

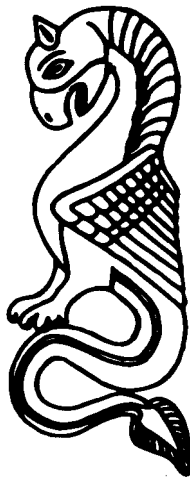
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THE MIDDLE ENGLISH "CANDET NUDATUM PECTUS" AND NORMS OF EARLY VERNACULAR TRANSLATION PRACTICE

By RITA COPELAND

(i) Introduction

The generation of Middle English verse owes much to the practice of translation, to the willingness, both of famous poets of major stature and of anonymous poets of only minor or even negligible stature, to model their own efforts after the examples of non-English precedents. This factor in the evolution of Middle English as a self-sufficient literary language is certainly fundamental to any understanding of this phase in literary history, and hardly needs to be pointed out to students of this period. But the precise poetics of translation in Middle English merits some attention as an area of study in itself, as opposed to remaining an area of inquiry auxiliary to diachronic textual or source studies. Poetics of translation as a separate study takes as its aim the description and definition of the way in which a new poetic discourse is founded through the act of appropriating the literary structures and language of a non-native source. A study of the problematics of translation may serve, I believe, as a particularly productive method of tracing the emergence of certain poetic norms at the earliest, most formative, and hence least stable phase of Middle English poetry.

In this paper I shall consider the early Middle English devotional lyric, and within that larger category focus on some of the stylistic norms of certain Passion lyrics derived from Latin sources.¹ The texts treated here were chosen, not with a view to their qualitative distinction (by any standards) in the tradition of Middle English translation, but rather for their representativeness of the terms of vernacular composition at a very early, elementary, and as I have noted, unstable stage of the lyric in English. By the thirteenth century England had only a very limited tradition in the vernacular lyric. While other native literary forms, notably devotional and hagiographical prose, were experiencing an efflorescence, native precedents in lyric forms were minimal, so far as may be judged from the surviving material. Thus most of the texts preserved for this period, during which the lyric began to proliferate (largely under the influence of the Franciscans), are actually records of formal experimentation. My interest here is to describe one small aspect of this vast and ultimately successful experiment in lyric forms by examining the way in which a very popular English poem originally took its formal and expressive directives from a literary source in Latin.

The sources of the earliest meditative lyrics often do not supply direct suggestion for the style and structure of a short poem. The immediate sources of many lyrics are Latin prose tags or short passages derived from longer devotional prose (and sometimes verse) texts which could supply much material useful for instruction, preaching, and private devotion. Among the texts most widely popularized in this derivative fashion was a meditation from a series of devotions ascribed in the later Middle Ages to Augustine, but in fact the work of the eleventh-century mystic John of Fécamp, an older contemporary of Anselm, and associated with his school.² Anselm's meditations also supplied such material, as did such vastly popular works as the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Edmund of Abingdon and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* of the thirteenth-century pseudo-Bonaventura.³ From such devotional texts, aimed at educated contemplatives, certain passages of especially memorable and forceful quality were often removed from their original context and used as independent aphorisms, inserted into new meditations or quoted alone. Several of these popular prose passages depicting the physical torment of the Crucifixion inspired a series of related English verse translations from the thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries.

The important texts for this study are the English versifications of a passage known as the "Candet nudatum pectus" from a meditation by John of Fécamp. In English the piece survives in at least nine versions from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: (i) a version in MS Trinity College, Cambridge 323 (see Brown *XIII*, no.33); (ii) a version in MS Digby 55, and (iii) another from the thirteenth century in MS St John's College, Cambridge A.15;⁴ (iv) a version in MS Durham Cathedral A.III.12 (see Brown *XIV*, no.1 A; (v) one in MS Bodley 42 (Brown *XIV*, no.1 B); (vi) and (vii) two versions in MS Advocates 18.7.21 (one printed in Brown *XIV*, p.241, and the other by Rosemary Woolf⁵); (viii) a version in MS BM Additional 11579 (Brown *XIV*, p.241); and (ix) as a stanza of a poem inserted in the *Ego Dormio* of Richard Rolle.⁶ I shall be chiefly concerned here with the poetic problems raised by the first of these versions cited here, that in MS Trinity College, Cambridge 323. Some of the other versions I shall treat briefly as comparative references at the conclusion of this study.

(ii) The Structure of the Original Meditation by John of Fécamp

Before considering the poems themselves and their immediate sources in the Latin extracts used for sermons, I shall give some brief attention to the original context of the "Candet nudatum pectus" passage in the meditation by John of Fécamp.⁷ As the heading of the meditation (in Migne's edition), "Passio Filii repraesentatur Patri" suggests, the context is a moving appeal to God on the part of the meditator to look upon the sufferings of Christ on behalf of man, emphasizing his innocence and selflessness:

Aspice, Pater pie, piissimum Filium pro me tam impia passum. Respice, clementissime Rex, qui patitur, et reminiscere benignus pro quo patitur. Nonne hic est,

mi Domine, innocens ille, quem, ut servum redimeres,
Filius tradidisti?

(Dear Father, behold your dearest Son suffering such iniquities on my account. Most merciful king, look who suffers, and remember on whose account the benign one suffers. Is he not innocent, my Lord, that son whom you betrayed so that you might redeem your servant?)

The brief passage, the "Candet nudatum pectus", when read in the context of its place in the entire meditation, has a particular emotional function within the rhetorical structure of the larger text. It comes at the climax of the appeal for God's mercy, which has steadily built affective power, gathering force through an intensifying series of questions and prayers:

Oro te, rex sanctorum, per hunc sanctum sanctorum, per hunc Redemptorem meum, fac me currere viam mendatorum tuorum: ut ei valeam spiritus uniri, qui mea non horruit carne vestiri. Numquid non attentis, pie Pater, adolescentis Filii charissimi caput, nivea cervice deflexa pretiosam resolutum in mortem?

(I pray you, king of saints, through him who is the saint of saints, through him who is my redeemer, make me go according to the way of your laws; that I may be worthy to be united in spirit with him, who did not dread to be clothed in my flesh. Do you not see, blessed Father, the precious head of your dearest young son, drooping in death from his snowy, bent neck?)

This prepares for the final appeal which reiterates the opening words, thereby achieving a tone at once harsh in its vividness and tender in its affective suggestiveness:

Aspice, mitissime Conditor, dilectae sobolis humanitatem: et miserere super infirmi plasmatis debilitatem.

Candet nudatum pectus, rubet cruentum latus, tensa arent viscera, decora languent lumina, regia pallent ora, procera rigent brachia, crura pendent marmorea, rigat terebratos pedes beati sanguinis unda.

(Behold, most kind Creator, the humanity of your beloved child, and have pity on the weakness of infirm flesh. His naked breast grows white, his bloody side grows red, his stretched out flesh grows dry, his lovely eyes grow dim, his royal lips grow pallid, his upraised arms grow rigid, his marble legs hang down, a wave of holy blood wets his pierced feet.)

The meditation gives a complete range of emotive development and presumably guides the responses of the reader through a carefully modulated sequence of address, appeal, exposition, and finally verbal representation of the Crucifixion.⁸ It provides, moreover, a dramatic structure of speaker (the meditator); audience of the

address, or addressee (God); and subject of the discourse (Christ). This three-person distribution, or diffusion, of focus adds complex dimensions to the meditation as a whole. It introduces a certain defining distance between the speaker, the object of his address (God), the subject of his petition, and the implied audience, who is the reader of the meditation and who in effect assumes the position or role of speaker when he reads and uses the passage. This distance between the various persons involved in the address, whether directly and actively or by inference, allows for a certain implicit interaction between them, a dramatic exchange which is signalled, not by a change of speaker, but by shifts in mood and emphasis within the sustained address of a single speaker, the meditator's monologue. There is the impassioned prayer to God, then the return to passionate appeal, crowned with the unequivocal argument, the actual depiction of the Crucifixion.

- (iii) The "Candet Nudatum Pectus" as an Independent Devotional Tag: an Example from John of Grimestone's Sermon Handbook (MS Advocates 18.7.21)

The passage describing the Crucifixion circulated in later centuries as an extract, still in Latin, but independent of the whole meditation; and judging from the number of English derivatives of this Latin tag, its circulation must have been quite wide. One version of the Latin extract appears in MS Advocates 18.7.21, a commonplace book compiled in the second half of the fourteenth century by the Franciscan preacher John of Grimestone. It is an alphabetical sermon handbook in which English and Latin verses, tags, and other materials are arranged under topical headings of themes for sermons.⁹ The Advocates MS also contains two of the English versions of the "Candet nudatum pectus". This particular extract consists only of the litany of disjointed, end-stopped, descriptive phrases which in the original have a powerful, culminative effect. It also, incidentally, makes a commonplace ascription to Augustine:

Augustinus In quadam meditacione. Candet nudatum
pectus. Rubet cruentum latus. Tensa [MS. tansa]
arent viscera. Decora languent lumina. Regia
pallent ora. Procera rigent brachia. Crura
dependent marmorea. Et rigat terebratos pedes
beati sanguinis vnda. (Brown XIV, p.241)
(Here follows a meditation once used by Augustine.
His naked breast grows white. His bloody side grows
red. His stretched out flesh grows dry. His lovely
eyes grow dim. His royal lips grow pallid. His
upraised arms grow rigid. His marble legs hang
down. A wave of holy blood wets his pierced feet.)

A passage such as this would provide the immediate source for an English versification. Here, removed from its context in the entire meditation, the original dramatic function of the description is in a sense neutralized, and certainly simplified. The passage reports the details of the physical suffering, but

provides no indication of the speaker's placement with regard to the scene other than the present tense of the verbs (suggesting that he is imaginatively and spiritually present at the scene). It makes no appeal to a particular audience, whether God, the meditator, or Christ. The address is general, and the tone therefore somewhat detached from the sphere of the meditator's (that is, the reader's or auditor's) own experience. This does not make the impact of the description less immediate, but it reduces the sense of shared response between speaker and audience.

The scene is depicted in stark relief, with no interpretative intrusions (such as, in some Passion lyrics, a reference to the grief of the mourners around the Cross),¹⁰ no personalizing emotive details to broaden the focus of the mind's eye upon the picture, to relieve the strained attention to the scene of torment. Nothing is here to distract the meditator from the object of his inner, imaginative attention, from his immediate and graphic visualization of the Crucifixion.

A method for such fixed attention to the details of the scene, so that the meditator makes himself present there in mind, is provided in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, which offers some prescriptions on the manner of meditating on the life of Christ:

Volo autem tibi tradere modum, quem teneas in meditando praedicta . . . Igitur scire debes, quod meditari sufficit solum factum quod Dominus fecit vel circa eum contigit fieri vel dici secundum historiam evangelicam, te ibidem praesentem exhibendo, ac si in tua praesentia fierent, prout simpliciter animo in dictis cogitanti occurrit . . . Eliges ergo in his meditandis, aliquam horam quietam, postea infra diem poteris discere moralitatem et auctoritates, et eas studiose memoriae commendare.¹¹

(I also wish to give you the manner that you should follow in meditating on the above . . . Therefore you ought to know that it is enough to meditate only on what the Lord did or on what happened concerning Him or on what is told according to the Gospel stories, feeling yourself present in those places as if the things were done in your presence, as it comes directly to your soul in thinking of them . . . Therefore, in this meditating, choose some quiet hour. Afterwards, later in the day, you can take the morality and authorities and studiously commit them to memory.)

Elsewhere the author of the *Meditationes* gives six meditations on the Passion, introducing them with this prescription:

Ad hunc autem statum consequendum, crederem tanquam ignarus et balbutiens, quod totam illuc mentis aciem vigilantibus 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 contigerunt,

affectuose, diligenter, amorose et perseveranter.¹²

(I, as an ignorant person and a stammerer, believe that in attaining this state it is therefore necessary to be directed by the whole light of the mind, by the eyes of the watchful heart, having left all the other extraneous cares that man keeps for himself for all those things that occur around the Passion and Crucifixion of the Lord, by desire, wisdom, and perseverance, not with slothful eyes or with omissions or with tedium of the soul.)

The emphasis here upon a careful and unclouded attention to the matter of the meditation is reflected in the interest taken by preachers and compilers in the "Candet nudatum pectus" apart from John of Fécamp's meditation as a whole. More generally, this concern with fixed attention to the object of meditation is reflected in the tendency among vernacular translators and compilers to draw chiefly upon the Passion sections of full-scale treatises such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* in their adaptations of Latin sources for English audiences.¹³ The "Candet nudatum pectus" passage provides only the most direct and deliberate account of the suffering to arouse and compel the imagination. It is not its purpose to provide explicit direction for emotional response to each detail of the Passion, such as we find in the intense and highly wrought accounts of later mystics, or in this amplified Passion poem:

Ihesu þat hast me dere I-boght,
Write þou gostly in my þo3t,
þat I mow with deuocion
þynke on thy dere passioun . . .

Ihesu, yit write in my hert
how bloode out of þy woundes stert;
And with þat blode write þou so ofte,
Myn hard hert til hit be softe . . .

Ihesu, write þis þat I my3t knowe
how mychel loue to þe I owe . . .

(Brown XIV, no.91,
11.1-4, 49-52, 75-6)

Here the programme of pious response is explicitly outlined and detailed, and underscored by the repeated appeal to Christ to enforce the message, "Ihesu, yit write in my hert". But the "Candet nudatum pectus", as it appears out of context in the Advocates MS, is abstract and severe. As such, it alone would not supply the English versifier with any structural directives comparable to those which could be found in the amplified rhetorical structure of the meditation in its entirety.

(iv) Programmes for Meditative Structure

In the work of several English versifiers we can examine the ways in which they replace, as it were, this "missing" structure with new or different elements, and the varying effects of these poetic revisions and reconstructions. A particular difficulty for

the English translators is that of finding an adequate meditative structure for a short lyric, because of the absence of direct and rhetorically accessible formats in the immediate Latin sources. The strategic difficulty in the search for an appropriate poetic style and structure correlates with a lack of a confident stylistic initiative in these early pieces, their dependence upon the source or model.¹⁴ These pieces do rely heavily upon the authority of the original, abiding closely by the dictates of its content. They would seem good evidence to support the view commonly taken of medieval vernacular translation, that in its most typical and widespread practice it is literal, aiming to achieve a word-for-word identity with the original.¹⁵ This generalization is apt for these early English poems insofar as at the level of simple verbal usage they suggest their authors' inhibitions about using the vernacular. But there is a fundamental change which these translators must work on their sources: to convert a rhetorically disembodied extract into a poetically and dramatically self-contained unit, to vivify the material for a vernacular, lay audience.

Rosemary Woolf adduces three possible structures for a meditative poem: a preacher's address to the meditator (which may approach simple narrative);¹⁶ the meditator addressing Christ; and Christ addressing the meditator.¹⁷ All of these provide some distinct focus of address. The English derivatives of the "Candet nudatum pectus" and of a similarly popular Latin commonplace, the "Respice in faciem Christi tui", as well as most other versified forms of a *memoria* of the Passion, generally adopt one of these structures. Some, however, may return to an earlier convention of contemplative writing in using an address to God.¹⁸ Stephen Manning offers a much more basic programme for the structure of such lyrics, reducing the possibilities to an essentially twofold scheme: the deliberation upon a scene, usually from the Gospel, presented in some detail; and the implied consequence of this sort of deliberation, the evocation of pious affections which can lead either to a resolution or to a petition.¹⁹ Thus the reader's responses are implicitly incorporated into the actual structure of the poem. The form, as Manning argues, is pliant enough to afford some variation. The poet's various handlings of the form determine the quality of the final products.

(v) The "Candet Nudatum Pectus" in MS Trinity College, Cambridge 323

The English versification of the "Candet nudatum pectus" in MS Trinity College, Cambridge 323 is accompanied in the MS by its immediate source, another variant of the independent Latin extracts from the text by John of Fécamp. This MS is a friars' miscellany of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The pieces collected therein are not arranged according to any topical or alphabetical system for easy reference in developing a sermon, but they tend to be grouped roughly according to type and possible function.²⁰ Thus the English "Candet nudatum pectus" and its source appear in a series of short devotional lyrics in English, many of them translated from Latin verse and prose sources which occasionally accompany the translations on the page.²¹ The Latin "Candet nudatum

pectus" extract here reproduces the invocation which precedes the actual description of the Crucifixion in John of Fécamp's text, and in this instance gives an ascription to St Bernard:

Bernardus: Aspice mitissime conditor pie prolis sobolem
& miserrere super infirmi plasmatis debilitatem. candet
nudatum pectus. pallet cruentatum latus. tensa arent
vicerra. procera rigent brachia. pendent crura
marmorea. decora languent lumina. rigat terrebratos
pedes beati sanguis vnda. (Brown XIII, p.193-4)

(Bernard: Behold, most kind Creator, the [humanity] of
your dear child, and have pity on the weakness of
infirm flesh. His naked breast grows white. His
bloody side grows pale. His stretched out flesh grows
dry. His upraised arms grow rigid. His marble legs
hang down. His lovely eyes grow dim. A wave of holy
blood wets his pierced feet.)

(Note: *pie prolis sobolem* may be a scribal error, and
is translated here as if it read *pie sobolis humanitatem*.)

Although this version returns to the original format of John of Fécamp's meditation, that of a distinct voice addressing God (as opposed to the more abstract and severe format of the version from John of Grimestone's sermon handbook), it is not clear from this passage who the speaker is. The terms of the invocation here, out of context as they are, are ambiguous compared with those of John of Fécamp's text. In the accompanying English translation, however, the speaker is specified, but he is no longer the meditator evoking an image of Christ's physical agony as part of the programme of a petition for grace and mercy. Instead, Christ himself appeals to the Father, displaying his own wounds as part of a formal intercession on man's behalf. The context of the meditation remains unchanged, from the invocation to the deliberation on the scene and the final petition (to use the terms of Manning's schematic description). But the shift in positioning of speaker, object (or audience) of the address, and subject of the address (here Mankind) entirely alters the force and meaning of the passage:

þu þad madist alle þinc,
mi suete fadir, hewene kinc,
Bi-sue to me þad am þi sone,
þad for monkine habe fles ynomin.

Mi wite breste, suene & brit,
blodi is min side rist
& min licam on rode i-stist.

Mine lonke armes, stiue & sterke,
Min heyin arrin dim & derke,
Min þeyis honket so marbre-ston in werke;

þo flod of min rede blod
Al owir-weint min þurlit fod.
Fadir, þau monkine ab idon folie,
Mid mine wondis for hem mercy ic þe crie. (Brown XIII,
no.33)

The English versifier has taken the prayer to be the words of Christ, or perhaps has simply determined that his version will present a revised dramatic perspective.

Here the controlling voice is that of Christ, and the potential for identification of the reader and meditator with the speaker, which is fundamental to the force of John of Fécamp's text, is to a great extent removed. The context is now that of an implied dramatic exchange between Christ and the Father, and the prospective meditator moves one step away from participation in the lyric "action" (as the potential for identification with the speaker is removed) to a position of observer of the scene. This is a considerable departure from the given format of the accompanying source, as the material has been reformulated not only to suit the requirements of a verse structure but to express, with the clarity of a graphic image or a dramatic pose, an affective attitude, at once complete in itself and dependent for its full effect upon the reader's response in pious emotion.

(vi) Contemporary Norms of Structure and Approach: Complaints of Christ from the Cross

In the Trinity version of the English "Candet nudatum pectus", the change in speaking voice to the first-person narration of Christ, contained within a very formal structure of address and petition, doubtless reflects the translator's concern to convert an aphoristic and rhetorically neutral prose extract into a poetically self-contained unit. This directly raises a question of the poetics of the lyric. The vernacular lyric must differentiate itself rhetorically and formally from the brief Latin prose extract. In like manner, the prose extract, in its intended function, represents a new formulation of the material in John of Fécamp's text; through the simple process of exclusion of all but a short fragment of the longer meditation, the extract differentiates itself in function and impact from the discourse of the parent text.²² The text of the English "Candet nudatum pectus" is a record, in the history of the vernacular lyric in English, of a crucial moment in such a process of formal differentiation from other kinds of literary discourse.

In terms of its structure and rhetorical effect this lyric, deriving from one convention in the tradition of meditative verse, bears strong resemblances to another more strictly delimited convention within this tradition, the address or complaint of Christ from the Cross.²³ This form is often characterized by a strong element of admonitory injunction and reproach, such as that in the *Improperia* or Good Friday Reproaches, used in the liturgy for Holy Week. The tone of the transformed "Candet nudatum pectus" has no element of severity in it, and unlike the *Improperia* verses and other complaint conventions, it is not really a complaint at all, but a vivid self-exposition. However, like the complaint poems it attains a personal tone, in that it is intended to be heard by (although not directly addressed to) the human witnesses of the scene. But the element of admonition present in some of the complaint conventions has been almost completely tempered and

sweetened in the Trinity "Candet nudatum pectus" by the force of the affectionate invocation. Here, for comparison, is a translation of the *Improperia* verses by Friar William Herebert:

My volk, what habbe y do þe
Oþer in what þyng toened þe?
Gyn nouþe and onswere þou me:

Vor vrom egypte ich ladde þe,
þou me ledest to rode troe.

My volk, what habbe y do þe? &c.

þorou wyldernesse ich ladde þe,
And uourty 3er bihedde þe,
And aungeles bred ich 3af to þe,
And in-to reste ich brouhte þe.

My volk, what habbe y do þe? &c. . . .

Ich 3af the croune of kynedom;
And þou me 3yfst a croune of þorn. My volk, &c.

Ich muchel worshype doede to þe;

And þou me hongest on rode troe. My volk, &c.

(Brown XIV, no.15, ll.1-11, 31-4)

An English version of the "Homo vide quae pro te patior" also exemplifies the element of severity in this convention of complaint. The Latin source of these lines, a poem by Philip the Chancellor, dates from the early thirteenth century and achieved great currency through copying and translation. The following English translation is from John of Grimestone's sermon book:

Senful man, be-þing & se
Quat peine i þole for loue of þe.
Nith & day to þe i grede,
Hand & fotes on rode i-sprede.
Nailed i was to þe tre,
Ded & birized, man, for þe;
Al þis i drey for loue of man,
But werse me dot, þat he ne can
To me turnen onis is ey3e,
þan al þe peine þat i dry3e. (Brown XIV, no.70)

In the *Improperia* and the "Homo vide" verses, the reproach, like the address itself, is direct and abrupt. It would not have been unlikely or far-fetched for the author of the Trinity "Candet nudatum pectus" to fuse (or, less consciously, to confuse) the terms of the description of Christ's suffering in his own source with similar expressions of the torments to be found in such complaint poems (or paraliturgical pieces in Latin) as the "Homo vide" or *Improperia* in which Christ is always the speaker. But although the poet of the Trinity "Candet nudatum pectus" has borrowed, whether knowingly or not, the essential dramatic format of the complaint convention of address, that of Christ speaking from the Cross, he has also retained the important terms of the original meditation (and of the derived extract in the Trinity MS)

by incorporating the tender invocation which precedes the actual catalogue of wounds, and by having a direct address to God: "þu þad madist alle þinc . . . /Fadir, þau monkine ab idon folie . . ."

The element of intimate directness in the poem, the confidential address to the Father which the meditator is in a sense positioned to overhear, would also have summoned forth associations with another complaint convention within the tradition of the devotional lyric, that of Christ's complaint as the lover of mankind.²⁴ The colloquial simplicity of some of the words and phrases in the translation, those which give the English version more intimate sweetness than its Latin source, may perhaps derive some suggestion from the convention of Christ as lover. The following poem, for example, which is accompanied in the manuscript (BM Additional 11579) by a Latin and an Anglo-French version, uses much of the language of the love appeal:

Man, folwe seintt Bernardes trace
 And loke in ihesu cristes face,
 How hee lut hys heued to þe
 Swetlike for to kessen þe,
 And sprat hise armes on þe tre,
 Senful man, to klippen þe.
 In sygne of loue ys open his syde;
 Hiis feet y-nayled wid þe tabyde.
 Al his bodi is don on rode,
 Senful man, for þyne goode. (Brown XIII, no.69)

This poem, incidentally, is derived from an Anselmian meditation (see note 3). Another example, a fourteenth-century love-plaint in which Christ speaks directly to man, uses more elaborate language and represents a later, extended development of this stylistic convention:

Lo! lemman swete, now may þou se
 þat I haue lost my lyf for þe.
 What myght I do þe mare?
 For-þi I pray þe speciali
 þat þou forsake ill company
 þat woundes me so sare. (Brown XIV, no.78, 11.1-6)

This quality of tender directness is particularly resonant in those pieces which use the same basic structure of address and petition or, in the case of Christ to man, of address and injunction, as in this short piece from MS Digby 55:

Suete leman y deye for þi loue. yf y deye for ze:
 Wy ne viltu lonþen me. zin ore. þi loue bindes me
 sore. thenc wat y tholie lef for ze: by lef þine
 sinnes and toren the to me.

This injunction is meant to produce a pious response from the meditator; and in this particular case, the desirable response is programmed into the poem itself, as the *Responsio peccatoris* follows:

Wen ihc aue al don mine folie thanne wily Jesu merci
 þe crie. þin ore, þin ore mi suete leman: sore me
 reues that y aue mis don.²⁵

The important point of association between such a piece as this dialogue from the Digby manuscript and the Trinity "Candet nudatum pectus" is the intimate tone which is set by the diction, the simple, colloquial elements in the opening lines of the address. The most pronounced stylistic change in the Trinity translation from its immediate Latin source is in the appealing tenderness of Christ's direct address to the Father. The style has shifted in effect from loving but distant reverence (the address to God, "Aspice, mitissime conditor") to a familial closeness between Father and Son, suggested in the colloquial, almost naive periphrasis "þu þad madist alle thinc" for "conditor", and in the vocative "mi suete fadir" which is only then followed by the more formal "hewene kinc".

The Trinity version thus heightens the most accessible, commonplace, and immediately gratifying emotional elements. It combines with perfectly simple grace the two trends of influence from the convention of the complaint, both the loving and the reproachful. This version represents an intersection of various styles in the meditative tradition; by at once preserving a strong fidelity to the sources and incorporating directives from other conventions, the translator produces a piece of some originality.

(vii) Parallels with Iconographic Design

The translator of the Trinity "Candet nudatum pectus" has tried to focus the whole temporal process of the Crucifixion, the lapse in time between agony and death, into a single moment, by changing the descriptive verbs of the Latin, which are in the present tense and represent ongoing action, to adjectives. "Candet" becomes "brit"; "pallet cruentatum latus" is simplified in "blodi is min side rist". The body, which in the Latin seems to wither slowly on the Cross ("tensa arent viscera"), in the English is simply pierced, "min licam on rode i-stist", an image which draws upon a fund of traditional verbal and iconographic associations with the wound in the right side. The imaginative complexity in many of the Latin verbal choices, such as the paradox of a "bloody pallor", or of legs which hang ("pendent") as if limp, yet are marble-like ("marmorea") in their rigidity and pallor, is simplified in the English version. The compressed suggestiveness of "pendent crura marmorea" becomes the more loosely structured "Min þeyis honket so marbre-ston in werke", a simile which has a self-explanatory effect, as if the image can be at once presented and expounded. The English version may lose the taut coherence of the Latin phrases, with their inner structure of paradox and suggestion; but it amplifies our view of the scene by turning that inner structure outward and making explicit the relationship between the literal and the figurative (as in the simile just quoted). It also stresses the reader's identification with Christ's own perspective: Christ is seen as it were to look down upon his own body and wounds and to review them with stark

precision. Such is the force of the repeated possessives, "mine lonke arems", "mine heyin", "min þeyis".

The tendencies of this translation to compress ongoing action into simple, single moments, and to be direct and explicit where its source is suggestive, are closely paralleled by contemporary developments in iconographic conventions; and indeed, the parallels are striking enough to suggest that the artistic assumptions that govern the formulation of a vernacular poetic in this instance are largely drawn from the realm of iconographic expression. Or perhaps we can say that certain conventions in iconographic depiction of the Passion provided a stylistic directive for early poetic treatments of this theme.

Erich Auerbach has described a tendency in certain early Anglo-Norman narratives to develop a story as a series of independent and self-contained scenes which are "strung together like beads". In the *Vie de Saint Alexis*, for example, the narrative unfolds as a series of independent scenes, "each of which contains an expressive yet simple gesture . . . Every picture has as it were a frame of its own . . . The gestures of the scenic moment are simply and plastically impressive in the highest degree".²⁶ While the structural premises of a large-scale narrative are scarcely comparable with those of a short lyric, we may nevertheless trace in the English Passion lyric a stylistic effect similar to that which Auerbach remarks in early French epic and hagiographic verse: the poetic depiction assumes the qualities of a fixed, plastic "scenic moment". The Trinity "Candet nudatum pectus" shares this feature with virtually all of the English versions of this Latin *memoria*, and in general with most early vernacular Passion lyrics.

Some of the contemporary attitudes towards devotional practices which contributed to the artistic principles manifested in the lyric deserve some attention here. All of the English versions of the "Candet nudatum pectus" represent efforts to render an area of doctrinal material linguistically and intellectually accessible, and as such take their place in a larger tradition of homiletic and devotional literature in English directed to the instruction of lay audiences. The decree of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, making annual confession compulsory for all, effectively promoted an expansion of the territory which vernacular literary texts would cover in transmitting to the laity the essential Christian teachings. But of particular relevance to the emergence of devotional poetics was the importance placed upon meditation on the Passion as part of a basic instructive programme for the layman.²⁷ It was necessary not only to recommend such meditation as a means of stirring love for Christ through a sympathetic response to his sufferings: such meditations must also be provided in a form easily learned by the unlettered, and verses on the Passion, collected and circulated by the preaching orders, served this function. This aim remains the most common theoretical and practical justification for vernacular composition through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and its most typical expression is to be found in prefaces to vernacular adaptations of Latin doctrinal and homiletic material, such as in this poem based on a Bernardine

sermon, from the Vernon MS:

Lewed men be not lered in lore,
 As Clerkes ben in holi writ;
 þauȝ men prechen hem bi-fore,
 Hit wol not wonen in heore wit . . .
 Wel fayn I wolde amenden hit.²⁸

The key explanation here, "þauȝ men prechen hem bi-fore / Hit wol not wonen in heore wit", emphasizes the importance of a lasting, firm impression that the material is to make on the minds of the audience. The impact of such a practical poetics, to provide a lesson that will "wonen in heore wit", that can remain fixed and indwelling in the mind, is felt in devotional lyric poetry, not only in the choice of simple, affective language, but also in the graphic immediacy of its typical stylistic convention: in the concretization of the verbal images in essentially visual terms, comparable to the technique in early Anglo-Norman hagiography of the gestural "scenic moment".

The background to the use of visual images as aids to instruction in the basic tenets of Christian doctrine, both popular moral theology and the most important elements of the Gospel, reveals how closely integrated with the idea of graphic illustration are the style and structure of early lyric pieces, especially those on the Crucifixion.²⁹ The emergence of a pictorial art form bears particularly upon devotional poetry, as painting and literary meditation were considered equally acceptable as affective means of presenting the Passion.³⁰ There is a long tradition of theoretical justification of the use of images as alternative methods of instruction, as *libri laicorum*. This supports the later devotional emphasis on the value of visual realization of a scene, through words or, more likely, pictures to stir the emotions.

Gregory the Great's is the most celebrated pronouncement, and it is echoed repeatedly in later defences. It prescribes the use of images for imparting knowledge:

Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur ut hi qui litteras nesciunt saltem in parietibus videndo legant quae legere in codicibus non valent.
 (For that purpose, a picture in the church is used so that those who know no letters may at least read by looking at the walls what they cannot read in books.)

Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa etiam ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt. Unde et praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est.³¹

(For whatever writing shows to those who read, a picture shows to the illiterate who look on, for in such images the ignorant see what they ought to follow, and in pictures they who know no letters read. Thus a picture serves instead of a reading for

the people.)

In the following century Bede also advocates the use of images, subordinating their function as decoration to their primary importance as (to borrow a phrase from modern pedagogy) visual aids:

Nunc picturas sanctarum historiarum, quae non ad ornatum solummodo ecclesiae, verum etiam ad instructionem intuentium proponerentur, advexit, videlicet ut qui litterarum lectione non possent opera Domini et Salvatoris nostri per ipsarum contuitum discerent imaginum.³²

(Now he brought pictures of sacred history, which are displayed not only for the purpose of adorning the church but also for that of spiritual instruction, so that those who have no access to the books of our Lord and Saviour by reading of letters may know them through the attention of their imaginations.)

Later English authorities advance arguments based on Gregory's pronouncement, but by the fourteenth century the emphasis in the theoretical defence of images in their function as *libri laicorum* has shifted from that of imparting knowledge (aiming thus at the intellect) to that of moving pious emotions: this aims at a spontaneous, heartfelt response, reflecting the later currency of affective spirituality with its stress on an emotional response to Christ. A fourteenth-century tract on the defence of images which has been attributed to Walter Hilton offers this comment:

Inter que signa statuit ecclesia ymagines Domini nostri crucifixi . . . ut per inspeccionem ymaginum reuocaretur ad memoriam passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi et aliorum sanctorum passiones, et sic ad compunctionem et deuocionem mentes pigre et carnales excitarentur, et hec erat pia cause et racionabilis.³³
(Among which images the Church stipulates pictures of the crucifixion of our Lord . . . so that through the viewing of images the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and the passions of the other saints may be recalled to mind, and so that slow and carnal minds may be moved to compunction and devotion. This was a pious and reasonable motive.)

Dives and Pauper, a fifteenth-century English treatise, offers a consummate explanation both of the affinity between word and image and of the direct force of the image upon the pious affections of the beholder, who is now assumed to be not only taking instruction but actively meditating upon the subject of the graphic representation:

DIUES: Qherof seruyn þese ymagys? . . . PAUPER: þey seruyn of thre thynggys. For þey been ordeynyd to steryn manys mende to thynkyn of Cristys incarnacioun and of his passioun and of holye seyntyngs lyuys. Also

þey been ordeynyd to steryn mannys affeccion and his herte to deuocioun, for often man is more steryd be syghte þan be heryng or redyngge. Also þey been ordeynyd to been a tokene and a booke to þe lewyd peple, þat þey moun redyn in ymagerye and peynture þat clerkys redyn in boke . . .³⁴

The key to our matter lies in the explanation, "for often man is more steryd be syghte þan be heryng or redyngge". It reflects both the pre-eminence given to the process of visualization to elicit an acute response and the emphasis upon the qualities of that response, that it is one of affectionate and compassionate love. A Passion lyric from MS Harley 2253 illustrates this process quite pointedly:

When y miselue stonde
ant wiþ myn egen seo
þurled fot ant honde
wiþ grete nayles þreo -
bloody wes ys heued,
on him nes nout bileued
þat wes of peynes freo -
wel wel ohte myn herte
for his loue to smerte
ant sike ant sory beo.³⁵

The transformation of the notion of *libri laicorum* from a means of intellectual comprehension into a directive to emotional response manifests the pervasive force of Bernardine spirituality. The more arcane, spiritually demanding aspects of Cistercian thought would have been reserved for the discipline of the monastic life; for the layman, however, the Bernardine emphasis on "carnal" or natural love as the means of approaching Christ in his humanity was more doctrinally accessible.³⁶ This stress upon an affective response informed both the growing meditative literature on the life of Christ, and some significant developments in iconographic design, especially that which was concerned with the Passion. This is particularly the case with church murals in England from about the beginning of the thirteenth century. In scenes depicting events from the Gospel or from the lives of saints, Gothic design, with its delicate attention to particular, affective detail of human figures, and especially to the human vulnerability of the crucified Christ, comes to replace the older Romanesque design, with its remote, imposing, highly conventionalized and symbolic figures. The later style is of a more intimate devotional quality. It may even be said that the actual spatial dimensions of these paintings parallel the movement in contemporary meditative writings away from the highly intellectual and abstract to a personal emotional immediacy and depth.³⁷ In painting the newer, intimate, realistic detail is suitable for smaller composition on altar pieces or in recesses rather than for the large and central spaces which the majestic, solid Romanesque compositions tended to fill. While one does not want to press the interdisciplinary parallel too far, it is rather interesting to note that the literary texts which we are examining here also reflect a movement away from large and

rhetorically imposing compositions to small, compressed, verbal nuggets which can be taken in at a single glance or hearing, and which, as reduced meditations, are eminently suitable as private devotional exercises.

The simplified meditations, derived from the works emanating from major monastic schools of thought, emphasize less the inward aspects of spirituality than scenes in the life of Christ which have an acute visual power, which enjoin the meditator to be present at the event in his mind. Such is Nicholas Love's injunction in his English rendering of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*: "Take hede now diligently with all thyn hert alle thoo thinges that be now to come and make the there presente in thy mynde".³⁸ In the case of the early English short lyric in particular, the purpose is to create a verbal image which, like the visual icon, can fix the complete attention of the meditator. Its importance and meaning are contained and made intelligible within the boundaries of that single representation, without necessary reference to supplementary explanation, which would extend the compass of the work and complicate its design.

As pictures come to be valued as words in devotional iconography, so words come to take on the value of pictures in devotional poetry. The early devotional lyric is designed to have an effect comparable to that of the graphic image. It has been pointed out that only those images which can make a direct appeal to the eye have a place in medieval meditative verse, whereas later forms of meditation may evoke a response from all five senses.³⁹ Such a generalization requires some qualification, as even those images in medieval poems which appeal most acutely and directly to the sense of sight inevitably produce, in their turn, other sensory responses to (or identification with) the visual detail of the scene. Any visually realized account of the Crucifixion must derive its net effect from the suggestion of physical pain which demands a sympathetic response; and in some lyrics, one is directed to "hear" the weeping of the Virgin at the foot of the Cross, or even to "feel" one's cheek wet with tears.⁴⁰ But the multiple sensory responses which may be evoked by such a scene depend upon, and originate from, what can be conveyed directly to the eye.

For comparison with such a highly visual procedure we may consider the opening lines of a devotional sonnet by William Alabaster (1568-1640) on John xv 5 ("I am the vine, ye are the branches"):

Now that the midday heat doth scorch my shame
with lightning of fond lust, I will retire
under this vine whose arms with wandering spire
do climb upon the Cross, and on the same
devise a cool repose from lawless flame . . .⁴¹

The entry into this intricate conceit is immediately through the sensual realm in the intensely drawn contrast between the scorching "midday heat" of lust and the relief of "cool repose" which awaits the devout intelligence aspiring to spiritual union with Christ. The "vine whose arms with wandering spire / do climb upon the Cross"

is a formulation of an essentially visual nature, but as it forms a dynamic transition between the two opposing physical conditions (in their figurative use) of the meditator, it too takes on a certain keenly felt sensual quality, as if the meditator seeks a direct physical contact with those wandering, spiralling arms of the vine. By contrast, Middle English Passion lyrics, among them the translations of the "Candet nudatum pectus", are designed entirely as visual emblems, as they commonly open with an active envisioning of a scene, the depiction of which will have precise counterparts in contemporary graphic representations: the grieving mourners positioned around the Cross, the attitude of the figure of Christ, the depiction of the wounds and the visible agony of the figure, the stark contrasts in coloration and in spatial composition (horizontal and vertical focus), and other details correspond in the verbal and visual icon. The formal parallel between early lyrics and contemporary iconographic representation is close enough to suggest that the visual art offered some important, fundamental guidelines to lyric composition at an early stage, especially given the relative absence (judging from the dearth of extant materials) of usable vernacular models in the lyric form.

(viii) Other Versions of the English "Candet Nudatum Pectus"

Other English translations of the "Candet nudatum pectus" produce variations on the structure of the meditative poem, but these versions reflect a similarity of purpose. None of these translations reproduces the structure of the original meditation in which the meditator addresses God, invoking Christ's Passion in an extended, emotionally charged development leading to a petition for mercy. They seem rather to be drawn from Latin extracts similar to the one found in John of Grimestone's sermon handbook which, as I have noted earlier, takes up only the description of the Crucifixion itself and leaves out the interpretative invocation. In these versions, then, the focus is directed acutely at the scene of suffering itself. A late thirteenth-century translation from MS Digby 55 introduces an interesting modification in the structure of the address. Here, in the form of a personal meditation, the speaker addresses Christ:

Wyt is þi nachede brest and blodi is þi side,
 Starke veren þine armes zat strekede weren so vyde.
 Falu is thi faire ler and dummes þi sithe,
 Drie es þin ende body on rode so ytycthe.
 Zine zedes hongen colde al so ze marbre ston.
 þine thirlede fet; þe rede blod by ron.⁴²

This piece achieves its intensity through its placement of the speaker as an actual witness of the scene. The translation effectively mediates between the ingenious and imaginatively rather demanding structure of John of Fécamp's meditation (with its perspective diffused among the voice of the speaker, the visual details of the Crucifixion, and the petition to God) and the stark, unemotive quality of the abbreviated Latin extract. It produces an intimate communion between speaker and Christ. As a personal observation it has some affinities with a piece such as this

mid-thirteenth-century *memoria passionis*, also a direct address:

Be minde of þi passiun, suete ihesu,
 þe teres it tollid,
 þe heine it bolled,
 þe neb it wethth,
 in herte sueteth. (Brown XIII, no. 56 A)

This expounds the process of emotional response to the Passion as precisely as the "Candet nudatum pectus" catalogues the visual details.

The other English versions of the "Candet nudatum pectus" which we shall consider here introduce the structure of a preacher's address to the meditator. In one case this structure of address by an authoritative voice is only implied by the absence of a distinctive personal voice:

Wyth was hys nakede brest and red of blod hys syde,
 Bleyc was his fair handled, his wnde dop ant wide,
 And hys armes ystreith hey up-hon þe rode;
 On fif studes on his body þe stremes ran o blode.
 (Brown XIV, no. 1 A)

The tone in this version from MS Durham Cathedral A.III.12 is neither hortatory nor moralizing, as it is in the following translation of another meditative commonplace, the "Respice in faciem Christi", which incorporates a version of the "Candet nudatum pectus" in the central lines:⁴³

Loke to þi louerd, man, þar hanget he a rode,
 and wep hyf þo mist terres al of blode.
 Vor loke hu his heued biis mid þornes hi-wnde,
 and to his neb so bispet and to þe spere-wnde.
 Faluet his feyre luer, and desewet his sicte,
 drowepet his hendi bodi þat on rode biis itiht.
 Blickied his brest naked and bledet hiis side,
 stiuuet hiis arms pat istreid beð so wide.
 Loke to þe nailes on honde and on fote,
 hu þe stremes hurned of þat suete blod.
 Bigin at his molde and loke to his to,
 ne saltu no wit vinde bute anguisse and wo.
 (Brown XIV, no. 2 B)

This English "Respice" explicitly enjoins the meditator to follow a precise programme of visualization: "Bigin at his molde and loke to his to", enforced throughout by the command "Loke". The Durham Cathedral version of the "Candet nudatum pectus" relies on no such manifest strategy of exhortation. It is rendered as a vivid illustration, as highlights are selected and paired to offset one another in emphatic syntactic positions: the white breast and red blood; the pale fair face and the deep wound; the arms stretched "hey up-hon" the Cross and the streams of blood running down. It is a particularly striking example of the iconographic technique

adapted to poetic design.

A version of the passage found in John of Grimestone's sermon handbook gives an emotively amplified treatment. But like the Durham Cathedral version, it derives its success from its symmetry and controlled variation:

Bare was þat quite brest and red þe blodi side,
 þe bodi starke als þu wel sest, þe armes spred out wyde;
 þe lippes pale and reuli þat er weren brith and rede,
 þe eyne þat weren loveli nou ben dimme and dede;
 þe faire lemes bowed and bent hangend on þe rode,
 þe feet ben þirled an torent and stremen al on blode.⁴⁴

A significant addition here is the phrase in line 2, "þe bodi starke als þu wel sest". This poem too has adopted the structure of sermon address, and this mild, almost parenthetical reminder to the meditator of the actively visual nature of his engagement may in fact be an allusion to a particular picture with which the meditator would have been familiar; if the piece were inserted into a sermon the preacher might use this phrase to dramatize his delivery with an actual gesture towards a painting or statue in the church.⁴⁵ Or this phrase may simply represent a private act of reflection and imaginative reconstruction of the scene on the part of the meditator, a process in effect comparable to the Ignatian devotional exercise, the "composition of place". Such a phrase may also offer a directive for private devotion before a crucifix, which would itself supply the icon. In this poem poetic language is used, not only in conjunction, but almost in conformity, with visual design.

(ix) Conclusion

It is well known that the early English meditative lyric shows insignificant formal influence from its Latin devotional sources. I have attempted here to show how the early English poets take over the partial content of Latin texts, but struggle to find an adequate form which is suitable both to the capacities of the English poetic idiom and to the requirements of lay taste and literacy. Having no available native verse equivalents for the literary and rhetorical structure of the Latin prose devotion, with its subtle transitions in affective tone, they realize their material largely through the structures associated with iconographic design. Thus they foster verbal effect by recourse to the methods of the more accessible visual arts. The relationship between the two arts, verbal and pictorial, is therefore not only substantive (as has long been recognized by literary and art historians alike), but formal and structural as well.⁴⁶ The English poets also turn to other literary conventions in the meditative tradition and adapt certain dramatic forms of address, whether of the preacher, the meditator, or of Christ.

In this study of the various English verse renderings of the "Candet nudatum pectus" my concern has been the formal evolution of the English texts from their immediate sources and ultimately from the parent text. I have attempted to examine in precise terms the

nature of this textual descent, and thereby to demonstrate the importance of a study of translation as an approach to understanding the formal origins of English lyric verse, especially in its earliest phase.

NOTES

- ¹ Unless otherwise noted, the editions of the lyrics used here are the following: *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1932; repr. 1971), hereafter cited in the text as Brown XIII; *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1924), hereafter cited in the text as Brown XIV.
- ² See Jean Leclercq and J.P. Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI^e siècle, Jean de Fécamp* (Paris, 1946), especially p.44.
- ³ For example, a description of the Passion from an Anselmian meditation beginning "Dulcis Jesus in inclinatione capitis ex morte, dulcis in extensione brachiorum, dulcis in apertione lateris, dulcis in confixione pedum clavo uno" (*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne [Paris, 1844ff.] 155, col.761), is found in various forms in verse and prose texts: e.g., in an English lyric with an ascription to St Bernard, "Man, folwe seintt Bernardes trace / and loke in ihesu cristes face", accompanied in the manuscript (BM Additional 11579) by a Latin and an Anglo-French version (see Brown XIII, no.69); in a related and amplified form in the prose devotion *On Ureisun of ure Louerde*, printed in *Pe Wohunge of ure Lauerd*, ed. W. Meredith Thompson, EETS 241 (London, 1958; repr. 1970) pp. 1-4; and with some changes in a Latin rhymed version found in MS Arundel 248 (Brown XIII, p.219). On similar dissections of works such as the *Speculum Ecclesiae* see, for example, Norman Blake, "The Form of Living in Prose and Poetry", *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 211 (1974) pp.300-8; and of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, see Elizabeth Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ"*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 10 (Salzburg, 1974) pp.102-4.
- ⁴ Both noted in S. Harrison Thomson, "The Date of the Early English Translation of the *Candet Nudatum Pectus*", *Medium Aevum* 4 (1935) pp.100-5. Harrison prints the Digby 55 version, p.104.
- ⁵ *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968) p.30.
- ⁶ *The English Writings of Richard Rolle*, ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford, 1931) p.68.
- ⁷ Migne, PL 40, cols.905-6. Translations of all quoted passages are my own unless otherwise stated.
- ⁸ See Stephen Manning, *Wisdom and Number* (Lincoln [Nebraska], 1962) pp.72-83 for a general discussion of the literary structure of meditative exercises. Elizabeth Salter also provides an informative account of the formalization of meditative exercises: see *Nicholas Love's "Myrroure"*, pp.139-78. See also G.T. Tade, "Rhetorical Aspects of the *Spiritual Exercises* in the Medieval Tradition of Preaching", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 51 (1965) pp.409-18.
- ⁹ See Edward Wilson, *A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics of John of Grimestone's Preaching Book*, *Medium Aevum Monographs*, new series 2 (Oxford, 1973).
- ¹⁰ See, for example, Brown XIII, no.34: "Wose seye on rode / ihesus is lef-mon, / (Sori stod him bi wepinde / sent marie & sent Ion) . . .".
- ¹¹ Ed. A.C. Peltier, *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia* 12 (Paris, 1868) p.629; English translation by Isa Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An*

- Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (Princeton, 1961) p.387.
- 12 Peltier, ed., *Bonaventurae Opera* 12, p.599; trans. Ragusa, p.317.
- 13 See Elizabeth Zeeman (Salter), "Continuity and Change in English Versions of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*", *Medium Aevum* 26 (1957) pp.25-31.
- 14 Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, p.28.
- 15 See, for example, the arguments put forward in Eric Jacobsen, *Translation: a Traditional Craft* (Copenhagen, 1958) pp.83-99.
- 16 Examples of this form of a preacher's address which takes on the character of narrative include some versions of the "Candet nudatum pectus" (Brown XIV, nos. 1 A and B), and of the "Respice in faciem Christi tui", another meditative commonplace without a known source (see Brown XIV, nos. 2 A and B). Some later meditative pieces develop this form of address further; see *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1939; repr. 1967) nos.94, 95, 97, 101, 106 (hereafter Brown XV). This kind of address has affinities with certain moralizing verses which are not properly within the tradition of the meditative lyric, notably certain pieces from the Vernon Manuscript (Brown XIV, nos.100, 102, 103, 120).
- 17 Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, p.28.
- 18 *Ibid.* The original "Aspice mitissime conditor" devotion by John of Fécamp exemplifies this earlier tradition. For some of the other forms of address employed in the tradition of contemplative writings, see the Anselmian meditations and prayers in Migne, PL 158, cols. 709 ff., 725 ff., 762 ff.
- 19 *Wisdom and Number*, p.72.
- 20 See Siegfried Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and its English Poems* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1978) pp.90-3.
- 21 Folio 83b, top: "þu þad madist alle þinc" (Brown XIII, no.33); bottom: "Wose seye on rode" (Brown XIII, no.34); folio 84a, top: "Nu þu unseli bodi up-on bere list" (Brown XIII, no.38), along with a Latin text not given in Brown's notes, "purpura cum bisso dignum te facti abyssu"; bottom: "Abel that looset in treunesse Habraham in bousemesse", with its equivalent, "Jam innocenciam abel audivi. obedienciam habrahe".
- 22 For an excellent discussion of the poetics of the lyric, especially in terms of its formal differentiation from other kinds of literary and non-literary discourse, see Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics* (London, 1975; Ithaca, 1975, repr. 1976) pp.161-88.
- 23 A summary of the sources of the complaint poems may be useful here: (1) "O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et vidite si est dolor sicut dolor meus", *Lamentations* i 12. This appears variously in English versions: "Alle that gos and rydys loket opon me", MS Lambeth 557, printed by Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, p.43; "A, 3e men, þat by me wenden", from the *Fasciculus Morum*, ed. Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, p.165; and Brown XIV, nos.4, 46, 74. (2) "Popule meus, quid feci tibi", Micah vi 3 (Good Friday Reproaches, or *Impropria*), Brown XIV, nos.15, 72. (3) "Quid est quod debui ultra facere", Isaiah v 4, Brown XV, no.105. (4) "Homo vide, quae pro te patior", Philip the Chancellor, in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*,

- ed. G.M. Dreves and C. Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886-1922) Vol.21, no.10. See Brown XIV, nos.70, 77, and Brown XV, no.104. There is also a version in the *Fasciculus Morum*, ed. Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, p.166.
- 24 For an account of the background and emergence of this theme see Rosemary Woolf, "The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature", *Review of English Studies*, new series 13 (1962) pp.1-16.
- 25 In Thomson, "The Date of the Early English *Candet Nudatum Pectus*", p.105.
- 26 Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1953; repr. 1974) pp.114-15.
- 27 It is for this reason largely that vernacular adaptations of Latin devotional treatises differ from their sources in the emphasis they place on the theme of the Passion, to the exclusion of other matter. Thus Nicholas Love abbreviates the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* in his translation: "therefore here after many chapitres and longe processe . . . schall be lafte vnto it drawe to the passion . . .". *The Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, ed. L.F. Powell (Oxford, 1911) p.100. See Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrroure"*, pp.43-8. Rolle also, for example, stresses meditations on the Passion as an exercise for beginners, and gives practical examples in relatively straightforward English prose: see *Meditations on the Passion*, in Allen (ed.), *English Writings of Richard Rolle*, pp.17-36.
- 28 *Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, ed. C. Horstmann, Part I, EETS 98 (London, 1892) no.XXXVI, 11.1-4, 8.
- 29 On the background to the use of images see A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Painting* (Oxford, 1963); and G.R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933; 2nd ed. with revisions, Oxford, 1961) pp.136-48. See also E.W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting II: The Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1950).
- 30 Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, p.184.
- 31 See L. Gougaud, "Muta Praedicatio", *Revue Bénédictine* 42 (1930) pp.168-71, who includes these passages in a collection of texts illustrating the position of patristic and later authorities on *muta praedicatio*. The passages from Gregory's defence may also be found in Migne, PL 77, cols. 1027-8, 1128.
- 32 Gougaud, "Muta Praedicatio", p.168, and Migne, PL 94, col.228.
- 33 This passage from an unpublished tract is quoted by Joy Russel-Smith, "Walter Hilton and a Tract in Defence of the Veneration of Images", *Dominican Studies* 7 (1954) p.194. Woolf's discussion of the shift from an intellectual to an affective use of images (*The English Religious Lyric*, p.184) called my attention to this useful article.
- 34 *Dives and Pauper*, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum, EETS 275 (Oxford, 1976) Vol. I, p.82.
- 35 *The Harley Lyrics*, ed. G.L. Brook (Manchester, 1956) p.54.
- 36 The idea is expressed neatly in St Bernard's twentieth sermon on the Song of Songs: "Ego hanc arbitror praecipuam invisibili Deo fuisse causam, quod voluit in carne videri, et cum hominibus homo conversari, ut carnalium

videlicet, qui nisi carnaliter amari non poterant, cunctas primo ad suae carnis salutarem amorem affectiones retraheret, atque ita gradatim ad amorem perduceret spirituales (Migne, PL 183, col.870). (I think a principal reason why God, who is invisible, wanted to be visible in the flesh and to commune with men as a man, was, in the first place, that he might draw all the affections of carnal men, who could not love except in carnal terms, to the healthy love of his flesh, and then, that he might draw them by degrees to a spiritual love.)

- ³⁷ Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, pp.12-13.
- ³⁸ *The Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, ed. Powell, p.237.
- ³⁹ Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, pp.11-12.
- ⁴⁰ See Brown XIII, no.36.
- ⁴¹ *The Sonnets of William Alabaster*, ed. G.M. Story and Helen Gardner, Oxford English Monographs (London, 1959) p.18.
- ⁴² Thomson, "The Date of the Early English "Candet Nudatum Pectus", p.104.
- ⁴³ John of Grimestone's preaching book gives the Latin text of the "Respice": "Respice in faciem christi tui & inuenies eum in dorso flagellatum. Latere sauciatum. Capite spinis coronatum. Manibus perforatum. Pedibus confossum. Volue & reuolue dominicum corpus a latere vsque ad latus. A summa vsque deorsum & circumquaque inuenies dolorem & cruorem." (Brown XIV, p.242). (Look in the face of your Christ and you find him scourged on his back, wounded in his side, his head crowned with thorns, his hands pierced, his feet full of holes. Cast your eyes over the body of the Lord and cast them over again, from side to side. From his head to his feet and throughout his whole body you find pain and blood.)
- ⁴⁴ Printed by Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, p.30.
- ⁴⁵ See Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, pp.136-7. Robert of Basevorn's *Forma Praedicandi* has a small item relating to the use of gestures in sermons and recommending restrained use. See *Artes Praedicandi*, ed. Th.-M. Charland (Paris, 1936) p.320.
- ⁴⁶ See the cautionary words of Elizabeth Salter on critical efforts to relate the artistic principles of pictorial arts with those of the verbal arts in the Middle Ages: "Medieval Poetry and the Visual Arts", *Essays and Studies* 22 (1969) pp.16-33.