

LOVE'S **MIRROR** AND THE AESTHETICS OF DEVOTION

By  
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The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ is a Middle English translation of the thirteenth century pseudo-Bonaventuran Meditationes Vitae Christi, made in 1410 by Nicholas Love, prior of the Carthusian house of Mount Grace in Yorkshire. On the basis of the number of manuscripts and the frequency with which The Mirror is mentioned in fifteenth century wills, Margaret Deanesly has characterized this work as, "probably more popular than any single book in the fifteenth century" ("Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," Modern Language Review, XV, 1920, 353). Whether or not this is true is a question which cannot be answered with any real certainty. Instead, this study examines The Mirror to determine whether or not it offers any justification for the popularity which has been claimed for it.

Most scholars who have treated The Mirror in depth have treated it as a document in the history of English prose.

While not denying the importance of this subject, the present study approaches the text in a different manner. This approach begins with D. W. Robertson, Jr.'s metaphorical distinction between "fruyt" and "chaf," and his insistence that the medieval reader, in order to receive the full benefit of a work of art, was not to be preoccupied with the surface details, or "chaf," of the work, but was to use his reason to penetrate the surface and perceive the "fruyt" concealed beneath it. However, in a work such as The Mirror which appeals directly to the emotions and the imagination, surface details take on a new importance, for it is through them that Love is able to construct concrete and vivid descriptions which speak directly to his audience and ask nothing more than their imaginative participation in the scenes which he portrays. It is the object of this study to subject what Robertson would consider as the "chaf" of The Mirror to a detailed literary analysis in an attempt to discover how Love uses these features to construct an affective appeal to his audience.

Chapters I and II examine the relationship of The Mirror to the Meditationes, giving particular attention to the kinds of changes which Love makes in the process of translating the Latin work and to the way he deals with problems of plot, structure, narrative description, characterization and verisimilitude, among others. The particular focus of Chapter II is on Love's composition of two chapters of The Mirror, using a variety of biblical narratives in addition to the Meditationes.

Chapters III and IV attempt to see The Mirror as both a product and reflection of intellectual, literary, and religious forces of the early fifteenth century in England. Chapter III compares Love's rendering of the Passion with four contemporary literary treatments of the same event. Chapter IV treats the role that The Mirror played in the campaign against the Lollards. It is important here to see that Love was not writing mere polemic, but a positive assertion of the position and beliefs of the Church. Love's response to the Lollards is primarily aesthetic, and uses aesthetic elaborations of worship, such as images, which the Lollards specifically condemned.

The appendix contains the two chapters of The Mirror which are discussed in Chapter II. These texts are edited from Cambridge University Library Manuscript Additional 6578. In addition, there are copies of the chapters of the Meditationes which correspond to these two chapters of The Mirror.

## INTRODUCTION

The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ is an English translation of the pseudo-Bonaventuran Meditationes Vitae Christi, made in 1410 by Nicholas Love, prior of the Carthusian house of Mount Grace in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Although little more is known of Love except that he died in 1424 as an ordinary monk, his book has been characterized by Margaret Deanesly as "probably more popular than any other single book in the fifteenth century."<sup>1</sup> Miss Deanesly based her judgment on the frequency with which The Mirror is bequeathed by title in fifteenth century wills, and she is confirmed by the relatively large number of manuscripts, thirty-eight,<sup>2</sup> which are still extant. In addition, the Short Title Catalogue indicates that The Mirror was printed twice by William Caxton, in 1486 and 1490, twice again in 1494 by de Worde and Pynson, and nine more times from 1506 to 1620.<sup>3</sup> In the sixteenth century, Sir Thomas More recommended it for reading by the laity, along with Hilton's Scale of Perfection and the Imitation of Christ.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of this evidence of The Mirror's popularity, critics have either been content to repeat Miss Deanesly's evaluation or, more frequently, have received the book in silence. The Cambridge History of English Literature, for

example, does not mention it at all. N. S. Aurner, who comments on The Mirror as it was printed by Caxton, can say only that it was "the most important of Caxton's purely religious publications."<sup>5</sup> R. W. Chambers mentions The Mirror in his essay On the Continuity of English Prose, but has little to add to Miss Deanesly's remarks of a decade earlier.<sup>6</sup> H. S. Bennett, in Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, says that "the most original contribution of the [fifteenth] century was in books of systematized religious instruction: Love's Mirror, the Lantern of Light or the translation of a 'Kempis."<sup>7</sup> Later, echoing both Deanesly and Chambers, he praises Love for composing

what was perhaps the most popular book of the century. His prose is so singularly easy and natural that Professor Chambers may well have been right when he claimed that Love did more than Hereford or Purvey's rendering of the Scriptures in providing a model for future writers of English prose.<sup>8</sup>

This impression of neglect is reinforced by the absence of a critical edition of The Mirror. Those who wish to work with the book must rely on the edition made in 1908 by L. F. Powell, which is based on only three of the thirty-eight manuscripts: Brasenose Manuscript e. 9, collated with the Sherard Manuscript, owned at that time by Lord Aldenham, and Bodleian Manuscript e. Musaeo 35.<sup>9</sup> Powell's edition prints only the text, without critical or textual notes or commentary. In 1926 The Mirror was rendered into modern English by an anonymous monk of the Parkminster Charterhouse but, aside from the valuable references to biblical and

patristic sources, the text is unsuitable for scholarly use because of its modern idiom and frequent alterations of both style and content.<sup>10</sup>

S. K. Workman, in his Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose, was the first to examine The Mirror in detail and offer an evaluation of Love's prose, along with evidence to support his conclusions. He cites Love's work, along with two others, as an exception to his general conclusion that "seven-eighths of the translators [examined] preferred to follow the basic structure of almost every sentence they translated; and three-fourths . . . followed in almost every detail, altering their sources only enough to Anglicize their language."<sup>11</sup> Workman also examined Love's original prose and found that it "is not characteristically different in structural maturity from [his] translated work,"<sup>12</sup> thus attesting to Love's basic skill as a writer of English prose.

The most thorough scholarly treatment of The Mirror to date has come from Elizabeth Zeeman, who wrote three essays in the mid-1950's which were evidently the result of her preliminary research for a critical edition of the text that she announced at that time, but which has not yet been published. In the first of these essays, "Nicholas Love-- A Fifteenth Century Translator," which is exploratory in nature, she notes that,

The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ, was one of the most popular books of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and contains some of the finest

English prose of any time. There are, in fact, few texts which can claim to illustrate so accurately the range and tastes of the devout reading public of the later Middle Ages in England, and, moreover, to point so clearly the contribution made by medieval translators to the general development of English prose style. In spite of this, Love's Mirror has not received the attention it deserves.<sup>13</sup>

After this initial statement, Miss Zeeman relates what little is known of Love and surveys briefly the linguistic and stylistic relationship of his translation to its Latin source, concluding that "texts such as Love's Mirror, in language and style, indicate one of the paths future inquiry could profitably take,"<sup>14</sup> using devotional prose works to analyze late medieval English prose style. Of her two subsequent essays, the first is devoted to a discussion of the punctuation of a single manuscript of The Mirror, Cambridge University Library Manuscript Additional 6578,<sup>15</sup> two chapters of which have been edited in the appendix of the present study. The second essay, "Continuity and Change in Middle English Versions of the Meditationes Vitae Christi,"<sup>16</sup> is a comparison of the Passion section of The Mirror with an anonymous, apparently independent, translation of the same section of the Meditationes which is interpolated into a manuscript along with Love's version. This essay, which Miss Zeeman calls "a step in the direction of a full study"<sup>17</sup> of the relationships of the various Middle English translations of the Meditationes, is also part of a discussion of the larger topic of the continuity of English prose, which was initiated by Professor Chambers. Thus, in recent years,

recognition has come to The Mirror primarily because of its value as a document in the history of English prose style.

However, prose style is but one aspect of The Mirror's contribution to literature, and there are other topics which are equally important and demand attention. For example, the study of medieval aesthetics on its own terms begins, according to D. W. Robertson, Jr., with St. Augustine's comments in On Christian Doctrine and, in A Preface to Chaucer, Robertson asserts that "St. Augustine's account of the manner in which pleasure arises from obscurity reveals an aesthetic attitude which became typically medieval."<sup>18</sup> Robertson goes on to claim that this "delight in the enigmatic"<sup>19</sup> was a central and controlling force in medieval aesthetics and characterizes it as "a manifestation of a fully formed and deeply felt aesthetic theory whose assumptions permeate medieval art and literature generally."<sup>20</sup> The enigmatic figure, he says,

was one of the most powerful and effective instruments by means of which the medieval artist could fulfill the aims of his art. It enabled him to appeal, first of all, to the reason, and through the reason to the affective values which philosophy and theology pointed to as the highest and most moving values possible to humanity.<sup>21</sup>

It is true that many medieval artists appealed to the reason, and one cannot seriously argue that St. Augustine was not a major force in medieval aesthetics. Robertson fails to point out, however, that St. Augustine was not talking about writing, but reading, because he developed his discussion of the enigmatic figure as a means of interpreting scripture,

not as a means of writing literature. It will be helpful to keep this distinction in mind, for in the following chapters the focus is largely on the way The Mirror was written rather than the method of interpretation which was applied to it.

Pierre Pourrat, in Christian Spirituality, says that the Meditationes Vitae Christi,

were partly the inauguration of a new development. As affective writings they were addressed but little to the mind and much to the heart. Their aim was to engender the love of Christ less by the uplifting influence of his divine teaching than by the account of his mortal life. Doctrinal reflections give place to coloured descriptions, in which history is supplemented from the imagination, of the earthly existence of the Saviour.<sup>22</sup>

This evaluation is confirmed by Emile Male, who approaches the Meditationes from an aesthetic rather than a spiritual point of view.

The Meditationes differed profoundly from anything that the Gospels had hitherto inspired in the West. Other books had been addressed to the intelligence. This appealed to the Heart. . . . The author was writing for a woman, a sister of the order of Saint Clara; and he was well aware that all she wanted was an appeal to her emotions. So he devised a series of colorful scenes in which imagination constantly supplements history.<sup>23</sup>

In short, the Meditationes and The Mirror, for they are similar in this respect, were more concerned with piety and devotion than with theology, and they both sought to present the basic lessons of Christianity, through their portrayal of the life of Christ, in such a way that those who could not grasp the finer points of theology with their intellect could at least visualize the life of Christ as both an object

of devotion and an example for the conduct of their daily lives. Such a direct appeal to the emotions and imagination cannot be reconciled with the view that medieval literature was generally written with the intent to be enigmatic, as Robertson suggests, for if the audience of the Meditations or The Mirror were to visualize the scenes being described, it was necessary for the authors to strive for vividness and clarity rather than obscurity. The "coloured descriptions" which Pourrat mentions had, to a certain extent, to be made literal rather than figurative and had to appeal directly to the emotions and imagination rather than to philosophy and theology through the reason. The persons, actions, and events which the authors portrayed had not only to be made familiar to the audience, but had to be described in such a way as to capitalize on that familiarity. In the Meditations, and even more so in The Mirror, there is a concerted effort in the direction of clarity and a constant attempt to explain difficult points of doctrine to an unsophisticated lay audience through the presentation of concrete examples. This, as we shall see in chapter II, does not rule out the use of figures, but Love is always explicit about how the figures are to be interpreted.

In practice, calculated obscurity was not the only strategy available to medieval authors, and William Matthews has noted,

we have very few analyses of medieval aesthetics, of the medieval criteria relating to literary content and form which would help us to understand why this

work or that was aesthetically a failure, a mediocrity, or a success in its own day.<sup>24</sup>

In order to understand why The Mirror was a success in its own day it is first necessary to examine the means by which Love made his narrative appeal to his audience, and this is the object of the present study. In the chapters which follow, it will be helpful to keep in mind Robertson's metaphorical distinction between "fruyt" and "chaf" as he applied it to medieval literature, and to attempt to view this distinction in a new perspective. He insists, for example, that

figurative language, whether in the form of similitudes like those discussed by St. Augustine, or in the form of more extended allegory, creates an enigma which challenges the reason to seek an intelligible beauty beneath a surface which is not necessarily beautiful in itself.<sup>25</sup>

In other words, the discerning medieval reader, in order to receive the full benefit of a work of art, was not to be preoccupied with the surface details, or "chaf," of the work, but was to use his reason to penetrate the surface in order to perceive and appreciate the "fruyt" beneath it. However, in a work such as The Mirror which appeals directly to the emotions and the imagination, surface details take on a new importance, for it is through them that Love is able to construct the concrete and vivid descriptions which speak directly to his audience and ask nothing more than their imaginative participation in the scenes which he portrays. Therefore, it is the object of this study to subject what Robertson would consider as the "chaf" of The Mirror to a

detailed literary analysis in an attempt to discover how Love uses these features in constructing an affective appeal to his audience.

There are two basic ways in which to approach The Mirror. First, it is a translation of an already well-known Latin work of the thirteenth century, and it is necessary to establish the relationship of Love's work to its source in order to appreciate the accomplishment which The Mirror represents by itself. In Chapters I and II, I will examine this relationship, giving particular attention to the kinds of changes which Love makes in the process of translating the Meditationes and to the way in which he deals with problems of plot, structure, narrative description, characterization, and verisimilitude, among others. Chapter I is concerned primarily with identifying isolated or minimal changes which Love makes and attempting to explain the effects they can reasonably be said to have had on both the text, as an integral narrative, and the audience. By comparing the two texts, it is possible to see that Love was more conscious of his audience than the Latin author was and attempted to provide his scenes and characters with a verisimilitude and concreteness which would get his readers involved in the scenes being described and allow them to visualize those scenes "as theyh thou herdest hem with thy bodily eeres / or seie hem with thyne eißen done."<sup>26</sup>

Love did not confine himself, however, to isolated or minimal changes of his source. He was able to control

substantial narrative units, deleting portions of the Latin text, adding passages of his own composition, and drawing upon other sources when what was available in the Meditationes did not suit his purposes; and the product of his efforts is more than just a translation. Chapter II focuses on Love's composition of two chapters of The Mirror from a variety of sources. The lesson here is that Love was not a servile translator who simply produced a phrase-by-phrase or chapter-by-chapter rendering of his source, leaving the Latin text much as he found it. He knew his source well and had a design for the changes he made. If nothing else could be said about The Mirror, this alone would make it stand out among fifteenth century translations.

The second basic approach to The Mirror is to see it as both a product and reflection of intellectual, literary, and religious forces of the early fifteenth century in England. It did not exist solely in terms of its source, and once its relationship to the Meditationes has been established it is necessary to move beyond this narrow topic, for to examine only the relationship between these two texts is to imply, in a sense, that The Mirror existed in a cultural vacuum, which it certainly did not. "In the Middle Ages, as in other times, books were products of individual men reacting to their own natures and to the manifold ideas, activities, and personages of their own particular times."<sup>27</sup> In this sense, the proper context of The Mirror is not the Meditationes at all, for it is as much an English work as a

translation of a Latin source; it was presented to an English audience and had to survive or perish on its own merits. Chapters III and IV attempt to provide this context and to show, to the extent that it is possible to do so, the reasons for The Mirror's survival.

In Chapter III, the comparison of Love's rendering of the Passion with four contemporary versions of the same event reveals not only the variety of approaches to the life of Christ which were available to the literary artist in the later Middle Ages, but also the range of Love's own capabilities. Each of these works is didactic in its own way, and each writer was attempting to bring his audience to an appreciation of the Passion through his literary portrayal of it. Some, like the author of the Pepysian Gospel Harmony, were content to instruct their audience by presenting the life of Christ substantially as it appears in the Gospels. Others, like Richard Rolle, attempted to convey a feeling of mystical intensesness, hoping to give the Passion meaning as well as form. The anonymous author of the Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ, an extended lyric poem of the late fourteenth century, explores the multi-dimensional nature of the Passion through sometimes extravagant figurative language. The Northern Passion is essentially a dramatic re-creation of the Passion, complete with well constructed scenes and highly developed characters, which also offers its audience legendary and miraculous materials, in addition to the central narrative, in an effort to hold

their attention. The Mirror does not encompass all of these works, nor does it utilize all of the approaches which they represent, but it compares favorably with them all. Through his detailed narrative Love satisfies the need to instruct his audience in the events of the life of Christ, but he also does much more. To these events he adds interpretations and judgments which guide the audience's perceptions of what is taking place. His vivid portrayals of Judas' betrayal of Jesus, the trial before the Jews, and the Crucifixion reveal a sense of the dramatic, and he never lets his audience forget that the Jews are evil or that the Crucifixion is both painful and pathetic. Throughout the Passion Love emphasized Jesus' humanity and capacity to suffer, and this interest in the human aspects of the event extends to the other persons who are involved in the action. His characters, if we may call them that, are human, and we see not only what they do, but also what they think. All of these things contribute to Love's goal of involving his audience in the narrative to the extent that they can experience the events vicariously and, through that experience, increase their own piety and devotion.

In addition to its devotional function, The Mirror also reflected and took part in the religious controversy of its time. It is vigorously anti-Lollard, and in 1410 was licensed by Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, "to the edification of the faithful and the confutation of all false heretics or Lollards."<sup>28</sup> Chapter IV is designed to

demonstrate that The Mirror participated in this controversy not only as a negative polemic against Lollard doctrines, but also as a positive response which was primarily aesthetic in nature. In this response, Love is concerned to meet and refute two Lollard premises. First, the Lollards insisted that scripture was sufficient in and of itself, without the testimony and interpretation of the Church, for the education of the laity. Love answers this argument throughout The Mirror with his frequent addition of interpretive and explanatory comments to the biblical details and his presentation of scenes which have no scriptural basis, but which form an integral part of his narrative. The Lollards also objected to the use of images, church music, exempla, and other aesthetic elaborations of worship because they believed such "coryoustes" distracted men from the true worship of God by focusing their attention on the transitory handiwork of man rather than the eternal creations of the divine. Love answers this argument, not simply by using images, which in The Mirror are necessarily verbal ones, but by employing them in such a way as to show that they do not necessarily diminish true worship.

Ultimately, The Mirror is valuable not only in itself, but for the testimony which it offers about its own times. William Matthews summarizes the typical scholarly attitude toward those neglected times as follows:

for the long period, about 140 years, between Chaucer's death and the blessed relief of Wyatt and Surrey, the normal historical picture is almost a Waste Land. Apart

from Fortescue, Pecoock, Henryson, and Malory . . . the historian sees hardly an original idea or literary device in the whole period, hardly a work worth reading.<sup>29</sup>

To its fifteenth century readers, at least, The Mirror was not only worth reading, but was apparently widely read. This suggests that the sophistication of both Love's prose style and his narrative devices was not lost on that audience, and that The Mirror should stand as partial testimony that well-constructed narratives written in good English did not disappear from the literary scene in 1400. Love has been ignored, I believe, because he chose to write about Christ rather than "hende Nicholas." We should not fault him on that account, for neither the ribald nor the pious had a monopoly in the minds of common men of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Mirror, both in its story and the manner in which it is told, can tell us as much, if not more, about the skill of fifteenth century artists and the tastes of their audiences than works which have received far more critical attention.

## NOTES

- 1 Margaret Deanesly, "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," MLR, XV (October, 1920), 353.
- 2 Elizabeth Zeeman, "Punctuation in an Early Manuscript of Love's Mirror," RES, n.s., VII (1956), 12 n. 3.
- 3 A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640 (London, 1926), 70. See especially entries 3259 to 3269.
- 4 Elizabeth Zeeman, "Nicholas Love -- A Fifteenth Century Translator," RES, n.s., VI (1955), 117.
- 5 N. S. Aurner, Caxton: Mirroure of Fifteenth Century Letters (London, 1926), 109.
- 6 R. W. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose, EETS 191a (London, 1932), cxxvii-cxxix.
- 7 H. S. Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, (Oxford, 1947), 119.
- 8 Ibid., 216.
- 9 Nicholas Love, The Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, ed. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1908), x-xi.
- 10 Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ, ed. by a monk of Parkminster (London, 1926).
- 11 Samuel K. Workman, Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose (Princeton, 1940), 121.
- 12 Ibid., 150.
- 13 Elizabeth Zeeman, "Nicholas Love.-- A Fifteenth Century Translator," 113.
- 14 Ibid., 127.
- 15 Elizabeth Zeeman, "Punctuation." See note 2 above.
- 16 Elizabeth Zeeman, "Continuity and Change in Middle English Versions of the Meditationes Vitae Christi," Medium Aevum, XXVI, I.

- 17 Ibid., 25.
- 18 D. W. Robertson, Jr., A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton, 1962), 53.
- 19 Ibid., 63.
- 20 Ibid., 63.
- 21 Ibid., 63.
- 22 Pierre Pourrat, Christian Spirituality, tr. S. P. Jacques (Westminster, Md., 1953), II, 187.
- 23 Émile Mâle, Religious Art, Noonday Press translation (New York, 1949), 102. See L'Art Religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France (Paris, 1925), 28.
- 24 William Matthews, "Inherited Impediments in Medieval Literary History," in Medieval Secular Literature: Four Essays, ed. William Matthews (Berkeley, 1965), 21.
- 25 Robertson, 58.
- 26 Love, 1908, 12.
- 27 Matthews, 8.
- 28 Quoted by Margaret Deanesly, The Lollard Bible (Cambridge, 1920), 322.
- 29 Matthews, 14.

## A CERTAIN CARNAL REVERENCE

Love's source for The Mirror, the pseudo-Bonaventuran Meditationes Vitae Christi, was well known in its own right in the later Middle Ages and exerted a widespread influence on art and iconography.<sup>1</sup> It was openly affective and appealed to the imagination and emotions of its audience by presenting detailed visual descriptions of scenes and characters. As Emile Male has said, "Saint Francois d'Assise etait un poete, l'auteur des Meditationes est un peintre."<sup>2</sup> Appealing to the spiritual through the physical was certainly not new with the author of the Meditationes. Gregory the Great, in the prologue to his commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, has this to say on the subject:

in this book love is expressed as if in carnal language, so that the mind, stimulated by words it is accustomed to, may be aroused from its torpor, and through words concerned with a love which is below, may be excited to a love which is above. In this book are mentioned kisses, breasts, cheeks, and thighs. Nor is the Sacred description to be ridiculed on that account, but the greater mercy of God is to be considered; for when He names the members of the body and thus calls to love, it should be noted how wonderfully and mercifully we are treated. For in order that our hearts may be inflamed with sacred love, He extends His words even to wicked love.<sup>3</sup>

The pictorial representation of scriptural events became an important device in the education of the laity in the later Middle Ages and, in England, we find John Mirk

commenting on it in his Festial: "I say boldly that ther ben mony thousaund of pepull that couth not ymagen in her hert how Christ was don on the rood, but as thai lerne hit by sy3t of ymages and payntours."<sup>4</sup> Walter Hilton also defends the use of images in churches because of their appeal to the laity.

By a certain carnal reverence their mind is stirred to adore with bodily humiliation that image rather than any other. Yet their intention is habitually directed towards God, in whose name they do worship to such an image.<sup>5</sup>

Hilton, and others charged with the responsibility of educating laymen, realized that the popular conception of God was "thoroughly anthropomorphic,"<sup>6</sup> and that the use of images was a practical and effective way of appealing to an audience with such a frame of reference. It was so effective, in fact, that the technique was inevitably transferred from sculpture and painting to other forms of expression. G. R. Owst notes that "the sermons, too, in their turn show the effects of this naive realism, joint product of pulpit eloquence and artistic execution, upon the minds of simple laity."<sup>7</sup> For anyone who wanted to apply this carnal appeal to the life of Christ, the Meditationes was made to order and had only to be translated into the vernacular, so it is understandable that Love chose it and, for the most part, remained faithful to it. However, Love was not content simply to translate. A careful comparison of The Mirror with its source will show that Love produced "a paraphrase or recension, not [a] translation proper,"<sup>8</sup>

and that he was, in the opinion of one critic, "an independent and gifted artist in his own right."<sup>9</sup> However correct this judgment may be, for the time being it must be regarded as an assertion. It will be the purpose of the following discussion to see if it has any basis in fact.

The Meditationes appeals to its audience visually and imaginatively, with the "insistence that every detail of the story must be dramatized as if one were present."<sup>10</sup> Love's recension painstakingly embroiders and adds to those pictorial and imaginative elements which create this dramatic effect and consistently attempts to delete or de-emphasize those portions of the Latin text which detract from the dramatic effect. The result of this procedure is that, in The Mirror, there is a greater emphasis on the persons in the narrative, a greater verisimilitude and concreteness in the events which are portrayed and, Love must have hoped, a greater likelihood that the audience could imagine itself present at those events as they took place. In the prologue to The Mirror, Love gives first his reasons for choosing the Meditationes to translate and then comments explicitly on the nature of his proposed audience and the method he is going to follow in rendering the text.

Bonauenture / wroot hem to a religious womman in latyn.  
 The whiche scripture and writynge / for the fructuose  
 mater ther of sterynge specially to the loue of Jesu /  
 and also for the pleyne sentence to comune vnderstond-  
 ynge / semeth amonge othere souereynly edifieng to  
 symple creatures; the whiche as children hauen nede to  
 be fedde with mylke of ly3te doctrine / and not with  
 sadde mete of grete clergie and of hi3e contemplacioun.  
 Wherefore . . . is this drawynge out of the forseide

book of cristes lyf wryten in english / with more putte to in certeyn parties and also with drawyng of dyuerse auctoritees and materes as it semeth to the writere here of most spedeful and edifienge to hem that ben of symple vnderstondyng.<sup>11</sup>

Here we see Love stating his intention to tailor his text to a specific audience, and it is necessary to say a few words of caution about that audience. Even though Love proposes to write for "symple creatures," there is a limit to how simple they may be, for the illiterate could have no direct access to the book. We must keep in mind, however, that it may have been read aloud to them, and that this possibility placed an even greater demand on Love's ability to create visual narratives than would have been made by an audience which could read the text directly.

Love also indicates that the emphasis in The Mirror will be on the manhood of Christ, and this is less a theological issue than a matter of appealing to his audience with a specific literary device.

And therefore to hem is principally to be sette in mynde the ymage of cristes incarnacioun / passioun / and resurreccioun: so that a symple soule that kan not thenke bot bodies or bodily thynges mowe haue somewhat accordyng vnto his affeccioun wherwith he may fede and stire his deuocioun. (8-9)

In other words, Love will emphasize the physical and human aspects of the life of Christ because they are most familiar to his audience, and in his attempt to capitalize on this familiarity Love indicates that he will not confine himself only to those scenes or details which are based in scripture, but will fictionalize when necessary.

Wherefore it is to vndirstonde at the bygynnyng as for a principal and general rule of dyuers ymaginaciouns that folowen after in this book / that the discryuyng or speches or dedes of god in heuene and aungeles and other gostly substaunces ben only written in this manere and to this entent / that is to seie as deuoute ymaginaciouns and liknesses stiryng symple soules to the loue of god and desire of heuenly thynges. For / as seint gregory seith / therfore is the kyngdom of heuene lickened to erthely thynges: that by the thynges that ben visible / and that man kyndely knoweth / he be stired and rauysched to loue and desire gostly invisible thynges that he kyndely knoweth not. (9)

If this use of images and "liknesses" is to be effective, the audience must do its part, and Love, like the author of the Meditationes, notes in his prologue and throughout The Mirror that the audience is to devote its whole attention to what is being described.

Wherefore thou that coueytest to fele truly the fruyte of this book / thou moste with al thy thou3t and al thyn entente in that manere make the in thy soule present to tho thynges that ben here written / seide / or done of oure lord Jesu; and that besily / likyngly / and abidyng; as theyh thou herdest hem with thy bodily eeres / or seie hem with thyne ei3en done; pytyng away for the tyme and leuyng alle othere occuaciouns and besynesses. (12)<sup>12</sup>

Coupled with this appeal for the audience's attention is an apparent caution against taking all that follows too literally and supposing that The Mirror possesses the same authority as the Bible.

Also seint John seith / that alle tho thynges that Jesu dide ben not written in the gospell. Wherefore we mowen to steryng of deuocioun ymagine and thynke dyuerse wordes and dedes of hym and othere that we fynde not written / so that it be not a3enst the byleue. . . . And so what tyme or in what place in this book is written / that thus dide or thus spak oure lord Jesu or othere that ben spoken of / and it mowe not be preued by holy writ / or grounded in expresse seieng of holy doctoures / it schal be taken none

othere wise than as a deuoute meditacioun that it  
my3te be so spoken or doon. (9)

After describing an unbiblical great council in heaven, in which it is decided that Jesus will descend to earth to save mankind, both versions reiterate this caution.

And thus was termyned and ended the grete counseille  
in heuene for the restorynge of man and his sauacioun.  
The whiche processe schal be taken as in liknesse and  
oneliche as a manere of a parable and deuou3te ymagin-  
acioun. (19)<sup>13</sup>

These statements are more than simply warnings against over-literalness, for they contain an idea which is central to the understanding of Love's narrative method. D. W. Robertson, Jr. uses the metaphorical distinction between "fruyt" and "chaf" to assert that, according to medieval aesthetic theory, the surface details, or "chaf," of a work of art are present only to challenge the reader to use his reason to penetrate through them to the "fruyt" which is concealed beneath.<sup>14</sup> This distinction, if applied to medieval literature generally, must lead logically to the conclusion that those who read that literature were, or were expected to be, expert exegetes. It seems clear, however, that most of them were not, and in fact many readers probably preferred the "chaf" to the "fruyt" because they found it easier to comprehend. Authors who wished to reach such an audience needed a strategy which would capitalize on the attractiveness of the "chaf" in their works without sacrificing the "fruyt" that accompanied it. Love's principle of "deuou3te ymaginacioun" is such a strategy, and it enables him to

freely embroider the narratives which he finds in his sources and shape them to his own purposes. The "fruyt," Jesus' example to mankind, is the same as it would be in any other life of Christ, but the "chaf" is multiplied. The effect of this practice is not, as one might suspect, to distract the audience from the "fruyt," but to enrich their experience of it by providing, among other things, verisimilitude, characterization, and dramatic intensity which enhance the narrative and assist Love in his goal of drawing his audience into the scenes to such an extent that it can imagine itself present in them.

The general method which Love proposes for The Mirror is similar to that of the Meditationes, but in actual practice he constantly alters and adds to his source to achieve a more cohesive and comprehensive narrative and a fuller presentation of the persons who appear in it. He accomplishes this in several ways, supplementing the Meditationes with details from the Bible, the Church Fathers, or his own imagination. For example, when the child Jesus is presented in the temple for the first time, and Simeon approaches the holy family, the Meditationes says simply: "Ille autem gaudenter et reverenter in ulnis suis eum recipiens, surrexit benedicens Deum, et dixit: Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, etc. De passione ipsius prophetavit."<sup>15</sup> Love adds more of Simeon's speech of thanksgiving and gives enough of the prophecy that the audience, even this early in the book, begins to get some sense of what is to come

later. The underlined passages have been added from Luke 2.28-35.

Symeon . . . with grete ioye and reuerence clippyng  
 hym in his armes rose vp / blissyng god and seinge  
 with glad spirite: Lord / I thonke the; for now thou  
leteste thy seruante after thy word in pees: for why  
I haue seen with my eizen thyn blissed sone / oure  
saueoure. And afterward he prophecied of his passioun  
and of the sorwe therof / that schulde as a swerd  
perce and wounde the moder herte. (61)

The prophetess Anna appears in the same scene and the Latin says: "Supervenit et ipsa prophetissa Anna, et adorans eum, dimiliter de ipso loquebatur."<sup>16</sup> Love again makes the scene more concrete by furnishing details which are not in the Meditationes.

Herwith also that worthy wydowe Anne / the prophetisse / came to hem in to the temple / and / worschippyng the child / sche prophecied also of hym and spake of the redempcioun that was to come by hym to mankynde. (61)

Love frequently provides The Mirror with a greater degree of verisimilitude than is found in the Meditationes by adding circumstantial details which suggest that the events take place in a certain time and space, by providing insight into the feelings and motivations of the characters, and by giving factual information which is not present in the source. This ranges from the relatively infrequent use of naive realism which G. R. Owst characterizes as having all the "cheerful intimacy and local color of a Dutch canvas,"<sup>17</sup> to the more frequent use of details which allow the scenes, events, and people to achieve a verisimilitude because they appeal to common human emotions and situations. One example of naive realism, which Love probably adopted

from the iconographic tradition, occurs during the Annunciation when Gabriel appears to Mary, who is portrayed as "peraventure redynge the prophecie of ysaie touchynge the Incarnacioun" (25). In fact, it is unlikely that she was reading anything, but this detail was perhaps just the proper sentimental touch for the devout fifteenth century layman. Later, when the infant Jesus is presented in the synagogue for the first time, there is a procession to the altar which the Latin text says is "hodie repraesentatur per universum mundum."<sup>18</sup> In The Mirror, Love appeals to the experience of his audience by telling them exactly how this event is commemorated: "the whiche processioun is represented this day in alle holy chirche with li3t born to goddis worschippe" (61). This same appeal to the familiar is found in the rendering of Jesus' meal after his forty days in the desert. The Latin version is a spare and straightforward narration of the meal.

Sedet enim in terra composite ac curialiter, et sobrie comedit. Circumstant Angeli ministrantes Domino suo. Alius servit ei de pane, alius de vino, alius parat pisciculos, et alii cantant de canticis Sion.<sup>19</sup>

The version of this scene in The Mirror does not enlarge the scope of the narrative itself, but embellishes it with details which make it more concrete and familiar to the audience. The additions are underlined.

Oure lorde Jesu sitteth downe to his mete on the bare grounde / for there had he neither banker ne kuschyne. And take hede how curteysely and how soburly he taketh his mete; not withstondynge his hunger after his longe faste. The aungeles serued hym as her lorde / perautre one of the brede / another of wyne / another di3te

fisches / some songen in the stede of mynstralcie that swete song of heuene. (97-98)

These details point out the humble circumstances of the meal by mentioning the absence of accommodations which would be familiar to a fifteenth century audience, "had he neither banker ne kuschyne," and relate the song of the angels to the reader's own experience by comparing it with "mynstralcie." There is even a comment on manners as Love points out that Jesus ate "curteysely" and "soburly," in spite of his obvious hunger.

Love also attempts to achieve verisimilitude by fixing the location of scenes, either with a brief comment, or by citing a name, which may or may not have been familiar to his audience. For example, when he describes Jesus talking with the Samaritan woman by a well, he adds that it was "clepeden the welle of Jacob" (126). After the Crucifixion, when preparations are being made to bury Jesus, the Meditationes introduces the sepulcher by saying: "Erat prope locum crucifixionis sepulchrum, quantum est longitudo ecclesiae nostrae vel circa, in quo sepelierunt eum."<sup>20</sup> Although the measurements of the tomb add to the visual concreteness of the scene, they are uncertain because of the vagueness of "ecclesiae nostrae." Love omits this detail, and is content to simply locate the sepulcher with a slightly more specific reference than is found in the Latin text: "There was nihe that place of the crosse / the space of a stones caste / a new sepulture" (253). Love also

localizes scenes in The Mirror by referring to events which took place earlier in the narrative. When Jesus flees the people who want to make him their king, the Latin version says simply: "fugit ab eis in montem."<sup>21</sup> Love, however, insists that "this was that hille / as some clerkes seyne / vppon the which he made that excellent sermoun that is spoke of bifore" (137), referring to an event which took place two chapters before.

This attention to localizing events sometimes becomes a device for re-entering the narrative once it has been dropped to discuss other matters. At the end of the Last Supper, both versions picture Jesus leaving for Gethsemane with his disciples: "he went with hem in to a 3erde or a gardyne ouer the water of Cedron / there to abide his traytour Judas and othere armed men" (214-215). At this point Love departs from his source to recapitulate the supper in terms of five virtues which Jesus displayed and ends the chapter with a brief exhortation to meditate attentively on what follows. The next chapter has as its main business Jesus' prayer and capture in the garden, but before the narrative begins, and in preparation for the Passion which will occupy the remainder of the book, there is a discussion of Jesus' manhood and his ability to suffer bodily pain. This is followed by a discussion of the spiritual comfort which comes from contemplating the Passion and an appeal to the audience to imagine it as though they were actually present. At this point the scene in the

garden begins, but enough extra-narrative material has been presented since the end of the Last Supper that the reader's attention should be completely distracted from both the sequence and the location of the events that are taking place. In the Meditationes the scene begins in this way: "cerne eum attente, cum a coena exiens, sermone completo, in hortum cum discipulis suis vadit."<sup>22</sup> Love alters this statement subtly but effectively and, as a result, achieves a greater narrative continuity than is in the Latin text by beginning the scene in the garden with a close paraphrase of his earlier description of Jesus and his disciples leaving the Last Supper.

Oure lorde Jesu after that worthy soper was done and that noble and fructuose sermoun ended / wherof it is spoken in the nexte chaptire biforn / he wente with his disciples ouer the water of Cedron in to a 3erde or a gardyn. (218)

Occasionally Love takes care to fix the time at which various events in Christ's life took place by relating them to other parts of the narrative. One example is the time of Jesus' full assumption of his ministry. After he has returned from the forty days' fast in the desert, both versions remark that,

we red not that he toke vppon hym the office of prechyng al that 3ere folowyng: that is to say vnto that tyme that he wrou3t the firste myracle at the weddyng / that was the self day twelf monthe that he was baptised. (101)<sup>23</sup>

Several pages later, in the chapter which narrates the miracle of the wine at the wedding, Love repeats this reference to time, thus emphasizing the place of the beginning of

Jesus' ministry in the context of his life as a whole: "By-  
felle that day twelfmonthe that oure lorde Jesu was bap-  
tised / as it is seide / there was made a bridale in the  
contre of Galilee" (104). This attention to space and  
time appears to serve a definite purpose in The Mirror, even  
though the details may have been quite meaningless to the  
audience in terms of its own experience. Just as one of  
Love's major techniques is to involve his audience in the  
narrative by appealing to objects and experiences which are  
familiar to them; once they are involved, it is a simple  
matter to extend this technique and refer to things within  
the narrative itself which, by this time, should also be  
familiar.

Frequently Love alters and embroiders the Meditationes,  
not only to achieve concreteness and verisimilitude, but also  
to create dramatic intensity and emphasis and to provide his  
own interpretations and judgments of the events that are  
taking place. For example, he concludes the description of  
Mary and Joseph's arrival in Bethlehem with a contemplacio  
which focuses on Mary's condition and the hardships of the  
journey. Except for one small detail, which is underlined,  
this is a close translation of the Latin.

Now take here good hede and haue inwardly compassioun  
of that blessed lady and mayden / marye; how sche so  
3ong and of so tendre age / that is to saye of xv  
3ere / and grete with childe as nyh the birthe / tra-  
uailleth that longe wey of sixty myle and ten or  
more in so grete pouerte. (46)

It should be obvious to all at this point that she is "grete with childe," but mentioning it here, along with the couple's impoverished condition, has the effect of magnifying the difficulty of their journey to Bethlehem and focusing sharply on their plight "whan sche cam to the citee forside there sche schulde reste / and with her spouse asked herborgh in dyuers places / schamefastly as amonge vnkouthe folk / alle they werned hem and lete hem goo" (46). This intensification is also evident in Love's portrayal of the Annunciation. After Gabriel has asked Mary if she will consent to bear the Son of God, the angel stands patiently, waiting for her answer, and the author of the *Meditationes* asks the reader to look at the following scene.

Intuere hic pro Deo, et meditari, qualiter tota  
Trinitas est ibi expectans responsionem et consensum  
hujus suae filiae singularis, amanter et delectabil-  
iter aspiciens verecundiam ejus, et mores et verba;  
et etiam qualiter Angelus diligenter et sapienter  
inducit eam.<sup>24</sup>

As it stands, this is a private matter between Mary, Gabriel, and the Trinity, but in The Mirror it is considerably expanded. Love's additions are underlined.

Now take here good hede and haue in mynde how first  
all the holy trinyte is there abidyng a fynal an-  
swere and assent of his blessid dou3ter marye / ta-  
kyng hede and byholdyng lykyngliche hir schamefast  
semblaunt / hir sad maneres / and her wise wordes:  
and furthermore howe alle the blessid spirites of  
heuene / and alle the ri3twis lyuyng men in erthe /  
and alle the chosen soules that weren that tyme in  
helle / as adam / abraham / dauid / and alle othere  
desireden hir assent; in the whiche stood the sau-  
cioun of all mankynde: and also how the aungel ga-  
briel stondyng with reuerence before his lady /  
enclynyng / and with mylde semblant abideth the  
aunswere of his message. (29-30)

The scene is no longer private, nor is it simply a matter of Mary's consent, for Love has heightened the sense of anticipation and suspense by showing that "the sauacioun of all mankynde" hangs in the balance and by including in the scene all of those who are concerned with her decision, in short, all creation.

When Love decides to interpret a scene in order to insure that his readers perceive its implications properly, he is seldom subtle. Thus, when Jesus is brought before Pilate, the Meditationes offers a straightforward and neutral presentation of the event: "Accusatur tunc ab illis in multis, et Pilatus ipsum misit ad Herodem."<sup>25</sup> In The Mirror, however, the scene is anything but neutral.

Than / as it is saide / oure lord was ladde to  
 pylate; and they folwede aferre / for they [Mary  
 and John] my3t not come nyh for peple. He was there  
 accused of meny thinges / the whiche thay my3t nou3t  
proue; and therefore pilate sent hym to herode. (228)

The addition of the underlined phrase loads this scene with meaning and leaves no doubt about what the audience is to think, for it identifies Jesus' accusers as liars and, in light of what happens later, makes Pilate a false judge. In short, it reinforces what any reader of The Mirror knew in the first place: all proceedings against Jesus are false for he is implicitly on the side of truth.

Love's insight into the persons involved in the life of Christ, and his ability to develop them as characters and communicate their emotions and motives to his audience is evident throughout The Mirror and is one of the most

effective means at his disposal for making his narrative vivid and lifelike. For example, in describing Jesus' homecoming from his forty days in the desert, the Meditationes confines itself to only the essential details, barely suggesting the happiness of the scene: "Cum autem domum devenit, mater eum videns, ultra quam dici posset exhilarata, surgit, occurrit, et in amplexus strictissimos recipit."<sup>26</sup> Compare with this the version in The Mirror and note Love's additions, which are underlined.

And what tyme that he was comen home and his moder hadde the siȝt of hym / none wonder thouȝ sche was glad and joyeful in so moche that there may no tunge telle: wherfore anon sche roos and clippyng and kissyng hym welcomed hym home / and thonked the fader of heuene that had brouȝt hym sauf to hir; but therwith byholdyng his face lene and pale sche had grete compassioun. (100)

Here we see Mary's joy at her son's return, expressed not only in her reaction to him, but also in her prayer of thanksgiving for his safe return. In addition, we receive a realistic appraisal of Jesus' physical condition, reflected in his "lene and pale" face and Mary's motherly concern as she reacts to his appearance. This insight into motives and emotions is also evident in the Annunciation when Gabriel says to Mary: "Heile / full of grace / oure lord is with the! Blessed be thou in wommen and aboue alle wymmen" (26). In portraying her reaction to this greeting, the Latin text says: "Ipsa vero turbata, nihil respondit."<sup>27</sup> In The Mirror, however, we see not only her confusion, but the reason for it, for she "was astonyed and abashed / and

nou3t answered / but thou3t what this greting my3te be" (26).  
 Later, when Joseph notices that Mary is pregnant, the Latin version describes his reaction in this way:

Conspiciebat ergo Joseph conjugem suam semel et pluries, et dolebat et turbabatur, et eidem vultum ostendebat turbatum, et oculos avertebat ab ea tanquam a mala, suspicans eam ex adulterio concepisse.<sup>28</sup>

This reflects his consternation and his embarrassment, but it does not show as clearly as the English his completely human perplexity at what he has discovered.

For one the tone side he sawh hir lyf so holy and no tokene of synne in hir / neither in contenance / neither in word in speche / nor in dede that he dorste not openly accuse hir of avourie; and on that other side he knewe nou3t how that sche my3te conceyue bot by man. (41)

Love's efforts to humanize his "characters" are also evident in a scene which takes place after the Crucifixion. The Roman soldiers have just violated and broken the bodies of the two thieves, and as Mary and her companions sit around the cross they see another group of men approaching from the city. In the Latin, this is given simply as a factual part of the narrative: "Iterum autem vident alios plures per viam venientes, qui erant Joseph ab Arimathia et Nicodemus, ducentes secum alios."<sup>29</sup> Love humanizes this scene by relating not only what they see, but also what they feel.

In the mene tyme that oure lady and John and othere biforesaide were in grete perplexite and desolacioun / as it is i-saide; they lokeden toward the citee as they ofte sithes deden for drede / and than sawh thay many other comynge toward hem by the way; the whiche were Joseph of Armethie and Nycodeme. (247)

Here, we see that they looked toward the city out of fear, which is perfectly reasonable in light of what had happened to the two thieves, and by showing this fear Love both creates suspense about what is going to happen to Jesus and suggests the precarious situation of his followers at this point in the narrative. On Easter morning, when Mary Magdalene and her companions arrive at the tomb and discover that Jesus is gone, the Meditationes describes them as "fraudatae spe sua, quia putabant corpus Domine invenire, non attendentes ad verba angeli."<sup>30</sup> It should be obvious that their hope of finding Jesus' body is frustrated, but what is not so obvious is their reason for ignoring the angels. Love explains this in terms of their confusion at an event which they do not completely understand. "But thay for also myche as they fonde nou3t the body of her maistre there / as they hopeden / were so destourblede in her wittes and abaschede / that thai toke none rewarde to the aungelles wordes" (265-266). A short time later, when Jesus appears to Magdalene in the garden, Love psychologizes the actions of both of them, interpreting Jesus' motives for not identifying himself immediately as well as explaining why Mary does not recognize him at once.

And anon was he in the gardyn where Magdeleyne was / and seide to her: Woman / what sekest thou? and why wepest? Oure lorde asked hir that he wiste wel to that ende / as seynt gregorie seith / that by her answeere in the nempnyng of hym / the fire of loue schulde by the more feruently kyndeled in her herte. Neuertheles sche / nou3t knowing hym / but al destracte and oute of hir self / supposing that he hadde be a gardyner saide: Sir / if 3ow haueth taken hym away / telle me

where thou hast done hym / that I may take hym to me.  
 . . . And than oure lorde Jesu / hauinge compassioun  
of here grete sorwe and wepyng chere / clepede her by  
her homely name and saide: Marie. (268)<sup>31</sup>

Frequently, Love provides insight into the motives and feelings of persons involved in the action, not just to humanize them, but to distinguish between the good and the evil ones for his audience. This is especially evident in his treatment of the Jews, Pharisees, and Romans, who consistently reveal their evil and conspiratorial natures. At one point, the Pharisees rebuke Jesus and his disciples for picking and eating corn on the Sabbath, and the Meditationes says: "Reprehendebantur autem a Pharisaeis dicentibus, hoc non licere die sabbati."<sup>32</sup> Love expands this and suggests that the Pharisees' rebuke was motivated by something other than their concern for observing the Sabbath.

And the pharisees / that euere aspyed oure lordes  
wordes and dedes for to take hym in defau3te a3enst  
hir lawe / reprodred herefore both him and his dis-  
ciples / and seiden that it was unleueful on the  
sabbot day. (129)

Thus, long before their conspiracy against Jesus actually materializes, there is a foreshadowing, in a heavy-handed way, of what the Pharisees will eventually do. A short time later, Love characterizes them as "blynde in soule thoru3 malice" (146), a comment which is not in the Latin text. Later, when Jesus is before Pilate, the Meditationes simply presents the scene and shows the persistence of the Jews in their persecution.<sup>33</sup> Love also presents the events, but provides an interpretation as well.

When he was then a3eyn i-brou3t to pilate / and thoo  
 cursed houndes besily and stifly stoden in hir false  
 accusaciouns / pilate / knowynge hir envie / wolde haue  
delyuered hym / and seide: I fynde no cause of deth  
in this man. (229)

The additions not only confirm the Jews' malevolence, but also suggest Pilate's ambivalent situation, and this is further developed in the scene in which he passes sentence on Jesus. The Meditationes shows Pilate giving the sentence: "et sic condemnatur a misero iudice Pilato."<sup>34</sup> Love adds to this Pilate's reason for passing sentence, a further indication of his own character and the difficulty of his position, and comments on the quality of justice involved here.

At the laste the wrecched Justice Pilate / dredynge  
more to offende hem than to condampne the innocent /  
wrongewesly 3af the sentence vppon hym at her wille /  
and so dampned hym to be honged on the croys. (232)

One of the major reasons for the quality of The Mirror is that Love consistently displays a better sense of composition than is evident in the Meditationes. This has less to do with prose style than with giving scenes a more logical order, a sharper focus, and a better structure than they have in the Latin text. For example, Love may alter the sequence of events in a scene with the result that things happen in the proper order. The Meditationes shows Jesus ejecting the money changers from the temple in this passage:

Duabus vicibus ejecit Dominus Jesus ementes et vendentes de templo: quod inter ejus magna miracula deputatur. Nam licet alias eum vilipenderent, tunc tamen omnes ante eum fugerunt. Et quamvis essent multi, non

se defenderunt; sed ipse solus cum quibusdam funiculis omnes ejecit.<sup>35</sup>

Love rearranges this scene so that the mention of the "funiculis" is directly associated with Jesus rather than dropped into the middle of a discussion of the Jews' reaction. Note how the underlined phrase has been transposed.

Two tymes / as the gospelle maketh mynde / oure lorde Jesu cast out of the temple the biggeres and the selleres there inne / and that with a scourge made of cordes: the whiche dede among alle the myracles that he wrou3te semeth wonderfulle. (154)

There is a similar correction of narrative sequence in the scene in which Jesus is received at the house of Mary and Martha. In the Meditationes we first see Mary, who has knelt at Jesus' feet, and then we hear Martha's objection to her sister's seeming inactivity. At this point Jesus responds: "sed contrariam sententiam reportavit, et Mariam optimam partem elegisse audivit."<sup>36</sup> Only after the issue has been decided in her favor is our attention directed to Mary, who has been listening all along, and we see her reaction to each stage of the contention. Love alters this sequence, presenting Martha's complaint, Mary's reaction, and then Jesus' answer.

Martha / that was so besily occupied aboute the myn- ystracioun and the seruice of oure lorde Jesu and his disciples / seenge hir sustre Marie so sittynge as it were in ydelnesse / toke hit heuylly and com- pleyned hir to oure lorde as he hadde take no rewarde therto / and prayed him that he wolde bidde her sister rise and helpe hir to serue. And than was Marie aferde leste sche schulde haue be taken fro that swete reste and goostly likyng that sche was ynne / and nou3t sche seide bot hyngedoun hir heued / abidyng what oure lorde wolde seie. And than oure lorde / answerynge for hir / seide to Martha / that thou3t sche was besy

and trowbled aboute many thinges; neuertheles one thing was necessarie / and that was the beste Marye chase. (156)

The effect of this alteration is to re-structure the scene in the order of action, reaction, and resolution, allowing both sides of the contention to be presented to the audience before giving Jesus' response, which is here a means of settling the dispute rather than an interruption of it.

Another example of improved composition in The Mirror, which deserves quotation in full from both texts, shows Love expanding and consolidating the narrative, rearranging the sequence so that events follow one another naturally, and altering the syntax to insure that changes or omissions from the source do not create confusion. This scene takes place in the temple when the Jews are offended at Jesus' statement that he is the bread of life. In the Meditationes it is as follows. Those portions which are omitted in The Mirror are enclosed in parentheses.

Alia vice, cum spiritualia verba doceret in synagoga, aliqui ex discipulis ejus, tanquam carnales, non intelligentes recesserunt. (Sed ad duodecim discipulos ait; numquid et vos vultis abire?) Et Petrus pro se et aliis respondit: Domine, ad quem ibimus? verba vitae habes. (Considera ergo eum in praedictis et aliis similibus, quomodo cum potestate loquebatur, et docebat veritatem, non curans de scandalo pravorum, sive insipientium. Notandum igitur primo, quod propter alterius scandalum non debemus recedere a virtute justitiae; secundo, quod de interiori munditia magis, quam de exteriori honestate curare debemus, quod etiam alibi expressius Dominus dixit in Luca; quod spiritualiter vivere debemus, et a quod verba Domini non videantur nobis extranea, sicut illis discipulis, qui quando Christus dixit in Joanne:) Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii nominis.<sup>37</sup>

Contrast with this Love's version of the same event, in which his additions are underlined.

Another tyme also whan he tau3te in the synagoge gostly  
lore / and seide that he was the brede of lyf that  
came fro heuene / and how it byhoued to eten his  
flesche and drinken his blode who so schulde be sauf  
and haue euerlastyng lyf; they vnderstondyng his  
wordes fleschely and not goostely gruccheden a3enst  
hym and token occasioun of grete sclandre. And many  
of his disciples thoru3 that mysyndirstondyng flesche-  
ly forsoken hym / bot petre in the name of the xij  
apostles answered that they wolde not leuen hym; for  
he hadde the wordes of euerelastyng lyf: and so that  
was sclandre to the badde was vertues to the gode.  
 (146-147)

To begin with, Love has moved the last sentence in the Latin version and placed it second in his own, thus giving the narrative a more logical order and allowing it to focus on a central issue, Jesus' statement that "he was the brede of lyf," which causes both the Jews and the disciples to react with such force. The Pharisees are not mentioned in the Latin version, and by adding them here Love brings the narrative closer to both the biblical event which is being depicted and to the context of this particular chapter of The Mirror, which is titled: "How the pharisees and othere token occasioun of sclandre of the wordes and the dedes of Jesu." The personal pronoun they in the fifth line is grammatically ambiguous, but two items in the passage suggest that it refers to the Pharisees. First, the phrase "gruccheden a3enst hym and token occasioun of grete sclandre" is worded very much like the chapter title and, for this reason, seems to indicate that the focus here is on the Pharisees. Also, the disciples are not explicitly introduced

into the scene until the next sentence, after the Pharisees' reaction, and the last statement of Love's version, "and so that was sclaundre to the badde was vertues to the gode," clearly indicates that there are two groups in the scene rather than only one, as in the Latin. Because the two groups are referred to in separate grammatical units, Love must point out that the disciples, as well as the Pharisees, misunderstood what Jesus said in order to show that their action in forsaking him, and Peter's response, are not casual, but motivated by what has just taken place.

Although it omits more than half of the Latin version, Love's rendering of this scene is both closer to the Bible and more related to the chapter in which it occurs because the Pharisees have been added to it. Also, the rearrangement of the elements of the narrative to provide a logical action-and-reaction sequence, beginning with Jesus' statement, gives the scene more cohesion within itself than it has in the Latin version. The second bracketed passage in the Latin text, as it stands, is an authorial intrusion which, rather than adding to the narrative, detracts from it by diverting the reader's attention away from the action. Love, by deleting this passage and adding details which are closely related to the action, creates a brief, concrete scene which focuses on two separate groups of men, each reacting differently to a specific issue.

Some scenes in The Mirror are a composite of corresponding passages in the Meditationes and the Vulgate, and

the result of combining the two is a clearer exposition of events and the reasons for them than is found in the Meditationes. For example, when Peter, at Jesus' command, attempts to walk across the water, the Meditationes says: "tunc Petrus . . . ad jussum ejus coepit et ipse supra mare ambulare; sed postea titubans coepit mergi."<sup>38</sup> This leaves the impression that Peter simply falters, "titubans," as though he were attempting the impossible, and there is no mention of the storm. Love adds the storm on the authority of the Vulgate: "Videns vero ventum validum, timuit" (Matthew 16. 30), and goes a step beyond: "but anone as a grete wynde blewe he failed in byleue and drede / and so bygan to drenche" (144). Only here is it made clear that Peter does not simply falter, nor is he simply afraid; his is a failure of faith, and that is the real reason that he cannot walk on water. Love's interpretation of this event is justified by the following chapter of the Vulgate in which Jesus reproves Peter, saying: "Modicae fidei, quare dubitasti?" (Matthew 16. 31).

So far, we have concerned ourselves with Love's practice of making minimal changes in the Meditationes as he translated, and with their effect in enriching specific scenes in The Mirror. These alterations are important in themselves for demonstrating Love's use of narrative techniques which are far more sophisticated and show a greater attention to verisimilitude, characterization, and composition than is to be found in many other devotional and secular prose

works of the same period. But, whether we consider them either in isolation or collectively, these individual changes can do no more than suggest the effects of such recension on larger units of the text. Therefore, it will be useful to consider two such larger units to see in what ways Love has altered them and, in a sense, made them his own.

The first of these narrative units recounts the flight of Jesus and his parents to Egypt, their life there, and their return after seven years. The Mirror and the Meditationes agree in the details of the angel's warning to Joseph, the departure, and the journey itself, but in the Latin version the narrative is interrupted, just after the family sets out for Egypt, and the author presents a meditation on four things about the journey which are important to the devout. Once this meditation is completed, the author moves on to the journey itself. In The Mirror the narrative is consolidated into one place and followed by the meditation. The effect of this transposition is to eliminate a discontinuity in the narrative sequence and to clearly separate this portion of the chapter into narrative and meditative parts. Thus, when it is time to meditate on the "many goode ensaumples and notable doctrines" (65) which the journey presents, the narrative is complete and the audience should have the relevant details firmly in mind. As though to reinforce this, each of the four points of the meditation refers to a part of the narrative that has just passed, in a sense recapitulating it as well as drawing instruction from it.

The first point is "hou oure lord Jesu toke in his owne persone somme tyme prosperite and welthe / and sumtyme aduersite and woo" (65), which contrasts Jesus' persecution by Herod with the adoration which he received at his birth. The second lesson is humility, which is taught by the angel's appearance to Joseph, "and not to oure lady; and natheless 3it was he moche lasse in meryte and more vnworthy than sche" (66). The third example is "that oure lord suffreth his derelynges to be disesed here thoru3 persecuciouns and tribulaciouns" (67), and this considers the apparent absurdity of the Son of God fleeing from a mere mortal as Love attempts to justify the daily trials and tribulations of those in his audience by admonishing them to "kepe therynne pacience / and loke not to haue here of a pryuelege of hym that wolde not take hit hym self / ne 3eue it his moder" (67). The fourth and last point of the meditation considers the "grete benignyte and mercy of oure lorde" (67) in choosing to flee rather than to destroy his adversary, and this recalls what was said about Jesus at the end of the narrative: "And so fled that grete lorde the pursute of his seruaunt / 3e more propruly the deueles seruant" (65). By placing this meditation at the end of his narrative of the journey, Love effectively separates the details of the flight to Egypt from the account of how the holy family lived once they arrived at their destination, thus creating a sense of the passage of time between two narratives which are related but actually focus on different matters. In

the Latin text there is no such separation because the meditation comes earlier, interrupting what would otherwise be a closely knit narrative, while the details of the journey and the seven years in Egypt are strung together as a continuous unit.

In the Meditationes, the account of the holy family's life in Egypt is diffuse, repetitious, and frequently interrupted for meditations on the merits of poverty and the dangers of superfluity. The Mirror presents only selected details, shortening the narrative considerably and consolidating it in one place. As before, the meditative passages are also consolidated and placed at the end of the narrative. Love's selection of some scenes and omission of others results in a narrative which is less detailed than the one in the Latin text, but which focuses more sharply on Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. Thus, we are told "how our lady wrought for her livelihood / that is to say with needle sewing and spinning" (68),<sup>39</sup> but not how she found such employment:

Ibat ipsa per domos petendo pannum, et alia in quibus operaretur? Oportuit enim hoc per viciniam innotescere; alias vacasset a talibus operibus, quia illae mulieres non poterant divinare.<sup>40</sup>

In the Meditationes we also see Jesus going about on errands for his mother.

Sed et cum Jesus coepit esse quinquennis, vel sic, numquid et ipse portabat ambasiatas matris, petendo pro ipsa ea in quibus operari valeret? Non enim habebat alium scutiferum. Sed et numquid reportabat opera facta, petens ex parte matris solutionem et pretium? Nonne in talibus erubescerat puer Jesus, filius Dei

altissime, et etiam mater mittens? Sed quid si aliquotes, dum opus reddidisset, et pretium peteret, mulier aliqua superba, rixosa et loquax, injuriose respondit, opus factum accepit, eum sine pretio expulit, et sic vacuus domum rediit? O quot et quantae fiunt injuriae advenis, quas Dominus vitare non venit, set suscipere!<sup>41</sup>

Here, Jesus is nearly hidden among the details of Mary's feelings, the probability of her being paid, and the brief portrait of the proud woman. In The Mirror, however, Jesus is made the focal point of this scene, and those elements which do not bear directly upon Love's portrait of him as a helpful son are either subordinated or omitted.

Blessed Jesu / after he cam to the age of fyue 3ere  
 or there aboute / 3ede on hir erandes and halpe in  
 that he my3te / as a pore child / to hem schewynge  
 in alle his dedes busomenesse / loweness / and mekenes.  
 And sithen hem byhoued to gete here lyflode in that  
 manere with her trauaille / and perauenture with  
 repreue ofte sithes of hem that they dwelled among /  
 as it falleth comounly to straungeres / and also  
 with schame. (68)

In the next chapter of The Mirror, which portrays the holy family's return from Egypt, Love displays this same method of selection and condensation and produces a concise narrative which focuses on Jesus and his family. Love begins by linking this narrative to what has gone before with the comment: "after that herodes was dede" (71), and then translates directly from the Latin a brief summary of what is to follow. At this point, however, the two texts diverge. The version of this narrative in the Meditationes is at least twice as long as Love's rendering of it and presents the story in the same diffuse and cluttered manner that described the holy family's way of life in Egypt. In

it, there is a constant awareness, produced by the use of "you" and "we" forms of the verb, that both the author and the reader are present. For example:

Redeas ergo in Aegyptum gratia visitandi puerum Jesum, quem cum extra inter pueros forte inveniris, ipse te videns occurret tibi, quia benignus, et affabilis et curialis est. Tu vero genuflectens, osculeris pedes ejus, et post inter brachia opsum suscipias, et aliquantulum cum eo quiescas. Tandem forte dicet tibi: Data est nobis licentia redeundi in terram nostram, et cras hinc recedere debemus.<sup>42</sup>

The author of the Latin text describes the departure itself in great detail, and the holy family is engulfed in a flurry of activity as their friends accompany them outside the city and bid them farewell.

Mane sequenti die videbis aliquas bonas matronas de civitate, et etiam homines venientes ad sectandum eos usque extra portam civitatis, propter placabilem et sanctam conversationem ipsorum. Praedixerant enim discessum suum per viciniam per plures dies: primum quia non est conveniens, quod subito quasi furtim inde recederent; secus tamen fuit, quando venerunt in Aegyptum, quia timuerunt mortem pueri. Incipiunt enim recedere, et Joseph cum hominibus praecedit, et Domina sequitur a longe cum matronis.<sup>43</sup>

In contrast to this, Love's narrative of the return from Egypt focuses on Jesus and the difficulty of recrossing the desert. Those passages in the Latin text which obscure this focus and distract the reader's attention by presenting people or events which are extraneous to the business of returning home are either omitted or considerably shortened. The description is, for the most part, in the third person, and the interposed personalities of the author and reader have disappeared. The result is a concise narrative with a minimum of detail and, although it is brief, it is yet vivid

enough to fix itself in the reader's mind without asking that he remember too much.

Here mowe we see in the comynge a3eyn of Jesu / as it was seide in his goynge / drede and disese mended with comforte and ese. For what tyme thei / beyng in a straunge londe / herde of the deth of her enemyes / and that thei schulde come a3eyne in to her owne londe / no doute but that it was grete comforte and hope of eese; but takynge hede therwith to the hard trauaille by the wey / and after whan that they comen in to hir owne londe in hope of pees tithinges of a newe enemy come to hem and for drede of hym beden to eschewe his cuntrey / there was discomfort and disese. (71)

The focus here is clearly on Jesus and his hardship, and this is reinforced in the remainder of the narrative by the use of such phrases as "longe and hard weie" (71) and "horrible deserte" (71). Near the end of the chapter, as the travelers emerge from the desert, they encounter John the Baptist and later arrive at the "house of our lady cosyne Eli3abeth" (72) where they meet "John euangeliste come with his moder / oure lady sister / to visite and see Jesu" (73). Love adds these encounters on his own as a means of introducing, early in the book, persons who will assume important roles in later events.

The two chapters of The Mirror which present Jesus' life between the ages of twelve and thirty, and his baptism at the end of that interval, are also a discussion of humility. Here we are able to see Love working on both a narrative and a thematic level, changing the Meditationes at times, but also letting substantial portions of it stand. Chapter thirteen, which renders the eighteen unrecorded years of Christ's life, is retained almost intact from the

Latin text; intact in the sense that, though it is not a word-for-word translation, it neither omits nor adds substantive details. Given the powers of imagination evident in both the Meditationes and The Mirror, we might expect this to be a rampant fabrication of Jesus' daily life, but such is not the case. There is, of course, circumstantial detail, but it is kept to a minimum and, in Love's text, it comprises slightly more than one of the five pages which the chapter occupies. The narrative portrays only stylized and general events which are no more than we might infer or expect, given what is already known from the foregoing narrative and from Christian tradition in general. For example:

byholde we there the maner of lyuyng of that blissed compayne in pouerte and symplenesse to gidre; and how that olde man Joseph wrou3t as he my3te in his craft of carpuntrie; oure lady also with distaf and nedle / and therewith makyng hir mete / and othere offices doynge that longed to housholde / as we mowe thynke in dyuers manere; and how oure lord Jesu mekely helpe hem bothe at her nede / and also in leienge the borde / makynge the beddes and suche othere charres gladly and lowely mynistrynge. (82-83)

The bulk of the chapter consists of a discussion of humility, and the sparse documentation for this period in Jesus' life seems to have offered an ideal opportunity for talking about "mekenes," withdrawal from the world, and the lesson which is to be gained from such a prolonged period of silence on the part of one who is so great.

3if he didde and wrou3t thing that were worthy to be writen and spoken / why is it not writen as othere dedes of hym bene? Sothely it semeth merveyulous and wonderfull. But neuertheles / 3if we wole here take

good entent / we schul mowe see that as in no3t doynge  
 he didde grete thynges and wonderfull; for there is  
 no thing of his dedes / or tyme of hys leuyng / with  
 oute misterie and edificacioun. But as he spake and  
 wrou3t vertuously in tyme / so he helde his pees and  
 rested and withdrowe hym vertuously in tyme. (78-79)

In the narrative portions of this chapter, Love concentrates  
 on amplifying this theme of humility by portraying Jesus  
 engaged in humble activities. Thus, in the synagogue, he  
 is to be found in "the lowest and priuyest place" (79), for  
 "it was his wille to be holde as vnworthy and abiecte to the  
 world for oure sauacioun" (80). The scriptural silence  
 about these years is taken as evidence of humility and is  
 offered as an example to the devout Christian.

Here mowe we see that he in that abieccioun / as it  
 were no3t doynge / didde a ful grete vertuouse dede  
 of worthy commendynge; and what was that? Sothely  
 that he made hym self foule and abiecte in the si3t of  
 othere; and here of had he no nede / but we hadde this  
 nede: for sothely as I trowe in alle oure dedes  
 there is no thing gretter or harder to fulfille than  
 is this. (80).

Chapter fourteen, "Of the bapteme of oure lord Jesu  
 and the wey therto," is directly related to chapter thirteen  
 in two ways. On the narrative level, it begins where the  
 previous chapter leaves off and portrays Jesus' emergence  
 into the world after twenty nine years of self-imposed  
 silence and humility.

After that xxix 3ere were complete in whiche oure lord  
 Jesu had lyued in penaunce and abiectioun / as it is  
 seide / in the bigynnyng of his xxx 3ere / he spake  
 to his moder and seide: Dere moder / it is now tyme that  
 I goo to glorifie and make knowen my fader / and also  
 to schewe my self to the worlde / and to worche the  
 saluacioun of mannis soule / as my fader hath ordeyned  
 and sent me in to this worlde for this ende. (84)

The two chapters are also related by the common theme of humility. This is perhaps less obvious in The Mirror than in the Meditationes because in the midst of the baptism scene the Latin version contains a discourse on humility which occupies nearly two-thirds of the chapter, overwhelming the narrative by the space it occupies, if for no other reason. Love omits most of this, translating only an introductory summary which amounts to no more than a list of what the "tres humilitatis gradus" consist of. There is, however, sufficient evidence in the rest of the chapter to indicate that the subject is still as much humility as the baptism. As Jesus leaves his parents' house to find John the Baptist, "bare foote and allone" (85), we are urged to imagine the scene,

Thenkyng in this manere: A lord Jesu / 3e that ben  
 kyng of alle kynges / whider goo 3ee in this manere  
 allone? Gode lorde / where ben 3oure dukes and erles /  
 kni3tes and barouns / horses and harneises / char-  
 iotes and someres / and alle 3oure seruauntes and  
 mynystres that schulde be aboute 3ow / to kepe 3ow  
 fro the comoun peple in manere of kynges and  
 lordes? (85)

The answer to this rhetorical question stressed the humility which Jesus has taken upon himself as man.

Why than goo 3e thus sympilly / allone / and on the  
 bare erthe? Sothely the cause is for 3e be not at  
 this tyme in 3oure kyngdom / the which be not of this  
 world. For here 3e haue enentisshed 3oure self /  
 takynge the manere of a seruaunt and not of a kyng;  
 and so 3e haue made 3oure self as oon of vs / a  
 pilgryme and a straunger / as alleoure fadres  
 weren. (85-6)

This theme of humility is carried into the baptism scene itself by Jesus' answer to John, who objects to baptising

one greater than himself.

Lord / I schulde be baptised of thee; and thou comest to me; and Jesu answered: Suffre now; for thus it falleth and bysemeth vs to fulfille all ri3twisnes. As who seith: seie not this now / and bywreye me not / or make me not knowen; for my tyme therof is not 3it comen; but now doo as I bidde and baptise me / for now is tyme of mekenesse. (87)

As though to remove all doubt that these two chapters are thematically related, near the end of chapter fourteen Love reproduces a statement from the Latin which is an open invitation to compare them.

For of the 3outhe of oure lorde in to this tyme of xxx<sup>ti</sup> 3ere I here or rede but litel more. But now may he no lenger be hidde / sithen he is so opounly schewed of the fader. Alle these ben the wordes of seint Bernard in sentence / confermyng that was seide bifore in the next chaptire. (89)

It may be argued, however, that Love subordinates the theme of humility in this chapter on the baptism because he omits the long discourse, "tres humilitatis gradus," which treats humility in detail, citing edifying passages from the Bible and the Sermons and Epistles of Saint Bernard. To leave out such a passage which is apparently so central to the theme may be construed by some as self-defeating, so at this point it is instructive to look at the nature of the omitted portions in contrast to Love's narrative. As it stands, this discourse on humility forms a separate tract on the nature of humility, treating it as a theological virtue which is defined in terms of other virtues such as charity, chastity, and justice. It might be characterized by such passages as the following:

qualis humilitas nostra? Audi super hoc non me, sed Bernardum qui ait: "Est humilitas, Quam charitas format et inflammat; et est humilitas, quam nobis veritas parit, et non habet calorem. Atque haec quidem in cognitione, illa in affectu consistit. Etenim si tu temetipsum intus ad lumen veritatis, et sine disimulatione inspicias."<sup>44</sup>

Here, humility is formed and kindled by charity, or is cold, found only by the light of truth. Toward the end of this discussion there is a digression into the relationship of chastity and charity in which the Meditationes quotes from Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs.

Verum quantalibet venustate sui castitas eminere appareat; sine charitate tamen, nec pretium habet nec meritum. Nec mirum. Quod enim absque illa bonum suscipitur? fides? Sed nec si montes transferat. Scientia? Nic illa, quae linguis loquitur angelorum. Martyrium? nec illud: si tradidero, inquit, corpus meum, ita ut ardeam. . . . Castitas sine charitate, lampas sine oleo.<sup>45</sup>

Only at length is this discussion related to humility:

"Nempne ut castitas, sive charitas obtineatur, humilitas meretur: quoniam humilibus Deus dat gratiam."<sup>46</sup>

Such a discourse on the nature of humility seems foreign to the nature of The Mirror, first because it is unlikely that it would appeal to that group of laymen which Love proposes to take as his audience, simple creatures, "that kan not thenke bot bodies or bodily thinges" (9). Also, the omitted material forms a marked contrast with the narrative, in which the treatment of humility is not abstract, and is only mildly theological. Here the emphasis is upon the practice of humility, rather than its nature, and the teaching is inseparable from portrayal of Jesus, Mary, and

Joseph as they perform various actions which are characterized as humble. Thus, for the eighteen unrecorded years of his life we see Jesus going to the lowest place of the synagogue, helping his parents, making himself a servant for the benefit of mankind, and lowering "hym self in all manere of mekenes and abiectioun in the si3te of othere: fulfillynge first in dede that he tau3te after by word" (81). When he goes to be baptized he travels alone and is not afraid to appear as a sinner among the crowds listening to John the Baptist.

For John preched to synful men to do penaunce / and baptised hem; and oure lord Jesu cam among hem / and in her si3t was baptised as one of hem. And that was a souereyn poynte of mekenes namely in this tyme / whan he purposed to preche and schewe hym self as goddes sone. For as by weie of mannis resoun he schulde haue dredde than of that lowe dede / leste therby after whan he preched he schulde haue be in lasse reputacioun and despised as a synful man and vnworthy. (89)

Love teaches humility, not through an abstract theological discussion of virtues, but through the presentation of people in the narrative acting in a prescribed way in a specific setting, and this provides the audience with brief but vivid examples of how they should act.

Love's consciousness of his audience is evident throughout both chapters in those passages which comment on the examples and appeal directly to the reader. For example, after Jesus' early life has been described as one of abject meekness, we find:

and so as we seide bifore / oure lorde Jesu lyued in this manere and made hym self abiecte and as vnworthy to the world not for his owne nede / but forto teche

vs the trewe way of perfeccioun. Wherfore 3if we  
 lerne it no3t we mowe not be excused; for it is an  
 abhominable thing to see him that is bot as a worme  
 and wormes mete to come forto hi3e hym self by  
 presumpcioun / and lifte vp hym self as ou3te /  
 whan that hi3e lorde of maieste so meked hym self  
 by abiectioun / and lowed hym self as no3t. (81)

Later, after Love has described the domestic life of Jesus,  
 Mary, and Joseph as having only the meanest of accommodations,  
 "for as we mowe ymagyne thei had no grete hous / but a  
 litel" (83), there is another passage which speaks directly  
 to the audience.

Lord god / wher ben now thei that louen so moche  
 the lust and the likyng / and the ese of the flesche;  
 that scken so besiliche precieuse and curiouse and  
 dyuerse ornamentis and vanytees of the worlde? Sothely  
 we that louen and desiren suche thinges / we lerne not  
 that in the scole of this maister; for he tau3t  
 vs bothe by word and by dede mekenes / pouerte / and  
 penance / and chastisyng of the body. (84)

After he has narrated the baptism, Love makes his final  
 point by suggesting the reward which can come to one who  
 contemplates this period in Christ's life and follows its  
 example. Jesus, because of his perfect humility, was openly  
 acknowledged by God at his baptism, "whan the holy goost  
 come downe in the liknes of a dowfe and rested vppon hym /  
 and the vois of the fader seide: This is my byloued sone /  
 in whom it liketh me wele; and therefore here 3e hym" (88).  
 Love implies that if the faithful Christian follows Jesus'  
 example, he too can hope to be singled out in this manner.

For as he was in this tyme of his souereyn mekenes /  
 in the vnderfongyng of his baptisme taken of his  
 seruaunt / schewed by wittnesse of the fader / and  
 tokene of the holy goost / verrey goddes sone; so  
 thou3 we make vs abiecte and lowe vs neuere so  
 moche in oure owne si3t and in other mennis / 3if

we be able to profite to othere god wil make vs  
knownen in tyme as it is most spedful to oure owne  
mede and to other mennis profite. (90)

The reward for humility is heavenly, but the way to this  
reward is earthly, "for oure rewme is of this world" (86).  
In The Mirror, Love teaches humility and other virtues in  
concrete, human terms by using incidents from the life of  
Christ which "hem that ben of symple vnderstondynge" (8) can  
easily visualize, "as the ymage of mannis face is schewed  
in the mirrour" (10), and which they can emulate.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See Émile Mâle, L'Art Religieux de la fin du moyen age en France (Paris, 1925), who discusses the influence of the Meditationes on medieval art at length.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>3</sup> PL, 79, 473; tr. by D. W. Robertson, Jr. in A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton, 1962), 28.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd. ed. (Oxford, 1966), 146.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 138-139.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel K. Workman, Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose (Princeton, 1940), 85.

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Zeeman, "Continuity and Change in Middle English Versions of the Meditationes Vitae Christi," Medium Aevum, XXVI, I, 31.

<sup>10</sup> Louis L. Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, Rev. ed. (Yale, 1962), 73.

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Love, The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, ed. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1908), 8. All references to this work in the text are to this edition. In quoting this edition, I have made one change in Powell's typography by substituting the standard semi-colon where Powell prints the inverted semi-colon found in the manuscripts.

<sup>12</sup> St. Bonaventure (pseud.), Meditationes Vitae Christi, in S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia, ed. A. C. Peltier (1874), XII, 509-630, hereafter cited as Meditationes. Compare the quotation from The Mirror with this, found on page 511 of the Meditationes: "Non autem credas, quod omnia quae ipsum dixisse, vel fecisse constat, meditari possimus, vel quod omnia scripta sint: ego vero ad majorem impressionem, ea sic, ac si ita fuissent, narrabo, prout contingere vel contigisse credi possunt, secundum quasdam imaginarias repraesentationes, quas animus diversimode percipit. Nam et circa divinam Scripturam meditari, exponere et intelligere multifarie, prout expedire credimus, possumus, dummodo non sit contra veritatem vitae, justitiae et doctrinae, et non sit contra fidem et contra bonos mores. Cum autem me

narrantem invenies: 'Ita dixit vel fecit Dominus Jesus,' seu alia, quae introducuntur; si illud per Scripturam probari non possit, non aliter accipias, quam devota meditatio exigit. Hoc est, perinde accipe, ac si dicerem: Mediteris quod ita dixit vel fecit Dominus Jesus; et sic de similibus. Tu autem, si ex his fructum sumere cupis, ita te praesentem exhibeas his quae per Dominum Jesum dicta et facta narrantur, ac si tuis auribus audires et oculis ea videres, toto mentis affectu diligenter, delectabiliter et morose, omnibus aliis curis et sollicitudinibus tunc omissis."

13 Cf. Meditationes, 512-513: "hoc autem non proprie, sed appropriate intelligas. . . . Et haec de his quae in coelis contingere potuerunt, possumus meditari."

14 See D. W. Robertson, Jr., passim.

15 Meditationes, 524.

16 Ibid., 524.

17 Owst, 121.

18 Meditationes, 524.

19 Ibid., 540

20 Ibid., 610.

21 Ibid., 552.

22 Ibid., 600.

23 Ibid., 541: "Non enim per totum annum sequentem praedicationis officium publice dicitur assumpsisse, videlicet usque ad miraculum de nuptiis, quod fuit eodem die, quando fuit baptizatus, anno revoluto."

24 Ibid., 515.

25 Ibid., 603.

26 Ibid., 541.

27 Ibid., 514.

28 Ibid., 517.

29 Ibid., 608.

30 Ibid., 617.

31 Ibid., 618: "Venit ergo ad monumentum in horto ubi erat Magdalena, et dicit ei: Mulier, quem quaeris? quid ploras? Et illa eum non cognoscens adhuc ut ebriã, respondit, dicens: Domine, si tu sustulisti eum, dicito mihi, ubi posuisti eum; et ego tollam. Conspice bene eam, quomodo lacrymabili vultu, suppliciter et devote eum exorat, ut doceat eam illum, quem quaerit: semper enim sperabat audire aliqua nova de suo dilecto. Tunc Dominus ad eam dixit: Maria." Love's phrase: "supposing that he hadde be a gardyner" is taken from John 20:15: "Illa existimans quia hortulanus esset."

32 Ibid., 564.

33 Ibid., 603.

34 Ibid., 604.

35 Ibid., 563.

36 Ibid., 570.

37 Ibid., 561.

38 Ibid., 557.

39 Ibid., 526: "suebat ergo et filabat mundi Domina, pauperitas amatrix."

40 Ibid., 526.

41 Ibid., 526.

42 Ibid., 528.

43 Ibid., 528.

44 Ibid., 535.

45 Ibid., 537.

46 Ibid., 537.

## MORE PLEYN IN CERTEYN PARTIES

In the prologue to The Mirror, Love notes that the Meditationes are "more pleyn in certeyn parties than is expressed in the gospelle of the foure euangelistes,"<sup>1</sup> and suggests that he plans to go even further in making things plain by:

drawynge out of the forseide book of cristes lyf  
wryten en englich / with more putte to in certeyn  
parties and also with drawynge of dyuerse auctoritees  
and materes as it semeth to the writere here of most  
spedeful and edifienge to hem that ben of symple  
vnderstondynge. (8)

In short, he will expand and clarify the text which he is translating in order to meet the needs of his own audience, and he will accomplish this in two major ways. First, there are the minimal changes of passages of the Meditationes, discussed in the preceding chapter, which enhance Love's presentation of structure, theme, and character in his narrative. However, this is not the only type of recension that is to be found in The Mirror. Elizabeth Zeeman has noted that "when Love availed himself of an existing English version of a Latin text, his debt is not a straightforward one."<sup>2</sup> In fact, this can be true for whatever sources Love uses, and it is the purpose of this discussion to show that, when he possessed several versions of the narrative which he wished to present, he was consistently capable of choosing

the most detailed one for the basis of his translation and augmenting it with details from the other versions as well as with materials of his own invention. These various sources are not merely combined, but recast and conflated into a narrative which, though it retains the essential elements of each source, is yet different from each of them. The resulting narrative is frequently more detailed and concrete than any one of its sources and appeals more directly to the audience because the borrowed details and Love's own additions provide a thorough explanation and interpretation of what is taking place. This procedure is particularly apparent in two chapters of The Mirror, chapter thirty, "Of the transfiguracioun of oure lord Jesu in the hille," and chapter thirty-four, "Of the reysinge of lazare and other tweyne dede bodyes," both of which are substantially different from the corresponding portions of the Meditationes.<sup>3</sup>

Chapter thirty, "Of the transfiguracioun of oure lord Jesu," is based primarily on the account found in Matthew 16:21-28 and 17:1-9, and is augmented with details from Luke 9:27-36, the corresponding chapter of the Meditationes, and Love's own explanations. The conflation of these versions proceeds phrase-by-phrase, and sometimes details from two versions appear in the same grammatical unit. In addition, nearly every event of the narrative is further supplemented by explanatory comments which appear calculated to make each statement as explicit as possible for the audience.

The chapter begins by singling out the Transfiguration as a manifestation of Jesus' godhead, which he revealed to his disciples "by the myracles that he wrou3t abouen the comune kynde and my3t of man" (149). So far in The Mirror the major emphasis has been on Jesus' humanity and has pictured the humble circumstances of his birth, his flight to Egypt, and his humility and submissiveness as a child and young man. There have been some suggestions of his divinity, as when he walked on water, healed the sick, or changed water into wine, but this new identification of the Transfiguration as a miracle which proceeds from the godhead is a signal to the audience that what follows is a purely divine event in which they, along with the disciples, will witness the beginning of Jesus' revelation of himself as the Son of God.

The actual narrative of the Transfiguration begins with a passage adapted from Matthew 16:21-28 in which Jesus foretells his fate in Jerusalem and promises the disciples that "there were some of hem that there stoden at that tyme the whiche schulde not taste bodily deth til they seien mannis sone / that was hym self / comynge in his kyngdome" (150). This is not in the Meditationes, and by adding it here Love provides a context for what is to follow. The Transfiguration occurs "forto fulfille this byheste" (150), and is at the same time an explicit, "carnal" representation of what is meant by seeing the Son of Man coming in his own kingdom.

Love makes the narrative explicit by interpolating statements which attempt to interpret or explain what happens or what is said, and, from our standpoint, this interpretation and explanation meets with varying degrees of success. For example, Love's explanation of what it means to see the Son of Man coming in his own kingdom, saying that it is to see him "apperynge in a wonderful and loyeful cleer-nesse of this manhode longinge to his kyngdome" (150), provides little more information than the initial statement. On the other hand, some of these interpretive remarks appear to be more carefully calculated to place the events being described within reach of the intellect and experience of the audience by using language which is more explicit and descriptive than that found in the sources. For instance, to say that Jesus was "torned oute of the lowe liknesse of seruaunt in to the hi3e and gloriouse likness of his kyngdome" (150), should strike a familiar note with the audience because, up to this point, Jesus has frequently been cast in the role of a servant. Yet, this addition still fails to explain the meaning of the "liknes of his kyngdome."

Some of these interpretive comments provide the audience with a greater psychological focus upon the figures who are participating in the action. Thus, "the disciples rauished" (150) when they saw Jesus speaking with Moses and Eli, and Peter was so carried away by the heavenly sight that "for3etynge all erthely thing [he] coueyted and desired forto haue dwelled stille there in that blisseful

place" (150). Any fervent Christian might experience such a reaction, and portraying it here suggests to the audience not only the power of the godhead, but how one who is a mere human creature is apt to react in its presence. There is a similar situation when the disciples hear the explicitly supernatural voice of God speaking to them from a cloud.

And than when the disciples hadde herde this heuenly  
voys byforeseide of the fader / they felle doun to  
the erthe on her faces with grete drede: for the  
infirmyte of man my3te not bere that heuenly voyce  
aboute kynde. (151)

They are not simply overcome, but rather are possessed by fear, and this addition should suggest to the audience, which in a sense is participating in the scene, that all men ought to be afraid even in the insensible presence of God. The interpretive comments also provide plot motivation for the narrative, so that events do not happen casually, but take place for a reason. In all of the sources, the bright cloud from which God speaks simply appears, without warning, as though it were a perfectly predictable event in the natural order of things. It is, however, a manifestation of the divine order rather than the natural, and Love shows that there is an explicit reason for its appearance:

for to conferme hym / that is for to sele petre and his  
felawes / in trewe byleue of Jesu that he was goddes  
sone and that thei schulde here and folowe hym in all  
thing / therwith a bri3te clowde ouerschadewede hem /  
and out of the clowde came a voise. (151)

This voice is an integral part of the interaction between the divine and the human upon which this chapter, as a revelation, is based.

The completed chapter is thus not a straightforward translation, but a carefully wrought, phrase-by-phrase conflation and recension of the Meditationes and two gospel sources. These processes have resulted in an expanded narrative in which the introductory passage, from Matthew 16:21-28, provides plot motivation and a context for the chapter as a whole, and the accumulation of details makes the narrative more concrete and vivid than any of its sources. The interpretive comments are not simply authorial intrusions into the narrative, but an integral part of it, explaining difficult concepts to the audience and providing psychological focus for the events by portraying the very human reactions of common men in an extraordinary situation.

In contrast to this phrase-by-phrase combination, expansion, and recension of sources, chapter thirty-four, "Of the reysinge of lazare and othere tweyne dede bodyes," shows Love working with more sources than he used in chapter thirty and combining them in larger units. Here, he adds to the Lazarus episode the narratives of the two other times that Jesus raised bodies from death to life, although, except for the common theme of resurrection, they are unrelated to it. The first episode tells of the raising of "the dou3ter of the maister of the temple," which is part of chapter twenty-seven of the Meditationes, and the second relates the raising of the widow's son, which occurs in chapter twenty-six of the Latin text. Since "De resuscitacione Lazari" is chapter sixty-six in the

Meditationes, the annexation of these earlier events to it has required that they be moved a distance of forty chapters in order to occur where they do in The Mirror. There is evidence to suggest that this transfer was not haphazard, but part of a carefully drawn plan. First, an examination of those places in The Mirror where the earlier events should have occurred, between chapters twenty and twenty-two, shows that they have been carefully excised, leaving only that part of the Latin chapter twenty-seven which tells of the healing of Martha, who is cured by touching the hem of Jesus' robe. Also, the three narratives have been organized structurally and thematically into a framework which encompasses them all, so that they are no longer independent, but integral parts of a single whole.

The organization exhibited here is taken from St. Augustine's Tractate XLIX on John 11:1-54, which advances the thesis that "tres illos mortuos quos in corporibus suscitavit, aliquid significare et figurare de resurrectionibus animarum quae, fiunt per fidem."<sup>4</sup> Thus, for St. Augustine, the three bodies which have suffered physical death and are raised to life represent three souls which have suffered spiritual death through mortal sin and are restored to grace. He presents them in a progression, ranging from lesser to greater degrees of sin, and differentiates one from the other on this scale of viciousness by using details from the biblical narrative of each event. The daughter of the master of the synagogue represents sin which has been

thought, but not performed.

Sed aliquando in cogitatione peccatur. Delectavit quod malum est, consensisti, peccasti; consensio illa occidit te: sed intus est mors, quia cogitatum malum nondum processit in factum. Talem animam resuscitare se significans Dominus, resuscitavit illam puellam quae nondum erat foras elata, sed in domo mortua jacebat, quasi peccatum latebat.<sup>5</sup>

The internal nature of her sin is represented by the location of her body inside the house after her death; that is, neither her body nor her sin have yet been made visible to the world. The episode of the widow's son carries this system a step further, for he has performed a sinful act and it has been made public.

Si autem non solum malae delectatione consensisti, sed etiam ipsum malum fecisti; quasi mortuum extra portam extulisti: jam foris es, et mortuus elatus es. Tamen et ipsum Dominus resuscitavit, et reddidit viduae matri suae.<sup>6</sup>

These examples are preliminary to the central topic of the tract, the raising of Lazarus, who represents the third and most vicious type of mortal sin, sin which is habitually repeated, and the seriousness of his offense and its consequences is, as with the others, represented symbolically by the disposition of his body after death.

Tertius mortuus est Lazarus. Est genus mortis immane, mala consuetudo appellatur. Aliud est enim peccare, aliud peccandi consuetudinem facere. Qui peccat et continuo corrigitur, cito reviviscit: quia nondum est implicatus consuetudine, non est sepultus. Qui autem peccare consuevit, sepultus est, et bene de illo dicitur, fetet: incipit enim habere pessimam famam, tanquam odorem teterrimum.<sup>7</sup>

Love adopts this organization, and in doing so seems to confirm Robertson's ideas about the medieval penchant for

figural enigmas; yet, as we shall see, although Love uses figurative scenes, he is always explicit about their significance. At the outset Love makes it clear that this chapter, unlike its counterpart in the Meditationes, will be concerned with more than the raising of Lazarus.

For also myche as the gospell maketh mynde of thre dede bodies reised by oure lorde Jesu fro deth to lyue / of the whiche tweyne the firste ben not spoken of specially in this trete bifore / therefore it semeth conuenient to this purpos somewhat to touche of hem nowe. (165)

Then, before presenting each narrative in detail, along with explanations of them, Love summarizes the interpretation which he is adopting from St. Augustine.

And so / as seynt Austyne seith / by thoo thre bodyes . . . ben vnderstande thre manere of dede soules. . . . For as the gospell maketh mynde he reised the dou3ter of the maister of the temple that lay dede in the house; by whom is vnderstonde dedely synne onely in assent withouten the fulfillynge thereof in dede. Also he reised the wydowe sone borne dede on the bere with outen the 3ates of the citee; by whom is vnderstonde dedely synne with outeforthe performed in dede. And the thridde dede body he reised that was la3ar / beried and foure dayes dede; by whome is tokened dedly synne in custome. (166)

Love's adoption of this interpretation suggests that the focus of this chapter will not be entirely on Jesus' actions in raising the three dead bodies, for they are to be considered as spiritual rather than physical entities and their resurrection has implications beyond the mere return to life. Yet, it is no more precise to say that the focus will be on sin, for specific examples of sinful acts are infrequent and are not applied in any explicit way to the narratives at hand. For instance, in characterizing sin in assent, Love

cites the injunction against lechery from Matthew 5:28.

What tyme as oure lorde seithe in the gossell /  
 that a man seeth a womman lustily to that ende forto  
 haue to doo with her fleschely and fully assenteth  
 therto in his wille / thou3 the dede folowe not after /  
 he is acounted as a lecchour in his herte / and so  
 is his soule slayne goostly thoru3 that assent and  
 deede in goddes si3t. (166-167)

Though this example is given in reference to the little girl, it is clear that it refers to the nature of her sin rather than its substance, and Love never indicates the specific sins which she, the widow's son, or Lazarus are guilty of. Instead of representing sin, these three represent souls in a state of sin. St. Augustine makes it clear that he is less interested in these three persons than in their availability to "significare et figurare de resurrectionibus animarum quae, fiunt per fidem."<sup>8</sup> Love is also interested in their figurative significance, but for him the resurrection is accomplished by Jesus "thoru3 his special grace" (166), as well as by faith. Love's emphasis throughout will be on the power of Jesus and his grace to rescue these souls, and others, from a state of sin. Thus, he points out that Jesus does not perform these deeds "after his manhede" (166), but they are "myracles done by vertue of the godhede" (166), and therefore men should not attempt to imitate them. Rather, "we schulle worschippe hym as all my3ty god in that partie; and more ouer coueite forto vndirstonde the goostly menyng of hem" (166).

In the remainder of this chapter, Love uses two methods to show his audience how to understand the spiritual meaning of these events and to worship the godhead for them. He gives the miracles meaning by placing them within the structural and thematic framework suggested by St. Augustine's tract, which maintains that they are examples of the resurrection of the soul. In addition, the narrative of each miracle is followed by a "spiritualis intellectus" which applies this spiritual interpretation to each event and relates its significance to the audience. These explanatory passages are confined to general comments about the first two miracles, but in the Lazarus episode they are more detailed and occur throughout the narrative itself as well as at the end. This much would have sufficed to explain the "goostly meynynge" of the miracles, but to answer the question of how the audience was to worship the power of the godhead that is displayed through them, we must look closely at Love's manipulation of details and narrative structure. As usual, it is through the narrative that Love instructs his audience by example and, in this case, shows them how to worship the power of the godhead.

In St. Augustine's tract, the miracles and the persons involved in them are abstract and depersonalized. In The Mirror, however, there is a definite carnal appeal which Love achieves through the use of selectively detailed narratives. For each miracle there is at least one gospel version in addition to the account found in the Meditationes,

and Love's own rendering of these events is consistently based on the fullest of these narratives and then embellished with details from the other versions, along with comments and explanations which are apparently of his own invention. For example, the episode of the prince of the synagogue's daughter, as it occurs in the Meditationes, is subordinated to the account of the healing of Martha and receives scarcely more than passing mention. The complete narrative is as follows, and the ellipsis, which represents most of the chapter, is the story of Martha. "Ad petitionem cujusdem ex principalibus, ibat Dominus Jesus cum eo ad sanandum filiam suam. . . . Tandem Dominus Jesus ivit ad domum principis, et inventam filiam mortuam suscitavit."<sup>9</sup> Love rejects this truncated narrative and bases his rendering on Mark 5:22-43 and adds details from Matthew 9:18-26 and Luke 8:41-56. Following the narrative, which presents the carnal aspect of the miracle, there is a "spiritualis intellectus" which applies the spiritual interpretation to the physical events for the benefit of the audience. The episode of the raising of the widow's son is set up in much the same way, with the narrative being a conflation of chapter twenty-six of the Meditationes and the account found in Luke 7:11-17, followed by an explanation of the spiritual significance of the event. This process of combination and recension results in a fuller rendering of the events than is to be found in any single source and enhances the emphasis on Jesus acting "thoru3 his special

grace" by placing him at the center of the action, actively working to perform the miracles. Such narratives are "more playn" than those in the Meditationes because they are more precise and concrete, and they appear calculated to get the audience into what is taking place in the hope that their initial carnal reverence for Jesus' raising of the bodies from death will become a spiritual reverence for his power to rescue souls from sin through grace. In fact, just before the Lazarus episode, which seems intended to be the most important of the three, there is a special appeal to the audience for this kind of involvement.

For also myche as in this processe ben conteyned many faire and grete notable thinges / therefore we schulle here more specially gedere in oure entente / and make vs by ymagynacioun as they we were present in bodily conuersacioun. (170)

Thematically and structurally, the first two miracles prepare the way for the raising of Lazarus, who not only represents the most grievous kind of mortal sin, signified by the four days he has been in the tomb, but who also will present the most difficult test of Jesus' powers. However, before he moves on to the narrative of Lazarus, Love interpolates a scene which, at first, appears to be no more than an irrelevant digression.

But nowe as to oure principal purpose forto speke of the reisyng of the thridde dede body / that is to say lazare that is foure dayes dede. . . . And firste / we schullen vndirstonden and haue in mynde the processe of the nexte chaptire bifore this. (170)

The chapter which Love refers to here is not the previous chapter of The Mirror, but chapter sixty-five of the

Meditationes which immediately precedes "De resuscitatione Lazari." Here, Jesus flees the temple in Jerusalem, because the Jews have threatened to stone him, and goes with his disciples to a safe place across the Jordan, "to that place where John Baptiste first baptised / aboute viij mile fro Jerusalem" (171). Although Love gives no reason for this apparent digression, there is ample justification for it. While the stated goal of this chapter is to provide a spiritual interpretation of the three miracles and to lead the audience to worship Jesus for them, this brief account of the events in the temple illustrates that Love is still consciously relating a narrative which makes certain demands of cohesiveness and continuity. As it stands here, the scene in the temple provides a narrative transition to the Lazarus episode and plot motivation for several events which take place in it. It not only locates Jesus and his disciples in the place from which they go to Bethany, but also, by pointing out the treachery of the Jews, explains why Mary and Martha, in sending word to Jesus, say only: "lo lorde / he that thou louest / that is la3ar / is sore sike" (171), and do not ask him to come to them. The relationship between the two narratives is further emphasized by Love's retention from the Meditationes of two specific links to the temple scene early in the episode of Lazarus. First, Mary and Martha must send word to Jesus, "where he was in that forseide place by3onde Jordane" (171), and second, they will not ask him to leave his sanctuary,

for they knowynge the malice of the Jewes a3enst hym  
 in to his deth / and how a litel byfore they wolde  
 haue stoned hym / they dorste not clepe hym to hem /  
 bot commytted alle to his wille. (171)

In The Mirror, this scene in the temple occupies the same position relative to the Lazarus episode as it does in the Meditationes. Had it been translated as "the nexte chaptire bifore this" rather than where it is, immediately preceding the raising of Lazarus, the narratives of the first two miracles would intervene and obscure the transition and plot motivation which depends upon the close temporal and spatial relationship of the scene in the temple and the beginning of the Lazarus episode. Thus, the scene in the temple helps to regain the narrative thread, which would otherwise be lost and, in doing so, provides a context for the raising of Lazarus as an event in Christ's life, just as the two miracles provide the thematic context for its spiritual interpretation.

Love's rendering of the raising of Lazarus is similar to his treatment of the first two miracles in that it is a conflation of the accounts found in the Meditationes and John 11:1-54, together with portions of St. Augustine's tract and Love's own interpretations and explanations. In addition to being followed by a "spiritualis intellectus" which applies St. Augustine's interpretation to the events, the narrative itself is frequently interrupted by explanations which function to make the episode "more pleyn" to the audience by drawing lessons from it which apply to their daily lives. For example, when Jesus allows Lazarus

to die, rather than going immediately to Bethany to save him, Love points out that Jesus often allows the faithful to despair, "and after / whan his wille is / he fulfilleth her desire better than they wolde firste / and torneth her discomforte in to more comforte than they wolde haue ymagyned or thou3t" (172). Once Lazarus is dead, Jesus must return to Bethany to raise him, in spite of the threat posed by the Jews, and he does this over the objections of his disciples who say to him: "maister / ri3t now the Jewes wolden haue stoned the there / and now wilt thou go thider a3eyn?" (172). In answer to this, Jesus says: "be there not xij houres of the day?" (172) and, following St. Augustine, Love interprets this as a reproof of "hir mysbyleue / and her vnresonable drede of his deth that was in his wille; and that they wolde 3eue counseile to hym as men to god" (173). The disciples, and perhaps Love's audience as well, have missed the point, which is that God is in the process of giving counsel to man. The purpose of this miracle is not simply to raise Lazarus from death; it is a test of faith, and at the same time a demonstration of Jesus' power in order that faith may be increased. Thus, Jesus says to them openly:

la3ar is deed / and I am glad for 3ow; that thereby 3oure byleue may ben encreased and strengthened / knowynge that I was not there in tyme of his deth; and so the rather byleuyng that I am goddes sone. (173)

When Jesus and his disciples arrive in Bethany, they are met only by Martha, while Mary remains at home. Love

explains Mary's absence, and at the same time reminds his audience of an important distinction between the two sisters. They act differently because there are "dyuerse condicions that longen to hem that ben in thise tweyne astates / that is to say of actyf and contemplatyf lyf" (174). This traditional distinction, which recalls the detailed examination of these two manners of living in the previous chapter of The Mirror, serves to remind Love's audience that there is more than one way of life for a Christian. Thus, "it is no dowte but that Marie loued Jesu als mykel as her sister Martha / or more; and was also glad of his comynge; and also sory was of hir brother deth and as feruently desirede his lyf" (174). Her failure to meet Jesus as he arrived in no way reflects on her character; she is simply fulfilling the condition that "they that ben in the astate of contemplatyf lyf schulle not taken vppon hem bodily exercise of the dedes of mercy" (174), or engage in other activities which properly belong to the active life, unless they are called upon to do so by God. When she does appear, "cleped forth by the biddynge of Jesu" (174), Mary and those who are with her are weeping, and this causes Jesus to weep as well. The explanation of his reaction begins to develop the theme of this episode, the seriousness of habitual sin, and attempts to involve the audience in the action. Love says that Jesus weeps,

for thre causes: firste / for the loue that he hadde  
to Marye specially and to hir sister and to lazare:  
also / to schewe the greuoste of synne in custome

and of the goostly deth there thoru3 that is tokened  
 in la3ar / foure dayes dede and buried: and the  
 thridde / for the mysbyleue of hem that there were /  
 the whiche byleued that he my3t haue kept hym fro  
 deth / bot not that he my3te than reyse hym to lyue  
 a3eyne. (176)

As Love recapitulates this scene, he turns to the audience  
 and appeals to them to join it.

Who so wole than here ynwardely take hede and byholde  
 how oure lorde Jesu wepeth / the sistres wepen / the  
 Jewes wepen / 3e and as resoun telleth the disciples  
 wepen / skilfully he may be stired to compassioun  
 and wepyng / at the leste ynwardely in herte. (176)

This weeping, moreover, serves a function, for it is a  
 means of calling attention to "synne in custome / that is  
 so harde to ouercome and ryse oute of" (176), and contains  
 a lesson for the audience. In describing Jesus at this  
 point, Love notes "the grete difficulte that he made as in  
 wepyng and in manere of trobelyng hym self / wrothe and  
 grucchyng in spirite" (176), and tells his readers that  
 they should do likewise:

as seynt Austyne seithe / that thou that are ouer-  
 leyde with the heuy stone of dedly synne / be wrothe  
 and grucche in thy spirite and turble thy self / in  
 this manere demynge thy self gilty; and thenkyng  
 how ofte thou hast synned worthy euerelastyng deth /  
 and god of his endeles mercy hath spared the and  
 suffred the. (177)

This weeping and "grucchyng" in open acknowledgment of sin,  
 Love says, leads to self-examination and salvation because  
 it causes the sinner to ask himself:

in what manere schal I askape this grete synne and  
 dredeful perile of euerelastyng deth? Whan thou  
 seist thus in thy herte / than crist gruccheth in  
 the; for feith gruccheth / and 3if feith be in vs  
 than is crist in vs; and so in this mannere of gruc-  
 chynge is hope of vprisyng. (177)

At this point in the narrative all that remains is to accomplish Lazarus' resurrection, so the group which is now assembled moves to the tomb and Jesus, after a short prayer, cries "with a grete voyce: La3ar / come out of thy graue" (178). But Lazarus does not emerge at once, for Love must first explain why such a forceful cry was necessary.

A lorde Jesu / what nede was the to crye? Sothely / as seynt Austyn seithe / to schewe in goostly vnder-  
stondynge how harde it is to hym forto rise to lyf  
of the soule that is ouerleide with the stone of  
dedly synne in custome. (179)

The "crye," which is a physical act, has a spiritual significance because its force is in direct proportion to the seriousness of Lazarus' offense and reflects the difficulty of resurrecting his soul which, spiritually, is a great distance away. This explanation of the "crye" is in the form of a prayer for those who are "ouerleide with this heuy byrthene of wicked custome" (179); and Lazarus' subsequent emergence from the tomb occurs in the midst of the prayer, without fanfare.

A lorde Jesu / crie to alle these men with a grete  
voys / that is to seie schewe thy grete my3t / and  
reise hem to lyf of grace / puttynge away that heuy  
stone of wicked custome / as thou reisedest la3are;  
for after thy cry and att thy biddynge he rose vp  
and went oute of his graue. (179)

Lazarus' emergence from the tomb has perhaps more dramatic potential than any other scene in this narrative, but Love does not capitalize on it. Instead, he places it in a position where it is almost a casual remark, and this indicates once again that the important subject here is faith

and the power of Jesus to rescue souls "thoru3 his special grace" (166). When Love begins the "spiritualis intellectus" which follows the narrative, asking: "bot what tokeneth all this?" (180), he applies this lesson directly to his audience.

Whan thou doost a grete synne by contempte / thou ert goostly dede; and 3if thou contynuest customably thereynne / then art thou dede and buried; and whan thou forthinkest with inneforthe and shryuest the and knowlechest thy synne with outeforth / than reysest thou and goost out of thy graue. (180)

Love concludes this chapter with a review of "all the processe byfore seide of thre deed bodyes reised by oure lorde Jesu" (181) and summarizes the three miracles and the type of sin involved in each. This summary begins with St. Augustine's admonition that "all these forseide thinges we haue herde / bretheren / to that ende that they that lyuen goostly kepe hem in lyf of grace" (181) and emphasizes the spiritual interpretation of the miracles rather than the events themselves. This emphasis agrees with Love's stated goals of explaining the meaning of the miracles and encouraging the faithful to worship the power of the godhead which is made manifest through them. Love's focus on the spiritual at the end of the chapter also indicates that he has not presented the narratives solely for their own sakes, but that they are a literary strategy, a "carnal" representation of the real topic of the chapter, which is the redemption of the soul from mortal sin through grace. This is not to say that the narratives are unimportant, for without them there would be little more than an abstract

discussion of the soul in a state of sin, with no way of making that discussion comprehensible to "hem that ben of symple vnderstondyng" (8). Love's purpose here is not to discuss souls in a state of sin, but to illustrate to his audience "how thoo myracles done thanne bodily and in bodyes ben now done ofte sithes goostly in mennis soules" (166), and his method reflects both the dichotomy and the relationship between the physical and the spiritual. The narratives are representations of physical events, and by presenting them in such a way that his audience can visualize and become involved in these events, Love leads his readers to an appreciation of their spiritual significance.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Love, The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, ed. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1908). All references to this work in the text are to this edition.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Zeeman, "Continuity and Change in Middle English Versions of the Meditationes Vitae Christi," Medium Aevum, XXVI, I, 29.

<sup>3</sup> These two chapters of The Mirror have been edited from Cambridge University Library Manuscript Additional 6578 and included in the Appendix to the presented study. Along with them are copies of the corresponding chapters from the Meditationes. Since these texts form the body of evidence upon which the ensuing comments in this chapter are based, it might be well to read them before proceeding.

<sup>4</sup> St. Augustine (bishop of Hippo), Tractate XLIX in Joannis Evangelium, cap. XI, in Migne, PL, 35, 1747.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 1748.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 1748.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 1748.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 1747.

<sup>9</sup> St. Bonaventure (pseud.), Meditationes Vitae Christi, in S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia, ed. A. C. Peltier (1874), XII, 546.

OF THE PASSIOUN OF OURE LORDE JESU CRISTE

To consider The Mirror solely in terms of its relationship to the Meditationes, as has been done so far in this study, is, in a sense, unrealistic. While such an approach reveals the character of Love's work as a sophisticated translation and recension of the Latin source, it still leaves much unsaid, for The Mirror is an independent work which has meaning and integrity without reference to its source. It is, above all, an English work which was presented to the world and judged as such in its own time, and its true context is therefore not the Meditationes but other Middle English devotional works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which portray all or part of the life of Christ. A discussion of The Mirror in this context, focusing upon its treatment of the Passion and comparing it with four other Middle English versions of the Passion, should reveal a dimension of Love's aesthetics which cannot be examined by viewing his work only in relation to its source.

Such a discussion might begin by asking why, in 1410, the need was felt for yet another vernacular rendering of the life of Christ, for there were many and Chaucer comments indirectly on them and their methods in the prologue to "The Tale of Melibee."

It is a moral tale vertuous,  
 Al be it told somtyme in sondry wyse  
 Of sondry folk, as I shal yow devyse.  
 As thus: ye woot that every Evaungelist,  
 That telleth us the peyne of Jhesu Crist,  
 Ne seith nat alle thyng as his felawe dooth;  
 But nathelees hir sentence is al sooth,  
 And alle acorden as in hire sentence,  
 Al be ther in hir tellyng difference.  
 For somme of hem seyn moore, and somme seyn lesse,  
 Whan they his pitous passioun expresse--  
 I meene of Mark, Mathew, Luc, and John--  
 But doutelees hir sentence is al oon.<sup>1</sup>

There is here a useful distinction between content and approach. The content of the Passion is relatively fixed, though not so rigidly as might be imagined, by the accounts found in the New Testament and the large body of apocryphal, Patristic, and legendary material upon which a writer could draw. There are, however, a variety of ways for a literary artist to approach the Passion, and the way an author portrays it through his use of texture, structure, emphasis, characterization, verisimilitude and other literary techniques makes a statement about his own perception of the Passion and the way in which he hopes to lead others to an appreciation of it.

The Pepysian Gospel Harmony,<sup>2</sup> which is dated between 1350 and 1450, is a conflation of the canonical Gospels into a single narrative which was apparently intended to provide its audience with an account of the life of Christ which would not function as a translation of the Bible as well. For the most part, the narrative is uncomplicated and sequential, "little . . . is omitted, little is added, and the deviations from the text of the original are mostly

verbal and always in the direction of greater simplicity."<sup>3</sup>  
 In spite of minor additions and omissions, the text is remarkably faithful to the Gospel accounts, even to the point of reproducing much of their tone and atmosphere. As a representative example, consider the scene in the garden of Gethsemane as Judas arrives to betray Jesus.

And he tolde hem that his tretour was nei3 honde. And with that com Judas with an hepp of kny3ttes paens, and with sergeaunt3, & with princes, & the Phariseus & the maisters hadden ytaken with hem men with armes and with launces and with torches, forto taken Jesu, And Judas hem badde that hij schulden taken hym that he kissed. And Jesus tho went a3eins hem, and asked hem wham hij sou3tten. And hij ansuereden: "Jesu of Na3areth." And Jesus hem seide that it was hym self. And hij tho wenten a3ein, and fellen adoun to the erthe. And Jesus went hym eft sones to hem, and asked hem wham hij sou3tten. And hij seiden: "Jesu of Na3areth." And he seide hem: "Ne tolde ich 3ou, that ich it was? And 3if 3e secheth me, leteth the other gon quyt of harme." Now was Judas with hem tho, and com to Jesu, and gan hym kyssen. And Jesus hym seide: "Frende, wharto artow comen me forto bitraye, Judas, with thi kyssynge?" And tho com the conestable, and the kny3ttes, and the sergeaunt3 of the Jewes, and taken Jesu and heelden hym. And his deciples askeden hym 3if hij schulden smyten with swerdes. And seint Petre drou3 his swerd, and smott a sergeaunt that was with the bisschopp, that hi3th Malchus, his ri3th ere of. And Jesus tho badde hem abide, and bad seint Petre that he dude his swerde jn: for who so smott more with swerd, with sweerd schulde dye. "Ne leue 3e nou3th," he seide, "that ich my3th bidde my fader of help, and he wolde sende me more than twelue legions of angels? Bot it bihoueth that the scripture be fulfilled." And tho touched Jesus the sergeaunt3 ere, and it was al hole. And tho bounden the kni3ttes Jesu, and hise deciples fledden alle away saue a 3onge man hym folowed, ywounde onelich in a lynnyn cloth. & the Jewes hym gonnen to holden, and he lefte the cloth, & fledde away al naked. And tho vpbraided Jesus hem that hij weren ycomen with armes by ny3ttes tyme, for to taken hym als thei3 he were a theef.<sup>4</sup>

A close comparison of this scene with the corresponding passages in the four Gospels will show how little the author

deviates from his sources, but a more interesting comparison is with the same scene in The Mirror, which immediately reveals that, though the two texts are relating the same event, they do so with substantially different effects. The most significant difference is that The Mirror, unlike the Pepysian Harmony, is highly selective in the biblical details which it reproduces. For example, Love does not show Judas telling the Jews that he will identify Jesus with a kiss, nor does he portray the exchange between Jesus and the Jews when Jesus "asked hem wham hij sou3tten"; in fact, little is done with the captors at all except to note that they are present. The scene begins as Jesus sees the captors approaching and says to his disciples: "loo, / he that schal betraye me is nyh at hande,"<sup>5</sup> and at this point Judas, alone, steps forward to deliver the kiss. Though such a direct entry into the scene sacrifices a complete rendering of the Gospel narratives, it has the compensatory effect of narrowing the focus to Judas and Jesus, who at this point are the only ones directly involved with the main action of the scene: one man betraying another. The disciples and the captors are present, but only in the background, and this is consonant with their importance at this stage of the scene, for neither group has any direct part in what is taking place. In the Pepysian Harmony, where there is no such process of selection and focus at work, each event and character, or group of characters, receives emphasis according to the space required to describe them rather than according to their importance in the scene.

The sharper focus of The Mirror in this scene allows for a difference in tone as well, so that we not only see the act of one man betraying another, but also perceive that the act has an emotional content. Love brings to the scene not just Jesus and Judas, but the relationship between them as well, in order to suggest the treachery and deception involved in what Judas does. In the Pepysian Harmony there is only the slightest suggestion of this relationship when Jesus says: "Frende, wharto artow comen me forto bitraye, Judas, with thi kyssynge?"<sup>6</sup> In The Mirror they are not simply friends, but Judas is Jesus' disciple, "whos feete he wesche a litel byfore of his soueraigne mekenesse / and fedde hym with that precieuse mete of his owne precious body thoru3 his vnspekable charite" (225). Thus, when Judas is characterized as "a false traytour / the worste chapman that euere was" (224), and when, after he has delivered "that false feyned clippynge and traitoures cusse" (225), Love addresses him as "oo verray traytour" (225), there is no doubt about how the audience is to react toward him. Thus, while the Pepysian Harmony presents this scene fully and in detail, Love selects only a few of the events and then interprets them in order to focus not only on the act of one man betraying another, but on the enormity of that act as well.

In the next part of this scene, the Pepysian Harmony shows Peter cutting off Malchus' ear and Jesus healing it. In what is apparently a further attempt to achieve a sharp

focus upon what he considers important, Love ignores this. It is evidently not important to him that the disciples attempt to protect Jesus, for once Judas has betrayed him the capture is inevitable, and the significant interaction at this point is between Jesus and his captors. In the Pepysian Harmony we see only the action of the capture: "And tho bounden the kni3ttes Jesu,"<sup>7</sup> but Love brings to bear the attitudes and conduct of Jesus and the armed men as they confront each other. He asks his audience to "byholde how paciently he suffred hym self to be taken / bownden / smy3ten / and wodely lad forth as thogh he were a theof or a wicked doer" (225), and to watch "the helle houndes drawyng hym as a beste to sacrifice / and hym as a meke lombe with oute resistance folowyng" (225). Here the emphasis is not so much on Jesus being bound as on the vivid contrast between his patience and meekness and the crazed behavior of the "helle houndes," and the juxtaposition of his innocence with their treating him as a criminal.

Once Jesus has been taken, all that is left is to portray the disciples' reaction, and rather than simply say that they "fledden alle away,"<sup>8</sup> as the Pepysian Harmony does, Love again concentrates upon the emotional content of the scene.

Take hede how he hath ynward sorwe and compassioun of his disciples fleyng fro hym and erryng; and also thou maist se here grete sorwe of hem / how as a3enst hir wille / by freelte of mannis drede / thay gone fro hym / makynge greet mornynge and with hi3e sighynges as faderles children / nou3t wetyng what to done. (225)

To present only the act of running away suggests that the disciples are abandoning Jesus, but Love indicates that much more is involved and, far from castigating them, encourages compassion and understanding by imputing these emotions to the very one they are running from. Also, we are given to understand that this is not a despicable action, but a perfectly human one and, deprived of the strength and counsel of Jesus, the disciples are powerless to do otherwise.

The apparent goal of the Pepysian Gospel Harmony is to instruct the laity in the events of the life of Christ and, insofar as this can be achieved by a narrative which is firmly based in the accounts of the four Gospels, it succeeds. The Mirror also instructs, for it presents essentially the same narrative, but it does much more. It not only describes events and the people involved in them, but also provides its audience with attitudes toward them, and in this sense it is an interpretation as well as a narrative.

Richard Rolle's "Meditations on the Passion"<sup>9</sup> presents a different approach to the Passion from those we have seen so far, for it is not a harmony of the Gospels designed to instruct the laity, nor is it an interpretive narrative like The Mirror. In fact, it is a narrative of the Passion only in the broadest sense and might be more accurately characterized as a personal, devotional reaction to it which goes beyond the events themselves by assuming a relationship between the divine and the human and attempting to articulate

that relationship in terms of the Passion. Take, for example, Rolle's portrayal of the Jews abusing Jesus after the capture.

Swet Jhesu, I yeld the thankynge as I can of al the evil wordes, sclaudres, scornynge, blasphemes, mowes and shamys that the Jewes seid to the in al tyme of thy precious passioun, and of al the holdes and prisons that thay helden the in when thou was drawn and harred to Anne and Cayfas, now to Herode and Pilate, and closed within har places. Now, swete Jhesu, here I thank the and I beseche the graunt me suffraunce and streynthe to stond stidfastly and patiently to suffre wordes of despite and rebukynge for thy love, and nevyr to gurch for tribulacion and angyr or sekenesse of thy sond; and graunt me grace, swet Jhesu, stidfastly to stond in al the assaillynge and temptacions of my foos, bodily and gostly. Pater. Ave.

Swet Jhesu, I thank the for al the stappis and pacis that thou yede hiddeward [and thiddeward] in the tyme of thy passioun; and I beseche the graunt me grace in al my wayes and gatys, that they be ordeyned to thy worship and salvacion of my soule; and graunt me grace wilfully to go to thy service, and spare for no payne ne penance; and mak me loth to meve, swet Jhesu, to any lust ayayn thy wille. Pater noster, &c.

Swete Jhesu, I yeld the thankynge for that dyspitous blyndfellynge that the Jewes did to the. And here I pray the, swete Lord Jhesu, shild me fro blyndynge of syn in custume, in longe unshrift, in overhope and overtrist to myself; and shild me fro perpetuel blyndynge of dampnacion and excludyng fro the blisful sy3t of thy glorious face. And let me clerly se into the face of my conscience, and yeve me grace, swet Jhesu, to kepe myn eyeghen fro al evyl syghtes that eggen to synne; and graunt me to se thy blessed presence endlesly. Pater noster, Ave, &c., ut supra.<sup>10</sup>

Rolle does not simply present a sequence of events, but makes his meditation a prayer of thanksgiving for the suffering to which Jesus willingly submitted because of his love for mankind. The presence of the speaker as suppliant, and the parallels which he draws between Jesus' situation and his own, suggest that he is assuming a direct relationship

between the divine and the human and that Jesus suffered and died for him personally, with the result that the events of the Passion have implications for him as an individual. The focus is not upon the action, but upon the quality of Jesus' conduct in the face of persecution and the benefits to the speaker which arise as a result of that conduct. Rolle senses that, just as Jesus faced his suffering with strength and patience in an act of love, he too will need these qualities to face "al the assaillynge and temptacions of my foos, bodily and gostly," and prays for "streynte to stond stidfastly and paciently to suffre wordes of despite and rebukynge for thy love." In thanking Jesus for his "stappis and pacis" during the Passion, the speaker realizes that he is also a walker in the world and that just as everything Jesus did was for the love and salvation of man's soul, so everything he himself does in the world should be "to thy love and salvacion of my soule." When he envisions Jesus blindfolded by his tormenters, Rolle is aware that he too can be blinded by "syn in custome," which can lead to the "perpetuel blyndynge of dampnacion and excludyng fro the blisful sy3t of thy glorious face." This blindness would be infinitely more painful than a mere loss of sight, for it would consign his soul to hell, severing the relationship with the divine which Rolle has set up, and denying him the oneness with Christ which he desires.

The Mirror presents neither a prayer nor a personal reaction in its portrayal of the Passion, but a

narrative account in which the speaker, or narrator, is far less prominent than in Rolle's work. Though Love assumes a relationship between the divine and the human, his concept of the human is collective rather than individual, and he attempts to give his collective audience an awareness of Jesus' experiences by focusing clearly on what happens to him in a nearly dramatic re-creation of the events.

And when he was bro3t byfore the princes of preostes  
and the scribes and the aldermen that were than gadrede  
abidyng his comyng / glad were they than; examynyng  
hym and apposyng sotelly in meny questicouns / and pro-  
curinge false witnessse a3enst hym / and spittyng on his  
holi face / and hidyng his ei3en / thay buffetede hym /  
skornyng and saienge: Prophecie now and telle vs who  
smote the laste. And so in meny maneres they vexede  
hym and tormentede hym; and he in alle schewydde hi3e  
pacience: wherfore here we owe to haue inward com-  
passioun of alle that he suffrede so for vs. (225-226)

The emphasis here is not upon the relationship between the audience or the speaker and Jesus, but upon the feelings and motives of those involved in the action. Thus, when Jesus appears before his accusers, "glad were they than," and the whole event is colored by their acts in "procuringe false witnessse a3enst hym / and spittyng on his holi face," indicating both their contempt for the law and their attitudes toward Jesus' innocence or guilt. In fact, they do not try him, but scorn, vex, and torment him, and these words hardly seem calculated to do anything but portray his accusers unfavorably. Through it all, Jesus remains aloof and patient, giving a silent example of how men should conduct themselves in the face of tribulation, rather than appealing to specific modes of conduct as Rolle's account does.

In those passages of The Mirror which present a reaction to the events that are taking place, the individual feelings of the audience are directed to compassion for Jesus' suffering and indignation at the affrontery of his persecutors.

Take now here good hede by inward meditacioun of alle his paynes abidyngly; and but thou fynde thyn herte melte in to sorwful compassioun suppose fully and halde that thou haste to harde a stonye herte. . . . O lord Jesu / who was he so folle hardy that durste despoille the? But who were they moche more hardy that durste bynde the? But 3it who were they alther-worst and moost foole hardy that dorste so bitterly bete the and skourge the? (230)

In spite of their different approaches to portraying the Passion, both Love and Rolle see the contemplation of it as a means of achieving oneness between the divine and the human, and both choose the Crucifixion as the background for saying how this might take place. Love presents a detailed, step-by-step narrative of the Crucifixion, and when he stops to contemplate Jesus hanging dead upon the cross he does so in terms of the effect such a scene might have on an observer.

This is a pyteful si3t and a loyful si3t; a pyteouse si3t in hym for that harde passioun that he suffrede for oure sauacioun; but it is a likyng si3t to vs for the matere and the effecte that we haue therby of oure redempcioun. Sothely this si3t of oure lorde Jesu hangyng so on the crosse / by deuoute ymaginacioun of the soule is so deuoute to some creatures that after longe exercise of sorwefull compassioun thay felen some tyme so grete likyng / nou3t only in soule but also in the body / that thay kan not telle / and that no man may knowe but onely he that by experience feleth it; and than may he wel say with the apostle: Michi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce / Betide me neuere forto be loyful but in the crosse of oure lorde Jesu. Amen. (244)

In short, contemplation of the crucifix can have both spiritual and physical effects upon the observer, but Love will not specify exactly what he means, whether it is stigmatization or a form of union with the divine, because it is clearly mystical and beyond description even by those who experience it. In contrast to Love, Rolle does not describe the Crucifixion at all, but contemplates it through an extended simile based on the wounds of Christ.

Than was thy body lyk to hevyn. For as hevyn is ful of sterres, so was thy body ful of woundes; bot, Lord, thy woundes bene bettyr than sterres, for sterres shynen bot by nyght, and thy woundes bene ful of vertu day and nyght. Al the sterres by ny3t lygheten bot litel, and oon cloud may hide ham alle; bot oon of thy woundes, swete Jhesu, was and is inogh to do away the cloudes of al synful men, and to clere the conscience of al synful men. Here, swete Jhesu, I besech the that these woundes be my meditacion nyght and day, for in thy woundes is hool medicine for euche desaise of soule. Also, swet Jhesu, the sterres ben cause of euche thyng that is grene, or groweth, or bereth fruyt. Now, swet Jhesu, mak me grene in my beleve, growynge in grace, berynge fruyt of good workes. Also sterres ben cause of myns, metall, and of precious stonys. Now, swet Jhesu, mak me togh as metaille ayeyns temptacions, and precious as perle into the heigh degre of charite. Pater, &c.

And yit, Lord, swet Jhesu, thy body is lyk to a nette; for as a nette is ful of holys, so is thy body ful of woundes. Here, swet Jhesu, I beseche the, cache me into this net of thy scourgyng, that al my hert and love be to the; and drawe me evyr to the and with the, as a net draweth fyshe, til I come to the bank of deth, that nevyr temptacion, tribulacion, ne prosperite pul me fro the. And as a nette draweth fyshe to the londe, so, swet Jhesu, bryng me to thy blisse. Cache me, Lord, into the nette of thy mercy, that is, holy chirche, and kep me, that I nevyr brek out of the bondis of charite. Cache me, swet Jhesu, in the net of thy commaundementis, that nevyr syn have me out of the close of thy vertues. Pater noster, Ave, &c.<sup>11</sup>

Love was unwilling to do more than suggest that the contemplation of Christ crucified could lead to a mystical

experience "that no man may knowe but onely he that by experience feleth it." Though Rolle does not display the same reluctance to deal with that experience, he is ultimately no more explicit than Love because he does not describe it directly, but figuratively. The images here suggest the infusion of the divine into the human, just as the stars nurture the earth; and, conversely, the movement of the human toward the divine, "as a nette draweth fysche to the londe." In addition, there is a preoccupation with the possibility of separation from Jesus by some act which Rolle might yet commit, which implies that, whatever the results of contemplating the Crucifixion, they are only temporary.

The Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ,<sup>12</sup> an anonymous poem of the late fourteenth century, has been called a "collection of lyric themes loosely bound together."<sup>13</sup> Like Rolle's meditation, it is not a straightforward, sequential narrative, but is selective in the events which it portrays, and there are frequent meditative digressions which arise from the author's contemplation of Christ's life and Passion but which have no direct bearing upon actual events. These consist, to name only a few, of a prayer for the Virgin Mary's intercession, a description of the world without Christ as one in which birds no longer sing nor flowers bloom, and a series of paradoxical statements which assert that what is bad on earth is really good in Paradise. The Passion, which takes up 1,674 of the poem's 2,254 lines,

is repeated four separate times, and even though the same incidents may be mentioned in more than one version, each repetition has a distinct focus and thematic emphasis. Through all of this, the poet presents a relatively uniform portrayal of Jesus as the victim of love, which has compelled him to his death, and also as a victor over the forces of evil because he has given himself to redeem mankind. There are suggestions of this idea throughout the poem, but it receives its most explicit statement in the first rendering of the Passion when the poet addresses love as though to ask why it has perpetrated such a brutal act and elaborates on the theme: "Herkon now, loue, ho is this / That thou brengest out of blis."<sup>14</sup>

He is a flour that welketh nought,  
 So swete and god to haue in thought.  
 Al erthely blisse I wolde forsake  
 Ffor his loue my deth to take.  
 He is a flour that welketh no3t--  
 In-to oure hertes with loue-thou3t--  
 Or thou be glad swich on to shende  
 That 3eueth the lyf withouten ende.  
 He is so verrey sunne of ry3t,  
 His ly3t fordooth derknesse of ny3t.  
 Thou liuedest not 3if he ne were,  
 Ffor sone thou sholdest ben bro3t on bere.  
 Lerne 3et who that may be  
 That thou dost bloody on the tre.  
 Heuene and erthe and alle thyng  
 May not al telle his preysyng.  
 Ffor tho that ben in heuene in fere  
 Thorw sy3t of his louely chere  
 Ben so fulfilt with ioye and blis  
 Thei may not wite wath serwe is.  
 As yron gloweth with hete of fyr,  
 Ry3t so brenneth hure desyr,  
 And ther-with shynon so bry3t  
 Ffor ioye of that semely sy3t.  
 Loue, whi shapest thou such batayle  
 To him that tok for the trauayle?  
 He heleth with his bloody wounde,

And bond of deth he hath vnbounde.  
 I may him wel the lorer calle  
 That crowneth the senatoures alle  
 On hy in heuene for hure trauaille  
 That they haddon in bodely batayle.  
 Of dethes cuppe he dronk a drau3t  
 Thorw which he hath oure lyf y-lau3t.  
 He wrot his body with harde nailles  
 To writon vs in bok that neuere failles.  
 Bothe with-ynne and ek with-oute  
 That bok was writon with nailles stoute;  
 Tho lettres to thi bon weron set,  
 Ffor thei sholdon laste the bet.  
 But 3it lesteneth a litel more:  
 That lord that thou tormentedest sore,  
 With herte thenketh on him ary3t,  
 He maketh it lych the lilie bry3t;  
 Thei it be derk and foul to sene,  
 He maketh it lyk a paleys clene,  
 And lich heuene, that hye se,  
 Ordeyned for Godes mageste.  
 Whan herte hath that lord y-hent  
 It smelleth as encense whan it is brent;  
 Ffor in him is more swetnesse  
 Than in the sonne ly3t and bry3tnesse.  
 Loue, wolt thou the sothe wite  
 Whom thou hast with woundes smyte?  
 Thou hast slayn the sonne-ly3t,  
 Prynce of sterres, lord of my3t;  
 He turneth al the firmament  
 A-boute ry3t at his talent,  
 Sonne, mone, and sterres alle;  
 Reyn on erthe he doth doun falle.  
 Whan this lord feleth turment,  
 The sonne-bem with ny3t is blent.  
 Thou faire body semly and swete,  
 Thou my3t only my bales bete.  
 Loue, 3it I praye that thou wolt here  
 O thing I mot of the enquere:  
 Whan Crist was on the rode don  
 And nailles hurte led on vpon his bon,  
 Haddest thou not gret mervayle  
 Whanne thou sye the sonne faile  
 And at mydday les his ly3t  
 And wex derker than the ny3t?  
 Whan it wax pale, that faire face,  
 The ny3t be-nam the day his place;  
 Creatures mornedon alle  
 Whan colour of that face gan falle.  
 Alas, loue, whi hast thou no reuthe  
 Of that lord so ful of trewth?  
 The more thou cast him away fro the,  
 Thé more he preyseth thi bounte.

Whan thou art fers as a lyoun,  
 At thy fot he falleth adoun;  
 And hym smyteth with spere sore,  
 And he preiseth the more and more.  
 Loue, thou my3t nothing blame  
 Thei I speke of that kynges name.  
 It is my loye and my lykyng  
 Ay to speke of his preysyng.  
 He is the sone of the fader on hy,  
 Heuenes merthe and melody.<sup>15</sup>

The poet makes his attitude toward Jesus clear when he says: "heuene and erthe and alle thyng / May not alle telle his preysyng," and later: "It is my loye and my lykyng / Ay to speke of his preysyng." This attitude, to a certain extent, determines the poet's subsequent portrayal of Jesus as "prynce of sterres, lord of my3t," which focuses attention on his divinity and all-pervasive influence in the universe. In fact, the poet seems less interested in the events of Christ's life than in praising him as a protean deity who manifests himself in the universe in all its forms. This concept is reflected in the portrayal of Jesus as the victim, not of the Jews, but of an abstract force which the poet calls "love," but which he never precisely defines, and in the paradoxical nature of his death, which is both a defeat and a victory. It is a defeat because Jesus is dead, and the universe responds to it as such: "creatures morneden alle;" but it is also a victory, for, "He heleth with his bloody wounde / And bond of deth he hath vnbounde." Likewise, the poet focuses on Jesus' "faire body semly and swete," broken by the Crucifixion, but at the same time calls him the laurel, "that crouneth the senatoures alle," which is a Roman symbol of military victory, and these two

images combine to create another paradox. Through his use of paradox and figurative language, the poet seems to be saying that Christ is not one thing, but many, and therefore defies concretion.

There could hardly be a more vivid contrast to this appreciation of Jesus as the universal, protean deity than is presented by Love's characterization of him in the Passion section of The Mirror. Before he begins the actual narrative, Love pauses to describe in detail the interpretation of Jesus which he will apply in the subsequent events. First, he tells the audience that, in order to receive the full benefits of contemplating the Passion,

thou moste in thy mynde depart in manere for the tyme  
 the my3t of the godhede fro the kyndely infirmyte of  
 the manhede; though it so be in sothenes that the  
 godhede was neuer departed fro the manhede. For there  
 beth many so blynded gostly by vnresonable ymagin-  
 acion of the my3t of the godhede in Jesu / that thei  
 trowe not that eny thing my3te be peynefull or sorwful  
 to hym as to another comune man that hath only the  
 kynde of man; and therefore haue they non compassioun  
 of the peynes that he suffrede / supposynge that for  
 also moche as he was god there my3t no thing be a3enst  
 his wille or dere hym. (216)

In narrowing the focus to the human aspect of Jesus' character and insisting upon his ability to feel pain, Love is indicating that the emphasis in the ensuing narrative will be on the pain and suffering of the Passion. This suggests that, for Love's purposes, it is important that the Passion be portrayed in such a way as to convince the audience that it was a genuine sacrifice and not merely a ritual from which Jesus was detached because of his divinity. Love insists that,

we schal vnderstande that as his wille was to suffre the hardest deth and most sorwful peynes for the redempcioun of mankynde / so by the self wille he suspendet in all his passioun the vse of the my3t of the godhede fro the infirmyte of the manhede. (216)

Next, Love indicates more specifically what he means by Jesus' "manhede" and suggests the situation in which we will see him.

Ymagyne and ynwardely thinke of hym in his passioun as of a faire 3onge man of the age of xxxiiij 3ere / that were the faireste / the wiseste / and the mooste ri3t-wysse in his leuinge; and moost goodly and innocent that euere was or my3t be in this world; so falsely accused / so enviously pursewed / so wrongfully demede / and so despitously slayne / as the processe of this passioun afterward telleth / and all for thy loue. (216-217)

Humanizing Jesus in this way is not only consistent with Love's thorough and detailed presentation of characters and events throughout The Mirror, but also performs a very important function in the Passion. A major foundation of Love's narrative method is that the audience should be able to imagine the scenes which he portrays "as they thou herdest hem with thy bodily eeres / or seie hem with thyn ei3en done" (12), and he uses a variety of techniques to help the audience achieve this goal.<sup>16</sup> His emphasis on Jesus' manhood during the Passion is such a technique for, by portraying him as susceptible to common human torments, pains and fears, and by describing them as vividly as possible, Love enables the audience to enter the scenes and identify with Jesus by comparing his suffering to their own. Once they are involved in Jesus' progress through the Passion, they will hopefully be influenced by it as a religious experience as well as an imaginative one.

For to hym that wolde serche the passioun of oure lorde  
 with all his herte and all his ynward affecciou there  
 schulde come meny deuoute felynges and sterynges that  
 he neuere supposed byfore. Of the whiche he schulde  
 fele a newe compassioun and a newe loue and haue newe  
 goostly confortes / thoru3 the whiche he schulde per-  
 ceuyue hym self turnede / as it were / in to a newe  
 astate of soule; in the whiche astate thoo forsaide  
 goostly felynges schulde seme to hym as an earnest and  
 partye of the blisse and ioye to come. (217)

The Northern Passion,<sup>17</sup> a narrative poem of the four-  
 teenth century which is known primarily for its influence  
 on the drama, is, for the most part, an uncomplicated but  
 polished narrative of the events of the Passion, written  
 for the instruction of a lay audience.

And, for the passyoun of Ihesu Crist  
 Es medefull for til be puplist  
 And nedeful to all cristen men  
 Clerely for to kun and ken,  
 Tharfor thus es it ordand here  
 In ynglysch, lawd men for to lere.<sup>18</sup>

Frances A. Foster has said that the poem,

represents the loose practices of fourteenth-century  
 preaching. From a French poem the events of Christ's  
 life are refashioned into an absorbing story, demand-  
 ing from the hearers the same emotional reaction as  
 any other romance; tears at the sufferings of Christ,  
 anger at the wickedness of the Jews . . . and joy at  
 the resurrection.<sup>19</sup>

The poem's appeal to its audience, as well as its adapta-  
 bility to the drama, is evident in the following scene  
 in which Jesus appears before Pilate.

When Pilate herd all how thai said,  
 In his hert he was wele payd,  
 And sone he gert to-gyder call  
 The princes and the maisters all,  
 And said: "for-soth, yhe er to blame  
 That yhe do Ihesu all this schame,  
 Ffor no cause kan I in him fynd,  
 Wharfore men suld him bete or bynd.  
 And lo, yhe se I haue him sent

Till Herod for till tak iugement,  
 And cause in him kan he fynd nane,  
 Wharfore that he suld be slane.  
 Tharfor me think it war foly  
 So gyltles for to ger him dy;  
 Ffor-thi I red, if yhe will swa,  
 We chasty him and lat him ga.  
 Yhe know the costom in this land  
 Of this Pasch that es comand:  
 If any man be in presoune  
 Ffor manslaghter or for tresoune,  
 Our custom will that he go fre  
 Ffor this gret sollimpnite.  
 Tharfor I red we vnder-take  
 Ihesu delyuerance for to make  
 And lat him wend whore-so he will,  
 Sen in him is fondene none ill.  
 Bot first now sall he beten be,  
 And sithen ger him of land fle."  
 Than the Iewes so kene and prowde  
 Cryed and said thus all on lowed:  
 "If this ilk man had nocht done ill,  
 We had nocht broght him the vn-till;  
 His euell werkes will witnes  
 Of his condicions what he es."<sup>20</sup>

This passage is representative of the poem as a whole in its presentation of dialogue and action, and, as narrative, it compares favorably with The Mirror. Note, for example, Love's version of this same scene.

When he was than a3eyn i-brou3t to pilate / and thoo  
 cursed houndes besily and stifly stoden in hir false  
 accusaciouns / pilate / knowynge hir envie / wolde  
 haue delyuered hym / and saide: I fynde no cause of  
 deth in this man; wherfore I schal vndernyme hym and  
 chastice hym and amende hym. O pilat / pilat! wolt  
 thou reprehende and chastice thy lorde god? Thou wost  
 not what thou doest; for he neuere disseruede betynge  
 ne deth; but thou schuldest doo bettre and more  
 ri3twisly if thou woldest chastice and amende thy self  
 at his wille. And than at the biddinge of Pylat that  
 he schulde be scourged and beten oure lord was des-  
 poylede / bounden to a piler / and harde and soore  
 skourged. And so stant he naked byfore hem alle /  
 that fairest 3ong man of alle children that euere  
 were borne / takyng patiently of tho foulest wrecches  
 the hardeste and most byttre strokes of scorges. (229)

The difference in emphasis between the two scenes is evident. The poem allows the tone of the scene and the opinions of Pilate and the Jews to emerge from the dialogue, as though the audience were watching it take place. Love, on the other hand, provides this information at once by characterizing the Jews as "cursed houndes," their accusations as "false," and by allowing Pilate to state his reluctance to judge Jesus. Rather than trust the audience to observe the scene and reach its own conclusions, Love provides his own interpretation, and his apostrophe to Pilate and characterization of the Jews as "tho foulest wrecches" leave little doubt about how he intends his audience to respond.

The Northern Passion is distinguished from the works which have been discussed so far by its use of legendary and miraculous materials which are not usually considered to be part of the Passion. One critic minimizes the role of these additions, saying that "the dramatic value of the apocryphal expansions, especially the lengthy legend of the cross and the tale of the smith and the nails, can certainly be doubted,"<sup>21</sup> and, attributing their presence to structural imperfection, excludes them from his discussion of the poem. Yet, they remain, and since the poet, or poets, evidently had reason for including them, it would seem that we are obligated to at least attempt an evaluation of their role.<sup>22</sup>

The episode of the smith and the nails is a revealing example of the poet's use of miraculous and legendary materials. After the Jews have obtained a cross, they discover that they have no nails, so they go to Belamy, the smith, and tell him to: "Mak vs thre nayles styf and gude / At nayle the prophet on the rode."<sup>23</sup>

When the smyth herd thair entent  
 How that Ihesu suld be schent,  
 In hert he had full mykell wa  
 About the nayles for to ga,  
 Ffor of Ihesu he vnderstode  
 That he was prophete trew and gude.  
 Tharfore wele in his hert he thocht  
 That for him suld no nayles be wrought.  
 He answerd tham with wordes fre  
 And said: "yhe gett no nayles for me.  
 God has sent on me his merk,  
 So that I may wirk no werk."  
 In his bosom he hyd his hand,  
 And said he hurt it on a brand;  
 "Thare on," he sayd, "I haue slyke pyne,  
 That I hope my hand to tyne."  
 Than answerd the Iewes kene  
 And said vn-to him all in tene:  
 "All for noght thou feynes the,  
 All thi sarene3 will we se,  
 And bot we fynd thi tales trew,  
 Fful sare it sall thi-seluen rew."  
 Thus thair thret him in thair saw  
 And gert him thare his hand out draw.  
 Than was thare shewed in that place  
 Gret gudenens thurgh godes grace;  
 His hand semed als it war sare,  
 And hurtyng had it neuer the mare.  
 The Iewes saw that it was so,  
 And no more said thair him vn-to.<sup>24</sup>

At this point of apparent stalemate, the smith's wife, "A fell woman and full of stryfe,"<sup>25</sup> appears on the scene and takes over.

Scho spak hir husband lytell gude:  
 "Sir," scho said and loud gan cry,  
 "Sen when had thou slyke maledy?  
 Yhister enen when the day was gane,

Euell on thi handes had thou nane;  
 And sen sekenes es sent to the,  
 Thir men sall nocht vnserued be.  
 Thai sall haue nayles, or thai ga,  
 Als sone my-self I sall tham ma."  
 Scho blew the belyse ferly fast,  
 And made the yren hate at the last,  
 The Iewes helped hir for to smyte,  
 So that tre nayles war made full tyte.  
 Hir husband saw and stode full styll,  
 He durst nocht say that scho dyd ill.<sup>26</sup>

In one sense, this episode is a digression from the main action of the poem because it focuses on incidents which are not central to the Crucifixion. In the first part of the scene, the emphasis is not on Jesus or the nails, but on the confrontation between Belamy and the Jews and the suspense over its resolution, which is relieved by the miracle. When the smith's wife enters, the focus is even further narrowed, for the poet's portrait of her seems to be motivated more by anti-feminism than by a desire to show how the nails were made. In fact, it is unclear in the last line whether Belamy is more afraid of his wife or the Jews. However, in spite of this apparent irrelevance to the Passion, there are ways in which this episode and the others like it are very much a part of the poem. To begin with, both the episode of the smith and the nails and the legend of the cross are similar to the rest of the poem in their use of dialog and the presentation of action rather than commentary.<sup>27</sup> In addition, they appear to serve a function in the poem's appeal to its audience. Frances A. Foster has characterized the use of legendary materials by saying that "legends of doubtful origin are

encrusted on the Biblical story . . . in full confidence that the eager and uncritical audience will ask only for excitement, not for a well-authenticated history."<sup>28</sup> Thus, even though in one sense they distract the audience from the main action of the Passion, in another sense they appear calculated to catch and hold the audience's attention by injecting episodes which fascinate them with miraculous details or, in the case of the smith's wife, present them with what might have been a familiar situation. Far from having no dramatic value, such episodes as the legend of the cross and the story of the smith and the nails seem to justify their place in the poem primarily because of their use of dialog, action, and suspense to appeal to the audience.

In contrast to the frequent legendary excursions in the Northern Passion, Love is more subtle in the way he appeals to his audience, and more conscious of preserving the integrity of the Passion as an event. He mentions the cross, but it is not the object of any special consideration, and nothing at all is said about the making of the nails. Rather than attempt to fascinate his audience with miracles, comedy, and a flurry of action, Love relies on a concise, detailed narrative which presents not only the action, but also the emotions of those involved in the action, in the hope of involving the audience's emotions as well. We note, for example, the use of details and emotions and the almost hopeless tone as Jesus is prepared for the Crucifixion.

And so is he now the thridde tyme spoyled and stondesth naked in si3t of all that peple / and so be now renewed the thridde tyme the brosurres of the woundes in his scourgyng by the cleuyng of his clothes to his flesche. Now also first his moder seeth how he is so taken and ordeyned to the deth; wherfore sche sorwful out of mesure and hauynge schame to see hym so standynge al nakede / for they lefte hym nou3t so moche as his priue clothes / sche wente in haste to her dere sone and clipped hym and girt hym aboute the lendes with the keuerchief of her heued. A lorde / in what sorwe is her soule now! Sothely I trowe that sche my3t nou3t speke a word to hym for sorwe / but sche my3te doo no more to hym nor helpe hym; for if sche my3te with outen dowte sche wolde. Than was hir sone anone taken oute of her handes in wode manere / and ladde to the foote of the crosse. (237)

Here, in addition to feeling compassion for the great pain and indignity which Jesus suffers, it is almost as though the audience is meant to follow Mary, assisting in her ministrations to Jesus and participating in her sorrow for him.

This discussion has barely suggested the great number of literary versions of Christ's life and Passion which were written during the Middle English period, but the diversity of that literature is evident even from these five works, and there is room for some tentative conclusions. First, it seems reasonable to say that the author of each of these works saw himself as both a Christian and an artist and that, as such, each one made his own religious and literary assumptions about the nature of the Passion and the issues involved in it. In addition, each saw in the Passion the potential for his own literary expression, and it was through that expression that he hoped to gain access to the Passion as a religious experience for both himself and his audience. In this sense, each work is didactic in its

own way, whether it sets out simply to present the events, as in the Pepysian Gospel Harmony; to dramatize those events through action and dialog, as in the Northern Passion; to convey a personal religious experience, as Rolle does in his "Meditations on the Passion"; or to provide, along with the events, an interpretation of them which portrays the emotions and motives of the people involved, as in The Mirror. Each of these works exists within a long, well-established Christian tradition which dates, ultimately, from the composition of the four Gospels themselves. Collectively, they indicate the variety of literary approaches to the Passion which an artist could choose and still remain faithful to its relatively fixed content. Each author shapes and adapts this content to suit his own purposes and to meet the needs of his audience; yet, as Chaucer points out, "somme of hem seyn moore, and somme seyn lesse . . . but doutelees hir sentence is al oon."<sup>29</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Tale of Melibee," 940-952, in The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. Fred N. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1961, 167).
- <sup>2</sup> The Pepysian Gospel Harmony, ed. Margery Goates, EETS, o.s., 157 (London, 1922).
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid., xlv.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid., 91-92.
- <sup>5</sup> Nicholas Love, The Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, ed. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1908), 224. All references to this work in the text are to this edition.
- <sup>6</sup> Pepysian Harmony, 91.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid., 92.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid., 92.
- <sup>9</sup> Richard Rolle, "Meditations on the Passion," in The English Writings of Richard Rolle, ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford, 1931). The discussion here is based on text II, pages 27-36, because it is the fuller of the two.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid., 33.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., 34-35.
- <sup>12</sup> Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn, EETS, o.s., 158 (London, 1921).
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., viii.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., 847-848.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., 849-938.
- <sup>16</sup> This aspect of Love's method is discussed at length in Chapter I, above. By now, the line of argument which I am using should be clear, so I see no need to furnish a lengthy demonstration at this point.
- <sup>17</sup> The Northern Passion (Supplement), ed. Wilhelm Heuser and Frances A. Foster, EETS, o.s., 183 (London, 1930). In my discussion I use the text of Oxford MS. Rawlinson Poetry 175, which Miss Foster indicates is the "expanded version." My reasons for choosing it are twofold. First, it is much easier to use than the earlier edition, which prints the

text in four parallel columns, with references to a number of other manuscripts. That edition, EETS, o.s., 145, whatever its comparative value, presents the poem in a jungle of words. Second, the text of the Oxford manuscript is an accurate rendering of the poem.

18 Ibid., 11-16.

19 Ibid., viii.

20 Ibid., 1329-62.

21 Robert D. Marshall, "Dogmatic Formalism to Practical Humanism: Changing Attitudes toward the Passion of Christ in Medieval English Literature," Doctoral Dissertation (University of Wisconsin, 1965), 168-169.

22 For the sake of brevity, and in order to focus on The Mirror, which is my primary consideration, I will discuss the episode of the smith and the nails rather than the long and interesting legendary history of the cross which occurs in the Northern Passion.

23 Northern Passion, 2553-54.

24 Ibid., 2555-84.

25 Ibid., 2586

26 Ibid., 2588-2602.

27 Cf. Marshall, 168-169: "The dramatic value of the apocryphal expansions, especially the lengthy legend of the cross and the tale of the smith and the nails, can certainly be doubted. (The poem, of course, is far from structurally perfect; the point is that the effort is made to dramatize.) But both of these expansions come at the beginning of a scene; they do not cause digressions at moments of tension. And it is still my feeling that apocryphal legends, providing as they do action and not commentary, serve to remove the whole atmosphere even further from the abstractness of a formal ritual."

28 Northern Passion, viii.

29 Chaucer, "The Tale of Melibee," 949 and 952.

## THE AESTHETICS OF REFUTATION

In addition to being a representative expression of the religious devotion of the early fifteenth century, The Mirror also participated in the major religious controversy in England at that time. In 1410 it was submitted to Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, "with his own voice commended and approved it in detail, and by his authority as metropolitan . . . decreed and commanded that it should be made public as catholic, to the edification of the faithful, and the confutation of all false heretics or Lollards."<sup>1</sup> Margaret Deanesly has asserted that Arundel's approval of The Mirror, following closely on his prohibition of the Lollard Bible translations in 1408,

suggests a counter-move to the Lollard efforts to publish the gospels in English. The commonness of fifteenth century manuscripts, and references to this work in catalogues and wills, shew that it became the orthodox reading-book of the devout laity, as Arundel probably intended.<sup>2</sup>

Not only did Arundel find The Mirror suited to his purposes, in his campaign against the Lollards, but Nicholas Love himself may have been making a conscious attempt to enter the controversy. This is the view of Elizabeth Zeeman who says that "The Mirror has a special polemical purpose--that of challenging and refuting Lollard doctrine,"<sup>3</sup> and she points out that

Love's frequent censure of the Lollards throughout The Mirror, and his addition of a Treatise on the Sacrament to the main body of the work in an effort to counter one tenet of theirs, show him dealing vigorously with important contemporary problems-- problems facing not only the religious orders and the lay clergy but those in secular estate also.<sup>4</sup>

There is sufficient evidence throughout The Mirror to support this view. After portraying the conversion and confession of Mary Magdalene, for instance, Love cites her case as a specific example against the Lollard position on auricular confession.

Here haue we ensauple of trewe repentaunce and penaunce that is nedeful to for3euenesse of synne schewed in this womman / Mawdeleyne / as we haue herde; the whiche penaunce / as all holy chirche techeth / stant in sorwe of herte / in shrifte of mouthe / and in satisfaccioun of dede. But here perauntre summe men thynken / after the false opinioun of lollardes / that schrifte of mowthe is not nedefulle / but that it suffiseth only in herte to be schryuen to god / as this forsaide womman was; for the gospel telleth not that sche spake eny word by mouthe / and 3it was hir synne fully for3euen / as it is seide; and as it semeth this is a grete euidence for that opinioun. But herto is an answeare resonable: that oure lord Jesu to whom sche made her confessioun in herte was there in bodily presence / verray god and man / to whom by vertue of the godhede was also opoun the thou3t of herte / as is to man the speche of mouthe.<sup>5</sup>

Later, commenting on the scene in which Judas objects to the cost of the oil which Mary Magdalene uses to anoint Jesus' feet, Love uses the side-note, "Nota contra lollardos" (187), to single out a passage in which he identifies the Lollards with Judas.

Here mowe we ferthermore note specially to purpose that they are of Judas parte that reprehenden almes dedes / offrynges / and othere deuociouns of the peple done to holy chirche / holdinge alle suche 3iftes of deuocioun but folie / and seienge that it were more medefull and better to be 3euen to pore men. O Judas! that

thus pretendest with thy mowthe the releuyng of pore men / there as sothely in the entent of thy herte / that is grounded in envye a3enst men of holy chirche / it perteyneth not to the of pore men but rather thyne owne false couetise in excusacioun of thyne nygunrye / that hast none deuocioun and no3t wilt 3eue of thyne owne goode. For experience openly techeth that comounly alle suche Judas felawes ben als couetous or more than eny othere; and that schal he fynde sothely in dede who so hath to done with hem in one manere or othere. (187-188)

Such passages, and there are more like them, certainly reveal Love's anti-Lollard bias, but they deal exclusively with points of doctrine and are delivered in a polemical fashion which merely asserts that Love and the Church are right and the Lollards wrong, with no attempt to offer conclusive evidence to justify the assertions. Although such polemic indicates Love's opposition to the Lollards, it does not necessarily constitute the refutation which Miss Zeeman has discerned. Therefore, it is the purpose of this discussion to examine The Mirror, along with the relevant Lollard documents, in order to demonstrate that it functions as a refutation of Lollard ideas in its form and method as well as in its content. In this view, it is essential to see The Mirror as a positive assertion of the authority and teachings of the Church, in response to certain Lollard ideas, rather than as polemic, which is by its very nature negative.

During the years from 1385 to 1408 the Church in England had become increasingly concerned about the English Bible translations begun by Wyclif, and it made them a major target of its campaign against the Lollards. There was

ample reason for such concern, for the easy availability of a vernacular Bible, which the laity could cite as an authority in theological arguments, posed a threat to the survival of the Church as an institution by depriving it of its role as sole interpreter and defender of the faith, a position which was guarded jealously.<sup>6</sup> Faced with the Lollard challenge, the Church in England would eventually be compelled to act, for, during the first decade of the fifteenth century, two basic facts emerged. First, the widely circulated Lollard translations were threatening to draw the laity away from the Church by allowing each man to interpret scripture for himself; and second, they were perhaps all the more insidious because, in the judgment of both contemporary critics and modern scholars, they were accurate renderings of the Vulgate and free of doctrinal error.<sup>7</sup> The problem which faced the Church was what to do in response. One course of action was to ban the translations, as Arundel did in 1408, and actively persecute the Lollards as heretics. However, such legal sanctions were a negative assertion of the Church's authority and failed to meet the Lollards on their own ground by answering charges which they made against the ecclesiastical establishment and tradition of the Church.<sup>8</sup> The other course of action was to respond to the Lollards in kind and compete with them by appealing to the laity in terms it could understand, using the scriptures to present a positive assertion of the Church's authority and teachings. The Mirror was an instrument of just such a response.

Both Wyclif and Love base their whole teaching on the premise that true Christians should follow the example of the life of Christ as it is set forth in the New Testament.

In "The Church and Her Members," Wyclif maintains that:

oure grounde is comune bileve, that crist is bothe God and man, and so he is the beste man, the wyserst man and moost vertuou, that ever was or ever shal be. And he is heed of the Chirche; and he ordeynede a lawe to men, and confermede it with his lyf, for to reule holi Chirche, and teche how that men shulde lyve; and al this mut passe al othir, sith the auctor is the beste.<sup>9</sup>

In the prologue to The Mirror, Love takes a similar position, recommending the study of "the wordes and the dedes writen of oure lord Jesu crist / veray god and man / for the tyme of his bodily lyuyng here in erthe" (7), and explains the value of Christ's example for the layman.

For there is no pride / but that it may be ihelid thoru3 the mekenes of goddis sone: there is no couetise / bot that it may be heled thoru3 his pouerte: ne wraththe / but that it may be heled thoru3 his pacience: nor malice / but that hit may be heled thoru3 his charite: and more ouer there is no synne or wickednesse / but that he schal want it and be kept fro it / the whiche byholdeth inwardely and loueth and foloweth the wordes and the dedes of that man in whom goddes sone 3af hym self to vs in to ensample of good lyuyng. (7-8)

However, even though Love and the Lollards accept the supremacy of the life of Christ as the foundation of their teaching, they differ decisively in their conceptions of how that example is to be presented to the faithful. The core of this disagreement is Wyclif's theory of the sufficiency of scripture, which maintains that the "lex ewangelica per se sufficeret sine lege civili vel vocata canonica ad

completum regimen ecclesie militantis."<sup>10</sup> In other words, the Lollards believed that "conformity to God's law in Scripture is the one sign and criterion of all that is truly Christian; hence nothing is receivable as such 'except in so far as it is grounded in Scripture.'"<sup>11</sup> Note, for example, Wyclif's argument in support of this contention in De civili dominio, as summarized by Michael Hurley.

If we once admit that men may supplement the law of Christ, we are stating by implication that men may perfect Christ's work; which is inadmissible. What is added to the evangelical law is either implied in it, unrelated to it, or opposed to it. . . . To assert the insufficiency of Christ's law is indeed nothing less than blasphemy, reflecting as it does on the teaching of Christ and implying as it does that, when the Church was ruled by this law alone, something was lacking.<sup>12</sup>

This reliance on scripture alone led logically to the use of an argument from silence which rejected all that is not mentioned in scripture. Hurley summarizes this argument as follows.

Scripture is God's law, the perfect expression of his will for men. What has no sanction in Scripture, has no sanction from God; and what has no sanction from God is sin and evil. Emphasis is laid on Christ's omnipotence, omniscience and infinite love. His divine intellect contained the exemplary ideas of all that was ever to be, and in it his human intellect saw all these continually and clearly. His love for the Church was so great that he must have instructed it about all this and hence made unalterable arrangements. His law is perfect with no defect of quality or quantity; not one iota can be added to or subtracted from the faith of Scripture.<sup>13</sup>

This argument formed the basis for Wyclif's attack on the abuses of the Church, and then the institutions of the Church, and ultimately to his rejection of its role as the

sole guardian and interpreter of scripture." In fact, he reversed this role by maintaining that the Church could not interpret scripture because it was itself subject to the judgment of scripture.<sup>14</sup>

That Love did not subscribe to this theory of the sufficiency of scripture should be evident not only from what has been said in the previous chapters of this study, but also from his overt statements to the contrary in his prologue to The Mirror. He begins the prologue by quoting from Romans 15:4: "quecumque scripta sunt / ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: vt per pacienciam / et consolacionem scripturarum / spem habemus" (7). At the end of the same paragraph Love translates this passage, without indicating clearly that he is doing so, and makes a significant change: "alle thinges that ben written generally in holy chirche and specially of oure lord Jesu crist / they ben written to oure lore; that by pacience and comferte of holy scriptures we haue hope" (7). By adding the underlined phrase, Love indicates that he is not confining himself to scripture alone, but accepts the Church in its traditional role as interpreter of scripture. This means that he accepts

the Church's testimony to Christ, not only that original testimony which is Scripture but also that continuous testimony which, when authenticated by the Magisterium, is to be received with equal piety and reverence.<sup>15</sup>

In conjunction with his acceptance of writings other than scripture, Love makes a use of the argument from silence which is opposed to Wyclif's use of it, citing John 20:30,

a passage which Wyclif's critics must have used against him often.<sup>16</sup>

Also seint John seith / that alle tho thinges that Jesu dide ben not writen in the gospel. Wherefore we mowen to sterynge of deuocioun ymagine and thynke dyuerse wordes and dedes of hym and othere that we fynde not writen / so that it be not a3enst the by-leue / as seynt gregor and other doctoures seyne; that holy writt may be expowned and vndirstonden in in dyuers maneres and to dyuerse purposes / so that it be not a3enst the bileue or gode maneres. (9)

These distinctions, between the sufficiency of scripture, on the one hand, and its elaboration within limits, on the other, are primarily doctrinal in nature and are far more complex than has been indicated here. What is of immediate interest is that they have practical consequences for the way in which the Lollards used scripture to appeal to their audiences and for Love's formulation of his response. In their insistence on the sufficiency of scripture, the Lollards were not only making strenuous demands on their audience by insisting that each man interpret scripture for himself, but were also severely limiting the literary and aesthetic means which they could use to appeal to that audience. The Lollards hoped, for example, that the study of the "uncorrupted" text of the Bible by the laity would help foster a return to the simplicity of the Church as it had existed in the time of Jesus and his disciples.<sup>17</sup> In rejecting the established Church of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they rejected not only its theological interpretations of scripture, but also its elaborations of scripture, consisting of saints' lives, exempla, images,

music, and ceremonies, which the Church, in its role as teacher, had traditionally used to attract and hold the attention of the devout laity.<sup>18</sup>

The Lollards repeatedly and specifically condemned these aesthetic elaborations of worship in spite of their proven usefulness in appealing to the laity. In The Office of Curates, a Lollard tract written about 1383, the author condemns those churchmen who

ben fals prophetis, techinge fals cronyclis & fablis to colour here worldly lif therby, & leuen the trewe gospel of ihu crist; for thei louen welle to telle hou this seynt or this lyuede in gay & costly clothis & worldly aray, & 3it is a grete seynt. But thei leuen to teche the grete penaunce & sorow that thei diden after ward, for which they pleseden god.<sup>19</sup>

In the tract entitled Of the Leaven of the Pharisees, usually attributed to John Purvey, Wyclif's chief secretary, there is a similar argument against churchmen who, "drawen the peple in the holiday by coryouste of gaye wyndowes and colours and peyntyngis and babwynrie fro conpuncion of here synnes and fro mynde of heueneley thinges."<sup>20</sup> In the Lollard Twenty Five Points, written about 1389, there is an even stronger attack against the use of images.

Thof ymagis my3tten be sufferid for lewid men, in defaute of prechyng that prestis schulden do, notholes ymagis that representen pompe and glorie of tho worlde, --as if Criste had bene crucified with golden clothis ande golden schone, and as hys pore apostilis hade lyved in worldely glory, and other seintes also, and herinne haden plesid God, --bene false ymagys and bokis of heresyw worthi to be destroyed, nomely when tho lewid pepul honouris hem for God and seyntis, and done more honour to hem then to God and Cristis body.<sup>21</sup>

In the tract, De Praecationibus Sacris, this same argument-- that preoccupation with "coryouste" leads men away from the true worship of God--is used against the "new" practice of chanting and intoning during the Mass.

Wonder it is whi men preisen so moche this newe preiynge, bi gret crynge and hey song, and leven stille manere of preynge, as Crist and his apostils diden. It semeth that we seken oure owene likynge and pride in this song more than the devocion and understondynge of that that we syngen, and this is grete synne. For Austyn seith in his confessions, As oft as the song delitith me more than that is songen, so oft I knowleche that I trespasse grevously. . . . And this newe preiynge occupieth men so moche that thei han no space to studie holy writt and teche it.<sup>22</sup>

These prohibitions are the logical and necessary result of the Lollard theory of the sufficiency of scripture, and they are directed specifically against literary and aesthetic elaborations of worship because, as the Lollard author of The Lanterne of Li3t argued in 1409-1410, "we owen rathir to mervaile in the si3t of heuene; than in the si3t of bilding of mannes handiwerk / & miche more schulde we mervaile; the greet werkis of God / than the werkis of deedli men; that duren bot a while."<sup>23</sup> Theoretically, abandoning such apparent excrescences would have brought the Lollards closer to their goal of returning the Church to its primitive Galilean state, but in practice it placed a formidable obstacle in their path by denying them the means of appealing to their "lewid" audiences. To rely on scripture alone, without enhancing it through literary or aesthetic means, was to ask that the audience generate and sustain the same enthusiasm for the unvarnished gospel narratives, which are

often cryptic and uninteresting, that they had for the saints' lives, exempla, romances, and other popular forms of religious and secular entertainment. As W. A. Pantin points out, religious and moral treatises in the vernacular were, in general, "evidently intended as a substitute for and a pious counterfeit of the profane literature of the period--the romances--in order to beat the worldlings . . . at their own game."<sup>24</sup> Yet, the Lollards provided no aesthetic inducements in their own works which would allow them to compete successfully with the fantastic details of the saints' lives and the intricate narratives of the romances.

In contrast to the Lollards, Love accepts the Church in its role of interpreter and teacher of the faith and recognizes the need to appeal to Christians on their own intellectual terms, terms which are not the same for all men. Love's statements in the prologue to The Mirror and his methods throughout the text indicate that he was not only aware of his audience and its limitations, but also that he was willing to alter and adapt scripture to shape it to the special needs of that audience. He addresses himself to an audience of "symple creatures: the whiche as children hauen nede to be fedde with mylke of ly3te doctrine / and not with the sadde mete of grete clergie and of hi3e contemplacioun" (8). He is aware that this audience has no special knowledge of the Bible or spiritual matters, because they are limited by the experience of their daily

lives, and that it is his task to provide them with that knowledge. Their lack of sophistication dictates Love's method, which is to present them with

devoute ymaginaciouns and liknesses. . . . For / as  
seint gregory seith / therefore is the kyngdom of  
heuene lickened to erthely thynges: that by the  
thynges that ben visible / and that man kyndely  
knoweth / he be stired and rauysched to loue and  
desire gostly invisible thynges that he kyndely  
knoweth not. (9)

Love does not want his audience to simply hear or read the scenes which he describes, but to experience them. Thus, throughout The Mirror, he frequently urges his audience to

make the in thy soule present to tho thynges that  
ben here written / seide / or done of oure lord Jesu;  
and that besily / likyngly / and abidyng; as theyh  
thou herdest hem with thy bodily eeres / or seie hem  
with thyne ei3en done. (12)

In order to assist his audience in achieving this experience, Love will appeal to their imagination and emotions by using the very aesthetic and literary devices which the Lollards condemned, and this method is based on the premise that such a carnal appeal will lead to an appreciation of the spiritual significance of the life of Christ.

And therefore to hem is principally to be sette in  
mynde the ymage of cristes incarnacioun / passioun  
and resurreccioun: so that a symple soule that kan  
not thenke bot bodies or bodily thynges mowe haue  
somwhat accordyng vnto his affeccoun wherwith he  
may fede and stire his deuocioun. (8-9)

The use of images in this way is traditional, having its ultimate basis in Gregory's statement that "ymagines et picturae sanctorum, et praecipue crucis Christi, sunt libri laicorum."<sup>25</sup> Love's method is a variation of this

tradition because, instead of presenting carved or painted images which will serve as the "books of the laity," he presents a book, obviously directed to those who can read, in which he uses verbal images calculated to enhance the reader's perception of the events and people that he describes.

However, merely to show that Love uses images or aesthetic devices which were condemned by the Lollards proves nothing, for this would be no better than negative polemic and his case would be as well served had he simply asserted that such devices were lawful, contrary to the Lollard position. It is important, therefore, to see that he answered the specific charge, summarized by G. R. Owst, that "as a matter of fact, it was the outward sensuous appeal of the images that alone gripped the popular mind; and that that appeal was not even calculated to give a true impression of the commemorated [saint or person]." <sup>26</sup> Proof that Love meets and refutes this charge must come from an examination of his actual practice in The Mirror. His rendering of the Annunciation is a representative example of Love's use of aesthetic elaborations throughout the text and demonstrates not only that he uses them for their spiritual significance, but also that, in doing so, his presentation is potentially more effective than a Lollard treatment of the same event. I have chosen Wyclif's Proprium Sanctorum Sermon CII as the basis of the following comparison because, unlike the Bible translations which

allowed no deviation from the text, the sermons offered Wyclif and the Lollards the freedom to exhibit their own ideas and interpretations to an audience, as well as the opportunity to present an accurate translation of the scriptures.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the sermons, because of their public and essentially unrestricted nature, are on somewhat of an equal footing with The Mirror in terms of offering an opportunity for each author to convince his audience of the rightness of his own point of view.

While both Love and Wyclif take the first chapter of Luke as their text, and both draw from it many of the same lessons and conclusions, their modes of presentation are quite different, with Love's version being consistently the fuller, more detailed, and more visual of the two. Love begins his narrative of the Annunciation as follows.

Whan the plente of tyme and of grace was come in the  
 whiche the hi3e trinite ordeyned to saue mankynde /  
 that was dampned thoru3 the synne of Adam / for the  
 grete charite that he hadde to mankynde stiryng hym  
 his grete mercy / and also the prayer and the in-  
 stance of alle the blessed spirites of heuene; after  
 that the blessed mayden marie / wedde to Joseph / was  
 gone home to nazareth / the fader of heuene called to  
 hym the archangel gabriel and seide to hym in this  
 manere: Go to oure dere dou3ter marye / the spouse  
 of Joseph / the whiche is most chere to vs of alle  
 creatures in erthe / and saie to hir that my blessed  
 sone hath coueyted hir schap and hir beaute / and  
 chosen hir to his moder; and therefore praye hir that  
 sche resceyue hym gladly; for by hir I haue ordeyned  
 the hele and the saluacioun of al mankynde: and I  
 wole for3ete and for3eue the wrong that hath be done  
 to me of hym here byfore. (24)

This scene is expository and provides the events which follow with both a context and a rationale by announcing

the coming of Christ as a means of saving the world, informing the audience that Mary is to be his mother, and placing her at home with her husband Joseph. Although it is brief, this passage is so filled with information that it practically tells the entire story and, in a sense, all that follows is an elaboration of these few details. The direct presentation of central details in this passage has the effect of involving the audience immediately in what is going on and, as though to fix this scene in his reader's minds, Love follows the exposition with an appeal to them to imagine the scene visually and suggests what it might look like.

Now take hede and ymagyne of goostly thing as it were  
 bodily / and thinke in thyn herte / as thou were pre-  
 sent in the si3t of that blessed lord / with how be-  
 nigne and glad semblaunt he speketh these wordes: and  
 on the tother side how gabriel / with a likynge face  
 and glad chere / vppon his knees knelynge and with  
 drede reuerently bowynge / resceyueh this message  
 of his lorde. (24)

It is significant that Love describes neither God nor Gabriel in detail, which the Lollards might have objected to, but uses God's "benigne and glad semblaunt" and Gabriel's submissive posture to indicate the attitude of each toward the other. This suggests that Love is not attempting to fascinate his audience with physical details, but to give them a concept of God as a benign and loving being and to indicate, through the example of Gabriel, the standard of conduct in God's presence.

In contrast to this direct, expository beginning and the accompanying appeal to the senses, Wyclif begins

indirectly: "This gospel telleth to the Chirche how the aungel grette oure Ladi, and how she, bi hir mekenesse, ablide hir to conseyve Crist."<sup>28</sup> He then explains that this event was one of the five joys of Mary, which he lists, and adds a list of "fyve vertues that we mai have."<sup>29</sup> At this point, Wyclif begins his presentation of the Annunciation.

Luk tellith how, Gabriel was sent fro God to grete Marie. And, for sum men ben clepid Gabriel, therefore the gospel specifieth that, the aungel Gabriel was sent fro God to Nazareth, that was, a citee of Galilee, in which citee oure Ladi dwelte. And this maiden was weddid to Joseph, the which was of Davithis hous, and name of the virgyn was Marie.<sup>30</sup>

This passage provides essentially the same information as Love's introductory paragraph, but it comes too late to perform the same function of getting the audience involved in the action. Because of Wyclif's injunction against images, there is, of course, no appeal to the senses through the presentation of a scene which the audience could visualize and which would force them to focus their attention on the events which are taking place. In fact, it is possible that Wyclif distracted his audience from the action by including a discussion of the sequence of Mary's marriage to Joseph and the Annunciation.

And a litel before this wedding, this aungel grette this maiden thus; and so was Crist conseyved of hir in verri matromonie of Joseph. It semeth that Ambrose, upon Luk, weith, that thei weren weddid bifore, and soone, bitwixe that tyme and ny3t, the aungel cam and grette Marie thus. And algatis, on ech wey, oure Ladi was weddid in the same hour, or nye that hour that she was greet.<sup>31</sup>

Here, Wyclif is appealing to neither the emotions, the imagination, nor the senses of his audience, but to their taste for authority and, having raised the argument, admits that, whatever happened, the point is moot.

After Love completes the scene between God and Gabriel, he accomplishes the transition to the next scene by describing the angel in motion, again appealing to the visual sense.

And so anon Gabriel risynge vppe / glad and iocunde /  
toke his fli3t fro the hi3e heuene to erthe and in a  
moment he was in mannis likenesse byfore the virgyne  
marye / that was in hire priue chambre . . . and 3it  
also swiftly as he flewh his lord was come byfore /  
and ther he fonde alle the holy trinite comen or his  
messagere. (24-25)

This is a means of getting the audience, as well as Gabriel, from one place to another and, although Love is depending on the audience to imagine the move and Gabriel's appearance "in mannis likenesse," he is in agreement with the Lollard view that to imagine or represent the Trinity in human form is a serious error. Thus, he admonishes his audience to,

be war here that thou erre nou3t in ymagynacioun of  
god and of the holy trynyte / supposynge that thise  
thre persones / the fader / the sone / and the holy  
goost ben as thre erthely men that thou seest with  
thy bodily ei3e: the which ben thre dyuerse sub-  
staunces / eche departed fro other / so that none of  
hem is other. Nay / it is not so in this gostely sub-  
stance of the holy trinite; for tho thre persones ben  
one substauce and oon god / and 3it is there none  
of thise persones othere: but this mayst thou no3t  
vnderstonde by mannis resoun ne conceyue with thy  
bodily witt. (25)

One statement of the Lollard objection to representing the Trinity in human form, which was evidently a widespread

practice, is found in the Twenty Five Points.

A thinge is payntud as if tho Fadir of heven were an olde hore man, tho secunde persoun a man crucified, tho thrid persone a white culvyr. Of this payntinge men supposen, that his bringus symple men of cunningge into grete erreure, ffor by this tho Fadir moote be eldur then tho Son if this payntyng be trewe, and thai paynten tho Trinite, that is spirite and no creature. Thai make tho godhede of tho Trinite a man. . . . God kepe men fro this foule heresie!<sup>32</sup>

This argument is largely doctrinal; and Love's fundamental agreement with it, manifested through his refusal to describe the Trinity and his subsequent warning to his audience, suggests not only that he did not use aesthetic elaboration for its carnal appeal alone, even though the audience might have expected it, but also that he did not attempt to oppose or discredit the Lollards when he knew them to be right. Still, Love bases his position on somewhat different grounds than the Lollards for, rather than cite the commandment from the Decalogue against idolatry, the usual Lollard practice, he appeals to the insufficiency of human reason and the authority of the Church to supplement that reason when it fails. Thus, he admonishes his audience that, "whan thou herest eny suche thing in byleue that passeth thy kyndely resoun / trowe sothfastly that it is soth / as holy chirche techeth / and goo no further" (25)<sup>33</sup>

After Love shows Gabriel telling Mary why he has come to her, there is a brief scene, similar to the earlier one between God and Gabriel, in which the angel stands patiently, waiting for her answer. Although this scene is static

and silent, Love makes the most of it, asking his audience to watch

the aungel gabriel stondynge with reuerence byfore  
his lady / enclynyng / and with mylde semblant  
abideth the aunswere of his message. And on the  
tother side take hede how mary stondeth / sadly with  
drede and mekenes / in grete avisement / hauinge  
none pride ne veynglorie for alle the hi3e preisyng  
bifore seide. (30)

Here, as in the earlier scene, the emphasis is not on detailed physical description, but on the attitudes of the two participants: Gabriel is "enclynyng" toward Mary in what might be described as an attitude of respect, while she stands, "sadly with drede and mekenes," somewhat in awe of the whole situation, as she ponders her answer. Love calls attention to Mary as an example and admonishes his audience to "lerne thou thenne by ensample of hir to be schamefast vertuously and meke; for with oute these two vertues maydenhode or virgynyte is litell worth" (30). He immediately reinforces this example by presenting a visual description of her assuming a meek and submissive posture as she gives her answer.

At the laste / as the ende of the gospel seith /  
the mylde mayden marye / whan sche had herd and  
wisly vnderstonden the aungels wordes / by good  
avisement 3af hir assent in this manere / as it is  
writen in her reuelaciouns: sche kneled down with  
souereyn deuocioun / and holdynge vp bothe hir hondes /  
and lifynge vp hir ei3en to heuen / seide these  
wordes: Loo here the handmayden and the seruauant of  
my lorde; be it done to me and fulfilled after thy  
worde. (30-31)

The acts of kneeling and raising her hands and eyes reinforce her words of submission to God, and the combination of actions and words provides the audience with an image of a transaction which they can both visualize and emulate.

Wyclif derives the same lesson of meekness from this scene, and encourages his audience to follow Mary's example, but he must necessarily do so without resorting to the presentation of images or other appeals to the senses.

And Marie, as ful ripe in mekenesse, answeride thus to the aungel: Lo, here the handmaiden of God; Be it done to me after thi word. And, as men seien com- unli, in this tyme Marie conseyvede Crist. For, as Eve, for the tyme that she was moost proud, loste mankynde, so Marie, for the tyme that she was most meke, won mankynde. And here, 3if thou wilt plese Marie, or God hir sone, be algatis meke; for mekenes wole plese to Marie, sith she woot it plesith to God.<sup>34</sup>

In summary, it is possible to say that when Love uses aesthetic elaborations which appeal to the senses of his audience, he does so in a manner which shows that the Lollard contention that such images distract the laity from God by focusing their attention on worldly matters is not necessarily true. Love's aesthetic elaborations do not dwell on earthly splendor, and only rarely in The Mirror does he describe persons or objects in such a way as to enable us to see exactly what they look like. As in the Annunciation, he attempts to give his audience a scene or act which they visualize and use as an example for their own conduct in their daily lives. If The Mirror was at all effective as a response to the Lollards, it was not so much because Love disproved or discredited their ideas, but because he made his own case so well, and this depended to a great extent on his ability to catch and hold the attention of his audience. His use of images and aesthetic elaborations was a major device in his appeal to that audience,

and the Lollards, who prohibited such sensuous appeals, were not equipped to reach the laity in the same way. As H. B. Workman, Wyclif's biographer, has pointed out:

for this rejection of all popular methods of appeal Wyclif and his Poor Preachers paid the penalty by failing to win over the masses of the people. The sermons of his contemporaries . . . passed through edition after edition. Wyclif's sermons, on the contrary, even when the Reformation had predisposed men to his teaching, slumbered unheeded in a few manuscripts, or were regarded as the sermons of Hus. Wyclif, in fact, in this as in other matters trusted too much to the pure intellect; he did not sufficiently realize the value of the emotions and imagination, especially in an age when the lives of the poor were deadly monotonous.<sup>35</sup>

In spite of their differences, both Love and Wyclif were products of the same Church and they both ultimately based their teaching on the common foundation of scripture. Both had an intricate knowledge not only of scripture, but also of the tradition which accompanied it. Although they both lived the retired lives of scholars, Love as a monk at Mount Grace in Yorkshire and Wyclif as an academician at Oxford and Lutterworth, they were aware of issues confronting the Church at large and addressed themselves to many of the same abuses of that Church, frequently agreeing on the solution. They both realized, above all, the necessity of communicating to the laity, and both attempted to do so. Our interest here is not in who was right or wrong, but in the methods they used as each, to the best of his ability, attempted to guide the laity through complicated matters of doctrine and morality in difficult times.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Margaret Deanesly, The Lollard Bible (Cambridge, 1920), 322.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 321.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Zeeman, "Nicholas Love -- A Fifteenth Century Translator," RES, n.s., VI, 118.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 116. I have not included the Treatise on the Blessed Sacrament in this discussion because it is not really a part of The Mirror. The issue here is how The Mirror, with the methods outlined in chapters I-III of this study, meets the Lollard challenge.

<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Love, The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, ed. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1908), 121-122. All references to this work in the text are to this edition.

<sup>6</sup> In The Lollard Bible, 2, Margaret Deanesly makes the following statement: "It is scarcely doubtful that the unity of Christendom was preserved until the sixteenth century only by force. Had lay people in the thirteenth century been allowed the right to read the gospels for themselves, or exposed to the temptation to do so, and had they generally been able to read, reinterpretation would inevitably have followed, and Christendom would have been divided in that century instead of the sixteenth. . . . The question of the unity of Christendom depended on the possibility of the reinterpretation of Christianity, and this depended on the accessibility of the original Christian records to the masses. It was only to these books that a sectarian teacher could appeal against the traditional teaching of the Church. He might be able to read the Vulgate himself: his hearers could not: therefore he prepared, and appealed to, translations in their mother tongue. It is thus true to say that the history of vernacular translations, and the attitude of the Church towards them, is not a matter of merely antiquarian interest, but the central strand in the history of the unity of Christendom."

Provocative as this statement is, and in spite of the truth which it undoubtedly contains, it implies not only that force was the only means at the Church's disposal, but also that it was the only means which the Church used to preserve its position as sole guardian and interpreter of the faith. Not only does such a view ignore the many reforms which took place within the Church from its beginning, but Miss Deanesly also contradicts herself later in the book when she proposes that The Mirror was a counter-move to the Lollard attempts to publish the Bible in English, for in making this observation she is implicitly

recognizing that the Church used means of positive persuasion as well as "force" to protect its position.

7 Deanesly, 15, n. 1.

8 It is doubtful that the legal sanctions employed by the Church had any more than a local or temporary effect on the Lollard Movement, and it is certainly mistaken to suppose that these sanctions were responsible for eliminating the Lollards. Miss Deanesly, in The Significance of the Lollard Bible (London, 1951), 14, points out that, "it was of the essence of Lollardy to be unorganised, as Wycliffe believed the apostles and first believers had been in Galilee. The comparative failure of the Lollard movement in the next century is explained by this lack of an organised body to secure continuity." In addition, although the movement itself disintegrated, there are indications that it did not fail completely. J. A. F. Thomson, in The Later Lollards: 1414-1520 (Oxford, 1965), 250, has uncovered evidence to indicate that the Lollards were active into the sixteenth century and concludes that, "there can be little doubt that Lollardy was sufficiently active on the eve of the Reformation to make some contribution to the development of English Protestantism, but to affirm that certain doctrines were Lollard and that others were not would be to take too categorical a line on a matter where the only safe course of action is to indicate probabilities."

9 Thomas Arnold, Select English Works of John Wyclif (Oxford, 1869), III, 358-359, hereafter cited as Select English Works.

10 Quoted in Michael Hurley, "'Scriptura sola': Wyclif and his Critics," Traditio, XVI (1960), 288, n. 32.

11 Ibid., 278.

12 Ibid., 287.

13 Ibid., 305-306. Most of this essay is devoted to an examination of Wyclif's attitude toward Tradition. It should be noted that neither Wyclif nor the Lollards were above citing Patristic authorities when it served their purposes to do so.

14 Ibid., 304.

15 Ibid., 279.

16 Ibid., 319.

17 In The Lollard Bible, 229, Miss Deanesly points out the naivete of this nostalgia for the Galilean Church,

suggesting that Wyclif "was original in the insistence of his appeal to gospel and apostolic Christianity as the Standard for succeeding ages. With no perception of the need for differing organisations for a primitive and developed Christianity, or for increased complexity of organisation in a spiritual world power, he contrasted the worldliness, elaborateness, wealth and power of fourteenth century ecclesiastics with the 'meek and poor and charitable living of Christ.'"

18 For a thorough discussion of this point see G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd. ed. (Oxford, 1966), chapter IV.

19 The English Works of Wyclif, Hitherto Unprinted, ed. F. D. Matthew, EETS, o.s., 71 (London, 1880), 153.

20 Ibid., 8.

21 Select English Works, III, 462-463.

22 Ibid., III, 228.

23 The Lanterne of Li3t, ed. Lillian M. Swinburn, EETS, o.s., 151 (London, 1917), 41.

24 W. A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Notre Dame, 1962), 221-222.

25 Quoted in Owst, op. cit., 137, from MS. Harl. 3760, fol. 305.

26 Ibid., 143.

27 There is a difficulty in choosing any Wyclifite or Lollard text for comparison with The Mirror, and this arises partly from the disorganized nature of Lollardy itself and partly from the lapse of time between Wyclif's death in 1384 and the licensing of The Mirror in 1410. J. A. F. Thomson, in The Later Lollards, 244, points out that: "it is, however, impossible to use Lollard tracts in any attempt to depict the views of the later Lollards, partly because it is not clear how far copies of those tracts which are still extant were distributed among them, and partly because many of these same works cannot easily be dated, and it is likely that many of them belong to the earlier period of Lollardy before the university connexion had been effectively broken. Though such tracts might have influenced Lollard opinion in the mid-fifteenth century and later, they can hardly be said to reflect its views."

In spite of the more than twenty-five years which intervene between Wyclif's death and the availability of The Mirror, I have chosen to use Wyclif's sermon, first because

of its clarity as an example, and partly because the focus of my study is on issues which were central to the Lollards as a group and which are concerned with matters of doctrine and method. These issues, unlike many others, are not subject to the political nuance or expediency which interposed itself into Lollardy when it became a political and revolutionary force in England at the time of the Oldcastle uprising.

28 Select English Works, I, 353.

29 Ibid., I, 353.

30 Ibid., I, 353-354.

31 Ibid., I, 354.

32 Ibid., III, 491.

33 This passage reflects Love's awareness that The Mirror, because of its resemblance to scripture, was likewise open to erroneous interpretation, and therefore he attempts to assert the authority of the Church as the teacher and interpreter of scripture in order to guard against potential error. That The Mirror was, in fact, open to interpretation, yet was fully approved by Arundel, indicates the seriousness with which the Lollard challenge was regarded and the lengths to which the ecclesiastical authorities in England were willing to go to meet that challenge.

34 Select English Works, I, 356.

35 H. B. Workman, John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church (Oxford, 1926), II, 220.

## CONCLUSION

Whether or not The Mirror was, as Miss Deanesly claims, "probably more popular than any other single book in the fifteenth century,"<sup>1</sup> is a question which cannot ultimately be answered with any certainty, and I have not attempted to do so. A much more interesting question, and the one to which I have addressed myself in this study, asks what The Mirror offers to justify the popularity which has been claimed for it. This has nothing to do with the extent to which it actually influenced its audience, for that is also unanswerable, but asks instead: to what extent did Love attempt to influence his audience and what methods did he use.

It seems obvious at this point that Love did make such an attempt, and that he did so with a degree of originality and skill which is not at all common among fifteenth century English translators. The Mirror is not really a translation, or even a recension, for in a very real sense Love has made it his own work and tailored it to the needs of his own audience. His characters are more human than those in the Meditationes and they are portrayed in situations which are more real than those in the Latin text. In addition, as a narrator Love displays a sense of plot and structure, and an ability to locate his scenes in time and space which is

frequently absent in the work of writers who are much better known. These abilities, perhaps more than his prose style, constitute Love's contribution to English literature, for they show the degree of sophistication which was already present in 1410 and therefore did not have to wait for two or three more centuries to be developed. Some, perhaps, would say that he was ahead of his time. I think, on the contrary, that he was very much a man of his own time. Certainly Nicholas Love, writing in 1410, had no sense of anticipation for the "renaissance" which was to occur in the sixteenth century, and it is equally doubtful that he felt he was writing in a period of decline, brought on by Chaucer's death. I believe we do him a disservice to see him as other than a man, writing to other men, in the hope that he would be understood.

A problem arises when we begin to talk about The Mirror as literature for, as William Matthews notes,

one difficulty in the study of literature is the uncertainty where to draw the limits of the subject. If there is any principle at all--and the unbelievably varied offerings in the universities makes one doubt that there is--it is something that is represented by the embarrassingly old-fashioned phrase belles lettres. But which lettres are belles, which not belles enough, is always a nagging problem, and a variously settled one. About poetry and prose fiction we seldom have doubts; but thereafter we enter a penumbra of gathering darkness.<sup>2</sup>

The Mirror is in the penumbra, perhaps because it is Christian Art, rather than secular fiction or poetry. Furthermore, in all likelihood, The Mirror will remain in the penumbra because Love was a Christian first and an

artist second, and the decisions which he made as an artist were, perhaps necessarily, determined by his Christian pre-conceptions. Thus, the religious function and content of The Mirror overshadow its quality as a work of art. Still, Love was an artist, and he has much to teach us about the tastes and opinions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which we have not yet learned. I have attempted, in this study, to examine Love's art, and I hope that through it I have learned for us some of those lessons.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Deanesly, "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," MLR, XV (October, 1920), 353.

<sup>2</sup> William Matthews, "Inherited Impediments in Medieval Literary History," in Medieval Secular Literature: Four Essays, ed. William Matthews (Berkeley, 1965), 22.

## APPENDIX

### Introduction

The Middle English texts contained in this appendix consist of chapters thirty and thirty-four of The Mirror, which are discussed in detail in Chapter II of this study. They have been transcribed from a microfilm of Cambridge University Library Manuscript Additional 6578 which, as Elizabeth Zeeman notes, "belonged to the Carthusian House of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, of which Love was prior from 1410 to 1421, and on textual and linguistic grounds appears to be a most reliable manuscript."<sup>1</sup> Collation of the texts presented here, with L. F. Powell's edition of The Mirror (Oxford, 1908), shows little substantive difference between the two, with the major variation being in orthography.

The main object in reproducing these texts is to present the evidence upon which the discussion in Chapter II of this study is based, so I have attempted neither a diplomatic transcript nor a critical edition of this portion of the manuscript. Instead, since my primary interest is in Love's use of a variety of sources to create something which is, in its structure and ultimate effect, his own work, both the transcription and the notes are designed to display this aspect of his method.

In the transcription, all abbreviations are expanded without comment. The scribe consistently renders "forto" as "fort," so this has been treated as an abbreviation and the final "o" is added in all cases. Also, "Ihu" and "Ihs" are transcribed as "Ihesu"; Middle English thorn as "th"; and Middle English yogh and "3". All additions to the text, and all alterations for the sake of clarity, are based on Powell's edition of 1908 and are enclosed in brackets. In the case of alterations, the reading of the manuscript is given in the notes. The beginning of each leaf of the manuscript is indicated in the transcript by a number enclosed in brackets.

Although Miss Zeeman presents a convincing argument in favor of the authority and general consistency of the punctuation of this manuscript, observing that "the signs are used frequently and methodically to mark out what seem to be patterns of a grammatical and rhetorical nature,"<sup>2</sup> there are two reasons for my decision to ignore it. First, and perhaps most important, I have not seen the manuscript itself. The transcription has been made from a microfilm copy of the manuscript, and this medium will frequently not permit even the most careful observer to distinguish between those marks which are intentional and those which are either accidental or the result of corrupting influences from outside the scribal process. In addition, the standard typewriter will not reproduce medieval punctuation marks accurately, and any attempt to retain

them would involve the substitution of modern marks, and their values, for the medieval ones. The result would be a distortion, not only of the punctuation system, but also of the grammatical and rhetorical patterns of the text. As an alternative, I have provided the text with modern punctuation, and my aim has been to achieve clarity for the modern reader rather than to preserve Love's style. I have also altered the capitalization of the manuscript to conform to modern usage<sup>3</sup> and, since there are no formal paragraph divisions in the manuscript, I have provided them where the structure or sense of the text seems to require them.

Since the main object of this appendix is to present the evidence for my conclusions in Chapter II, I have used certain graphic devices in the transcript of chapter thirty, "Of the transfiguracioun of oure lorde Ihesu in the hille," to identify Love's various sources and to display visually how he combined them. A solid underline indicates Love's own work; a broken underline indicates the use of material from chapter XLI of the Meditationes; parentheses indicate details taken from Luke 9:28-36; and the unmarked passages correspond to Matthew 16:21-28 and 17:1-9. Detailed comparisons of Love's text with these alternate versions will be found in the notes, which refer to the text by page and line numbers.

The analysis of Love's use of sources in chapter thirty-four, "Of the reising of La3are and othere tweyn dede

bodies," is a more complex task than for chapter thirty, primarily because there are more texts to be considered. The limitations of the typewriter are such that any attempt to display up to nine separate sources visually would succeed only in rendering the text unreadable. Consequently, the identification of sources for specific passages and the comparison of Love's text with them is carried out in the notes.

The Latin texts which follow the transcriptions from The Mirror are those chapters of the pseudo-Bonaventuran Meditationes which correspond to chapters thirty and thirty-four of Love's text. They are reproduced from S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia, edited by A. C. Peltier (1868), Volume XII, and are presented here solely for reference. Because they are reproduced in full, the notes to the Middle English texts rarely contain quotations from these chapters. Chapter XLI, "De transfiguratione Domini in monte," corresponds to chapter thirty of The Mirror. Chapters XXVI, "De filio viduae a Domino suscitato"; XXVII, "De puella suscitata, et Martha curata"; LXV, "Quomodo alia vice voluerunt lapidare Jesum"; and LXVI, "De resuscitatione Lazari" were used in the construction of chapter thirty-four of The Mirror.

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1. Elizabeth Zeeman, "Punctuation in an Early Manuscript of Love's Mirror," RES, n.s., VII, 25 (1956), 11-12. 2. Ibid., 12. 3. Ibid., 12. Zeeman notes that "capital letters nearly always begin a new sentence and always occur after the sign ( // ) or ( )," and she seems to be using "sentence" in both a rhetorical and grammatical sense as it applies to the style in this manuscript rather than in any modern sense of the word.

Middle English TextsOf the Transfiguracioun of Oure Lorde Ihesu in the Hille

Oure lord Ihesu, willyng [to] conferme and strengthe  
hees disciples in that trew byleue that he was bothe God  
and man, he shewed hem that he was vreyman by that he su-  
ffrede after the kynde and the comune infirmite of man;  
and also that he was God by the miracles that he wrouht 5  
about the comune kynde and miht of man. And therwith also  
 he informede hem [58 r] and tolde hem before that he sholde  
 suffre peynfully the harde deth as man and after arise vp  
 gloriously to lyfe as God. And to this ende what tyme, as  
 the gospel of Mathewe and Marke and Luke telleth, that he 10  
 hade tolde hese disciples that he shold suffre many re-  
 proues and despites in Jerusalem, and at the last be slayne  
 and dede, and after that he shuld rise fro deth to lyfe  
 the thrid day; then forthermore he concludet and seide  
 that there were summe of hem that there stoden at that 15  
 tyme the which shold not tast bodily deth til thei seene  
 mannessone, that was himself, comyng in his kyngdome; that  
is to sey, aperyng in a wonderful and ioyful clerenesse of  
his manhode as longyng to his kyngdome.

And that forto fulfille this byhest, about the 20  
 (viij) day after, he toke with him Petur, Iames, and Ione  
 vp into a hye hille that was, as clerkes seyne, clepede  
Thabor; and there he was transfigurede in hir siht; that is  
to sey, turnede out of the lowe likenes of seruauant into the  
hye and gloriouse liknes of his kyngdome, ffor his face 25

shone as the sunne, and hese clothes were als white as the  
 snowe. And therwith there appereden Moises and Helye, spe-  
 kyng with him of his passioun that he sholde suffre (in  
 Ierusalem); in the which blysful si3ht the disciples ra-  
ueshede. And specialy Peter, for3etyng al ertly thinge, 5  
desired forto haue duellede stille there in that blestful  
place and seide: Lord, it is gude that we abide and duelle  
 here, and therefore, if thou wold, make we here thre taber-  
 nacles: one to the, and one to Moises, and one to Helye.  
 (Bot he wist not what he seide), neyther in that he wolde 10  
haue duelled with Ihesu in blisse before that he suffrede  
with him the passioun of deth, as he hade told hem before  
that he shold do, nor in that he wolde haue seuerede hem  
thre that were alle one as in gostly felynge: the lawe,  
the prophetes, and Ihesu. And therefore, forto conferme 15  
him, that is to sey Peter and hees felawes, in trewe byleue  
of Ihesu that he was Goddes soun and that thei shold here  
and folowe him in alle thinge, therwith a briht cloude ouere-  
 shadede hem and out of the cloude came a voice fro the  
Fadre of heuen seyinge: This is my bylouede sone in whom 20  
 me liketh wele, and therefore here 3e him; that is to sey,  
in alle that he techeth, for he is verrey sothfastnes  
without lesyng. [59 v] And therewith foloweth him in that  
he sheweth, for he is the riht wey withoute erryng whom 3e  
haue herde [bothe] in the lawe, that is vndirstande in 25  
Moises, and in the prophetes, that bene vndirstande in  
Helye. And then, when the disciples hade herd this heuenly

voice beforeseide of the Fadere, thei felle doune to the  
 erthe on hir face with gret drede; for the infirmite of man  
miht not bere that hye voice aboue kynde. And then oure  
 lorde Ihesu benygnly lift hem vp and bad hem not drede.  
 And therwith thei, lifyng vp hir eyene and loking about 5  
 hem, seene no mo bot alonely Ihesu. And as thei wenten  
 doune the hille he bade hem telle no man that thei hade  
 seene til he, mannes sone, were rysen fro deth to life.

This is the processe of the gospel in the which whoso  
hath grace of gostly vndirstandyng and swetnes may se 10  
many [good] notabilytes [stirenge] to lowyng and despisyng  
of man himself and to feruent deuocioun and loue of God;  
and specialy he that hath felynge aboue kynde, 3iuen by  
speciale grace, may tast and haue miche gostly counfort.  
That He graunt vs part of. Ihesu crist. Amen. 15

Of the Reising of La3are and Othere Tweyn Dede Bodies

Among alle the myracles that oure lord Ihesu crist  
 wrouht here in erthe, the reisyng of La3are principaly  
 is comendet and souerenly is to be consideret, not onely  
 for the souereyn miracle itself, bot also for many no-  
 table thinges that befelle in that myracle, and diuerse 20  
 misteries, the whch seynt Austyn clergialy treteth by  
 longe processe vpon the self gospel; of the whiche sumwhat  
 I shal touche in partye, and more ouer as the grace of  
 oure lord Ihesu wole sende wit pertynyng to the purpose.  
 And for als miche as the gospel maketh mynde of thre 25

dede bodies reised by oure lord Ihesu fro deth to life,  
 of the which tweyn the first bene not spoken of specialy  
 in this trete before, therefore it semeth conuenient to  
 this purpose sumwhat [to] touche of hem now in this place,  
 as the forseid seynt Austyn doth. And first we shole vn- 5  
 dirstande and haue in mynde that as the dedes of oure  
 lord Ihesu after his manhede bene ensauple to vs forto  
 folowe him as in mekenes, pouerte, pacience, [64 r] and  
 other vertues, so in hese miracles done by vertue of the  
 godhede we shole not desire to folowe him forto do as he 10  
 dide, bot we shole wirchipe him as almi3ty god in that  
 partye and, more ouer, coueyt forto vndirstande the gostly  
 meynyng of hem: how tho miracles done than bodily and in  
 bodies bene now done oft sithes gostly in mennes soules.  
 And so, as seynt Austyne seith, by tho thre bodies the 15  
 whch oure lord Ihesu reised fro deth to life bodily ben  
 vndirstande thre maner of dede soules, the whch thorch his  
 speciale grace he reiset h euery day to euerlastyng lif  
 gostly. Ffor, as the gospel maketh mynde, he reised the  
 douhter of the maister of the temple that lay dede in the 20  
 house, by whom is vndirstande dedely sinne onely in assent,  
 without the fulfillyng therof in dede. Also, he reised  
 the widowes sone borne dede on the bere without the 3ates  
 of the cite, by whom is vndirstande dedely sinne without-  
 forth, parfoumet in dede. And the thridde dede body he 25  
 reised that was La3are, biryed and foure daies dede, by  
 whom is tokenet dedely sinne in custome.

Ffor if we take gude hede and vndirstande that sinne  
 is deth of the soule, we mowe fynde that the soule is dede  
 gostly and slayne thorn sinne in thees thre maneres: ffirst  
 by full assent of wille to do that is forbeden of god  
 onely withinforth in the soule, without the dede therof 5  
 withoutforth, as by ensauple of lecherye that is forbeden.  
 What tyme, as oure lord seith in the gospel, that a man  
 seeth a womman lustily to that ende forto haue to do with  
 hir fleshly, and fully assenteth therto in his wille;  
 thoub the dede folowe not after, he is acouted as a le- 10  
 cher in his herte and so is his soule slayn gostly thorn  
 that assent and ded in Goddes siht. And this maner of  
 gostly deth is vndirstande by that first dede bodye that  
 oure lorde Ihesu reised in the house, that was the douhter  
 of the prince of the sinagoge, or the maister of the tem- 15  
 ple, as it is seid before, of whom the gospel telleth that  
 he came to oure lord Ihesu preyng him that he wold come to  
 his house and hele his douhter that lay seke therinne.  
 And as oure lord, that of his grete grace and endles  
 gudenes was euer redy to help and hele al thoo that asked 20  
 him trewely, was goyng with him toward his house [65 v],  
 there came worde to the forseid prince that his douhter  
 was dede. And therefore thei beden him that he shold not  
 make the maister, that is Ihesu, trauaile in veyne, ffor  
 thei trowede wele that he was of miht to hele the seke, 25  
 bot not to reise the dede. Neuertheles, oure lord Ihesu  
 letted not for hir mysbyleue nor for hir scornynge to do

his grace, bot bade the fadere that he shuld not drede  
 bot onely byleue. And when he came to his house and founde  
 there, after hir custome, many wepyng, and mourneful min-  
 stralsye, and other aray for the exequyes, he seid to  
 hem: Wepeth not, for the wench is not dede bot slepith. 5  
 And than thei scorned him, for thei vndurstode not what he  
 mened. Ffor thouth she was dede as to hem, nautheles to  
 him that was of miht to reise hir and make hir to lyue  
 she dide bot slept. And than, puttyng out alle that were  
 in the house saue the fadere and the modere and the thre 10  
 apostles, Peter, Iames, and Iohn, oure lord Ihesu bade the  
 wenche rise. And anone she rose vp fro deth to life and  
 after ete and was al hole.

This is the processe of the gospel after the vndir-  
 standyng of the letter, in the which we mowe gostly vn- 15  
 dirstonde first that as oure lord god than reised bodily  
 the douhter at the preiere and by the feith of the fadere,  
 so he reisethe nowe oft sithes gostly dede soules by sinne  
 to life of grace thorth the preching and preyinge of holi  
 men and the feith of holi chirch. And as oure lord Ihesu 20  
 spared not for mysbyleue and scornynge of other to help  
 him that asked his grace, so shold not men spare to  
 profite to other soules, and namely men of holi chirch  
 spare to preche goddes worde whan it longeth to hir office  
 [and] to reisyng of dede soules to gostly life, thouth 25  
 summe men scorne hem or reprove hem therefore. Ffor,  
 as seynt Austyn [seithe], it falleth al day that a man

that is gostly dede by ful assent in his herte to dedely sinne, by the preching of goddes worde is compuncte in his herte therof thorch grace, as thei he herd oure lorde bidde him rise. And so is he reised in his soule by repentaunce fro deth to life, a[s] it were in the house, or that he 5  
 be borne without by the dede, more ouere, of that sinne. And this is the first manere of dedely sinne, and lihtest forto rise out thereof thorch grace, that is betokenet by the first dede bodie reised of Ihesu [65 r] in the house, as it is seide. Bot neuertheles, this manere of dedely 10  
 synne, that is, onely in assent, is moste perilouse if it longe abide, and specialy if it be gostly as hye pride or enuy. Ffor, as weynt Gregory seith, that sumtyme it is more greuouse sinne in goddes siht, pride by deliberacioun in herte, then is the dede of lecherye. And 3it, alday 15  
 that one is gretly charget, that is to sey lecherye, bot that othere seldom or litel; and therefore bene many men here deceyuet. Bot now passe we here ouer.

Of the reisyng of the secounde dede body is writen in the gospel of seynt Luke: how what tyme oure lord 20  
 Ihesu came to a cite that was clepede Naym, and hese disciples with him, and mikel peple. He mette at the 3ate of the cite a dede body, borne on a bere, that was the al one sone of a wydowe that came with the corse, and mikel folk of the cite with hir. And than oure lord, hauyng 25  
 pite of the grete sorow of the widowe, and meuede thorch his endles mercy, bade hir that she shold not wepe. And

than, [nei3ynge] and touchyng the bere, and therwith thei  
 that berene it standyng stille, he spake to the dede body  
 in thees wordes: Thow 3onge man, I say to the: arise  
 vp. And anone he rose fro deth to lyfe and went on hees  
 fete and bygan to speke; and so he betoke him to his 5  
 modere alyfe. This is the processe of the forseid gospel.

A lord Ihesu, mikel is thi mercy shewed to sinful  
 men; [thoru3] the which as thou reisedest that dede body  
 borne out toward biryng without preiere made to the be-  
 fore, only stiryng the thyne endeles gudnesse and pite, 10  
 so thou reisest alday gostly hem that bene dede in soule  
 by gret sinnes perfourmede in dede, as by the dede of le-  
 cherie, glotenye, and othere gret sinnes fleshly and  
 gostly, 3iuyng thi grace oft sithes before or thou be  
 preiede or souht by any desert. Thorh the which, sinful 15  
 men bene stiredede to repentaunce and forsakyng of sinne;  
 and so, by shrift and penaunce, doying after the lawes of  
 holy chirch, thei bene reised gostly to lif of grace that  
 first were dede by sinne perfourmede in dede. And if it  
 so be that this sinne be opunly knowen into yuel ensaum- 20  
 ple of othere, and sklaundre, then is it nede of opune  
 penaunce as holi chirch hath ordeynet after that oure  
 lord Ihesu 3af ensauple in that opene reising of the for-  
 seid dede body that was opunly borne dede [66 v] on the  
 bere withoutforth in siht of the peple. 25

Bot now as to our principale purpose forto speke of  
 the reising of the thrid dede body, that is to sey La3are,

foure daies dede. Ffor als miche as in this processe bene  
 continede many faire and gret notable thinges, therefore  
 we shole here more specially gedere in oure entent and make  
 vs by ymaginacioun as thei we were present in bodily con- 5  
 uersacioun, not onely with oure lord Ihesu and hees dis-  
 ciples, bot also with that blessedde and deuout meyne,  
 that is to sey Martha, Marie, and La3are, that was specially  
 belouede of oure lord Ihesu, as the gospel witnesseth.

And first we shole vndirstande and haue in mynde the  
 processe of the nekst chaptire before this: how vpon a 10  
 tyme when oure lord Ihesu walked in the temple, that is  
 to sey in that place that was clepede Salomons porche, in  
 the feste of the dedicacioun of the temple. The Iues comen  
 about him as rauyshing wolfes or wode dogges, with grete  
 ire grennyng vpon him, and seying in thees maner wordes: 15  
 How longe wolt thou make vs in suspense and in dwere in  
 oure hertes what thou art? If thou be crist, telle vs  
 opunly. This thei seyden by fals and malicious entent to  
 that ende that, if he hade opunly knowlechede that he was  
 Crist, that is to sey anoynted kynge, then forto haue 20  
 taken him and accusede him as traytor to Cesar the Emperer  
 of Rome. Bot therefore oure lord Ihesu, knowyng hir fals  
 ymaginacioun, temperede wisly his answeere and, as an in-  
 nocent lambe among so many trecherouse wolfes, soburly  
 and mekely seid to hem a3eyne: I speke to 3owe and 3e 25  
 leue me not, bot the werkes that I do in the name of my  
 fader tho beren witness of me what I am. And after, more

ouer, when he seide: I and my fader arne al one, thei  
 token vp stones forto haue stonede him as blasfeme, makyng  
 him self God. And forthermore, when oure lord hade con-  
 cludet hem in that party by resoun and auctorite of holi  
 writte that thei miht not a3eyn seye, and thei, not with- 5  
 standyng his resonable and meke answeere and so gudely  
 wordes, continueden and encreseden in hir malice. Ffor  
 als miche as the tyme of his passioun was not 3it comene,  
 and forto 3iue ensauple of pacience and of 3iuyng stede  
 to [66 r] rennyng wodenesse, he withdrowe him out of hir 10  
 handes and went with hese disciples by 3onde Iordane in to  
 that place where Iohn Baptist first bapti3ede, aboute  
 xviij mile fro Ierusalem, and there he dwellede a while  
 with hees disciples.

And in that tyme sone after, as the gospel telleth 15  
 nowe to oure purpose, La3are, the brother of Martha and  
 Marie, waxed sore seke. And anone the tweyn sistres sen-  
 den worde to Ihesu where he was in that forseid place by  
 3onde Iordane, seying to him in this manere: Lo lord, he  
 that thou louest, that is La3are, is sore seke. And thei 20  
 seiden no more, ffor als miche as hem thouht that that  
 sufficted to him that louede and wist what thei menede.  
 And also peraenture, for thei knowyng the malice of the  
 Iues a3eyns him into his deth, and how a litel before thei  
 wolde haue stonede him, thei durst not clepe him to hem, 25  
 bot comm[y]ttede alle to his wille. And than Ihesu ans-  
 werede and seide to hem: This infirm[i]tte is not to deth,

bot for the louyng of god that goddes sone be glorified  
 therby. The gospel telleth that he seide thees wordes to  
 hem, bot it specifieth not to whome, for the sistres that  
 senden to him were not that tyme present, bot a grete wey  
 fro him, as it is seide. Neuertheles, we mowe vndirstande 5  
 as by the processe that he answered to hem in thees wordes  
 by the messagere, or elles seid so to hese disciples, or  
 to bothe, as it is most lykly.

A lorde, what coumforte was this to the sistres when  
 thei hardene of the messagere these wordes that Ihesu 10  
 seide, this infirmite is not to deth, vndurstandyng per-  
 auntere by hem that hir brother shold not dye bodily by  
 that infirmite. Bot what discourmfort was it to hem after,  
 whan he was dede and biriede, not vndurstandyng that oure  
 lord menede of that gloriouse reisyng that folowede 15  
 after, nor trowyng than that it sholde haue falle. Neuer-  
 theles, that discourmfort for the tyme was after turnede  
 in to more coumfort then thei desirede first, by that thei  
 wolde haue had him preseruede fro the deth and helede of  
 his infirmite by oure lord Ihesu. Thus it falleth oft 20  
 sithes with hem that god loueth and bene in tribulacioun  
 or disese: [67 r] oure lord graunteth hem not that coum-  
 fort that thei asken and desirene, bot suffreth hem as for  
 the tyme to be in despeire of hir desire. And after, when  
 his wille is, he fulfilleth hir desire better then thei 25  
 wolde first and turneth hir discourmfort in to more coum-  
 fort than thei wolde haue ymagined or thouht.

Fforthermore as to the processe of the gospel. After  
 oure lord Ihesu was certifiende of the seke Lazare and hade  
 answered as it is seide, he duelled stille in the for-  
 seide place tweyn dayes. And after, he seide to hese  
 disciples: Go we a3eyne in to the Iewery. And thei, 5  
 aferde of this worde, seiden to him: Maister, riht nowe  
 the Iues wolden haue stenede the there, and now wolt thou  
 go thidere a3eyne? And then Ihesu answered: Be ther not  
 xij houres of the day? As who seith, whi be 3e aferd, su-  
 pposyng that the Iues continuen in hir malice? Wit 3e 10  
 not wele that as oft sithes as the houres chaungen on the  
 day, so oft mannes herte and purpose varieth and chaungeth?  
 Bot the gostly menyng of these wordes, as seynt Austyn  
 expowneth, is this: oure lord, vndirstandyng him self as  
 the day and hees xij disciples as the xij houres of the 15  
 day, reprehendet hir misbyleue and hir vnresonable drede  
 of his deth that was in his wille; that thei wold 3iue  
 counseil to him as men to God, disciples to the maister,  
 the seruauntes to hir lorde, and the feble and seke to  
 him that was souereyn leche. Wherefore, in manere 20  
 blamyng hem, oure lord seid to hem in this maner sentence:  
 Are there not xij houres of the day? Who so walketh in  
 the day, he offendeth not or erreth not. Ffoloweth 3e me  
 if 3e wol not erre; and wole 3e not 3iue counseil to me  
 withen it is nede of 3ow to take counseil of me. And 25  
 therefore, sithen it so is that I am the day and 3e the  
 houres, and by kyndly resoun the houres folowen the day,

and not the day the houres, foloweth 3e me; and that if  
3e wil not offende or erre.

And after this oure lord Ihesu, knowyng is spirite  
that La3are was dede, seid to hem: La3are, oure frende,  
slepeth, bot I wole go forto wake him and reise him fro 5  
slepe. And then the disciples, vndurstandyng fleshly the  
wordes of kyndly slepe, seiden: Sire, if he slepe, hit is  
a token that he shal be hole and safe of his sekenes.  
Ffor comunely by wey of kynde, slepe of sekemen [67 r] is  
token of hele after folowyng; bot Ihesu menede of his 10  
deth. And so here we mowe se the gret homelynes of oure  
lord with hees disciples, that as in maner of bourdyng  
spake with hem here; bot after, declaring to hem opunly  
that he spake first mistily, seide: La3are is dede, and  
I am glad for 3owe that thereby 3oure byleue may be 15  
encreased and strenghede, knowyng that I was not there in  
tyme of his deth, and so the rather byliuyng that I am  
Goddessone.

Fforthermore, leuyng many wordes of the gospel and  
takyng that semeth most notable to oure edificacioun. 20  
After, when oure lorde Ihesu turnede a3eyne toward Bethan-  
ye and the tweyn sistres hadden worde of his comyng, Mar-  
tha anone went a3eyns him; bot Marie satte stille at home  
til after that she was cleped forth by the biddyng of  
Ihesu. And so it semeth by thees wordes, so specialy 25  
after the letter tellyng howe these tweyn sistres, Martha  
and Maria, diuersely hadden hem as anentes Ihesu, that the

holi euangelist Iohn menede gostly here, as he doth in  
 othere places, the diuerse condicones that longen to hem  
 that bene in these tweyn astates, that is to sey of actife  
 life and contemplatif life. Ffor it is no doute bot that  
 Marie louede Ihesu als mikel as hir sistere Martha, or 5  
 more, and was als glad of his comyng, and als sory  
 was of hir brother deth, and als feruently desirede his  
 life. Whi then went she not anone with hir sistre out  
 a3eyns Ihesu? Bot in figure and for ensauple that thei  
 that bene in the state of contemplatif life shole not 10  
 take vp on hem bodily exercise of the dedes of mercy, as  
 forto go out to visite the seke, or hem that bene in pri-  
 soun, or to fede the hungry, or cleth the naked, and so  
 forth of other, or elles forto preche or teche, or to  
 minystre sacramentes of holy chirch, bot it so be that 15  
 thei bene cleped out thereto by the bidding and the  
 auctorite of holi chirch in Ihesu name, gostly, as Marie  
 was bodily.

Sittyng then Marie at home, as it is seide, and  
 Martha goyng out; what tyme she met with Ihesu, she 20  
 felle doune at hese fete and seide: Lord, if thou haddest  
 ben here my brother hade not be dede. Neuertheles, and  
 nowe I wote wele that what so euer thou askeste of God,  
 God wole 3if it the. She dorst not [68 v] sey vtterly that  
 she desirede inwardly, seying as thus: Now reise my 25  
 brothere fro deth to life, for she wist not whethir it  
 were expedient that hir brothere shuld be reised or whethir

it were Ihesu wille; and therefore she sette hir wordes  
 discretly in this maner of menyng: Lord, I wote wele  
 thou maist reise him, and therefore if thou wolt it salbe  
 done; bot whethir thou wolt or nouht, I comm[i]tte it to  
 thi dome and not to my presumptione. Than seide Ihesu 5  
 to hir that hir brother shold ryse fro deth to life, so  
 in generale wordes that miht be taken in tweyn maneres,  
 forto preue hir byleue of the finale resurrexioun, not  
 specifiyng whethir he wolde reise him at that tyme or  
 none. And therefore Martha, takyng that part that she 10  
 was siker of after the byleue, seide that she wist wele  
 that he shold rise in generale resurrexioun at the last  
 day of dome. And forthermore, at the askyng of oure lorde  
 whethir she byleuede that he seide of him self, that he  
 was resurrexioun and life, and of euerlastyng lif of 15  
 alle hem that byleuede sothfastly in him, she answerede  
 finaly thus: I byleued that thou are Criste, Goddes soun,  
 that art come in to this world for mannes sauacioun. And  
 than, at the bidyng of Ihesu, she went home and clepede  
 Marie, hir sistere, in silence; that is to sey in soft 20  
 spekyng seyng to hir: Oure maistre is comen and clepeth  
 the to him. And anone she rose vp and went to him.

Lo, how expressely here also is tokened gostly what  
 longeth to the contemplatife, that is to sey first in pees  
 and rest, silence and soft spech; and not loude cryinge 25  
 or gret noyse as the world vseth. And forthermore, what  
 tyme that oure lord clepeth him out by obedience to cure

and gouernaile of othere, as in the office of prelatie,  
 that then, by ensaumple of Marie, anone he rise by apply-  
 ing of his wille to goddes wille, loue he neuer so mykil  
 rest or haue he neuer so mykil likyng in swete contem-  
 placioun; that is to vnderstande, what tyme that he is 5  
 cleped so vtterly that if he withstode he shold synne  
 dedely by inobediencie. Fforthermore, we mowe se by the  
 processe of the gospel the speciale loue and homelynes  
 that oure lord Ihesu hade souereynly to Marie, in that he  
 abode stille there as Martha first mette with him and 10  
 wolde nouht do as to the reisyng of La3are in to [68 r]  
 tyme that Marie was comen. And then when she was come  
 and fallyng doune at Ihesu fete, and with sore wepyng  
 teres hadde seide, as hir sistere dide before, that if he  
 had be there hir brothere hade not be dede, oure lorde 15  
 Ihesu, seyng hir wepe that he loued to specialy, and  
 also the Iues wepyng that there were at that tyme and  
 were comen to coumfort Marie; he wept also, and that  
 for thre causes: first for the loue that he hadde to  
 Marie specialy and to hir sistere and to La3are; also 20  
 to shewe the greuoustye of sinne in custome and of the  
 gostly deth therethorh that is tokened in La3are, foure  
 dayes dede and biriede; and the thridde for the misby-  
 leue of hem that there were, the which beleuede that he  
 miht haue kepe him fro deth, bot not that he miht then 25  
 reise him to life a3eyn.

Who so wole than here inwardly take hede and beholde  
 how oure lord Ihesu wepeth, the sistres wepen, the Iues  
 sepen, 3e and as resoun telleth the disciples wepene,  
 skilfully he may be stired to compassioun and sepyng, at  
 the leste inwardly in hert, namely for synne in custome 5  
 that is so harde to ouere come and to rise out of,  
 as oure lord Ihesu shewed in gostly vndirstandyng by the  
 gret difficulte that he made as in wepyng and in maner of  
 turblyng him self, and that tweyn tymes wroth and gru-  
 cching in spirite before that he reised La3are, by whome 10  
 is vndirstand sinne in custome, as it is oft seide, 3iuyng  
 ensauple as seynt Austyn seith, that thou that art  
 ouerleyde with the heuy stone of dedely sinne be wroth  
 and grucche in spirite and turble thi self in this maner,  
 demyng thi self gilty and thenkyng how oft thou hast 15  
 sinned worthy euerelastyng deth and God, of his endles  
 mercy, hath spared the and suffrede the; how oft thou  
 hast herde the gospel forbedyng sinne and thou hast taken  
 none rewarde, bot art continually contrarie and fals to thi  
 first baptisme; and then, so thenkyng with compunctioun 20  
 for thi sinne and as in maner askyng in thi herte:  
 What shal I do? Whydere sal I go? In what maner sal I  
 askape this grete sinne and dredful perile of euerlastyng  
 deth? Whan thou seyst thus in thi herte, than Criste  
 gruccheth in the, for feith gruccheth, and if feith 25  
 [69 v] be in vs than is Crist in vs; and so in this man-  
 ere of grucchyng is hope of vprisyng. Ffor after this

wepying and turblyng, as the processe of the gospel telleth, oure lorde Ihesu asked where thei hadden put Lazare, not for vnknowyng, bot spekyng in manere of man and in tokennyng gostly of a straungenes of his grace to hem that bene ouerleide with dedely sinne for the tyme. Neuertheles, he hath al wey compassioun of the sinfulle and his mercy is redy to alle that wole trewly aske it, for after he hade asked where thei hadde putte him, and thei seide a3eyne: Lord, come and se. Then he wept, and the Iues that there weren seide: Lo, howe he louede him. And so he shewede the affeccioun that he hath to the sinfulle, as he seith in the gospel: I came not to clepe the rihtwise, bot the synneres to penaunce.

Bot now go we to the graue of Lazare, folowyng oure lord Ihesu with alle that meyne; that is to sey the tweyn sistres, Martha and Marie, and the apostles, and the Iues, many that weren there that tyme to coumfort the sistres and, as oure lord wolde, to se and bere witnessse of that solempne and worthi myracle. And so we mowe se, by deuout ymaginacioun, how oure lord Ihesu goth before, bytwix the tweyn sistres, talkyng homely with hem and thei with him, shewyng to him the grete discourmfort and sorow that thei hadde of hir brother deth, and specially for als mykel as thei durst not bidde him come to helpe hem and kepe him fro deth for drede of the malice of the Iues that knewen hade conspirede in to his deth, and how thei were hiely coumfortede than of his blessed presence. Bot

neuertheles, therwith thei hadden gret drede of him by  
 cause of the Iues. And then how oure lorde benyngly  
 coumfortede hem a3eyne and badde hem not drede of him,  
 for alle shold be for the best and at the Fadere wille.  
 And so, talkyng to gedir thei come to the graue that 5  
 was keuerede with a grete stone abouene. Than badde  
 oure lord Ihesu that thei shold take away the stone; and  
 thei, abashede for the grete tender loue that thei hade  
 to him, dredyng the horriblete and the stinke of that  
 carione that it shold ouht offende him, seiden: Lord, 10  
 now he stinketh, [69 r] for he is foure daies dede,  
 shewyng therby that thei hade none hope of his lyuyng  
 a3eyn. Bot oure lord, a3eynwarde coumfortyng hir byleue  
 and makynge the stone [to ben] taken away, afterwarde  
 lifyng vp hese eyene to heuen, seide: Ffadere, I thonke 15  
 the, for thou hast herde me; and sothely I wote wele that  
 thou herest me euer, bot I sey this for the peple that  
 here stant, that thei beleue that thou hast sende me. And  
 when he hadde seide thus, he criede with a gret voice:  
 La3are, come out of thi graue. 20

A lord Ihesu, what nede was the to cry? Sothely,  
 as seynt Austyn seith, to shew in gostly vndurstandyng  
 how harde it is to him forto rise to life of soule that  
 is ouerleyde with the stone of dedely sinne in custome.  
 How many bene there, seith seynt Austyn, in this peple, 25  
 the which bene ouerleide with this heuy birthene of wi-  
 kkede custome? Perauenture summe heren me that bene

ouercomen with Lechery or Gloteny that the apostle forbedeth hem where he seith thus: Wille 3e not be drunken with wyne, in the which is lecherye. And thei seyn a3eyn: We mow not. And so forth of othere gret misdedes and wikkednesses that God forbedeth and holi chirch, when it is seide to hem: Doth none of these lest 3e perish; thei answeren and seyn: We mowe not leue oure custome. A lord Ihesu, reise these folk as thou reised La3are; for thou art sothely, as thou seyst, resurrexioun or vprisyng and life. How heuyly this stone of wikked custome ouerleith men in alle degrees, not onely lered and lewede seculeres, bot also religious nyheby in alle astates. Whoso wole speke a3eyns hir wikked customes, he sal knowe sothely by experience and that ther is no remedye bot onely Ihesu. A lord Ihesu, crye to alle these menne with a gret voice; that is to sey, shewe thi miht and reise hem to life of grace, puttyng away that heuy stone of wikked custome, as thou reised La3are for, after thi crye, and at thi biddyng, he rose vp and went out of his graue, bot 3it bounden handes and feet til he was lesed and vnbounden by thi disciples at thi biddyng. This is a gret wonder, as weynt Austyn seith, to many men how he miht go out of the graue with hese fete [70 v] bounden, bot it is muche more wonder how he rose fro deth to life that was foure dayes byriede and with that body of a stynkyng karyene.

Bot what tokeneth alle this, seith seynt Austyn? Sothely, this it tokeneth: when thou doyst a gret sinne

by contempte thou art gostly dede; and if thou contyn-  
 uest customably thereinne, than art thou dede and byriede.  
 And when thou forthenkest withinforth, and shruest the,  
 and knowlechest thi sinne withoutforth, then risest thou  
 and goste out of thi graue, for it is nouht elles to sey 5  
 go forth out bot shewe and make knowen outwarde that is  
 priue withinforth. And this knowleching and shewyng of  
 sinne maketh onelich God, crying with a grete voice;  
 that is to sey, with his grete grace clepyng. Bot 3it,  
 tho he that was dede be reised and gone out of his graue, 10  
 neuertheles he duelleth bounden, that is to sey giltly, in  
 to tyme that he be lesede and vnbounden by goddes min-  
 istres, to whom onely he 3af that powere, seying thus to  
 hem: Alle that 3e vnbynde in erth sal be vnbounden in  
 heuen. 15

Alle this seith seynt Austyn in sentence, in the  
 which we mowe se opunly a sufficient auctorite a3eyns  
 hem that repreuene confessioun ordeyned by holi church  
 and also the assoylyng of curates, seying falsly that it  
 is ynogh generally to euery man forto shryue him onely 20  
 in his herte to Godde, and that prestes or curates of  
 holi church haue no more powere to assoile of synnes  
 than a noyther comene man, bot that God al onely as-  
 soileth and none other in his name.

Bot nowe, leuyng thees false opiniones and goyng to 25  
 the ende of oure forseid processe; what tyme that La3are  
 was reised to lif by oure lorde Ihesu, as it is seide, and

after vnbounden by hees disciples, he and hese sistres  
 with gret ioy lowely thonkeden Ihesu of that souereyn  
 ben[e]fete and ladden him with hem home to hir house,  
 makyng mykel mirth. And then the Iewes that there weren  
 wondryng hyely of that grete myracle, summe turnede in 5  
 byleue to Ihesu and summe 3eden and tolden the Pharisees  
 that Ihesu hadde done. And so was it publyshede and  
 opunly knowen, in so miche that grete multitude of Ieru-  
 salem and the cuntrey there aboute comen to se La3are,  
 that was reisede; and than were the princes of the Iewes 10  
 and the Pharisees [70 r] alle confusede and thouhten and  
 kastene forto sle La3are by cause that thorch him many  
 weren conuertede to Ihesu.

Now then, forto make a conclusioun of alle the pro-  
 cesse before seide of the thre dede bodies reised by oure 15  
 lord Ihesu, scynt Austyn seith in this sentence: Alle  
 these forseid thinges we haue herde, bretherne, to that  
 ende that thei that lyuen gostly kepe hem in lyfe of grace,  
 and thei that bene dede rise vp in this manere. Ffirst, he  
 that hath sinnede dedely by assent in herte and is not 20  
 gone out by performyng therof in dede, amende him of that  
 thouht by repentaunce; and so rise he vp that was dede  
 withinne the house of his conscience. Also, he that hath  
 performede in dede that he conceyuede dedely in thouht,  
 be he not in despeire, bot thouch he rose not withinforth, 25  
 rise he withoutforth, so that he be not biriede and ouer-  
 leide with the heuy stone of wikked custome. Bot

forthermore, peraventure I speke to him the which is ouer-  
 leide with that harde stone of hees wikked maneres  
 and kombrede with the heuyesse of custome, and so is as  
 foure daies dede and stinketh. 3it despeire he not, for  
 thouh he be depe dede and biriede, Crist Ihesu is hye of 5  
 miht and can breke alle erthly birthene, cryng thorh  
 his gret grace and makyng him to lyfe, first by him self  
 withinforth, and after takyng him to hees disciples forto  
 vnbynde him and so fully restore him to gostly life so  
 that there sal heue no stinke of sinne in his soule 10  
 gostly, nomore then dide in La3are, raisede bodily. That  
 he grant to alle that hauen nede. Ihesu Crist. Amen.

Latin Texts

Caput XLI: De Transfiguratione Domini in Monte

Assumens Dominus Jesus tres ex discipulis, ascendit  
 in montem Thabor, et transfiguratus est ante eos, ostendens  
 se eis gloriosum. Venerunt insuper Moyses et Elias,  
 loquentes cum eo de passione sua futura. Dicebant autem:  
 Domine, non expedit, ut moriaris, quia una gutta sanguinis  
 tui redimeret mundum. Dominus autem Jesus dicebat: Bonus  
 pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus; sic et facere me  
 oportet. Affuit ibi Spiritus sanctus in specie nubis  
 lucidae, et vox Patris facta est in nube, dicens: Hic  
 est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui,  
 ipsum audite. Discipuli vero ceciderunt in terram; et  
 cum excitati sunt, non viderunt nisi Dominum Jesum.

conspice igitur bene praedicta, et te praesentem exhibeas, quia magna sunt.

Caput XXVI: De Filio Viduae a Domino Suscitato

Cum semel iret Dominus Jesus versus civitatem Naim, obviavit multitudini hominum portantium quemdam juvenem filium viduae mortuum ad sepulchrum. Pietate ergo pius Dominus Jesus motus, tetigit feretrum, et portantes steterunt. Ipse autem dixit: Adolescens, tibi dico, surge. Et statim surrexit, qui fuerat mortuus; et reddidit eum matri suae. Omnes autem stupuerunt et laudaverunt Dominum. In considerationibus vero, recurre ut supra.

Caput XXVII: De Puella Suscitata, et Martha Curata

Ad petitionem cujusdam ex principalibus, ibat Dominus Jesus cum eo ad sanandum filiam suam. Cum ergo turba magna iret cum eo, intererat quaedam mulier graviter infirma, quae dicitur fuisse Martha soror Mariae Magdalенаe, quae intra se dicebat: Si tetigero tantum fimbriam vestimenti ejus, salva ero. Et cum timore approximans, tetigit, et liberata est. Dixit autem Dominus Jesus: Quis me tetigit? Et respondit Petrus: Domine, turbae comprimunt te et affligunt, et tu dicis: Quis me tetigit? Vide hic patientiam Domini. Nam saepe comprimebatur a turbis, quia volebant ei approximare. Jesus autem sciebat quid dicebat. Et iterum dixit: Ego sensi virtutem ex me exiisse. Tunc Martha negotium publicavit. Libenter

eam Dominus curavit, cum qua multam familiaritatem postea habuit. Et tunc dixit ei: Fides tua te salvam fecit. In hoc ergo miraculo habes fidei commendationem; habes etiam, quod Dominus vult miracula nota esse propter utilitatem communem; sed quantum in se, propter humilitatem abscondebat, ut hic etiam habes: quod enim divina fecerat potestate, fidei illius attribuebat. Habes etiam hic quoddam valde notabile ad humilitatis custodiam, sicut beatus Bernardus hoc modo introducit: "Quilibet perfecte Domino serviens, potest appellari fimbria quasi ultima pars vestimenti Domini, propter suam humilem reputationem." Qui ergo ad dictum statum pervenerit, quod sciat se a Domino exaudiri in liberandis infirmis, vel aliis miraculis, non extollatur propterea, nec sibi attribuat, quia non ipse, sed Dominus fecit. Quamvis enim hic Martha tangeret fimbriam, ad cujus tactum se liberari confidebat, et sic contigit, non tamen a fimbria, sed a Domino virtus liberationis exiit. Et propterea ipse dixit: Sensi virtutem ex me exiisse. Nota ergo hoc bene, et nihil boni tibi in perpetuum attribuas, quia totum est a Domino Jesu. Tandem Dominus Jesus ivit ad domum principis, et inventam filiam mortuam suscitavit.

Caput LXV: Quomodo Alia Vice Voluerunt Lapidare Jesum

Cum quadam alia vice in festo Encaeniorum, id est in festo dedicationis templi, Dominus Jesus esset in

porticu Salomonis, circumdederunt eum lupi illi rapaces cum furore maximo, stridentes dentibus, et dicentes: Usquequo tollis animas nostras? Si tu es Christus, dic nobis palam. At mitissimus agnus humiliter respondit eis dicens: Loquor vobis, et non creditis mihi. Opera quae ego facio in nomine patris mei, testimonium perhibent de me. Conspice ipsum nunc bene pro Deo, et totum negotium. Ipse quidem eis humiliter loquebatur, illi vero cum furore caninis latratibus perstrepebant in eum, ex omni parte sicut eum circumdabant, tandem non potuerunt occultare venenum cordis. Acceperunt igitur lapides, ut jacerent in eum. Sed Dominus Jesus nihilominus blando sermone locutus est eis, dicens: Multa bona opera ostendi vobis; propter quod eorum opus vultis me lapidare? Et illi inter alia: Quia tu, homo cum sis, facis te ipsum Deum. Vide mirabilem insaniam. Ipsi volebant eum scire Christum; et quia verbis et operibus hoc comprobabat, volebant eum lapidare. Nec aliquam excusationem habere possunt, quia potuerunt et debuerunt credere Dominum Jesum fuisse filium Dei. Quia vero necdum venerat hora ejus, exivit de manibus eorum, et recessit trans Jordanem ad locum, ubi Joannes baptizaverat, qui distat a Jerusalem per decem et octo milliaria, et ibi stabat cum discipulis suis. Conspice ergo tam eum, quam discipulos contristatos recedere, et eis compatere toto posse.

Caput LXVI: De Resuscitatione Lazari

Praesens miraculum valde celebre, multumque solemne cum devotione meditandi occurrit; et ideo sic te attentam exhibeas, ac si praesens fuisses his, quae hic dicta, velfacta fuerunt, et libenter converseris, non solum cum Domino Jesu et discipulis ejus, sed etiam cum ista benedicta familia sic Domino devota et a Domino dilecta, scilicet Lazaro, Martha et Maria. Languente igitur Lazaro, sorores ejus praedictae, quae familiarissimae Domino erant, ad eum miserunt ad locum in quem recesserat, scilicet trans Jordanem, ut in superiori tractatu continetur, dicentes: Lazarus frater noster, quem amas, infirmatur. Et amplius non dixerunt, vel quia hoc sufficebat amanti et bene intelligenti, vel quia timebant ipsum ad se vocare, cum scirent majores Judaeorum insidiari eidem, et cupere mortem ejus. Dominus autem Jesus, audito nuntio, siluit per duos dies, et post dixit discipulis inter alia: Lazarus mortuus est, et gaudeo propter vos, quia non eram ibi. Vide mirabilem bonitatem, et dilectionem Domini, ac solertiam circa discipulos suos. Indigebant adhuc majori robore et virtute: unde ipse libenter operabatur eorum profectum. Redierunt igitur, et venerunt prope Bethaniam. Martha vero cum scivit exivit ei obviam, et procidens ad pedes ejus, dixit: Domine, si fuisses hic, frater meus non fuisset mortuus. Dominus vero respondit quod surgeret, et de resurrectione ad invicem tractaverunt. Postea vero mittit eam pro Maria:

hanc enim Dominus singularissime diligebat. Ipsa vero ut scivit, festina surrexit, et venit ad eum et procidens similia verba Marthae dicebat. Dominus autem Jesus, videns dilectam suam afflictam, lacrymosam et desolatam de fratre suo, non potuit etiam ipse lacrymas continere. Unde tunc lacrymatus est Jesus. Comspice nunc bene ipsum, et illas, et etiam discipulos. Annon credis, quod et ipsi fuerunt lacrymati? Post aliquam morulam, sic plorantibus cunctis, dixit Dominus Jesus: Ubi posuistis eum? Ipse enim hoc sciebat; sed more humano locutus est. Tunc illae dixerunt: Domine, veni, et vide. Et ducebant eum ad sepulcrum. Vadit igitur Dominus Jesus medius inter duas sorores, consolans et confortans eas. Ipsae vero tunc de sua praesentia consolabantur, quod quasi omnis doloris et omnis rei oblitae, in eum solummodo intendebant. Cumque sic intercederent tres simul per viam, dicebat Magdalena: Domine, qualiter fuit vobis, ex quo recessistis a nobis? Dolor vehemens fuit mihi de vestro recessu; et nunc cum vos redisse audivi, magnum gaudium habui; sed nihilominus timui, et multum timeo. Scitis enim, quanta machinantur adversum vos principes et majores nostri, et propterea non fuimus ausae mittere, ut veniretis. Gaudeo quod venistis, sed rogo vos pro Deo, ut caveatis vobis ab illorum insidiis. Dominus autem respondebat: Non timeatis, quia Pater super his providebit. Et sic colloquendo ad invicem, venerunt ad monumentum. Tunc jussit Dominus Jesus

elevari ex eo lapidem superpositum; sed contendebat Martha, dicens: Domine, faetet, quatruiduanus enim est. O Deus, vide mirabilem amorem istarum sororum erga Dominum Jesum: nolebant enim quod faetor tangeret nares ejus. Nihilominus tamen, imo multo magis Dominus fecit lapidem elevari. Quo facto, ipse Dominus Jesus elevatis oculis in caelum, dixit: Gratias tibi ago, Pater, quoniam audisti me. Ego autem sciebam quia semper me audis; sed propter istos dico, ut sciant, quia tu me misisti. Aspice numc bene ipsum sic orantem, et considera zelum ejus ad animarum salutem. Deinde clamavit voce magna, dicens: Lazare, veni foras. Et statim revixit, et prosiliit foras, ligatus tamen, sicut fuerat sepultus. Discipuli vero ad Domini praeceptum solverunt eum. Qui solutus, et etiam praedictae sorores genuflectentes, gratias egerunt Domino Jesu de tanto beneficio, et duxerunt eum ad domum suam. Stupuerunt autem, qui ibi fuerant, et haec viderant; et divulgatum fuit miraculum, adeo ut multitudo magna a Hierusalem et aliis partibus venirent ad videndum Lazarum. Et principes Judaeorum se confusos reputantes, de ipso occidendo cogitaverunt.

## NOTES

The following notes refer to the Middle English texts on pages 142 to 164, above. The notes refer to the texts by the page and line numbers which they occupy in this dissertation; thus: 140.5 refers to page 140, line 5. Following the page and line reference in each note there is a short quotation from the text to indicate the specific passage which is under consideration. In the notes, L. F. Powell's edition of The Mirror (Oxford, 1908) is referred to as 1908. All biblical references are to the Vulgate.

142.9-10 "what tyme . . . that he." 1908 reads: "what tyme that / as the gospell of Matheu and Luke telleth / that he had tolde."

142.6-17 "And therwith . . . comyng in his kyngdome." Excluding the underlined portions, this is adapted from Matt. 16:21-28 and Luke 9:22-27.

142.20 "And that forto." 1908 reads: "And than forto."

142.21 "viiij" is from Luke 9:28. Cf. Matt. 17:1: "Et post dies sex."

142.23 "in hir siht." Cf., Meditationes and Matt. 17:2: "et transfiguratus est ante eos."

143.2 "snowe." Matt. 17:2 reads: "vestimenta autem eius facta sunt alba sicut nix." Luke 9:29 reads: "et vestitus ejus albus et refulgens."

143.2-3 "And therwith . . . sholde suffre." The Meditationes reads: "venerunt insuper Moyses et Elias lowuentes cum eo de passione sua futura." Cf., Matt. 17:3: "Et ecce apparuerunt illis Moyses et Elias cum eo loquentes."

143.3-4 "in Ierusalem." Cf., Luke 9:31.

143.6 "desired forto haue duelled." 1908 reads: "coueyted and desired forto haue dwelled."

143.10 "bot he wist not what he seide." Cf., Luke 9:33: "resciens quid diceret."

143.19-20 "fro the fadre of heuen seyinge." The Meditationes reads: "et vox Patris facta est in nube." Cf., Matt. 17:5: "Et ecce vox de nube dicens"; and Luke 9:35: "Et vox facta est de nube dicens."

143.21 "here 3e him." Cf., Matt. 17:5: "ipsum audite"

144.4 "lift hem vp." Cf., Matt. 17:7: "Et accessit Iesus et tetegit eos eixitque."

144.6 "seene." 1908 reads: "seynge."

144.5-6 "thei lifyng vp . . . alonely Ihesu." Cf., Matt. 17:8: "levantes autem oculos suos neminem viderunt nisi solum Iesum."

144.13-15 "and specialy . . . Amen." Compare the punctuation of this passage with 1908, and note the ambiguous antecedent of "he" in line 15: "and specialy he that hath felynge abouen kynde / 3euen by special grace / may taste and haue myche goostly comforte: that he graunte vs parte of / Jesu criste. Amen." The second "he" in this passage evidently refers to "God" in line 12, and I have treated it accordingly.

144.16-145.14 "Among alle . . . mennes soules." This introductory passage appears to be of Love's own composition.

144.21-22 See St. Augustine's Tractate XLIX, PL, 35, 1746-58, hereafter cited as St. Augustine.

145.15-27 "And so . . . in custome." Cf., St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1747-48.

146.1-2 "sinne is deth of the soule." Cf., St. Augustine, 1748: "peccatum; mors est animae."

146.7-12 The use of the example of lechery, Matt. 5:28, is evidently Love's own idea.

146.12-147.13 The narrative of the raising of the master of the synagogue's daughter is based primarily on Mark 5:22-43.

146.23-24 "not make . . . trauaile in veyre." See Mark 5:35, and Cf., Luke 8:49: "venit quidam ad principem synagogae dicens ei: Quia mortua est filia tua, holi vexare illum."

146.24-147.1 "ffor thei . . . his grace." This is evidently Love's addition.

147.6-9 "for thei . . . bot slept." This is evidently Love's explanation of Jesus' previous statement: "Wepith not, for the wench is not dede bot slepith." Cf., Mark 5:39-40.

147.9 "slept." 1908 reads: "slepe."

147.25 "[and]." Emended from 1908; MS reads: "in."

148.5 "a[s]." Emended from 1908; MS reads: "at."

148.10-13 "Bot . . . enuy." This is evidently Love's addition.

148.19-149.6 This narrative of the raising of the widow's son is based on Luke 7:11-17, with details added from chapter XXVI of the Meditationes.

148.21-22 "and hese disciples with him." Cf., Luke 7:11: "et ibant cum eo discipuli eius."

148.22-25 "He mette . . . with hir." Cf., Luke 7:12.

149.1 "[nei3yng]." Emended from 1908; MS reads: "nethhyng."

149.4-6 "And anone . . . modere alyfe." Cf., Luke 7:15: "Et resedit qui erat mortuus et coepit loqui, et dedit illum matri suae."

149.26-150.8 This passage is an adaptation of the beginning of chapter LXVI of the Meditationes.

149.27-150.1 1908 reads: "la3are that is foure daies dede."

150.9-151.14 Cf., chapter LXV of the Meditationes and John 10:22-40.

150.18-23 "This thei . . . his answe." This is an example of Love's frequent interpretive comments. The statement is not found in the Meditationes or John 10.

151.2-3 "as blasfeme . . . self god." Cf., John 10:33: "Responderunt ei Iudaei: De bono opera non lapidamus te, sed de blasphemia."

151.3-7 "And forthermore . . . hir malice." This is another example of Love's interpretation and intensification of events.

151.9-10 "and forto . . . rennyng wodenesse." This is apparently Love's addition.

151.10-14 "he withdrowe . . . disciples." Cf., John 10:39-40: "Quaerebant ergo eum apprehendere, et exiit de manibus eorum. Et abiit iterum trans Iordanem in eum locum, ubi erat Ioannes baptizans primum, et mansit illic."

151.15 ff. The narrative of the raising of Lazarus is a conflation of portions of chapter LXVI of the Meditationes, John 11:1-54, and St. Augustine's Tractate XLIX, PL, 35, with additions of Love's own composition.

151.24-26 "and how . . . his wille." This narrative link to the scene in the temple is apparently Love's addition.

151.24-152.2 "And than . . . glorified therby." See John 11:4. This passage is not in the Meditationes.

152.2-27 "The gospel . . . or thouht." This passage is not in the Meditationes, John 11, or St. Augustine.

153.1-11 "Fforthermore as . . . the day." This is a combination of John 11:4-9 and the corresponding passage of the Meditationes.

153.9-154.2 "As who . . . or erre." This passage is based on John 11:9-10, and details taken from St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1749-50.

154.3-8 "And after . . . his sekenes." This is taken from John 11:11-12 and St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1752.

154.6-7 "And then . . . kyndly slepe." Cf., St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1752: "Dixerunt ergo discipuli: quomodo intellexerunt."

154.9-10 "Ffor comunely . . . after folowyng." Cf., St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1752: "Solet enim esse somnus aegrotantium saluis indicium."

154.11-13 "And so . . . hem here." This is not in John 11, or St. Augustine, but Cf., the Meditationes: "Vide mirabilem bonitatem, et dilectionem Domini, ac solertiam circa discipulos suos."

154.21-25 "After, when . . . of Ihesu." Cf., St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1753: "Martha ergo ut audivit quia Jesus venit, occurit illa: Maria autem domi sedebat."

154.25-155.17 "And so . . . was bodily." This passage about the active and contemplative lives refers to chapter thirty-three of The Mirror.

155.22-156.18 "Neuertheles, and . . . mannes sauacioun." This is a loose adaptation of sections 13 and 14 of St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1752-53.

156.19-20 "clepede Marie . . . in silence." See John 11:28. St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1754, quotes directly from John. This passage is not in the Meditationes.

157.7-12 "Fforthermore, we . . . was comen." This interpretation is apparently Love's own.

157.15-18 "oure lorde . . . wept also." Cf., John 11:35: "Et lacrimatus est Jesus."

157.18-26 "and that . . . life a3eyn." This is apparently Love's addition.

158.1-27 "Who so . . . of vprisyng." This passage is a shortened adaptation of St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1755, section 19.

158.22-27 "What shal . . . of vprisyng." Cf., St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1755: "quid facio? quo eo? unde vado? Quando ista dicis, jam fremit Christus; quia fides fremit. In voce frementis aparet spes resurgentis."

158.27-159.13 "Ffor after . . . to penaunce." See John 11:33-37 and St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1756, section 21.

159.12-13 "I came . . . to penaunce." See Luke 5:32.

160.14-20 "makyng the . . . thy graue." See John 11:41-43 and St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1756.

160.21-24 "A lord . . . in custome." Cf. St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1756: "Fremet lacrymavit, voce magna clamavit. Quam difficile surgit, quem moles malae consuetudinis premit! Sed tamen surgit: occulta gratia intus vivificatur; surgit post vocem magnam."

160.25-161.10 "How many . . . and life." This is taken from St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1753: Quam multi sunt in hoc populo quos premit consuetudinis moles! Forte audiunt me quidam, quibus dicitur, Nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria: dicunt, Non possumus, Forte audiunt me aliqui immundi, lasciviis et flagitiis inquinati, quibus dicitur, Nolite hoc facere, ne pereatis: et respondent, Non possumus tolli a consuetudine nostra. O Domine, istos resuscita. Ego sum, inquit, resurrectio et vita."

161.10-18 "How heuylly . . . reised La3are." This is apparently Love's addition.

161.21-25 "This is . . . stynkyng karyene." Cf., St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1756-57: "Quomodo processit ligatis pedibus miraris, et non miraris quia surrexit quatruiduanus?"

161.26-162.15 "Bot what . . . in heuen." Cf. St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1757: Quid significat? Quando contemnis, mortuus jaces; et si tanta quanta dixi contemnis, sepultus jaces: quando confiteris, procedis. Quid est enim procedere,

nisi ab occultis velus exeundo manifestar? Sed ut confitearis, Deus facit magna voce clamando, id est, magna gratis vocando. Ideo cum processisset mortuus adhuc ligatus, confitens et adhuc reus; ut solverentur peccata ejus, ministris hoc dixit Dominus: Solvite illum, et sinite abire. Quid est, Solvite, et sinite abire? Quae solveritis in terra, soluta erunt et in coelo."

163.4-13 "And then . . . to Ihesu." Cf. John 11:45-53 and St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1757-58.

163.14-164.12 "Now then . . . Amen." Love's conclusion appears to be a loose adaptation of St. Augustine, PL, 35, 1747-48.

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This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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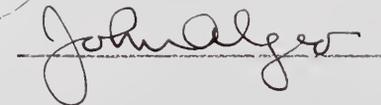
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