

Love emphasizes both the "bodily" nature of the Eucharist, the "paske lambe", using superlatives such as "deyntep of alle deyntepês" to emphasize its special nature. Like food eaten in "bodily fedyng", it should be served with "buystes & homely metes", and then with more "delicate & deyntepês". The Latin "cibum" is again translated as "mete", and qualified by "gostly foode", emphasizing both its carnal and divine natures. Both body and spirit are nourished by the Eucharist which is a bodily sacrifice which is reenacted spiritually while retaining both its "bodily" and "gostly" natures.

Love implies that the participation of the readers is crucial to the effectiveness of the text; as participants as well as observers, it is the duty of the readers and hearers of this text to mentally "bepenk" as well as inwardly

¹⁰⁶ *Nicholas Love's Mirror*, 150. Shortly thereafter, the narrator tells us that it is "boþe wondurful & dreedeful þe grete benignyte & mekenes of oure lord Jesu" in comparison to the "obstinacye & malice" of Judas.
wonder. Perhaps because our reason cannot comprehend all things, and
wonder is a companion to faith in accepting what cannot be understood. Then,
through the words of Christ the earthly is transformed into the divine, just as
through the words of this text, the reader is able to transcend the worldly to
reach the godhead of Jesus. Love tells the reader to pause and contemplate the
meaning of the Eucharist:

> Bot git more ouere lat vs sitte a litel lengir at pis worpi lorde
> borde Jesus & take we hede inwardly to oure gostly foode & conforte
> more specialty of pat preciouse & moste deyntep mete, pat is pere set
> before vs, pat is pe blessed body of oure lorde Jesus in pis holi
> sacrament before seide. And so by inwarde consideracion tast we pe
> sweetnes of pis heuenly foode, hauyn first in mynde pe gracious &
> resonable makyng & ordinaunce of pat blessed sacrament, and after
> pe gret worpies & merueylous worching perof in chosen soules to
> confort & strenping of oure feip (152)

This and a long section following are added by Love. The spiritual nature of
the Eucharist is meant to be manifested in the reader's faith and external
manifestations of that faith. Love makes a connection between Jesus's divine
(inner) nature, and its representation by the Eucharist, which juxtaposes the
sweet "mete" of Jesus' physical body with his divine body. The Eucharist
ritualizes the Last Supper, and the visual image of us, the readers, gathered
around Jesus' table ("borde") domesticizes the ritual and brings it into the
realm of the visual. Rather than an abstract image of Jesus in the Host, the
reader is encouraged to see him/herself seated around the table with the
disciples and Love, preparing to eat a meal which nourishes the spirit as well
as the body. By "inwarde consideracion" the reader is asked to "tast" the food,
suggesting that the mind's eye can construct not only visual and aural but
gustatory images as well.108 Love explains that the Eucharist is considered the

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107 Meds 597b-598a.
108 The suggestion that the Host works in "chosen soules" to strengthen our
faith may suggest the many miracles that the Host was said to bring about, and
those whose ardent devotion to it served as an example to others.
primary theological and physical connection to Christ’s Passion. Its receipt is the most precious gift one may give to God (151-152), and one must have a pure heart to receive it. Here Love has moved from visual-imaging and “tasting” to a didactic lesson, and shown how it can be turned into devout action, “merueylous worching þerof in chosen soules to confort & strenþing of oure feiþ”.

The physical aspect of the Eucharist is spiritually paralleled "by trewe & devout meditacion of his passion", both forms of ingestion, mental and physical, representative of “þat swete & precious memoriale þat souereynly makeþ mannus soule worþi & pleisyng to god, as ofþ as it is dewely receyuede” (151). Through "memoriale" the reader is able to internalize and store for future use the process and benefits of meditation on the Passion, or its physical manifestation in the Eucharist. The function of "memoriale" also enables the reader to rely on reason as well as faith: "Wherefore by reson þis excellent gift of loue shold kyndeþe mannus soule & enslawme it al holy in to þe giuere þerof our lorde Jesus criste” (151-152). The soul is thus kindled by “reson” through the gift of love which results, supporting the orthodoxy and “reasonableness” of belief surrounding them.

But now here beholde we inwardly & take we hede what wonduryng it was to þe apostles þan to se oure lord Jesus verrey man as þei were, sittynge with hem bodily, & þerwþ halþynge in hese handes þat selfe body in þat þat semede as to hir bodily siht, nouht elles bot brede, aftermyng þys soþety, þis is my body þat shalle be giuen for Þow

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109 See also Medieval Handbooks of Penance. Confession acted as a purifying agent before the reception of the Eucharist. The connection of these two events can be seen in many of the pastoral manuals both before and after 1215. Through confession, the penitent was also instructed in the vices and virtues and in the precepts of the faith, including the Eucharist. Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, 85 “The interaction between learning and confessing was complex, and in the rhythm of instruction one was meant to be led through edifying and effective preaching, towards confession and penance [...]. The confessional, then the penitential and finally the sacramental moods conceptualised and sealed a cognitive and sensory whole.”
[... ] And so pat self body pat pei seyen with hir bodily eye before hem, was sophely vndur pat forme of brede, & pat self blode pat was alle hole in his body; was þere in þe chalice in þe forme of wyne. Bot þan was not þat brede as it semed, & as it was before þe wordes of consecracion, nor wyne as it semede in sel manere, bot onely þe likenes or þe forme of brede & wyne contynyng verrey cristes flesh & blode as it is seide (152-153).

Visualize, see, "beholde" inwardly and also note, "take hede", pay attention; the reader's attention is needed in part because things are not actually as they appear. Love invites the reader to consider the probable confusion of even the disciples themselves, who were present for the institution of the Eucharist, acknowledging the difficulty of accepting the inconceivable on the basis of faith.

In keeping with his anti-Lollard and didactic concerns, Love is extremely cautious in his discussion of the nature of the bread and wine which constitute the Eucharist, and there are several levels of spiritual discernment suggested here: the reader is told to "beholde we inwardly" and "take we hede" in the traditional manner of visualizing the scene being described; Love then invites the reader to wonder at the paradox of Jesus holding his own body in his hands, or so it seemed to the disciples in their "bodily siht". He goes to great lengths to stress that it was only in the sight of their bodily eyes that the image could possibly seem unusual, for, could they have looked at Jesus with their inner eye (as the reader should be doing) they would have seen that the bread and wine were merely under the "forme" or "likenes" of bread or wine.

The disciples cannot yet "see" the full implication of the event unfolding before them.

We are told that the disciples knew nothing of the debate concerning the real presence or what Jesus' deed symbolized. Rather, their faith was firmly grounded in Jesus as their master to the extent that they had sacrificed "bodily reson & witte" in exchange for faith, or "spiritual" reason: "And
Perfore trewe apostles at pat tyme laften alle hir bodily reson & witte, & restede onely in trewe beleue to hir lorde words as it is seide before” (153). In addition to using human characters and reactions to manifest the truth of the Eucharist, Love emphasizes that, in contrast to the benefits of “memoriale”, it is beyond the comprehension of “mannus witte or reson” to truly understand the nature of the Eucharist, for, like the Trinity, it is not an occasion for debate or even for logical posturing. In contrast to the moment above when the disciples and readers are encouraged to merge reason and faith, strengthening both, here they are merely told that those who were “trewe” “restede onely in trewe beleue to hir lorde words” (153). Once again, there are certain things that must be taken on faith, for they are inexplicable through reason.

Love several times emphasizes the necessity of relying on faith alone. One must acknowledge the tension between the “bodily” appearance and the “ghostly” truth, but never under any circumstances admit an unbridgeable gulf which faith cannot cross. The blood and flesh appearing “as if” in the form of bread and wine further supports Love’s rhetorical construction of analogy, merging with the mystery that it is “wundurfully & myraclestly ageynus mannus reson” (153). Thus the reader is guided through a lesson which covers the “bodily” historical establishment of the events surrounding the Eucharist (governed by reason and logic); the resultant “ghostly” theological truth of the Eucharist itself as determined by the Church (governed only by faith, and not subject to “reasonable” analysis); and finally an example of one (Judas) who relied on the obvious and was unable to grasp the complexity of the paradox of faith, and was thus unable to reconcile the mysterious merging of the two.
Love then launches into a direct refutation of the Lollard heresies concerning the Eucharist by associating them with Judas. The heretics suggest that "he holy sacrament of he autere is in his kynde brede or wyne as it was before he consecracion, bycause pat it semep so to alle hir bodily felyng, as in siht, tast & touching" (153).110 The issue of spiritual knowledge is here being asserted as well: just as the word clothes the true meaning, so does the physical Host clothe the real presence, and lack of spiritual knowledge causes one to be blind to the difference: "pese termes I touch here so specialty bycause of he lewede lollardes pat medten hem of hem ageynus pe felp falsly" (154). Love's reference to the Lollards as "lewede" implies not only illiteracy and an inability to see with spiritual sight, but ignorance because they could not but believe in the teaching of the true faith.111 Essentially, their ghostly eyes are blinded by their reliance on physical sight and tangible proof and their inability to rely on faith. Again, the emphasis on visualization is not just as a method of participating in an event, but as a way to see spiritually the true meaning in the event.

110 See Rubin, Corpus Christi, 324-42.
111 Love returns again and again to the issue of the real presence, and includes apocryphal stories of personal encounters with the Eucharist in attacking the Lollards, who considered the sacrament of the Eucharist to be idolatry. According to Margaret Aston, the Lollards held that no priest had the authority to make sacraments. They asserted that every true Christian man and woman was indeed a priest, and rejected "the traditional ministry and sacraments (of baptism, confirmation, marriage and penance) as obstructions between the individual and God," in Margaret Aston, Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion (London, 1984) 60-61. See also Harper-Bill, Pre-Reformation Church in England, 79-83, at 79: Wyclif held that "the bread and wine of the Mass are not annihilated and transformed into the Body and Blood of Christ. He did not devalue the Eucharist, but rather held that its significance had been perverted. It was blasphemous to hold that priests, many of them predestined to damnation, could create Christ's Body. Christ's presence at the Mass was sacramental and spiritual -- the result of God's promise to the faithful, not of the priest's words. Wyclif, in short, wished to dissociate the Eucharist from what he saw as superfluous and harmful manifestations of popular religion, such as pilgrimages and images, which
In addition, the feeling of joy which accompanies the experience of the Eucharist is likened to the feeling the disciples experience at Pentecost, which later Christ explains to be

like to hat hat holi chirch singep of pe Apostles & disciples at pe feste of Pentecost when pe holigoste was sent to hem sodeynly in pe likenes of fire withoutforp, & vnspekaile ioy in hir bodies withinforp [. . .] (155)

By implication, the "fire withoutforp" also serves to remind the audience that the Eucharist had an outward form of bread, but "withinforp" constituted the real presence of Christ. Jesus explains to his disciples that belief in Him will give them strength in the face of persecution, "tellyng hem before hat bei sholde haue gret sorowe for pe absence of him, þorn his hard deþ' but afterwarde þat sorow shold be turnede in to endles ioye" by the holy ghost at pentecost" (157).

In addition to the mystical experience which, for some, inspires joy in Christ, Love suggests that those who give thought to Christ's sermon can be inspired to love Jesus via the direct role of doctrinal instruction or by the example of the reactions and responses of the disciples who listen to his words. Both avenues of learning are capable of increasing one's faith, depending on the nature of the believer: "And so whoso hap grace inwardly to beþenke & diligently to discusse alle pe processe of þis blessede & worþi sermon' skilfully he sal be stirede in to þe brennyng loue of Jesu & likynglye reste in þe sweynes of his blessed doctrine. And on þat oþer side who so takeþ hede to hees disciples howe þei standen sorrowfully hangyng done heere hedes & wepinge & hiely shyng' resonably he may be stirede to grete compassion, & speciale for Jone þat [was] most familiere with Jesu " (158). The Meditationes emphasizes

were not sanctioned by the Scriptures, and most of all he decried the tendency to venerate the Host as if it were God."
an academic exercise. Intellectual discovery leads to affectivity, which leads to faith in doctrine.
Friday, the Day of the Passion

The purpose of the following close reading is to map out the series of chapters in the meditation for Friday to demonstrate how one particular "day" in Love's text operates as a narrative whole and show the corporate elements of affectivity, didacticism, visual imaging and fictionalizing and how Love uses them together. Love is very concerned with the manner in which one involves one's mind and heart in the events being presented and clearly lays out the mindset which one should adopt. Earnestly, intently, constantly, not "passyngel lightly" or with "tediose" seriousness, the reader must engage the text and allow it to engage him/her in return. Love creates a textual framework for mental involvement which at the same time reaches outward to the world in which the reader must live and manifest the effects of the text and its lessons; the brilliance of Love's text is in how it builds that relationship with the reader and encourages both inner, ghostly "textual" participation and external, bodily action which derives from inner devotion and change.

Love starts the segment by emphasizing the different methods of dissemination and receipt of the text, likewise illustrating for the audience its wide application and ease of transmission: you that "redist" or "herest" the "boke" (a physical, textual object) are encouraged to heed the internal, didactic and affective substance therein, the things "writen & spoken" of Jesus' life. The author's role is manifest here as writer and transmitter, but he himself is also a reader, the intermediary between the text and the message, the "bodily" and the "ghostly", the human and the divine.

Chapter XI.
Chapter XL. "Of the passion of our Lord Jesus, & first of his prayer & takyng at matyne tyme" begins a series of meditations specifically constructed to correspond to the devotional hours of Good Friday. Love begins the meditation for Friday with his own addition to the *Meditationes*, a caution to the reader not to mistake the bodily for the ghostly: he warns that, although meditation on the Passion is most effective when one concentrates only on Jesus’ suffering manhood, one should be careful not to forget that Jesus’ two natures are inseparable.

At the bigynnyng pou bat desireste to haue sorouful compassion porh feruent inwarde affection of pe peynful passion of Jesu; pou most in pi mynde depart in manere for pe tyne pe miht of pe godhede fro pe kyndely infirmite of pe manhede pouh it so be in sopenes pat pe godhede was neuer departede fro pe manhede. For pere bep many so blynde gostly by vnresonable ymaginacion of pe miht of pe godhede in Jesu, pat þei trowe not pat any þinge miht be peynful or sorouful to him as to a noþer comune man þat hap onely pe kynde of man; And þerfore hap þei none compassion of þe peynes þat he suffrede supposyng, þat for als mich as he was god; þere miht noping be ageyns his wiþe or dere him (161)

Love states first that the objective of the day’s meditation is: “sorouful compassion porh feruent inwarde affection of pe peynful passion of Jesu".

With such a clear statement, he takes a firm hold of his reader’s imaginative recreation of the event, describing the event which is to “trigger” the *affectus* (“pe peynful passion of Jesu”); the manner in which it is to be attained (“þorh feruent inwarde affection”); and the anticipated *affectus* (“sorouful compassion). Love is also very exact in the way he words his instructions, addressing every possible theological misconception that could occur under the circumstances, and explaining to his reader how to avoid them. For instance, Christ’s humanity should be the primary focus, “þouh it so be in sopenes” that his humanity is not separate from his divinity.

Love and Pseudo-Bonaventure both wish their audiences to feel the pain of the Passion fully. To avoid the compassion owed to Jesus’ humanity would be
to blunt the sorrow which is a necessary step in the process toward affective development. Love also points out the dangers inherent in a too-intellectual approach; he implies that the humanity of Christ is a safer passage to the divine, and not as easily deceived by false visions, probably because meditation on "human" affairs is governed by a known set of standards and images.

Indeed, the desire to concentrate on Jesus' divine nature to the exclusion of his humanity poses a threat to the experience that Love wishes the reader to have; however, the danger is compounded if the reader cannot reconcile Jesus' two natures, and so he/she is carefully instructed in how precisely how to avoid any of these dangers. Love continues his own exposition:

"Bot perfere here ageynus fort haue trewe ymaginacion & inwarde compassion of pe peynes & pe passion of oure lorde Jesu verrey god & man; we shole vndurstande pat as his wil was to suffre pe hardest depe & most sorowful peynes, for pe redempcion of mankynde; so by pe self wille he suspendet in al his passione pe vse & pe miht of pe godhede fro pe infirmite of pe manhede, nomore takyng of for pe tym; pen hap anoper tendere & delicate man, onely after pe kynde of manne (161)"

Love uses two words to describe what could be easily described with one: "trewe" imagination, "inwarde" compassion, "peynes" and "passion", "god" and "man", "hardest" death, "sorowful" pains, both "tendere" and "delicate". This use of dual-descriptors is constant throughout both Love's translated sections of the Meditationes and his own textual additions. A crucial element in Jesus' suffering was his willing acceptance of it, and just as it was through his human will that he suspended his divine nature, so, says Love, must we approach the godhead through that manhood and have "trewe ymaginacion & inwarde compassion of pe peynes & pe passion of oure lorde" (161).112 "Trewe

112 Later, when Jesus is praying in the Garden, the reader is told to consider "him pat is verrey god euen with pe fadere almipty & euerlastyng, so as it were forgetyng him self as god, & so lowely praying as a nopere comune man of pe peple" (163).
ymaginacion” of these pains implies, of course, personal viewing of the events which occurred, a visualization which is the necessary first step to feeling and reacting to the events of the Passion, and one not misled by a false conception of Jesus’ nature.

The seeming contradiction of “trewe ymaginacion” is reconciled when considering the theological content of the imaginative image itself and, emphasizing the “self will” by which Jesus surrendered reliance on his divine nature and opened himself to “trewe” human suffering. Love helps his reader overcome any difficulties associated with seeking to understand how Jesus might conceivably have suffered physical pain.\(^\text{113}\) The theological difficulty of the doctrine of the two natures of Christ is avoided as far as possible: Pseudo-Bonaventure stresses the freely-chosen nature of his sufferings to call upon the audiences’ sympathy and sense of guilt.

The next lines, still Love’s, show how he tries to present Jesus as most fully and recognisably human:

Wherefore pou shalt ymage & inwardly penk of him in his passione as of a faire gonge man of be age of xxiij gere, pat were be fairest, be wisest be moste rihtwise in luyng & moste gedely & innocent, pat euer was or miht be in his worlde; so falsy accusede, so enuyously pursued so wrongwisely demede, & so despitely slayne [... ] (161)

Again there is the merging of “ymagine”, or visualize, and “penk”, balancing yet juxtaposing “fiction” and “truth”. In addition to a brief physical description, Love presents an image of a man who is replete with virtues.

\(^{113}\) Later in the segment, Love tells us that Jesus has “pre maner of willes”: the will of the flesh, which grucchede & dreadde & wold not gladly suffre deth; the will of reason, which was obedient to his fate, and the will of “pe godhede pe which gafe pe sentence of his passion, & bade in alle maner to be done” (163). Sargent notes that this is a conflation of a later segment in the Meditationes which speaks of a “quadruplex voluntas’, distinguishing the wills of the flesh and the sensuality, which are conflated by [Love]” (Sargent, Nicholas Love’s Mirror, 289, n. 163.)
yet who is falsely accused, attacked, punished unjustly and killed without reason; herein Love attempts to upset his reader by emphasizing the injustice done to a virtuous man. The contrasts presented stress the injustice of his fate, and by combining physical description with abstract references to the emotional torment which accompanied Christ’s physical torment, Love gives the reader both a spiritual and a physical several level upon which to work.

Love’s didactic goal is clear: he invites the reader to be present with a devout mindset; then he makes clear the ultimate goal of such practices and the precise benefit which will result from such an exercise; the “newe state of grace” he advocated earlier. The process “builds” Christians: one grows in the process and develops one’s emotions and responses which will lead the soul to a new level of spiritual consciousness and thereby lead to devout action and salvation. Love emphasizes change: “newe loue”; “newe gostly confortes”; leading to a new “astate of soule” which is so highly conducive to penitence and moral improvement.

Love continues with text from the Meditationes:

Wherfore hauyng pis in mynde, first to stiryng of pe more compassion. Forpermore after pe processe of Bonaunture, whose desirep with pe apostle Poute to be joyful in pe crosse of oure lorde Jesu criste, & in his blessed passion; he moste with bisy meditacion abide peinve. For pe grete misteries & alle pe processe pereof, if pei were inwardly consideret with alle pe inwarde mynde & beholdyng of mannus soule; as I fully trowe, pei sholde bringe pat beholdere in to a newe state of grace. For to him pat wolde serche pe passion of oure lorde with alle his herte & alle his inwarde affeccione; pe shuld come many deuout felynges & stirynges pat he neuer supposede before. Of pe whiche he shuld sele a newe compassion & a newe loue, & haue newe gostly confortes, þorn pe whiche he shold perceyue him self turnde as it were in to a newe astate of soule, in þe whiche astateþ pouþtorseide gostilly felynges, sñold seme to him as a nerneste & partie of þe blisse & joy to come (162)114

114 The Latin reads: “Occurrit nunc, ut de passione Domini nostri Jesu Christi pertractemus. Qui ergo in passione et cruce Domini gloriari desiderat, sedula cordis meditatione debet in ipsa persistere, cujus mysteria, et quae circa eam
In addition, the English text also reminds the reader to have the following "in mynde" (the Latin uses "pertractemus", to investigate or occupy oneself) in order to stir compassion which will bring one to a "newe state of grace"; affective response is established as a corrective or modifying influence.

Love also makes reference to the "processe of Bonaventure" to indicate that he has moved back into the Latin of the Meditaciones after his own additions; but he chooses to translate several items differently. For instance, the Latin text encourages the reader to "gloriari" in the "passione et cruce Domini", while Love's text again draws on the framework of sorrow and joy, providing a reversal to the "compassion" above: "be ioyful in pe crosse of oure lorde Jesu crist, & in his blessede passion". Love changes the tone from one of triumph and glory to a more internal and personal response of joy, and personalizes the reader's relationship with Jesus by translating "Domini" as "oure lorde Jesu crist"; he also draws out the "passione et cruce" with the adjective "blessede".

Love borrows the term "meditatione" because he specifically describes the process the reader is undertaking and the manner in which it must be approached, as one should "with bisy meditacion abide þereinne". He is describing a process which can lead to a state of grace, and encourages his reader to "inwardely consideret with aîîe pe inwarde mynde & beholdyng of mannus soule", suggesting mental visual imaging. The Latin "multi adsunt passus insperati" becomes "many deuout felynges & stirynges þat he neuer supposede before", identifying the "passus" as affective steps to be followed.
and using the word "supposede" which is so often used to infer the reader's personal fictionalizing of the story.

The mental attitude with which the reader is told to approach such a meditation is very important. Love uses words such as "abide", "inwardly consideret" "serche", to describe the activity of meditating on the Passion. The words suggest on the one hand the inner peace which should accompany meditation, the silent, "passive activity" which Hugh of St. Victor describes, and on the other hand implies the anxiety of Mary searching for Jesus in Jerusalem or a friend fearfully awaiting the fate of another. The activity is undertaken by the "inwarde mynde", the "soule", "herte" and "inwarde affeccione": in this way Love sets up a variety of rhetorical "spaces" for an activity which will, he assures the reader, elicit affective response and result in "gostly confortes". The idea of rebirth, of resurrection, of newness is prevalent here and provides the reader with yet another rhetorically self-contained segment which explains Love's aim: to arouse the reader's spiritual yearnings and guide him/her along the pathway to fulfillment by giving a hint of the joy which completes the cycle of affective piety.

The following little meditation also serves essentially to prepare the reader for the process of meditating on the Passion:

And fort gete þis astate of þe soule: I trowe as he þat is vnkenyng & blaberinge: þat it behouede to sette þerto alle þe sharpenesse of mynde, with wakyng eyene of herte, puttyng aweye & leuyng alle opere cures & businesses for þe tyme, & makyng him self as present in alle þat befelle aboute þat passion & crucifixione, affectestly, bisily, ausily & perseverantly and not passing tigly, or with tedioushe heuyynes' bot with alle þe herte & gostly gladnes. Wherefore if þou þat redist or herest þis boke, haste herebefore bisily taken hede to þoo þinges þat hauen be written & spoken of þe blessedede life of oure lorde Jesu christe in þis tyme' miche more now þou shalt gedire alle þi mynde & alle þe strengh of þi soule to þoo þinges þat folowen of his blessedede passion. For here specialty is

\[\text{statum susciperet, quae sibi praesagium et participatio gloriae viderentur} \]

(Meds. 599a-b).
shewede his hye charite, þe which resonably shold alle holyly enlaume & brenne oure hertes in his loue.

Go we ban now to be process of his passione, takynge hede & makynge vs in mynde as present, to alle bat folowep. And first beholdyng how after þe processe of þe gospel of seynt John[ . . . ] (162)

The Latin “statum” is expanded to “astate of þe soule”, picking up on the didactic message from page 161. Love places more emphasis on “puttyng aweye & leuyng”, thus leaving out the implication in “omissisque” that one should “omit” (in the sense of never having acquired) “cures & businesse”: instead he gives the impression that one should place one’s cares to the side and clear one’s mind for what is to follow. The Latin reference to “quae circa dominicam ipsam crucem” is also expanded and clarified to “alle þat befelle aboute þat passion & crucifixione”, specifically naming the events rather than using a vague reference.

Love’s own audience is more diverse than that of the Meditationes, and he refers to one who “redist or herest þis boke” to “taken hede to þoo þinges þat hauen be writen & spoken” rather than merely urging the amorphous reader to “attendisti praemissa, quae de ipsius vita dicta sunt”. What will follow is didactic in that it teaches us about “his hye charite” (charitas), again qualifying the virtue with an adjective. He also expands the “concremare” of

115 The underlined is added by Love; the Latin reads: “Ad hunc autem statum consequendum, crederem tanquam ignarus et balbutiens, quod totam illuc mentis aciem vigilanitus oculis cordis, omissisque aliis curis extraneis, dirigi oporteret: et quod quis se praesentem exhiberet omnibus et singulis, quae circa dominicam ipsam crucem, passionem et crucifixionem conigerunt, affectuose, diligenter, amorose et perseveranter. Te ergo hortor, ut si vigilanter attendisti praemissa, quae de ipsius vita dicta sunt, hic multum vigilantius totum apponas animum, totamque virtutem: quia hic maxime apparet illa charitas ejus, quae corda nostra deberet totaliter concremare ” (Meds, 599a-b).

This replaces the opening lines of Chapter LXXV: “Reassume ergo meditationes istas a principio passionis, et prosequare per ordinem usque in linem, de quibus, sicut mihi videtur, modium tanguam: tu vero, ut placet, exercitetis in amplioribus, ut et tibi Dominus ipse dabiti. Attende ergo ad singula, ac si praeens esses; et cerne eum attente [. . . ]” (Meds, 600b)
our hearts to "enflaume & brene", lest there be any doubt. Then in the underlined segment Love borrows from the *Meditationes* Chapter LXXV. Love replaces "meditationes" with "processe", emphasizing the linear nature of one's reading and meditation, as well as the accessibility of such a process, for even one who is "vnkenvng & blaberinge" is capable of reaching this new level of consciousness.

By being present and concentrating with the "wakyng eyene of herte", the reader participates visually in the events of the Passion, and engages in assessment and interpretation of the events; the "eyene of herte" is still in the "process" of waking, and the emphasis is on this process. Feeling and seeing alone cannot bring one into the new "astate"; the didactic nature of the events must be uncovered by one's determining faculty, the "mynde" which is responsible for then applying the resulting lessons to one's own life and for manifesting them in actions towards others.

Love then shifts directly into the physical reenactment of the events, when he encourages the reader to walk with him through the "processe" of the Passion, being both mentally present at the trials and physically susceptible to their emotive affects. He brings the reader to the scene in the garden where Jesus prays, and urges her to "take hede with a deuout mynde" to Jesus' prayer, his first prayer for himself. This poignant moment is set forth as one which must of necessity elicit our "inwarde compassion" while demonstrating too the lesson of "obedience" as taught by Jesus' humble submission to God's will.

There is a forensic tone found here as well: Jesus' "sentence" is the judgement of God and man, for he is both condemned to die by his Father, and
subject to the laws of man to make it so. And so, we are told, his human fleshly will was terrified and "in grete anguysh" over the fate that awaited him: by explaining to the reader how Jesus may have felt in his situation, and providing a "theological" explanation, the text brings the reader into a very intimate understanding of Jesus’ own psyche at the time of his Passion, an understanding which can be used as a guide for the reader to create his/her own mental framework for experiencing the same events. And so the reader is told:

\[\text{Perfore inwardly haue compassion of him in als miche as pou may with alle pi herle. For io pe ladere wille vtturly pat he be slayn \& dede, \& not wipstandingyng pat he is his owne dere louede sone, git he sparep him not, bot giuep him to pe dep for vs alle [\ldots] (163-164).}\]

The "pou" here is directed at the reader, and Love does not join in, but steps aside to directly instruct. The reader is now given the opportunity to do what even God would not do: manifest compassion for Jesus. God is portrayed as the judge, condemning an innocent man, his own son, to death, and the reader in turn is given the role of the court bystanders whose role it will be to exclaim in horror at the unjust treatment, a role which invites not only emotion but an act of reason in the face of unreasonable injustice. The reader’s "wille" is briefly pitted against that of the Father -- briefly because at other places in the text, the reader will be held responsible for Jesus's death, creating a juxtaposition of guilt and absolution and emphasizing how fine the line between the two can be.

When Jesus prays to his father on the Mount of Olives, his petitions take on a tone similar to Love's, calling upon God to "haue in mynde" the good deeds he performed in his lifetime, remembering how "rigtwise \& innocent" a life

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116 See also Chapter 5 in Tom Bestul's *Texts of the Passion*, "The Passion of Christ and the Institution of Torture," on the expressions of emerging forms of judicial torture in the Passion narratives.
he led. Jesus, who will not defend himself in the face of his earthly judges, does so in the face of his heavenly judge. This also presents a parallel with Love's instructions to the reader to "haue in mynde", by extension drawing the reader into the plea as both witness and judge. Jesus' human judges can do nothing to save him; only God's intercession can change the path of his fate, for "grete tribulation in now nihe, & dere is none pat wilde & may helpe bot pou alone": Jesus alone controls his fate and will choose to die using his free will.

Three times Jesus prays to his father, after each time returning to wake his disciples, who have fallen asleep. Each time he prays Jesus comes closer to accepting his fate, and finally calls upon God to have compassion toward "my swete modere & my disciples, pe which I haue kept in to pis tyme." A parallel is here created with Jesus' "cleyng" of his disciples three times as well: Jesus, the man, is seen pleading for his own life and having to accept the inevitability of his death before being able to pray for his family and friends. Only then is he able to withstand the psychological and physiological effects of his fear:

And with pis prayere pat precious & holiest blode of his blessed bodie: brekyng out in manere of swole: droppede done in to pe erpe abundantly in pat grete agonye & herde bataile.

Sopely here is grete matire of sorowe & compassione, pat ouht to stire pe hardest herte pat is in pis worlde to haue inwarde compassion of pat grete & souereyn anguish pat oure lorde Jesus suffrede in pat tyme, & for oure sake. For by pe godhede he sawh pe hardest & souereyn peynes pat were to come in his bodie. And perfore after pe manhede, his tendure bodie, for sere & anguysh; brake out violently on blode (165)

The first paragraph is from the Meditationes: "Et interim sacratissimus ille sanguis corporis sui, in modum sudoris erumpens in hac agonia, sive certamine, dum prolixius orat, usque ad terram abundanter decurrit" (601b). The next is Love's own creation; he here reiterates the lesson on the two
natures of Jesus which appeared at the beginning of the chapter, first informing the reader that the following will be a matter of “sorowe & compassione”, and so “ouht” to stir the “hardest herte”. The anguish Jesus will feel is “grete & souereyn”, for through his divine nature he knew what “hardest & souereyn” pains his “bodie” would suffer: but all of the pain is felt in his “manhede”. By emphasizing the intensity and the truth or accuracy of the pain, Love implies that one should not trivialize such a suffering, nor “fictionalize” it into something different.

The vulnerability of Jesus’ human nature is meant to be deeply affecting to the reader; Jesus sacrifices himself by losing his personal battle in order to win the larger battle for man’s salvation, and the implicit question is: could the reader have done the same? Love draws on the reader’s sense of remorse and compassion in order to exercise every nuance of the situation that might be put to affective use; empathetic triggers abound, and their effect is strengthened by the reader’s realization that Jesus’ human suffering is only increased by his divine knowledge. The fear involved in knowing one’s own death is near and what that death will entail thus adds another dimension of horror to the compassion and empathy already felt by the reader; this is the first time in the text that Jesus displays true fear, and the contrast with his earlier behavior serves to bring the reader into a more intimate and empathetic relationship with his character.

The final element in this scene is the archangel Michael’s visit to Jesus to tell him that the angels had sought Jesus’ release from this fate, but were refused their request; his death is the only thing which will save mankind, and Jesus is able to finally accept his fate:

I chese rapere to suffice be dep. where porh be soules pat be fadere hap made vnto his likenes mowen be sauede; pan I wolde not dye, & be soules be not ageyn bouht. Wherefore my fadere wilie be fullillede. And pan seide be angele to him, Bep pen now of gude
confort my lorde, & worche manfully. For it is semely to him pat is in hye deyre; to do grete pinges & worpi, & to him pat is a manful man; to suffre harde pinges. For po pinges pat bene harde & peynful shote sone passe, & po pinges pat bene joyful & gloriose shole come after (166)\textsuperscript{117}

Jesus must "chese" rather than have his fate chosen for him. The text admits no ambiguity, no room to question Jesus' decision; the process of acceptance is so clearly laid out as to practically exclude doubt, while admitting the difficulty he faced in making his decision. The ultimate result of Jesus' deed is again phrased by Michael in the language of sorrow/joy: " For po pinges pat bene harde & peynful shote sone passe, & po pinges pat bene joyful & gloriose shole come after" (166). Love adds "joyful" to qualify the Latin meaning of "glorioso"; but the events to come will be "harde & peynful", which makes more direct reference to Jesus' sufferings than the more neutral "poenalia", and also removes the implication that Jesus is being punished, leaving the reader with the knowledge that he goes to his death of his own free will.

When Michael leaves, Jesus rises up from his prayer, acknowledging his fate merely with quiet resignation:

And \textit{b}is \textit{b}is \textit{pr}idde \textit{ty}me he rose \textit{v}p \textit{fr}o \textit{his} \textit{pra}ier, \textit{al}le \textit{b}e \textit{bo}die \textit{b}lodye, whome pou \textit{mai}ht \textit{be}hode \textit{w}ith \textit{i}nwarde \textit{c}ompassion \textit{h}ow \textit{he} \textit{wipep} \textit{his} \textit{bodye}, or elles \textit{per}auinture \textit{was}hep \textit{him} \textit{pri}uely \textit{in} \textit{pe} \textit{ruyere} & \textit{s}o \textit{gretel}y \textit{pynede} \textit{in} \textit{his} \textit{body} & \textit{p}at \textit{is} \textit{reverently} \textit{to} \textit{be} \textit{hade} \textit{in} \textit{sorou}uf \textit{c}ompassion. For \textit{w}ithout \textit{grete} \textit{bitternes} \textit{of} \textit{sorow}; \textit{b}is \textit{mi}ht \textit{not} \textit{b}efalle \textit{to} \textit{him} (166)\textsuperscript{118}


\textsuperscript{118} The Latin reads: "Surgit ergo tertio ab oratione totus sanguine madefactus: quem conspice tergentem sibi vultum, vel etiam forte in torrente lavament, totumque afflictum reverenter cerne, eique intime comparere, quia sine ingenti acerbitate doloris hoc sibi contingere nullatenus potuit" (\textit{Meds}, 602a).
Love emphasizes the visual and affective nature of the description, telling the reader to "beholde with inwarde compassion" how Jesus wiped his "bodye", replacing the Latin "vultum" in order to give the reader the image of Jesus entire body sweating blood. Jesus' sweating of blood is an inner manifestation of his fear being displayed externally, pain which will be further externalized through his sufferings on the cross, and for this the reader should imagine him with "sorowful compassion".

When Judas and the soldiers arrive, the reader is told variously to "take nowe gude hede" and "also beholde" how Judas kissed Jesus, how the soldiers seized him, and how the disciples fled in fear, "how ageynus hir wilte, by freety of mannus drede, þei goyn fro him [...]

Jesus goes with the soldiers like a beast to sacrifice, the paschal lamb, "as a meke lambe wip oute resistence folowyng" (167); it is this meekness and submissiveness of the paschal sacrifice which will characterize Jesus' behavior until his death. Brought before the high priests, Jesus is, as told in the scriptures, mocked and reviled (168). Love leaves the details of the scene open to the reader's imagination, implying only that the event was witnessed by many, whose own "retellings" are as individual but also as accurate as the reader's own. Thus "Abreydyng him & reprouyng in þees maner wordes as we resonably mowe suppose" (168) ("Intuere ergo qualiter audaces et pessimi conviciantur eidem, dicentes:") Meds. 602b) become the words of mockery to which Christ is subjected, again using reason to reconstruct sacred history, but letting faith reconcile doctrine.

Love's own rhetorical strategy here and elsewhere is to report events unfolding, and then turn quickly to the audience or the tormentors with words of criticism or encouragement, almost as if to judge and then guide their reactions. As the following scenes unfold the reader's mind is pulled in
various directions depending on what Love focuses on at any one particular moment. For instance, he chastises Jesus' tormentors directly, upbraiding them for assuming that their wisdom and justice were above that of "oure princes & maistres of pe lawe": through their actions, they display their "lewede witte". However, only the reader, as privy to Love's confidence, hears these words, and Love's outbursts invite the reader to express his/her own frustrations and reactions to the scene:

Take hede also on þat opere side of oure lorde as shamefast pacently in silence haddyng his pees to alle þat þei putte vpon him, kastyng done towarde þe erpe his chere, as þei he were gilty & taken in blame, & here haue [inwardly] compassion
A lorde jesu in to whos handes art þou now comen, how mikel is þi pacience? Sopely þis is þe houre & þe powere of derkenes. And so stode he bonden vnto þat pilere vnto þe morowe (168)\(^\text{119}\)

The Latin "omnia" is expanded to "alle þat þei putte vpon him", drawing one's attention to the perpetrators of the deeds, deeds which are indicative of the "houre & þe powere" (hora) of darkness. Jesus' quiet acceptance of his fate was foreshadowed in his earlier discussion with God in the garden. While the scene in the garden sought to elicit compassion tinged with horror at Jesus' mental struggle to come to terms with his fate, this scene encourages a more tender compassion. Jesus remains "bonden vnto þat pilere vnto þe morowe," patient and silent (168). The pillar is more than just a pillar of stone, however; perhaps Love means to show that it is Jesus who remains as solid a pillar of strength as the "pilere" to which he is bound, or to imply merely that Jesus is bound by the pillar of his choice to die, bound by his willing decision to abide by God's will.

\(^{119}\) The Latin reads: "Intuere nunc Dominum verecunde et patienter tacentem ad omnia, tanquam in culpa deprehensum, et vultu in terram demisso; et sibi compatere vehementer. O Domine, ad quorum manus venisti! quanta est patientia tua! Vere ista est hora tenebrarum" (Meds. 603a).
Love then rhetorically frames Mary's reaction as a parallel to that of Jesus: John describes to Mary the events which occurred at the trial, and the text shifts into the planctus genre, the traditional plaint of Mary sorrowing for her suffering, dying son. The reader's compassion for Mary is invoked and she is portrayed as mourning his death already, for "pe seen now wele & trowen pat he shal be dede" (168). Mary's invocation to God to spare her son rhetorically parallels Jesus' own prayers in the garden and Jesus' innocence forms the primary justification with which both Mary and Jesus plead for his release. The reader's role is presented as part of the process Mary endures:

At be last oure lady drowe hir by hir self, & turnede hir in to praie & seide, Most wirciepelul ladere, most piteous ladere, & moste mercyful ladere, I recommende to gow goure awne & my derrest touede sone. Gude ladere bep not to him cruele, sipen ghe bene to alle opur beninge. Ladere euertastynge, wherpe my dere sone shal be dede? Sopely he dide neuer ille. Bot rihtwise ladere, if ghe wole be redemption of mankynde; I beske gow if it may be pat it be fulfillede by a noper maner, & pat my sone be not dede if it be gour wille, for alle beinge, for alle pinge is possible to gow. He helpep not him self, by cause of goure obedience & reuerence, bot hap in maner forsake him self, & made him as feble & vnmihty among hees enemenes. Wherefore merciful ladere help ge him & delyuer him fro hir handes, & geue him me ageyn. By seche maner wordes praiede oure lady for hir sone, with alle nir munt di soule" & in grete sorowe, & perfore haue here pite of hir whom pou seest in so grete afflictione (169)\(^\text{121}\)


Love translates the Latin apostrophe in Mary’s “most wicchipeful fadere”, “gude fadere”, “fadere euertlastyng”, “rihtwise fadere” et cetera. Mary for her part is both a human mother and a Christian believer, and she must struggle to balance these two elements in her role; she must give up her child as a sacrifice for her god, as she here admits to knowing the theological reason for his death. On the one hand Mary is seen questioning the will of God, wanting another to suffer the fate destined for her son. On the other hand it is necessary to present her lamenting in human terms so that the audience can sympathise with her grief.

Chapter XLI

In Chapter XLI, “Of ðe bryngynge of oure lorde Jesu before pilate at prime”, Jesus is led to Pilate, again “as an innocent Iambe,” and remains silent. Love uses the situation to its fullest affective effect:

And when his modere & Jone & oper women of hir companye, pat went oute erely fort here & se of him; metten with him at a crosse weye, & seene him with so grete a multytyde of peple, ladde as a thefe, & so foule & disputesly ferde with; with how grete sorow pei were pan fulfillede; it miht not be spoken (169)122

The inexpressibility of their sorrow is an invitation to the reader to imagine its impact. The emphasis on the mother-son bond remains one of the primary affective vehicles in the Passion story.123 Jesus himself is said to feel the effects of compassion, not for himself but for his mother; each feels the

122 The Latin reads: “Cum autem mater ejus, Joannes et sociae, nam et ipse summo mane exierunt foras, ut venirent ad eum, occurrerunt ei in bivio, et videntes eum sic vituperabiliter et sic enormiter a tanta multitudine duci, quanto repleti sunt dolore, eici non posset” (Meds. 603a-b).
123 On the inexpressibility topos, see Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1953, 1990) 159-162. Curtius describes this topos as an “emphasis upon inability to cope with the subject” (159).
other's physical and psychological anguish. All of these small affective moments are aimed specifically and ultimately at the reader’s own response, and Christ models our compassion just as Mary does.

And so in þat metynge to gedire of oure lorde Jesu & hem; & siti of opere; þere was grete sorowe on boþe parties. For oure lorde also hede grete sorowful compassion of his modere, & þo oper with hir, & namely of his modere þat he knewe in so grete sorowe for him, as þei þe soule sholde be departede fro þe bodie. Wherefore also we oþew in alle þees to haue grete compassion (169)124

Love emphasizes the mother's own reaction rather than that of the amorphous group of followers. The joint mirroring of compassion among Jesus (for his mother and mankind), Mary for Jesus, and the reader for both emphasizes the text's rhetorical dependence on a framework of human relationship, the inseparability of sacred history and human history, and the interdependence of faith and reason.125 Continual reminders to “fele” thus support the doctrinal and historical reality of an event that was both so close and so far from the medieval reader's mind.

Jesus is sent back and forth between Pilate and Herod, neither of whom is portrayed as individuals in the way the characters are developed for instance in the Passion dramas; rather, they are here merely tools or vehicles which are necessary to transport the focus on Jesus imaginatively from scene to scene. They are given no individual characteristics, and the only way for the reader to develop a character out of such cardboard portrayals is perhaps

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124 The Latin reads: “In isto autem mutuo conspectu, fuit dolor vehementissimus utriusque. Nam ipse Dominus multum affligebatur ex compassione quam habebat ad suos, et maxime erga matrem. Sciebat enim, quod propter ipsum dolebant usque ad animae a corpore avulsionem. Considera ergo et intuere diligenter per singula: sunt enim permultum, imo permaxime compassiva” (Meds. 603b).

125 The events portrayed need not necessarily elicit the compassion prescribed, however, and Love is aware of a segment of both his contemporary audience, and Jesus' own audience, which "onely desire & like after curiosite" (170), and neither benefit from nor learn from the lessons implicitly taught. They are
through their actions. Herod, for instance, is unable to elicit either speech or miracles from Jesus: the reader is told "pou maiht se pat ourle lorde not onely is halden as a thefe & a wikked doere; bot also as a foole" (170). The emphasis is always brought back not only to Jesus' portrayal as a thief, evil-doer and fool, but to a universal sense of the injustice being done to the son of God, an injustice for which we, the readers, are ultimately responsible. The constant emphasis on required compassion and empathy are vehicles for this sense of responsibility.

Pilate is a vaguely-described character whose personal involvement is merely the instrument by which Jesus must suffer; nevertheless, Love uses apostrophe to beg him to release Jesus, all to the reader's benefit:

O pilate, pilate, wolt þou reprehende & chastise þi lorde god? þou waste not what þou doist, for he neuer deseruede betyng nor deth. Bot þou sholdest do better & more rihtwisely, if þou woldest chastise & amende þi self at his wille (170)

Love seems to see some hope for Pilate, emphasizing his ignorance, not his evil nature; he once again displays his own emotions concerning the events, drawing the reader into his own response. The Latin "castigas" is expanded to "reprehende & chastise" to emphasize Pilate's injustice, and "recte" becomes "better & more rihtwisely". Love reverses the words "mortem" and "flagella" to the more logical "betyng", then "deth". The verbal parallels with Jesus' words on the cross point to Pilate as though he just does not know any better:

And þan at þe biddynge of pylate, þat he sholde be scourgete & beten; oure lorde was despolete, bonden to a pilere, & harde & sore scourgete, & so stant he nake before hem alle, þat fairest gonge manne of alle childrene þat ever were borne takynge paciently of þoo foulest wrecches, þe hardest & moste bitter strokes of scourges, & þo is þat moste innocent, faireste & ciennest flesh, floure of alle

held as "foiles", an ironic parallel with Herod's portrayal of Jesus as a "fole" a few lines away.

126 The Latin reads: "O Pilate! tu Dominum tuum castigas? nescis quid agis, quia nec mortem, nec flagella meretur. Recte ageres, si te ad suum nutum corrigeres" (Meds.603b).
mankynde, alle to rente & fulle of wondes, rennyng out of alle sides pat preciouse kynges blode. And so longe betene & scourgete with wonde vpon wonde & brisoure vpon brisour; til bope pe jokeres & pe smyters were werye, & pen was he bidene to be vnbonden (170 - 171)127

Love emphasizes Pilate's personal role in Jesus' beating, while the Latin text merely presents the facts. He also adds a more affective tone by once again using two words for single words in Latin: he uses "scourgete & beten" for "spolatur", and "harde & sore" replaces the adverbial "diversimode". Jesus' human nature and fragility is also emphasized by reminding the reader that he was once a child just like them: "pat fairest gonge manne of alle childrene pat euer were born takyng paciently of poo foulest wrecches" is used in place of "juvenis elegans et verecundus, speciosus forma prae filiis hominum".

The linguistic contrast between words like "paciently / foulest wrecches", "strokes of scourge / faireste & cliennest flesh", "floure of alle mankynde / rente & fulle of wondes" is striking, pulling in two rhetorical directions by painting a concrete image of the paradox of sorrow and joy. It is a battle of words, words of sorrow and words of joy wherein, in this instance, sorrow wins as Jesus collapses and is lowered from the pillar, which is said to still contain the stains of his blood: "Sopely pe pylere pat he was bonden to git schewep pe steppes of his blode as it is contenede in stories" (171) ("Columna autem, ad quam ligatus fuerat, vestigia cruoris ostendit, sicut in historiis continetur ", Meds, 604a). Then Love suggests that the only way the reader would not be affected by the foregoing image would be if he/she had a

“stonene herte”, a heart as cold and immobile as the pillar to which Jesus is bound. Love saves this image for the end; he could just as easily have suggested that the pillar itself wept at Jesus’ pain, but the image of a stone heart provides a more effective contrast with the compassionate response of his intended readers.

Jesus is released from his bonds, only to be left alone, cold and naked.

After he was vbonden fro þat pilere; þei ladden him so beten & nackede aboute be house sekynge after hese clotes, þat were cast in diverse places of hem þat despoilede him. And here haue compassion of him in so grete colde quakyng & tremelyng, for as þe gospelle witnesseþ it was þanne harde colde (171)128

Love twice refers to the “colde” Jesus suffers, and translates “trementem” with “quakyng & tremelyng”; “Intuere eum” implies visually-imagining but the more literal sense is replaced with “here haue compassion of him”, as Love prefers to emphasize affective response. Love also reverses the order of “nudatum, sic flagellatum” to “beten & nakede”, perhaps unwittingly, but perhaps also because the reader is then left again with the image of Jesus naked in the “colde”.

Such a seemingly insignificant detail as how Jesus dressed himself is used to elicit maximum affective response. The highly visual image of Jesus, shivering with cold, bloody and bruised is very real, and reminiscent of the naked Adam. Adam and Jesus both represent their innocence and goodness through their nakedness: glorious clothes represent evil and sin and power, clothes which were put on Adam because of his own sinfulness, but put on Jesus because of ours. After Jesus dressed himself, “sume of þoo moste

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128 The Latin text reads: “Soluto Domino a columna, ducunt eum sic nudatum, sic flagellatum, per domum scrutando pro pannis, qui sparsim in domo projecti fuerunt ab expoliatoribus. Intuere eum sic bene afflictem et trementem durissima: erat enim frigus, sicut dicit Evangelium” (Meds.604a).
"wikkede" proposed clothing him in a "silken mantelle of redde", which was done: he was crowned with thorns and given a reed as a sceptre and clothed in garments which advertise his tormenters' sin, not his own. In dramatic form, such a scene moves quickly, and the audience has little occasion to think about Christ's silence; here, however, the contrast between what Jesus suffers and the silence and patience with which he endures his suffering is the primary affective trigger which Love uses to encourage the reader toward affective response.

These events are of course represented on Good Friday in the most affective and dramatic of the liturgical ceremonies, especially since it is the central moment of one half of the ultimate paradox -- the day of sorrow that precedes the joy of the resurrection. The church would have been stripped of all its ornaments, the images shrouded, candles put out, the clergy dressed in black, all to represent death. The undertone of hope and joy always exists, however, in the resurrection, the classic reversal topos. The congregation would be saying their confessions as well, in preparation to receive the Eucharist on Easter Sunday; thus the seeds of hope would be planted, but the horror and significance of the death of Christ would have to be experienced before hope is realized.

Chapter XLII

In Chapter XLII, "How oure lorde Jesus was dampnet to be deth of pe crosse about tierce of pe day" Jesus is led once more to the hall where he had

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129 O.B. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama (Baltimore, Md., 1965) p. 129. See p. 139-40: "Death is a universal and deeply felt phenomenon. It can be dramatized by the use of any number of techniques -- action and pantomime, narrative, lyric, changes of setting, repeated images, and the like. On the other hand, resurrection is entirely outside the normal pattern of history."
been beaten, and is stripped again of his mantle. “& so he alle naked was beden to clope him self aȝeyn” (173). Again and again, the themes of Jesus’ nakedness and silence are repeated; at this pathetic scene the reader is told to:

Now with inwarde compassion beholde him here in maner as I seide before onelich after pe manhede, so passyng faire a gonge manne, most innocent & most louely in þat maner alle to rent, & wondet, & alle blydy nackede with a maner of schamfastnes gederyng hese clōpes, in diverse places of þat hous [...](173).130

Love presents for the second time the image of Jesus naked. Again, Jesus seeks his clothes which have been distributed among the occupants, having to beg for what is rightfully his, and thus showing his humility. Love again emphasizes affective response by describing the reader’s frame of mind (diligenter) as “with inwarde compassion” (using the Latin phrase “ut intime compatriaris”) and also uses the more visual “beholde” for the Latin “considera”. One should “beholde” Jesus’ human nature “in singulis partibus”, but Love clarifies this with “manhede”, should there be any confusion. The Latin however clarifies the same segment by saying “averte ... oculos a divinitate”, but Love may have felt it best to be more direct rather than implicit about which part of Jesus’ nature should be the focus of the reader’s attention.

130 The Latin reads: “Attende hic diligenter, et considera staturam ejus in singulis partibus. Et ut intime compatriaris, et simul pascaris, avertere parumper ocultos a divinitate, et eum purum hominem considera et videbus juvenem elegantem, nobilessimum, et innocentissimum, et amantissimum, totum autem flagellatum, et sanguine livoribusque respersum, pannos suos undique projectos de terra colligere [... ]” (Meds, 604b). Little details, such as the shortcut Mary takes to the city gates in order to be waiting when Jesus is led from the city, add a further dimension of familiarity to the events. When she sees her son carrying the cross “þe which she sawe not before” she is described as “alle out of hir self, & half dede for sorowe, so þat neiper she mihte speke to him one worde nor he to hir bycause of þe grete haste of hem þat ladden him to þe iewe” (173). The image of the speed with which they are rushed by each other combined with Mary’s horror and shock at seeing the cross which Jesus bears adds a new affective twist to the story while perhaps serving as an explanation to the reader why mother and son did not exchange words as Jesus was led by.
The call to affective response takes a more overtly didactic tone as Jesus’ specific qualities in the face of his tormenters are enumerated:

Wherefore nowe take hede diligently to him, & have wondere of that grete profonde mekenes of him, & in als miche as pou may conforme the to folowe him by pacience & mekenes & suffring of wronges for his loue (173).

The effectiveness of the call to “take hede” and “have wondere” in order to “conforme the to folowe” Jesus’ example is accomplished through the empathetic framework continually being constructed and revised. The reader is told to “go forth” with Jesus, not only to accompany him, but to participate in both his suffering and his condemnation; Jesus as the innocent lamb and tender, patient suffering servant of mankind is contrasted with the horror of the events unfolding and the heavy weight of the cross which is at once the instrument of death and the instrument of salvation. Love’s own sorrow at the events transpiring adds a more overt and personal affective dimension, as he models an appropriate response:

Oo gude lorde Jesu what shame done thei to gowe, thei bat sholde be gour frendes, thei maken gow felawe to befes, [g]ei & git thei done worse; for thei maken gow to bere goure crosse, bat is not raddre of hem (173).

Love’s persuasiveness is somewhat forensic, as he endeavors to document the pains Jesus suffered and enter them as evidence to ensure the reader’s proper reaction; he then asks the reader to repeat in his/her mind the documented evidence as though it were irrefutable. This combination of visually imaging and participating in the events along with Love’s assurance that the events are guaranteed to elicit a prescribed response results not only in another plea for affective response, but a firm directive. Love takes a stronger hand with the reader as the crucifixion approaches.

Nowe if pou take gude hede to alle bat hap bene done to oure lorde Jesu, & alle bat he hap suffrede, at matyne tyme & pryme & tierce, in to pis tyme; shal it not be sene to the as mater of grete compassion of his grete passion & sorow? Soloety I trowe gis.
And namely if you will nowe make in by mynde a recapitulacione, & rehearse in generale bat he hap suffered, & bat hap be done to him in to his tyme (174) 

The simple Latin “haec” is expanded to “alle bat hap bene done to oure lorde, & alle bat he hap suffrede”, drawing the reader’s attention again to what has gone before and focusing attention on what is to come. By then telling the reader to make “in by mynde a recapitulacione”, and “rehearse” Jesus’ sufferings up to this point, Love implicitly forces the reader to do just that, even if just in a mental “flash”, while reminding the reader that this is an exercise which should be practiced and repeated. He then steps back himself and carefully documents the elements which would be most effective for the reader to recreate, describing a complex scene which, if imagined dramatically, makes for much movement and action, keeping the reader constantly looking from one participant to another. He introduces the action with a brief narration and an implied directive to “look” at the following:


131 Love adds the underlined segment; The Latin reads: “Nonne igitur haec quae in matutinali, et prima, et tertia hora passus est, videntur tibi sine ipsa crucifixione vehementissimi dolores esse, et amariosi, et horrores vaide stupendi? Certe sic puto, et ad compassionem facentia motiva, quinimo vaide inferentia passionem [. . . ]” (Meds. 605b). Love then adds the second paragraph as a transition to the next segment which he inserts from Meds. 599b-600a.
now to Caiphas, nowe to Pilate & nowe to Heroude, now hiderwarde & nowe hiderwarde, nowe inne & nowe oute.

Oo my lorde god, what is alle pis? Loo þenke þe not here a fulle harde & continuele bitter bataile? gitte abide a litel while, & þou salt se hardere.

þei stande stiffely agenus him alone, þe princes & þe pharisees & þe scribes, with þousandes of þe peple, criyng alle with one voice þat he be crucifide (174-175)\textsuperscript{132}

This method of reiteration in quick, staccato language casts the reader headlong into a whirlwind of events: following the very effective anaphora of "a noþer [. . .] a noþer [. . .] a noþer", found in both texts, Love speaks directly to Jesus with plaintive apostrophe: "Oo my lorde god, what is alle pis?", seemingly carried away with his own grief. The repetition and the rapid shifting of emphasis from one part of Jesus’ anatomy to another serves to envelop the reader in a complex series of carefully choreographed actions, and then the reader is swept along with Love's own horror at the events. The reader watches Jesus “guyng forþe” with his cross to Calvary, followed by a mocking crowd. Judgement is passed by society, as Love quotes Psalm 68:12-13: “he is now as in a parabole in alle hir moupes. And þo þat seten in þe gates as

\textsuperscript{132} The Latin reads: “Alius ipsum dulcem, et mitem, et pium jesum apprehendit; alius ligat; alius insurigit, et alius exclamat; alius impellit, alius blasphemat; alius expuit in eum, et alius vexat; alius circumvolvit, alius interrogat; alius contra eum falsos testes inquirit, et alius inquirentes associat; alius contra eum falsum testimonium dicit, aliusque accusat; alius deludit, et alius oculos ejus vexat; alius faciems ejus pulcherrimam caedit, alius colaphizat; alius eum ad columnam ducit, et alius expoliat; alius, dum ducitur, percutit, alius vociferatur, et alius eum insulterant ad vexandum suscipit, et alius ad columnam ligat; alius in eum impetum facit, et alius flagellat; alius eum purpura in contumeliam vestit, et alius spinis eum coronat; alius arundinem in manu ejus ponit; alius furibunde accipit, ut spinosum caput percutiat; alius nulatoriae genuflectit, alius deridet genuflectionam; et plura et intulerunt opprobria. Ducitur, et reducitur; spurius, et reprobus; voletur, et circumlectetur hoc atque illic tanquam stultus, et stultissime imbecillis; sed et tanquam latro, at impissimus malefactor; modo ad Annam, modo ad Caipham, modo ad Pilatum, modo ad Herodem, et iterum ad Pilatum, et ibidem modo intus, modo foris ducitur et attrahitur. Deus meus! quid est hoc? Nonne tibi videtur hoc durissimum, amarissimum, et continuum, et magnum bellum? Sed expecta parumper, et durira videbis: astant contra eum constanter principes, et Pharisaei, seniores, et millia populi. Acclamatur ab omnibus unanimiter, ut crucifigatur” (Meds.500b-600a).
Chapter XLIII

Chapter XLIII, "Of the crucifying of our Lord Jesus at the sixth hour" draws the reader more firmly into the role of participant in the Passion. The visual-imaging language in the constant exhortations to "see" and "beholde" become more insistent, leading the reader explicitly and overtly through the events, pointing out relevant details, and conscious of a hoped-for response:

Take hede now diligently with alle pi herte, alle po pinges pat be now to come, & make pe pere present in pi mynde, beholdyng alle pat shal be done ageynus pi lorde Jesu & pat bene spoken or done of him. And so wip pe innere eye of pi soule beholde sume, setlyng & figching pe crosse taste in to pe erbe. Sume makyng redye pe nailes & pe hameres to dryue hem wip. Opere makyng redy & setlyng vp ladders, & ordeinyng oper instrumentis pat hem pouht nedeful, & oper taste abouLe to spoile him, & drawe of hees clopes. And so is he now pe pridde tyme spoilede & standeP nackede in siht of alle pat peple, & so bene nowe pe pridde tyme renvede pe brisours of pe wondes in his scourgyng by pe cieuung of pe clopes to his flesh.

Love is emphatic about getting the reader’s attention, and urges him/her to "take hede now diligently with alle pi herte", much more emotional language than "His autem totus mentis intuitu te praesentem exhibeas". Again, Love uses two words for one Latin with "setlyng & figching" (figere), and "makyng redye & setlyng vp" ladders for "parare scalam"; the fetching of hammers is

133 Psalm 68: 12-13: "And I made haircloth my garment, and I became a byword to them. They that sat in the gate spoke against me: and they that drank wine made me their song."
134 The Latin is taken from the opening of the Meditationes' "Meditatio passionis Christi hora sexta": "His autem totus mentis intuitu te praesentem exhibeas, et intuere diligentem cuncta, quae sunt contra Dominum tuum, et quae dicuntur et fiunt ab ipso atque per ipsum. Videas ergo oculos mentis alios figere crucem in terram, alios parare clavos et martellos, alios parare scalam et alia instrumenta, alios ordinare quidquid facere debeant, et alios ipsum spoliare. Spoliatur etiam, et nudus est nunc tertia vice coram tota multitudine, renovantur fracturae per pannos carnis applicatos" (Meds, 605b).
further qualified with "to dryue hem wiþ", just in case the reader did not make the connection between hammer and nails!

Thrice Jesus is stripped and beaten. Mary is inconsolable at seeing her son standing naked, and in a scene oft repeated in Passion texts, she "went in haste to hir dere sone, & clippede him & girde him aboute þe leendes with þe kerchefe of hir hede" (176-177) to cover his nakedness. Mary is portrayed as helpless to save her son other than by protecting his dignity; this final set of clothing is a humble loincloth and stands in contrast to the rich robes of white and then red that were placed on him earlier. This humble garment will represent his divinity. Yet throughout these events, Jesus is passive and silent and nothing is said of how he might have tried to cover his own nakedness, or help his mother do so. This is the third time Jesus' nakedness is covered, but this time by his mother. He is helpless, void of "wille", portrayed as an object, not even a subject, of derision. These three events wherein Jesus displays his humanity could have many implied meanings for the reader, the foremost being the Trinity, but also perhaps his three "willes" mentioned above. In considering Jesus' torment with the "þe innere eye of þi soule", the reader is expected to fix the image on his/her soul, an image which can be revisited at a later time for further meditation.

Love calls upon the reader to pay especially close attention to the actual crucifixion and explains the process in concrete detail; in fact, Love proposes two alternative methods of crucifixion, both descriptions very visual in their detail:

Now take hede diligently to þe maner of crucifying. þere bene sette vp tweyn laddres, one behynde & a nopere before at þe lift arme of þe crosse, vpon þe whiche þoo wikked ministres gone vp with nailes & hameres. Also a nopere short laddres is sette before þe crosse þat lastep vp to þe place where hees feete sholde be nailede.

Now take gude hede to alle þat foloweþ. Oure lorde þanne was compellede & beden fort go vp one þat laddre to þe crosse, & he mekely dope alle þat þei bedene him. And when he came vp to þe
ouerest ende of þat short laddre; he turnede his bakke to þe crosse, & streyht out one brede þoo kynges armes, & hese fairest handes gafe vp to hem þat crucifiede him (176-177)

It is not the act of crucifixion which is emphasized, but rather the process and procedure, right down to Jesus’ lack of struggle when he climbs the ladder and opens his arms for the nails. The ladders with which to nail Jesus’ feet are qualified as “short” to help the visual image along. The emphasis on method and process has been consistent throughout, as the events themselves are, as “facts”, merely the root of Christian belief; what is important is how the facts are interpreted, believed, internalized and utilized. The reader is able to construct the physical layout of Calvary based on the description, which continues:

And þan he þat was on þe laddere behynde þe crosse; takeþ his riht hande & naileþ it fast to þe crosse. And after he þat was on þe lift side drawþ wip alle his miht þe lift arme & hande, & drueþ þeþ perþorn a nopere grete naile. After þei comen done & taken away alle þe ladders & so hangeþ oure torde onely by þoo tweyn nailes smyten þorh hees handes without sustenance of þe body, drawyng donwarde peynfully þorh þe weihþ þerof (177)

The English text is slightly more linear, more systematic. While the Latin describes how the soldier drew his hand back “quantum potest”, Love expands this to “drawþ wip alle his miht þe lift arme & hande” (Latin “clavum”).

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giving the reader time to create the image and see the soldier's effort as well as the visual flow of Jesus' arm leading to his hand and thus to the sight of the "grete" nail being driven in. Even the detail of the removal of the ladders on either side of the cross adds to the verisimilitude of the scene while the affective aspect is emphasized as Jesus is left hanging solely by the weight of his hands nailed to the arms of the cross. Then, we are told, one of the executioners "drawed done hese feete with alle his miht, & anoher anone drive& a grete longe naile þorþ boþe hese feete ioynede to ðeþer. pis is one maner of his crucifiying after be opinione of sume men" (177). Alternately, explains Love, Jesus may have been crucified while lying on the ground. Then Love proceeds to expand upon this version of events.

And if it were done in pis manere; þan maist þou se, howe vileynstþy þei taken him as a ribaude & kasten him done vp on þe crosse, & þan as wode þefes drawn on boþe sides first hees handes & after hees feete, & so nailede him fast to þe crosse, & after with alle hir miht liften vp þe crosse with him hangyn g als heþe as þei miht & þan lete it falle done in to þe morteise. In þe which falle as þou may vndurstande, alle be senewes to breken, to his souerevn peyne. Bot wheþer so it be in one maner or in obere; sowe it is þat our þorde þeþus was nailede harde vpon þe crosse, þande & foote, & so streynede & drawn; þat as he himself seip by þe prophete David, þat þei mihten telle & noumbre alle heþe bones (177)\(^\text{137}\)

For the imperative "conspice" Love uses the gentle "maist þou see" in invitation to the reader. The added underlined segment picks up on the

quantum potest eum trahit, et eo sic extento, alius configit ejus pedes clavo dirissimo" (*Meds.* 606a).

137 The underlined is added by Love, replacing: "Similiter et de pedibus factum intuere, quos traxerunt, quantum violentissime potuerunt. Ecce crucifixus est Dominus Jesus. et sic in cruci( . . .)" (*Meds.* 606a 41-44). Sargent notes the similarity to Psalm 21:18: "They have numbered all my bones. And they have looked and stared upon me." The Latin text reads: "Quod si hoc magis placet, conspice quomodo ipsum capiunt despicabileri sicut ribaldum vilissimum, et prosternunt super crucem in terra furibunde, brachia ipsius accipientes, et post violentam extensionem cruci duriassime affigentes [. . .] extensus, quod dinumerari omnia ossa ejus possent, sicut ipse conquiritur per Prophetam. Fluunt undique sacratissimi sanguinis rivuli ex illis magnis scissuris (*Meds.* 606a).
strength of the soldiers, who with "alle hir miht" lift up the cross, the same "miht" that was put into the nailing of Jesus' hands.\textsuperscript{138} The image is a powerful one, as the reader cannot help but imagine the force with which Jesus' body is jarred and the "senewes to breken, to his souereyn peyne". But Love acknowledges his purely imaginative and affective motives when he assures the reader that "wheper so it be in one maner or in opere; sope it is \textit{pat oure lorde Jesus was naüede harde vpon pe crosse, hande & foote}": he means that how the crucifixion actually occurred is less important than a concretely-imagined and emotion-stirring mental recreation of his suffering. Here we see a clear acceptance of the role of "fiction": the truth of how a crucifixion was actually performed is far less important than the emotional impact on the one who meditates.

Love gradually shifts the emphasis away from Jesus and toward his mother, who will soon take the place of her son in eliciting affective response. She is described in the classic \textit{stabat mater} pose:

\begin{quote}
[. . . ] she hange in soule with hir sone on pe crosse & desir ede inwardly raper to haue diede \textit{pat tyme} with him; \textit{pan} to haue lyuede lengir.

And so stode \textit{pe modere} byside pe crosse of hir sone, bytwix his crosse & \textit{pe pefes crosse}; she turnede neuer hir eyene from him, she was full of anguysh as he was also (178)\textsuperscript{139}
\end{quote}

Love's text emphasizes that Mary's position on the cross is not literal, but "in soule", which also implicitly invites the reader to join her in her grief; he qualifies the addition by clarifying that she "inwardly" would have preferred to die with her son than to live any longer, adding too that she physically "stode [. . .] byside pe crosse of hir sone". Mary stands in a position that seems to protect Jesus from the thieves, placing herself between him and more

\textsuperscript{138} The image of the cross being dropped into the mortise is also found in the York Play of the Crucifixion.
danger; she thus models affective response while rhetorically functioning as a way to re-focus the reader's attention on her relationship with her son. She prays to God to spare her son, and Jesus responds with his own prayer on her behalf, showing how both are selflessly devoted to sparing the other's suffering.

Finally Jesus is heard, albeit only in the reader's mind, praying silently for his mother:

Mi fadere ge knawen how my modere is tormentede for me. I sholde onely be crucifiede & not shee. But too now she hangep on pe crosse with me: Mine owne crucifyinge sufficep, for I bere pe synnes of alle pe peple. She hap not deseruet any seche pinge. Wherfore I recommende hir to gowe, bat she make hir peynes lesse (178)

The full impact of her pain on Jesus is acknowledged, as he prays to God for her release. This is a combination of theological truth (salvation of mankind) and the apocryphal belief that Mary suffered spiritually with Jesus on the cross and upon his death. Mary, like Christ, is innocent, but her own sacrifice of her son is portrayed as similar to Jesus' sacrifice for us.

Chapter XLIII

In Chapter XLIII, "How oure lorde Jesus gelde vp pe spirite at none". Love uses the audience's current affective state to more direct didactic ends as he enumerates the last words Jesus spoke from the cross. By speaking, and thus teaching, while suffering such physical pain, Jesus manifests ultimately the merging of affectivity and didacticism: his words of comfort and wisdom emerge from a body upon which the reader's attention is fixed and through

\[139\] The Latin reads: "Stabat mater juxta crucem ejus, et inter crucem latronis, non avertebat oculos a filio, angustiabatur ut ipse [. . . ] (Meds. 606b).

\[140\] The Latin reads: "Et filius similiter orabat Patrem pro ea, et facite intro se dicebat: Pater mi, vides quomodo affligitur mater mea. Ego deboe crucifigi, non ipsa: sed mecum est in cruce. Sufficit crucifixio mea, qui totios populi porto"
which the reader has been offered salvation in two forms, through Eucharistic participation and through meditation upon its sufferings.

First, Jesus prays for mankind: "Fadere forgiue hem, for þei wite not what þei done. þe which worde, was a worde of grete pacience, of grete loue, & of vnspekable beningnite" (179); these words are glossed by Love as "a worde of grete pacience, of grete loue, & of vnspekable beningnite" (179). The theme of forgiveness and contrition continues to be paramount in the text, as does the theme of spiritual blindness. Love then characterizes the words as being representative specifically of the virtues of patience, love and "beningnite", emphasizing their didactic meaning. Next, Jesus commends Mary to John’s care: "Womane loo þi sone, & also to Jone, Loi þi modere. He clepede hir not at þat tyme, modere, lest she sholde þorn sferuent tendirnes of loue haue bene more sorye." Jesus’ last instruction is to benefit his mother, and Love here emphasizes the familial relationship between Jesus and Mary when he explains that Jesus does not call her “modere” lest the word increase her sorrow at this time. Such an omission, when pointed out by Love, only serves to deepen the affective layers for the reader who might not have given a second thought as to Jesus’ mode of address, and places the reader in the intimate role of understanding how and what Jesus was thinking in his last moments. Next Love shifts back into a more didactic mode again when he describes Jesus suggesting forgiveness and mercy when he says to the contrite thief, "þis day þou shalt be with me in paradise" (179).

Jesus’ next words are the difficult “Helye Helye, Lamazabathanye, þat is to sey, My god, My god, whi hast þou forsake me.” These words remind the

peccate: ipsa nihil tale meretur [. . . ] Recommendo eam tibi: dolores ejus tolerabiles facias" (Mediæ, 606b).
reader of Jesus' fear in the Garden of Gethsemane. The words may in fact be Jesus' reference to Psalm 21, and thus a reference to hope, not despair. The Psalm begins on a strong note of despair:

O God, my God, look upon me: Why hast thou forsaken me? For from my salvation are the words of my sins. O my God, I shall cry by day, and thou will not hear: and by night, and it shall not be reputed as folly in me.

The Psalm moves into hope (21:25-26):

Let all the seed of Israel fear him: because he hath not slighted nor despised the supplication of the poor man. Neither hath he turned away his face from me: and when I cried to him he heard me. With thee is my praise in a great church: I will pay my vows in the sight of them that fear not.

The words here are described as comfort to his enemies, and discomfort to his friends. Love himself then adds the following segment, again raising the spectre of truth and fiction:

Lorde Jesu what confort was þat forside worde to alle þine enemies; & what discomfort to alle þi freendes? So ypte as it semeþ þer was neuer worde þat oure lorde Jesus spake þat gafe so miche boldenes to hees enemyes, & so miche occassion to his frendes fort despeire þat he as god; as that worde. For þeþe yndirstode it þat tyme bot nackedly after þe letter sownþ. Bot oure lord wolde shewe in to þa last ende, þat as he suffrede in body fully after þe kynde of man; so also in his spekyng after þe infirmitie of man, þat he was verrey man suspendyng for þe tyme þe vse of alle þe miht of þe godhede (179)

With the use of direct address Love makes the reader think of the last words in a different way: he considers the effect of Jesus' words on his enemies. He refers twice to Jesus "worde", reminiscent of the Logos, but this time the "worde" acts for the benefit of the enemy; all present are incapable of understanding the deeper meaning of the words, the Logos. The image of "naked truth" on the one hand parallels the three images of Jesus stripped.

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141 According to Roch A. Kereszty, "It is hardly conceivable that such a cry of despair would be the creation of the early community, which had such a hard time to reconcile the abandonment of Jesus by the Father with Jesus' divine dignity." Roch A. Kereszty, Jesus Christ: Fundamentals of Christology, ed. J. Stephen Maddux (New York, 1991) 102.
naked in front of his enemies, tying together that image, the incarnate Logos unveiled if you will, with the more abstract image of one's misguided understanding of the literal Logos, veiled in language that the reader does not have the spiritual sight to uncover. On the other hand, there may be here the core justification for the "fictionalizing" of sacred history; the literal, naked word of scripture invites a quest for understanding.

Next, Love returns to the Latin text, and the words "I pray" are given alternative meaning as well, as they signify Jesus' physical thirst which indicates his loss of blood, and his spiritual thirst for "he hele of soutes." Again, his "wikket enemyes" are portrayed as greatly overjoyed at this, and his family and friends as tormented; the irony of this reversal, this confusion of literal and symbolic meanings, continues until the final dramatic reversal of the resurrection. Finally,

Consummatum est, it is alle endete. As þei he seide þus, Fadere þe obedience, þat þou hast ginen me; I haue perfetely & fully done in dede, & git I am redy to do what so þou bidde me. Bot alle þat is written of me; is now fulfillede. Wherfore if it be þi wille; clepe me now ageyn to þe (180).

The words are glossed "as þei he seide", embellishing the meaning to leave no doubt in the reader's mind as to their significance.

Jesus then gives up his soul with the final request to God to "clepe me now ageyn to þe" (180), paralleling the many times Jesus himself "cleped" his disciples to himself. God the Father speaks to Jesus in words that the audience is invited to overhear:

Come now my swete louede sone, þou hast weele done alle þinges, & I wole not þat þou be more tormentede, & þerfore come nowe, for I shale cleippe þe with myn armes & take þe in to my bosume (180)

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142 The Latin text reads: "Et Pater ad eum: veni, dilectissime fili mi, omnia bene fecisti: nolo quod amplius anxieris: veni, quia in sinu meo et inter brachia mea te suscipiam" (Meds.607a).
The Latin "dilectissime fili mi" is expanded to "my swete louede sone" for a more affective image; the image of grieving yet approving parent is thus paralleled in heaven as on earth. Thus Jesus' final request of his father is acknowledged and granted, and "bowynge his hede vpon his breeste towarde pe ladere as in maner of bonkyng, pat he clepede him to him, & giuyng him his spirite" (180). In his final death-throes, Jesus is described in the very human terms of his own relationship with his Father, and the reader is also reminded of John's laying of his own head on Jesus' breast at the last supper.

Love next shifts the reader's attention immediately to Mary and, like a movie camera, scans her face for a reaction and response to Christ's last moments. She was not privy to God's words of comfort, and is described as "out of hir self & vnfeleable made as half dede." As the spectators gradually return to the city, only Jesus' mother, Magdalen, John and Mary's "oper tweyn sistres" remain; all contemplate Jesus' body, and Love invites the reader to join them, shifting into the language of hope and resurrection. Love inserts his own words here to finish the chapter:143

pis is a pitevous siht & a joyful siht. A pitevous siht in him: for pat harde passion pat he suffrede for oure sauacion, bot it is likyng siht to vs, for pe matire & pe effecte pat we haue þerbye of oure redempcion. Sopely pis siht of oure lord Jesu hangyng so on þe crosse by deuote yimagination of þe soule, is so likyng to sume creatours; þat after longe exercise of sorouful compassion; þei selen sumtyme, so grete likyng not onely in soule bot also in þe body þat þei kunne not telle, & þat noman may knowe, bot onely he þat by experience seleþ it. And þan may he wete sey with þe apostle, Betyde me neuer to be joyful bot in þe crosse of my lord Jesu criste. Amen.

(181)

Sorrow and joy merge in the image, and Love takes the opportunity to point out in detail how one can differentiate between the two while reminding us

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143 Love replaces the Meds. 607b.32-38: "Habes ergo quae de crucifixione et morte, in sexta et nona hora contigerunt, quae modicitate meae, vel tuae ruditati scribenda videntur ad praesens. Tu autem studeas devote, fideliter et
that the bittersweetness of their merging is most effective. Also, didactic and affective purposes merge as Love describes the "matire & be effecte" that emerges through the "siht" of Jesus' suffering, as does the paradox of bodily and ghostly when the effect is felt in the soul of readers, the "creatours" : "so grete likyng not onely in soule bot also in pe body hat bei kunne not telle". The paradox of thinking and feeling is also operative, since not even those who experience all of these effects "may knowe, bot onely he hat by experience feleþ it". And so finally the merging of sorrow and joy is complete, as Love himself claims "neuer to be ioyful bot in pe crosse of my lورد Jesu criste", joy in an object of suffering and all that it represents.

Until the very last instant Love allows the reader to sink into compassion, and then he explains that it was all for the purpose of bringing the audience to this state of joy: the paradox of Jesus' cross being both an object of pathos and one of jubilation is central to Christianity, and Love creates scenario after scenario to illustrate this. He here again shifts the focus to the process that the reader is engaged in, admitting the necessity of affective devotion, yet constantly aware of its inherent didactic pull toward redemption; he directly associates sorrow and joy as being, for some, the same thing. "Feeling" gets one to a state of "knowing", and it is this determinant which provokes virtuous action and paves the way toward salvation. By controlling, to the best of his ability, the reactions and responses of his readers, Love takes personal responsibility for their welfare.

Chapter XLV

solicite his omnibus inhaerere. Nunc de his, quae post mortem contigerunt, dicamus"
In Chapter XLV, "Of po þinges þat befelle aftere þe deþ of oure lord Jesu & aftere none", the text again utilizes apostrophe as Mary sees soldiers arrive, and addresses her dead son: "My dere sone what may be cause, þat alle þees armede men comen ageyn? What wold þei do more to þe? Haue þei not slayn þe my swete sone?" (181). She again stands before the cross as if to guard it, and faces the soldiers who have come to check if the thieves are dead. When they approach Jesus, Mary, along with John, Magdalen, and her sisters, kneels at their feet and spreads her hand, weeping: "Goode breðeren I beseke gowe for almihty goddus loue þat ghe torment me nomore in my dere sone for sopely I am his moost sorouïul modere." Love in turn rebukes Mary's actions, for he feels she compromises her dignity by bowing to these men:

Aa lady what do ge? ghe lowene gow to þe seete of hem þat bene moste wikked, & preyne hem, þat hauene no rewarde to any gude praiere. Suppose ghe to bowe by gour pite, hem þat bene moste cruele & most wikked & wiþoute pite? Or to overcome hem þat bene alpere priddest wiþ mekenes? Nay, for proude men hauen abominacion of mekenes. Wherfore ge travaile in vayne (182)\(^{144}\)

The English text has Mary not just stand (statis), but "lowene" herself to the feet of the soldiers, who are so wicked that they "hauene no rewarde to any gude praiere", that is they are utterly divorced from any source of comfort or hope for their own wickedness. We are told that it is precisely because the soldiers despise her weeping and prayers that one of the soldiers "with a sharpe spere opunede þe side of oure lorde Jesu, & made a grete wonde," out of which flowed water and blood; Mary in turn is "wondet in herte with a newe wonde of sorow" (183) by their spiteful actions, and feels responsible for the further indignity her son endures.

\(^{144}\) The Latin reads: "O Domina, quid est quod agitis? ad pedes nefandissimorum statis; ibi oratis inexorabiles. Pietate creditis flectere crudelissimos et impiissimos, et humiliare superbos? Abominatio est superbis humilitas; incassum laboratis" (Meds. 608a).
Just as the chapter comes to a close, Love reminds us that “Here maih tempt se in what sorowe & perplexite pei bene”, not letting the reader become complacent just because the horrible event has ended. Just as the disciples’ and Mary’s suffering is not over, nor is ours: Mary has taken Jesus’ place, we are told, and the next stage of suffering will belong to her, as “Oo benigne lorde Jesu how is pis, pat ge suffrene goue dere modere, chosen before alle ope, pat is pe Mirrour of pe worlde & yor speciale restyng place; so to be tormentede & turblete [...] (183).

**Chapter XLVI**

In Chapter XLVI, “Of pe takyng done fro pe crosse oure lordes body Jesu at euensonge tyme”. Joseph of Arimathea and Nichodemus arrive with instruments with which to remove Jesus from the cross (the Romans otherwise would leave the bodies out to rot and be eaten by vermin; hence the foul smell on Golgotha). They all mourn at length at the foot of the cross, “knelyng” and “wirchipynge” with “grete wepynge”. The deposition is drawn out, and Love calls the reader to pay close attention to the process of the event: “Take nowe gude hede in maner as I haue seide before, to pe maner of takyng done.” They lay two ladders against the cross, just as in the crucifixion scene, and as Joseph tries to remove the nail from Jesus’ right hand, he cannot:

> for pe naile is grete & longe & harde driuern in to pe tre, & without Grete pristing done of oure lordes hande it may not be done, bot pat is no forse, for oure lord knowep pat he dop alle trewely & with goode entent, & perfore he acceptep his dede (185)

Mary must be distracted so that she does not see the length of the nail which is removed from Jesus, for fear of her “disconfortyng”. She herself then takes Jesus’ right hand and “leip it to hir eyene & deuoutly kissep it; sore wepyng &
The Latin text uses the word “vultum”, which denotes more than just her eyes, but also her entire expression and countenance. Love’s translation as “eyene” and the laying of Jesus’ hand on Mary’s eyes is an interesting choice of actions, implying perhaps that Jesus’ human nature, while dead, is still capable of healing: in this case he heals the pain in Mary’s eyes which she experienced while watching her son die. Mary’s “ghostly” sight, a model for all, is limited at this point, overcome by grief.

In addition, the removal of the nails itself is used to demonstrate the importance of “entent” in committing sins, for the removal, had Jesus been alive, would most certainly have been similar in pain to the insertion of the nails. They were very difficult to remove, and so Joseph has to wriggle then to remove them, and “without grete pristyng done of oure lordes hande it may not be done”, demonstrating again the force with which the crucifixion took place. By noting that Joseph’s “entent” was good, any further damage inflicted upon Jesus’ corpse is forgiven. The other nails are removed, the friends taking care to support every limb until it is all done, and Jesus is lowered from the cross.

Love ends this chapter with his own comments as well:

And namely his blessede modere alle tymes sore wepyng, & þan soroufully beholdyng þe wondes of handes & feet, & specialty þat horrible wonde of his side now takyng hede to one & now to a noþer, & seying his hede so loule ferde wip, & his her to drawen with þe sharpe þornes, & his louely face alle defiled þe with spittynges & blode, & þe heres of his berde drawen awey from his chekes, as þe prophete ysaië spekeþ in his persone þus, I gaþ my body to hem þat smyten it, & myn chekes to hem þat drowen þe her aweye &c (185)

The visual contrast of Jesus’ “louely face alle “defiled þe with spittynges” is unsettling and graphic, and Love makes great affective use of it by again

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145 Sargent’s notes (294, 185:23) indicate that the Latin text (Med., 609a.49) uses “vultum” for “eyene”.
using many descriptors: “sore wepyng”, “soroufully beholdyng”, “horrible wonde”, ending with the lines from Isaiah which emphasize Jesus’ willingness to die.

Chapter XLVII

In Chapter XLVII, “Of pe beryinge of oure lorde Jesu at compleyn tyme”, they lay his body down, and Mary holds his head in her lap. Magdalen kisses his feet, an image which is later repeated when she anoints his feet with her tears:

And riht as she before in his life, weshe hem with teres of compunction: now miche more she washe hem with teres of grete sorowe & inwarde compassion (1.86)\textsuperscript{146}

Now Jesus’ death has become a legitimate source for tears, adding to, but not usurping the shedding of tears for one’s sins: yet in these tears, unlike those of compunction, there will always be the undercurrent of joy which is the joy of resurrection and salvation.

The emphasis moves again toward the expression of the joy of resurrection, but not before the disciples and Mary and Magdalen are seen mourning their loss; Mary and Magdalen consistently share the burden of Jesus’ body. Mary at his head, Magdalen at his feet, and “opere þi midele part” (1.87). Mary rises above her grief to address the body of her son and emphasizes the necessity of his death, hitting a strong didactic note which makes use of the affective framework to press upon the readers the inevitability of the event. Jesus’ innocence is emphasized, as is Mary’s inability (and God’s unwillingness) to help him in “þis soroufulle bataile” (1.87) for mankind’s salvation: “Whereof neuerles I am gladde for þe hele & sauacion of men; bot in þi passion & deþ I am fulle harde tormentede [ . . . ]”

\textsuperscript{146} The Latin reads: “Videbatur deficere prae dolore, et quos alias lacrymis compunctionis rigavit, nunc multo magis undis lacrymarum doloris et compassionis largiter lavit” (\textit{Meds}, 609b-610a).
What better way to demonstrate to the reader the paradox of sorrow and joy than by showing Mary's emotional struggle? Unable to be buried with Jesus as she wishes, Mary will bury her soul with him, and "shalle be biriede with be gostly in mye mynde" (187)

This is the end of the segment for Friday.

Nor is the emphasis on relationship allowed to slip, as Nichodemus offers Mary a home now that she is without one.
CHAPTER III

The Book of Margery Kempe

Introduction

Since the discovery of the whole text of the Book of Margery Kempe in 1934, scholarly attempts have been made to fit her into a sequence of holy women, saints or mystics.1 Her very life is a reformation through emulation of the affective ideal -- courting shame, humiliation and pain for the love of Christ. Kempe's suffering, however, is a suffering re-produced according to her own mental criteria. She is a woman steeped in the tradition and texts of affective piety, an actor in the drama of salvation who lives her role while dedicating her life to teaching others her craft; thus her experience as presented in the Book is a valuable model of affective piety in action. Kempe, as we will see, demonstrates a vivid awareness of many of the themes and practices encouraged in texts such as Love's Mirror, such as visual-imaging, participating in and "fictionalizing" the Passion, a deep concern with interpersonal relationships (primarily that of Jesus and herself), and a keen ability to respond to various "triggers", sometimes of the simplest and ostensibly un-affective sort. Indeed, Kempe claims to have had access to "bone-ventur" in her readings, and

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1 Gail Gibson, The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages (Chicago, 1989) 47 characterizes the Book of Margery Kempe as a "calculated hagiographical text, a kind of autobiographical saint's life. Its rambling and conversational style should not distract us from the fact that its true literary as well as spiritual models were the legenda -- lives -- of late medieval saints, especially the fourteenth-century Swedish wife, mother, and mystic, St. Bridget, to whom Margery quite explicitly compares herself -- and with whom she often competes" (See Margery Kempe, 47)

The edition being used is The Book of Margery Kempe. Ed. Sanford Brown Meech, Early English Text Society (Oxford, 1940). All page references will be to this edition.
in view of the prevalence of that text and of Love's, it is not improbable that she "heard" the *Meditationes* or the *Mirror* itself read aloud.²

I will to look at the process and method of Kempe's affective experiences to demonstrate that she exhibits the skill of both an author and a reader in her affective and didactic method and that her personal "rhetoric" of affective response is inherently didactic. In view of this I wish to deal primarily with Kempe's devotion to the Passion of Christ, and thereby with the relationship she has with Jesus and how this relationship can be interpreted as an affective and didactic model.³ She sees and portrays herself as a messenger, in a very public didactic role; indeed, she is consistently aware of her contemporary audience, those around her who witness her experiences and react to them. This

²Meg Twycross, "Books for the Unlearned", even suggests that Kempe may have read Love's *Mirror*, based on the list of books she claims to have read (i.e. read to her), that is "Bone-ventur": "Margery's own spiritual autobiography shows very interestingly how much of these works she managed to carry, sometimes almost verbatim, in her head; and some of her reported 'meditations' seem to show the kind of creative processes that must have gone on in the composition of the mystery plays: it was, one suspects, all much more oral/aural than literary" (68).

³Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, 49 also suggests that Margery's *Book* discloses a "life of extremely literal and concrete achievement of those very spiritual exercises which the thirteenth-century writer of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* had once urged upon the Franciscan nun, for whom that devotional text was first written. Nicholas Love's enormously popular English adaptation of the *Meditationes*, *The Mirror of the Blessed Lyf of Jesus Christ* (1410), had helped perform the transformation of this contemplative text into a model for the lay devotions of men and women who lived very much in the world. Margery's sacred conversations, her noisy and physical participation in sacred events, her restless hankerings and pilgrimages to shrines and relics and to the Holy Land itself, are all manifestations of her determined attempts to live out a series of homely and affective meditations which were originally addressed to a Poor Clare in Italy more than a century before her birth."

Gibson also points out (49) the similarities between Kempe's experience and that encouraged by Pseudo-Bonaventure, such as in the scene where Jesus appears to his mother first, and not Magdalen, after his death: "Mary’s solicitous questions about Christ's wounds, her grudging approval to Christ's request for permission to leave so that he can appear (in canonical fashion) to Mary Magdalene — all has the ring of Margery Kempe's own and unique imagination. But in fact, the whole scene and suggestions for mentally
awareness is an important part of her experience as well, since she often displays an authorial "awareness" of the effect she is having on her own viewing audience and, by extension, her reading audience.

Margery Kempe's experiences were first published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1521, in a small pamphlet called *A shorte treatyse of contemplacyon*. The variety of texts being published with the advent of printing included many devotional and didactic tracts, and so Margery's first literary appearance into the public realm was not as a unique nor an inspirational model. In its first published format, Margery's life appears as that of a devout English woman, and indeed in its very manner of transmission, her story (in its limited form) "appears not simply as an inexpensive little book but as a practical manual for contemplation." Scholars were surprised when the actual text discovered in 1934 proved not to be the work of a devout anchorress or mystic, but of a woman very grounded in the social and economic milieu of late fourteenth and early fifteenth century England.

She "wrote down", the events of her life after some twenty years of personal devotion to Jesus. The initial text (Book 1) was dictated to one scribe, and then transcribed and expanded (Book 2) by another, after passing briefly through the hands of a third. But it is not my purpose here to delve into the hermeneutical difficulties involved in attempting to differentiate or explicate the roles of Kempe's scribes in the final version, since this subject has been producing it existed in the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, in the authority of a revered text and not in Margery's own psychology."


approached by several. The issue of scribal interference and influence is perhaps too complex ever to solve unless more evidence comes to light; several scholars have suggested levels or stages of influence, but in reality such hypotheses serve only to complicate the already-complex text at hand. I will thus take Margery Kempe's Book at face value, and treat what is written on the page; only she can tell us how much of it is really hers, or even how much she really believed she experienced. To doubt her version of "trewh" is fruitless, and so I will look at what that version is, and suggest only that her life as written in the Book (until further evidence surfaces) must be treated as we have it. Nor will I engage at great length the discussion of Kempe as a version of the sort of mystical experience found in her predecessors and contemporaries, many of whom she had knowledge of, for this, too, has been dealt with. I will, however, consider the full range of her affective experiences, including those with "mystical" overtones or undertones; but Margery Kempe's experience is valuable primarily as a personal, religious experience which is defined by affective devotion to the humanity and suffering of Jesus Christ.


Experiential faith is the essence of Kempe's life, shaped by affective response; her visions of the Passion exemplify the experiential faith which is demonstrated in Passion narratives and meditations which flourished from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, calling upon a reading and listening audience to imagine itself as spectators at the drama of salvation, and to invent or fictionalize scenes which are intimate and personal. That experience, in all of its affective, even hysterical glory, is a product of the same tradition as Nicholas Love's *Mirror*. These two texts are vastly different in genre, structure, and intent, but nonetheless share the common denominators of affective piety and didacticism. Both Love's text (through Pseudo-Bonaventure's) and Kempe's were compiled with the intent of instructing and affecting an "audience", Love's through the page, Kempe's through the life. While the *Mirror* uses affective piety as a vehicle for didacticism, Kempe's vehicle for her own "didactic" message is her life experience as an exemplar of affective devotion. By considering how Margery Kempe, at the extreme end of the spectrum with regard to emotional involvement, constructs and

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8 Margaret Gallyon, in *Margery Kempe of Lynn and Medieval England* (Norwich, 1995) 17 says that, as "a product of the later Middle Ages Margery Kempe was very much part of a religious trend, particularly strong among laypeople, which emphasised personal religion, the pursuit of virtue, the performance of good works and above all a direct encounter with God through prayer." She explains also that "Margery's meditations follow the traditional pattern recommended by all the foremost exponents of the spiritual life. The meditator was instructed, at the time of prayer, to adopt a posture of bodily comfort and composure, to pray first for the guidance and illumination of the Holy Spirit, then to reflect in stillness and silence upon some devout subject: a verse from Scripture, a saying of Jesus, an episode from his life, a passage from the Psalms and so forth . . . To bring an episode into sharper focus one was encouraged to imagine oneself present as an observer or participator in the event, as did Margery when she was meditating on Christ's nativity, imagining herself helping to bind the Christ-child in swaddling clothes. Lastly, with the mind enlightened and the heart stirred, one was exhortd to make a firm resolution of will connected with the meditation: to serve God with heightened endeavour, to imitate Christ in this or that virtue, to emulate the humility of our Lady. In this way the emotions elicited by the meditation led the soul to spiritual action and had some kind of practical application."
personalizes her own affective method and both recognizes and in turn transmits the didacticism inherent therein, we can more easily consider how others, less devout, might engage in such a practice. She is, in essence, a case study in affective piety.

Records of lay devotional experience are rare, and so we must begin somewhere reconstructing what that experience must have been like. There is little extant evidence of personal devotional experience except in the form of saints' lives and the lives of holy women and mystics. However, Kempe does not fit comfortably into any of these categories; but nor does she fit the description of an "average" Christian in fifteenth-century England. She is in her own way a product of her times, and her experiences arise from the same affective tradition as Nicholas Love's Mirror; she is for that reason a fitting object of study. My interest with Kempe lies primarily in her affective devotion to Jesus' humanity, and how her "relationship" with him manifests itself in inner musings and external behavior.

Kempe's ability to outrage medieval and modern audiences alike is another thing which makes her such an interesting object of study when considering the effects of affective piety on a medieval audience. The role she sets up for herself is a combination of Old Testament judge, prophet and seer, and benevolent holy woman whose words of comfort touch many. She is intensely possessive of her "relationship" with Jesus, and yet openly desires others to partake of his love.\(^9\) She willingly weeps for others' sins and prays

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for mankind continually, chastises bishops, castigates priests, defeats charges of Lollardy and is granted many special privileges in the male hierarchy of the Catholic Church; but she is never really accepted, especially in her home country of England, primarily, it seems, because her personality gets in the way.

Not only her fellow citizens of Lynn, but travelling companions, foreigners, and certainly modern scholars have been very uncomfortable with the ways in which Kempe expresses her devotion. Her notorious, seemingly shameless exhibitions of piety have served to ostracize her from much serious critical consideration. She has been labelled at once unconventional, hypocritical, possessed, eccentric, manipulative, a histrionic individual and a holy fool.\textsuperscript{10} The authenticity and sincerity of her grief and tears, even her “boistows sobbyges”, have been questioned, and much has been made of her decidedly “homely” relationship with Jesus. Displaying at times a painful lack of social skills, and oblivious to social proprieties, Kempe’s actions and outbursts might today place her in the ranks of religious charismatics or revival groups, with Christ as friend and confidant, or in Kempe’s case, even a husband and lover. She gives witness to Christ as her personal God, her intimate alter-ego, even her imaginary friend. It is these very testimonials which help to inform our response to Kempe, while she takes to heart the affective teachings of her age, pledging her faith in both verbal and non-verbal forms of witness. She goes far beyond mere testimony

of how Christ saved a helpless sinner, to assert the universality of that saving grace.\(^1\)

As a product of the time, Kempe's method of imaginative involvement with and reaction to scriptural stories is precisely that prescribed by contemporary affective texts like the \textit{Mirror}, which encourage readers to empathize with the suffering Christ and which elicit emotional responses to his suffering to bring us to a deeper level of personal devotion. She claims to have read (or had read to her) many devotional works including Richard Rolle's \textit{Incendium Amoris}; Hilton's "Boke", probably the \textit{Scale of Perfection}; the \textit{Stimulus Amoris} (attributed to Bonaventure); some of St. Bridget's \textit{Book of Revelations}; and work by Marie of Oignies.\(^2\) Kempe had ample material upon which to construct a devotional life, and many exempla to follow.

Yet at the same time we have no real access to Margery Kempe's life, except insofar as she presents it in the \textit{Book}. We cannot respond to her life as such because we never knew her or any facts about her; we only know her version, real or imaginary, and the interpretation she puts on it. When Kempe is mentally present at Christ's Passion, each new scenario she imagines re-


\(^2\)See Ute Stargardt, "The Beguines of Belgium, the Dominican Nuns of Germany, and Margery Kempe" in \textit{The Popular Literature of Medieval England} 277-313. Bridget of Sweden, like Kempe, responded to various triggers, including sermons, which prompted her visions: "Round about her tenth year, on a certain occasion she heard a sermon preached in church about the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. The following night she saw, in a dream, Christ as if he had been crucified in that same hour, and he said to her: 'In such a way was I wounded.' And she thought that this had happened at that hour and answered in her sleep: 'O Lord, who has done this to you?' Jesus Christ answered: 'Those who scorn me and neglect my love: they have done this to me.' Then she came to herself; and from that day, she felt such affection for the passion of Christ that she could rarely recall the memory of it without tears". \textit{Birgitta of Sweden: Life and
creates that text and so creates yet another of the inexhaustible "possible
texts" that find completion in their reader. While Love's *Mirror* and many
such Gospel Harmonies suggested one textual representation but encouraged
many personal representations, with Kempe's text we have the benefit of both.
Kempe experiences the Passion "in mynde", and suggests that Christ himself
instructs her about the didactic efficacy of having such visions of the Passion.
This is an interesting parallel to similar experiences encouraged by Love.

Several themes and practices prevalent in her text and in her
experience will be dealt with here: her "visualization" of the Passion and
various elements of Jesus' humanity are representative of the type of
experiences prescribed in texts such as the *Mirror*. In addition, I will explore
the affective "triggers" that elicit her responses, and the rhetorical
frameworks in which they are described by her and her scribe, as well as the
way her "tears" rhetorically construct a framework for response and

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Selected Revelations, ed. Marguerite Tjader Harris, trans. Albert Ryle Kezel,
Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1990) 73.
13 Meg Twycross, "Books for the Unlearned" develops an interesting
discussion concerning the use of creative imagination in the
*Mirror/Meditationes* and the mystery plays, and addresses the notion of
inventing, or what I call "fictionalizing", material for dramatic
representation: "Provided it is not agenst the 'bileue or gode maneres', the
playwright can also invent dialogue, business, or even whole episodes as he
will" (68). The question of "narrative invention is not directed solely towards
making a plausible story line, as we might with our modern conditioning
expect. We are so accustomed to the idea that the plays were used to teach the
events of the Bible to a partially illiterate audience that we may have an
unconscious tendency to measure their success only by how effectively they
do this, and this by rather modern criteria: do they present the events as
believable? are the characters 'real people'? even, how successfully do they
bring the story and situation up to date? The narrative of the meditations and
plays is important, but the emphasis laid on the reader's response was rather
different. The ordinary devout man was advised to anchor his meditation by
'reading and meditating the outward acts of our Redeemer'. This was more
than just reading the story devoutly. As he read, he was to try and 'be present
at' each incident, to bring it before his inward eyes and ears" (69). While
there is no space here to develop the connection between this type of
prevalent devotional literature and the mystery plays, I hope to address this
notion in more detail in future work.
instruction. I will also explore Kempe's own notions of "trewth" and fiction as demonstrated in her mental participation in and fictionalizing of the various events in Christ's life and Passion. These three elements overlap and merge in Margery Kempe's experience and are demonstrated very much in the realm of experience; also present are the elements of sorrow and joy which pervade Kempe's affective experience. Her inability to compartmentalize or sometimes even to define her experiences demonstrates that she has in her own way mastered the techniques of eliciting and experiencing affective piety by so merging her devotional and daily lives that the two become inseparable. Affective piety structures how she lives and responds to the world around her; she is a living exemplar of affective piety at work while seeing herself in a public didactic role.
Truth and Fiction

Kempe tells the events of her life not in order, as they occurred, but as they occur to her when she dictates them, in a loosely chronological order. In addition, she picks and chooses among her memories and recollections for the most effective, and affective, models and exempla which will be of service to her audience; her experiences themselves thus manifest the tension between “truth” and “fiction”, and her own sense of reality often merges the two. In the sifting process of her recollecting the events of her life, she shapes her past to create the meaning it holds for her now, not then. Historical truth is elusive and relative, and determined by Kempe’s purpose at the time of writing the Book. The narrator of Love’s Mirror likewise proposes to tell the events of Christ’s life as they occurred or might have occurred, depending on the individual reader’s imaginative interpretation of the events, a sort of conscious reader-response “writing”.

Kempe’s scribe explains that:

Thys boke is not wretyn in ordyr, euery thyng after oper as it wer don, but lych as be mater cam to be creatur in mend whan it schuld be wretyn, for it was so long er it was wretyn pat sche had for-getyn be tyyme & be ordyr whan thyngys befellyn. And perchor sche dede no ping wryten but pat sche knew ryght wel for very trewth.

It is clear that what the Book represents is not a chronological autobiography, but a collection of experiences, musings, and reflections which have been modified, interpreted, edited or expanded to give us what Kempe, in her later

14 Denise Despres suggests that “Such freedom with the text not only characterizes Margery’s own meditations, but also raises larger questions about the autobiographical framework in which she places them. For if the author of Jesus’s own life, a gospel harmony, can depart from textual authority for the sake of truth and illumination, why cannot Margery do the same? Supplemental scenes or tableaux merely confirm the purpose of the meditative text -- to provide a mirror in which the penitent may gaze to conform him or herself to Christ”, in “The Meditative Art of Scriptural Interpolation in The Book of Margery Kempe”, Downside Review, 106(1988) 257.
years, thought of the life she had lived. Events are recorded as they "cam to þe
creatur in mend", a conscious form of recollection. Likewise, Kempe either
does not report, or is incapable of reporting all the spiritual events which
occurred to her; even those which she does record are in ostensibly
haphazard, but personally relevant order, for she had "for-getyn þe tyme & þe
ordyr whan thynys befelwyn".

Sche had many an holy thowt & many an holy desyr whech sche
cowde neuyr tellyn ne rehersyn ne hir tunge myth neuyr
expressyn þe habundawnce of grace þat sche felt, blissyd be owr
Lord of alle þys gyftys (187).

This is more than just an inexpressibility topos. Like Love's narrator, Kempe
is occasionally unable to find the language to express her experiences. The
difference between the two is that Love's inability is a rhetorical device which
readers can use to enter an imaginative, reader-created world in which one is
able to have experiences like Kempe's, albeit vicariously. In contrast,
Margery Kempe's inexpressibility seems to be, at least to her, an authentic
problem, an inability to process or express the full extent of her experience.

For the sake of the narrative, Kempe does, however, attempt to follow a
chronological path from the moment of her "conversion" to her subsequent
travels in her advanced years. More than twenty years after her visions
began she claimed she was instructed by Jesus to write down her "felyngys &
reuelacyons & þe forme of her teuyng þat hys goodnesse myth be knowyn to
alle þe world" (3-4), that is her affective responses, her visions and the
example which she manifested to her fellow Christians. This activity takes
more than four years, and the difficulty she encounters first in finding a
scribe who will believe her tales, and then finding a second to transcribe the
first (now dead) scribe's work is monumental. The second scribe is unable to
decipher the first scribe's writing until he is granted the "grace" to do so.
How much, if any, revision occurred in the transcription process is unknown;
all we know, and that only from the text itself, is that Kempe told her story only as she knew it to be "very trewth schewyd in experiens", and in the order that she remembers it occurring to her (124). For Kempe, as for Love, "trewth" is often manifested and demonstrated in "experiens", but this is, as we will see, a tenuous and sometimes unstable association.

Her very act of recalling the events becomes in her mind part of Jesus' divine plan for her. However, Kempe speaks "very trewth" as she recalls it, not as it occurred, and so any apparent evolution in her spiritual growth is suspect; this of course makes any attempt to reconstruct her life and experience quite difficult. Thus our only recourse is to consider the final product of the Book as Kempe's summary statement about her life, and to examine the conclusions she draws, all the while looking for patterns within the text which might hint at a deeper understanding of who Margery Kempe really was. Kempe's mental re-writing of her life in the physical act of writing her Book may enable her to make sense of what has gone before, or perhaps it utterly remakes and thus consciously distorts what really happened, and thereby renders futile any attempt by future readers to reconstruct and analyze that life, while thoroughly changing the past and enshrining it for the future. Through remembering, she remembers and, consciously or unconsciously, re-creates the self she wants to be. No records exist by which to verify her experiences as she reports them, and so all we can do is trust and treat the text as we now have it. Moreover, intense emotion can drastically change how and what we remember; the role of emotions in re-constructing a life from over twenty years before, and the self-recreating process involved
may render an accurate analysis of the real Kempe impossible, but even that reality is relative.\textsuperscript{15}

Kempe reconciles the notion of truth and fiction in several ways, the most prevalent being her ability to visualize scenes from Jesus' life and Passion, participate mentally in these scenes, and "fictionalize" them for maximum affective and didactic benefit.\textsuperscript{16} Kempe's very vocation as a mirror of piety, to inspire sorrow in others through the sorrow she expresses, relies as well on her own perceptions of "trewth" and her own prioritizing of that truth. Her experience of the Passion is always very dependent on her imaginative involvement, but also on her own ability to re-write the event in order to place herself anachronistically within its context. For instance, at one point, Kempe witnesses a full dialogue between Jesus and Mary, wherein Jesus comforts Mary with regards to his impending death. Kempe then places herself in the scene and actively participates: she throws herself at his feet next to Mary and prays for his blessing, weeping, and mirrors Mary's position at the foot of the cross: "I had wet leuar þat þu woldist sle me þan latyn me abydyn in þe worde wyth-owtyn þe, for wyth-owtyn þe I may not abydyn her Lord" (189). Jesus addresses Kempe directly, and asks her to stay with Mary and comfort her: "But I xal come a-geyn, dowtyr, to my Modyr & comfortyn hir

\textsuperscript{15}See David Rapaport, \textit{Emotions and Memory} (Baltimore, 1942) 270: "'emotional factors' may not only quantitatively facilitate or inhibit remembering, or result in forgetting. They were found to organize the emerging memories, condensing, distorting, and symbolically replacing them \ldots{} to lend persistence to certain ideas, impelling them steadily into consciousness in an obsessive fashion \ldots{}"\

\textsuperscript{16}Denise Despres says that "Her meditations are not treatises, but highly personal responses to such issues as affect her private and public spirituality; they are not only emotive, but also intellective. Patterned after scriptural narrative in parabolic forms, they exhibit a freely ranging intellectual play and simultaneously present us with the creative principle
& pe bothyn & turnyn al gowr sorwe in-to joye" (189); Jesus, the object of empathy, is the vehicle for joy through his own pain and sorrow. Kempe visualizes the scene and actively participates while reconstructing the event for her own affective purposes.

Kempe comforts Mary and then accompanies her to see Jesus betrayed, the scene of the trial and the scourging: she next reports the details of a beating he suffers at the hands of the Jews, and she and Mary weep at the sight. Interestingly, Kempe in a sense “doubles” the anachronism by placing Mary herself as witness to a scene that even she was not privy to in the gospels (the beating), with Kempe acting as her “vnworthy handmaydyn”. This technique strengthens Mary’s role as an empathetic character, and the reader is reminded that Mary and Kempe are both present and they themselves “see” it with their own eyes, eyes through which the reader in turn watches the scene. And so Kempe does not only “fictionalize” her own role, but Mary’s too.

The language is intense and graphic: Jesus is even described as going “al modyr-nakyd as he was born to a peler of ston” (190) where he was beaten, silent.

pei bowndyn hym to be peter as streyt as bei cowde & beelyn hym on hys fayr white body wyth baleys, wyth whippis, & wyth scorgys; & than hyr thowt owr Lady wept wondir sor. And perfor pe sayd creatur must nedys wepyn & cryin whan sche sey swech gostly sygrys in hir sowle as freschly & as verily as glyf it had ben don in dede in hir bodily syght, and hir thowt pat owr Lady & sche wer al-wey to-gedyr to se owr Lordys peynys (190)

They beat Jesus with anything close to hand; the tone is haphazard, rushed, casual yet cruel. There is a cause-and-effect sequence here, as the reader is first given the image of Jesus tied up and unable to defend himself; then his

advocated by the author of the Meditations Vitae Christi, in “The Meditative Art of Scriptural Interpolation”, 258.
"fayr white body" is beaten with "whippis" and "scorgys". As a result of this, Mary "wept wondir sor", much like the weeping which Kempe herself engages in physically while imagining "spiritually" the scene: she "must nedys wepyn & cryin", emphasizing the obligatory nature of her response, as though there were no other acceptable options. And then we are told that this scene to which she reacted so strongly was seen in her "sowle as freschly & as verily as gyf it had ben don in dede in hir bodity syght", just as it was indeed here "don" in the (imaginative) "bodily" sight of Mary. By sharing the event with Mary, Kempe not only gives validation to her own expressions of sorrow, but in essence uses Mary as a model for those expressions. She also demonstrates precisely the type of visual-imaging and fictionalizing, "as þei" in one's bodily sight, that Love's Mirror promotes.

Kempe's visions are often contextualized within the structure of liturgical devotion. We are told that she had "gostly syghtys" every Palm Sunday and every Good Friday, and many other times as well. Again and again she "sees" Christ beaten in her "gostly syghtys", once even by "sextene men wyth sextene scorgys, & eche scorge had viij babelys of leed on þe ende, & euery babyl was ful of scharp prekelys as it had ben þe rowelys of a spor" (191). Here again the scourging is glossed to emphasize, this time, the horrific instruments used, a form of cat-o-nine-tails with "babelys of leed" on the end. Then Jesus is given the cross to bear and heads for Calvary. Kempe says that she and Mary "went be an-þep wel for to metyn wyth hym" (191), analogous to the curious "shortcut" which Mary takes in the Mirror and other versions of the Passion in order to reach Calvary before her son, creating another opportunity for affective pause.17 In Kempe's version, she and Mary meet

17 Love's Mirror explains how Mary, since "she miht not folowe him nihe for þe grete multitude of peple about him; she toke a noþer wey more short in
Christ along the road and Mary herself attempts to carry the cross for him, but falls under its weight and "fell down & swoonyd and lay stille as it had ben a ded woman" (191). This is an excellent example of how Kempe "fictionalizes" the Passion story with personal anecdotes which place her close to the action.

The image is rich with affective overtones: it is Mary who collapses under the weight of the cross, actually fainting and having to be revived by Jesus, and Jesus bends down to comfort Mary, an image to which Kempe reacts strongly in turn:

*Whan sche herd be wordys & sey be compassyon hat be Modyr had of be Sone & be Sone of hys Modyr, þan sche wept, sobbyd, & criyd as þow sche xulde a deyid for pite & compassyon [...] (191)*

This is a very interesting affective image: Kempe consciously steps back to watch the scene unfold, then allows her response to burst forth. She continually constructs the vehicles and triggers of her own affective response, and sometimes the violence of her response seems to surprise even her. It is also interesting to note that she has no actual contact with Jesus here; indeed, he does not even seem to notice her presence here, although she is "visible" to Mary. In a scene such as this, Kempe plays a role which is reminiscent of Love’s occasional narrative outburst of horror or grief at scenes being described; Kempe here places a rhetorical distance between herself and the scene she is watching and responding to, seeming aware of the effect of her own response on her audience.

In the next scene Kempe sees the crucifixion, wherein Christ's body appears to her "as a thyng þat wer neve flayn owt of þe skyn, fult petows & rewful to be-holdyn" (192). It is with brutality and cruelty that Jesus is nailed to the cross, and Kempe draws out many details to provoke her own affective
response: the length of the nails; the force of the blows; the use of ropes to pull his limbs toward holes that were drilled too far apart; Mary's begging of the "cruel lewys" to stop torturing her son, and volunteering to take his place (192). Then, we are told, Kempe "wept & cryid passyngly sor þat myche of þe pepil in þe chirche wondryd on hir body" (192). She works herself into an emotional lather, but is also aware here that she has an audience; Kempe's tale slips again and again between her meditative experience and the reaction to those around her. The cross is lifted and dropped into the mortise, wherein Jesus' body "schakyd & schoderyd, & alle þe joynys of þat blisful body brostyn & wentyn a-syndyr. & hys precyows wowndys ronnyn down wyth reuerys of blood on eurey syde" (192). In addition, the alliteration of "schakye" and "schoderyd", "blisful body brostyn" is mnemonic, visceral and vivid.

Kempe again participates actively in the scene when Jesus speaks to Mary, who again swoons; Kempe intercedes and asks "What xal we now don & how xal we beryn þis gret sorwe þat we xal han for thy lofe?" (193), creating a fictional framework for her own response. She is however only an observer in these scenes; Jesus does not acknowledge or answer her, but instead speaks to the thief on his right side: "þis day þu xalt ben wyth me in Paradys" (193). Kempe however responds as though his words were meant for her, and prays that such grace will be shown her when the times comes, for "sche was wers, hir thowt, þan any thef" (193). She juxtaposes her own sinful nature with that of a thief on Calvary, grasping onto the notion and using it as an affective and penitential trigger.

Upon Christ's death, Kempe comforts Mary, witnesses the deposition and the pietà, and sees Magdalen kiss his feet while the others hold his limbs. Kempe's own reaction is akin to a form of madness, as she "thowt þat sche ran opor by þat weye", Nicholas Love's Mirror, 173.
euyr to & fro as it had be a woman wyth-owtyn reson [. . .] for hir thowt þat sche wolde a deyid wyth wepyng & mornyng in hys deth for loue þat sche had to hym” (194); indeed, it is almost surprising that she does not run forward and push Magdalen aside! She is present in many ways, as observer, participant, mourner.18

Then, like Mary, Kempe describes herself as almost dying from grief; when Jesus is buried:

[pan þe sayd creatur, desiryng to a-bydyn stille be þe graue of owr Lord, mornyd, wept, & sorwyd wyth lowde crying for tendyrnes & compassyon þat sche had of owr Lordys deth & many a lamentabyl desyr þat God put in hir mende for þe tyme. Wherfor þe pepil wondryd vp-on hir, hauyng greet merueyl what hir eylyd, for þei knewe ful litil þe cawse. Hir thowt sche wolde neuyr a partyd þens but desiryd to a deyd þer & ben berijd wyth owr Lord (194)]

Her tears are tears of compassion and tears of sorrow. Again she acknowledges the reaction of her surrounding audience, and her narrative shows her ability to switch back and forth between experience and awareness of those around her, merging her spiritual participation with her “bodily” participation in a community of faith which is largely ambivalent toward her. Moreover, she seems able to prolong her mental presence at the tomb by expressing her grief; rather than allow the narrative to move forward, she pauses to revel in a particular moment of grief, much like the Garden of Prayer’s instruction noted above to imaginatively revisit a scene, and “if at any point you feel a sensation of piety, stop; do not pass on as long as that sweet and devout sentiment lasts [. . .].”19

Kempe accompanies Mary home and comforts her with “a good cawdet”; she speaks words of comfort to Mary, although she has never been dissuaded

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18 See Nicholas Love’s Mirror, 187: “And þan alle to gedire honouryng & kissyng his feete; toke him vp & beren him to þe graue, oure lady beringe þe hede & Maudeleyn þe feete & opere þe midele part.”
from her own expressions of grief when witnessing the Passion in her own
right. Kempe here allows Mary to take her rightful place as grieving
mother, and plays the role of nursemaid, exploring yet another nuance of her
affective experience of Christ's death. Saint Peter and John come to comfort
Mary, Peter begging forgiveness for having forsaken Christ. The intensity of
Peter's grief and guilt serves to increase Kempe's own grief; but Mary in
contrast is portrayed as the intercessor and forgiving mother, bidding Peter
to enter when he is too ashamed to do so:

'A. Petir,' seyd owr Lady, 'drede pe not, for, thow pu haue
forsakyn my swete Sone, he forsoke neuyr pe, Petir, & he xal
comyn a-geyn & comfortyn us alle ryth wet, for he behite me,
Petir, pat he wolde comyn a-geyn on pe thryd dûy & comfortyn
me [...]' (196)

The figure of Mary typically oscillates between extreme, inconsolable grief
and comforting, learned disciple. In the next breath she says "stille, mornyng
& wepyng wyth heuy cher [...]" (196), a manifestation of sorrow and joy.

19 The Garden of Prayer, cited in Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 46.
20 Gibson, Theater of Devotion, 50 notes that "just as to proclaim Margery's
martyrdoms is to proclaim her Christ-likeness, so to serve humbly as
handmaiden is to be like Mary, the very Queen of Heaven. The domestic and
housewifely services which Margery Kempe repeatedly performs for the
Virgin Mary and the Christ child in her visionary life are not naive or
childish attempts at mysticism, as they have so often been interpreted, but
rather deliberate and self-conscious emulation of the Marian model."
21 Kempe at no point in this scene identifies with Magdalen. All of her energy
is concentrated on the figure of Mary.
22 See Nicholas Love's Mirror, Chapter XLIX for Saturday. Peter says to Mary:
"I am ashamede & confondet in my self, & I sholde not by resone speke in gour
presence or apere in pe siht of men, for als miche as I laft so kowardely &
forsoke so vntrewely my lorde pat louede me so miche" (191). Mary however
comforts him: "And ge knowen wele pat my son is benynge & merciful
blessede mote he be, for he louede gow wele, & perfour douteb not, bot pat he
sai be wete reconceilede to gow, & gladly he sai forgiue alle trespasses & alle
offenses.

For sopely by suffrance of pe fader pe malice ageynus him was so grete, &
pe wodenes of hees enemyes so stronge & mihy; pat ge miht not haue socoured
him, pough ge hade abiden stille with him, & perfour dredeb not alle shalle be
wele" (191-192).
paralyzing grief and hope. Kempe here observes what happens, and does not participate, though she is "present", letting Mary's role speak and teach.

The ointment to anoint Christ's body is purchased, and Kempe skims forward to the third day, skipping the three days of waiting, and the events which occurred therein. Indeed Kempe here has made her own editorial decision that they are lacking in sufficient affective or didactic influence:

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pan pe creatur left stille wyth owr Lady & thowt a thowsand ger
tyl be thryd day cam, & hat day sche was <wyth> owr Lady in a
chapel per owr Lord Ihesu Crist aperyd vn-to hir & seyd, 'Salue
sancta parens' (196).
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This visit to Mary first appears in the Meditations. "Obviously dissatisfied with the silence of the Gospels about the matter, the Pseudo-Bonaventure presented a sweetly moving scene in which the risen Christ and his mother 'stayed and conversed together, mutually rejoicing' until Christ begs leave to
appear to Mary Magdalene and so return to historical veracity." Kempe likewise places Jesus' visit to Mary before his encounter with Magdalen (which Mary encourages, for, she tells her son, “sche hath ful meche sorwe for gowr absens. And, I prey gow, beth not long fro me” (197). This demonstrates not necessarily Kempe's access to the Latin text of the Meditationes, but at the very least to one of its many variations, perhaps even the Mirror. The fact that she also remembered such an instance and uses it in her own "fictionalizing" of the resurrection speaks to her attentiveness to detail and the wide range of material she had to draw from.

The scene between Mary and Jesus is extremely tender, and he again comforts his mother, promising that: "Der Modyr, my peyn is al a-goo, & now xal I leuyn for euyr-mo. And, Modyr, so schal gowr peyne & gowr sorwe be turnyd in-to ful gret joye" (196). Kempe explains that:

\[
\text{bes gostly syghtys \& vndirstondyngys cawsed pe creatur to wepyyn, to sobbyn, \& to cryn ful lowde \textit{pat} sche myth not mesuryn hir-self ne restreyn hir \textit{per-fro} on Estern Day \& ober days whan owr Lord wolde visityn hir wyth hys grace, blissyd \& worschepyd mote he ben (197)}
\]

This passage emphasizes the uncontrollable nature of her outbursts. Kempe is aware of the timing of her experience, and is able to remember and compare the intensity of similar visions, but also conflates many earlier experiences into a relevant image of "trewth". She makes reference to "syghtys", or the mental-visual image, and "vndirstondyngys", or how she then interpreted and processed the images. The emphasis here is on relationships and on personal loss, but also on the juxtaposition of sorrow and joy, and how relationships so often embrace both feelings at once.

Next Kempe "was in hir contemplacyon wyth Mary Mawdelyn" (197) at the grave when Jesus appears. Again, Kempe describes her meditative

23 Gibson, Theater of Devotion, 49.
process; she has become one with the scene and the dialogue, yet is here an observer, not a participant, and can only report what happens; she still seems to experience the emotions of Mary and Magdalen vicariously through these women. She "herd & sew" how Jesus appeared to Magdalen, but her very reinactment of what she hears, such as when "he creatur thowt pat Mary Mawdelyn seyd to owr Lord. 'A, Lord, I se wele wyl not pat I be so homly wyth gow as I haue ben a-forn'" (197) indicates some rhetorical distance, perhaps an anxiety about her ability to recreate the scene. By claiming that she "thowt" that Magdalen spoke to Jesus, she is explaining how the words came to her in her "thowts", unbidden yet not entirely undirected. There is also a consciousness, a self-awareness of how she is creating the images before her, such as when Kempe "thowt pat Mary went forth wyth gret joye" (197); this is a conscious creation, not a mystical experience.

Kempe also chooses to re-interpret Magdalen's actions as she goes forth with "joye", for:

\[\text{pat was gret merveyl to hir pat Mary enioyid, for, gyl owr Lord had seyd to hir as he dede to Mary, hir thowt sche cowde neuyr a ben mery. pat was whan sche wolde a kissyd hys feet, & he seyd, 'Towche me not.' The creatur had so gret swem & heuynes in pat worde pat euyr whan sche herd it in any sermown, as sche dede many tymys, sche wept, sorwyd, & cryid as sche xulde a deyd for lofe & desir pat sche had to ben wyth owr Lord (197)\]

She here projects Magdalen's words onto herself, wishing herself into Magdalen's role. There is a rhetorical self-awareness on Kempe's part; she interprets what she "sees", and offers a critical perspective on her own rendition of the scene, then stores it for future reference: should she hear it "in any sermown", she has a response ready. She has in effect placed the validity and devotion of her own response to Jesus' words above Magdalen's.

24 The word "thowt" could here mean either Kempe's mental process, or be also a reference to her meditation (OED).
while creating yet more narrative distance between the scene as she imagines it and her re-working of the scene for more affective benefit. Kempe has so very many "experiences" of Christ's Passion that it is difficult to focus on only one, especially since the details, time and order seem to be conflated, adding a sense not so much of uncertainty on Kempe's part, for she is certain in what she believes, but rather of rhetorical imbalance which tosses the reader from moment to moment, vision to vision.
Tears and Affective Experience

Kempe manifests her affective experience of Jesus in several ways: her tears, for one, have been the subject of much debate, perhaps because they are such an intrinsic aspect of her expressions of piety. Even before the granting of the "gift" of the various types of tears, Kempe displays her tears in several instances in the Book. Her tears are of three "types": tears of contrition, tears of devotion, and tears of compassion. They occur under the umbrella of her relationship with Christ, and are an important manifestation of that relationship. They manifest themselves every day for some ten years, and then intermittently for another fifteen; they become an indispensable part of both her belief structure and her psyche, her most prevalent and external form of witness to the inner workings of her affective piety, an "act" toward which "feeling" and "knowing" impel her. In addition, her assertion that her cryings and wailings are a gift of grace, not merely a public nuisance, anchors her firmly in the path of ridicule and makes her the center of attention wherever she goes. But her insistence on remaining within a community which is so ambivalent toward her may be precisely what empowers her in the face of such unfavorable odds.25 It is also what enables her to make public her spiritual journey toward union with Christ.

Early in the text she notes her first occurrence of tears: "And in schort tyme ower mercyful Lord vysytyd pis creatur wyth plentyuows teerys of contricyon day be day, in so mech pat sum men sedyen sche myght wepen whan sche wold & slawndered pe werk of God" (2). Since the writing of the Book conflates experiences and chronology, it is almost impossible to

25 Dhera B. Mahoney, "Margery Kempe's Tears and the Power Over Language" in Margery Kempe: A Book of Essays, suggests that her tears, an inarticulate expression, are linked with her prayers and create "an equation whereby..."
determine when each type of tears actually occurred for the first time unless it is stated. But these first tears of contrition are apparently granted as a result of having suffered great illness and personal and economic loss. She goes to confession and "accusing hyr-self of her mysdedys, & sythen ded gret bodyly penawns", and is then granted the tears. She speaks of her continual awareness of her sinful nature and the tears this awareness prompts:

And pis creatur had contrycion & gret compuncyon wyth plentyuows teerys and many boystows sobbyngys for hir synnes & for hir vnkyndnesse a-geyns hir Maker. Sche bethowt hir fro hir chyldhod for hir vnkyndnes as ower Lord wold put it in hir mende ful many a tyme. And þan, sche beheldyng hir owyn wykkednes, sche myghth but sorwyn and wepyn & euyr preyn for mercy & forgeuenes (13)

The tears of contrition and compunction cleanse the soul in preparation for salvation.

Another type of tears, those of devotion, are first said to have been triggered by a seemingly "mystical" occurrence, the sound of a heavenly melody which prompts her decision to live chaste and embrace a life of fasting and penance, and also results in newly intense "sobs" and "sighs". Thus it would seem that the sound triggers tears of devotion and a longing for heaven.

On this particular night, as she lay in bed:

sche herd a sownd of melodye so swet & delectable, hir þowt, as sche had ben in Paradys. And þerwyth sche styrt owt of hir bedde & seyd, ‘Alas, þat euyr þe dede synne, it is ful mery in Hevyn.’ Thys melody was so swele þat it passyd alle þe melodye þat euyr myght be herd in þis world wyth-owtyn ony comparyson, & caused þis creatur whan sche herd ony myrth or melodye aftyrward for to haue ful plentyuows & habundawnt teerys of hy deuocyon wyth greet sobbyngys & syhyngys aftyr þe biysse of Heuen, not dredyng þe schamys & þe spytys of þe wretchyd world (11)

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Tears equal prayers which equal power", (43), and that prayer transcends the barriers of language and of communication.
Subsequent expressions of these tears will primarily occur in response to other triggers, as will be seen, and not necessarily as a result of this type of pseudo-"mystical" phenomenon.

The third kind of tears is those shed in compassion for Jesus' suffering, such as in an early vision wherein she assists Mary at Jesus' birth and "swathyd hym wyth byttyr teerys of compassyon, hauynge mend of pe scharp deth pat he schuld suffyr for pe lofe of synful men" (19). These tears of compassion are especially prevalent in Kempe's experiences of affective devotion to the crucifixion or anything which triggers for her the thought of Jesus' death, as will be seen.

At first, the "kinds" of tears that Kempe has are noted separately, and not together as a unit or process. The references to her tears in the first few pages of the text are better understood in the light of how Jesus himself defines the gift of tears he grants her, for he is first to identify the three types of tears as working together:

pow I wythdrawe sumtyme pe felony of grace fro pe eybeyr of specher of wepyng, drede pe not þerof, for I am an hyd God in þe þat þu schuldyst haue no veynglory & þat þu schuldyst knowyn wele þow mayst not han terys ne swych dalyawns but whan God wyl send hem þe, for it arn þe fre gyftys of God wyth-owtyn þi meryte & he may geue hem whom he wyl & don þe no wrong. And þerfor take hem mekely & þankyngly whan I wyl send hem, & suffyr pacently whan I wythdrawe hem, & seke besyty þyl þow mayst getyn hem, for terys of compu[n]ccyn, duocyon, & compassyon arn þe heyest & sekerest gyftys þat I geue in erde (30)

Kempe's martyrdom is emotional martyrdom. Jesus here equates the grace of tears with that of "spech" or "dalyawns", suggesting that they are accessed from the same source and under the same conditions. Note here also Jesus' description of the "grace" of her "spech", indicating Kempe's own awareness of the exceptional nature of her ability to teach those who will listen. The word "dalyawns" refers to talking, conversing, or informal chatting, usually a familiar conversation. It also refers to more serious or spiritual
conversation, as well as amorous talk or flirting. Margery’s “dalyawns” with Jesus are portrayed not as theological discussions, but as familiar and homely chats, as well as gifts of grace, just like the tears. This is important because it further demonstrates her psychological attachment to Jesus’ human nature and further defines the relationship she has with him and the role he plays in her life and spiritual development, while also giving her “material” which can be relayed to her own audience. For instance, when in London, Kempe notes that “many worthy men desyred to heryn hir dalyawns & hir comunycacyon, for hir communycacion was so mech in þe tofe of God þat þe herars wer oftyn-tyme steryd Perthorw to wepyn ryt sadly” (37) Thus her “dalyaunce” with Jesus provide Kempe with a way to further her own didactic agenda.

The three kinds of tears are displayed and developed throughout Kempe’s life; the language used to describe them is nuanced, but the terms are consistent. The tears seem to represent three levels or phases of Kempe’s experiential faith and didactic purpose, and her very experiences are defined by these three expressions of piety. Tears of compunction and “contricyon” connect the early patristic notion of compunction with later penitential doctrine. Two of the triggers for compunction are consistently present: sorrow for others’ sins and longing for the bliss of heaven. Kempe is often tortured by the thoughts of her own sinful nature and that of others, and so prepares herself for the spiritual cleansing of tears of devotion, the basic emotional state necessary for devotional expression. These in turn prepare her for the next stage which is characterized by tears of compassion, which include tears of affective response to the Passion.

26 MED “dalyaunce”.
Kempe’s experience of the divine presence is structured according to devotional norms: sorrow for her sins and those of others elicit love and devotion toward Jesus. Love which is further manifested through compassion for his suffering and then outwardly displayed as a model for others. It is also framed within the context of human relationships. Jesus says to her:

For, when pow gost to chyrch, I go wyth þe; when þu sytttest at þi mete, I sytte wyth þe; when pow gost to þi bed, I go wyth þe; & when þu gost owt of towne, I go wyth þe. Dowtyr, þer was neyþr chylþ so buxom to þe fadyr as I wyl be to þe to help þe and kepe þe. I far sum-tyme wyth my grace to þe as I do wyth þe sunne. Sum-tyme þow wetyst wel þe sunne schynyþ al abrod þat many man may se it, & sum-tyme it is hyd vndyr a clowde þat men may not se it, & get is þe sunne neyþr þe lesse in hys hete ne in hys bryntnesse. And ryght so far I be þe & be my chosyn sowlys [ ... ] I preue þat þow art a very dowtyr to me & a modyr also, a syster, a wyfe, and a spowe. Wytnesseyþ þe Gospel wher owyr Lord seyth to hys dyscyples, 'He þat doth þe wyl of my Fadyr in Heuyn he is bothyn modyr, broþyr, & syster vn-to me.' Whan þow stodyst to ples me, þan art þu a very dowtyr; whan þu wepyst & mornyþ for my peyn & for my Passyon, þan art þow a very modyr to hauve compassyon of hyr chylþ; whan þow wepyst for ober mennys synnes and for aduersytes, þan art þow a very syster; and, whan þow sorwyst for þow art so long fro þe blysse of Heuyn, þan art þu a very spowe & a wyfe, for it tongyth to þe wyfe to be wyth hir husbond & no very joy to han tyl sche come to hys presens (31)

What is especially prevalent here is the play on various human relationships between man and woman. Early in the Book, Jesus is seen as establishing familial relationships with Kempe, relationships which evolve, change and develop according to her experience: "dowtyr", "modyr", "syster", "wyfe", and "spouse". Here, he explains, obedience to the will of God encompasses the relationships of "modyr, broþyr, & syster", and tears of devotion are associated with the role of "dowtyr". Two of the female relationships are further sub-characterized: tears triggered by "my peyn & for my Passyon" are associated with motherhood’s compassion for a child, manifested in Kempe’s tears at every thought of Jesus’ suffering and mirrored by Mary’s own grief. Tears for the sins and hardships of others are the tears of a sister, and tears of
longing for the "blysse of Heuyn" are the tears of a "spowse & a wyfe, for it longyth to pe wyfe to be wyth hir husband & no very joy to han tyl sche come to hys presens". The emphasis is in part on the aspect of compunction, with two of the primary triggers, others' sins and longing for paradise. The context of the relationship which characterizes longing fits in as well with Kempe's own spousal relationship with Jesus.

Another important duality in Kempe's experience is the difference between her "hy contemplacyon", and her "holy meditacyon", for herein perhaps a distinction can be made between traditional affective piety, accessible to all, and transcendent, what some call "mystical", experience which in Kempe's case is seemingly defined by visitations by Jesus and other scriptural figures as well as traditional manifestations of holy smells and sounds. At one point, when Kempe visits Julian of Norwich, she tells Julian of her experience of "he grace bat God put in hir sowle of compunccyon, contricyon, swetnesse & deuocyon, compassyon wyth holy meditacyon & hy contemplacyon, & ful many holy spechys & dalyawns bat owyr Lord spak to hir sowle, and many wondirful reuelacyons [. . .]" (42). Also, when Kempe seeks the support of an English friar against her travelling companions in the Holy Land: "Sche teld hym also what grace God gaf hir of contricyon & compuncycon, of swetnes & deuocyon, & of many dyuers reuelacyons whch owyr Lord had reuelyd vn-to hir [. . .]" (63). The use of this combined terminology (contemplaction / meditation) is perhaps indicative of Kempe's relative control over the experiences she has, and may merely serve to admit her own ambiguity about her visions. It may be her (or her scribe's) way of indicating which experiences are under her relative control. It is the vision which results in her "sowle" which causes her to have "compassyon", a way to rhetorically point out and define the response which had just been portrayed.
or described. But much time cannot be spent speculating as to what distinction Kempe meant to draw when she referred to meditation, contemplation and dalyaunce; they often occur together because for her they best describe a process she undertakes on a daily basis.

Kempe refers again and again to these two levels of divine communication, but it is the former, more traditional meditation, that I am especially concerned with, for it represents the bulk of her affective visualizing or imagining. This is a process which Kempe, not Jesus, is largely in control of, although she attributes to each and every one of her experiences the power of divine grace. Indeed, I do not believe that Kempe is always able to differentiate between meditative and contemplative experience, and so she conflates the two when referring to anything except her "dalyawnce". It is also possible that her scribes exercised some editorial control over her choice and consistency of terms, but such a conjecture can never be proven or disproven.

At one point her confessors came upon her shortly after she had arisen from her contemplacyon or ellys fro hir meditacyon, sche cowde a telde hym meche thyng of be dalyawnce pat owr Lord datyid to hir sowle, & in a schort tyme aftyr sche had forgetyn pe most party pefof & ny euerdeel (202)

The witnesses here are unable to determine for themselves the nature of her experience, and even Margery, upon dictating the event, cannot. This indicates that she is perhaps aware of some distinction between her experiences of meditation, contemplation, and dalyaunce, but that she either cannot adequately explain it to her scribe, or that her scribe is incapable of or unwilling to clarify the difference.

It does seem that when she expresses "compassyon wyth holy meditacyon & hy contemplacyon", she refers to the meditative exercises on the
Passion which constitute the majority of her "visions" as we will see below. This implies a two-step process: meditation represents the mental visual-imaging which Kempe engages in; contemplation seems to imply a further stage, transcending the meditative process and raising her spiritual consciousness. The "dalyawns" she refers to are the familiar dialogues she has with Jesus, dialogues which serve to instruct and guide her. But in reality the true nature of her tears cannot be explained by anyone except Kempe herself.

In addition, the merging of what some would call "mystical" and meditative serves the rhetorical purpose (perhaps intentional, perhaps not) of emphasizing Kempe's relationship with Jesus and, by extension, her reactions to it. Kempe knew what constituted mystical experience for others such as Julian of Norwich and Bridget of Sweden (although Kempe claims that her visions are better than Bridget's) and might very well have chosen to mirror these in her own story, but in fact, it is interesting that she is so casual about the types of phenomena which fit into the category of mystical experience: smells, heavenly sounds, et cetera. Her primary concern is instead with the carnal images of Jesus' suffering, the relationships among the holy family and the disciples, and with her own personal, and sometimes peculiar, relationship with Jesus.

The movement as represented in her tears, from feeling to vision to knowledge, a movement into deeper faith, is a journey which both Kempe's experience and Love's text repeat again and again, sometimes changing the order of the steps to vary the rhetorical influence: the "process" then manifests and rewrites itself for the benefit of others. Kempe differentiates

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27 Kempe once sees the Eucharist moving like a dove in a priest's hands: "pan seyd owyr Lord Ihesu Crist to be creatur, 'pow xalt no more sen it in pis maner, perfor thank God pat pow hast seyn. My dowtyr, Bryde, say me neuyr in pis wyse'". MK, 47.
among the different expressions of sorrow she embraces, but is consistent in her terms and uses the same order or progression: she acknowledges her sin, then feels love for the one who brought her to this awareness, in turn feeling compassion for the suffering experienced by the object of her affection and devotion.

Kempe's tears are redefined several times by Jesus himself, who emphasizes that they serve a variety of theological and didactic purposes for others as well as her, and indicate paths which her example can lead to for her audience:

I gyf þe sum-tyme smale wepyngys & soft teerys for a tokyñ þat I lofe þe, & sum-tyme l geue þe gret cryis and roryngys for to makyn þe pepil a-ferd wyth þe grace þat I putte in þe in-to a tokyñ þat I wil þat my Modrys sorwe be knowyn by þe þat men & women myþ haue þe mor compassyon of hir sorwe þat sche suffyrð for me. And þe thryd tokyñ is þis, dowtyr, þat what creatur wil takyn as mech sorwe for my Passyon as þu hast don many a tyme & wil sesyn of her synnys þat þei xal haue þe biys of Heuyn wythowtyn ende. The feth tokyñ is þis: þat any creatur in erthe, hal he be neuyr so horrybyl a synner, he þar neuyr fallyn in dispøyr gyf he wyl takyn exampl of thy leuyng & werkyng sumwhat þe altyr as he may do. Also, dowtyr, þe fifte tokyñ is þat I wil þu knowe in þi-self be þe gret peyne þat þu feliþ in thy hert whan þu cryist so sor for my lofe þat it xal þe caus þu xait no peyn lieyn þan þu art comyn owþ of þis woride & also þat þu xait haue þe lesse peyn in thy deying, for þu hast so gret compassyon of my flesche I must nede haue compassyon of þi flesch. And þefor, dowtyr, suffyr þe pepil to sey what þei wil of þi cryng, for þu art no-thyng caus of her synne (183)

Kempe sees herself as a sign, manifesting and interpreting other signs; the above description also seems to be a further expansion and elaboration of the three types of tears represented elsewhere. She is set forth as an exemplar for sinners, and through her Jesus demonstrates the types of response which are available to believers, couched here in a vocabulary of tears and their meanings. Her tears of devotion and love are the "soft teerys" of love which she expresses. Next, the "gret cryis and roryngys" are Kempe's violent expressions which for her represent Mary's suffering at the Passion, and also
instill fear in others for the "grace pat I putte in pe" -- the tears of a mother. These tears are meant to induce in the beholder a respectful fear of God's authority and compassion for Mary's suffering, either through fear of Kempe's power which is represented by her role as Christ's own mirror, or through the more direct exempla of her suffering which, as representative of Mary's suffering, acts as a direct line of access into compassion for Christ's suffering. In this way, her very actions are portrayed as exempla channeled through God's grace and the words that describe them. The emotional pain experienced by Mary in texts such as the Mirror is represented here, and Kempe's own compassion will at times "mirror" Mary's expression.

The third token is the bliss of heaven for anyone who expresses as much sorrow as Kempe does for Christ's Passion. Once the beholder, here Kempe, is "hooked" either by the affectus of love or fear, she is led to this third token, the pragmatic effect that sorrow for the Passion will have, that is a cessation of sin and devout action. The fourth token is Kempe's didactic role of setting an example of "leuyng & werkyn" which can be emulated; anyone, no matter how sinful, who learns from her example will "neuyr fallyn in dispeyr". This is an acknowledgement of her didactic role.

The fifth token is for Kempe alone, that she will feel no pain while dying or at the moment of death; it is a reward for her good service and compassion on Christ's behalf. This token also suggests a parallel with the popular notion that Mary suffered psychologically and emotionally the same pains that Jesus suffered physically on the cross. Here, Jesus offers Kempe a trade: in exchange for the same expression of empathy, she will be spared pain in death and Purgatory, for "þu hast so gret compassyon of my flesche I must nede haue compassyon of þi flesch". Kempe, in essence, "gets" what...
Mary "got", a fine bargain indeed, since this token is for her alone. The pain and sorrow Kempe suffers in her devotion to the Passion and all that reminds her of it is of the spiritual and psychological variety, but is expressed in very physical terms. She seeks spiritual and social martyrdom, and exults in public censure while embracing a model of humility and shame in order to counteract that censure.

Margery Kempe is directly concerned not only with her own experience, but with the way her experience can be interpreted and used as a model for her followers. Her tears are inherently didactic, and the suggestion of a process of tears to be followed to salvation demonstrates a merging of affective and didactic motives. Her own example sets the stage for the journey from affectivity to didacticism: through love or fear (whichever is best suited to the reader) to compassion, onward to contrition, and thence to greater understanding of Christ's message and ultimately to a better life. Likewise, for Kempe herself, tears of love lead to tears of compassion then tears of contrition. Out of the pain of Calvary comes joy; Kempe parades her grief and love, and it is for this that she is persecuted. In addition to serving as both an affective and thereby didactic ideal, Kempe's experience captures the paradoxical shift of sorrow to joy in a unique way.

28 Kempe's fear of physical pain in this life and spiritual pain in the next (along with her fear of rape) is an interesting thread in her biography, but one which is only peripherally connected to the main scope of this paper (see 132, 229, 237, 241). She imagines her own death as a sacrifice for Jesus, but fears pain, and so "dred for þe poynl of deth, & þerfor sche ymagyned hyr-self þe most soft deth, as hir thowt, for dred of inpacyens, þat was to be bowndyn hyr hed and fet to a stokke & hir hed to be smet of wyth a scharp ex for God dys lote." For this "imagining", Jesus promises her that no man shall "sle the, ne fyer bren þe, ne watyr drynch þe, ne wynd deryn þe" (30). Another time Jesus promises "I have grawntyd þe þin owyn desyr, for þu xuldist non oper Purgatory han but in þis werld only [. . .] I prey þe, loue þu me wyth al thyn
The role of her tears is also multi-faceted: on one hand they publicly urge people to repent of their sins, while acting as a continual reminder that humility and suffering are necessary for salvation. Kempe consciously uses her tears for these purposes, with the support of Christ who says to her:

 oftyn-tymys þat day þat þu receyvyst my precyows body þu askyst grace & mercy for alle þi frendys & for alle þin enmyis þat euyr dede þe schame er reprep ðeþyr scornyd þe er japyd þe for þe grace þat þerke in þe & for at þis world boþe gong & else, wyth many teerys sore wepyng & sobbyng. þu hast suffyrd mech schame & meche repref. & þerfor xalt þu hand ful mech blys in Heuyn (213)

Kempe's ability to see the long-term effects of her sorrow and to merge the sorrow of her affective response with the joy which is inherent therein is an important part of her didactic role; this is most prevalent when she clearly states how she herself sees the relationship between the two. She experiences not only the sorrow caused by public ridicule and censure, but also the sorrow of longing for Jesus:

 'A, Lord Ihesu, syn it is so swel to wepyn for þi lofe in erth, I wote wel it xal be ryght joyful to be wyth þe in Heuyn. þerfor, Lord, I prey þe, late me neuyr han oper joy in erthe but mornyng & wepyng for thy lofe [...] (215)

She not only manifests, but understands the relationship between different types of "sorrow" and the joy that is juxtaposed. Likewise, when Jesus on occasion withdraws her tears for a short time, the joy she desires is absent:

 'I xal takyn a-wey fro þe thy criyng þat þu xalt no more cryin so lowde ne on þat maner wyse as þu hast don be-forn þei þu woldist' [...]. Schere cryed no mor afyr so lowde ne on þat maner as schhe had don be-forn, but sche sobbyd wondirly afyr & wept as sor as euyr sche dede be-forn, sumtyme lowde & sumtyme stille, as God wolde mesur it hys-selfe (155).

Not surprisingly, she is called a hypocrite by those who had doubted the authenticity of her tears.

 hert, & I xal geuyn þe good a-now to louyn me wyth, for Heuyn & erde xuide raþar faylyn þan I xuide faylyn þe (157).
Paradoxically, public slander is a comfort to her, and demonstrates Kempe's inner relationship with sorrow and joy. Jesus explains to her that this is a further opportunity for her to “knowe þe bettyr what sorwe & schame l suffyrð for thy tofe, and þu schalt haue þe mor compassyon whan þu thynkyst on my Passyon” (156). Time and again she is given opportunities to suffer for her lord, and she embraces each one as long as it does not involve physical pain on her part. Another time:

Sche myth ney þyr wepyn lowde ne stille but whan God wolde sende it hir, for sche was sumtyme so bareyn fro teerys a day er sumtyme hal a day & had so gret peyne for desyr þat sche had of hem þat sche wold a gouyn al þis worlde, gyf it had ben hir, for a fewe teerys, er a suffyrð ryth gret bodily peyne for to a gotyn hem wyth. And þan, whan sche was so bareyn, sche cowde fynde no joye ne no conforte in mete ne drynke ne dalyawns but euyr was heuy in cher & in cuntenawnc tyl God wolde send hem to hir a-geyn. & þan was sche mery a-now (199)

Kempe's pain "for desyr" is the pain of longing associated with compunction, but here represents her own personal desire for the suffering associated with her tears. Here, "bodily peyne" is caused by the absence of her tears, ironic to consider since she is so afraid of physical suffering; nonetheless, for Kempe, absence of spiritual pain is a form of physical pain which results here in "no joye ne no conforte". Interestingly, here she claims that she would have "suffyrð ryth gret bodily peyne" in order to regain her tears: this from a woman who is so frightened of a painful death that she insists Jesus promise she will "not” suffer physically, either in this life or in the next. Despite this seeming contradiction, the "sorrow" of her tears is inextricably connected to her continued well-being. Christ's presence in her is so prevalent, such a part of her daily existence, and so represented by her tears, that their very
absence causes "gret peyne for desyr" of it; and so they must be regained at any cost.

Jesus assures Kempe again and again of heavenly rewards and of the authenticity of her tears and their necessity for mankind:

[...] and also, dowtyr, for þe gret sorwe þat þu hast for al þis world þat þy myghtyst helpyn hem as wel as þu woldst helpyn þi-self bope gostly & bodily, & forpermor for þe sorwys þat þu hast for þe sowlys in Purgatory þat þu woldist so gladly þat þei wer owt of her peyn þat þei mythyn preysyn me wyth-owtyn ende (159-60)

Besides thanking Kempe for her compunction in praying for the souls in Purgatory, Jesus thanks her for her love, for her constant thoughts of him, for her inability to abide others' breaking the commandments or swearing, and for the ridicule she has endured. He tells her that his angels are ready at all times to bring her prayers, holy thoughts, and tears to him, "for þi terys arn awngelys drynk" (161). She is even comforted for her lost chastity and valued as though she were a virgin (despite the birth of fourteen children). At one point, tired of public scorn, she asks for her tears to occur only in private. Her request is denied because, she says, Jesus wants her tears to be visible to others; instead, the intensity of the tears will be of varying degree, equivalent to the degree to which Jesus "speaks" in her soul:

þu xalt not han þy desyr in þis thow my Modyr & aile þe seyntys in Heuyn preye for þe, for I xal make þe buxom to my wil þat þu xalt cryyn whan I wil, & wher I wil, bothyn lowde & stille, for I teld þe, dowtyr, þu art myn & I am thyn, & so xalt þu be wyth-owtyn ende (182)

Christ is portrayed as seeking to make her obedient to his will, and Kempe resists, a reluctant prophet. Kempe's true will, and that of mankind, is indeed the will of Christ, and part of her spiritual, and rhetorical, journey is in learning to temper her resistance to it.
Not everyone believed her affective responses were authentic. In fact, it is in England, her home, that she was most often doubted. Kempe was received better outside England, in places such as Rome, where she is often defended:

Sum religyows comyn to swch personys of hyr cuntremen as lound hir & seyen, 'his woman hath sowyn meche good seed in Rome sithyn sche cam hydir, bat is to sey, schewyd good examypyl to pe pepyl, wherthow bei louyn God mor ban bi dede be-forn' (99)

The Italians make a point of telling the English pilgrims that Kempe is to be admired, so it must have been obvious to them that she was mistreated by her own people. It is primarily in England that her behavior was considered heretical, but audiences everywhere seem to have had a problem with her personality, which was unconventional and irritating. It gets in the way of people's belief in her message, and there is an inability on the part of her audience to separate the message from the messenger. In her efforts to teach by example, Kempe alienates people from her message. For instance, when in York, before being examined by the Archbishop for heresy, Kempe attends a sermon given by a a monk "be whech had herd meche slawndyr & meche euyl langage of pe sayd creatur" (123). Before a crowd which included Kempe herself, he

29When "visited" by St. Jerome while praying in a church in Rome (where his body was "miraculously" transferred), Jerome says to her: "Blisshed art bow, dowtyr, in be wepyng bat bu weypst for be peplys synnes, for many xal be saydyd perby. And, dowtyr, drede be nowt, for it is a synguler & a specyal gyft bat God hath gouyn be, -- a welle of teerys be whech xal neuyr man take fro be" (99). Her tears will save others; but in reality, Kempe herself will not be accepted and her tears will be considered suspect.

Kempe's tears are even said to be beneficial for her confessor: Jesus says: "And, as for Maistyr Robert, bi confessowr, I haue grawnlyd be pat bu hast desiryd, & xuide han halfe thy teerys & half be good werkyys pat I haue wrowt in be. pefor he schal trawyly be rewardyd for thy wepyng as thow he had wept hymselfe. & beleue wel, dowtyr, pat ge xal be ful mery in Heuyn to-gedyr at be last and xal blyssyn pe tyme pat euyr gowr on knew gowr oper" (216).
rehearsyd many materys so openly bat be pepil conceyued wel it was for cause of hir, wher-for hir frendys pat louyd hir wel wer ful sory & heuy perof, & sche was meche be mor mery, for sche had mater to preuyn hyr paciens & hir charite wher-thorw sche trostyd to plesyn ovr Lord Crist Ihesu (123)

Kempe claims here to find personal joy in public censure, and reassures everyone that her didactic role in displaying the virtues of patience and charity under such conditions are in fact a blessing, not a curse. Although it seems that at this particular sermon she engaged in no outbursts, Kempe’s reputation preceded her, and her own people continue to react to her presence even when that presence was not immediately disruptive. Indeed, that very preacher was then called upon to give testimony at her heresy trial shortly thereafter (124-125).

The public’s uncertainty about the validity of Kempe’s experience is perhaps paralleled by her need for continual reassurance of the authenticity and orthodoxy of her visions. Over the course of the Book, she portrays her own willingness to persevere in the face of public hostility and ridicule as resulting in her being rewarded with more and more elaborately intimate “visitations” by Jesus, and by her receding doubt as to their authenticity. At times she claims to be, or behaves as though she were, uncomfortable with the “truth” of her visions, and so she looks to the sources of her scriptural and devotional knowledge for confirmation. It is of course impossible to know whether this is a rhetorical ploy on Kempe’s part, or the “trewth” as she believes it. The duality persists as her grace-imbued nature competes with her human quest for the tangible authority represented by books which represent for her the mediated, divine Word in its most concrete form. It is this knowledge that she desperately craves, imparted not divinely but humanly:

Alas, Lord, as many clerkys as þu hast in þis world, þat þu ne woldyst sendyn me on of hem þat myth fulfyllyn my sowle with þe word & wyth redyng of Holy Scriptur, for ale þe clerkys þat
prechyn may not fulïillyn, for me thynkyth pat my sowle is euyr alych hungry (142)

Part of the problem in dealing with Margery Kempe lies in reconciling the disparate elements of a personality that, as portrayed in her own words, is at once profoundly self-referential, and profoundly self-deferential. She is obsessed with her own experience and its evolution, yet is self-negating and critical of her worthiness. Kempe's real text is an experiential one, removed indeed from the written words which record it, and removed yet further by the chronological gap which separates the events from their recording. The expectations we have in reference to such a life are thus bound to be thwarted, and so the literary context of Kempe's Book is of less importance in this study than is her role as an affective and didactic model who in turn mirrors such models.

She felt that the only time Jesus did not visit her was when she doubted the visions he granted her. When she believed that it was indeed God and not an evil spirit that

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gaf \text{ hir so mech grace of deuocyon, contricyon,} \& \text{ holy contemplacyon,} \text{ pan had sche so many holy thowtys, holy spechys, and dalyawns in hir sowle techyn hir how sche xulde touyn God, how sche xulde worscpeyn hym} \& \text{ seruyn hym, pat sche cowde neuyr rehersyn but fewe of hem: […] it weryn so hy abouyn hir bodily wittys pat sche myth neuyr expressyn hem wyth hir bodily tunge liche as sche felt hem. Sche vndistod hem bettyr in hir sowle gan sche cowde vttyr hem (201).}
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Kempe's experiences are in themselves didactic, and serve the purpose of instructing her in how to further bring a didactic message to others through that experience. The "thowtys", "spechys", and "dalyawns" which occur in her soul "techyn" how she herself should love and worship God, but such experiences are so numerous that she can only "rehersyn" a few of them, that is re-tell them to her own pupils, her observing public. Furthermore, the
experiences are "so hy abouyn hir bodily wittys" that she cannot express how they "felt" with her "bodily tunge". Kempe "feels" her experience, but can only articulate the "carnal", worldly impressions they leave; she lacks the devotional sophistication to describe what some would call mystical, or at least transcendent "spiritual" visitations. Thus she expresses the result of her experience in her tears and outward wailings, incapable of anything else.

She eventually comes to "believe" more in the authenticity of her visions:

Of his maner speche and dalyawnce sche was mad mythy & strong in be lofe of owr Lord & gretly stabelyd in hir feith & encresyd in mekenes & charite wyth ober good vertuys. & sche stabely & stedfastly beleuyd pat it was God pat spak in hir sowle & non euyt spiryt, for in hys speche sche had most strength & most comfort & most encresyng of vertu, blissyd be Cod (214-215)

Clerical approval continues to be very important as well, and she continues to seek it.
Affective Triggers

What is not clearly stated but amply demonstrated is precisely that many of Kempe’s affective outbursts are triggered by a variety of affective stimuli, and thus “fit” into an affective, meditative framework. Scholars have in general been undecided as to whether Kempe is a true “mystic” or not, some supporting this claim, and others suggesting that her experiences are “fictional” even to her. I will suggest that Margery may indeed have had some mystical experiences, but that the bulk of her experiences demonstrate the type of affective, “visualization” experiences which Love’s Mirror attempts to elicit, and which will be the primary focus here. I would argue that her “visualizations”, like Love’s variety of rhetorical methods, display a combination of experiences: some are merely affective meditations (albeit vivid ones) on the Passion which trigger such intense emotional response that they seem to be beyond her control; others indicate an awareness on Kempe’s part of her didactic role. Many of Kempe’s affective experiences, primarily her imaginings of the Passion, are “triggered” by external stimuli of various types. The triggers are manifested in several “categories”, including incidents of daily and domestic life, elements from the liturgical year, and of course any and all devotional triggers such as sermons, images or even oblique references to Jesus.

There also seems to be a consciousness on Kempe’s part of those around her who witness her affective responses; this might further suggest an active awareness of the didactic role she plays in demonstrating the type of affectivity which is appropriate to Jesus’ suffering. Thus the “triggers” to which Kempe reacts serve an affective and didactic purpose for both herself and her audience: they often take the form of domestic or homely images, encouraging familiar and intimate knowledge of Christ, and love for his
humanity. She claims that her own affection for his humanity pervades her every moment:

whan sche sey women in Rome beryn children in her armys, gyf sche myth wetyn þat þei wer ony men children, sche schuld þan cryin, roryn, & wepyn as þei sche had seyn Crist in his childhode.30

Her experiential reenactments of all aspects of Jesus' life are triggered by the most homely and domestic scenes, and so she cannot escape the affective connection she has to Jesus' human manifestation because she is constantly surrounded by reminders of it. She says she had even "takyn þe childeryn owt of þe moderys armys & a kyssed hem in þe stede of Criste" (86).

When Kempe sees

a semly man, sche had gret peyn to lokyn on hym les þan sche myth a seyn hym þat was boþe God & man. & þerfor sche cryed many tymes & ofþyn whan sche met a semly man & wept & sobbyd ful sor in þe manhod of Crist as sche went in þe strelys at Rome þat þei þat seyn hir wondryd ful mych on hir, for þei knew not þe cawse (86).

What Kempe seeks is a physical substitute for her lover/ husband / brother / son / lord Jesus in his human form. While an extreme form of projection by modern standards, this expression of Kempe's faith does fall into the realm of affective, christological response, as demonstrated when she "wept & sobbyd ful sor in þe manhod of Crist". Kempe uses everything at her disposal to access a pathway to the divine: she is here also aware of the impact -- didactic, affective or otherwise -- which she has on her viewing audience, those who watch and "wondryd ful mych on hir". But they do not know what she is reacting to because they cannot see it, and thus her didactic message is actually lost; she is rarely able to channel or focus what she wants her

30 Margery Kempe, 86. See also 200: When she encountered a woman with several children, she asked if one among them was a male child. Upon receiving an affirmative answer, Margery bursts into tears "for desir þat sche had for to see hym".
expression to "say", and relies on her own behavior and her own interpretation of it.

Another time, upon entering a poor woman's house, Kempe sees that "sche had a tytel manchyld sowkyng on hir brest" (94); the mother is described as "syttyng ful of sorwe & sadnes." The child runs to Kempe, who brast al in-to wepyng, as þei sche had seyn owr Lady & hir sone in tyme of hys Passyon, & had so many of holy thowtys þat sche myth neuyr telyn þe haluendel, but euyr sat & wept plentyvowsly a long tyme þat þe powr women, hauyng compassion of hir wepyng, preyd hir to sesyn, not knowyng why sche wept (94). Kempe merges her devotional life and her daily life, and is affected by the simplest and most domestic of images. Ever-sensitive to those around her, she superimposes an image of Jesus' suffering on the scene of the woman's "sorwe & sadnes", automatically making the affective connection. Another interesting element is the often-used term "as þei" (much like that found in the Mirror) which is used consistently throughout the Book to note the analagous relationship of Kempe's visual "imaginings" and their proximity, for her, to "trewth".

Various liturgical feasts and events also serve to emphasize her reactions and serve as opportunities for Kempe to display her affective response. On "Candilmesse Day", she witnesses the congregation in church holding their candles to be purified. Through this image,

hir mende was raueschyd in-to beholdyng of owr Lady offeryng hyr blissful Sone owr Sauyowr to þe preyst Simeon in þe Tempyl, as verily to hir gostly vndirstandyng as gyf sche had be þer in hir bodily presens for to an offeryd wyth owr Ladys owyn persone. þan was sche so comfortyd be þe contemplacyon in hir

31 Janel Mueller suggests that through her experiences, Kempe gradually "learns to integrate her visions with her experiences in the world, at first simply as an observer who has as ready a devotional response to mothers with their boy babies, or to seemly youths, or to a beating in the street as she has to a consecrated Host, images of Our Lady and Christ, or the sacred places of Jerusalem." Janel Mueller, "Autobiography of a New 'Creatur'", 66.
sowe þat sche had in þe beholdynge of owr Lord Þesu Crist [...]
(198)

The image is visual; she is "comfortyd" by the "contemplacyon", but her external actions are anything but comforting to her fellow attendees. The others present at the scene note that she was unable to hold her candie up to be blessed, but:

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\text{went waueryng on eche syde as it had ben a dronkyng woman, wepyng \\& sobbyng so sor þat vn-ethe sche myth stondyn on hir feel for þe fervorw of lofe \\& deuocyon þat God putte in hir sowle thorw hy contemplacyon (198)}
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The fact that those surrounding her notice and react to her, and that she herself is aware (presumably) of their reaction is in itself an interesting factor in Kempe's experiential expressions of faith, and often mentions people's awareness of her outbursts, but more importantly she notices who benefits from her "message", vague though it at times seems.

Shortly thereafter we are told:

\[
\text{Sche had swech holy thowtys \\& meditacyons many tymes whan sche saw women ben purifyd of her childreyn. Sche thowt in hir sowle þat sche saw owr Lady ben purifyd \\& had hy contemplacyon in þe beheldyng of þe women wheche comyn to offeryn wyth þe women þat weryn purifyd. Hir mende was al drawyn fro þe erdly thowtys \\& erdly syghtys \\& sett al to-gedyr in gostly syghtys, whech wer so detectabyl \\& so deuowt þat sche myth not in þe tym of feruowr wythstondyn hir wepyng, hir sobbyng, ne hir crying, \\& þerfor suffyrd sche ful mech wonderyng, many a jape \\& many a scorne. Also whan sche sey weddynys, men \\& women be joyned to-gedyr after þe lawe of þe Chirche, a-non sche had in meditacyon how owr Lady was joynyd to lyseph \\& of þe gostly joynyng of mannys sowle to Þesu Crist, preying to owr Lord þat'ñir idie 'nir allecyon myłn' ben joynyd to hym only wyth-owlyn ende [...](198-199)}
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This reaction to the women being purified is despite (or perhaps because of?) the fact that Kempe herself had this very same experience fourteen times, a connection which she conspicuously omits. This is a clear instance where the scribe is reporting a variety of experiences which Kempe has reported, combining experiences with the common denominator of liturgical
significance. The multiplicity of images shows how she is able meditatively and affectively to “flow” from trigger to trigger. The purification of women provided her with a special reminder of Mary’s purification, and one wonders how many such events she attended in order to elicit such response: here, as elsewhere, Kempe requires “erdy thowtys & erdy syghtys” to draw her to “gostly syghtys” which further caused “wepyng”, her “sobbyng” and her “crying”, resulting in public censure, “many a jape & many a scorne”. This is an actual event, yet the visual analogy is the same as in Kempe’s above “contemplative” beholding of Jesus. She is here drawn along a pathway, “drawyn fro pe erdy thowtys & erdy syghtys & sett at to-gedyr in gostly syghtys”, a pathway which leads from earthly images to more spiritual consideration and to intense emotions which in turn further trigger an expression of tears.

Kempe’s attendance at weddings is another interesting source of devotional material that she seeks out, one sanctioned by “pe lawe of pe Chirche”, and resulting in a meditation of Mary and Joseph’s own wedding. This image is not described as accompanied by tears and weeping, but rather provides a segue into a more theological image. This movement from “erdy” wedding to “gostly” is taken one step further to embrace the image of “manny syowe” being joined to Jesus, encompassed within Kempe’s own personal desire to be joined to him for eternity. This instance perhaps hints at a more complex theological awareness on Kempe’s part, or perhaps such a “logical” step was conceived of by her scribe; either way, such brief forays into the solely spiritual nature of the soul’s relationship with God are few and far between for Kempe.

At times Kempe’s experiences are portrayed as building on each other, “stacking” the affective triggers and encouraging more intense and public
displays of emotion. For instance, after the Vicar of St. Stephen's Church at Norwich dies, Kempe, who was close to him, visits the site, distraught. When she enters the churchyard: "sche cryed, sche roryd, sche wept, sche fel down to pe grownd, so ferenctly pe fyer of tofe brennt in hir hert" (147). She is so overcome by emotion at the thought of her beloved Vicar that

Sche had so holy thowtys & so holy mendys pat sche myth not mesuryn hir wepyng ne hir crying. And þerfor þe pepil had gret merueyl of hir, supposyng þat sche had wept for sum fleschly er erdly affeccyon [...](147)

Kempe again claims that her audience was amazed at the uncontrollable force of her weeping and questioned her motives; she thus demonstrates the didactic process of facing doubt and disbelief which, with enough "evidence" or experience, can change to faith. People wonder at her ability to weep so intensely at spiritual, i.e. intangible, events, implying that her own audience lacks the faith necessary to understand the affective nature of the Passion. However, Kempe's actual reaction is indeed to a very "physical", if intangible trigger, that is the suffering and pain of Jesus; for her, spiritual suffering is always understood "as þei" it were physical and real. She here merges her affective and didactic roles.

The narrative is further constructed to suggest that Kempe attends mass shortly after this event (or the two events are conflated to demonstrate cause-and-effect -- it is impossible to know) and at the service she observes a statue of:

a fayr ymage of owr Lady clepyd a pyte. And thorw þe beholdyng of þat pete hir mende was al holy ocuppyed in þe Passyon of owr Lord Ihesu Crist & in þe compassyon of owr Lady, Seynt Mary, be whech sche was compellyd to cryyn ful lowde & wepyyn ful sor, as þei sche xulde a deyd (148)

After viewing the pietá, Kempe is overcome with emotion, ostensibly (if the order of the narrative can be believed) building on her already fragile state
caused by the death of the Vicar. When a priest attempts to console her by
saying that ""Ihesu is ded long sithyn"', Kempe replies with the following:

'Sir, hys deth is as fresch to me as he had deyd pis same day, & so
me thynkyth it awt to be to gow & to alle Cristen pepil. We awt
euyr to han mende hys kendnes & euyr thynkyn of pe dolful deth
pat he deyd for vs' (148)

Kempe is unable to escape the constant presence and continual reminders of
Jesus' death (while at the same time taking the opportunity to tell her reader
that she saw the opportunity to instruct the priest in a bit of orthodoxy). It is
not clear what the time frame is between her visit to the Church of St. Stephen
and her encounter with the pieta, but Kempe has "remembered" and recorded
the narrative here to show a linear sequence of affective triggers. She
implies that her psychological state at this moment in time is fragile and no
doubt susceptible to influence because of the Vicar's death, and this in itself
speaks to Kempe's need to justify or qualify her tears and devotions by placing
them within a conscious affective framework. Kempe here also directly
addresses her audience and spells out her didactic message: "We awt euyr to
han mende hys kendnes & euyr thynkyn of pe dolful deth pat he deyd for vs".
The use of the pronoun "we", whether it represents Kempe's voice or her
scribe's, invites the reader to participate in and benefit from her experience.

Geographical location has no bearing on Kempe's reactions either; her
reactions are not only intensely personal, but oblivious to her changes in
venue. When at the shrine of St. James at Compostella in Santiago, she "had
sche gret cher, bothyn bodity & gostly, hy deuocyon, & many gret cryes in pe
mende of owr Lordys Passion, wyth plentyuows terys of compassyon" (110).
The memory and reenactment of the Passion serve to trigger both sorrow and
joy. After she returns to Bristol, she travels to Leicester; there she entered a church.

wher sche behelde a crucefyx was petewly poynetyd & lamentably to be-loydyn, thorw whch beheldeyn þe Passyon of owr Lord entryd hir mende, wherþorw sche gan metlyn & al-to-relentyn be terys of pyte & compassyown. þan þe fyer of tofe kyndetyd so gern in hir hert þat sche myth not kepyn it preuy, for, whedyr sche wolde er not, it cawsyd hir to brekyn owte wyth a towe voys & cryen merueylowslyche & wepyn & sobbyn ful hedowslyche þat many a man and woman wondryd on hir þefor (111)

Here is seen another direct correlation between a physical object and affective meditation. Such usage of a crucifix was not unusual, probably even common; but Kempe manages to “see” the crucifixion in many affective triggers. Others, however, notice her outburst, and she is almost tried for heresy in Leicester. But the fact that she remains aware enough of those around her to record their reactions continues to show her consciousness of her didactic role; she continually assesses the situation and notices the affect she has, especially if the affect she has entails positive feedback or a change in someone’s behavior that would indicate spiritual growth.

Through her devotional expressions, Kempe says, she moves others to devotion and contrition. She herself “models” as a “trigger”; for instance, one Thomas Marchale of Newcastle is described as:

so drawyn be þe good wordys þat God put in hir to sey of contricyon & compuncycon, of swetenes & of deuoycon þat he was al meuyd as he had ben a newe man wyth terys of contricyon & compuncycon, bope days & nyghtys, as owr Lord wolde visiten hys hert wyth grace, þat sum-tyme whan he went in þe feldys he wept so sor for hys synnes & hys trespas þat he fel down & myth not beryn it & telde þe forseyd creatur þat he had ben a ful rekles man & mys-gouernyd, & þat sore rewyd hym, thankyd be God (108)

Kempe sees her role as a didactic and inspirational one; indeed, Marchale’s tearful experience is described in almost identical terms to Kempe’s own experience. Marchale in fact benefits from the fourth “token” above; he has faith in Kempe’s example, and is rewarded with a shared, similar experience.
It would seem that Kempe’s external manifestations of affective piety serve as didactic models for others while serving the added benefit of bringing her closer to the divine.

Kempe’s encounters with Jesus become increasingly more familiar as the Book continues, and her devotional experiences are portrayed as a progressive model:

So be processe of tyme hir mende & hir thowt was so ioynyd to God that sche neuyr forgate hym but contynuaty had mende of hym & behelde hym in alle creaturys, & euyr þe mor þat sche encresyd in lofe & in deuocyon, þe mor sche encresyd in sorwe & in contrycyon, in lownes, in mekenes, & in þe holy dreed of owr Lord, and in knowlach of hir owyn frette, þat. gyf sche sey a creatur be ponischyd er scharply chastisyd. sche xulde thynkyn þat sche had ben mor worthy to be chastisyd þan þat creatur was for hir vnkyndnes a-geyns God (172)

Kempe’s intellectual, “thoughtful” faculties, her “mende & hir thowt” are increasingly caught up in thoughts of God and in the person of Christ; his presence pervades everything she sees, hears or experiences. The effect of such continual “thowt” results in her increased “lofe & in deuocyon” which in turn increases her “sorwe” and “contrycyon”; the more she thinks about Christ, the deeper her love, and thus the deeper her sorrow at his suffering. The didactic conclusion to this affective journey is an increase in “lownes”, “mekenes”, “holy dreed of owr Lord”, and “knowlach of hir owyn frette”; thus affective response has led her to a didactic message. Finally, the experience comes full circle, since these lessons then result in her being even more sensitive to affective triggers seen in the world around her; she “acts” on the didactic message by returning to the affective, and the affective cycle begins again. This is an excellent microcosm of Kempe’s merging of affectivity with didacticism.

Affective triggers continue to cause her to “cryen, wepyn, & sobbyn for hir owyn synne and for þe compassyon of þe creatur” that she saw punished.
however, not only poverty and hardship, but splendor as well, lead her to
think on Jesus, this time in his divinity. She explains how, when she saw "a
prince, a prelat, er a worthy man of state & degre whom men worscheppyd &
reuerensyd wyth lownes & mekenes" she thought of how Jesus was
worshipped by his saints (173). Indeed, Kempe’s experience of Jesus is like a
kaleidoscope of moments and events, each of which she is able to connect to
her faith.

Kempe’s most intense and affective meditations on the Passion occur
while on pilgrimage in Jerusalem and around the Holy Land, as well as in
churches upon viewing a crucifix. Such meditations demonstrate “triggers”
in action, visual imaging and fictionalizing as well as Kempe’s awareness of
the didactic message inherent in her affectivity. Kempe visits all the relevant
places around Jerusalem: Mount Calvary, the tomb, the stone on which Jesus
was laid after the deposition, the place where the “holy cros was berijd”, the
room where the apostles received the Holy Ghost, and even the place of Mary’s
burial. She was no doubt regaled with myriad stories and versions of the
crucial events, stories which served to enhance her own devotional florilegia.

When in Jerusalem, Kempe’s affective meditations on the Passion reach
their height. This would support Kempe’s highly suggestive nature; when
surrounded by the historical reality of her spiritual obsession, it makes sense
that she would be overcome with emotion. When she approaches Calvary, she
is indeed overcome:

[...] þe þrërys at-vey, as þei went a-bowte, teld hem what owyr Lord
sufferyd in euery place. & þe forseyd creatur wept & sobbyd so
plentyvowsly as þow sche had seyn owry Lord wyth hir bodyly ey
sufferyng hys Passyon at þat tyme. Befor hir in hyr sowle sche saw
hym veryly be contemplacyon, & þat cawsyd hir to haue compassyon
[...] (68)32

32 Even before she reaches the Holy Land her emotions begin to intensify.
When she reached “Seryce” (Zierikzee in the Netherlands), Jesus “vysited þis
There is a clear cause-and-effect sequence represented here, triggered by a variety of stimuli. Kempe reacts to verbal, aural and visual stimuli, and her tears seem to play the role of catapulting her into an emotional state of mind which further facilitates the visual imaging component of her devotion and turns the external manifestation of her devotion (her tears and behavior) into a didactic model. She hears a story and weeps at the mental visual picture it produces, and her vision is a result of the emotions roused by the picture or the words which elicited the picture.

In addition, a parallel is continually drawn between her "bodyly ey" or sight and her mind's eye/"sowle" or spiritual "ey". The analogy clarifies the process for the reader: see with your mind just as though you were watching with your eyes. Thus, to see "veryly be contemplacyon" is equivalent here to a self directed meditative experience, but one which Kempe may not be fully in control of. The Book continues:

[...]. whan þei cam vp on-to þe Mownt of Caluarye, sche set down þat sche myght not stondyn ne knelyn but walwyd & wrestyd wyth hir body, spredyng hir armys ø-breode, & cryed wyth a lowde voys as þow hir hert xulde a brostyn ø-sundyr, for in þe cite of hir sowle sche saw veryly & freschly how owyr Lord was crucifïed. Beforn hir face sche herd and saw in hir gostly syght þe mornyng of owyr Lady, of Sen john & Mary Mawdelyn, and of many oper þat louyd owyr Lord. & sche had so gret compassyon & so gret peyn to se owyr Lordys peyn þat sche myl not kepe hir-self frow krying & roryng þow sche xuld a be ded þefor (68)

She watches the events of the Passion within the "cite of hir sowle", a locus from which she can view the events, and the "screen" on which they are played. Now that the process has begun and the goal (compassion) is defined, the experience continues, is developed and embellished. The reader first sees Kempe's reactions, which are physical with emotional analogies ("as þow hir
hert xulde a brostyn a-sundyr"), and is then told what image prompted this reaction. Her vision is seen "veryly & freschly", an image which is true and immediate; her ghostly sight is conflated with an image that occurs "beforn hir face", and here the analogy of physical with mental sight serves to reinforce the verisimilitude of the latter. She also sees the "mornyng" of the other participants in the drama, as though the simple description were enough to prompt a physical manifestation. Her compassion and pain are then directly tied to her viewing of Jesus' "peyn": the intensity of her reaction, it is implied, could result in her "spiritual" death as well: "bow sche xuld a be ded perfor", that is "even though" she could have died. Again, the scribe has allowed the reader to create a visual scene to correspond with a simple word or phrase. A parallel is also drawn between Jesus' "peyn" and Kempe's, which is further defined as "so gret compassyon & so gret peyn". Margery has perhaps found the perfect trigger for her own responses. At this point the rhetorical and mnemonic connection is made between Kempe's visual imaging of Jesus' crucifixion and suffering, and her tears; this connotes a further connection between the Passion, tears, and the theological theme of contrition and forgiveness; in addition, these new and intense "cries" are later defined as "gret cryis and roryngys for to makyn þe pepil a-ferr wyth þe grace þat I putte in þe" (183) to remind people of Mary's grief and suffering.

And þis was þe fyrst cry þat euyr sche cryed in any contemplacyon. And þis maner of crying enduryd many gerys aftyr þis tyme for owt þat any man myt do, & þeþfor sufferyd sche mych despyte & mech reprefe (68)

Kempe's most intense "cryingys", seemingly an intensified version of her tears, begin at Jerusalem and continue throughout her journey. When

compassyon in þe mende of owyr Lordys Passyon" (61).
she arrives home in England, we are told, they are at first intermittent, and then frequent:

Fyrst whan sche had hir cryingys at Jerusalem, sche had hem oflyntymes, & in Rome also. & whan sche come hom in-to Ingionde, fyrst at hir comyng hom it comyn but seldom as it wer onys in a moneth, sythen onys in þe weke, altyrward cotidially, & onys sche had xiiij on o day, & an-ober day sche had vij. & so as God wolde visiten hir, sumtyme in þe chere, sumtyme in þe strete, sumtyme in þe chawmbre, sumtyme in þe felde whan God wold sendyn hem, for sche knew neyvr tyme ne owyr whan þei xulde come. & þei come neyvr wyth-owyr passyng gret swetnesse of deuocyon & hey contemplacyon. (69)

Again and again, she stresses. Jesus' will is done in the quest to make her will complicit. The uncontrollable nature of her tears, both those of compassion and of devotion, is clear:

when sche knew þat sche xulde cryen, sche kept it in as long as sche myght & dede at þat sche cowde to withstand it er elliys to put it a-vey til sche wex as bio as any leed, & euyr it xuld labowryn in hir mende mor an mor in-to þe tyme þat it broke owte (69)

Her tears conform to affective experience as well as to the sorrow-joy transition which she claims accompanies each and every outburst.

We are also told that such appearances or projections occur for Kempe whether she is alone or among company. This would imply that not only do both physical and "mental" events serve to trigger an immediate reaction, but that they can be recalled at a later time and provide an emotional gateway into an affective meditation on the Passion, a manifestation of Kempe's own "art of memory". After these events, Kempe continues to respond to a wide variety of other "triggers": she projects a scene of Jesus' suffering onto every-day suffering, demonstrating a form of constant prayer. We are told that such experiences occurred so often that she was left:

weyke in hir bodyly myghtys, & namely yf sche herd of owyr Lordys Passyon, & sumtyme, whan sche saw þe Crucyfyx, er yf sche sey a man had a wownde er a best wheþyr it wer, er gyf a man bett a childe be-for hir er smet an hors er an-ober best wyth a whippe, gyf sche myth sen it er heryn it, hir thowt sche saw owry Lord be betyn
er woundyd lyk as sche saw in þe man er in þe best, as wel in þe feld as in þe town, & be hir-selfe [a]lone as wel as a-mong þe pepyt (68-9)

Kempe reacts equally to auditory and visual images, both of which re-manifest themselves in her mind into a visual image of Jesus' suffering. The merging of the daily life and the devotional life is the goal of texts such as Love's:

Kempe gradually extends her spiritual vision to encompass her earthly vision, and vice versa. Thus the "trigger" is extended to include all modes of experience. She does not just compartmentalize her piety so that it can be called upon only in convenient moments, but rather makes it relevant to her life in an all-inclusive sense, and allows it to color how she lives and reacts, often, it seems, outside of her control.

Whether Kempe did indeed react as she describes when she saw a man beat a horse with a whip, or whether her scribe(s) saw an opportunity to capitalize on the devotional rhetoric of such a reality cannot be determined.

The final result for the reader, however, is the notion of a life so steeped in the "truth" of the crucifixion, that it is never far from one's mind.33

Again, on Calvary, we are told that:

Sche had so very contemplacyon in þe syght of hir [slowle] as yf Crist had hangyn befor hir bodely eye in hyz manhode. &, whan thorw dispensacyon of þe hy mercy of owyr Souereyn Savoywr Crist Ihesu it was grawntyd þis creatur to beholdyn so verily hys precyows

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33 Kempe, on her way home from Jerusalem, at one point encounters a woman who has a small image of Jesus: "a chyst & an ymage þerin mad aftyr our Lord" (77). The woman: "toke owt þe ymage owt of hir chist & sett it in worshipful wylys lappys. & þei wold puttyn schirtys þerup-on & kyssyn it as þei it had ben God hym-selfe. &, whan þe creatur sey þe worship & þe reuerens þat þei dedyn to þe ymage, sche was takyn wyth swet dewocyon & swet meditacyons þat sche wept wyth gret sobbyng & londe crying. & sche was meuyd in so mych þe mor as, whil sche was in Ingiond, sche had hy meditacyons in þe byrth & þe childehode of Crist, & sche thankyd God for-as-mech as sche saw þes creaturys han so gret feyth in þat sche sey wyth hir bodily eye lych as sche had be-lorn wyth hir ghostly eye" (77-78). The event shows the orthodox position of "reverence" to images. Kempe clearly states that this led her to a meditative experience which culminated, as usual, in tears. In fact, this event is identified as a mnemonic trigger for later, more detailed meditations on the childhood of Jesus.
tendyr body, alto-rent & toryn wyth scorgys, mor ful of wown dys 
pan euyr was duffehows of holys, hangyng vp-on pe cros wyth pe 
corown of thorn up-on hys heuyd, hys blysful handys, hys tendyr 
fete nayled to pe hard tre, pe reuerys of blood flowyng owt 
plenteowstly of euery membre, pe gresly & gревows wounde in hys 
precyows syde schedyng owt blod & watyr for hir lofe & hir 
saluacyon, pan sche fel down & cryed wyth lowde voys, wo ndy fuly 
turnyng & wrestyng hir body on euery syde, spredyng hir armys a-
brode as gyf sche xulde a deyd, & not cowde kepyn hir fro crying, -- 
and ðese bodily mevyngys for ðe fyer of lofe ðat brent so feren ently 
in hir sowle wyth pur pyte & compassyon (70)

There is a verbal crescendo here. The spiritual eye sees things "as yf" they 
were analogous to reality, setting the scene to remind the reader how "real" 
this image is to Kempe. It is clear that this vision is a gift of grace, granted 
"thorw dispensacyon of þe hy mercy" of Jesus, grace to "beholdyn so verily" a 
true version of the crucifixion. The text often uses here, and elsewhere, two 
adjectives to describe images which are especially powerful: the "precyows 
tendyr" body of Jesus, "alto-rent & toryn" with scourges; the "gresly & 
gревows" wound in his side. In addition, every limb of Jesus is described using 
an affective image: "blysful handys", "tendyr fete", "hard tre", "precyows 
syde", building on the pain and suffering he experiences and bringing it into 
the realm of the reader. The description builds emotion for the reader while 
describing Kempe's own experience, and culminates in Kempe's response, an 
outburst of tears. The imagined horror of the physical scene precedes her 
emotive reaction, a rhetorical construction for the benefit of the reader which 
Kempe herself experienced internally.

Kempe again bursts into tears at the site of the crucifixion, and at the 
sight of:

a ston of marbyl þat owyr Lord was leyd on whan he was takyn down 
of þe cros, & þer sche wept wyth gret compassyon, hauyng mend of 
owyr Lordys Passyon. Aftyr-wardys sche was howselyd on þe Mount 
of Caluarye, & þan sche wept, sche sobbyd, sche cryed so lowde þat it 
[wai] vondyr to heryn it. Sche was so ful of holty thowys & 
medytacyons & holty contemplacyons in þe Passyon of owyr Lord 
Ihesu Crist & holty datyawns þat owyr Lord Ihesu Crist datyed to hir
The process is clear: "haue mend" indicates thinking on the Passion using mental visual imagery. The meditation triggered by the sight of the "ston" is the first step in attaining the pathway of meditation, then contemplation, and "holy dalyawns". She then receives the Eucharist, to which she again reacts strongly, and her subsequent tears lead her to further meditation, contemplation and then "dalyawns". She essentially works herself into an emotional state of great agitation, and the result is increasingly intense affective response. The imaginative "visualization" which constitutes her affective experience, itself triggered upon entering the tomb, in turn triggers a "dalyawns" with Jesus in her soul. The many rhetorical and affective levels upon which Kempe's experience operates serve to provide the reader with many models to emulate.34

Neither Kempe nor her scribe attempts to distinguish between the effects of these various "triggers" to affective response; rather, there seems to be an attempt to express the response itself as primary; the variety of triggers may be put forth merely as a catalogue of possibilities grounded in real experience. Kempe does not suggest that at each and every tearful recollection of the Passion Jesus was present as in her "daiyaunce" with him; indeed, she seems clearly to indicate that such expressions of affective

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34 At the church of St. John Lateran, Kempe makes confession to a priest (who according to the Scribe requires divine intervention to understand her English). During her confession, she "schewyd hym þe secret thynys of reuelacyonys & of hey contemplacyons, & how sche had swec mend in hys Passyon & so gret compassyon whan God wolde geue it þat sche fel down þerwyth & myyth not beryn it" (83). Here, when Kempe "schewyd hym þe secret thynys" in her soul, she uses the vocabulary of sight, not speech, and consistently qualifies her term "contemplaçon" with "hy"/"hey" or "holy". Here and at several other instances in her text, Kempe describes what would seem to be a miracle of words, wherein a priest or confessor who cannot understand her speech is enabled to do so through the grace of God.
response to many varied triggers, while gifts of grace ("so as God wolde visiten hir" (99)), are not necessarily part of the holy "dalyaunce" which may constitute his visitations, although they at times seem to trigger such "dalyaunce" in turn.

Kempe's orthodoxy is emphasized again and again, for hand in hand with her firm theological grounding is her very human conception of Jesus' manhood. For instance, her belief in the real presence is made all the more apparent in her everyday dealings with Jesus; she is incapable of differentiating his human nature from his divine nature. However, several particular experiences demonstrate the type of process she undergoes when she has a "visual" meditative experience, and how that experience is both triggered by external stimuli, and in turn triggers affective response and sometimes, it would seem, a more "mystical" experience.

And pan he, turnyng a-geyn to hir, xulde minystyr hir as hym awte to do [...] & symtyme sche xulde wepyyn ful softly & stilly in receuyng of pe preciows Sacrament wyth-owtyn any boystowsnes as or Lord wolde visityn hir wyth hys grace (139)

These experiences are especially strong during Holy Week:

On a Good Fryday, as þe sayd creatur behelde preystys knwlyng on her kneyes & ober worschepluy men wyth torchys brennyng in her handys be-fore þe Sepulcre, deuowtly representyng þe lamentabyl deth and doolful beryng of owr Lord Ihesu Crist aftyr þe good custom of Holy Cherch, þe mende of owr Ladijs sorwys whych sche suffryd whan sche behelde hys precyows body hangyng on þe Crosse & sithyn berijd be-fore hir syght sodeynly ocupijd þe hert of þis creatur, drawyng hir mende at holy in-to þe Passyon of owr Lord Crist Ihesu, whom sche behelde wyth hir gostly eye in þe syght of hir sowle as

35 Margery's cries of sorrow -- and joy -- upon receiving the host, however, pale in comparison to her reactions at almost being barred from receiving it. When a new monk arrives at Lynn and refuses Margery her private reception in the chapel, an attempt is made as well to prevent her from receiving communion in the church. However, she has "my Lordys lettyr of Cawntyrbery & hys seel" which require her to be houseled as often as required.
36 Her "cries" manifest themselves continually. See 83, 86, 124-5, 200, 201, 209.
It is difficult to determine if this segment is merely conflated, or very complex. The physical presence of the crucifix in the sepulchre triggers an affective vision of Mary’s suffering at Jesus’ death, the sight of which lodges in her “hert”, the seat of emotion, and further draws her “mende” into a holy meditation of the Passion. This meditation is “seen” with her “gostly eye” and projected onto the screen of her soul “as þei” she was watching it with her “bodily eye”. She then draws a further analogy between bodily and ghostly sight, indicating that the vision is not only tangible and physical, but is comprehended in its spiritual meaning through the grace of Jesus. It is the “bodily” nature of the vision which causes her pain, the wounds of pity and compassion. Thus the combined rhetorical and devotional factors of “triggers”, physical and spiritual sight, the juxtaposition of bodily and ghostly, feeling, knowledge and action all play a part in Kempe’s experience and our reading of it.

At one point on a Holy Thursday Kempe “witnesses” the ascension of Jesus into heaven. The event follows immediately on her meditation of

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37 There is some confusion here between Maundy Thursday, in Holy Week, and Ascension Thursday.
Mary, Magdalen and the Apostles' parting from Jesus, presumably after the crucifixion. Kempe describes herself at this point weeping and crying, out of control. She also acknowledges in passing an awareness of what is going on around her, for she says that because of her actions, "many man on hir wonderyd. But sche toke non heed what ony man seyd ne dede, for hir mende was ocuppyd in owr Lord" (174). This is clearly not a mystical experience, but a meditative exercise. She explains how she was overcome with "many an holy thowt", and had "forgetyn alle erdly thyngys & only ententyd to gostly thyngys. Hir thowt ūat hir joy was a-go" (174). Bereft of joy, she watches Jesus ascend into heaven and craves to follow him. The whole time, she weeps, and "be pepil wist not what hir eylyd" (175)

Another time, Kempe 'witnesses' the death of Mary, "& alle ūe apostelys knelyng be-forn hir & askyng grace" (175). This is an interesting instance in which "real" time and meditative moment seem to merge. Kempe weeps, and is told by the apostles "to cesyn & be stille" (175). She answers that she must weep, for "I am so ful of sorwe ūat I may not wythstonde it" (175). Then Mary addresses her "to hir sowle", reassuring her that "alle ūes sorwys ūat ūu hast had for me & for my blisysd Sone xal turne ūe to gret joye & blys in Heuyn wyth-owtyn ende" (175). Mary spoke to Kempe in her "sowle", but the apostles' chastising words are portrayed as being spoken seemingly to her "bodily" ears. This interchange is perhaps being witnessed by an audience, even during mass, and so she may have mentally conflated the congregation's words (those surrounding the altar with her) for those of the apostles around Mary's death bed, essentially merging ghostly eye with bodily eye, ghostly ear with bodily ear. It also provides Kempe with the reassurance that all her suffering will be overturned by joy.
Another time at mass, seemingly on Palm Sunday Kempe again brings herself into meditative rapture. The priest kneels before the crucifix, and as the congregation sings, he slowly, in three gradual movements, lifts a cloth which covered the crucifix. By the time it is fully exposed, Kempe says that

\[ \text{pan was hir mende at holy takyn owl of at erdly thyngys & set al in gostly thyngys, preying & desyryng } \text{pat sche myth at } \text{pe last han } \text{pe ful syght of hym in Heuyn whch is boþin God & man in oo persone (187)} \]

Kempe’s subsequent vision is a product of this physical image; she weeps and sobs, and “thowt } \text{pat sche saw owr Lord Crist Ihesu as verily in hir sowle wyth hir gostly eye as sche had seyn be forn } \text{pe Crucifixe wyth hir bodily eye” (187). While it is difficult to trace the growing sophistication of her relationship with Jesus, her desire seems to evolve to include a gradual reintegration of Jesus’ divinity with his humanity.

Thus, having consciously or unconsciously “trained” herself to respond to a wide range of affective triggers, Kempe guarantees herself continual access to a very personal and self-made form of devotional expression. She revels in such expression despite claiming at times she wishes it was less intense; in truth, her “experiens” defines who she is and comforts her as well as unsettles her.
Imitatio Christi

The physicality of Christ's suffering and its imitation are central to medieval affective piety. Margery's experience represents an extensive array of manifestations of imitatio Christi; however, she "imaginatively" allows her imitatio Christi to evolve into much more physical manifestations. In addition to seeing images or reminders of Christ in everyday life, as demonstrated in the previous section, she also, in her own form of imitatio Christi, somehow projects the person of Jesus onto her very self, and some elements in the Book are strangely reminiscent of Jesus' own life, ministry and death. She models her life on Christ, just like any good Christian should; but her form of imitatio becomes all-consuming to the extent that one is sometimes left asking where Kempe ends and Christ begins.

At the same time, she is not content to acknowledge the absoluteness of Jesus' authority, and instead seeks human, specifically clerical validation. However, the human validation she receives, invaluable as she believes it to be, is transient and short-lived. She relies on clerical intervention to impart

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38 Lochrie, Margery Kempe, 167 suggests that "Imitating Christ was conceived of as a kind of reading and remembrance. Whether one embarked on an actual pilgrimage to the Holy Land, heard a sermon on Christ's Passion, viewed a retable or cycle play about the Crucifixion, or read a devotional treatise, one engaged in a reading of the signs, a 'following of the signposts,' as Geoffrey de Vinsauf phrased it, along the 'sure path' of meditation to the body of Christ itself."

39 Imitatio Christi takes many forms in the Middle Ages, in secular, religious and mystical domains. The physicality of Christ's body forms the most intense point of focus. Nicholas Love's Mirror is a characteristic manifestation of this form of imitatio Christi. But imitatio Christi and the physical emulation it usually entailed often took many forms, for both, devotion, ecstasy, fasting, self-flagellation, and self-defilement. Other, involuntary forms of suffering included "bodily effusions and elongations, stigmata, tears, and seizures. Finally, a third kind of imitation, most familiarly demonstrated in the life of St. Francis, was subsumed by those interior models of devotion associated with Christ's Passion during the late Middle Ages." Lochrie, Margery Kempe, 15.
to her God’s word via the scriptures and devotional readings, the mass and sermon, and to sanction her every devout action. Jesus himself says to her: “I am in the, and thou in me. And they that hear the thei heryn the voys of God” (23), but she continues to rely on human sources of orthodoxy.

Despite the spiritual nature of her mission, Kempe’s exclusive concern is with the humanity of Jesus. This concern is especially prevalent in a particular “event” which occurs to her while in “pe Postelys cherc” at Rome on St. John Lateran’s day, her “myrstical marriage” to God. Kempe describes being visited by God himself, who offers her marriage to the “Godhede”. She is however so attached to Jesus’ humanity that she refuses the offer, although God offers to “schewyn pe my preuyteys & my cowsenlys, for þu xalt wonyn wyth me wyth-owtyn ende” (86). Kempe is silent

in hir sowle & answeryd not þerto, for sche was for sor aferd of þe Godhed & sche cowde no skylle of þe dayawns of þe Godhede, for at hir lofe & at hir affecccyon was set in þe manhode of Crist (86)

The physicality and tangibility of her devotion would almost seem to exclude such a God-centered experience. Her affection for Jesus’ manhood is said to pervade her every moment, such that she feels herself incapable of engaging in “dayawns” with God himself: such “spiritual” conversations are beyond the scope of her ability. This suggests a rejection of a more internal spirituality: she needs the “physical” spirituality which she believes Jesus

40 John Hirsh in his Chapter on Margery Kempe in Boundaries of Faith suggests that “it is not clear that it is Margery who sees religion as a bulwark against the sexism of the culture in which she moves, so much as it is her scribe who does so. Margery tends rather to reinvent that culture, to use it, to inform it, so as to alter the conditions of her own and others’ lives. The Book’s interest in the extent to which Margery is confirmed by ecclesiastical authority was probably shared by both, though for Margery the point seems linked to the authority which her revelations have given her. In this as in other matters, it may have been the scribe’s questions -- and so the scribe’s concerns -- which drew her out, and though in speaking her mind she often gave the answer expected of her, there is a sense in which the Book is shaped
offers, a spirituality which she can express with carnal, not spiritual language.

Nonetheless, after Christ reassures her, the marriage takes place, but the language used shifts: God becomes the "First Person", and Christ the "Second Person" of the Trinity, objectifying but also clarifying the members present (87). Christ intercedes on Kempe's behalf, explaining that "ladyr, haue hir excused, for sche is get but gong & not fully lernyd how sche xulde answeryn" (87): she is on a spiritual journey which is slowly taking her from the "bodily" to the "ghostly", but is not quite there yet. Then God takes Kempe "be þe hand in hir sowle be for þe Sone & þe Holy Gost & þe Modyr of Ihesu" and all the apostles, Saint Catherine and St. Margaret and others, and pronounces Kempe and Christ husband and wife, "for fayrar, for fowelar, for richar, for powerar, so þat þu be buxom & bonyr to do what I byd þe do (87), mirroring the words of the marriage vows.

This telling event might further illuminate the actual process of Kempe's experiential reenactments of all aspects of Jesus' life, which are triggered by the most homely, intimate and domestic scenes. She cannot, nor does she want to, escape the affective connection she has to Jesus' human manifestation. She is on an obsessive quest for physical, tangible connection with Jesus' manhood, and uses Jesus' "godly" nature primarily to access his human nature. Jesus himself asks Kempe why she is so afraid to marry God, and she "wept wondir sor, desiryng to haue stille hym-selfe & in no wyse to be departhyd fro hym" (87). It is doubtful that Kempe's theology is so weak that she believes that she will be separated from Jesus if she agrees to the mystical marriage; however, she is perhaps incapable of making the theological distinction at all. Indeed, a bride of the Godhead should not go kicking and

by a dialogue: by Margery's mind on one hand, by the scribe's shaping
screaming to the altar. For Kempe, the physicality of Jesus' presence is crucial to her continued affective devotion to his humanity. It is almost as if, by moving past the verisimilitude of the Passion to the intangibility of the resurrection, that is moving from Christ's human realm to his divine realm, Kempe fears she will lose the connection which gives her life purpose and maintains her hold on reality. Her affective piety is perhaps incapable of becoming anything more.

The item which follows the marriage scene, immediately after she thanks God "of his gostly comfort", is a reference to olfactory phenomena:

Sum-tyme sche felt swet smellys wyth hir nose; it wer swettar, hir thowt, pan euyr was ony swet erdly thyng pat sche smellyd be-forn, ne sche myth neuvr tellyn how swet it wern, for hir thowt sche myth a leuyd þerby gyf they wolde a lestyd (87)

Other "mystical" senses follow, and the implication in the way the narrative is constructed is that they are connected with Kempe's newly-established connection to the Godhead; yet even these experiences seem to be secondary to her more tangible affective experiences of Jesus' life and Passion. She smells sweet smells, hears sounds and melodies (88-89), including a "betwing" (90-91) which is the holy ghost, and which then turned into "þe voys of a dow, & sithyn he turnyd it into þe voys of a lityl bryd which is callyd a reedbrest pat song fut merily oflyn-tymes in hir ryght ere" (90-91). Kempe also sees "many white thyngys" flying about with her "bodily eyne", not her ghostly eye.

influence and questions, on the other” (67).

41 See Hirsh, Boundaries of Faith, 69. He suggests that her scribe may have been largely responsible for theological emphasis in the way the marriage is manifested, while Kempe herself probably suggested the actual ceremony. The emphasis in the text is upon Kempe's orthodoxy and appropriateness for such a partnership, but the tension in the event is seemingly between her spiritual desire to maintain her orthodoxy and her "bodily" desire to remain a bride of Jesus alone.

42 See also 185. Later, in the "White Frerys Cherch at Lynne", she smells a "wondyr swet sauowr" which Jesus tells her indicates a change in priors at Lynn. Here the 'mystical' scent plays a prophetic role as well (171).
They appeared to be “as motys in the sunne; it weryn rythg sotyl &
comfortabyl”, and appeared clearer as the sun shone brighter. These she saw
in church, in her chamber, at meals or in prayer, in light and in darkness.
They at times caused her to be afraid, but then Jesus told her that “be þis
tokyn, dowtyr, beleue it is God þat spekyth in þe, for wher-so God in Heuyn is,
& wher þat god is þer be many awngelys, & God is in þe & þu art in hym” (88).
From that time on she would greet these appearances with the words
“benedictus qui venit in nomine domini,” distinguishing them from
visitations from the Second Person of the Trinity.

Another “mystical” token which “owr Lord” sends her, and which lasts
about sixteen years, increasing as time passed, is “a flawme of fyer wondir
hoot & delectabyl & ryth comfortabyl, nowt wastyng but euyr incresyng, of
lowe” (88). This fire, Jesus tells her, is the “hete of þe Holy Gost, þe whiche
schal bren a-vey alle þi synnes, for þe fyer of lofe qwenchith alle synnes”
(88-89). again a more spiritual manifestation than she is either used to or
comfortable with. When this book was written, Kempe had experienced such
“tokens” for about twenty-five years, but they take a literary back seat to her
more immediate connection with Christ’s humanity. They were obviously
prevalent and long-standing, but she as usual prioritizes the physical over the
spiritual, Christ’s manhood over his godhead. Kempe downplays the
importance of this type of experience, and instead chooses her affective
devotion to the Passion, bound to the carnal image and carnal language.

Jesus then apparently tells Kempe that, more than wearing garments of
penance (“haburion”), fasting, or “gyl þu seydest every day a thowsand Pater
Noster,” he is most pleased “whan þu art in silens & sufferyst me to speke in
thy sowle” (89). Those who fast and do penance are to be lauded, but this is not
Kempe’s role. Rather,
I haue oflyn-tymes, dowtyr, teid þe þat thynkyng, wepyng, & hy contemplacyon is þe best lyfe in erthe. And þu xalt haue mor meryte in Heuyn for o ger of thynkyng in þi mende þan for an hundryd ger of preyng wyth þi mowth, & get þu wylst not leuyn me, for þu wilt byddyn many bedys whedyr I wil or not (89-90)

Here, "hy contemplacyon" is analogous to "thynkyng in þi mende", a meditative act. The act of "thynkyng in þi mende" is imaginative, visual, and accessible to many. Thus Kempe portrays Jesus as encouraging and justifying imaginative visualization and affective response, using her as an exemplar who can both experience and in turn share the experience; this is what she is most comfortable with, and any supposedly mystical occurrences play a secondary role in both her devotional and daily lives.43

Kempe manifests this devotion to the humanity of Jesus in her everyday experiences and behavior, becoming his exemplar and thus his didactic tool. Like Christ, she embraces the awkward, even dangerous role of social outcast and rebel. For instance, when she claims that Christ asks her to wear white clothes, a mark of purity, despite her married status, she protests: "A, der Lord, yf I go arayd on oþer maner þan oþer chast women don. I drede þat þe peþyl wyl slaw[n]dyr me. þei wyl sey I am an yprocryt & wondryn vp-on me" (32). Wearing white is a rather outrageous act of defiance to social propriety, and she is mocked and ridiculed for it. But in turn she consciously provokes such ridicule in order that her personal suffering, and thereby her access to the tears and experiences which Jesus provided her with, are never diminished.

Her own feelings of fear, uncertainty and inferiority are never far from the

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43 She is not entirely comfortable with visions and experiences which she cannot define and explicate as she can the Passion scenes: she at times describes her experiences as: "so holy & so hy þat sche was abaschyd to tellyn hem to any creatur, & also it weryn so hy abouyn hir bodily sittys þat sche myth neuyr expressyn hem wyth hir bodily tunge liche as sche felt hem. Sche vndirstod hem bettyr in hir sowle sowle þan sche cowde vttyr hem" (201). Whether this constitutes a "mystical" experience or not is impossible to know.
surface, but at the same time she embraces a spiritual identity which serves as an affective, didactic, and prophetic example.

There can be little doubt that Kempe seeks, even begs for, suffering to prove her love for Jesus. Social rejection is for her a manifestation of affective response. Gail Gibson comments that if “martyrdom by sword was not available to qualify her for saint-hood, martyrdom by slander was, and Margery’s Book seems quite conscious of the validating implications of such suffering.” Kempe externalizes her devotion to Christ’s sufferings by embracing analogous social stigmata, and actively seeks the type of censure and public ridicule which Jesus endured. In what might be interpreted as an exhibitionist, even masochistic need for public attention, primarily of the negative kind, Kempe invites censure and scorn while wishing at the same time to be accepted and liked, psychologically internalizing the paradox of sorrow and joy.

At other times, alternately asking Jesus to lessen or increase her gift of tears, Kempe plays to the whim of public opinion even when she attempts to avoid it. When labelled a madwoman for her hysterical sobbing, Kempe describes how she asks Jesus to lessen her outbursts; but when Jesus complies, she is subsequently labelled a hypocrite because people then doubt the initial source of her tears. The Virgin Mary visits Kempe to explain that she should be no more ashamed of her tears than Mary and Magdalen: “perfor, dowtyr, gyf þu wylt be partabil in owyr joye, þu must be partabil in owyr sorwe” (73). Sorrow and joy go hand in hand, and Kempe’s struggles with the authority and the authenticity of her tears and visions are just as much a struggle with the difficulties of this very public transition.

but it does point out Kempe’s discomfort with things which are too much of the “ghostly” realm.
When in Rome her affective response to the Eucharist and the authenticity of her tears are tested when she is brought to an empty church to receive the Host in isolation by a priest who doubts her, and her response is the same:

& whan he schulde howselyn hir, sche wept so plentyvowsly & sobbyd & cryed so lowde þat he was astoyned hým self, for it semyd to hys heryng þat sche cryed neuyr so lowde be-for þat tyme (84)

Therafter the priest "beleuyd fully þat it was þe werkyng of þe Holy Gost & neiþyr feynyng ne ypocrise of hir owyn self (84). Kempe "converts" disciples one at a time in this way, and overcomes people's doubts and disbelief in many other ways: but each time she must also overcome the charge of hypocrisy for her unconventional choice of devotional expression: wearing white, fasting then not fasting, crying then not crying, et cetera. Each time she gains a convert to her experience, he/she is instrumental in further spreading her message:

afþyrward he was not a-basshyd to heidyn wyth hir & spekyn a-gens hem þat wolde defamyn hir & spekyn euyl of hir tyl he was detractyd of þe enmys of vertu nerhand as mech as sche, & þat lykyd hým wel to suffir tribulacyon for Goddys cawse (84).

Others suffer as well for their belief in her, and thereby Kempe is able to share her own martyrdom and the didactic effects of her affective response.

Jesus himself responds to her concerning her doubters, such as in the case of a certain English priest who commands her to stop wearing white and return to black clothes. She meets this particular priest again when on pilgrimage, and he berates her for her hypocrisy, but Jesus himself comforts her:

44 Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, 47.
Kempe also manifests behavior which creates an analogous relationship between her and Jesus; this is seen in her teaching/preaching, her occasional use of parables, her entry to Jerusalem, her trials for heresy, and of course her role as a constant object of public scorn and ridicule, a prophet not welcome in her own country. Her reception places her apart from conventional practitioners of affective piety, and yet her behavior is largely an extreme example of that very tradition, and treated as such. Kempe claims that her real gift of grace, and hence her validation, comes from the ongoing creation and reformulation of her relationship with Christ, a relationship which is a constant source of both solace and discomfort. The intimacy and concreteness which characterize this relationship contribute to her affective and didactic role. In various representative, even typological ways, Kempe emulates the role of Jesus in a manner which transcends lay imitatio Christi.

On her way home from pilgrimage in Jerusalem, Kempe remains in Bristol for six weeks, waiting for a ship. During her stay there, she explains that

*owr mercyful Lord Crist Ihesu visityd hys creatur wyth many holy meditacyons & many hy contemplacyons & many swet comfortys. & þer was sche howselyd euery Sunday wyth plentyuows terys & boystows sobbyngys, wyth lowde cryingys and schille schrykyngys (107)*

She is cursed and slandered, but prays only for the forgiveness of her attackers, for "*þei wite not what þei don*" (107). She implies that her public censure is representative of Jesus' crucifixion, and "forgives" her tormentors.
mirroring his words on the cross. Throughout her lifetime, she will continue to emulate Jesus' words, actions and teachings. She teaches those who listen with didactic parables and scriptural exempla, emphasizing the Christ-given orthodoxy of her voice. For instance (28), in Canterbury, when accused of being a heretic, she answers one of her accusers with a parable about a sinful man who was instructed by his confessor that he should, for one year, hire men to chastise and ridicule him for his sinfulness. The sinner's joy at the end of the year is a result of his cleansed soul. Then Margery draws an analogy with herself:

'Rygth so I sey to pow, worshipful serys, whyl I was at hom in myn owyn contre day be day wyth gret wepyng & mornyng, I sorwyd for I had no schame, skorne, & despyle as I was worthy. I thank pow alle, serys, heyly what fore-noon & afyr-noon I haue had resonably his day, blyssed be God Perof' (28)

Kempe seeks censure and ridicule just like the sinner, seeing it as both a model of behavior for others, and as a pathway towards spiritual fulfillment. When in York, Kempe again narrowly escapes being branded a heretic; the Archbishop of York examines her on the articles of faith, which she successfully answers. This and her other "trials" for heresy mirror Jesus' own, with the exception that Kempe verbally spars with her accusers; silence is not her strength.

She is Job-like in her patience and ability to suffer, and at times is relied on to bring others into a state of grace. For instance, she is credited with returning a woman to sanity after a form of madness had set in after childbirth, a similar event which prompted Kempe's own spiritual crisis at the beginning of the Book. Kempe visits this woman regularly, but the woman at first persists in insisting that she saw:

many deuetys a-bowtyn hem Sche wolde not suffyrn hem to towchyn hir be hyr good wyl. Sche roryd & cried so bope nyth &
day for the most part that men wolde not suffer hir to dwellyn amongys hem, sche was so tediows to hem (178)

This behavior, were it taken out of its context, largely matches Kempe's own. But there is no "acceptable" context for this woman's behavior, and so she is hidden and tied up in a room away from other citizens. Kempe claims to have visited her "iche day onys er twyis", during which time the woman was "meke a-now & herd hir spekyn & dalyin wyth good wil wyth-owlyn any roryng er crying" (178). Kempe seems to play a similar role with the woman as Jesus does with her. "dalying" with her, instructing and comforting her; she claims that through her prayers the woman is released from her madness.

Kempe is also portrayed as having special access to Jesus' ear in times of turmoil or danger. Her scribe describes how, upon sailing to Norwich in a small ship, a great storm arose:

And, when þei wer in þe lityl schip, it be-gan to waxin gret tempestys & dyrke wedyr. þan þei cryed to God for grace & mercy, & a-non þei tempestys sesyd, & þei had sayr wedyr & seyled al þe nyght on ende & þe next day tyl evyn-song-tyme, & þan þei cam to londe (102)

While the word "miracle" is not used, nonetheless the implication is clear that it was largely Kempe's own prayerful intervention which saved them, reminiscent of Jesus' calming a similar storm before walking on water. However, it is "þei" who "cryed to God for grace & mercy". When they landed, Kempe "fet downe on hir knes kyssyng þe grownde, hyly thankyng God þat had browt hem hom in safte" (102). The credit for this and other events is given to God, but the vehicle for its enactment is Kempe's prayer, even though it is the prayer of a multitude which apparently was effective.
Another time Kempe also laid claim to special protection of Jesus. In the church of St. Margaret, while hearing mass, a great "noyse & a dreadful" was heard. Kempe fell to her knees with her prayerbook and prayed:

Sodeynly fel down fro þe heyst party of þe church-vowte fro vndyr þe fole of þe sparré on hir hed & on hir bakke a ston which weyd iij pownd & a schort ende of a tre weyng vj pownd þat hir thowt hir bakke brakke a-sundyr, and sche ferd as sche had be deed a lytyl while (21)

She then cried out "Ihesu mercy", and her pain was gone; she was astounded that "sche felt no peyn & had felt so mech a lytyl be-for" (22); "þan þe spiryt of God seyd to hir sowle, 'Helde þis for a gret myrracle, &, gyf þe pepyl wyf not leuyn þis, I schal werkyn meche mor" (22). A Carmelite friar called "Maystyr Alyn" likewise said that it was a miracle, and that Kempe was shown special favor and protected from "þe matyce of hir enmy, and teld it mech pepyl, & mych pepyl magnyfied mech God in þis creatur" (22). On one hand, even when Jesus himself acknowledged the miracle, Kempe still seeks out clerical approval, and even then many doubt its authenticity. On the other, the event serves the purpose of bringing one more individual into her own little group of believers.

Also in the vein of her claim of access to special knowledge, Kempe claims that Christ would let her know who would be saved and who would be damned; however, she did not want to know who would be damned, and insisted that such information came from the Devil despite Christ's saying to her: "Dowtyr, þu mus1 as wet heryn of þe dampnyd as of þe sauyd" (144). For her doubt, she is "punished" by Christ's removing:

| Alle good thowtys & alle good mendys of holy spechys & dalyawns & þe hy contemplacyon which sche had been vsyd to be-fortyme, & suffyrd hir to haue as many euyl thowtys as sche had be-forn of good thowtys (144). |
Kempe is punished also with lecherous visions, including a perversion of Jesus' human nature in the form of "dyuers men of religyon, preystys" and others "schewyng her bar membrys vn-to hir" (145). She is told to choose which most appeals to her, and believes that it is the Devil who thus tempts her. Despite receiving the Eucharist and going to confession; she receives no respite until she exclaims "Alas, Lore, þu hast seyd be-for-tyme þat þu schuldyst neuyr forsake me" (145), and is told by an angel that it is for her doubt that she has suffered so, and that the "euyl thowtys" would continue for twelve days. After the time is over, her "holy thowtys", "holy mendys", and "holy desyrys", and "holy spechys & dalyawns" return as before, and "þan was sche fulled wyth joye" (146). Kempe does not only suffer the punishment of public ridicule, but is punished as well for her doubt. But at the same time, it was as a result of her "dalyaunce" in the first place that she became concerned that the devil, and not God was here at the root of her meditations or "contemplaciouns", suggesting perhaps at the same time an uneasiness about the more physical imaginings she has, and about the very "human" nature of her "dalyawnce" with Jesus.

Kempe's perceptual faculties and intuitions are crucial in her experiential devotion to Jesus. Jesus speaks to her in her soul and she understands "be felyng", merging "feeling" and "knowing". Kempe claims that she can, with Jesus' help, recognise sinners and identify their sins. For instance, when she encounters an unethical priest who attempts to cheat one of her scribes, we are told that:

Þe forseyde creatur hauyng vndyrstondyng be felyng in hir sowle as owyr Lord wold schewyn þat he was an vntrewe man & no mor wold come a-geyn, sche for to preve wheþyr hir felyng was trewe or fals askyd þe preste wheþyr þe gong man was þat he had preysed so mech (57)
Although she claims to doubt her gift and seeks clerical confirmation, moments such as this help to show either that she is consciously creating for her reader the "self" that she wants the world to see, or that the personal, intuitive knowledge that is Kempe’s alone is integrally tied to what amounts to a gut instinct, emotionally charged and categorized, yet connected inextricably with her affective devotion to Christ.

Jesus' role in Kempe's life is further constructed in the form of domestic analogies which go a step further than what is suggested in the Mirror: Jesus' relationship with her is personal and homely, such as when he goes on to say that:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{P} & \text{u madist me onys stiward in } \text{h} \text{in howsholde } & \text{executor of alle} \\
\text{thy good werkys, } & \text{I xl be a trewe styward & a trewe executor} \\
\text{vn-to } & \text{be fulfilling of al } \text{pi wil } & \text{al thy desyr. And I xl ordeyn} \\
\text{for } & \text{be, dowtyr, as for myn owyn modyr } & \text{as for myn owyn wyfe (157).}
\end{align*}\]

Such anachronistic and homely domestic scenes are an integral part of Kempe's devotion, and Jesus plays the part of personal savior and protective husband. Indeed, Jesus at times even plays a subservient role in Kempe's world: their relationship is very nuanced, and the balance of power constantly shifts. Here Jesus' role is couched in terms which reflect Kempe's own lifestyle and status ("stiward", "executor") as well as the role of family and familial relationships.

Jesus praises Kempe again and again for her humility and love, offering to be her personal tutor, to save her from damnation and purgatory, or to forgive all of her sins. In turn, her love for Jesus is all-consuming, all-encompassing and all-exclusive. Kempe is an exemplar of devotion, a model who gives herself over, body and soul, to her Lord, even if that exemplar at times appears self-centered and irrational. Whatever way she lives her life,
Kempe will find acceptance with Jesus who, were he "in erde as bodily as I was er I deyd on þe Cros", would take her by the hand in public and not be ashamed of her as other men are, for "it is conuenyent þe wyf to be homly wyth hir hysbond" (90). No difference in status should allow a man and wife to not:

Kempe creates a physical marriage within a spiritual framework, "bodily" within "ghostly. Addressed first as "Dowtyr" (demonstrating probably the tears of devotion noted above for this role), she is converted into the role of spouse and mother, but still addressed as "dowtyr". The merging of roles, tears and types of affective response demonstrates the all-inclusiveness of Kempe's devotion to Jesus and their relationship. She kisses him on the "mowth", perhaps emulating the kiss of peace; the "hed", the location of the crown of thorns; and on the "fete", the place of the nails. Jesus invites Kempe to enact both the meditative fantasies she has partaken in, as well as the physical expressions of affection she has shown to children and icons. This is what she would miss if she had "married" the Godhead.

Jesus describes himself several times as playing such domestic roles in Kempe's life, often describing their relationship as akin to husband and wife:

... for þu wost wel þat I far lyke an hysbond þat schulde weddyd a wyfe. What tyme þat he had weddyd hir, hym thynkþ þat he is sekyr a-now of hir & þat no man xal partyn hem a sundyr, for þan, dowtyr, may þei gon to bedde to-gedir wyth-owtyn any schame er dred of þe pepil & sleypyn in rest & pees gyf þei wil. And thus, dowtyr, it fairth be-twix þe & me, for þu hast every weke specialy on þe Sunday gret feer & drede in thy sowle how þu maist best be sekyr of my liffe, & wyth gret reuenerens & holy drede how þu maist best receyuyn me to þe saluacyon of thy sowle syth al maner of mekenes, townes, & charite, as any lady in
The language is both carnal and spiritual, encompassing the "wifely" devotion due to a husband and the devotion and respect of a daughter. Kempe was married for many years, so understood the inner workings of such a relationship. The marriage vows afford some protection from censure, as well, and Christ assures Kempe that their relationship is similarly sanctioned, and that he will protect her as a husband should. He thanks her for the times that she "bathyd me in pi sowle at hom in pe chambre as how I had be her present in my Manhod [. . .]" and for "alte pe tymys þat þu hast herberwyd me & my blissyd Modyr in þi bed" (214). But even when performing acts of "charity" such as this, her own humility is couched in terms which emphasize her eccentric and carnal nature, not the spiritual value of the deed.

In considering her role as a metaphorical mirror for us, both showing forth an example of *imitatio Christi* for her contemporaries, and reflecting for us her life onto a written text, we might also consider how Kempe herself expects to be interpreted. The image of a mirror is reflective and didactic: the transformation of Kempe's inner dialogue with Jesus has already been realized in her life a sort of "text" which reflects back what she has learned and internalized. Her tears, her behavior, her wailing, especially the white clothes that she wears, are at once manifestations of her dialogue with the divine, and non-verbal narratives which can be read. Kempe is anxious that her story be seen as an example of pious living and affective devotion for others. She claims that Christ explains to her that he has:

> [. . .] ordeynd þe to be a merowr amongys hem for to han gret sorwe þat þei xulde takyn exampli by þe for to have sum litil
sorwe in her hertys for her synnys þat þei myth þerthorw be sauyd [... ] (186).

He also said that “þei þat worship þei worship me” (23): and “þu art myn & I am thyn, & so xalt þu be wyth-owtn ende” (182). Through her own form of *imitatio Christi* Kempe develops a unique “imaginary” relationship with Jesus.

Kempe’s visions of the Passion are, for her, connected from the outset to her earthly penance and suffering. She claims that the efficacy of having Christ’s Passion in “mynde” is twofold. She thinks that her compassionate tears both serve to win souls from the devil and count for her as time against purgatory in the next life; thus the inherent didacticism in her affective responses provide models which may lead her reader to salvation.

What then is the true nature of the spiritual exercise inherent in Kempe’s choosing to write her life? Is the ultimate goal the path of recreation or the finished product? To have two scribes copy and then rewrite an autobiography which began some twenty years before and is thus coloured by subsequent experience, emotion and the elusiveness of memory creates a hermeneutical nightmare for the reader, but if we are willing to see Kempe’s life as the product, not the victim, of this literary shaping, the spiritual exercise for her becomes simply a refinement or re-writing of the past as a model for us, its future readers. Thus Kempe’s life becomes a conscious, devotional model-text, a mirror for affective souls seeking their own validation for personal expressions of faith. In this way, Kempe may have authorized a new standard of socially-acceptable, affective behavior, and validated her own life by refusing to step down in the face of public censure. Her life and her memories are indeed shaped and manipulated by shame, guilt.
love, grief, lust, joy and desire. This act of manipulating may tell us more about Kempe than the events themselves do.

While extreme in her behavior and responses, Kempe nonetheless remained consistently within the boundaries of orthodoxy: she knew her "theological" and devotional limits, although at times her personal limits (if one can use the modern analogy of "comfort zone") were transcended. Indeed, it is at these times that Margery Kempe is at her most interesting and her most vulnerable. Kempe's constant upsetting of social expectations guarantees her a life as either a social outcast or a prophetic holy woman, sometimes both. But in an age when holy women everywhere found it difficult to prove a direct line of access to the divine, Kempe persists in her attempts to do just that, battling public censure, accusations of heresy, derision and contempt, while all the time remaining orthodox. It is impossible to remain indifferent toward her. She in essence creates the self she wants, or is "told", to be, and in so doing is set forth as an affective and didactic mirror for other Christians. But at the same time Kempe's experiences are problematic and awkward, and her own personal religious experience exemplifies an ideal of affective piety which is at times extreme, and from outward appearances sometimes irrational.
Conclusion

Personal devotional experience in the Middle Ages was as varied as the individuals themselves. The story of Christ’s Passion, as the cornerstone of Christianity, was also the focus of the most intense forms of devotion, known as “affective piety”. This form of devotion was not only aimed at eliciting affective response, but was intended also to be a form of moral instruction, and to increase awareness of one’s failings and lead to contrition and penance. We are thus moved to moral response and action through empathy and compassion.

Medieval devotional literature is not commonly thought of as having modern parallels. I have thus briefly considered modern reader-response theory to point out that questions being asked today about individual response to texts and the location of “meaning” in texts are in fact very medieval. My consideration of modern theories of emotional response serve the same purpose: to bring medieval devotional literature closer to modern readers by pointing out the similar problems being faced, implicitly or explicitly, by medieval writers who sought to understand how, why and when one responded “affectively” to textual stimuli.

Sources of affective piety, before piety became so clearly focused on the human suffering of Jesus, are clearly seen in some early writing concerned with rousing the affectus. In addition, the influence of and growing concern with pastoral instruction had an effect on the development of texts which emphasized affective response, and vice versa. Ultimately, these two elements, affectivity and didacticism, work together. In texts which dealt with the suffering and Passion of Jesus Christ, affective piety is a vehicle for didacticism.
This dissertation has explored the development and manifestation of affective devotion to Christ's suffering humanity which became so prevalent in popular, "lay" texts; several of its rhetorical manifestations, the "paradoxes" of sorrow and joy, truth and fiction, "ghostly" and bodily sight; and the notion of affective "triggers" have been discussed. The notion of affectivity, affectus, in many early writings included several of the varieties of meditative expression, either "verbal" textual, or "visual" pictorial objects of meditation. In both cases, believers were encouraged to "see" mentally, with the "mind's eye"; to reproduce the scene; to participate in it imaginatively; and to invent or "fictionalize" scenes, thereby making the event and one's devotional response to it deeply personal and intimate. This form of "visual imaging" was not new to the Middle Ages, but continued to be manifested in devotional texts such as Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione inclusarum and Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ.

Another interesting element which ties in with visual imagining is the (unresolvable) question of which more effectively "triggers" visual-imaging and subsequent response, text or image. The question is perhaps unresolvable because visual-imaging and response are processes which are unique to each individual. This interesting debate continues even today, as demonstrated not only by the ongoing discussion among medieval scholars, but by scientists concerned with perception and emotional response. The very "visual" language in which Jesus' suffering, for instance, is described, as well as the prevalence of devotional images in churches, suggests that every effort was made to encourage personal response using many forms of stimuli or "triggers".

The questions one might ask concerning "fictionalizing", and the notions of "truth" and "fiction" in sacred Gospel texts and their reproductions (often
in the form of Gospel Harmonies) have been considered here as well, though the question is one which I believe needs much more exploration and consideration. The generally-accepted notion, within the context of affective piety, that the scriptures could be extrapolated to express one's own individual expression of faith makes each individual's personal, mental participation and response a valid consideration.

A parallel development which influenced the growth of medieval devotional literature was that of didacticism. An increasing concern on the part of the Church with clerical and lay education, landmarked in part by the educational precepts put forth at the Council of Lateran IV in 1215, resulted in a wide range of materials, called "pastoralia", which developed and spread as a result of this new mandate. This body of literature should, I have suggested, be expanded to include the types of "affective" devotional texts which encourage didacticism hand in hand with or through affective response; such texts encourage explicitly or implicitly a development in moral, theological or doctrinal knowledge and devout practice.

Nicholas Love's *Mirror*, a translation and recension of Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, reproduces the affective and didactic elements discussed in the first chapter of the dissertation, including visual-imaging, participation and fictionalizing in order to stir affective response and encourage penance for sins, and devout action. The overt didactic call to improve moral behavior is often seen to occur hand in hand with the call to feel compassion for Jesus' various sufferings. The *Mirror* is held to be one of the most widely read and disseminated texts in the Middle Ages, and so is a fitting subject for this particular discussion.

Love carefully guides the responses of his readers while encouraging individual "affective" licence; at the same time he maintains a continual line
of didactic material. He merges his didactic and affective agendas, and continually oscillates between moral and doctrinal teaching and affective response. It is clear that for Love, emotion is very important to experiential learning, and instrumental in creating imaginative detail. The text is meant to elicit an empathic response through visualization, recreation and participation, thus ensuring the emotional involvement of the reader; this in turn opens the door to spiritual involvement. Love at times uses direct affective response as a didactic tool by teaching his audience how to feel and respond. The *Mirror* instructs directly by using Jesus' own teaching as didactic exempla; Love thus encourages behavior modification by giving the readers models on which to base devout action in their own lives.

In considering Love's own editorial "voice" in the *Mirror*, it is clear that Love was concerned to speak to his readers on a more personal level than that of the *Meditationes*, for instance by often translating the Latin imperatives with the first person plural "we", including himself in the reader's experience of the text. Love alternately urges, comforts and chastises his readers to bring them close to events being described and to encourage active imaginative participation in the events of the text. His own choice to omit or expand various pieces of scriptural material found in the *Meditationes*, and his own interest in fictionalizing events that subsequently become "more pleyne in certeyne partyes", alternately "drawynge oute" or omitting to increase the didactic and affective effect of the text demonstrates Love's own interest in personal reconstruction of Gospel events to maximize personal devotion, and indicates his awareness of the importance of affective response as a pathway to moral improvement. Love makes the visual images and scenes in the text as concrete as possible, and creates a rhetorical framework in which the reader's "reading" is portrayed as a "visual" activity. In addition,
he will often join the terms "ymagine & penk", showing that he is aware of
the different abilities each reader brings to the text, affective and intellectual;
he thereby encourages his readers to merge their affective and didactic,
"feeling" and "thinking", modes of perception and response. Elicited emotion
leads to experiential learning.

Love modifies the Meditationes' comments regarding the expansion of
the scriptural text to point out that his choices of addition and omission
(omissions primarily from the Meditationes) are based on the educational
priorities of his own readers, suggesting why events are written or invented
"in his manere, & to his entent hat is to saye as devoute ymaginacions &
likenessis styryng symple soules to be love of god & desire of hevenly pinges."
Again and again Love deals primarily with the imaginative, with the events
not only as we know they occurred, but as they might have occurred.

Love's instruction shows a deep concern for the education of the laity as
well as their means of salvation, but he also seems aware of the potential
dangers of positing as truth "devoute ymaginacions & likenessis styryng
symple soules to be love of god & desire of heuenly pinges". In addition to the
focus on affectivity and didacticism, Love deals openly with the issue of the
limits of such popular imagining; the reader is warned to exercise caution and
not to confuse imagination with theological "truth". Love continually
encourages his reader to "ymagine", "suppose", and "viset", but he cautions
his reader about the use of the imagination in instances which might question
theology or doctrine. He draws the line at issues such as the Eucharist, Trinity,
and Incarnation, clearly instructing his audience that they must be taken on
faith. Personal freedom to invent scenes and images and dialogue is only
permissible within the realm of Jesus' actions, words and teachings; other
things in his life are not fully recorded, and so are open to "supposed"
extrapolation.

The purpose of affective response was not the sake of response itself. The
goal to be reached was increased faith and actual manifestation of that faith through devout action. Models for affective response are found throughout stories of the Passion, from Mary's grief to that of the disciples. Clear moral directives are prevalent as well, as Jesus himself is set up as a behavioral model who demonstrates lessons through word and deed, teaching humility, kindness, patience and many other virtues and Christian practices while calling on believers to "feel" and respond to his suffering.

Like the paradoxical reversals and reconciliations of "ghostly" and "bodily" representation, and "verbal" and "visual" instruction, there is also an overriding theme of "sorrow" and "joy" in the text which operates on both didactic and affective levels. On the largest scale, the sorrow of the crucifixion is reconciled by the joy of the resurrection. The dichotomy of sorrow and joy which pervades the life of Christ and by extension all that Christianity represents is also a central metaphor in Love's text, and the dramatic tension created likewise serves as a catalyst for growth; it spurs believers on to transcend their feelings of helplessness at being unable to assist Jesus in his times of need, and encourages them to enact their desire to overcome the tension in the way they live their lives, focusing on the text for instruction in how to do so.

The Book of Margery Kempe has been used as a case study in affective devotion; her experiential faith and the ways in which she manifests it represent precisely the types of visualization, imagining, participation and fictionalizing which Nicholas Love's Mirror prescribes. Her devotional life is constructed around response to "triggers" found in events of daily living and
religious practice; thus she merges her own daily and devotional lives in such a way that they often seem inseparable. The simplest things, such as the sight of a child or a man beating an animal, in addition to more traditional liturgical or devotional items, can send her into an affective imagining of Jesus' suffering. Her devotional model embraces themes prevalent in Love's narrative such as "sorrow and joy", and "bodily and ghostly"; she is continually aware of the joy inherent in her expressions of sorrow for Jesus's suffering, and indeed seeks out this sorrow precisely because it is a guarantor of her salvation and thus her own eternal joy.

Kempe's writing of her Book after more than twenty years of intervening experience guarantees a certain degree of "fiction" in the final product, and Kempe herself is aware of the lack of "truth" with regards to the chronology of her report. Events are reconstructed as she recollects them, in order of their importance "now", for "very truth", not as they occurred in the past; thus she consciously or unconsciously rewrites her life to demonstrate its significance as an affective and didactic model for others.

Her life as a responsive reading of God's text as presented to her through Christ manifests itself in a "reading" which, at each moment, is open to innumerous meanings while excluding all possibilities except the one believed by Kempe at the instant of writing and us at the instant of reading. Kempe's own impressionistic re-reading of her life as text and the ways in which she recalls her experiences also fall into the category of the perhaps inexhaustible variants of interpretation brought about by a subsequent re-reading seen in response theory, as well as the categories of affective "imagining" and "fictionalizing" prescribed by texts such as the Mirror. Kempe's scribes do not record all of her divine experiences, nor does she herself reveal all of these ineffable events to them. We cannot get back to
Kempe's actual, real-life text, the 'Ur' text, but perhaps we can speculate as to her method of completing, or realizing that text, and the real message she intended to relay.

The very divisions used in this dissertation to map out Love’s and Kempe’s texts demonstrate how these two texts intercept and respond to each other. The discussions of “truth and fiction” show how both Love and Kempe are concerned with the “truth” not as it actually occurred, but rather as it can be rewritten and interpreted for both private and public use. Both writers variously extrapolate or omit scriptural material which lacks affective or didactic meaning. Love does so in tandem with Pseudo-Bonaventure’s plan, but also adds his own personal reading and intent, making the Mirror very much his own work. Kempe takes Love’s agenda a step further and internalizes the affective and didactic influences pervasive in her cultural milieu as demonstrated by texts such as the Mirror. She personally re-writes the Passion to maximize her own affective responses and turns her experience into a didactic message of faith and devotion for others.

Affectivity and didacticism are the guiding themes throughout the Mirror and Kempe’s Book. Love writes to teach his readers how to internalize and use Christ’s Passion for affective response, and then shows how to utilize the lessons learned through words and deeds to make one’s faith stronger. Faith leads one to action. Margery Kempe’s own experience as she records it demonstrates in turn how one individual can merge affective response, didacticism and devout action; her devotion to Christ’s sufferings leads her into a life of expressive faith, and she, like Love, is intent on teaching and sharing her experience. Kempe internalizes and manifests the devotional plan that Love’s Mirror sets out, doing so in a truly individualistic and unique way.
Kempe's experience also demonstrates the many themes and responses which Love suggests. In particular, she responds continually to affective "triggers", and her own personal devotion is very much centered on the juxtaposition of sorrow and joy. The section on "Affective Triggers" might serve as a demonstrative parallel to Love's segment on "Friday, the Day of the Passion": Kempe's every mental devotional experience is directly or indirectly connected to Christ's suffering, and the most intense of these experiences happen during a lifetime of Holy Weeks. She takes a "structure" such as Love's concentration on Good Friday and allows it to pervade her daily life; the way she manifests her own form of "imitatio Christi" is reflective rather than her own daily devotion than of any specific ways Love suggests that one "live" the life of Christ. Thus Kempe's experience and the ways in which she describes it can be paralleled with Love's treatment of his devotional material: Kempe lives what Love writes. The factors involved in the development of affective piety, in Love's use of its characteristics, and in Kempe's living of it, are summed up at the beginning of the Proem to her book:

Here begynneth a schort tretyes and a comfortably for synful wrecchys, wher-in þei may haue gret solas and comfort to hem and vndyrstondyn þe hy & vnspecabyl mercy of ower souereyn Sauyowr Cryst Ihesu, whos name be worscepþ and magnyfied wythowten ende, þat now in ower days to vs vnworthy deyneth to exercysen hys nubeley & hys goodnesse. Alle þe werkyes of ower Saviowr ben for ower exampyl & instruccyon, and what grace þat he werkyth in any creatur is ower prolyth yf læk of charyte be not ower hynderawnce (1)
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