

Il est donc prématuré de conclure. Les Chartreux ont-ils cherchés à répondre d'abord à des nécessités pratiques? L'exemple de la deuxième chartreuse de Rome semblerait le prouver, le parti architectural initial réutilisé étant incontournable⁷⁶. On peut enfin se le demander en revenant aux solutions "expéditives" de Dom Le Masson "À Chalais l'abbatiale romane ne fut guère mieux respectée [qu'à la chartreuse de Currière]: Le Masson l'ampute de ses deux premières travées, jugées irréparables; un mur nu la ferma à l'ouest, percé d'une porte abritée sous un auvent de charpente aussi lourd que rustique; un toit en croupe la coiffa de la façon la plus disgracieuse ..."77 On a pu l'accuser d'en avoir trop fait dans ce sens, alors qu'il était pour une "simplicité architecturale" qui le rapprochait de l'idéal cistercien du premier siècle: "ne garder que la beauté qui vient de la symétrie et des proportions"⁷⁸. C'est rejoindre le "canon" cistercien que "cette beauté simple et dépouillée ... réside uniquement dans la disposition harmonieuse des parties, dans les proportions et l'ordonnance générale"⁷⁹. Une dernière fois, Cisterciens et Chartreux se rencontrent, et si Le Masson "suivait une ligne spirituelle très nette: ni pauvreté franciscaine, ni utilisation du sensible ignacienne, mais simplicité cartusienne"⁸⁰, c'était, si je peux me permettre cette boutade, "ad majorem Dei gloriam"....

⁷⁶ Cf. Lidia CANGEMI, "Michelangelo e i Certosini a Roma".

⁷⁷ DEVAUX 1989, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-359.

⁷⁸ DEVAUX 1989, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

⁷⁹ DIMIER 1949, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁸⁰ DEVAUX 1989, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

THE NAME POURED OUT:
MARGINS, ILLUMINATIONS AND MINIATURES AS EVIDENCE FOR
THE PRACTICE OF DEVOTIONS TO THE NAME OF JESUS IN LATE
MEDIEVAL ENGLAND¹

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The strong interest which the Carthusian order has shown for the preservation, copying, and reading of manuscripts, lies at the heart of Guigo's *Consuetudines Cartusiae*. Among the items present in every cell, the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse gives a list of the objects belonging to scribal activity, with the following comment:

Adhuc etiam, libros ad legendum de armario accipit duos. Quibus omnem diligentiam curamque prebere iubetur, ne fumo, ne pulvere, vel alia qualibet sorde maculentur. Libros quippe tanquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodiri et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut quia ore non possumus, dei verbum manibus predicemus.

Quot enim libros scribimus, tot nobis veritatis praecones facere videmur, sperantes a domino mercedem, pro omnibus qui per eos vel ab errore correcti fuerint, vel in catholica veritate profecerint, pro cunctis etiam qui vel de suis peccatis et viciis compuncti, vel ad desiderium fuerint patriae caelestis accensi.²

[Then the occupant of the cell still receives from the library two books to read. He must take all diligence and all possible care to ensure that the books are not soiled by smoke, dust, or by any other dirt. For we want the books to be made with the utmost application and kept with great care, as an eternal food for our souls, in order to preach with our hands the word of God, since we cannot do it with our mouth.

Indeed, we seem to become heralds of truth as many times as we copy books; and we hope gratification from the Lord with regard to all those who by these books will have been cured of error, or will have progressed in the catholic truth, or with regard to those also who will have repented of their sins and their vices, or will have been enflamed by desire for the celestial home.]

¹I am grateful to the Swiss National Foundation (Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique) for the generous scholarship which enabled me to pursue my research on the Holy Name in Oxford.

²Guigues Ier, Prieur de Chartreuse, *Coutumes de Chartreuse*, ed. Un Chartreux (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1984), pp. 222-5. All references to the *Consuetudines* (hereafter *Coutumes*) are from this edition. Unless otherwise indicated, translations in this paper are my own.

Almost from its inception, the Carthusian order saw in the copying of manuscripts a means by which the faith could be expressed and disseminated. This particular form of pastoral care played an influential role among the Carthusian monks who had otherwise a limited contact with the world outside their desert.³

The evidence of scribal activity which this paper considers participates in the same expressive and didactic function as that provided by the early Carthusians. The context in which the devotion to the Name of Jesus developed reveals evidence left by scribes and illuminators in the margins, or in the miniatures of late medieval manuscripts in England. As our title suggests, our focus is set solely on evidence for the practice of the devotion to the Name of Jesus in the marginal fields of the manuscript.

However, before embarking on a study of this scribal evidence, a brief account of the most significant texts dealing with the devotion to the Name of Jesus in the West is necessary. The second part of Anselm's *Meditacio ad concitandum timorem* invokes the Name directly and attests to a potential for a devotional practice.⁴ The Cistercian hymn *Dulcis Iesu Memoria*, wrongly attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux during the medieval period, spurred later scribes and compilers on accommodating the hymn to the Holy Name devotion by its focus on, and regular invocation of, Jesus.⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux not only lends his name to the making of this devotion. His is the most important contribution to the spread of the devotion to the Name of Jesus in the West. Sermon fifteen on the *Oleum Effusum Nomen Tuum* verse (Cantic. 1: 2) finds

³For a description of their work as copists by the cluniac abbot Peter the Venerable, see *Coutumes*, p. 12.

⁴See *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, ed. F.S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1946), p. 79; see also *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm. With the Prosligion*, trans. Benedicta Ward (1973; repr. London: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 224.

⁵See *Le "Jubilus" Dit de St Bernard*, ed. André Wilmart, *Storia e Letteratura* 2 (Rome, 1944); see also Denis Renevey, "Anglo-Norman and Middle-English Translations and Adaptations of the Hymn *Dulcis Iesu Memoria*", *The Medieval Translator* 5, ed. R. Ellis and R. Tixier (Brepols, 1995), pp. 264-83.

three properties to the Name, in close analogy to the natural characteristics of oil: the Name becomes unguent, light, and food to the soul.⁶

Although those texts exercised a great influence on the spread of the interest in the Name, set in their original context, and in the Latin language, they remained limited to an essentially monastic community. The interest in this devotion by the Friar Minors in the thirteenth century marks an important step towards a growing dissemination of the devotion to the Name among the non-monastic community. However, although stamped with official recognition in the form of the twenty-fifth constitution promulgated by Pope Gregory X at the second council of Lyon of 1274 - which aimed to propagate the cult of the Name of Jesus⁷, the practice of this devotion did not spread significantly in England.⁸

It is only after the texts by Anselm, pseudo-Bernard, and Bernard, are dissected, accommodated, compiled and translated in the vernaculars, that the devotion to the Holy Name grows into a significant religious manifestation in the late medieval period.⁹ Passages on the Holy Name from the writings of the Middle English mystics (many inspired by the above writings) show the way in this process of borrowing. They are later accommodated for the making of

⁶*S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 1, *Sermones Super Cantica Cantorum* 1-35, ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, H.M. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957), pp. 84-5.

⁷See Francis Rapp, 'Le Concile et la Piété', 1274. *Année Charnière. Mutations et Continuités*. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique No 558 (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1977), pp. 561-9.

⁸For the thirteenth century, see for instance passages in "Johannis de Hovedone *Philomena*", *Hymnologische Beiträge, Quellen und Forschungen*, Band 4, ed. C. Blume (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 29-31; see also John of Hoveden's Anglo-Norman poem, *Li Rossignos*, in *Corpus Christ College Cambridge, Parker Library, MS 471*; esp. fols 72^r-81^r. For the mystical literature of the fourteenth century, see especially Richard Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, ed. S.J. Ogilvie-Thomson (London: EETS 293, 1988); references to the Holy Name are found in Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, and Materials for his Biography*, *Modern Language Association Monograph Series* 3 (New York, 1927); see also Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 13 (Cambridge: CUP, 1991). See also Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, trans. J.P.H. Clark and R. Dorward, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), pp. 115-8.

⁹See Renevey, "Anglo-Norman and Middle-English Translations", pp. 264-83.

religious and devotional compilations, some of them aimed at the laity.¹⁰ While they remain instrumental to higher aspirations in the mystical context, they achieve a full potential in the devotional one. In some manuscripts, the devotion to the Name appears to have reached a state of self-sufficiency.

Before presenting evidence of marginal scribal activity related to the Name of Jesus, let me first, by way of a few manuscript examples, describe the late devotional contextualisation for the Name of Jesus. In Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 923, the prologue to *The Cleansing of the Soul* begins with an invocation of the Name and discusses its effects on a sinful soul.¹¹ This treatise, devoted to the doctrine of penance, is divided into three parts: contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Written expressly for those who can only read in their mother tongue, it makes passing reference to the fact that Bernard also wrote on the Name.¹² In its important discussion on the meaning and practice of prayer, the author, making several references to St Bernard, advises practice of short vocal prayers, with a strong desire coming from the heart.¹³ Although the passage does not make explicit reference to the prayer to the Name, the definition of prayer accounts for all the characteristics of the invocation of the Name. According to the flyleaf inscription, the manuscript belonged to Sibile de Felton, abbess at Barking Abbey. It is interesting to note that another of her manuscripts, the *Chastising*, offers also a long afterthought on liturgical prayer and vernacular psalters.¹⁴

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1286, written at the beginning of the fifteenth century, offers one among many versions of *The Poor Caitiff* (thirty existing manuscripts).¹⁵ One chapter, 'On the Name of Jesus', is

¹⁰See Vincent Gillespie, "Vernacular Books of Religion", *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), pp. 317-44.

¹¹For a discussion of this treatise, see Clare Kirchberger, 'The Cleansing of Man's Soul', *The Life of the Spirit 4* (1949-1950), pp. 290-5.

¹²MS Bodley 923, fols. 4^v-5^r.

¹³MS Bodley 923, fols. 131^v-145^r.

¹⁴See Kirchberger, p. 292.

¹⁵For a concise account of this carefully assembled compilation, see Gillespie, "Vernacular", p. 332; see also note 64 for a short bibliography on this tract. On *The Poor Caitiff*, see the following articles by Mary Teresa Brady: 'The Poor Caitiff. An

borrowed and compiled from Rolle's *The Form of Living, Emendatio Vitae*, and the *Oleum Effusum* passage from his own commentary on the first verses of the Song of Songs.¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 209, a small devotional manual of the fifteenth century, contains two meditations on the Name of Jesus attributed to Rolle.¹⁷ The second meditation is a section of the *Encomium Nominis Jesu* usually found in the *Poor Caitiff*. Extracted from its original text and from the compilation, the meditation attests to a third stage in the transmission of this passage by Rolle on the Name of Jesus. The devotion to the Name, in the context of this devotional manual, has become an end in itself.

Lyrics, prayers, meditations, prose treatises and tags which deal with the Name exist in great numbers.¹⁸ My brief excursion into some of this material gives only a glimpse of the state of this devotional practice in the late medieval period in England, but provides a broader context to my more direct concerns in this paper. My interest lies in the evidence which scribal activity has left of practice to the devotion to the Name of Jesus, in illuminations and in the margins of manuscripts. Attention to this undefined field of the medieval

Introductory Study, *Traditio* 10 (1954), pp. 529-48; 'Rolle's *Form of Living* and *The Poor Caitiff*', *Traditio* 36 (1980), pp. 426-35; Lollard Sources of *The Poor Caitiff*, *Traditio* 44 (1988), pp. 389-418; 'Lollard Interpolations and Omissions in Manuscripts of *The Poor Caitiff*', *De Cella in Seculum. Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. M. Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 183-203.

¹⁶MS Ashmole 1286, fols. 90^v-92^r; see also Allen, *Writings*, p. 406.

¹⁷Oxford Library, MS Rawlinson C. 209, fols. 21^v-29^r; see also Allen, *Writings*, p. 315. See also Gillespie, "Vernacular", p. 318, who considers this kind of volume as a complement to basic catechetical manuals.

¹⁸See for instance, in *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1932), lyric 50; in *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1924), lyrics 80, 83, 84, 85, 89 ('*Iesu Dulci Memoria*'), 91, 94; in *English Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1939), lyrics 125, 144; in *English Medieval Religious Lyrics*, ed. D. Gray (1975; repr. Exeter, 1992), lyrics 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53; in *The Middle English Penitential Lyric. A Study and Collection of Early Religious Verse*, ed. F. A. Patterson (New York, 1966), lyrics 52, 53, 54; see also Alexandra Barratt, 'A Middle English Lyric in an Old French Manuscript', *Medium Aevum* 52 (1983), pp. 226-8; and 'Two Middle English Lyrics in the Bibliothèque Mazarine', *Notes and Queries* (March 1984), pp. 24-7. See also in Cambridge, CUL, MS Kk. I. 6., Eleanor Hull's 'Meditacyon of þe name of Ihesus', fols. 150-152.

manuscript focuses on three elements: the Name of Jesus itself, its monogram, and miniatures representing the name or its monogram.

The visual signs which are of concern to us in this paper supplement rather than oppose the texts which they gloss.¹⁹ They however express a devotional feeling which had to contend for most of the late medieval period with an individual output only. The devotion literally remained on the edge of the official church culture: the cult for the Feast of the Holy Name in England underwent the vicissitudes of regional religious aspirations. Pragmatic concerns such as parchment space, half-filled quires and empty folios have in many cases decided the fate of this devotion: the liturgy for the Feast of the Holy Name in England is added in service books when few folios remain to be filled.²⁰ For instance, the Jesus mass, even as a votive mass, does not appear in all service books of the end of the fourteenth century.²¹ The office itself appears only in a small number of service books, and does not appear in the calendar in many more.²² In the 'Launton' breviary, the office of the Holy Name is a late addition at the back of the manuscript, separated from the remaining items by almost two blank pages.²³ Before the beginning of the sixteenth century, absence of the office of the Holy Name seems to be the norm in most service books. The Name of Jesus remained at the stage of a votive mass rather than a liturgical feast till the end of the fifteenth century.²⁴

¹⁹Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge*, The Margins of Medieval Art . Essays in Art and Culture (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), esp. pp. 11-55. The systematic incoherence of marginal art allows the expression of thoughts on the edge, almost beyond the cosmic harmony in which the Word of God stands as its central pillar. With page layout or *ordinatio*, which appears in the twelfth century in place of monastic *meditatio*, the nature of marginal art is tempered with a more specific distinction between the framed part of the manuscript against the "unruled empty space of the margin - the traditional site of the gloss (p. 20)".

²⁰See Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: OUP, 1970), pp. 62-83.

²¹See Pfaff, *New Liturgical*, p. 67, note 6.

²²See Pfaff, *New Liturgical*, p. 71.

²³See Pfaff, *New Liturgical*, p. 71.

²⁴See Pfaff, *New Liturgical*, p. 73.

Despite (or because of) the low-key position of the cult in service books, marginal annotations attest to the pervasive popularity of the devotion as an individual practice. Its expression in the margins of manuscripts, alongside texts not always related to the Name, plead the case of supplementation discussed above. It is a well-known fact that the writings of Richard Rolle contributed to the spread of this devotion. The annotations and miniatures linked to his corpus provide important evidence for our study: scribes and annotators, working in monastic or professional scriptoria, or Carthusian monks copying and annotating books by Rolle for their own edification or that of their secular patrons, point to the pervasive impact of Rolle's experience with, and advice for, the practice of the devotion to the Name.

In Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 861, the monogram 'IHU' appears at the top of every single one of its folios. The manuscript, written in the early fifteenth century, features Rolle's most important Latin writings, with three other short Latin works. With Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 193, and Hereford, MS O. viii. I, Savile, it is one of the most important medieval anthologies of his works, put up by a scribe not lacking creativity: the small drawings, such as feathered bodies, single feathers as markers, feathered heads, and the monogram, are in the same hand and written in the same ink as the main text.²⁵ While passages such as the *Oleum Effusum Nomen Tuum* of his commentary on the Song of Songs, or other passages from *Emendatio Vitae* for instance, which are featured in this manuscript, influenced the scribe in supplementing the texts with the 'IHU' monogram, it is also likely that the systematic layout expresses the scribe's personal assimilation of the devotion to the Name. The monogram - a kind of visual mantra - embodies the gist of the hermit's spirituality. It illuminates the scribe's personal reading and hermeneutics of the Rollean corpus. Reciprocally, it also forces an interpretation on the entire anthology. The writings of Rolle are manipulated by devotional trends to which they contributed in part.

²⁵See Allen, *Writings*, pp. 22-34.

Another important manuscript from the fifteenth century, MS Longleat 29, provides additional evidence for the spread of the Holy Name devotion in the margins of the Rollean corpus. The manuscript, better known since its edition by Ogilvie-Thomson for the Early English Text Society, contains, among other items, *The Form of Living*, *Ego Dormio*, *The Commandment*, and the 'Ihesu swete' lyric. Together, those texts circulate the most significant material on the Name written and compiled in the vernacular by Rolle. The response by scribes to the Name of Jesus' passages conveys significant evidence. The name 'Ihesu' appears sixteen times in the margins of *The Form of Living*²⁶, eleven times in the margins of *Ego Dormio*²⁷, and ten times in the margins of *The Commandment*.²⁸ In the left-hand margins of lines 610 to 612 of *The Form*, devoted to the Name of Jesus, the scribe writes 'Nota de nomine Ihesu'.²⁹ Surprisingly, this is the only marginal annotation in the manuscript which clearly stands as a marker for an important passage on the Name in the text. Indeed, only the marginal annotations at lines 42 and 214 of *The Commandment* may fulfil a similar role, although it is more likely that, like all the other annotations linked to the devotion (thirty-eight in total), they are rather expressive of the annotator's personal devotion to Jesus. As no apparent rational strategy governs the setting of the annotations with regard to the texts they gloss, the suggestion for an affective logic prompted by the devotional feelings of the annotator is most likely. This surprising evidence suggests the existence of readings of Rolle forcing him within a devotional context about which his own writings contribute only a limited part. Rolle's

²⁶For the information on MS Longleat 29, I rely on Ogilvie-Thomson's edition; see Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, p. 193. 'Ihesu' is written at lines 79, 88, 132, 140, 161, 212, 250, 422, 432, 489, 496, 652, 730, 756, 791, and 810.

²⁷See Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, p. 204; 'Ihesu' is written at lines 1, 16, 33, 51, 68, 99, 105, 121, 132, 139, 256.

²⁸See Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, p. 207; 'Ihesu' is written at lines 42, 64, 72, 106, 137, 167, 175, 187, 194 and 214. Note also 'Ihesu' written in the right-hand margin at line 342 of *Meditation B*.

²⁹See Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, p. 200. Here is the annotated passage: "If þou wil be weł with God, and haue grace to reul þi lif right, and cum to þe ioi of loue, þis name Iesus, fest hit so faste in þi herte þat hit cum neuer out of þi þoght (Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, p. 18)."

writings are rather recuperated by a devotion which is essential to his mystical experience, but only in the sense it acts as a trigger for higher achievements.

The 'Ihesu swete' lyric, which is an imitation of the Latin hymn *Dulcis Iesu Memoria*, is annotated with information which appropriates it as part of a liturgical office to the Name. Entries in the side margins, against stanzas sixteen, twenty-six, thirty-eight and forty-eight, divide the lyric in small clusters for the liturgical hours of matins, prime, terce and sext.³⁰ This contextualisation within a liturgical frame, although incomplete, echoes the fate which the Latin hymn *Dulcis Iesu Memoria* underwent in England and the rest of Europe. A Latin version of this office with stanzas from *Dulcis*, the *Cursus de Aeterna Sapientia*, written by the German mystic Heinrich Suso, but attributed to Richard Rolle in England, appears in Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. vi. 20.³¹ A translation of this office appears as the hours of the Name of Jesus in a 1536 edition of the Sarum Primer, found in Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce B 238 (1).³² It is interesting to note the absence of an attribution to Rolle in this early sixteenth-century vernacular version. Therefore, although Rolle never wrote liturgical pieces, on several occasions his name serve to authenticate liturgical pieces to the Name of Jesus, and some of his pieces are appropriated to fit liturgical contexts. In Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk.vi.20, his name is associated to Suso's *Matutine in ueneracione nominis ihesu* and to a mass to the Name of Jesus.³³

³⁰See Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, pp. xlvii-xlviii; see also Allen, *Writings*, pp. 34-6.

³¹See Cambridge, CUL MS Kk. vi. 20, fols. 1-7'; in the same manuscript, also attributed to Rolle, is a *Missa De Nomine Jesu*; for additional information on the origins of those pieces, see Allen, *Writings*, pp. 349-51; for an edition of the hymn, see *Heinrich Seuses Horologium Sapientiae*, ed. P. Künzle, Spicilegium Friburgense 23, Texte zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Lebens (Fribourg: Fribourg University Press, 1977), pp. 606-18.

³²See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce B 238 (1), fols. 141^v-154^r; see also my 'Anglo-Norman and Middle-English' for a brief discussion of the Latin and Middle-English versions. For a description of other Latin versions of this office, see Allen, *Writings*, p. 349.

³³Cambridge, CUL, MS. Kk.vi.20, fols. 1-10; see also in the same manuscript, fols. 11-26, a compilation of Rolle's Latin writings on the Name, the *Orationes ad honorem nominis ihesu*. For a modern edition of the latter, see Richard Rolle, *Emendatio Vitae. Orationes ad honorem nominis ihesu*, ed. N. Watson, Toronto Medieval Texts 21 (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995).

In another manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 322, the initial letter of a version of the Middle-English *Emendatio Vitae* is illuminated with a coat of arms.³⁴ A bleeding heart stands at its centre, with four bleeding stars in the corners. Above the heart, resting on it, is the monogram IHS, in yellow colour. Five stripes in the same colour emerge from the right and left sides of the heart, as well as from below. In this imaginative design, signs of devotions to the Name and to the five wounds (the five stripes) combine to make powerful visual signs. The strategic position of those devotional markers at the beginning of *Emendatio* encourage a particular reading of the epistle. As its title of contents suggests, Douce 322, written for Pernelle Wrattisley, a nun at the Dominican priory of Dartford, is essentially devotional. Such a volume, put together in a professional scriptorium at the request of William Baron, and intended for his niece, provides interesting evidence of the way devotional images gloss the reading of a mystical treatise.³⁵ Although the *Emendatio Vitae* is an easy read when compared to some of Rolle's other Latin writings, the visual gloss, which is what the illumination truly is, proposes a devotional rather than a mystical viewpoint on the epistle. The scribe, preoccupied by the devotional output of the volume, suggests by this image a reading appropriate to the general context of the volume, and possibly more in line with the new recipient's aspirations.

Another manuscript of the fifteenth century provides equally important evidence for the practice of devotions to the Name of Jesus. Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 285 contains a full version of *The Form of Living*, and the passage on the Holy Name from the same epistle. In *The Form*, the substitution of recipient from Margaret (the anchoress for whom the epistle was originally composed), to Cicely, accounts for a dissemination of this work to a broader (and possibly less specialised) audience, for whom the mystical contents of the

³⁴Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, fols. 78^r-94^r; see also Allen, *Writings*, pp. 240-1; and Gillespie, 'Vernacular', p. 330.

³⁵See Hélène Toubert, "Des Sons et des Couleurs", in *Le Livre au Moyen Age*, ed. J. Glénisson (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1988), p. 165.

work are not of primary importance.³⁶ This is one way of deciphering the many marginal annotations next to *The Form* in the volume. On folio forty, where *The Form* begins, stands the monogram IHC in large red letters, together with the words 'maria' and 'iohannes'. Still on the same folio, but at the bottom of the page this time, is the monogram with 'maria'. Below it is a drawing of two beasts, one pursuing the other with an open mouth, while the fugitive beast looks back, possibly realising the outcome of this chase. The monogram appears several times in this volume, as on folio 51^v where it stands in red letters at the top left-hand corner, and on folio 63^v, where it appears twice, at the top right-hand side, and bottom right-hand side. The name 'maria', which appears twice on folio 64^r, faces almost exactly the monogram. The association of the monogram with the names of the two biblical characters participating in the episode of the crucifixion invests it here with meaning more generally attributed to the cross. As a substitute for this powerful visual sign, the Name obliterates somewhat the suffering humanity of Jesus which the cross suggests.

Manuscript evidence indicates a strong Carthusian involvement and interest in this devotion in late medieval England. Although, as an individual practice, the devotion may have been particularly suitable to the Carthusian solitary life, other considerations have to be taken into account.³⁷

³⁶As Gillespie notes, the manuscript is made up of four booklets, which may have circulated independently before being put together. I am not in a position to state when the signs of devotions to the Name appeared in this manuscript. It is likely I may have to qualify my statements in the light of new evidence on the making and circulation of the booklets, and the manuscript as a volume; see Gillespie, 'Vernacular', pp. 327-8; see also Allen, *Writings*, p. 258.

³⁷In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, solitude (already considered by Guigo I to be painful to human nature) is reduced by the adjunction of new liturgical solemnities in the *Antiqua Statuta* (1259), the *Nova Statuta*, the *Tertia Compilatio*, and in the *Nova Collectio*. As the complete Office of Our Lady had to be recited by the monk in the privacy of his cell, little time was left for the practice of individual prayers and devotions. This could account for the practice of the devotion to the Name of Jesus which, although based on a single name, contained the essence of the Christian faith. See James Hogg, 'Everyday Life in the Charterhouse in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters*. Internationaler Kongress Krems an der Donau 18. bis 21. September 1978 (Wien, 1980), pp. 128-9.

The erection of later Carthusian foundations in the vicinity of towns, at the instigation of lay patrons, involved a greater contact with the outside world.³⁸ The provision of devotional manuals by the Carthusians still satisfied requirements within the order, but also aimed to reach a lay audience consisting of patrons and benefactors. British Library, MS Additional 37790, contains the Middle-English translations by Richard Misyn of Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* and *Incendium Amoris*, as well as other high-powered mystical texts, such as the short text of Julian's *Revelations* and the Middle-English translation of Marguerite Porete's *Mirror of Simple Souls*.³⁹ The only named recipient in this collection is the recluse Margaret Heslyngton, for whom Misyn translated the *Incendium Amoris*. The manuscript was annotated by James Grenehalgh, Carthusian monk at Sheen monastery, the official name of which (the Charterhouse of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen) attests to the possibility of a particular interest in the Name on the part of its monks.⁴⁰ Evidence of devotion to the Name appears on folio forty-four, next to the single, but essential, passage in *The Fire of Love* dealing with the Name. It is the only passage in the whole of Rolle's corpus which clearly attests to his own use of the Name of Jesus. Rolle states the devotion to the Name to be the catalyst for his mystical experiences, expressed with his idiosyncratic concepts of *dulcor*, *calor* and *canor*:

Neuer-þe-les I trowe no man þat takis bot if he specially þe
name of Ihesu lufe & in so mikyll he worschip þat neuer fro his

³⁸See Hogg, "Everyday Life", p. 127; on the topic of Carthusian contact with the laity, see Joseph A. Gribbin, "Ex Oblatione Fidelium: The Liturgy of the London Charterhouse and the Laity" which, like this paper, appears in the proceedings of the conference on "The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians"; see also by Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice in Later Medieval England*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 99: 33, ed. J. Hogg (Salzburg, 1995); esp. pp. 33-51.

³⁹See Allen, *Writings*, pp. 223-4.

⁴⁰See Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, p. xlii. For a description of Sheen and other English charterhouses, see J. Hogg, 'Les Chartreuses Anglaises: Maisons et Bibliothèques', *Les Chartreux et l'Art. XIV^e - XVIII^e siècle*, Actes du X^e colloque international d'histoire et de spiritualité cartusiennes (Villeneuve-les-Avignon, 15-18 septembre 1988), ed. A. Girard et D. Le Blévec (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1989), pp. 207-228.

mynde except in slepe he lat itt pas - to whome is gifyn þat to
do, als I trow þat þat same he may fulfil.⁴¹

The Jesus monogram (IHC), placed next to this passage is in a very weak ink, not identical to that of the text. Portions of Rolle's *Form of Living* and *Ego Dormio* also belong to the volume. None of those texts are annotated with the Jesus monogram. The marginal marking is the work of a careful annotator well versed in the works of the hermit of Hampole. The annotated passage is indeed crucial to our understanding of the development of Rolle's mysticism and, consequently, far more important than other mentions of the devotion to the Name in Rolle's other writings. One other startling trace of the Jesus monogram appears on folio one hundred and eighty-one, above the text of *The Mirror of Simple Souls*.⁴² The treatise does not make mention of the devotion to the Name.⁴³ However, the monogram is placed above a passage which discusses understanding of difficult words. When words do not yield meaning, the narrative voice says, one should surrender to God, rest a while, and take up reading once again. The monogram in this context suggests the devotion to the Name as one way of surrendering to God. The two marginal annotations in this manuscript, both in the same ink as the other manuscript annotations, are answerable to a person knowledgeable in the devotion to the Name in particular, and to medieval spirituality in general. James of Grenehalgh, annotator of the manuscript, is without doubt a good candidate for those appropriate annotations.

⁴¹Richard Rolle, *The Fire of Love and The Mending of Life or The Rule of Living*, trans. Richard Misyn, ed. R. Harvey (London: EETS o.s. 106, 1896), p. 36.

⁴²For a modern edition, see Marguerite Porete, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. E.L. Babinaky, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York: The Paulist Press, 1993); see esp. pp. 88-135 for discussions about understanding.

⁴³It is quite surprising to find the Jesus monogram here, rather than next to the treatise called 'On three ways of contemplation' (fols. 234^r-236^v); the treatise presents indeed a passage discussing the necessity of setting one's mind on the Name of Jesus in order to avoid vain thoughts (fol. 234^r); it would be the obvious place to find it if the monogram was used as a marker, which is not the case in this volume.

A manuscript of Carthusian origin, British Library Additional 37049, is revealing of the strong interest in, and perception of, the devotion to the Name of Jesus associated with Richard Rolle.⁴⁴ Internal evidence indicates that the manuscript was produced in a charterhouse in the northern part of England and that it was designed for Carthusian use.⁴⁵ The interest in the Name of Jesus appears pervasively both in the framed part of the manuscript, with several passages from Rolle's writings dealing with the Name, as well as by the presence of the Jesus monogram in the margins and in the many illustrations which the manuscript contains.⁴⁶

Some of the nine representations of the monogram are baffling by their sheer size.⁴⁷ Framed texts and captions gloss some of those illustrations. Some images have moved away from the unruled space of the manuscript into its framed part, so that they appropriate the textual space and contest the sacred authority of the written word. In some miniatures, supplementation is taken

⁴⁴See J. Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English Religious Miscellany British Library MS. Add. 37049', *Essays in Honour of Erwin Stürzl on his Sixtieth Birthday*, vol. 1 (Salzburg, 1980), pp. 241-281; see also 'An Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Religious Miscellany. British Library London Additional MS. 37049. Volume 3: The Illustrations', *Analecta Cartusiana* 95, ed. James Hogg (1981); see also 'A Morbid Preoccupation with Mortality? The Carthusian London British Library MS. Add. 37049', *Analecta Cartusiana* 117, *Zeit, Tod und Ewigkeit in der Renaissance Literatur*, Band 2 (1986), 139-89; see also 'Selected Texts on Heaven and Hell from the Carthusian Miscellany, British Library Additional MS. 37049', *Analecta Cartusiana* 117, ed. James Hogg, *Zeit, Tod und Ewigkeit in der Renaissance Literatur*, Band 1 (1987), pp. 63-89. See also, by Francis Wormald, 'Some Popular Miniatures and their Rich Relations', *Miscellanea Pro Arte. Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres am 13. Januar 1965*, ed. P. Block and J. Hoster (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1965), pp. 279-285; see also Thomas W. Ross, 'Five Fifteenth-Century "Emblem" Verses from Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 37049', *Speculum* 32 (1957) pp. 274-82.

⁴⁵For a description of the manuscript, see also Allen, *Writings*, pp. 306-11. See also Anne McGovern-Mouron, 'A Study of *The Desert of Religion*' (Unpub. Oxford M.Phil. thesis, 1990) and 'An Edition of *The Desert of Religion*' (Unpub. Oxford D.Phil. thesis, forthcoming 1996).

⁴⁶For material (texts and miniatures) dealing with Rolle and the Name of Jesus, see BL, MS Additional 37049, fols. 23, 24, 26, 30, 36, 37, 46, 52, 67, 81; see also BL, MS Cotton Faustina B. VI. Part II, fols. 3' and 8' (new pagination); see also Hogg, 'An Illustrated Yorkshire', pp. 28-9, 40, 64-5, 77 106, 127.

⁴⁷A large coloured monogram of the Name of Jesus is found also in Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS 2125, fol. 118 (thanks to Jill Haven for pointing this information). This devotional manuscript incidentally contains several works of Rolle. See *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, ed. R. Latham, vol. 5 Manuscripts. Part 1: Medieval, compiled by R. McKitterick and R. Beadle (Cambridge, 1992).

over by the text. This process towards a reversal in the role of supplementation appears in a version of the Charter of Christ which is intimately linked to a miniature.⁴⁸ The person of Christ holding the parchment leaf, surrounded by the cross and the instruments of the Passion, have as important a role as the text for the reader's allegorical understanding of the poem: Christ is in fact the new charter, and the seal which opens it is his Name, which appears in the form of the monogram on the seal below the parchment leaf, between the nailed feet of Jesus. This is the only copy of the poem with a seal as in this illustration. The Name in this picture is instrumental to giving access to the person of Jesus, and as part of the miniature it provides important information about its role in the context of a specific text.

A similar didactic function seems to have been designed for the images which illustrate *The Desert of Religion* in the same manuscript.⁴⁹ The initial lines of the treatise stand as a kind of apology for the eremitic life:

Dauid, þat prophet was ay,
 In þe sawter boke þus we here say:
 Fleand I fled fra mare and les
 And dwelled in herd wyldernes.
 Dis wyldernes be-takens wele
 Herd penaunce, at men suld fele
 þat fleys fra þe werld - þat es þe flesch -
 And groves in gastely wyldernes,
 Als men of religioune dose,
 þat fleys þe flesch in þe saule-felose.
 For qwen man thurgh deuocioune
 Enters in-to religioune,
 He es als man þat suld wende
 In-to þe felde to fyght with þe fende;
 Whare-for god-blyssed mot he be,
 Qwhen he of þe fende faund wald be.
 He went in-to deserte to dwell,
 Als itt is wryten in þe gossell:

⁴⁸For a detailed description of this image, see Wormald, 'Some Popular Miniatures', pp. 280-1.

⁴⁹*The Desert of Religion* appears with almost identical images in three fifteenth century manuscripts: British Library, MS Additional 37049 (fols. 45r-66v), MS Cotton Faustina B.VI. Part II, and MS Stowe 39. The latter manuscript however omits all references to the devotion to the Name. The absence of marginal annotations of the monogram, as well as the omission of the name of Richard Rolle in this manuscript, single out MS Stowe 39 from the other two; see Allen, *Writings*, pp. 309-11.

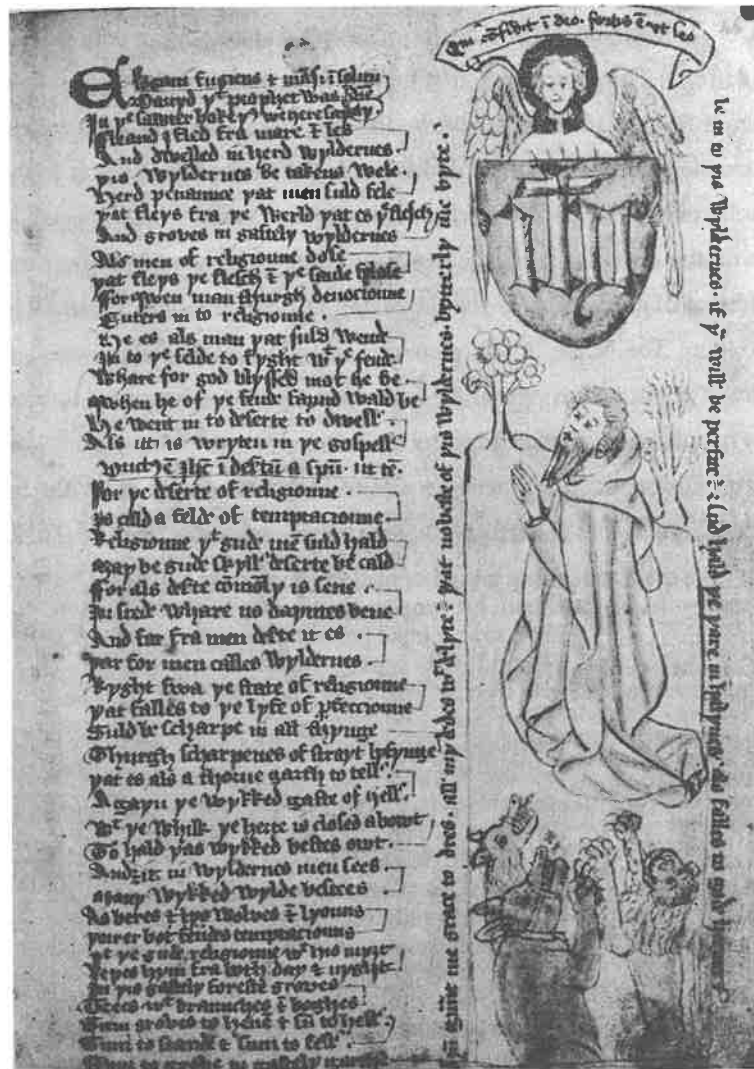


Fig. 1. British Library MS. Additional 37049, f. 46r

*Ductus est Jesus in desertum a spiritu, ut temptaretur.*⁵⁰

Next to this passage, one finds a large miniature representing a kneeling hermit in the wilderness praying before a coat of arms with the monogram of Jesus held by an angel (fig. 1). A text surrounding the miniature provides a gloss to the already powerful image:

Ihu graunt me grace to dres all my dedes with delyte þat no beste of þis wyldernes bytterly me byte. [F]le in to þis wyldernes if þou will be perfite and hald þe þare in halynes als falles to gode hermit.

Together, text and image provide devotional power to the Name in a way reminiscent of the *Incendium Amoris* passage mentioned above. The pouring in of grace in both passages seem to be dependent upon the continuous focus of one's deeds and thoughts on the Name of Jesus. The kneeling hermit in prayer places his attention on the Name of Jesus, suggested by the coat of arms of the monogram. We have here, in one image, the representation of two realities. That of the solitary praying hermit, which represents a daily individual activity; and that of the coat of arms, image within the image, highly symbolic and abstract in its conception, representing a spiritual doctrine relevant to the inner yearnings of the hermit.⁵¹ A further development of double representation appears on folio 52, representing 'Richard hampole' seated in a chapel, with the monogram 'IHC' in red letters on his breast. The same figure appears on folio 37r, without the mention of Richard Rolle. The hermit presents the reader a book to read. Only the first word, 'Ego' - probably from the verse 'Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat' which begins Rolle's epistle - can be deciphered. The reader is however invited to focus his attention on the monogram, also present on the breast of the hermit in this miniature, rather than on the indecipherable writing contained on the open page presented to us.

⁵⁰Walter Hübner, 'The Desert of Religion', *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Band 126 (1911), p. 59.

⁵¹See Michel Pastoureau, 'L'Armoirie Médiévale: une Image Théorique', *Iconographie Médiévale. Image, Texte, Contexte*. Sous la direction de G. Duchet-Suchaux (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1990), pp. 121-38.



Fig. 2. British Library MS. Additional 37049, f. 67r

The extent to which the hermit of Hampole was perceived as a propagator of the Holy Name devotion is demonstrated here. In those images, the figure of Richard Rolle gives evidence of his assimilation of the Name of Jesus. The monogram, no longer supported by the coat of arms, lies at the heart of the figure. On folio 52, captions with extracts from Rolle's lyrics surround the figure with the monogram inscribed on the breast. The monogram has found a central place in this miniature.

On folio 67^r of the same manuscript (fig. 2), the Jesus monogram (IHC) stands prominently on the left half side of the folio, framed into a square of considerable dimension (10x10cm). Borders surround the space where the monogram stands, with a text compiled from Philippians (Ph. 2: 10) and extracts of the *Incendium Amoris*:

In nomine ihesu omne genu flectatur. Omnium optimum esse ihesum in corde figere et aliud nequaquam desiderare. bonum mihi diligere ihesum, nil ultra querere.⁵²

[All should bend the knee at the name of Jesus. The best of all is to hold fast Jesus in the heart and under no circumstances desire anything else. My happiness stands in loving Jesus, and expecting nothing else.]

As Allen points out, this passage, borrowed from Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* - and others in his corpus, is reminiscent of the hymn *Dulcis Iesu Memoria*.⁵³ Signs of Rolle's influence for the growing interest in this devotion are pervasive in this manuscript. The small heart which hangs from the lower corner of the square, with the Jesus monogram at its centre, possibly echoes the representations of the sitting hermit in the above folios. The Carthusian scribe who placed the monogram literally at the heart of Rolle, and who provides many other miniatures with the Name in this manuscript, attests to the significant influence of the Carthusian order in propagating the devotion in late medieval England.

⁵²See Allen, *Writings*, p. 310.

⁵³See Allen, *Writings*, p. 100.

In MS Bodley 861, one of the best anthologies of Rolle's Latin writings, the monogram is carefully laid out at the top of every folio. Here, in MS Additional 37049, the monogram divests the text of its central place on the parchment page. Those two manuscripts represent the broadest spectrum of marginal manuscript evidence offered in late medieval England. To say more of the intentions of the scribes and illuminators who have left those valuable traces, would be, for most cases, purely speculative. One can only detect orientations with regard to the function of the material on the Name of Jesus in the margins of manuscripts. The careful annotations of MS Bodley 861, or the extravagant display in MS Additional 37049 attest however to a strong interest in the devotion shared by both the laity and the monastic orders. In this respect, the miniature on folio 81 of MS Additional 37049 provides an interesting insight on the late development of this devotion within the official church culture. The miniature depicts an allegorical procession of priests (or are they the twelve apostles?) bearing a banner with the Holy Name, followed by the cart of faith, full of people. Behind them, some people are pushed by two devils into the gaping jaws of a dragon. This image, in stark contrast to the other representations of the monogram, points to further developments of this devotion, based on communal practice and ritual, rather than individual prayer and meditation.⁵⁴ Although the procession is an allegorical one, it is rather surprising to find it in a Carthusian manuscript, whose constitutions forbade processions.⁵⁵ The manuscript and its miniatures provide probing evidence for various uses of a devotion originally attributed to a hermit. The evidence is even more significant when we remember that this manuscript was produced in a charterhouse and was designed for a monk's private usage.⁵⁶

⁵⁴This miniature recalls the devotion to the Name of Jesus as advocated by Bernardino of Siena, who used banners and boards with inscriptions of the monogram during his popular sermons; see Ephrem Longpré, 'S. Bernardin de Sienna et le Nom de Jésus', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 28 (1935), pp. 443-76; 29 (1937), pp. 142-68 and pp. 443-77; see also Loman McAodha, 'The Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of St. Bernardine of Sienna', *Franciscan Studies* 29 (1969), pp. 37-65.

⁵⁵See Guigues Ier, *Coutumes*, pp. 174-5.

⁵⁶Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', p. 249-50.

The manuscript clearly makes a case for the birth of the devotion to the Name as an individual practice, but however acknowledges its further development within different, although not opposed religious contexts. Guigo states in his *Meditations*: "Quod syllaba in carmine, hoc loci aut temporis obtinet unaquaeque res in mundano discursu" [As a syllable in a poem, each thing has in the passing of the world its share of place and time].⁵⁷ This paper accounts for the importance of Rolle and the Carthusians in relation to the marginal evidence on the Name. With regard to Rolle, the traditional ascription of his works as causal factors for the spread of the devotion to the Name of Jesus needs to be qualified. In some of the manuscript examples we have considered, Rolle's material on the Name satisfies the requirements for a devotional practice which had already gained an important momentum. The Carthusians contributed significantly to this process of appropriation of Rolle's material in the late medieval period, following and adapting the guidelines given in Guigo's *Consuetudines Cartusiae*. The *praecones veritatis* invested all parts of the manuscript page to disseminate and satisfy this demand-led devotion.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Guigues Ier, Pricur de Chartreuse, *Les Méditations*. Recueil de Pensées, trans. par Un Chartreux, *Sources Chrétiennes* 308 (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1983), pp. 158-9.

⁵⁸For the notion of demand-led religion, see Robert N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215-c.1515*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge, 1995).

The grete tre of yow forest schene
 As ye tre of vertus pat ay wdem
 Pat in mekenes sefnis his rotes
 Of hym vertus upward schotes
 And sprynges & sprouts hus leues & stoles
 And burthenes baw w' braches & wches
 Pat tre be taken me p' ar mayle
 And dehouere als a chylde
 W' wylle ar ye baray scalers rish
 Of our mayster god of myght
 And enes falles in hert to dwell
 Throughe yu four thynges to tell
 Throughe oth be thynkynge up & dome
 Throughe haly delyte to ome
 And throughe vcray contrycionne
 Throughe sufferance w' ome sruddynne
 Throughe haly delyte w' ome dyanynne
 De thynkynge of his woredynne
 Dr thynk god has donch w' war or les
 W' thynk if he lat nocht pas
 And vndyngnyng what he was
 And wher he come & rugh le
 And what he is & wher he fall he
 And what he fall be at his end
 And wherward he fall went
 In a fall to many thynges fualth
 Ym for to make & for to lalt
 Throughe of unkyndnes of ad & thynk
 Comes all p' vcray en was throughe
 In seven braches of yow tre
 In seven vertus may men le
 And out of all a vertus euen
 Sprynges ocher vnto & leues leuen
 Pat forth braynges ye froite of lyfe
 Pat baw lidd conyng man & wyfe
 W' ye tre of wylle we here
 P' doun of ocher in ye lantere
 Ye rynchys to als a tre y' lantere
 Be lye ye courte of ye wate founte
 And of ye froite counsell spone
 In ye tre lalt nocht fole w' dymne

And all day to me gun dyes
 W' a roben hald a lade & pat w' dadyes
 Thare war & les of lince pat me gun take
 Throughe yu four thynges to tell
 Throughe oth be thynkynge up & dome
 Throughe haly delyte to ome
 And throughe vcray contrycionne
 Throughe sufferance w' ome sruddynne
 Throughe haly delyte w' ome dyanynne
 De thynkynge of his woredynne
 Dr thynk god has donch w' war or les
 W' thynk if he lat nocht pas
 And vndyngnyng what he was
 And wher he come & rugh le
 And what he is & wher he fall he
 And what he fall be at his end
 And wherward he fall went
 In a fall to many thynges fualth
 Ym for to make & for to lalt
 Throughe of unkyndnes of ad & thynk
 Comes all p' vcray en was throughe
 In seven braches of yow tre
 In seven vertus may men le
 And out of all a vertus euen
 Sprynges ocher vnto & leues leuen
 Pat forth braynges ye froite of lyfe
 Pat baw lidd conyng man & wyfe
 W' ye tre of wylle we here
 P' doun of ocher in ye lantere
 Ye rynchys to als a tre y' lantere
 Be lye ye courte of ye wate founte
 And of ye froite counsell spone
 In ye tre lalt nocht fole w' dymne

British Library MS. Additional 37049, f. 46v

The Desert of Religion in British Library Cotton Faustina B VI, pars II.¹

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The following examination of the *Desert of Religion*² is divided into three parts. It begins with a short description of the poem and its manuscripts; with the Cotton version of the poem in mind, it is then suggested that this text was first written for a Carthusian audience; finally, it ends with a more detail analysis of the specificity of the Cotton recension of the poem.

* * * * *

It has often been recognized that the '*Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*' canon of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 initiated a surge of theological and devotional manuals in Latin and the vernacular.³ In England, and elsewhere, the educational programme, espoused in the South of the country by Archbishop Pecham in 1281 and in the North by Archbishop Thoresby in 1357,⁴ centres on a basic core of Christian doctrine involving a knowledge of the *Pater noster*, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Virtues, the Seven Sacraments, and the Seven Works of Mercy. Although this educational programme was primarily aimed at the parish priest and his flock, this instruction also benefited the monastic Orders, especially, but not exclusively, their less educated members, novices and laybrothers.

One such text, written in the vernacular, though for a monastic audience, is the *Desert of Religion*, first published (incompletely) by W. Hübner in 1911 in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*.⁵ This anonymous poem of about nine hundred and fifty lines of rhyming couplets is contained in three fifteenth-century manuscripts of the British Library in London: the famous compilation Ms Additional 37049, Ms

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude to Professor D. Gray who read the various drafts of this paper and who offered many suggestions. My thanks are also due to Rev. S. Innes who greatly helped me with the Latin translations.

² Note that in the footnotes, the *Desert of Religion* will be abbreviated DR.

³ Among the numerous literature on the subject, see, for instance, H.G. Pfander, 'Some Medieval Manuals of Religious Instruction in England', in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 35 (1936), 243-258; W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955), pp. 189-243; C.A. Martin, 'Middle English Manuals of Religious Instruction', in *So many People Longages and Tonges*, edited by M. Benskin and M.L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 283-298; V. Gillespie, *The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual*, Unpublished D. Phil. Thesis, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), i, pp. 5-47, 94-188; L.E. Boyle, O.P., 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology', in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, edited by T.J. Heffernan, *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, 28 (Knoxville, 1985), pp. 30-43.

⁴ See, Gillespie, *The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual*, i, respectively, pp. 23-24, 26-31.

⁵ W. Hübner, 'The desert of religion', *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 126 (1911), 55-74.