Notes to the Text and Appendixes
ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES


EETS, E.S.  *Early English Text Society. Extra Series.*

EETS, O.S.  *Early English Text Society. Original Series.*


PREFACE


4. See Frank A. Patterson, The Middle English Penitential Lyric (New York, 1911), who conceives of theology as “the cold, intellectual tenets of scholasticism” against which arose the tradition of mysticism from which, he claims, the lyrics sprang (p. 4);
also, George Kane, *Middle English Literature* (London, 1951), who says that the religious subject "as a whole had a restrictive effect" upon its poets (pp. 178-79). Stephen Manning, *Wisdom and Number* (Lincoln, 1962), vii-xi, has well summarized the traditional tendency of critics to find little of interest in the theological quality of the lyrics; however, his book offers a general rhetorical orientation for the Middle English religious lyric rather than a theological one. Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), which surveys the different kinds of religious lyrics and their spiritual background from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, was published while my study was at the printer. Although our two studies are complementary, they approach the subject in a fundamentally different way. See especially pp. 9-11; chap. iv, pp. 116-26, 134 ff.


11. In Natalie White's "The English Liturgical Refrain Lyric," the concept of refrain lyric includes every kind of repetition based upon a liturgical form, from trope, sequence, versus, Office hymn, salutation, litany, meditation, to the sermon form which she finds to be the basis of the Vernon poems. See also Stuart H. L. Degginger, "The Earliest Middle English Lyrics: 1150-1325, an Investigation of the Influence of Latin,
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Provençal, and French” (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954). This comprehensive study of the sources of the Middle English religious lyrics’ stanzaic forms covers the period from the Godric Songs to the poems of William of Shoreham and concludes that the influence of religious Latin poetry, both liturgical and non-liturgical, was paramount (pp. 190 ff.). For a thorough description of the types and origin of Latin liturgical poetry, see Ruth E. Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn (Washington, D.C., 1953).

12. See, for example, Brown, XIII, Nos. 23, 28, 29, 33–37, 45, 49, 56, 70; Brown, XIV, Nos. 1–5, 60, 64, 128.


14. The phrase is borrowed from Bonaventure, Breviloquium, Prologue, par. 3 (trans. Erwin E. Nemmers [St. Louis, 1946]), whose work has profound relevance for the study of theology and poetry. See below, Conclusion, pp. 209 ff. The concept is fundamental to his definition and description of Holy Scripture, which describes “the contents of the whole universe” and which human capacity can grasp because man has born in him a “certain most noble mirror in which the universality of earthly things is reflected naturally and even supernaturally.” Sacred history’s proportioning to man’s capacity is a principle also of the lyrics.

15. Following the sequence of the liturgy will at the same time provide a cumulative introduction to the subject matter of the lyrics. Both Patterson (The Penitential Lyric, Introduction) and Kane (Middle English Literature, pp. 108–10) have chosen a subjective classification by which to consider the Middle English religious lyric. Patterson, believing mysticism is the dominating influence on the poetry, has divided the lyrics by what he calls the inner factor of unity of emotion, according to the different states of mystical progress: purification, illumination, and contemplation. However, his classification fails to distinguish differences between the poems of focus and structure. Kane classifies the lyrics by the religious function the poet desires his poem to perform for the reader, a moralizing or a devotional one. Yet also by taking away the objective aspect of theology, Kane severs the devotional state of the affections from their object which is defined by sacred history and thus makes the poems seem to be autonomous dull exercises needing the reader’s separate act of “creative” and “poetic” imagination to make them into poetry. For further discussion, see below, pp. 47 ff., 59 ff., 110 ff., 120 ff., 136 ff.

INTRODUCTION

1. See especially Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures and Current Issues in Linguistic Theory (The Hague, 1957, 1964); and also Kenneth Pike, Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior (3 vols.; Glendale, California,
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1954–1960), who applies structural linguistic analysis analogically to non-verbal behavior, and see below, note 42.

2. See Claude Tresmontant, *Essai sur la pensée hébraïque* (Paris, 1953), especially pp. 216 ff. The books of the Old Testament were arranged in liturgical order as they were read through the year at the great Jewish feasts, a principle found also in the Gospel of Matthew who sought to provide for the synagogue worship of Christians commentaries about Christ to correspond with the Jewish readings and to fulfill them. See Louis Bouyer, *Life and Liturgy* (London, 1956), pp. 110 ff.


4. In early catechesis theology was summed up by a narrative called the *historia*, from the Fall to the Last Things, and interspersed with *theoria*, symbolic explanations of different stages of the story to explain the meaning to the catechist. See Herbert Musurillo, S.J., “Symbolism and Kerygmatic Theology,” *Thought*, XXXVI (Spring, 1961), 59 ff. See also Ernst Curtius’ description of the medieval concept of universal history, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard Trask (New York, 1953), pp. 450 ff.

5. For the table of contents see Part V, EETS, O.S., No. 68 (London, 1878), pp. 1–6. The first age is from the creation to the offspring of Cain; the second, Noah to Babylon; the third, Abraham to the coming of David; the fourth, David to the building of the Temple of Solomon; the fifth, prophecies, the conception and birth of Christ; the sixth, the baptism of Christ, His ministry, passion and death, the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Apostles, Mary’s assumption, the finding of the Holy Cross; the seventh, Antichrist, the Judgment, Hell, Heaven and the end of the world.


7. The distinction between Scripture and tradition was not clearly made until the Reformation, to counter the Protestant emphasis on ancient tradition. Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, I, 44–56. See above, note 6.

8. This principle of the divine *ratio* has been described and analyzed from many points of view and is central to any understanding of the relationship of medieval theology to literary form. It is fundamental to both Scriptural exegesis and the forms of the liturgy. See below, pp. 15 ff. The most profound analysis is the monumental study by Henri de Lubac, S.J., *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l’écriture*. Many studies have discussed its significance for literature. See Durant W. Robertson, Jr., and Bernard

9. In the work of the Fathers and scholastic theologians sacramentum had a wider meaning and was used interchangeably with *mysterium* to refer to the actions by which God communicates Himself to man. Thus the sacraments were defined in their relation to the Old and the New Testaments, which were seen, by actual origin of their names, as two instruments of salvation, two legislations, two institutions which are both, although differently, sacramental institutions. Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, pp. 74-76. See for example, Innocent III's introduction to his *Mysteriorum Evangelicae Legis et sacramenti Eucharistiae*, PL, Vol. CCXVII, esp. cols. 763-73, and chap. i, Book IV of G. Durandus' *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. Jean Beleth (Naples, 1859). For medieval commentary on the Mass as the fulfillment of Old Testament types, see Joseph A. Jungmann, S.J., *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (*missarum sollemnia*) (2 vols.; New York, 1951), I, 199 ff. See also Jean Daniélou, S.J., *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1956) for the definition of the sacraments by catechesis and commentary of the early Church as they "carry on in our midst the mirabilia, the great works of God in the Old Testament and the New" (p. 5).

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11. In the Gregorian Sacramentary the Canon was understood to begin with the prayer, "Te igitur clementissime pater." The conception of the place of ending varied. Jungmann, II, 103 ff. See Legg, pp. 221–29; *S.M.*, I, 42–56. For the significant structure of the Tiptoft Missal (Figure 2), see descriptive note. For the various methods of considering the Mass in the history of the commentary on the Roman rite, see Jungmann, especially I, 86–91, 169–17, and for a popular treatise on the necessary understanding and fitting behavior of the layman during the central part of the Mass, see *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, lines 247 ff., and pp. 128–47.

12. There is no provision in the Sarum rubrics for the congregation's communion, and according to Jungmann during this period lay people communicated rarely (II, 361 ff.). However, this did not mean that the layman did not participate in the Mass. See Walter J. Ong, S.J., "A Liturgical Movement in the Middle Ages," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, CXIV (February, 1946), 109 ff., and above, Preface, note 7.

13. For Trinity Sunday, see Legg, pp. 170–73. There is no Mass of Corpus Christi in Legg. The observance of the feast was instituted by the Bishop of Liège in 1264 and a few years later extended to the whole Church. See Herbert Musurillo, S.J., *Symbolism and the Christian Imagination* (Baltimore, 1962), pp. 161 ff. According to Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, II, xvii ff., the festival seems to have been deferred in Salisbury until about 1312–19. For its institution elsewhere in England, see Frere, also *S.M.*, II, 630.

14. The saints' feast were listed in the *Calendarium* (see Legg, pp. xxi–xix), and the lives of the saints read during the Divine Office were collected in the *Martyrologium* and *Legenda*. See *The Old Service Books*, pp. 133–51.


16. Legg, p. 33.


20. Referring to the words of Psalm 118: 164, 62, Benedict divides the Office into seven day Hours and an eighth night Hour. The Hour of early morning, which is now called Lauds, was originally called Matins, or the Morning Office, and the Night Office, which now is called Matins, was originally called Nocturns whereas now the term "nocturns" is used rather to refer to the several divisions within the Night Office. For a listing of Middle English versions of the Rule and an edition of three fifteenth century texts, see *Three Middle-English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet and Two Contempo-
21. Benedict's Rule is the first complete detailed description of the Office of the western Church. In 528 the Emperor Justinian had decreed that the clergy throughout the empire should recite the night, morning and evening Offices. In the early Middle Ages in monastic communities, the Psalter, the Bible and the homilies of the Fathers used for the readings, and an Antiphonary and Responsale were found with their musical setting in separate texts. These were combined, the readings shortened, into a single book for the convenience of the officials of the Roman Curia, called Breviarium secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae. As the Franciscans began to use it on their missionary journeys, it became the predominant form of the Office of the secular clergy. For a brief history, see Pius Parsch, The Breviary Explained (St. Louis, 1952), pp. 10 ff. See also David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, chap. i, and The Religious Orders in England (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 173 ff., p. 318. For a detailed discussion of choir service books and a history of the customs of Sarum, see Frere, The Use of Sarum, I, xi-xii, and for the Offices themselves, see II, Ordinale Sarum. See also The Old Service-Books, pp. 26-35.

22. Matins, Mass and Vespers were said daily in the churches. The whole population attended on Sundays and feast days, probably Matins and Vespers as well as the Mass. Natalie E. White, "The English Liturgical Refrain Lyric Before 1450, with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1945), pp. 35-41. The liturgy, Dr. White holds, was the life of the people, and the lay people of the medieval Church understood the liturgy in a personal way. She uses information from William Maskell, Monumenta ritualia ecclesiae Anglicanae (Oxford, 1882); Cardinal Gasquet, Parish Life in Medieval England (New York, 1906); and Edward L. Cutts, Parish Priests and Their People in the Middle Ages in England (London, 1898). See also Ong, American Ecclesiastical Review, CXIV, 104-13.

23. For the readings, antiphons, responses and hymns of the Divine Office as said at Sarum, I will refer to the Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum, ed. Francis Proctor and Christopher Wordsworth (3 vols.; Cambridge, 1882, 1879, 1886). The outlines of the Office can be found on the First Sunday of Advent, in the fourteenth century Ordinale Sarum, pp. 208-33, where Frere prints material omitted from S.B.

24. For Benedict's description of the Divine Office, see the Rule, chaps. viii-xix. Matins begins with an opening verse with the invitatory, interlaced with Psalm 94, and a hymn. This is followed by a series of three nocturns, each made up of (1) the recitation of six psalms preceded and followed by antiphons, and (2) lessons taken from the Old and New Testaments, from the lives of the saints and the homilies of the Fathers of the Church. These lessons begin with a blessing from the Abbot and end with a response and a verse which interlace and repeat. On Sundays and feast days are added three canticles. The Gospel of the day with its commentary, and the Te Deum, Nicetas' rhythmical prose hymn of praise to the Holy Trinity, would conclude Matins. Throughout the year according to the solemnity of the feast and the spirit of the season, the number of nocturns increases or decreases and the hymns change or are omitted.

25. Vespers actually anticipates Matins, introducing the theme of the next day's feast, and each of the greater feasts has a Proper for the first and for a second Vespers said on the feast. Lauds and Vespers have four psalms, and having four or more antiphons which are proper to the individual feasts, they reiterate during the day the themes of Matins and Mass. Lauds is more complex than Vespers, for each day includes besides the psalms a canticle from the Old Testament followed by the Laudate psalms 148, 149 and
Both Lauds and Vespers end with a chapter (short lesson), hymn and New Testament canticle (Lauds, the Benedictus; Vespers, the Magnificat) and additional prayers. The simpler Hours begin with a hymn, have only one proper antiphon to introduce their three psalms, and end with a short chapter and prayers. From the second through the sixth day of the week the psalms of Prime, Terce, Sext and None do not vary. The evening hour, Compline, begins with a short lesson and the Confiteor, has no antiphons, and remains the same for every day of the week.

26. The Rule, chap. ix. For the Roman Curia Breviary, the lessons were shortened. See Parsch, pp. 88 ff. for a description of the lessons. See also The Old Service-Books, pp. 129-45.

27. See Ordinale Sarum for Advent, pp. 8-9; for Septuagesima, pp. 53 ff.


29. Ordinale Sarum, pp. 90 ff. Until the season of Pentecost the spirit of the liturgy “is correlated with the story of Christ’s life. . . . In the time after Pentecost, in presenting the kingdom of Christ, the liturgy employs a prototype, taken from the annals of the Old Testament theocracy. As unfolded in the liturgy, the historical account of the civitas Dei is accordingly a prophetic vision, fulfilled in the course of the ages by the Church of Christ,” Parsch, p. 92, quoting Herwegen, Alter Quellen neuer Kraft.

30. The Rule, chaps. xvii-xviii. In addition to the recitation of the Hours of the Office, through the Middle Ages and especially in the monasteries the devotional practice grew of reciting daily the seven Penitential Psalms, the fifteen Gradual Psalms as well as Matins, Lauds and Vespers of All Saints and of the Dead. See The Prymer, Part II, EETS, O.S., No. 109 (London, 1897), pp. xxii-xxiii; also The Monastic Order in England, pp. 540 ff.


33. In the Proper of the thirteenth century Crawford Missal as edited by Legg in The Sarum Missal, the Conception is not indicated on December 8, but is combined on September 8 with the Nativity, In natiuitate et conceptione sancte Marie, and in the Calendar on December 8 is entered, “Concepcio sancte mariae. ix lec. Sarum nichil.” The Calendar of Paris, Arsenal MS 135 (about 1300), however, lists the feast (Legg, p. 510). Legg gives no information about the early fourteenth century Morris and Bologna Missals. Preconquest liturgical texts show the Feast of the Conception was being celebrated in England from about 1030. Although under Lanfranc’s Statutes the feast was excluded from the calendar, it was reintroduced by Anselm the younger from about 1121 and was defended strongly against Bernard’s attack in 1140 by the English. The Monastic Order in England, pp. 510 ff. See the full discussion by T. R. Bridgett in Our Lady’s Dowry (London, 1875), pp. 25 ff., 231-34, and The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance, ed. E. D. O’Connor, C.S.C. (South Bend, Indiana, 1958), chaps. iv, v.

34. Legg, pp. 259-60, 27 ff., and see below, Part I, “Gabriel fram Evene-King,” note 3. The Feast of the Visitation, first celebrated by the Franciscans, was instituted only in 1389 by Urban VI, the date of July 2 fixed in 1441. However, the account of Mary’s visit
to Elizabeth (Luke 1:39-47) was read at Mass and Matins on Saturday the Fourth Week of Advent (Legg, p. 20; S.B., Vol. I, col. xxii), and Elizabeth's greeting to Mary combined with the angel's salutation was incorporated into the liturgy. See below, Part I, "Nu Dis Fules Singet hand Maket Hure Blisse," note 10. On the incorporation of the feast, see Our Lady's Dowry, p. 235, and The Old English Service-Books, pp. 190-93.

35. Legg, pp. 246-50. The Gospel selection read at Mass was Luke 2:22-32, which ends before the prophecy. The theme of Mary's sorrow was developed in the lessons of Matins (see the commentary on Luke by Ambrose, S.B., Vol. III, cols. 137-39) and in sermons and meditations on the passion. See below, Part II.

36. For the Propers of the meaning of the feast, see below, Part III, passim. The Assumption was reckoned by Lanfranc as among the five principal festivals of the year. Our Lady's Dowry, p. 228, also chap. vi.

37. The Saturday Mass of Mary was introduced by Alcuin in the ninth century with the six other Votive Masses, one for each day in the week (Jungmann, I, 220 ff.), and from 1225 a Votive Mass of Mary was said daily in the Salisbury Lady Chapel (Frank L. Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain [London, 1958], pp. 77-78). See S.M., II, 74, which points out the significance traditionally attributed to having the Saturday Mass.


39. The Hours varied little, also, from region to region. By the twelfth century the Hours had been so generally adopted by the secular clergy that saying them became an obligation of custom. At Salisbury they were said daily by 1230. Perhaps as early as 1323, and certainly by the later part of the fourteenth century, the saying of the Horae in English became a popular lay devotion. The English Horae, or Prymers, were the means by which many of the phrases and concepts of the liturgy were repeated outside of the Churches. For the origin and background, see Edmund Bishop, The Prymer, Part II, EETS, O.S., No. 109, xi-xxxviii; William Maskell, Monumenta ritualia ecclesiae Anglicanae, The Occasional Offices of the Church of England According to the Ancient Use of Salisbury, The Prymer in English, and Other Prayers and Forms, with Dissertations and Notes (2d ed., 3 vols.; London, 1882), III, i-lxvii; and Christopher Wordsworth, Horae Eboracenses, The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York, Surtees Society, Vol. CXXXII (Durham and London, 1920 for 1919), pp. xiii-xlvi.

40. See above, Preface, note 13, and Brown, XIV, Nos. 34, 55; XV, Nos. 93, 94. The Index of Middle English Verse, ed. Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins (New York, 1943) lists 16 versions of the Hours of the Passion. Many of these are translations or versions of the eight stanza Latin poem, "Patris sapientia veritas divina" of the Horae, attributed to various authors in the fourteenth century (Wordsworth, Horae Eboracenses, p. xxiv). However, the example from Cursor Mundi is strikingly different. Each Hour is structured by several levels of correspondence: of a moment of the passion with a moment of the birth or the resurrection of Christ, of these with the falling into sin and cleansing of the soul as they lead, in turn, to the resurrection at the last judgment and to heavenly joy (EETS, O.S., No. 68, lines 25487-618). On the origin of the devotion, see especially Wordsworth, Horae Eboracenses, pp. xxiii-xxv, xxxii.

41. See the Hours as separately printed by Maskell in his introduction to Monumenta ritualia, III, ix-x, and by Wordsworth in his notes to Horae Eboracenses, after each Hour, pp. 47 ff. Of interest also is Maskell's listing of the reasons traditionally given for the division of the day into seven Hours, p. viii.
42. In his “Speculative Thinking in Mediaeval Music,” Speculum, XVII (April, 1942), 165-80, Manfred Bukofzer demonstrates a significant analogy between the method of composition of music in the Middle Ages, and of poetry and philosophy as well, and the medieval theologian’s method of glossing Scripture, where his additions were “generally in the nature of commentaries upon the original, and if these commentaries were themselves subjected to interpolation, the additions became comments on the commentary” (p. 172). His interesting plate of a MS which demonstrates the glossing technique provides us with a graphic embodiment of the ladder relationship of the readings of the Mass. There is also a profound analogy to be made between this structuring by the liturgy and Noam Chomsky’s “transformation machine,” a kernel of theoretical structural sequences from which other grammatical sentences can be derived, Syntactic Structures, passim. The medieval mind would move one level deeper in the analogy, from the exterior structure manifested, to the meta-language itself, the Person of the Word through Whom the language of creation comes into being and is understood.

43. With certain exceptions (to be noted), Warren’s translation of the Proper parts of the Mass of the Annunciation will be used for the following description of the ladder of value. S.M., II, 319-22.

44. Vulgate, trans. Douay-Rheims (London, 1914). Warren does not include an English translation of the Gospel readings and the Lessons. Although the Missal readings were not based on a standard text of the Latin Bible, because my object is to show principles by which meaning is established and not to analyze sources, I will supplement the texts of Legg and Warren with the above English translation of the Vulgate.

45. The liturgical unit was the basis, for example, of Bernard of Clairvaux’ four sermons on the glories of the Virgin Mary (Super missus est). This unit was defined by the liturgy before the chapter divisions of Scripture had been uniformly established in hermeneutical practice and provides another example of how the liturgy formulated the medieval concept of sacred history in relation to Holy Scripture. See Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, pp. 221-24; Jungmann, I, 459.

46. See S.M., II, 591-613, Scriptural Index. For the basis and development of the choice of readings, see Jungmann, I, 393 ff. and 419.


49. See especially Bernard’s second sermon, Super missus est. For an English translation, see St. Bernard’s Sermons for the Seasons and Principal Festivals of the

50. See especially the sequences for Mary's feasts, Legg, pp. 522-23; The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor, trans. Digby S. Wrangham (3 vols.; London, 1881), II, Nos. 8, 73, 74; III, No. 89; and in Middle English, see William of Shoreham, Brown, XIV, No. 32.

51. The Introit, for example, for the Saturday Mass of Mary to be said from the Purification to Advent is by Sedulius, S.M., II, 95. See Jungmann on the origin and relation of these passages to feasts of the day, I, 421 ff., esp. 434.

52. Although in the Sarum Missal "Introit" referred to the entrance of the clergy and "Officium" or "Office" to the chant, to avoid confusing this "Office" with the Office of the Hours of the Day, I will use the term "Introit" to refer to the text chanted. Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, p. 60; S.M., I, 23.


54. The process of rearranging texts and omitting parts to give the word of God to the people is called centonization, or "patchwork," Jungmann, I, 403.

55. Tropes were additions to the texts of the liturgy: either words added which dissolved a melisma (an extended melody sung on one syllable) into a syllabic melody, or both words and music which extended older chants, or combinations of both methods. See Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York, 1940), pp. 186-89. The final vowel, called the jubilus, was prolonged, and melodic strophes were developed for the sake of the choir's taking a breath. Each strophe was repeated. Words could be added, perhaps to guide the singer in remembering the music, and the strophes fell into parallel lines. A collection of melodies grew, with or without words, under parts of the melody, which usually modulated to the dominant halfway through.

56. For a history and description of the Latin sequence, see Ruth Ellis Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn (Washington, D.C., 1953), especially chap. iii. Around 1100 there were about 54 sequences in use in the Sarum Rite, and in the later liturgy as many as 101. In the reform of the Mass books under Pius V (1570) only four were retained, Jungmann, I, 437. For those in Legg, see pp. 461-96. For other Latin sequences, see Guido M. Drees, S.J., Analecta hymnica medii aevi, where Jungmann estimates 5,000 are collected. Troping or farsing of certain other parts of the Mass was a widespread practice. Legg includes 19 farsings of the Kyrie (pp. 1-6, 538-40), 15 of the Sanctus (pp. 540-43) and 17 of the Agnus Dei (pp. 544-47). The later Sarum Missal has a farsed Lesson from Isaiah 11:2, 6, 7 on Christmas Day (S.M., I, 96-97) and mentions in the rubrics farsings for the Gloria appropriate to the feasts of Mary (S.M., I, 25-26). See Reese, pp. 190 ff., also Natalie White, "The English Liturgical Refrain Lyric," pp. 71 ff., and Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, pp. 64-76.


58. For a discussion of the sources and development of this type of poem, see Natalie White, "The English Liturgical Refrain Lyric," pp. 116-95. Warren's translation of the sequence (S.M., II, 320-21) deprives it of power. Appendix I gives the Latin text found in Legg, p. 480.

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60. *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I, 379. The following description is based on Jungmann, pp. 359–90.


63. Part of the Preface also varies according to the season and the day, but to a lesser extent than the texts of the Proper, and the variations are to be found in a separate section of the Missal with the corresponding variations to be made in the *Communicantes* prayer of the Canon. See Legg, pp. 211–15; S.M., I, 34–41.

64. *The Prymer*, Part I, pp. 18, 21, 24, 27, 29, 35. For differences between antiphons used by the rites of York, Durham and Sarum, see *Horae Eboracenses*, p. xxviii.

PART I

"Gabriel, from Evere-King"

1. Only the opening words appear, *Canterbury Tales*, I (A), line 3216. The English version exists only in Arundel MS 248, leaf 154, and is presented here from Brown, XIII, No. 44. The MS contains as well the Latin sequence and musical setting. For the Latin and English with a facsimile of the music, see Frederick J. Furnivall, Chaucer Society, 1st Ser., No. 73 (London, 1885), Appendix II, pp. 695–96. See also Guido M. Dreves, S.J., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, Vol. VIII (Leipzig, 1890), No. 51, "De annunciatione B.M.V."


4. The tradition of Mary as the second Eve has its roots especially in the Vulgate translation of Gen. 3:15–16, where God proclaims enmity between the seed of woman and the serpent and that Eve shall bring forth her children in sorrow. The parallel between Eve and Mary is developed fully in the homily of Ambrose on the Annunciation, Y.B., Vol. II, cols. 236–39. See above, Introduction, pp. 18 ff. The poets’ application of the contrast between the law of motherhood and Mary’s painless childbearing to Mary’s becoming the mother of man through the compassion she suffered at the death of her Son will be developed below, especially in Part II.

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5. Gradual, Masses of Mary from Purification to Advent, S.M., II, 95; "Uirgo dei genetrix quem totus non capit orbis in tua se clausit uiscera factus homo," Legg, p. 390. The same verse was used later on the Visitation, S.M., II, 390, and is the basis later also for the third lesson of Matins in The Prymer, p. 6.

6. The OED lists as the earlier meaning of the word "peerless," derived from "make," an (or one's) equal, peer, match. The first citation given for its later denotation of "mateless" is 1425. For examples of singularis, see Legg, first sequence for the Purification, lines 23-24, p. 466, and sequence in commemoration of the BVM, lines 13, 21, p. 493; The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor, ed. and trans. Digby S. Wrangham (3 vols.; London, 1881), Vol. I, No. 3, lines 59-61; Vol. II, No. 66, lines 1-4, No. 73, lines 29-30, 43-45, 63-66, and Vol. III, No. 90, lines 65-68. For the restricted application to Mary of specialis or specialiter when her uniqueness is to be distinguished from the singularity of every man in relation to the Church, see Henri de Lubac, S.J., Méditation sur l'Église (3° éd.; Paris, 1954), pp. 301 ff. For fuller discussion of "makeles," see below, "I Syng of a Myden pat Is Makeles," note 17.

7. The meaning of "figure" used in this study in regard to the Middle English lyric will be made clearer below as it is illustrated by the poems in later chapters. It has been chosen in order to point out the analogy between a structural principle of the lyrics and the liturgy and homilists' method of formulating the proportions of sacred history. (See above, Introduction, pp. 5 ff., 10 ff., and 17 ff.) For an especially useful analysis of the term, see Erich Auerbach's comprehensive essay, "Figura," in Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays (New York, 1959), pp. 11-76.

8. The Latin version of the sequence, Arundel MS 248, leaf 154, differs considerably from the simpler English version, containing more abstract, even witty, theological language and manipulation of syntax. In contrast to the English poem, the ideas of virginal conception and parturition are introduced in stanza 1 ("concipies, & paries/ intacta"). The actions and concepts are presented as logical paradoxes. The grammatical constructions flow tensely against the stanzaic form, as, in contrast to the more rigid conformity of thought to stanzaic structure in the English version, the thought moves without break from the opening to the closing lines of each stanza.


10. See Jean Daniélou, S.J., The Bible and the Liturgy (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1956), pp. 5, 21, 53. For a development of the parallel in a Middle English work of instruction, see from the Vernon MS, "A Treatise of the Manner and Mede of the Mass," as printed in The Lay Folks' Mass Book, ed. Thomas F. Simmons, EETS, O.S., No. 71 (London, 1879), especially pp. 483-508. For a short description of sacred history in these terms, see Bonaventure's Breviloquium, trans. Erwin E. Nemmers (St. Louis, 1946), and below, Conclusion. In various ways the proportions of the poems to be discussed below embody the principles of the symmetry of sacred history.


14. For the facsimile of the monodic setting, see Furnivall, Chaucer Society, plate facing p. 695.

15. Repetition of each melodic unit with a variation in the words is the characteristic structural development of the sequence which was originally sung by two groups in alternation. See above, Introduction, pp. 20 ff., also Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), pp. 187-89, and Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1958), pp. 64-70.

16. The syntactic unit begun in the couplet of stanza 1 extends through line 9, and the generally offered translation of “pis euene lith” is, in apposition to “godes sone,” “this light of heaven.” See, e.g., Brown, *XIII*, glossary, “liht,” R. T. Davies, *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology* (Evanston, 1964), p. 106. However, one can argue, on the strength of the couplet rhyme and the melodic unit and by analogy to the handling of the couplet in stanzas 3–5, that the phrase means, God’s Son “will descend this evening.” “Lith” according to the *OED* had a tradition of use in relation to the Incarnation, and the unetymological *e* of “euen” (*MED*) could be taken as a dative in adverbial use, in which case lines 5–9 would read: “Hail be thou, truly full of grace, for the Son of God this evening will descend,/ for love of man/ will become man,/ and take/ flesh of thee, maiden bright.”

17. The effect suggests that of the Latin poem, which in its handling of the syntax and greater complexity of thought has a greater unity and suspense. The clearer, more consistent divisions within the stanza of the English poem allow the symmetry of proportion in development, to be described below, pp. 44 ff.

18. The principle of development is analogous to the medieval conception of *proportio* fundamental to many kinds of structure. For a discussion of this idea and sources, see below, Part III, “The Figure of Delight,” note 7.

19. See note 16.

**The “Maiden Makeles”**


4. “Explication de Texte Applied to Three Great Middle English Poems,” *Archivum Linguisticum*, III (1951), 159. See W. W. Greg, *Modern Philology*, VII (October, 1909), 165–67. See also Kane’s evaluation: “I would not have this lyric thought too bad; it has the charm of the archaic, but its author is over-explicit and will not assume knowledge or readiness to cooperate in the reader. His elaborate demonstrations of the obvious detract from the quality of the poem. Moreover, his attitude to the subject is mainly religious, and little affected by the operation of the creative imagination,” *Middle English Literature*, p. 162.

5. See below, p. 53 and note 12.

6. The kingship of Christ is a theme especially of Advent and Christmas, when the Church relives the coming of Christ in the Incarnation and anticipates His second coming as Judge and King from His place in glory. See especially Isa. 1–10; the homilies of Gregory on Luke 21 (S.B., Vol. 1, cols. lxxvii ff.) and Matt. 11 (S.B., Vol. 1, cols.
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cvi ff.); the Christmas liturgy, S.B., Vol. I, cols. clv-clvi, S.M., I, 100; and Bede, S.B., Vol. III, cols. 237 ff. See also Figure 4 and its descriptive note. In a sermon for the Second Sunday of Advent, Aquinas compares the second coming of Christ to Proverbs 19:12, "As the roaring of a lion, so also is the anger of a king: and his cheerfulness as the dew upon the grass," saying that the anger of God in His second coming will be like the roaring of the lion, but His mildness now is like the gentleness of falling dew. See Jean Leclercq, O.S.B., L'idée de la royauté du Christ au moyen âge (Paris, 1959), p. 104.


8. For the development of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, see above, Introduction, note 33.


12. See Brown, XIII, xx-xxii.


14. For examples, see Eric G. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (Paris, 1928), especially pl. 15.

15. S.M., II, 95; Legg, p. 389.

16. Legg, p. 391; S.M., II, 98.

17. The primary meaning in this poem, in "Gabriel, fram evene-king," and in "Nu bis fules singet" is "without an equal, matchless." See above pp. 34 and p. 34, note 6. See also the careful distinction made as the maiden in Pearl (ed. E. V. Gordon [Oxford, 1953]) plays on the words "makeles" and "maskelles," lines 721-88. Addressing Mary (line 435) and referring to Christ (line 757) as "makeles," she refuses for herself the title "makeles quene," classing herself as one of "a hondred and forty fourwande flo" who are "maskelles," "unblemyst" (lines 781-86). See, however, Stephen Manning,
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Wisdom and Number (Lincoln, 1962), pp. 160-61, and note 23, pp. 168-69, who gives primary importance to its later denotation of "mateless."


21. The few examples given by OED of this meaning are from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, e.g., King Horn (Camb. MS, line 287), "Du schalt wi[p] me to bure gon,/ To speke wi[p] Rymenhilde stille."

22. See John Speirs, Medieval English Poetry, p. 68, for an exaggerated development of the natural and pagan imagery in this poem. According to R. T. Davies, April may suggest the month which begins the new age of man's redemption, Medieval English Lyrics, pp. 18, 335.


24. The Prymer, p. 21; S.B., Vol. I, cols. cvii, ccxcii. Judges 6:34-40 tells how Gideon twice asked God for a sign that the Israelites would overcome the enemy. Twice he put a fleece on the threshing floor. The first morning he found that miraculously God had cast dew on the fleece while the ground remained dry. The second morning the fleece remained dry while the ground was found wet with dew. The sign of the fleece was applied to the fact that Mary bore Christ while remaining a virgin. Associated often with this story from Judges was Ps. 71:6, "Descendet sicut pluvia in vellus." See F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1927), pp. 371 ff. The figure was common in the hymns to Mary, e.g., Adam of St. Victor, Liturgical Poetry, Vol. II, No. 66; Vol. III, No. 95.


26. Stephen Manning, Wisdom and Number, pp. 158-67, points out the numerical symbolism of the poem's structure, the five stanzas suggesting Mary's five joys, the five letters in her name Maria, and finds in the threefold occurrence of the dew image a sign of the Holy Trinity's operation in the incarnation.

27. "Bour," according to MED, n. 2 (b), referred often to a lady's bed chamber where a lover came; in the Ormulum the word was used of Mary's chamber at the annunciation. For examples of its figurative application to Mary's womb, see 3 (a).

28. Cant. 4:12, from the Lesson of the Octave of the Assumption, S.M., II, 465. See also John Mirk, "Crist sayde to hur: 'Com, my swete, com my flour, com my culuer,
myn owne boure, com my modyr, now wyth me; for Heuyn qwene I make he!” Mirk’s
Festial: A Collection of Homilies, by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk), ed. Theodor Erbe,

29. Millar, MSS of the XIVth and XVIth Centuries, pl. 15.

30. S.B., Vol. III, col. 233. See also the Vespers antiphon of the Second Sunday in
Advent, after the chapter, “In die illa erit germen Domini in magnificientia et gloria; et
fructus terrae sublimis: et exultatio his qui salvati fuerint de Israel” (Isa. 4:2), and the
verse, “Rorate caeli . . . ,” S.B., Vol. I, col. lxxxi. This antiphon and the following
passage from the Canticle of Moses (Deut. 32), sung regularly at Saturday Lauds, bear a
close relationship to the image of the poem: “Concrescat ut pluvia doctrina mea: fluat ut
ros eloquium meum. Quasi imber super herbam, et quasi stillae super gramina: quia

31. Lesson for Octave of the Assumption, S.M., II, 465, and for the Visitation, S.M.,
II, 389—quoted from Douay-Rheims Bible, Cant. 2:1–2. Legg indicates other passages
from the Canticles. See also S.B., Vol. III, cols. 47, 391–92, 413, 785. Flowers are applied
to Mary especially in the sequences, e.g., Annunciation, S.M., II, 320–21 (see below,
Appendix I), and the many sequences for the Assumption, S.M., II, 466 ff., Adam of St.
Victor, Vol. II, No. 73.

32. For liturgical sources see above, note 9; also Raw, pp. 412–13; Manning, p. 165;
Davies, p. 18. The poet, too, may here have had in mind the Old Testament figure of
the burning bush which Yahweh caused to be a sign for Moses: “Bi þe buysch þat moises
síg vnbrent, we knowen þat þi préisable maidenhede is kept. modir of god, preie for us!”
(antiphon for Sext, The Prymer, p. 24) a figure frequently used with that of the
flowering rod and the fleece in sequences. See Advent, Mass of Mary, S.M., II, 78 ff.;


34. Middle English Literature, pp. 164–65.

“ALS I LAY VP-ON A NITH”

1. Bonaventure, Breviloquium, trans. Erwin E. Nemmers (St. Louis, 1946), Pro-
logue, sec. 2, 4.


4. Besides relating the poem to the genre of vision poetry, the setting is typical also
of the formal opening identified by Edmund K. Chambers as the chanson d’aventure,
which begins with a narrative preface in which the poet pretends he witnesses the
action he reports. Chambers and Frank Sidgwick, Early English Lyrics, Amorous,
Divine, Moral & Trivial (London, 1907), p. 266. For fuller discussion, see Helen E.
Sandison, The “Chanson d’aventure” in Middle English (Bryn Mawr, 1913). The
function of the setting for this poem will be discussed below.

5. Although OED lists “withouten wone” as an idiom meaning “without delay”
(citing a single example) and in his edition Richard L. Greene glosses the phrase with
the same meaning (The Early English Carols [Oxford, 1935], p. 383), the context of
the phrase in this poem is the mystery of the virgin birth, and I prefer Brown’s gloss of
“wone” with its primary denotation as “custom” or “accustomed.” Taken as a whole,
Mary's statement means that the angel prophesied she should bear man's bliss without womankind's penalty of pain (see above, "Gabriel, fram Ewe-Ning," notes 3 and 4) and implicitly makes the relationship between her painless giving birth and the redemption of man. This translation is borne out in line 51, by the actual birth "in maydened with-ouen kare."

6. The word "see" with its connotations of ecclesiastical power, although seeming to be anomalous, perhaps is used to suggest by contrast the falsity of Mary's later assumption that her Son will be an earthly king, whereas the words mean He is to be a king in the context of a spiritual kingdom or priesthood.

7. The four events are those celebrated by the Christmas and Epiphany season liturgy: the Circumcision on January 1, the Octave of Christmas, Legg, pp. 35-36; the Epiphany on January 6, Legg, pp. 37-39; the Purification on February 2, Legg, pp. 246-50; the finding of Jesus in the Temple is not a festival, but the account in Luke is the Gospel reading for the First Sunday after Epiphany, Legg, p. 41. See below, pp. 85 ff.


9. Besides the manifestation of Christ to the gentile Kings, two other events are classed as epiphanies: the baptism of Christ by John (Stanza XXIII), which is commemorated in the Gospel for the Octave of the Epiphany (Legg, p. 39), and Christ's changing of the water into wine at the wedding at Cana, commemorated in the Gospel for the Second Sunday after Epiphany (Legg, p. 42). The three epiphanies are the subject of the hymn "Hostis Herodes impie," sung at Vespers from the Epiphany through the Octave. Text, S.B., Vol. I, col. cccxi. See also St. Bernard's Sermons for the Seasons and Principal Festivals of the Year, trans. Mt. Melleray (3 vols.; Westminster, Md., 1950), II, 1-14.


11. Greene, Early English Carols, p. cxxv, classifies this poem as a "Lullay Carol" in the Anglo-Irish Franciscan tradition, although in its narrative and dramatic qualities it seems to have ballad-like characteristics. It is difficult to believe that the refrain was repeated after each of the 37 stanzas as would be characteristic of a carol (see Greene, pp. cxxxii ff.). The story might have been sung consecutively, breaking according to the tale into the regular units of five stanzas, each followed by the "lullay" refrain.

12. George Kane, Middle English Literature (London, 1951), pp. 178 ff. See this attitude, for example in R. T. Davies' anthology, Medieval English Lyrics (Evanston, 1964). No. 38 is an abridged edition of "Als i lay vp-on a nith," in which the angel's prophecy and sign that the Child is to be the Messiah (Stanzas IX-XI) are omitted as well as the entire tale told by Christ up through His passion (Stanzas XVII-XXI). The implication is that since these parts of the tale are the standard story of the life of Christ, for the understanding of the poem they need not be repeated.

13. So regularly measured are the stages of the telling in each of the five units, that one is tempted to look for further correspondences between them. Putting the units of
five side by side one can see, for example, (1) in the first part of each unit the developing figure of birth and baptism: annunciation and birth of Christ, circumcision (traditional Old Testament type of baptism) and resurrection (fulfillment of Christ's birth, traditional figure for man's rebirth in baptism); (2) in the second part of each unit, Christ's Divinity: His conception by the Holy Spirit, His painless birth, His epiphany to the Magi, the overthrow of Satan, His purpose to liberate man, His ascension into the glory of His godhood; (3) in the third part, the Church: the presentation in the Temple, the sending of the disciples, the sending of the Holy Spirit; (4) in the last part, the development of the poem's narrative.

PART II

"Pe Milde Lomb Isprad o Rode"

1. From Lamentatio St. Bernardi de compassione Mariæ, a sermon attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, as printed from the Antwerp ed. (1616), cols. 156 ff., in G. Kribel, "Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole II," Englische Studien, VIII (1885), 98.

2. PL, Vol. CLIX, cols. 271-90. For a general description of Mary's laments in Middle English poetry up to the fifteenth century, see George C. Taylor, "The English 'Planctus Mariae,'" Modern Philology, IV (April, 1907), 605-37.

3. My references to sources differ from those given by Brown. For the source of the two thirteenth century poems and the fourteenth century "Wy haue ge no reuthe on my child?" Brown refers to the Migne edition of the Bernard dialogue, Liber de passione Christi et doloribus et planctibus matris ejus, PL, Vol. CLXXXII, cols. 1133-42. See Brown, XIII, pp. 200-201, 204, and XIV, p. 265. However, the Kribel version will be the source used for this study, because it is fuller, provides more parallels to the English poems, and uses the fulfillment of Simeon's prophecy in a way identical to Brown, XIII, No. 47, lines 31-36. According to Brown, who refers to the words immediately above the poem in the MS, the fourteenth century "Suete sone, reu on me & brest out of bi bondis" is based on a meditation ascribed to Bede. See Brown, XIV, p. 266, note on No. 64. However, we shall see below its close relationship to the Lamentatio attributed to Bernard.


5. Brown, XIV, Nos. 67, 128.

6. For a full definition of the theological concepts relevant to the following poems, see the sermon on Christ's passion, St. Bernard's Sermons for the Seasons and Principal Festivals of the Year, trans. Mt. Melleray (3 vols.; Westminster, Md., 1950), II, 135-53.


8. This is the manner also in which Mary portrays Christ in Lamentatio St. Bernardi: "Et ipse me videns fuit in cruce eleuatus et ligno durissimis clausus affixus. Stabam et ego videns eum, et ipse videns me plus dolebat de me quam de se. Ipse vero tanquam agnus coram tendente se vocem non dabat, nec aperiebat os suum. Aspiciebam
ego infaelix et misera Deum meum et filium meum in cruce pendentem et morte turpissima morientem. Tantoque dolore et tristitia vexabar in mente quod non posset explicari sermone. . . .” Kribel, p. 90. See also below, note 11.

9. The Paschal Lamb as a figure for Christ is defined most fully by the liturgy of Passiontide and Easter. The Eucharist was instituted in the framework of the Feast of Passover (Exod. 12). See especially Maunday Thursday readings commemorating the institution of the Eucharist, the Good Friday readings of Exod. 12:1-11 and of the Passion according to John 18, 19:1-37 (Legg, pp. 102 ff. and pp. 109 ff.; S.M., I, 236 and 251 ff.), and the Easter Preface (Legg, p. 213, S.M., I, 36). In the Canon of the Mass the figure is used after the fraction of the Host, when the words of John the Baptist (John 1:29) are applied in the Agnus Dei (see Figure 2 and descriptive note). For a presentation of the Lamb suggestive of this poem, see stanzas 6 and 7 of Venantius Fortunatus' hymn, “Pange lingua gloriosi,” sung during the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday (Legg, pp. 113-14; S.M., I, 259-61, also S.B., Vol. I, col. decxxix). For commentary, see Innocent III, PL, Vol. CCXVII, col. 853; Aquinas, Summnæ theol., III, Ques. 73, art. 6. The ultimate revelation of Christ through the figure of the Lamb is in the Apocalypse, especially chaps. 5, 14, 19, 22.

10. “Christ's afflictions ought to be of such a kind that He could suffer nothing without His consent. This is so not only because of the blessedness and omnipotent divinity united in Him by which He was able to repel all, but also because of His most perfect innocence which in the order of natural justice is not allowed to suffer anything unwillingly.” Bonaventure, Breviloquium, trans. Erwin E. Nemmers (St. Louis, 1946), Part IV, chap. iii, sec. 4. “He was offered because it was his own will, and he opened not his mouth” (Isa. 53:7). See also Bernard, Sermons, II, 137-38, and “He alone had power to lay down his life: no man could take it away from Him: He offered it of His own will,” pp. 138-39.

11. This carries out the suggestion from Isaiah 53:2-3 of the suffering servant: “There is no beauty in him, nor comeliness: and we have seen him, and there was no sightliness, that we should be desirous of him: Despised and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with infirmity: and his look was as it were hidden and despised. Whereupon we esteemed him not.” Mary develops the theme also in the Lamentatio St. Bernardi: “Erat enim aspectu dulcis, colloquio suauis et omni conversa­tione benignissimus. Manabat namque sanguis eius ex quatuor partibus rigantibus undis, ligno manibus pedibusque confixis. De vultu illius pulchritudo effluxerat omnis, et qui erat prae filius hominum speciosa forma, videbatur omnium indecorus. Videbam quod complebatur illud propheticum in eo: Vidimus eum et non erat ei species neque decor. Vultum enim illius iniquorum Judaeorum foedaverat liuer.” Kribel, pp. 90-91.

12. For the evolution of the concept “corpus mysticum,” the mystical body, as it first referred to the sacramental Body of Christ and later, through scholastic defense of the Eucharist and especially at the time of Boniface VIII, came to be distinguished from the “Real Presence” of Christ in the Eucharist and to refer to the body “ecclesial” of the Church, see Henri de Lubac, S.J., Corpus Mysticum: l'Eucharistie et l'Eglise au moyen âge, étude historique (Paris, 1944).

According to Bede, John was worthy of this title because of his special chastity: "Diligebat autem eum Jesus: quia specialis praerogativa castitatis ampliori dilectione eum fecerat dignum." His chastity also made him a fitting servant of Christ’s mother (S.B., Vol. I, col. cccxiv; Y.B., Vol. I, col. 109). Bede’s statement and the themes of Matins are the basis of the sequence for John’s feast day (Legg, pp. 463-64; S.M., I, 109). See also the Apostrophe to St. John following the English metrical version of the Lamentatio in Cursor Mundi, lines 24659-730.

14. Brown, XIII, Nos. 47, 49, see below, pp. 130-31, 142-45. In the Lamentatio the prophecy’s fulfillment is used not to show the justice of Mary’s suffering, but to convey its intensity: “Nec lingua poterit loqui nec mens cogitare valebit, quanto dolore afflicebantur pia viscera Mariae. Nunc soluis virgo cum usura quod in partu non habuisti a natura. Dolorem pariendo filium non sensisti, quem millies replicatum filio moriente passa fuisti. Juxta crucem stabat emortua mater, quae ipsum ex spiritu sancto concepit.” Kribel, pp. 98-99 (the reference is missing from Migne, Liber de passione Christi). In chap. xii of the Anselm dialogue the virtue of faith is stressed, as it is Mary’s faith in her Son’s godhood that causes the sword to pierce her soul: “Tune matri potuit dicere: Audi filia, et vide (Ps. 44:11), audi voces blasphemantium filium tuum, et vide dolorem meum. Scis enim quod de Spiritu sancto concepisti me, et quod virgo genuisti me, et qualiter aliusti me. Unde ex quo isti non credunt in me, tu tamen crede in me, et comparate. Tunc iterum gladius Simeonis animam pertransivit.” PL, Vol. CLIX, col. 284.

15. The Gospel simply states: “When Jesus therefore had seen his mother and the disciple standing whom he loved, he saith to his mother: Woman behold thy son. After that, he saith to the disciple: Behold thy mother. And from that hour the disciple took her to his own.” John 19:26-27. These verses are included in the Gospel read for the Mass of Mary during Paschaltide, Legg, p. 391; S.M., II, 98. The Lamentatio has: “Et quo ego vado, tu non potes venire modo, venies autem postea. Interim Joannes, qui est nepos tuus, reputabitur tibi filius, curam habebit tui et erit solatium fidelissimum tibi. Inde dominus intuitus Joannem ait: Ecce mater tua! El seruies, curam illius habebis eam tibi commendando, suscipe matrem tuam, imo magis suscipe matrem meam!” Kribel, pp. 96-97. See also above, note 13.

16. The past event of sacred history, the focus of the first part of the poem, is applied to the present moment as defined by the point of view of the Church, as in virtue of the past event, the poet formulates man’s present petition for future joy. The reformulation is analogous to the form of the Collect of the Mass, above, Introduction, pp. 22 ff.

17. The indirect naming follows the same principle as seen in “Nu pis fules singet,” Part I, p. 52-53. The One spoken of is identified by His unique and special act for mankind. The significance of this identifying of Christ, Mary and mankind by virtue of their relationship to the events of sacred history is developed below, pp. 163 ff., 204 ff.

18. These three aspects of beauty correspond generally to those systematically described by Edgar de Bruyne, Études d’esthétique médiévale (3 vols.; Brugge, 1946), especially to Hugh of St. Victor’s definition of beauty (II, 203, passim). They are fully defined also by Bonaventure, Itinerarium mentis in Deum, chap. ii (see the trans. by Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M. [St. Bonaventure, New York, 1956]). The third aspect, the power to achieve delight, is the key proportion for the definition of beauty in terms of theology and will be discussed more fully in Part III, “The Figure of Delight,” and in the Conclusion.

19. These connotations are borne out by commentary. See, e.g., Bede who, commenting on John the Baptist’s “Behold the Lamb of God . . .” (John 1:29), explains how
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Christ washed us from sin in His blood: not only did He do so when His blood was given for us on the cross or when by means of His passion we are washed by the waters of baptism, but truly He washes our sins in His blood, "cum ejusdem beatae passionis ad altare membra replicatur, cum panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis ejus ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur." PL, Vol. XCIV, col. 75.

20. Although having a different significance for each poem by virtue of the differing subjects of each, this proportioning of the components of a stanza to the components of the following stanzas is analogous to the proportioning of stanzas in "Gabriel, fram evene-king" and "Als i lay vp-on a nith." See above, pp. 44 ff., 81 ff.

21. It is interesting to note the poet's exhortation in relation to Jungmann's comment that in Eucharistic piety from the end of the twelfth century the idea of spiritual communion replaced that of sacramental reception of Christ: "With an appeal to the Augustinian Crede et manducasti, this form of piety, when one turned with loving faith to Christ, contemplated His Passion with profoundest love, devoutly assisted at Holy Mass or looked up at the Sacred Host, was explained as a work scarcely less valuable than sacramental Communion itself." The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (missarum sollemnia) (2 vols.; New York, 1951), II, 364.

MARY'S SORROW

1. For a longstanding definition of lyric, see Francis Turner Palgrave: "Lyrical has been here held essentially to imply that each Poem shall turn on some single thought, feeling, or situation. In accordance with this, narrative, descriptive, and didactic poems,—unless accompanied by rapidity of movement, brevity, and the coloring of human passion,—have been excluded." The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language, edited and revised by C. Day Lewis (London, 1954), p. 21. For a view more influential on the present generation of critics, see Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren, Understanding Poetry: An Anthology for College Students (2d ed.; New York, 1953), especially "The Dramatic Aspect of Poetry," p. lix, and how poetry tends towards concentration for an effect of greater intensity, p. 71. See also 3d ed., 1960, pp. xiii-xiv. In A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives (Princeton, 1962), Durant W. Robertson, Jr., points out the incorrectness particularly of reading medieval love poetry with the romantic idea that poetry is to arouse and express emotions, pp. 14-17. He also discusses the non-dramatic quality of medieval poetry, pp. 37-51. In Wisdom and Number (Lincoln, 1962), Preface and Chapter I, Stephen Manning warns about reading Middle English lyrics with such concepts as those of Palgrave or Brooks and Warren, putting the lyrics in the broader classification of songs. But his approach through the categories of rhetoric does not seem to me to account adequately for the essential unity of form with its theological content.

2. Middle English Literature (London, 1951), p. 129. See the following pages in Kane for a discussion of the meditative lyric.

3. Middle English Literature, pp. 148-49.


5. Brown, XIV, No. 60.

6. The transcription of these two poems omits Brown's indications of emendations of the texts.

7. "'Why,' as Bernard said, in the character of Mary, to the Jews, 'if it does not
please you to pity the Son do you not pity the mother!" Brown, XIV, p. 265, note on No. 60.

8. Middle English Literature, pp. 148-49.

9. Middle English Literature, p. 149.


13. Brown, XIV, No. 64.

14. Noting that immediately above this poem is written in the MS, “Beda. Audi cum Maria quae dicit,” Brown points out a general similarity between the poem and De meditatione passionis Christi per septem diei horas libellus (PL, Vol. XCIV, cols. 561-68) sometimes ascribed to Bede. Brown, XIV, p. 266. The passage Brown quotes is Mary’s prayer, first to her Son to remember her and all His servants and then to God the Father to accept her Son. Brown himself indicates the parallel is not verbal, and it seems to me the mode of Mary’s lamentation is closer to the spirit of the following section of the Lamentatio St. Bernardi than to the passages ascribed to Bede: “O fili carissime, o benignissime nate, misereri matri tuae et suscipe preces eius! Desine nunc mihi esse durus, qui cunctis semper fuisti benignus! Suscipe matrem tuam in cruce ut vivam tecum post mortem semper! Nihil mihi dulcius est quam te amplexato, in cruce tecum mori; et nil certe amarius quam viuere post tuam mortem. O vere Dei nate, tu mihi mater, tu mihi filius, tu mihi sponsus, tu mihi anima eras. Nunc, orbor patre, viduor sponso, desolor filio, omnia perdo. . . . Fili dulcissime, omnia tibi possibilia sunt, sed etsi non vis ut moriar tecum, mihi saltem relinque aliquod benignum consilium!” Kribel, 93-94.

15. Matt. 27:40. See also Mark 25:29-32 and Luke 23:35-43. It is precisely this context which is given in the Anselm dialogue when Christ explains to Mary that now is the moment that the sword foretold by Simeon pierces her soul. It is in contrast to those who challenged Christ to come down from the cross and they would believe, that Mary stands beneath the cross and suffers. PL, Vol. CLIX, cols. 283-84.

16. Matt. 26:56. See also Mark 14:50.

17. Middle English Literature, p. 148.

18. Mary will take this same position again after Christ’s ascension. In the poems on Mary’s joys the situation of man in present time in relation to heavenly joy is included explicitly in the poems, as, after Mary’s assumption, man raises his prayer to her. See below, pp. 149 ff., 162-64, 187 ff.

"STOND WEL, MODER, VNDER RODE"


2. Brown, XIII, No. 49. My transcription of this poem omits indications of Brown’s emendations. In his notes to the poem, Brown lists four known texts, one incomplete: Digby MS 86 (Brown’s A text), British Museum Royal MS 12 E. I (Brown’s B text), Harley MS 2253, and St. John’s College Cambridge MS E. 8. Of the several editions of Harley 2253, the text I have referred to in comparing the versions is that included in Bruce Dickins and R. M. Wilson, Early Middle English Texts (New York, 1951), pp. 129-30. Both the Royal and the incomplete St. John’s College texts are accompanied by music. Of the three complete versions I use the Royal (Brown’s B text). This choice is
in agreement with Brown (p. 205); that is, although it is a later text than Digby, it appears to be the more authentic of the two. As Brown says, lines 37-39 of Digby seem to miss the purpose of the poem and lines 43-44 to be a perversion of the same lines in Royal. On the other hand, in Harley 2253 the stanza which is in Royal as stanza six is used as stanza three. I find Royal preferable to Harley because in this stanza the two appeals, of Christ to Mary to let Him die and of Mary to Christ that He let her die before Him, come as a climax reached just before Christ uses Mary's suffering to make her mother of mankind.


5. This motif of Mary's tears of blood is neither in the Latin Lamentatio nor in the Cursor Mundí version of it, but is in the English metrical versions of the school of Richard Rolle. See the versions printed by Kribel, lines 81-96, and that in Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers, ed. Carl Horstmann (2 vols.; London, 1895-1896), II, 274-82, lines 49-64. Compare this theme to the stanzas in "Als i lay vp-on a nith," lines 117-24, where to the sword piercing Mary's heart Christ opposes His own heart's blood to be shed for the redemption of man. See above, pp. 79-80.

6. See also Lamentatio St. Bernardi, Kribel, p. 90.

7. See above, "De Milde Lomb Isprad o Rode," pp. 99-100 and note 14; see below, pp. 142-45.

8. Bonaventure, Breviloquium, trans. Erwin E. Nemmers (St. Louis, 1946), Prologue, sec. 6, 4, develops both this statement and his definition of theology from Eph. 3:14-19. A considerable symbolic tradition, following from the earlier Fathers, especially Augustiune, was based on Paul's description of these four dimensions of the charity of God and the idea of the universe as an intelligible cross. For a gathering of commentaries, see Anton E. Schönbach, Alldeutsche Predigten (2 vols.; Graz, 1886-1888), II (1888), 177-89; see also Jacob Gretser, Opera omnia (17 vols.; Ratisbon, 1734-41), Vols. I-III. A celebrated example of the tradition is Rabanus Maurus, De laudibus sanctae crucis, PL, Vol. CVII, cols. 133-294, in which the mysteries of the Christian faith are figured in poetry whose words are emblematically diagrammed in the form of the cross and then explicated. For a re-evaluation of the poem, and a comparison of it to the vision of Teilhard de Chardin, see Henri de Lubac, S.J., Exégése médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture (4 vols.; Paris, 1959, 1961, 1964), I, 161 ff. In "Stond wel, moder, vnder rode" man's life in present time is proportioned to the cross. See below, pp. 135 ff.


10. A version of the sequence is printed in Guido M. Dreves, Analecta hymnica medii aevi, Vol. VIII (Leipzig, 1890), No. 58, and with slight variations another is found in the Paris, Arsenal MS 135 of the Sarum Missal, printed in Legg, p. 530. For the version from the Sarum Missal, see below, Appendix II. For an edition of the music, see John Stainer, Early Bodleian Music: Sacred & Secular Songs. Together with Other MS Compositions in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ranging from about a.d. 1185 to about a.d. 1500 (2 vols.; London, 1901), II, 8-9. Contrasting to the music of "Gabriel, fram evene-king," this music develops in a continuous progression, with the second
three lines of the two parts of the stanzas an approximate repetition of the first, corresponding to the movement of thought in the series of more and more intense oppositions which are resolved finally in the last three stanzas by the succession of events.

11. Brown, *XIII*, No. 4, from Tanner MS 169*. After the section relating Mary's present grief to her painless child-bearings, both the incomplete English version and the Latin sequence have an additional stanza summarizing Mary's sorrow (Brown, No. 4, lines 19–24, “Stabat iuxta Christi crucem,” lines 43–48). In the final prayer both the incomplete English version and the Latin sequence address Mary as mother (the English has both mother and maid, “Milde moder, maiden od”). See also Arthur S. Napier, *History of the Holy Rood-tree . . . with Notes on the Orthography of the Ormulum and A Middle English Compassio Marie*, EETS, O.S., No. 103 (London, 1894), pp. 75–86. Napier points out the similarity of “Iesu cristes milde moder” to the Latin sequence.

12. Brown, *XIII*, No. 47, from the same Arundel MS 248 as “Gabriel, fram evene-king” and “Pe milde Lomb isprad o rode.” Both the complete English narrative and the English dialogue versions omit the stanza summarizing Mary's sorrow and add a stanza before the last one so that the last two stanzas are very similar. The next to the last stanzas of both begin by referring to the bliss Christ brought by His resurrection and then invoking Mary to make “us” happy as well. The last stanzas begin in both with an address to Mary, Queen of Heaven, and then ask her, for the blood Christ shed, to bring us to heaven.

13. The correspondence is made in the Latin and the incomplete English version, the English adding a fourth correspondence, “For, so gleam glidis hurt pe glas” (line 33).


PART III

THE NAMES OF JOY


2. To see again the variety of ways in which an author can use the events of sacred
history, contrast these words of Aelred, which seek to expand man's comprehension of the meaning of Mary's joy by multiplying joy upon joy, to those, quoted above, pp. 115 ff., by the author of the Lamentatio St. Bernardi, who uses the quality of Mary's present great joy in heaven to indicate by contrast the intense degree to which she must have suffered at the crucifixion. See also how Aelred develops Mary's joy by contrasting to each earthly joy a heavenly counterpart, cols. 309-10, and compare Aelred to Anselm, quoted below, pp. 175 ff., on heavenly joy.

3. "... Ita non est ei tantum creatura, ancilla, amica, filia, sed etiam mater," Aelred, col. 309.

4. See Aelred, cols. 310, 313-14. Aelred affirms the possibility of Mary's bodily assumption, but leaves the question open as he applies to Mary's state phrases from Canticles and Paul's description of Christ's revelation to him: "But one thing I dare most surely affirm, that to-day the Blessed Virgin—whether in the body or out of the body I know not, God knoweth'—ascended into heaven. ..." Bridgett's translation, p. 109. See also the letter ascribed to Jerome read at Matins on the Assumption, S.B., Vol. III, cols. 687 ff.


7. "Je milde Lomb isprad o rode," line 45. See also "Gabriel, fram evene-king," line 50. This title of Mary is behind the words with which in "Stond wel, moder, vnder rode" Christ cries out to Mary, "Moder, merci! let me deyen" (line 31), so that He may buy Adam out of hell and Mary may become full of pity for mankind.

8. Paris, 1932. For the variety of numbers, see Wilmart, pp. 327 ff. and p. 328, note 1. For evidence of the popularity of the five joys, see also Brown, XIII, p. 179, note on No. 18, and J. Vincent Crowne, "Middle English Poems on the Joys and on the Compassion of the Blessed Virgin Mary," Catholic University Bulletin, VIII (July, 1902), 304-16. There was a strong devotion to Mary's seven celestial joys, which according to tradition were shown by Mary to Thomas à Becket because he had repeated her five earthly joys so faithfully. See Mirk's Festial, p. 232; Horae Eboracenses, ed. Christopher Wordsworth, Surtees Society, Vol. CXXXII (Durham and London, 1920 for 1919), p. 64, note 4; Bridgett, Our Lady's Dowry, pp. 65-66; and Wilmart, p. 329. For additional texts of English poems on the seven joys, consult Index of Middle English Verse, ed. Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins (New York, 1943), Nos. 462, 465, 896, 1025, 1033. The Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse, ed. Rossell Hope Robbins and John Cutler (Lexington, 1965), lists none. See Brown, XV, 304, note to No. 33. Finally, there was also wide devotion to Mary's fifteen earthly and heavenly joys. See, for example, Wilmart, pp. 339-58, and two poems by Lydgate in The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ed. Henry N. MacCracken, EETS, E.S., No. 107 (London, 1911 for 1910), pp. 260-79.

9. The Supplement records only an additional fragment on Mary's five joys.

10. Horae Eboracenses, pp. 63-64.

11. The seven heavenly joys are Mary's matchlessness, the brightness of her glory, the honor she receives from all beings, the willingness of her Son to grant her request, her place next to the Holy Trinity, her rewarding of those who serve her, and, finally, the fact that her joy is endless. Horae Eboracenses, pp. 64-66; Mirk's Festial, pp. 232-33.

12. For example, the initials of the verse beginning each Hour in the fourteenth
The fourteenth century *Horæ* for Humphrey de Bohun (Bodleian MS Auct. D. 4.4) depict the joys of Mary and include the crucifixion and resurrection. The *Bohun MSS*, ed. Montague R. James, Roxburghe Club, No. 200 (Oxford, 1936), pls. 31–35. The fourteenth century *Horæ* for Joan II of Navarre begins each Hour with a joy. *Thirty-Two Miniatures from the Book of Hours of Joan II, Queen of Navarre*, ed. Henry Y. Thompson, Roxburghe Club, No. 137 (London, 1899), Part II, pls. 14–19 (the reproduction is not comprehensive). Also there are evidences of the joys in association with the tree of Jesse. For example, in the fourteenth century Gorleston Psalter, below in the illumination, woven into the design of the tree, is the series of five of Mary’s joys during Christ’s childhood. Eric G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Paris, 1928), pi. 15. For other examples of joys in the Psalters, see Millar, pls. 8 and 35. The most clear example of the concept is in the fourteenth century Peterborough Psalter (Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 53), where before each psalm are two pages of joys, a joy to each page, followed by two pages of figures, an Old Testament Prophet and a New Testament Apostle. The sequence of joys is the announcement, nativity, resurrection, ascension, and the coronation of the Virgin. Mary’s joys are followed by Christ’s passion. A *Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Montague R. James, Roxburghe Club, No. 178 (Oxford, 1921), pls. 2–3, 6–7, 10. This same pattern is followed by other artists. See Millar, pls. 28–29, 37–39.

14. Bridgett, p. 67. For other examples of the joys and a discussion of their origin and popularity, see pp. 65–73. On their application to Christ’s wounds, see also Wilmart, pp. 331–32.
17. “Gaude dei genitrix virgo inmaculata./ Gaude que gaudium ab angelo suscepisti./ Gaude que genuisti aeterni luminis claritatem./ Gaude mater./ Gaude sancta dei genitrix virgo./ Tu sola mater innupta./ Te laudat omnis factura domini [genitricem lucis]./ Pro nobis supplica./ [Sis pro nobis, quesumus, perpetua interuentrix].” Wilmart, p. 331.
20. According to Brown, *XIII*, p. 181, the English poem is a literal rendering of “Gavde virgo, mater Christi,” which he says is to be found in Guido M. Dreves, S.J., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, Vol. XXXI, No. 172. However, the English differs considerably from the *Analecta hymnica* version, which is an expanded six six-line stanza version, the first three lines of each stanza taken together corresponding to the stanzas of the English poem. The above York version represents the Latin equivalent of the English poem and will be used as the basis of comparison. The York Latin stanzas
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and the English version seem to represent the core of the devotion to which various elements could be added, such as commentary on the meaning of each joy, as in the case of the expanded Analecta hymnica version; or such as an Ave after each stanza, as the note to "Gavde virgo, mater Christi" indicates (p. 63). The two poems on the five joys to be discussed below reflect these methods of expansion. For another expanded version in English see that in The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, ed. Carl Horstmann, Part I, EETS, O.S., No. 98 (London, 1892), pp. 25–26. For Latin hymns on the joys, see esp. Analecta hymnica, Vol. XXXI, Nos. 86–91, 170–95.

21. Horae Eboracenses, pp. 63–64. The poem is followed, to complete the devotion, by a verse, response and prayer:

V. Benedicta es a Filio tuo, domina.

R. Quia per te fructum vite communicauimus.

Oremus.


22. The Latin gaude, the imperative of gaudeo, is intransitive and means "rejoice," as in line 1, "Rejoice, virgin, mother of Christ." "Gladen" according to MED had both an intransitive and transitive use. The transitive use was frequent, meaning, to make joyful, fill with joy or bliss.


24. Brown glosses "gode" as the dative of "god" meaning "good." Yet because the Latin says "quia Deo plena" and the second joy celebrates Mary's painless giving birth not to an abstraction, "good," but to God incarnate in the flesh, "gode" appears to be the dative of "god," meaning "God."

25. See OED, "with" 15, "In the same way as; as—does or did, is or was, etc.; like." This poem provides an example of the use earlier than those cited (by Richard Rolle, Langland). The epithet "castitatis lilium," closer to the English poet's rendering here, is applied to Mary in the sequence used for the Annunciation (see Appendix I, line 39), and used also on the second day during the Octave of the Assumption. Legg, p. 479.

26. The use in this poem of the word "clos" is the only example cited by the MED of the word used to signify heaven. The other examples indicate the word was normally used to denote a tangible dwelling of some sort on earth. The absence of other examples reinforces my opinion that the author appropriates the word to stress the concept of space. Conceiving of Christ's "clos" with physical concreteness is a particularly English characteristic in illumination. For examples of the ascension, see Millar, English Illuminated MSS from the Xth to the XIIth Century (Paris, 1926), pls. 61, 98; MSS of
the XIVth and XVth Centuries, pls. 25, 28, 35. A particularly interesting example is found in the Tiptoft Missal, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 107, fol. 163°. Below the clouds which cut off the top of the ascending Christ, Christ's feet are visible on either side of the trailing hem of His garment, and His right hand is lowered below the clouds in the sign of divinity. On earth, with the disciples grouped in two clusters behind them, kneel Mary and Peter facing each other. Christ's ascent has left a gap in the center of the group, bridged only by the praying hands of Mary. In the Pentecost illumination, fol. 168°, the gap is filled entirely by the figure of Mary around whom the disciples cluster as the dove of the Holy Spirit descends on her. See also Meyer Schapiro, "The Image of the Disappearing Christ: The Ascension in English Art Around the Year 1000," Gazette des beaux-arts, 6th Ser., Vol. XXIII (1943), 134–52. For a possible relationship to English drama, see Mary D. Anderson, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches (Cambridge, 1963), Part III.

27. It is the figure used by Elizabeth as she salutes Mary at the visitation, "Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb," joined often by the liturgy with the angel's salutation at the annunciation. Legg, pp. 259, 388; S.M., II, 95, 321, 391, 462; S.B., Vol. III, col. 236. The same figure concludes the antiphon "Salve regina": "Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,/ Nobis post hoc exilium ostende," Horae Eboracenses, p. 62. And it is developed also on the Assumption by Bede, who interprets the birth of Christ as a fulfillment of the psalm verse: "Etenim Dominus dabit benignitatem: et terra nostra dabit fructum suum," S.B., Vol. III, cols. 693–94.

28. This is the position characteristic of man until Christ comes again. See the readings, verses and prayers of the Ascension liturgy, which use Acts 1:10–11. Legg, pp. 154–58; S.M., I, 328–34. The Introit, for example, is: "Why stand ye gazing up into heaven? alleluia. He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. Ps. And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven, as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said: Ye men of Galilee..." etc. S.M., I, 329. For the representation in illuminations, see above, note 26.

29. The same coupling of joys is found in the prayer following the York "Gavde virgo, mater Christi."

30. See for comparison, Tiptoft Missal, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 107, fol. 163°, fol. 231°, and fol. 253°. See also, Millar, MSS from the Xth to the XIIIth Century, pl. 83, and MSS of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, pls. 8, 15, 22–25, 28, 29, 37, 38.

The Vision of Joy


2. Brown, XIII, No. 41, from Jesus College Oxford MS 29.

3. The title "leuedy" is used in poems which emphasize Mary's position as Queen of Heaven, and it is when the religious poet addresses her in heaven that he often adapts secular courtly love lyric terms. The contrast between the religious and courtly poems is fundamentally the difference between what is the object of the poet's desire rather than between the expressions of it. In this poem the fundamental prayer is that man both recognize and obtain the real object of his desire as theology defines it, the joy of heaven. In the famous poem from this same MS, "Friar Thomas de Hales' Love Ron"
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(Brown, XIII, No. 43), the difference between the earthly and heavenly objects of love provides the structural and dynamic basis of the poem. See also below, note 9.

4. "Frume" according to MED is derived from the OE "fruma" and can mean both first in time (MED cites this line as an example) and at the beginning or at the start. Thus it can refer both to the first of the five joys and to the beginning of the heavenly joy once lost by Adam (line 35).

5. Introit and Gradual of the Vigil of the Assumption, Legg, 307; S.M., II, 462, 463; also Gradual for the Mass of Mary from the Purification to Advent, S.M., II, 95; and in The Prymer, third lesson for Matins, antiphon for Lauds and Prime, chapter for Lauds and Vespers.

6. For an alternative reading of this stanza, see below, "The Figure of Delight," pp. 189–90.


8. See above, p. 150 and note 4. For another example of the distinction between Mary's bodily and spiritual joy, see the prayer of the fourth joy in the Riwle, where it is the basis for the application of the prayer to the human soul: "O Lady, St Mary, because of the great joy that thou hadst when thou sawest thy fair and blessed Son, whom the Jews had thought to shut away in the tomb, rising on Ascension Thursday, in such glory and power, to His happiness in His heavenly kingdom, grant that I may, with Him, cast all the world underfoot and rise now in heart, at my death in spirit and at the day of judgement all bodily, to the joys of heaven" (p. 16).

9. These terms, meaning "courteous," "kind," "graceful," were often applied to both Christ and Mary. See Brown, XIII, No. 55, "Ibessed beo þu, lauedi so feir and so hende" (line 25); for other thirteenth century examples, see Nos. 60, 61, 65. No. 43, "Friar Thomas de Hales' Love Ron," defines Christ by comparing Him to an earthly king. See above, note 3.

10. Among the corrections he suggests of Carleton Brown's English Lyrics of the XIVth Century, Kemp Malone would, it seems to me incorrectly for the reasons above, emend "wis" (line 51) to "iwis." "Notes on Middle English Lyrics," Journal of English Literary History, II (April, 1935), 60.

11. See the relevant definition of folly and wisdom in John Conley's "Pearl and a Lost Tradition," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LIV (1955), 332–47. Folly, he quotes Aquinas, "denotes the dulness of sense in judging, and chiefly as regards the highest cause, which is the last and the sovereign good," p. 344, and for a full discussion see pp. 344–47. There are, in fact, similarities between the concerns of these two poems. The dramatic center of each is the distance between the object of desire and the one who desires, as they move through a prompting to vision, to a knowledge of heavenly bliss. In the case of Pearl the prompting is done by the maiden who makes possible the speaker's inner journey to the heavenly Jerusalem. In "Leuedy, for ðare blisse" the prompting is done by a series of joys which are defined in terms of Mary's vision of God and which lead, through the events of sacred history, into heaven, increasing the poet's and the audience's knowledge of the nature of happiness. Like the speaker in Pearl, the poet in this poem reaches a gap he cannot cross. For the speaker in Pearl it is a river which separates him from the maiden. For the poet and his audience in "Leuedy, for ðare blisse" it is the gap between their experience and the experience they desire of God, the gap of time and state, to be resolved only "hwenne we schulle þis lif forgon" (line 48).

12. Ecclus. 24 is applied to Mary on the Feast of her Nativity (Legg, 319) and her
Conception (S.M., II, 256), and also for the Vigil and Feast of the Assumption (Legg, 307, 308; S.M., II, 463, 465).

13. Conley, p. 344.

The Figure of Delight


2. Breviloquium, Prologue, sec. 6. The following quote is taken from Part I, chap. i, r, and the quotes from Anselm are from Part VII, chap. vii, secs. 7-8.


4. A classic example of this is Augustine's De Trinitate, Book XV, chaps. xxiii-xxiv, where, after defining the Holy Trinity, then seeking It in all created things, even in the deepest soul of man, Augustine reveals the discrepancy between his words and the reality, which man will contemplate only in eternity. PL, Vol. XLII, cols. 1090-91.

5. See above, Bonaventure. The dedication of the life of St. Francis to poverty, to the infancy and suffering of Christ, expresses this spirituality. The classic expression of the darkness is the Cloud of Unknowing. See EETS, O.S., Nos. 218 (London, 1944), 231 (London, 1955 for 1949).


9. See "Súete sone, reu on me & brest out of þi bondis," Brown, XIV, No. 64, line 8.

10. Notice how because the author shifts the object of man's desire from being Christ to being the world, sorrow has an inverse definition: to "suffer" is to detach
oneself from the object of love which is not God Himself. When the object is Christ, to
"suffer" is to be separated from Him.

11. Ancrene Riwle, p. 15. "Whatever there may have been before" is interpreted by
the editor to refer to the twelfth century controversy about the Immaculate Conception
of Mary. See above, Introduction, note 33.

12. Brown, XIV, No. 26, from St. John's College Cambridge MS 256. For full text,
see Appendix III.

13. It was common in the devotion to pause after each joy and say other prayers. See,
for example, the instructions to the anchoresses in the Riwle, where each prayer, as
above, is followed by the "Ave Maria Dominus tecum," then further an antiphon, a
psalm, and five Aves. See also above, "The Names of Joy," note 20, as well
as "Mary moder, wel be bee" in the Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, ed. Carl
Horstmann, Part I, EETS, O.S., No. 98 (London, 1892), pp. 25-26, and the fifteenth
century "Gawde, to whom gabryell was sent" in Anglia, XXVI (1903), 257-58.

14. The poet names Mary in stanza four: Lady, full of grace (the second element
of the Ave); in five: Lady, full of might, meek and mild in aspect; in six: Lady, holy
Mary, fair and good and sweet; in seven: Lady, best in counsel, true in need, prompt
and quick with good deeds for sinful man; in eight (the climax): Lady, flower of all, as
a red rose in a garden; then in nine: echoing the beginning, Mary; in ten: again Mary;
in eleven: Mary, full of grace who sits on a throne; in twelve: Lady fair and bright; in
thirteen: Lady, holy Mary; and finally, in fourteen: Lady, Queen of Heaven. He defines
the power in virtue of which he appeals in stanza four: for the joy you felt when Christ
rose, for the love of Him Who lay close to your heart; in five: for the love of Jesus
sweet Who was killed on the cross, for His five wounds that ran blood; in six: for the
love of the tears you shed when you saw Christ nailed hand and foot; in seven: for the
love of Him Whom you saw bleed on the cross; in eight: (because) to thee I cry and
call, to thee I make my prayer; in nine: for that sweet joy you were in when you saw
Christ ascend to heaven wherein is everlasting joy; in ten: for that sweet joy when you
were taken from earth by angels into the bliss of heaven and set by sweet Jesus in flesh
and bone; in eleven: (because) I pray you, grant my prayer; in twelve: for thy five joys,
for thy maidenhood, and thy great power; in thirteen: if it were thy will, as thou art
full of joy and I am full of care; and finally in fourteen: hear me with will, I pray you
hear my voice. And as the third element, the poet specifies the effect he desires in stanza
four: help me out of sin while I am here; in five: help me out of sin; in six: give me
grace in my heart to amend my sins; in seven: help me now and forever, save me in
necessity; in eight: be in the place where I draw to death, never let me fall into the
hands of the evil one; in nine: be my remedy for pain, bring me out of sin; in ten:
bring me to joys that will last forever; in eleven (the most precise prayer): grant that I
may fear and love Christ, that I amend my life soon, bring me to that high King Who
wields sun and moon; in twelve: help me to come into that eternal light where joy is
without end day and night; in thirteen: help me out of sin and let me fall no more,
give me grace on earth sorely to rue my sins; and, finally, in fourteen: let my soul never
spill in any of the seven sins through any fiend's will, and bring my soul to heaven to
fill a place there.

15. Occasional inner rhyme emphasizes their binary nature, as, for example, the
rhyme of "heuene," "steuene," "seuene" and again "heuene" in the last stanza (see
discussion below).

16. In two of the four versions of the poem this stanza is lacking. See Brown, XIV,
p. 254.
17. The complementary structure reflects also the traditional practice of adding to the core of each joy commentary or an additional prayer, such as the angelic salutation in "Heyl be jou, marie, milde quene of heuene." See also above, "The Names of Joy," note 20, for a development of this idea and examples.

CONCLUSION

3. For a discussion of the nature of these figures, see above, especially Part III, "The Figure of Delight," and also Part II, pp. 142 ff.
8. See above, Introduction, "The Ladder," pp. 15 ff., and also below, descriptive note to Figure 2. For a discussion of the general medieval tendency to think in symmetrical patterns, characteristically arranged with reference to an abstract hierarchy, see Durant W. Robertson, Jr., *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton, 1962), pp. 6 ff.
10. Brown, XIII, Nos. 2, 5, 32, 64, 65, 84, and 3, 34, 50, 63, 78; Brown, XIV, Nos. 80, 83-85.
12. For a full survey of the development and modification of classical aesthetics and the rhetoric of the schools, see Edgar de Bruyne, *Études d’esthétique médiévale* (3 vols.; Brugge, 1946). The Church's principle of adapting pagan elements, as Gregory the Great urged his missionaries to do, penetrated almost every area, from the allegorization of Virgil and the classics to the transformation of Greek science and math in the schemata used to illustrate text books and to illuminate Scripture. Although the lyrics we have been discussing had their origin in the liturgy, the poetry which continued to use classical forms shared their purpose and use in a way fundamentally defined by Christian theology. For two relevant studies, see Peter D. Scott, "Alcuin as Poet: Rhetoric and Belief in His Latin Verse," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XXXIII (April, 1964), 233-57, and Philip W. Damon, "Style and Meaning in the Mediaeval Latin Nature Lyric," *Speculum*, XXVIII (July, 1953), 516-20. The idea is shown clearly
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13. For a full development of this idea, see Sister Emma Jane Marie Spargo, The Category of the Aesthetic in the Philosophy of St. Bonaventure (St. Bonaventure, New York, 1953).

14. Breviloquium, Prologue, 5 and passim. Also, see above, "The Figure of Delight," pp. 175 ff. My quoting has, for the sake of brevity, eliminated the central fact, that Bonaventure has stated the purpose of his work by means of an invocation to Christ, the knowledge and love of Whom is the basis of knowledge of Scripture.


19. The tradition corresponds to the methods of exegesis. The tradition, followed by Dante in the Vita nuova, goes back to the early Middle Ages and Prosper, Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Sedelius Scotus and Gauthier de Spire. The Carmen Paschale of Sedelius, for example, is doubled by an Opus Paschale. See also Rabanus Maurus, who, using Sedelius as his authority, follows the same principle in De laudibus sanctae crucis (PL, Vol. CVII, cols. 133-294). For details and the relationship to exegesis, see Henri de Lubac, S.J., Exégèse médievale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture (4 vols.; Paris, 1959, 1961, 1964), I, 164, note 6.

20. I refer here to the tradition influential in American criticism defined by Brooks and Warren, used by the New Critics, and the method normally taught to students of literature. In their "Letter to the Teacher (1938)," Brooks and Warren took their stand against the different substitutes for study of the poem: (1) Paraphrase of logical and narrative content; (2) Study of biographical and historical materials; (3) Inspirational and didactic interpretation. "The poem in itself, if literature is to be studied as literature, remains finally the object for study." Understanding Poetry: An Anthology for College Students (rev. ed.; New York, 1953), p. xi.

APPENDIXES

1. Legg, p. 480.
2. Legg, p. 530.