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***Prayer as Performance c.1050-1250***

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## Abbreviations

<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>DMLBS</i>	<i>The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i>
<i>EETS</i>	Early English Text Society
<i>MED</i>	<i>The Middle English Dictionary</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>

## Note on Referencing Practice

All quotations from the Bible are taken from the Vulgate and the Douay-Rheims translation.

Primary sources quoted from EETS editions are cited in the format (page number/line number) in the main body of text. In the case of the Cleopatra *Ancrene Wisse*, quotations are given in the format (page number, folio/line number of folio), reflecting Dobson's presentation of the text. Unless stated otherwise, all references to *Ancrene Wisse* are from this edition. Verse sources quoted from EETS editions are cited in the format (*abbreviated title* line number).

Quotations from Latin sources are cited in translation, with the original text given in the corresponding footnote. In specific circumstances where quoting the Latin text is necessary to illustrate close reading of features such as punctuation or rhyme, this practice is reversed. Unless stated otherwise, all translations of Latin texts are my own.

## A Statement on COVID-19: The Missing Manuscripts and Editions

Insofar as access to academic resources and manuscripts is concerned, I was extremely fortunate in having completed the majority of my research before the closure of university libraries and reading rooms. However, the necessity of completing this thesis without these resources affected several aspects of the final version. Chapter 3's analysis of *De Institutione Inclusionum* does not include as much close reading of codicological features like manuscript punctuation and rubrication as was intended. Its only twelfth-century manuscript, Hereford, Cathedral Library MS P.i.17, is not digitised online, and it was necessary to cancel my intended visit to Hereford. My intention to examine the excerpts of the treatise contained in the thirteenth-century London, British Library, Royal MS 8 D.iii in place of the superior Hereford text was likewise prevented by Royal's unavailability online. For similar reasons, I was unable to complete the transcription and translation of the unedited devotional treatise found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 101, another significant source in Chapter 3, that I had planned to include as an appendix. In other cases, some quotations are not cited in their original language or from a critical edition. I could not access editions of the Latin text of Abelard's *Letter 8* to Heloise and Marbod of Rennes's *De Ornamentis Verborum* due to the closure of the Bodleian, while the only edition of the Latin text of the *Liber Confortatorius* is contained in a college library to which I do not have access. As these sources were not the primary focuses of their respective chapters, I opted to quote the Latin directly from their manuscripts where possible or, in the case of Abelard's *Letter 8*, rely on an English translation, rather than omitting them from the thesis entirely.

## Acknowledgements

Although the only name on the cover of this thesis is my own, it would not have been completed without the advice, support, and assistance of my colleagues and my friends.

Innumerable thanks to my supervisor, Annie Sutherland, for her encouragement, patience and friendship over the past four years. Dedicating only a few sentences to a person without whom my thesis would almost certainly not have taken the shape that it has—and without whom my sanity would have equally disintegrated—feels trivial, especially when expressing a gratitude that feels ineffable. For making my research as insightful and as scholarly and as legible as it is: thank you.

I would also like to thank the staff at the Weston, Bodleian, English Faculty, British, Lambeth Palace, and Bibliothèque National de France libraries for their professionalism and assistance. I am also very grateful to Lauren Mancia, whose assistance with locating manuscripts from Fécamp and provision of drafts of her research inspired the structure and the methodology of my own. While my work on John of Fécamp's prayers and their manuscripts was ultimately not included in the final version of this thesis, the ideas and techniques inspired by my correspondence with her are very much present. I am also thankful to Daniel Wakelin, who resolved several questions regarding the palaeography or dating of some of the manuscript sources included in this study.

To my family and my partner, for all that you have done and continue to do: thank you.

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## Abstract

This thesis examines manuscripts of prayer texts produced in England between 1050-1250, considering how aspects of their material context influence the function, significance, and performance of personal devotion. In so doing, it intends to reconstruct the experience of engaging with these texts and understand how medieval interpretations of the meaning and purpose of prayer might differ from our own. Using Gerard Genette's definition of 'paratexts' to refer to features of the page that are external but integral to a literary text, it considers how paratextual features can suggest performance directions, uses, or appropriate times and places for a particular prayer to its user. Its close reading demonstrates that prayer texts are rarely presented unpackaged to their users but are often shaped by instructive rubrics and punctuation that dictate their function and performance. While the virtual ubiquity of such paratexts in devotional manuscripts indicates their importance to their correct use, they are not always accurately represented in critical editions or incorporated into interpretations of prayer texts. Integrating paratextual features into critical readings of devotional texts allows this thesis to present a fuller and more accurate picture of the methods and effects of the piety they were crafted to inspire, showing that reading *around* a text can be as valuable and as meaningful as reading *into* it. The consistent connection of devotional paratexts with the performance of prayer, in setting out the contexts, intentions, and methods associated with a particular text, further illustrates that contemporary audiences approached prayer as an activity, contrasting with its modern perception as an exclusively internalised experience.

# Introduction

## *Prayer as Performance, c. 1050-1250*

This thesis analyses the ways in which manuscripts of devotional texts produced in England c.1050-1250 communicate performative and interpretative cues that shape the meaning and practice of prayer.<sup>1</sup> Approaching these works in their material context illustrates how non-narrative features such as *mise-en-page*, rubrics, marginalia, and punctuation direct the reception and performance of the texts that they frame. Throughout this study, these aspects are referred to as *paratexts*, a term coined by Gérard Genette to describe these external, yet integral, 'productions' ancillary to literary works.<sup>2</sup> By demonstrating how the producers and consumers of devotional texts engaged with their paratexts as part of the creative processes of composition, interpretation, and performance, its selected manuscripts exemplify what Genette defined as the primary function of paratexts:

They surround [a work] and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its "reception", its consumption ... Accordingly, the paratext is what enables a text ... to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public.<sup>3</sup>

Reading devotional works framed by their paratexts illustrates how the manuscript page, in tangibly connecting a prayer's contemporary and present audiences, has the potential to 'make present' more aspects of historical devotional practice than a prayer's words alone can convey, suggesting not only *what* a medieval Christian prayed, but why, how, and when he or she prayed it. This study follows Nicole Rice in defining devotional texts as those 'intended to structure personal religious practice, [such as] prayer books, biblical paraphrases and

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<sup>1</sup> These criteria of date and provenance apply only to selected manuscripts and not to their constituent works.

<sup>2</sup> Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Genette, p. 2.

commentaries, rules for pious living, penitential guides, and meditations’, with at least one example of each category featured in the thesis in order to illustrate the variety of devotional writing surviving from this period.<sup>4</sup> While these genres differ in their form, purpose, and realisation, the comparative close reading of the texts and manuscripts presented in this thesis illustrates the ways in which the methods and intentions that they associate with personal devotion overlap, particularly in the context of non-liturgical prayer. For example, one of the *libelli precum* examined in Chapter 1 contains an excerpt from the Gospel of John alongside a sequence of private devotions whose rubric advises its user '[to] have a briefly written account of the Passion of our Lord'.<sup>5</sup> Another source, the *De Institutione Inclusarum* of Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167), reminds us that the various text-based devotional practices listed above were complementary but distinct, instructing anchorites that meditation should be performed *after* prayer rather than *as* prayer, ‘when your mind has been purged of sinful thoughts by the exercise of the virtues’.<sup>6</sup> Twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Threefold Meditation* that Aelred composed to accompany his treatise preface the *Meditation* with some form of guide to the religious life, suggesting that this instruction was realised in practice. Integrating aspects of literary and manuscript context into the study of non-liturgical prayer can inform us about the interactions between different modes of devotional writing, as well as paint a fuller picture of the experience and the content of personal religious practice in the Middle Ages.

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<sup>4</sup> Nicole Rice, ‘Devotional Texts’, in *The Encyclopaedia of Medieval Literature in Britain*, ed. by Siân Echard (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2007), pp. 661-665 (p. 661). In addition to the numerous prayer-books examined in this study, a paraphrase of John's Gospel is analysed in Chapter 1, while Chapters 3 and 4 feature a number of rules for pious living, many of which devote considerable attention to the practice of penance.

<sup>5</sup> *Passio hic domini breviter conscripta tenetur*, London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D.xxvi, f. 71v (AElfwine's Prayerbook). The ways in which the punctuation and *mise-en-page* of the Gospel passage facilitate the performance of ad hoc prayer are expanded on in the relevant chapter.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Cum igitur mens tua ab omni fuerit cogitacionum sorde uirtutum exercitacione purgata ...’. C. H. Talbot, ‘The *De Institutis Inclusarum* of Ailred of Rievaulx’, *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis* 7 (1951), pp. 167-215 (p. 200). Prayer is included in the list of the ‘virtues’ accompanying this instruction.

While Genette wrote exclusively with reference to post-medieval literary production and publication, paratextual analysis can be productively applied to critical readings of earlier works. Although he claims that '[medieval] texts often circulated in an almost raw condition, in the form of manuscripts devoid of any formula of presentation', the virtual ubiquity of paratexts concerned with textual organisation, primarily rubrics and *litterae notabiliores*, affirms that such presentational formulae, while not necessarily standardised, actually did exist.<sup>7</sup> In conveying information integral to the successful realisation of a particular prayer, such as when, how, and why it should be performed, medieval paratexts fulfil Genette's essential purpose of 'offering' a text to its consumers. The frequent transmission of paratexts alongside the works to which they belong additionally circumvents what Genette considered the primary weakness of paratext-theory: that when editors and publishing houses supply a work with paratexts removed from its author's control, 'we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text'.<sup>8</sup> In a literary culture where authors did not exert total control over the dissemination and presentation of their works, authorial cannot be equated with authoritative, and we can regard paratexts that are frequently circulated alongside particular texts as integral to them regardless of their original source.<sup>9</sup> Considering paratexts as integral to a work but external to a text recalls the distinction between work and text established by Roland Barthes: 'the work is a fragment of substance, it occupies a portion of the spaces of books (for example, in a library). The Text is a methodological field'.<sup>10</sup> Moving our attention to the 'text' as a network of signs that pushes against the

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<sup>7</sup> Genette, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Genette, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Alastair Minnis discusses medieval attitudes to authorship and literary authority in *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> Roland Barthes, 'From Work to Text', in *The Rustle of Language*, trans. by Richard Howard (Toronto: Collins, 1986), pp. 56-64 (p. 57). I am indebted to Nicholas Perkins for this reference.

boundaries of the narrative 'work', we can consider aspects of medieval prayers--their paratexts and how they were performed--as part of the meaning, tradition, and function of prayer.

Bonnie Mak has explored potential applications of paratext theory to medieval works, emphatically contradicting Genette's depiction of manuscript texts as unstructured and haphazard. In an era lacking the concept of 'the pre-ruled page', she writes, the freedom to customise paratexts 'to direct [a work's] reception' as part of the process of textual transmission allowed the producers of a given manuscript 'to shape the page graphically and cognitively' for its envisioned audiences.<sup>11</sup> As a consequence, the 'calculated decisions' underlying a text's *mise-en-page* 'suggest to its readers what kind of page it is and how [its producers] wish it to be treated ... [such that] the construction of the page can be read as evidence of its social history'.<sup>12</sup> Many of the primary sources featured in this study support Mak's observation that in a culture of bespoke, rather than speculative, textual production, paratexts reflect the perceived needs of a manuscript's intended recipient(s) or the expected reception of its contents. While Mak considers how the editorial presentation of medieval works affects their modern reception, this thesis adopts a different focus in considering how a text's original presentation influenced its contemporary audiences. The potential of paratexts to inform us about the social history of a given text allows paratextual analysis to invite an interpretative approach that I call 'recuperative hermeneutics', which seeks to appreciate how the original users of a given manuscript engaged with and responded to its contents. Integrating paratextual features into critical readings of devotional texts presents a fuller and more accurate picture of the devotional practices and affective responses that they were crafted to inspire, showing that reading *around* a text can be as valuable as reading *into* it. In communicating information external to the text that influences its performance and its meaning, devotional

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<sup>11</sup> Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Mak, p. 10.

paratexts can additionally suggest how the interpretative and emotional responses of historical audiences might have differed from our own. As paratexts are not always fully or accurately reproduced in critical editions of medieval works, the information that they contribute regarding the reception or use of a particular prayer is often unrecognised; reading devotional texts directly from their manuscripts demonstrates the ways in which their material context contributes to the making of meaning.

In addition to combining codicological analysis with literary criticism, this study intends to contribute further insights into a relatively obscure period of English literary history by examining manuscripts produced in England c.1050-1250. It thus complements the work of revisionist scholars including Elaine Treharne, Mary Swan, and Diane Watt, which convincingly refutes the stereotypical portrayal of native literary production and composition in post-Conquest England as all but extinct.<sup>13</sup> However, the majority of related research centres on a relatively small corpus of sources written *in* English, which does little to undermine the traditional narrative of the disappearance of the vernacular from the literary record during the twelfth century. This assessment is exemplified by the *terminus a quo* of the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*, which was established as 1150 on the grounds that the small amount of surviving material *exclusively* written in English suggests ‘that [it] was scarcely used as a written medium for the century immediately following the Conquest’.<sup>14</sup> Defining Englishness relative to provenance rather than language allows this study to incorporate a wider range of primary material, drawing on English paratexts as well as narrative texts for further evidence of its continued use during this period. For example, *LAEME* does not include the Eadwine

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<sup>13</sup> See Elaine Treharne, *Living Through the Conquest: The Politics of Early English 1020-1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Diane Watt, *Women, Writing, and Religion in England and Beyond, 650-1100* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).

<sup>14</sup> Margaret Laing and Roger Lass, ‘Introduction’, to *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325*, compiled by Margaret Laing <<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme2.html>>. Edinburgh: Version 3.2, 2013, © The University of Edinburgh.

Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1) although it is a trilingual manuscript containing a substantial amount of written English produced after 1155.<sup>15</sup> Its omission might reflect the technically paratextual status of its English text, which is a running gloss of the Latin Psalter rather than an independent translation. The four psalters that *LAEME* does reference, by contrast, are in Latin, with their English contents limited to short lyrics or prayers added in the margins or to flyleaves as opposed to Eadwine's longer and deliberately included gloss.<sup>16</sup> The Eadwine Psalter illustrates the significant evidence that paratexts, a comparatively overlooked type of source, can contribute to our understanding of literary production and reception in twelfth-century England. Furthermore, many pre-Conquest devotional books contain marginalia in twelfth-century hands, further evidencing continuity in the content and performance of prayer before and after the Conquest.

In addition to indicating the continued use of English as a literary and devotional language during the twelfth century, prayer-books like the Eadwine Psalter are ideally suited to paratextual analysis, with their devotions often accompanied by rubrics describing their function or suggesting contexts appropriate for their performance. As shown in the first two chapters, even manuscripts containing primarily Latin prayers frequently include English prayers and paratexts. The simultaneous availability of Latin and English prayers in devotional books associated with monastic users complements the work of Julie Barrau, whose argument for religious communities speaking Latin as a vernacular rather than in place of it invites us to reconsider the assumptions conventionally held regarding the uses of both languages.<sup>17</sup> In fact,

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<sup>15</sup> For the date of the Eadwine Psalter, see Margaret Gibson, 'The Eadwine Psalter in Context', in *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. by M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop, and R. Pfaff (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 1992), pp. 209-212 (p. 209), and Catherine Karkov, 'The Scribe Looks Back: Anglo-Saxon England and the Eadwine Psalter', in *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past*, ed. by Martin Brett and David A. Woodman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 289-306 (p. 289).

<sup>16</sup> The psalters referenced in *LAEME* are London, British Library, Royal MS 2.F.viii, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Rawlinson G 18 and 22, and Tanner 169.

<sup>17</sup> Julie Barrau, 'Did Medieval Monks Really Speak Latin?', in *Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. by S. Vanderputten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 293-317.

none of the prayer-books or devotional compilations examined in this study are monolingual: in addition to the *libelli precum* and psalters discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the programme of daily devotions in *Ancrene Wisse* intersperses Latin and English prayers, while the Nero manuscript of the treatise concludes the compilation of English prayers that follows it with two short Latin meditations.<sup>18</sup> The de Brailles Hours, perhaps the earliest example of a fully-developed Book of Hours, also supplements its Latin prayers with French devotions and rubricates its illustrations in French.<sup>19</sup> By emphasising the interchange, rather than the separation, of Latin, French and English in the context of personal devotion, this study advances on the unfinished work of Elizabeth Salter, which intended to explore the cultural exchange between the languages of Norman England.<sup>20</sup>

This study's focus on works composed prior to 1250 also allows it to assess how developments in contemporary religious culture influenced the production of devotional texts and their manuscripts. Broadly speaking, this period was defined by the rise of affective piety, characterised by intensely emotional Christocentric devotion juxtaposed with penitential self-scrutiny.<sup>21</sup> Responding to the cultural and intellectual contexts that they were composed within, prayer texts are ideal sources for investigating continuity and change in the language, expression, and realisation of devotional emotion. In light of its primarily codicological focus and the quantity of existing research on the subject, this study will not investigate the origins of affective piety, with traditional theories for its development having been revisited by Rachel Fulton, Scott DeGregorio, and Thomas Bestul.<sup>22</sup> It likewise will not define specific qualities

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<sup>18</sup> London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero A.xiv, f. 131. These texts have never been printed. On the intersections between vernacular literacy and Latinity in the Middle Ages, see Franz Bäuml, 'Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Speculum* 55.2 (1980), pp. 237-265.

<sup>19</sup> These devotions are discussed in dialogue with the prayers of *Ancrene Wisse* in Chapter 4.

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Salter, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England*, ed. by Derek Pearsall and Nicolette Zeeman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

<sup>21</sup> For a general introduction to the defining features and practices of affective piety, see Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas Bestul, 'Introduction', in *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation*, ed. by Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas Bestul (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 1-18.

<sup>22</sup> Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Scott DeGregorio, 'Affective Spirituality: Theory and Practice in Bede and

that a prayer requires to be labelled as 'affective', following readings that expose the limitations of the genre's conventional boundaries, particularly those of Mark Amsler, Lauren Mancía and Allen Frantzen.<sup>23</sup> Approaching affective response as grounded in a text's performance rather than its content complements Amsler's view that it is better to consider the ways in which a text might be read affectively as opposed to whether or not it is inherently affective. This reduced emphasis on the content of prayer complements the decision to feature less well-studied examples of spiritual literature, which intends to redress the historical neglect of works that express what Mancía terms 'a kind of piety that does not neatly fit into "affective piety" as it is commonly defined' on the basis of date, audience, or provenance.<sup>24</sup> The period boundaries established for this study reinforce her assessment, examining texts composed between the Anglo-Saxon devotions analysed by DeGregorio and Frantzen and the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century spiritual works discussed by Amsler.

Informed by these critical insights, this study considers the ways in which manuscripts of prayer texts facilitate the cultivation and articulation of the emotional responses expressed in their narratives. In this way, it assesses not only the effects of prayer but also its methods, exploring aspects of devotional practice including the role of the body in prayer and the influence of context on its function and meaning. This approach adopts Amsler's view that prayer texts demand an 'affective literacy' that compels 'readers' to 'develop emotional, somatic, activity-based relationships with [them]'.<sup>25</sup> Their 'activity-based' nature, however, does not reflect the predominantly cerebral realisation that Amsler sees them as inviting: 'pious reading [that] focuses the senses on an inward, contemplative experience mediated by the

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Alfred the Great', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005), pp. 129-139; and Thomas Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

<sup>23</sup> Mark Amsler, *Affective Literacies: Writing and Multilingualism in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), Lauren Mancía, *Emotional Monasticism: Affective Piety in the Eleventh-Century Monastery of John of Fécamp* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), and Allen Frantzen, 'Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005), pp. 117-128.

<sup>24</sup> Mancía, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> Mark Amsler, 'Affective Literacy: Gestures of Reading in the Later Middle Ages', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 18 (2001), pp. 83-110 (p. 83).

text'.<sup>26</sup> It is undeniable that prayer texts intend to transform the desires, affects, and intentions of their user. However, these internal experiences can only be realised through external performance, articulating outwardly that which is felt inwardly. For this reason, this thesis seeks to avoid describing a manuscript's users as 'readers' insofar as is possible; the modern perception of reading as an internalised and silent activity does not convey the physicality and dynamism that medieval sources all but demand of correctly performed prayer.

Approaching prayer as performance reflects its consistent presentation as an activity in primary sources, where it is often listed alongside other voiced and potentially text-based devotional exercises. John of Fécamp advised the recipient of *A Letter to a Nun* that the spouse of Christ 'should never be found idle. She ceaselessly sings, or reads, or prays, or writes, or meditates on heaven'.<sup>27</sup> *De Institutione Inclusarum* similarly directs anchoresses to avoid idleness through 'the alternation of exercises' including psalmody, reading, prayer, and work.<sup>28</sup> *Ancrene Wisse* recommends supplementing the daily devotions with 'þullich oðere bonen. as pater nosteres 7 auees on oure azenwise ... salmes 7 vreisuns ... versailunge of sauter. redunge of englich oðer of frensch. hali þochtes. [7] cneolunges'.<sup>29</sup> The connection of prayer with physical performance is conveyed by the number of verbs in these lists. In other sources, the exertion inherent to successful prayer is more explicitly stated. Goscelin of Saint-Bertin implies the physical effort expected of prayer in his *Liber Confortatorius*, advising its recipient, 'after you have given the requisite offerings of prayer, *when you are tired and exhausted*, refresh

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<sup>26</sup> Amsler, *Affective Literacies*, p. 112.

<sup>27</sup> 'Numquam otiosa inuenitur. Caelestia indesinenter aut canit, aut legit, aut orat, aut scribit, aut meditator.' John of Fécamp, *A Letter to a Nun*, in Jean LeClercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Jean de Fécamp*, (Paris: Vrin, 1946), pp. 204-208 (p. 206).

<sup>28</sup> 'Ociositas exerciciorum uarietate fuganda est ... Si tibi [Psalmi] ceperint esse oneri, transi ad lectionem, que si fastidium ingerit, surge ad oracionem, sic ad opus manuum hiis fatigata pertransiens, ut salubri alternacione spiritum recrees'. C. H. Talbot, 'The *De Institutis Inclusarum* of Ailred of Rievaulx', *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis* 7 (1951), pp. 167-215 (p. 184).

<sup>29</sup> *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe, edited from B. M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. vi*, ed. by E. J. Dobson, EETS OS 269 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 36.

yourself with sacred reading'.<sup>30</sup> The rubrics and punctuation of prayer texts reinforce their status as works that must be acted out in order to fully signify: they are more heavily punctuated than texts of other genres, and are frequently accompanied by instructions directing when, why, or for whom they are to be performed. Extending Amsler's analysis of the narratives of prayer texts to include their paratexts further supports his definition of affective literacies as 'performative spaces and cognitive practices', albeit literalising this 'performance' to a greater extent.<sup>31</sup>

This association of prayer with performance has been valuably emphasised by Rachel Fulton and Sarah McNamer. Challenging traditional perceptions of prayer as an entirely cerebral state of contemplation, Fulton argues that prayer should not be defined as a religious ritual or literary genre, but rather as 'the end product of the practice of a particular skill, a craft that one might learn and that was believed to require tools'.<sup>32</sup> These tools are prayer texts, which are carefully crafted to articulate a devotional experience that is performed as it is invoked, 'somewhere in the intersection between making and use'.<sup>33</sup> Fulton emphasises the suitability of devotional texts for what I have called recuperative reading by arguing that prayer, as a 'psychosomatic state', could be re-experienced through recognising the methods and objectives brought to its performance by contemporary audiences.<sup>34</sup> Similarly emphasising the inherent performativity of devotional texts, McNamer applies the sociological concept of 'emotion scripts' to what she describes as the 'intimate scripts' of affective prayer.<sup>35</sup> They resemble, she claims, 'script-like texts that ask their readers to ... perform compassion ... in a

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<sup>30</sup> Monika Otter, *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: The Book of Encouragement and Consolation (Liber Confortatorius)* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), p. 94.

<sup>31</sup> Amsler, *Affective Literacies*, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Rachel Fulton, 'Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice', *Speculum* 81 (2006), pp. 700-733 (p. 705).

<sup>33</sup> Fulton, 'Praying with Anselm', p. 707.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 12.

private drama of the heart'.<sup>36</sup> Identifying the use of the first person as fundamental to the operation of these 'scripts', she explores how the user of a given prayer is invited to affectively align themselves with its narrative voice, thus feeling, as well as performing, the emotional responses that it articulates as his or her own.

Approaching prayer texts as narratives that must be performed in order to signify also complements John Austin's model of performatives.<sup>37</sup> Austin defined performative utterances as integral to what he called speech-acts, actions that require speech in order to be performed. For example, saying 'I do' at a wedding is performative, as the marriage cannot occur otherwise. Austin used this statement to illustrate that performative speech is active as opposed to descriptive: 'when I say, "I do"', he explained, 'I am not reporting on a marriage: I am indulging in it'.<sup>38</sup> While Austin only defines *utterances* as performative, extending his definition to considering *types of text* as inherently performative reflects the character of medieval prayer. The non-descriptive nature of performative statements parallels defining prayer as an activity that elicits the actions and emotions invoked by a text rather than merely describing them. Both performatives and prayers must be spoken in order to signify, a shared characteristic that highlights the importance of paratexts such as manuscript punctuation to interpretations of devotional texts. Austin's examples additionally illustrate the importance of context to the function and necessity of performative utterances. Their meaning is governed by external factors: when, where, and to whom they are said. Much as saying 'I do' is performative in the context of marriage, paratexts frequently alert their users to the appropriate times, places, or reasons for which to perform particular prayers. Approaching prayer texts as performative illustrates how acknowledging the external productions that frame devotional texts can inform

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<sup>36</sup> McNamer, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> J. L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

<sup>38</sup> Austin, p. 5.

us about aspects of their significance or function that might not be immediately apparent in their narratives.

Considering the contributions paratexts make to devotional performance reveals some limitations in Fulton and McNamer's readings, which focus primarily on literary analysis at the expense of non-narrative factors. Fulton's emphasis on memorised prayer downplays the role that the material text plays in shaping devotional performance. For example, she does not consider how a manuscript's punctuation shapes the realisation of its prayers; instead, the codicological analysis of her selected prayer-book primarily centres on its images, which are used to support her connection of its texts with female audiences. McNamer's engagement with manuscript sources is similarly concerned with establishing the users of a given prayer rather than its uses. Her study reflects the tendency in current scholarship to interpret devotional works based on their inscribed or assumed audiences independent of the provenances of specific manuscripts. She claims that compassionate responses to affective texts '[are] largely a function of gender: to perform compassion is to feel like a woman'.<sup>39</sup> To support her argument, she describes works such as John of Fécamp's *Confessio Theologia* and Anselm's *Prayers and Meditations* as 'designed especially for the use of the women to whom [they are] addressed' in specific prefaces.<sup>40</sup> Susannah Chewning likewise considers the so-called *Wooing Group* prayers that circulated in early manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* as evidencing that 'the English anchoritic tradition'—and, by extension, its associated literature and spirituality—'was somehow always already feminine'.<sup>41</sup> Approaching the compassion and emotion inherent to affective piety as intrinsically feminine limits our appreciation of the contemporary circulation and reception of its associated works, especially when manuscript evidence is taken into account. The majority of surviving manuscripts of the *Confessio Theologica* and *Prayers and*

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<sup>39</sup> McNamer, p. 119

<sup>40</sup> McNamer, p. 72.

<sup>41</sup> Susannah Chewning, 'Introduction', in *The Milieu and Context of the Wooing Group*, ed. by Susannah Chewning (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), pp. 1-25 (p. 5).

*Meditations*, for example, derive from male religious houses; Mancia's study on the piety and reception of the *Confessio Theologia* affirms that male monastic audiences practised ad hoc, affective prayer in dialogue with, rather than separately from, the daily routines of the liturgy.<sup>42</sup> Manuscripts of works discussed in this study that address themselves to female audiences, *De Institutione Inclusarum*, *Ancrene Wisse*, and the *Wooing Group* prayers, indicate that they were read by audiences of both genders within fifty years of their composition. This is not to deny the influence that women exerted on the composition and circulation of devotional texts. Rather, it illustrates that medieval devotional emotion was not necessarily gendered, as the inclusion of the male-voiced *Ureisun of ure lefdi* in a manuscript almost certainly compiled for anchoresses suggests. Examples such as these invite us to assess manuscripts and their paratexts more for evidence of how a text was used than for evidence of who might have used it.

Another series of assumptions that have prevented drawing a fuller picture of medieval devotional practice are those surrounding the performance and significance of liturgical versus non-liturgical prayer. Scholars including Lauren Mancia and Susan Boynton have criticised rigidly distinguishing routine, liturgical prayer and ad hoc devotion, emphasising the difficulty of labelling prayers as liturgical or non-liturgical on the basis of content alone.<sup>43</sup> The majority of the sources featured in this thesis illustrate this fact, interspersing liturgical and non-liturgical devotions in sequences suitable for routine and ad hoc prayer. Characterising non-liturgical prayer as inherently more creative and emotional than liturgical prayer should likewise be avoided. As Boynton reminds us, 'an individual could experience the liturgy as a personal devotion, and prayers that were evidently intended for individuals to recite can be

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<sup>42</sup> Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism*.

<sup>43</sup> See Lauren Mancia, 'Praying with an Eleventh-Century Manuscript: A Case Study of Paris, BnF, MS lat. 13593', in *Boundaries in the Medieval and Wider World: Essays in Honour of Paul Freedman*, ed. by T. Barton et. al (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 153-177, and Susan Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters', *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 895-931.

liturgically structured'<sup>44</sup>. The potential of liturgical prayer to affectively engage audiences to whom its texts were familiar has been similarly emphasised by Bruce Holsinger, who outlines the close connections between liturgy and literature in the Middle Ages.<sup>45</sup> Holsinger argues that in order to fully appreciate the experiential effects of praying the liturgy, critical readings ought to 'detheologise' it, approaching it not only as religious ritual but also 'as analogy, as metaphor, as mimetic deployment of the rhetorics of gesture, motion, and personification'.<sup>46</sup> This study will develop on Holsinger's work by extending his approach to non-liturgical prayer texts, focusing on the extra-textual aspects that he highlights in order to demonstrate their influence on devotional performance and meaning. References made to 'personal', 'ad hoc', or 'individual' prayer throughout this study, therefore, do not differentiate liturgical and ad hoc devotion on the basis of content but rather on that of function and context, following Boynton's definition of the two modes as 'structured communal worship' and 'more flexible practices that can be performed by an individual'.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to the features listed above, paratextual details such as rubrics, *mise-en-page*, and the order of texts in a given manuscript can suggest whether a particular prayer or series of prayers was primarily provided for liturgical or for personal devotion.<sup>48</sup> Another source of evidence that suggests whether a particular prayer or series of prayers was predominantly associated with liturgical or ad hoc devotion is pronouns: liturgical prayers are often in the first-person plural, while non-liturgical prayers prefer the first-person singular.<sup>49</sup> Other paratextual features, particularly rubrics and prefaces, can suggest alternative contexts for the performance of ostensibly liturgical prayers or devotional sequences, as seen in the

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<sup>44</sup> Boynton, p. 897.

<sup>45</sup> Bruce Holsinger, 'Liturgy' in *Middle English*, ed. by P. Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 295-314.

<sup>46</sup> Holsinger, p. 298.

<sup>47</sup> Boynton, p. 896.

<sup>48</sup> Examples of such rubrics are discussed at length in Chapter 1.

<sup>49</sup> This point will be also expanded on in Chapter 1, whose primary sources contain devotions with liturgical uses spoken in the singular alongside those without liturgical connections spoken in the plural.

connection of psalmody with personal devotion in Chapter 2 or the links between the daily prayers of *Ancrene Wisse* and their use in personal devotion advanced in Chapter 4.

The above reassessment of the methods and intentions of personal prayer complements recent shifts in the academic study of medieval affectivity and its literature. Holly Crocker has summarised the ways in which current research into affective piety adopts an interdisciplinary approach to the subject that contextualises it within the history of emotion as opposed to defining it as a literary genre or theological movement.<sup>50</sup> This interpretative approach emphasises the potential of prayer texts to inform us about the experience of devotional practice in addition to its content, exemplified in Barbara Rosenwein's foundational work on 'emotion words' and Ayoush Lazikani's investigation of the 'nurturance of feeling' in affective texts.<sup>51</sup> In supporting its linguistic analysis with evidence from the material text, this study challenges the principal criticism of this interpretative approach: that affective language can describe emotions without necessarily eliciting them. Mancina challenges straightforwardly connecting the description and invocation of emotion as 'reductive', while Robert Davis similarly criticises the 'collapsing' of prayer into a 'simple notion of performance' whose exercise is 'rational' as opposed to intuitive.<sup>52</sup> Even Fulton, who presents emotional response as intrinsic to correctly performed prayer, describes the devotions of her chosen manuscript as constructing '[an] artificial, well-crafted path of prayer' that leaves little room for deviation. McNamer's use of 'scripts' to describe devotional texts likewise implies little freedom for creative deviation.<sup>53</sup> Manuscripts of devotional texts reveal their paratexts to play a vital role in shaping devotional performance, helping to elicit the emotional responses that their prayers invoke. Chapter 5's

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<sup>50</sup> Holly Crocker, 'Medieval Affects Now', *Exemplaria* 29 (2017), pp. 82-98.

<sup>51</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, 'Emotion Words', in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008), pp. 93-106, and Ayoush Lazikani, *Cultivating the Heart: Feeling and Emotion in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Religious Texts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015).

<sup>52</sup> Mancina, *Emotional Monasticism*, p. 7; Robert Davis, *The Weight of Love: Affect, Ecstasy, and Union in the Theology of Bonaventure* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), p. 21.

<sup>53</sup> Fulton, 'Praying with Anselm', p. 731.

comparative reading of manuscript punctuation demonstrates its role in inspiring as well as articulating emotion, in addition to establishing potential paths of non-sequential reading between, as well as within, texts. This reading complements Mancia's analysis of the monastic prayer-book Paris, BNF MS lat. 13593, which demonstrates how other paratextual features, primarily *mise-en-page* and manuscript compilation, allow us to recover a fuller picture of the ways in which devotional texts were interpreted and used.<sup>54</sup> The close reading of this thesis thus reveals the valuable insights that an awareness of manuscript context can contribute to the study of medieval devotional emotion by showing how paratexts help to cultivate affective response as well as to express it.

While the imagery and thematic concerns associated with the literature of affective piety have been well-studied, the ways in which it influenced the production of devotional manuscripts has not. In addition to radical shifts in the content of prayer texts, the twelfth century witnessed significant changes in the construction and presentation of their manuscripts. While codicologists have observed these developments, their connection with devotional use has not been advanced. For example, J. P. Gumbert charted a consistent reduction in European manuscript size between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, with the rate of change sharply increasing from the eleventh century.<sup>55</sup> He additionally noted the continued 'avoidance of large [folio] sizes from the thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century', evidencing the significance of this particular development.<sup>56</sup> What Gumbert did not suggest, however, was any connection between the size of books and their contents or use, although the production of prayer-books such as *libelli precum*, psalter-hours, and Books of Hours dramatically increased in this period. Similarly, Malcolm Parkes's influential work on developments in the *mise-en-page* (*ordinatio*)

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<sup>54</sup> See above, n. 34.

<sup>55</sup> J.P. Gumbert, 'The Sizes of Manuscripts: Some Statistics and Notes', in *Hellinga Festschrift: Forty-Three Studies in Bibliography Presented to Prof. Dr. Wytze Hellinga on the Occasion of his Retirement from the Chair of Neophilology in the University of Amsterdam at the End of the Year 1978*, ed. by A. Croiset van Uchelen (Amsterdam: Israel, 1980), pp. 277-288.

<sup>56</sup> Gumbert, p. 287.

and compilation (*compilatio*) of twelfth-century manuscripts has been traditionally presented as evidencing the influence of scholasticism and referential reading on manuscript design.<sup>57</sup> However, many of the prayer-books examined in this study incorporate these features, facilitating the non-sequential reading of their texts. An increase in the regularity of word-spacing and the number and variety of punctuation marks in prayer texts is also discernible throughout this period, reflecting a contemporary awareness of the importance of correct articulation to devotional performance.<sup>58</sup> Although an understanding of medieval punctuation is as essential for literary critics as for palaeographers, it is often modernised in editions of medieval works and treated as a non-integral part of the text. While there has been a gradual increase in the attention devoted to manuscript punctuation, few studies have been published that offer a more general understanding of the subject as opposed to isolated studies of individual manuscripts.<sup>59</sup> In this way, another conventionally overlooked paratextual feature supports insights made by scholars regarding the function and performance of prayer, in this case Fulton's claim that 'throughout the medieval literature on prayer, how to pray ... is as much, if not more, a concern for both critics and practitioners as for what or for whom to pray'.<sup>60</sup>

The findings of this study are presented with the caveat that is impossible to recapture exactly how medieval individuals actually prayed. Devotional manuals and treatises might indicate how a reader was *supposed* to pray, but they cannot confirm whether they actually did so. 'A book of prayers,' Fulton notes, 'however exquisitely composed or copied, is not prayer

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<sup>57</sup> Malcolm Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon, 1991), pp. 35-70.

<sup>58</sup> See Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, Paul G. Arakelian, 'Punctuation in a Late Middle English Manuscript', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 76 (1975), pp. 614-624, and Javier Calle Martín and Antonio Miranda García, 'Editing Middle English Punctuation: The Case of MS Egerton 2622 (ff. 136-152)', *IJES* 5/2 (2005), pp. 27-44.

<sup>60</sup> Fulton, 'Praying with Anselm', p. 701.

in act, any more than pictures of people praying are people at prayer'.<sup>61</sup> A manuscript cannot indicate exactly how (or even if) its prayers were performed, nor can it communicate the specific motivations that compelled its audiences (themselves usually anonymous) to use it. That said, the care taken with the paratexts of devotional books demonstrated throughout this study evidences the key role that they were understood to play in shaping the reading experience of its users. Whether or not one agrees with Fulton's definition of prayer as 'a psychosomatic state [that is] the end product of the practice of a particular skill, a craft that one might learn', it is indisputable that prayer texts are deliberately crafted to elicit the desirable somatic and affective responses invoked in their narratives.<sup>62</sup> Medieval manuscripts occupy a unique and significant niche in research on historical literature and reading practices: they present either the exact, or the closest possible, version of a text that a contemporary user would have read.

### **Methodology and Selection of Sources**

The methodology of this study reflects its intention of assessing how paratexts influence textual performance and interpretation. The close reading in each chapter focuses on one to three principal manuscripts presented as case studies, with the conclusions drawn from their analysis supported through comparisons with suitable primary sources. In this way, a relatively large range of primary material is referenced within the limitations of a DPhil thesis. The interpretation of the prayers contained in these manuscripts is informed by the rubrics, punctuation, and *mise-en-page* that presented them to contemporary users. Where possible, the original presentation of the text is compared with its treatment in recent critical editions in order to demonstrate how the omission or alteration of a prayer's paratexts can influence its

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<sup>61</sup> Fulton, 'Praying with Anselm', p. 707.

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*

reception. Paratextual analysis is further supported with images illustrating the specific detail under discussion. The chronological arrangement of the primary sources indicates areas of continuity and change in the historical development of devotional texts and their manuscripts, while the consistency of the methodology used to examine them establishes the cohesion of the study as a whole.

The selection of case studies was influenced by several criteria. In order to illustrate the diversity of English devotional writing from this period, a variety of genres of devotional writing were included, with manuscripts produced in England prioritised over texts written in English. As stated above, to equate Englishness with the English language would present a misleadingly narrow image of surviving sources. Given that this study investigates prayer performed in non-liturgical contexts, manuscripts containing only liturgical material or Psalms were excluded, as, while it is almost certain that such texts were prayed in ad hoc devotion, prioritising manuscripts containing non-liturgical prayers prevented any conclusions drawn from being overly hypothetical.

In addition to having been produced within the specified date range, selected manuscripts had to be in good enough condition for detailed examination of their paratexts. As the close reading of specific features is often supported with images, manuscripts that could either be photographed or that are available in high-resolution scans were preferred.<sup>63</sup> In the case of essential sources surviving in only one suitable manuscript, supplementary readings or images are drawn from later versions where strictly necessary.<sup>64</sup> The focus on devotional manuscripts produced c.1050-1250 resulted in the omission of Anglo-Norman prayer texts from the study, as nearly all such works composed prior to 1250 survive in considerably later

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<sup>63</sup> The only case study not photographed in this thesis is the twelfth-century text of *De Institutione Inclusionum*, Hereford, Cathedral Library MS P.i.17, as I was unable to view the manuscript personally due to travel restrictions and it is not available online.

<sup>64</sup> For example, the sole twelfth-century copy of *De Institutione Inclusionum* is incomplete, meaning that the two next earliest versions, which date to the mid-thirteenth century, were required to examine its punctuation.

manuscripts.<sup>65</sup> While some French prayers are discussed in Chapter 4, the decision not to dedicate an entire chapter to French devotional literature despite its cultural and historical significance was made on the basis of the difficulty of locating and accessing suitable manuscript sources.

The final factor influencing the selection of primary sources was the intention to redress the overrepresentation of certain texts or authors in critical literature, which has overshadowed other less well-known but equally valuable works. As a consequence, Anselm's *Prayers and Meditations* and *De Wohunge of ure Lauerd* are deliberately excluded from this thesis, while its discussion of *Ancrene Wisse* concentrates on Part I.<sup>66</sup> While analysing the literature of prayer without referencing these highly influential works might seem incomplete, the benefits of passing over these specific cases outweigh the negatives. For example, Chapter 5 illustrates how *Wohunge* has dominated critical readings of the so-called *Wooing Group* prayers to such an extent that the contributions that the other four devotions make to our understanding of the practice and significance of anchoritic prayer have not been fully acknowledged.

## Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1 presents a comparative close reading of two mid-eleventh century *libelli precum*, in order to evaluate the layout and performance of prayers in a type of manuscript characterised by its diversity. While such books are traditionally characterised as Carolingian, its two case

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<sup>65</sup> For a list of Anglo-Norman manuscripts, see *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. by M. Boulton and R. Dean (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999). Anne Lawrence observes that the majority of eleventh- and twelfth-century Norman manuscripts were continental imports, which complicates a study of English manuscript production and style. Anne Lawrence, 'Anglo-Norman Book Production', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by D. Bates and A. Curry (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 79-93.

<sup>66</sup> While I would have liked to include a chapter on Anselm, especially given the interest in *mise-en-page* and punctuation expressed in the prologue to the *Prayers and Meditations*, it was unfeasible given the length of this study. Anselm has defined the academic study of affective prayer for so long that contributing new insights appeared a monumental task, while the sheer quantity of eleventh- to thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Prayers and Meditations* alone complicated the selection of only one or two primary examples. Lauren Mancia's recently published study of John of Fécamp's piety and prayers similarly motivated me to dedicate my attention to other, less well-known sources.

studies, Ælfwine's Prayerbook (London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D.xxvi + xxvii) and the Galba prayer-book (London, British Library, Cotton MS Galba A.xiv + Nero A.ii), show how later examples of the genre anticipate twelfth-century developments in the texts and manuscripts of personal devotion. These sources also illustrate the variety of surviving pre-Conquest devotional material, as, despite their similar provenance, they are markedly different in character and compilation. Focusing on a particular paratext, rubrication, close readings are done of the coloured ink, rubrics, and *mise-en-page* in each prayer-book to explore how visual and contextual cues direct devotional performance. Comparisons are drawn with other contemporary *libelli precum*, such as London, British Library, MSS Arundel 155 and Tiberius A.iii, where appropriate. This chapter demonstrates that the origins of the devotional practices and literary style associated with affective piety can be traced to this relatively early point of the Middle Ages. Like the psalter examined in Chapter 2, these books also initiate discussion of the role of non-liturgical prayer in monastic houses, an underexplored field of study further considered in the following chapter.

Chapter 2 develops on the previous chapter's analysis of non-liturgical prayer in monastic communities through examining a different kind of devotional book produced within a similar context. It analyses the potential use of glossed psalters in private devotional practice, using the eleventh-century Lambeth Psalter (London, Lambeth Palace, MS 427) as a case study. By exploring how paratextual features excluded from critical editions of this psalter—its prefaces and *tituli psalmorum*—foreground the performance of psalmody as personal prayer, Lambeth's glosses and non-liturgical texts are revealed to elicit a devotional, as well as an academic, engagement with the Psalms. In so doing, it invites us to re-evaluate our approach to this kind of medieval book and explores questions of voice and identity in devotional performance. Its inclusion of English and Latin alongside each other illustrates the ways in which the two languages functioned similarly and differently in the context of personal

devotion, while its analysis of forms of confession foregrounds the penitential prayers discussed in the following three chapters.

Chapter 3 offers a different kind of close reading to the first two chapters by introducing a new type of primary source into the study: devotional treatises. Intended to function as a bridge linking the preceding analysis of monastic prayer-books with the following discussion of prayers associated with lay anchorites, it consciously expands on the definition of paratexts advanced up to this point. Approaching literary texts as paratexts complements Genette's original classification of types of writing like prefaces, blurbs, and forewords as paratextual, while contextualising the treatises examined with respect to their manuscripts sustains the codicological approach adopted in other chapters. In its analysis of a type of text definitive of twelfth-century devotional culture, it explores how writing *about* prayer can be approached as a paratext to its practice in works that often contain devotional programmes in addition to instructions on how they should be performed. Using the influential *De Institutione Inclusarum* of Aelred of Rievaulx as a case study, it considers how devotional treatises influence the experiential effects of the prayers they contain through their discussions of extra-textual factors associated with certain devotions, such as when or where they are performed—a theme central to the works explored in the following two chapters.

Chapter 4 analyses paratexts of annotations and emendations in order to consider how changes to the punctuation and capitalisation of a prayer text reflect a desire to shape its performance, function, and meaning. It examines the programme of daily prayer set out in Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* in the Cleopatra version of the treatise (London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C.vi), which is one of the only thirteenth-century manuscripts to contain consistent and thorough emendations in a potentially authorial hand. By analysing the alterations made to the punctuation of Part I's Psalms and antiphons as well as to that of their accompanying directions, the importance of punctuation to textual performance—and the meaning generated

through that performance—is made evident. The connections drawn between the prayers of *Ancrene Wisse* and those of Books of Hours in previous critical readings are additionally interrogated through comparison with a contemporary example of the genre, the de Brailles Hours (London, British Library, Additional MS 49999). The chapter concludes by considering the extent to which the punctuation of psalmody might have affected the relationship that Cleopatra’s contemporary users had with it, highlighting the likely use of Part I’s prayers in ad hoc as well as in routine devotion by outlining their parallels with the subsequent sections of the treatise. These thematic and linguistic connections foreground the analysis of manuscript punctuation in the final chapter.

Chapter 5 follows a similar methodology as the previous chapter, comparing and contrasting the punctuation of two prayers in the Nero codex of *Ancrene Wisse* (London, British Library Cotton Nero A.xiv), the *Ureisun of God Almihti* and the *Oreisun of Sainte Marie*, with contemporary versions of the same texts in unrelated manuscripts: London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 487 (*UGA*) and British Library Royal MS A.xxvii (*OSM*). This exercise allows us to explore what we might learn about how a text was interpreted, performed, and used from seemingly trivial differences in the placement and/or the form of a single punctuation mark, and whether medieval punctuation was concerned with grammar, meaning, articulation, or any combination of these three. Its analysis demonstrates that the layout and punctuation of a given prayer strongly influence perceptions of its function and its meaning, and that contemporary users of prayer-books engaged with their paratexts as part of the reading process. It also shows that the scribes of prayer-books thought about *mise-en-page* and punctuation in addition to the words of a prayer itself, emphasising that not including these aspects in critical readings limits our appreciation of their art and their meaning.

## 1. The *Libellus Precum*: Rubricating Performance in pre-Conquest prayer-books

Chapter 1 assesses the methods and objectives of ad hoc prayer articulated in *libelli precum*, a manuscript archetype typical of pre-Conquest devotional books. Although the production and use of *libelli precum* continued well into the eleventh century, they are conventionally characterised as Carolingian regardless of their actual date of production or provenance.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence, their evidence of change as well as continuity in the literature and practice of personal devotion is less widely acknowledged. While the term *libellus precum* refers to a codicological genre, critical readings of their prayers often lift them from their manuscript context, thus obscuring how their compilation and paratexts shape their reception. As *libellus precum* indicates a type of manuscript, it is also inaccurate to describe a literary work as belonging to the '*libellus precum* genre'. Scholars who acknowledge the significance of manuscript context to analysing *libelli precum* still tend to define this context as primarily literary, focusing more on their contents than the paratextual qualities that such books often share, including size, rubrication, and *mise-en-page*.<sup>2</sup> The liturgical prayers that these books invariably contain are often passed over in considerations of ad hoc devotion, as though prayers associated with public performance were unlikely to form part of individual spiritual practice.

This chapter considers the ways in which conventional critical approaches to readings of *libelli precum* can limit our appreciation of their contemporary reception and use. Its analysis intends to demonstrate that the function and significance of prayer is shaped by its paratexts as

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Renie Choy's reading of 'the most striking prayers in the Carolingian *libelli precum*' encompasses texts that appear in English manuscripts of varying dates. Renie Choy, "'The Brother Who May Wish to Pray by Himself': Sense of Self in Carolingian Prayers of Private Devotion', in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward SLG*, ed. by S. Bhattacharji, D. Mattos, and R. Williams (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 101-120 (p. 102).

<sup>2</sup> Susan Boynton, for example, argues that critical readings of *libelli precum* should consider 'the order and selection of prayers ... the quantity of texts in each collection and their placement within the manuscript', without referencing paratextual features. Susan Boynton, '*Libelli Precum* in the Central Middle Ages', in *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Roy Hammerling (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 255-318 (p. 259).

well as its content. As it would be impractical to examine all thirty-nine surviving *libelli precum* from pre-Conquest England, two examples have been selected to represent the genre: London, British Library Cotton MSS Titus D.xxvi + xxvii (*Ælfwine's Prayerbook*) and Galba A.xiv + Nero A.ii (Galba).<sup>3</sup> The content, origins, and accessibility of these manuscripts render them ideally suited for comparative close reading. They share an institutional and geographical provenance, both produced c.1030-1050 in Benedictine houses near Winchester; however, their design, compilation, and character markedly differ, demonstrating the variety characteristic of *libelli precum* on a manageable scale (unlike, for example, Wulfstan II's *Portiforium*, which is over 700 folios long).<sup>4</sup> While their critical editions are not diplomatic and do not preserve their original punctuation, *mise-en-page*, or compilation, both manuscripts are viewable online courtesy of the British Library, facilitating analysis of these features.<sup>5</sup>

These case studies are excellent sources of the content, methods and intentions of non-liturgical prayer in eleventh-century religious houses. Their emendations supply valuable information regarding the contexts associated with, and reasons for, the performance of certain devotions, including factors such as the time of day or place appropriate for its use or the recipients on whose behalf it ought to be prayed. Close reading of their texts that integrates paratextual features underrepresented in critical editions, such as rubrics, *mise-en-page*, and manuscript punctuation, informs us about the contexts and practice of non-liturgical prayer in religious communities, a field of research whose potential has yet to be fully realised.<sup>6</sup> Their

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<sup>3</sup> *A Pre-Conquest English Prayerbook*, ed. by B. Muir, Henry Bradshaw Society 103 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1988) and *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, ed. by B. Günzel, Henry Bradshaw Society 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1992). For a list of pre-Conquest prayer-books, see Thomas Bestul, 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by P. Szarmach (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 103-126 (pp. 124-126).

<sup>4</sup> *The Portiforium of Saint Wulfstan (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391)*, ed. by A. Hughes, 2 vols. (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1958-1960).

<sup>5</sup> The present binding of Galba is modern, although Muir attempts to reconstruct its original order to the greatest extent possible. All images of the manuscripts are credited to the British Library.

<sup>6</sup> Recent publications have primarily investigated lay interactions with liturgical rites rather than those of monastic audiences with ad hoc devotion. See for example M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002) and *The Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (London: Boydell Press, 2005).

paratexts further support Sarah Hamilton's definition of *libelli precum* as devotional tools that 'offered concrete guidance in how to pray' similarly to religious manuals or letters of spiritual guidance.<sup>7</sup> They additionally demonstrate that this apparently Carolingian manuscript archetype reflects contemporary developments in devotional literature. For example, Hamilton uses a penitential prayer beginning *Domine, exaudi orationem* to present another eleventh-century *libellus precum* as 'very much a work in line with contemporary European trends in piety [because] it does not occur in any of the published ninth-century collections, but features in several eleventh-century collections'.<sup>8</sup> This prayer is also contained in Galba, characterising its compilation as similarly modern.

In addition to informing us about the devotional practice of their original users, Galba and Ælfwine's Prayerbook anticipate developments in the themes and methods of non-liturgical prayer seen in the later sources examined in the following chapters. The ways in which *libelli precum* facilitate psalmody performed as personal devotion complements Chapter 2's work on the Lambeth Psalter, which evaluates a similarly monastic manuscript for evidence of its non-liturgical use. Chapters 1 and 2 additionally highlight how much information paratexts can convey regarding the use and reception of devotional books: this chapter examines rubrics and rubrication, while Chapter 2 analyses paratexts that accompanied the Psalms, *tituli psalorum* and *diapsalma* markers. As this chapter is concerned with reading *libelli precum* in their manuscript context, particular attention is devoted to the books' use of coloured ink and their rubrics; a brief introduction to manuscript rubrication and definition of the terms used is therefore supplied.

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<sup>7</sup> Sarah Hamilton, "'Most Illustrious King of Kings": Evidence for Ottonian Kingship in the Otto III Prayerbook', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), pp. 257-288 (p. 260).

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton, p. 274. *Domine, exaudi orationem*, is further discussed in Chapter 2. Hamilton does not note that this prayer appears in Galba, perhaps because the Galba text is unrubricated.

Each manuscript is referred to by the name used by its editors for the entire book, i.e. Galba and Ælfwine's Prayerbook, even though they are now bound in separate volumes.<sup>9</sup> Individual prayers or devotional sequences are referenced by their corresponding initial and number in their respective editions: for example, G1 refers to Text #1 in Muir's edition of Galba. This practice reflects the fact that the incipits of the majority of these prayers are editorial rather than contemporary. It also simplifies referencing different prayers that share the same incipits, which would otherwise require lengthier titles in order to distinguish them, such as texts G11 and G31. In this chapter, italicised text indicates coloured ink, while text copied in bolded capitals indicates rustic capitals. As the primary focus of this chapter is on rubrics and rubricated text, the presentation of Latin quotations and their translations will differ from other chapters, with the Latin given in the main body of the text rather than in the footnotes. In this way, the paratextual feature that is the main subject of this chapter is more accurately reproduced.

### **The *libellus precum* as Genre: A Problem of Definition**

The origins of the genre *libellus precum* are modern rather than medieval. It was coined in the mid-twentieth century by André Wilmart to describe manuscripts containing collections of prayers that he considered suggestive of private, non-liturgical devotion.<sup>10</sup> Its widespread acceptance was popularised by his influential partial edition of four devotional books, which presented selected sequences of prayers that he judged to be unconnected with the liturgy excised from their manuscript context.<sup>11</sup> The use of the term to refer specifically to codices of

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<sup>9</sup> Michael Lapidge has asserted that the Galba and Nero manuscripts were not originally related ('Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan', *ASE* 9 (1981), pp. 61-98); Muir's convincing counterargument for the unity of the MSS is on pp. xi-xii. To simplify matters, Galba refers to the original codex as a whole, including the folios now in Nero.

<sup>10</sup> André Wilmart, *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides liturgicae, 1940).

<sup>11</sup> For a bibliography of Wilmart's scholarship, see Louis Brou and Jeanne Odier, *Bibliographie Sommarise des Travaux du Pere Andre Wilmart, O. S. B., 1876-1941* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1953).

prayers, regardless of whether they were editorial productions or faithful reflections of an original medieval compilation, was further strengthened by Pierre Salmon's select bibliographies of manuscripts that he considered to typify what Wilmart presented as the definitive archetype of *libelli precum*.<sup>12</sup> Salmon established the general understanding of the *libellus precum* as a 'livret' ('little book') of prayers that are primarily non-liturgical. The conventional characterization of *libelli precum* as Carolingian is also partially indebted to Wilmart and Salmon, with both scholars pointing to the eighth- and ninth-century prayers contained in many such compilations as evidence of their Carolingian origins, even in cases where their other texts or manuscripts were produced at significantly later dates.<sup>13</sup>

The interpretative assumptions and editorial practices associated with the early scholarship of *libelli precum* led to the printing of many pre-Conquest devotional books, such as the Bury Psalter, in partial editions that reflect modern conceptions of generic cohesion and non-liturgical devotion rather than the book encountered by contemporary audiences.<sup>14</sup> The frequent omission of liturgical texts and paratexts from such editions of *libelli precum* obscures not only aspects of their original reception and use, but also their continued utility to later medieval audiences. For example, the early ninth-century London, British Library, Royal MS 2.A.xx, which contains excerpts from the Gospels, liturgical prayers, and collects alongside its non-liturgical devotions, has never been printed in full; its marginal prayers, which evidence the book's continued use into the eleventh century in private and communal devotion, were

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<sup>12</sup> Pierre Salmon, 'Libelli precum du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Analecta liturgica: Extraits des manuscrits liturgiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane: Contribution à l'histoire de la prière chrétienne*, Studi e testi 273 (Vatican City: 1974), pp. 123-194; 'Livrets de prières de l'époque carolingienne', *Revue Benedictine* 86-87 (1976-1977), pp. 218-234; 'Livrets de prières de l'époque Carolingienne: Nouvelle Liste de manuscrits', *Revue Benedictine* 90 (1980), pp. 147-149.

<sup>13</sup> Salmon intended to fulfil Wilmart's intention of producing 'a series or collection of Carolingian prayer texts'; his list of *libelli precum* therefore considered the date of their texts rather than that of their manuscripts. Note, for example, that his first list, 'Libelli precum du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', contains manuscripts produced as late as the twelfth century. ('[Son] volume de *Precum Libelli Quattuor*, qui devait être, dans son intention, le premier d'une série ou collection de textes de prières carolingiennes'. Salmon, 'Livrets de prières', p. 218.)

<sup>14</sup> André Wilmart, 'The Prayers of the Bury Psalter', *Downside Review* 48 (1930), pp. 198- 216.

edited as recently as 2006.<sup>15</sup> In the case of illustrated prayer-books, this selective editorial practice intensifies: Hamilton observes that their ‘principal contents’—i.e., their prayers—rarely receive ‘equivalent detailed study’ to their paintings.<sup>16</sup>

Although the term *libellus precum* is still widely used to describe pre-twelfth century devotional compilations, recent readings of such manuscripts have challenged the problematic aspects of its traditional definition. While Wilmart’s editions imply *libelli precum* to be discrete collections comprised only of prayers, the characteristic diversity of their contents has prompted scholars including Julia Crick and Jeffrey Hamburger to characterise them as ‘miscellanies’ instead.<sup>17</sup> Thomas Bestul’s edition of an early twelfth-century example avoids the term altogether: although he cites Wilmart and Salmon’s work on earlier collections of prayers, he uses terms such as ‘independent prayer-books’ and ‘devotional anthologies’ to refer to manuscripts exhibiting the characteristics that they associate with *libelli precum*.<sup>18</sup> Other scholars have challenged Wilmart’s strict separation of liturgical and personal prayer as untenable in practice.<sup>19</sup> Susan Boynton has consistently emphasised the need to accurately represent the material and institutional contexts of prayers associated with *libelli precum*.<sup>20</sup> She highlights the misleading impression of the character and use of such books that Wilmart’s editions convey in excluding material that he considered ‘extraneous to the *libelli precum*

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<sup>15</sup> Joseph Crowley, ‘Latin Prayers added into the Margins of the Prayerbook British Library, Royal 2 A.xx at the Beginnings of the Monastic Reform in Worcester’, *Sacris Erudiri* 45 (2006), pp. 223-303. The main text of Royal was edited as an appendix to *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne*, ed. by Dom A. B. Kuypers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), pp. 200-225.

<sup>16</sup> Hamilton, p. 260.

<sup>17</sup> Julia Crick, ‘An eleventh-century prayer-book for women? The origins and history of the Galba prayer-book’, in *Writing, Kingship, and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Rory Naismith and David Woodman (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), pp. 281-302, and Jeffrey Hamburger, ‘A *Liber Precum* in Sélestat and the Development of the Illustrated Prayer Book in Germany’, *The Art Bulletin* 73.2 (1991), pp. 209-236 (p. 209).

<sup>18</sup> *A Durham Book of Devotions*, ed. by T. Bestul, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 18 (Toronto: Centre for Medieval Studies, 1987), p. 3. The manuscript is London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 7. For his references to Wilmart and Salmon, see p. 3, n. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Wilmart held that ‘liturgical prayer and private prayer are distinct genres’ (‘La prière liturgique et la prière privée sont des espèces distinctes’). André Wilmart, *Auteurs Spirituels et Textes du Moyen Age Latin: Etudes d’histoire littéraire* (Paris: Vrin, 1932), p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy & History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); ‘*Libelli Precum* in the central Middle Ages’; ‘Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters’, *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 895-931.

tradition'.<sup>21</sup> For example, omitting liturgical prayers denies the fact that such devotions could be—and were—performed in other contexts. The *libelli precum* analysed in this chapter reinforce the impossibility of separating liturgical and personal prayer by consistently interspersing non-liturgical devotions with collects, litanies and Psalms. Boynton also observes that compilations called *libelli precum* are rarely exclusively little books of prayers, but often contain various other types of text. Therefore, she argues, the term *libellus precum* should not refer to an edited booklet of specific prayers, but to collections of texts in their entirety and, by extension, the manuscript that contains them.

While Boynton's identification of the importance of context to understanding devotional performance is undeniable, her definition of this context as primarily literary downplays the importance of the material text to the function and significance of *libelli precum*. She defines manuscript context as 'a thorough account of the entire contents of a manuscript' without considering how paratexts such as punctuation or *mise-en-page* influence their performance.<sup>22</sup> Her critique of Wilmart's work interrogates his exclusion of all the *texts* in a given book rather than his treatment of non-narrative features. The examples showcased in Boynton's publications also strengthen the conventional impression of *libelli precum* as compiled of what modern scholars would consider prayer texts, liturgical or otherwise: the majority are monastic psalters to which discrete blocks of non-liturgical prayers are appended.<sup>23</sup> Manuscripts like Galba, whose contents range from medical recipes to hymns set to neumes, complicate the issue of whether labelling such books as *libelli precum* is appropriate or misleading. Bestul, for example, lists Galba as 'a good example of an independent prayer-

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<sup>21</sup> Boynton, 'Libelli Precum in the Central Middle Ages', p. 256.

<sup>22</sup> Boynton, 'Libelli Precum in the Central Middle Ages', p. 267.

<sup>23</sup> In 'Libelli Precum in the Central Middle Ages', Boynton examines two eleventh-century monastic psalters within which collections of prayers constitute discrete textual units; 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance' analyses a similar type of source. *Shaping a Monastic Identity* concentrates on prayer-books associated with the Abbey of Farfa that are primarily lectionaries or liturgical books. See Boynton, 'Libelli precum in the Central Middle Ages', pp. 270-272, and 'Appendix 1: Brief Descriptions of Liturgical Manuscripts from Farfa Discussed in the Text', in *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, pp. 233-240.

book' without acknowledging the sheer volume of material unrelated to prayer that it also contains.<sup>24</sup> This chapter will interrogate typical assumptions of what is and is not a prayer text by considering the ways in which texts contained in these manuscripts that explicitly identify themselves as prayers interact with surrounding material that is not immediately suggestive of devotional use, such as medical recipes or excerpts from the Gospels.

Despite the complications of the label's historical use, *libelli precum* do share features of provenance, design, content, and compilation that invite their generic classification as a manuscript archetype. Their provenance is almost exclusively monastic, with the majority of surviving examples deriving from religious houses and containing texts indicative of liturgical use. Their similar origins allow us to speculate on the interpretative and performative approaches that their envisioned users might have brought to their texts in light of their cultural and intellectual backgrounds. Hamilton argues that, as the 'prayerbook tradition in western Europe certainly grew out of monastic practice', *libelli precum* should be taken as reflective of 'monastic concerns' and 'monastic practices of prayer', noting the close correspondences between their liturgical and non-liturgical devotions.<sup>25</sup> Duncan Robertson likewise draws on the association of *libelli precum* with religious houses to interpret their reception in the context of the monastic *lectio divina*.<sup>26</sup> Like Hamilton and Boynton, he connects the Psalms and collects that such books invariably contain with personal prayer, emphasising rhetorical features such as their use of the first-person and paratactic style to present *libelli precum* as 'a striking illustration of *lectio divina* as it could be performed ... by any solitary individual'.<sup>27</sup> Robertson's interpretative approach is particularly relevant to the central argument of this study: as *lectio divina* is a practice that inspires an individual to imaginatively and affectively

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<sup>24</sup> Bestul, *A Durham Book*, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Hamilton, p. 269.

<sup>26</sup> Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading*, Cistercian Studies Series 238 (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2011), at pp. 125-132.

<sup>27</sup> Robertson, p. 132.

engage with scriptural and liturgical texts through the creative process of concatenation, connecting it with *libelli precum* further illustrates the potential for prayers associated with the liturgy to be prayed in ad hoc contexts.

Other features of *libelli precum* further suggest their association with ad hoc, personal prayer. They are usually small enough to be held in one hand, and even the *Portiforium*, which contains 724 folios and weighs approximately 2kg, measures only 225x135 mm—approximately the length of an A4 sheet, but only half as wide. The *Portiforium* is one of the largest *libelli precum*; Galba measures 150x110 mm and Ælfwine’s Prayerbook is even smaller at 130x90 mm. Another indication of a *libellus precum*’s production for individual use is the use of *mise-en-page* to provide visual cues to a book’s user. Even in manuscripts lacking consistent rubrication or a predetermined design, such as Galba, the context and function of certain prayers are distinguished by textual markers (such as ‘collecta’ or ‘oremus’) or by a distinctive *mise-en-page*. The illustrations found in a significant number of *libelli precum* further connect them with individual use: the majority of such manuscripts are too small to have been displayed as altar-books, and some—like the drawings in Ælfwine’s Prayerbook discussed later in the chapter—directly reference their owners by name.<sup>28</sup>

In contrast to these shared codicological qualities, the stylistic and functional diversity that characterises the content of *libelli precum* problematises classifying their texts as a literary genre. Although they contain similar *types* of devotion, such as prayers to the Trinity and the saints, litanies, and penitential prayers, no two books are identical, and it is not uncommon to encounter the same prayer rubricated or arranged differently in contemporary manuscripts.<sup>29</sup> Each *libellus* contains a unique selection of Psalms, antiphons, and prayers alongside apparently secular texts that current audiences might consider at odds with the expected

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<sup>28</sup> Hamburger lists other examples of *libelli precum* whose illustrations suggest personal ownership in ‘A *Liber Precum* in Sélestat’.

<sup>29</sup> One such example, a penitential prayer rubricated *Confessio pro peccatis ad Deum* in one manuscript and combined with another prayer under the rubric *Inquisitio Sancti Augustini* in another, is discussed in Chapter 2.

function of prayer-books, such as medical recipes or prognostics. Both Galba and Ælfwine's Prayerbook contain many such apparently non-devotional works, as do other contemporary examples like the *Portiforium*.<sup>30</sup> The variety inherent to *libelli precum* invites us to question whether we should approach them as little books of prayers as opposed to, say, commonplace-books or miscellanies. The difficulty of reconciling *libelli precum* with modern concepts of textual cohesion recurs throughout critical readings of the genre. For example, Crick claims that although many pre-Conquest manuscripts *containing* prayers survive, '[pre-Conquest] prayer-books themselves are a relative rarity'.<sup>31</sup> This 'rarity' reflects her definition of a prayer-book as a manuscript containing primarily *non*-liturgical prayers. By excluding manuscripts containing 'only one or two [such] prayers' from this category, Crick overlooks that liturgical prayers could be privately performed.<sup>32</sup> Labelling Galba as one of these books of 'special significance' presents a misleading impression of the manuscript, especially given that the amount of material it contains that could *not* be considered prayer texts is unmentioned.<sup>33</sup> Muir's contrasting assessment of Galba likewise judges the ways in which its texts might be used and read by modern standards of genre. He argues for its use as an 'exercise book by those being taught in the monastery' rather than as a book intended for devotion on the basis that 'the texts chosen for inclusion do not reflect any specific interest or guiding principle' and that the manuscript is, in some places, not professionally executed.<sup>34</sup> A true *libellus precum*, he implies, would not have been miscellaneous but deliberately and carefully compiled, exhibiting a visual and textual cohesion that he considers lacking in Galba.

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<sup>30</sup> For the contents of these books in full, see Muir, pp. xviii-xx, Günzel, pp. 16-78, and Hughes, vol 2., p. vi.

<sup>31</sup> Crick, p. 281. Her criteria for defining a manuscript as a prayer-book draw on those in Barbara Raw, 'Anglo-Saxon Prayerbooks', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain I (c. 400-1100)*, ed. by R. Gameson (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), pp. 460-467, and H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985), pp. 91-141.

<sup>32</sup> cf. Crick, p. 281, n. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Crick, p. 282.

<sup>34</sup> Muir, p. xvii.

While Ælfwine's Prayerbook, by contrast, does possess the cohesion and order praised in these critical readings, its contents are also miscellaneous to some degree in the sense that they are not exclusively concerned with prayer. In addition to its devotions, the manuscript contains prognostics, medical recipes, apocrypha, lunaries, and even notes from a bishops' synod. Carl Phelpstead observes that scholars' virtually exclusive focus on the manuscript's devotions reflects an 'attempted distinction between sacred and secular [that] is anachronistic: the authors of the texts and the compiler and owner of the manuscript would not have made this kind of distinction'.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps deliberately, his own study of the book avoids the term *libellus precum* altogether.

In this chapter, the term *libellus precum* will be used to refer to its featured devotional books on the basis that their manuscripts and paratexts illustrate various ways in which their apparently non-devotional texts actually intersect with prayer. For example, one of the medical texts in Galba, G70, gives details of how to treat an injured person: after applying the remedy, the patient must 'gesinge ... þreo mæssan' on the liturgical feasts of Saints Stephen and John the Baptist, directly connecting this text with prayer.<sup>36</sup> Devotions directed to these specific saints are conveniently included in the manuscript (G20 and G92). The collocation of instructions for making an amulet measured according to the length of Christ's body (ff. 3r-3v) and prognostics for bloodletting and avoiding sickness (ff. 6v-7v) in Ælfwine's Prayerbook similarly connect devotional practice with medical treatment. As successfully using these treatments requires prayer to succeed, it is fitting that medical texts are contained in devotional books; Emily Kesling has explored this intersectionality between pre-Conquest medical literature and its associated devotions.<sup>37</sup> Phelpstead advocates a similar interpretative approach to Ælfwine's Prayerbook, arguing that 'by pursuing particular interests in only some of the

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<sup>35</sup> Carl Phelpstead, 'Beyond Ecocriticism: A Cosmocritical Reading of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*', *RES* 69 (2018), pp. 613-631 (p. 616).

<sup>36</sup> Muir, p. 150.

<sup>37</sup> Emily Kesling, *Medical Texts in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2020).

contents of the manuscript, previous scholars have not read [it] as a whole'.<sup>38</sup> As an example, he points out that texts labelled by Günzel as secular, like Ælfric's *De Temporibus Anni*, contain numerous theological references.<sup>39</sup> While Phelpstead avoids defining Ælfwine's Prayerbook as a devotional compilation, using it to discuss ecocritical readings of medieval miscellanies, this chapter reinvestigates its use as a *libellus precum* through a similarly holistic approach, considering how the apparently non-devotional texts that it contains are in dialogue with its prayers. The diverse contents of these *libelli precum* illustrate that the interpretative preconditioning that we bring to works on the basis of genre is not necessarily reflective of that of contemporary users.

Another question that the contents of *libelli precum* inspire relates to the type of devotion associated with them: that is, whether or not they were produced specifically for solitary, non-liturgical prayer. Bestul argues that the 'free adoption of liturgical pieces, such as litanies and hymns, for the purposes of private devotion' characteristic of such compilations facilitates an individual's immersion into devotional practice by invoking the context of solitary prayer during communal devotion.<sup>40</sup> Robertson likewise interprets the liturgical prayers contained in *libelli precum* as intended to be 'experienced in intimacy, and then shared with a community'.<sup>41</sup> Boynton, by contrast, associates the liturgical texts of *libelli precum* with their use in communal prayer. Highlighting the difficulty of distinguishing between public and private prayers on the basis of their content, she interprets *libelli precum* as symbolic objects whose use in devotional performance facilitated the creation of a shared monastic identity.<sup>42</sup> Hamilton likewise associates *libelli precum* with prayer that possesses a social significance, linking the texts of her chosen example with the ideological construction of Christian

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<sup>38</sup> Phelpstead, p. 614.

<sup>39</sup> Phelpstead, pp. 616-617.

<sup>40</sup> Bestul, *A Durham Book*, p.2.

<sup>41</sup> Robertson, p. 128.

<sup>42</sup> Boynton expands on this point in *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, pp. 89-90 and ns. 63-67.

kingship.<sup>43</sup> Katie-Ann Bugyis maintains Boynton’s interpretation of *libelli precum* as communal monastic prayer-books; while acknowledging that ‘[their] prayers resist neat categorisation as either “private” or “liturgical”’, she presents her selected examples as indicative of collective prayer in Benedictine nunneries.<sup>44</sup> For example, she argues that Galba’s penitential prayers were used to confess to a priest despite the association of texts voiced in the first-person with individual devotion.<sup>45</sup>

Analyses of Ælfwine’s Prayerbook, by contrast, often contextualise its use as exclusively private on the basis that it was the personal property of a monk. Although it contains numerous texts suggestive of public contexts like teaching or liturgy, Roy Liuzza claims that Ælfwine’s Prayerbook ‘reflect[s] the interests of its owner’ rather than those of the community to which he belonged.<sup>46</sup> Rebecca Stephenson similarly describes the manuscript as Ælfwine’s ‘personal prayerbook’, considering its non-devotional texts as evidencing ‘the important role that computistical study played in the personal devotions of Benedictine monks at Winchester’.<sup>47</sup> However, like the prayers in Galba voiced in the first-person, Ælfwine’s Prayerbook contains devotions whose plural pronouns associate them with collective performance, such as the sequence on ff. 56v-79v rubricated ‘collecta oremus’.<sup>48</sup> Examples such as these remind us that considering the potential function and reception of a *libellus precum* should take various factors into account, such as the provenance of a given book or the pronouns used in the rubrics and texts of its prayers. Ultimately, approaching a particular book with the prior assumption that it is ‘communal’ or ‘personal’ can limit our appreciation of the full range of receptions that its prayers might have enjoyed.

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<sup>43</sup> Hamilton, “‘Most Illustrious King of Kings’”.

<sup>44</sup> Katie-Ann Bugyis, *The Care of Nuns: The Ministries of Benedictine Women in England during the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 201.

<sup>45</sup> Bugyis, pp. 189-190.

<sup>46</sup> Roy Liuzza, ‘Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts’, *ASE* 30 (2001), pp. 181–230 (p. 198).

<sup>47</sup> Rebecca Stephenson, ‘Ælfwine’s Prayerbook’, in *The Encyclopaedia of Medieval Literature in Britain*, ed. by Siân Echard (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2007), pp. 20-21 (p. 21).

<sup>48</sup> ‘Let us pray the collects’.

The material texts of Galba and Ælfwine's Prayerbook further complicate describing the reception and use of their prayers as uniformly collective or individual. Unlike most contemporary manuscripts, Galba was constructed as an unruled 'blank' book, leaving the *mise-en-page* and lineation of its texts in the hands of their scribes.<sup>49</sup> This feature aligns Galba with the construction of monastic identity that Boynton associates with *libelli precum*, allowing the members of the community that owned it to personally contribute to it. That said, many of the rubrics to Galba's prayers imply their envisioned performance in solitary rather than communal contexts. For example, the English rubric that introduces G13 reads:

Dis gebed man sceal singan æt offrunga for hyne sylfne 7 for his broðor 7 for his geswysterna 7 for ealle þ þe on zebed ræden ne biþ 7 for ealle cristen folc. (f. 6r)

Although it invokes the context of communal prayer in its reference 'æt offrunga', the phrasing of this rubric invites personal prayer performed by an individual on behalf to the community to which he belongs. While the phrase 'man sceal' could be read as a passive command, the subjunctive mood and singular pronouns of G16's rubric resemble the Latin rubric to the penitential prayer G25, which begins, 'In quacumque die cantauerit *homo* hanc orationem ...'.<sup>50</sup> G25 is specifically directed to an individual wishing to pray on his own behalf, further supporting the association of both rubrics with solitary devotion. Although Bugyis claims that 'very few of [Galba's] prayers contain rubrics providing directions', this example shows that even brief rubrics can offer a surprising amount of contextual information regarding the function and intentions of the prayers they accompany.<sup>51</sup>

Much like the potential association of Galba's prayers with personal devotion despite its potential communal production, Ælfwine's Prayerbook contains texts that suggest their

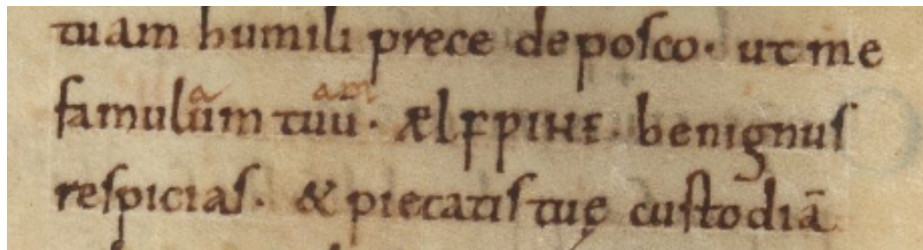
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<sup>49</sup> Muir, p. xvi.

<sup>50</sup> 'On whichever day a person sings this prayer ...'

<sup>51</sup> Bugyis, p. 189.

communal performance despite its association with a specific individual. As discussed above, rubrics containing plural pronouns such as ‘collecta oremus’ imply public recitation; Ælfwine might have used his prayer-book to lead group prayer in the monastery. In other cases, some prayers—including ones containing Ælfwine’s name—were adapted for later, female users in a manner that facilitated their performance by both male and female speakers, possibly suggesting the book’s later use in communal and private prayer within different textual communities (Fig 1.1). This example illustrates how paratextual features like rubrics and annotations can inform us about a manuscript’s reception and use.



**Fig 1.1:** A personal inscription in Ælfwine’s Prayerbook emphasised by rustic capitals. Note, however, the customisation of the prayer for a woman, even though Ælfwine’s name is not crossed out. By writing the feminine ‘-a’ and ‘-am’ endings above the original masculine ones rather than replacing them, this prayer’s paratexts could suggest the book’s later use in a mixed-gender textual community. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, f. 61v. Photo © The British Library.

As a comparative study of every paratext in both *libelli precum* would exceed the limits of a thesis chapter, this chapter focuses on the specific paratext of rubrics and rubrication. It primarily analyses the use of coloured ink to direct the performance and interpretation of prayer.<sup>52</sup> As both prayer-books contain multiple noteworthy rubrics and uses of rubrication, specific prayers have been selected for detailed examination: the Office of the Cross in Ælfwine’s Prayerbook, Galba’s *Confession to Two Priests*, and the use of what is termed situational rubrics in both manuscripts. These examples have been presented so that their use

<sup>52</sup> Noelle Phillips differentiates rubrics and rubrication as follows: a *rubric* is text copied in coloured ink (or rustic capitals), while *rubrication* refers to the use of coloured ink to, for example, highlight capital letters. Noelle Phillips, ‘Seeing Red: Reading Rubrication in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 201’s *Piers Plowman*’, *The Chaucer Review* 47.7 (2013), pp. 439-464.

of rubrics and *mise-en-page* to direct textual performance and interpretation can be compared and contrasted, as well as their interaction with other paratextual features, such as punctuation.

### **Defining Rubrics and Rubrication**

A rubric is a word or phrase that introduces or glosses its accompanying text without forming part of the narrative itself, similar to modern titles or footnotes. The rubrics of devotional books often give directions or information that specify the function or addressee of a particular text; a prayer with the rubric ‘*confessio pro peccatis ad deum*’, for instance, would be performed to confess one’s sins to God.<sup>53</sup> This performative meaning of rubric is still used today: the rubric on the front of exam papers, for example, directs the practical fulfilment of its requirements rather than specific information that candidate answers should or should not include.

Rubrication describes the application of coloured ink to a text, either by copying entire words or initials in coloured ink (primary rubrication) or striking through or otherwise accenting them (secondary rubrication). Although rubrics and rubrication are conventionally associated with red ink (hence the name), other colours were also used. In some manuscripts, including Ælfwine’s Prayerbook, rubrication is also achieved with rustic capitals. *Litterae notabiliores* are capital letters that are rubricated and/or noticeably larger in size than is expected (i.e. a ‘three-line’ initial extends over three ruled lines of the folio).

The conventional separation of rubrics and coloured text from the works that they accompany limits our appreciation of how they can influence its reception. For example, the titles of many medieval works are editorial and do not necessarily reflect their original rubrics, consequently preconditioning our interpretative approaches to them. While the rubrics of prayer texts often relate to aspects of their performance, medieval rubrics are conventionally treated as ‘interpretative signposts’ related to literary meaning irrespective of the type of text

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<sup>53</sup> This is actually the rubric of a penitential prayer discussed in Chapter 2.

they actually accompany.<sup>54</sup> Coloured ink is also not always faithfully reproduced or represented in editions of medieval works, resulting in a feature intended to demand a reader's attention ironically becoming what Margaret Smith calls 'an invisible element' on the page.<sup>55</sup> For example, Muir chose not to note the presence of coloured inks in Galba 'unless it seemed of interest', although the interests of his envisioned reader are unlikely to align with those of its contemporary users.<sup>56</sup> Günzel similarly does not distinguish between red, blue, brown, black and green ink in her edition of Ælfwine's Prayerbook, only noting the presence of coloured or capitalised text or letters; however, the manuscript's deliberate variation of coloured inks functions as a visual clarification of literary structure. The rubrication of Ælfwine's Prayerbook also conveys information regarding how it was used: the aesthetic appeal of its multicoloured rubrication and the care taken with its visual design suggests that Ælfwine was envisioned as looking at his book while he prayed.

Examples such as these demonstrate how rubrics and coloured ink direct textual *performance* as much as they do textual *interpretation*, especially in devotional books where performance, function, and meaning heavily depend on one another. The rubrics of prayer texts can direct how and when they should be performed; they can also suggest aspects of function, such as defining a prayer as penitential with the rubric 'confessio'.<sup>57</sup> Boynton cites an illustrative example from a twelfth-century *libellus precum* in which the rubrics relating to the osculation of the Cross 'plac[e] the verses in the performative framework of the Adoration by prefacing each phrase with an instruction for a specific ritual action'.<sup>58</sup> Without this rubric, the significance of these devotions would not be interpreted in light of their associated context.

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<sup>54</sup> Phillips, p. 439.

<sup>55</sup> Margaret Smith, 'Red as a Textual Element during the Transition from Manuscript to Print', in *Textual Cultures/Cultural Text*, ed. by O. da Rold and E. Treharne (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 187-200 (p. 187).

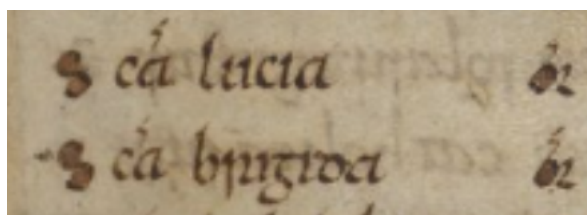
<sup>56</sup> Muir, p. xli.

<sup>57</sup> See D. Updike, 'Some Notes on Liturgical Printing', *The Dolphin* 2 (1935), pp. 208-16.

<sup>58</sup> Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance', p. 917.

The meaning of prayer is informed by its performance, and these paratexts are often responsible for articulating the relationship between the two. In the *libelli precum* examined below, we find liturgical and non-liturgical prayers copied alongside each other with rubrics clarifying their uses and contexts. Rubrics can also visually articulate the structure of a prayer or sequence of prayers and supply other information relevant to their performance; coloured text in one of Galba's penitential prayers examined below, for example, emphasises changes between the speakers of the prayer.

Ælfwine's Prayerbook exhibits a clear and meticulous system of visual organisation. Texts are structured with *litterae notabiliores* alternating in colour between scarlet, blue, and black, with rubrics usually given in rustic capitals.<sup>59</sup> Divisions between texts are also clearly indicated. While Galba has been described as 'remarkably uncalligraphic', its *mise-en-page* also indicates a concern with legibility.<sup>60</sup> Like Ælfwine's Prayerbook, its texts are organised with coloured initials to indicate their structure. For example, the litanies are carefully colour-coded to emphasise their call-and-response performance, with the name of each saint touched with red ink and the corresponding *oremus* rubricated in the adjacent margin (Fig 1.2).

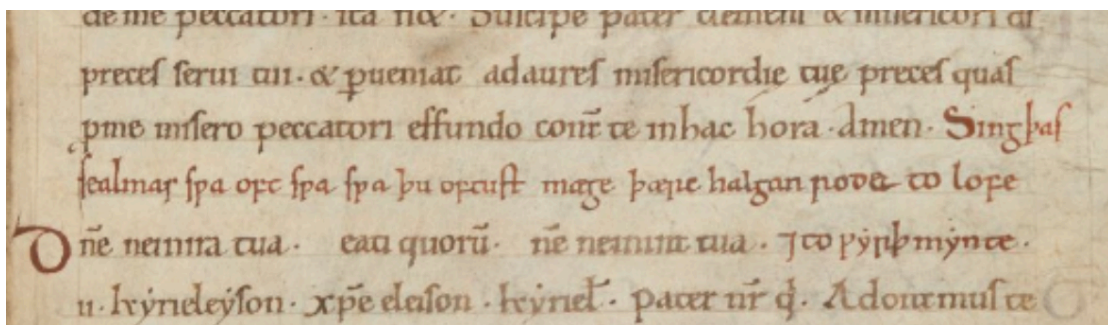


**Fig 1.2:** An example of organising rubrication in the Galba litanies. London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A.xiv, f. 78r. Photo © The British Library.

<sup>59</sup>Günzel claims a further distinction between 'scarlet' and 'vermillion' initials, although my examination of the manuscript suggested this to be tenuous as it is not always possible to differentiate between faded ink and ink originally two different shades of the same colour with certainty. For a table of the rubricated initials in the manuscript, see Günzel, pp. 10-11.

<sup>60</sup>Crick, p. 282.

The practical and directive function of other rubrics in these prayer-books could be implied by the language in which they are written. In both Galba and Ælfwine's Prayerbook, Latin prayers are sometimes prefaced with English rubrics, which, like the rubric to G13 quoted above, describe the appropriate context for their performance and their function. The rubric to A69 likewise explains in English that it is to be performed by a priest when preparing for mass, a function not immediately suggested by its content. Other contemporary prayer-books similarly contain multilingual rubrics. A devotional text copied in in London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A.iii contains a list of specific Psalms recommended for personal devotion (f. 58r). While the prayers are in Latin, their accompanying rubric is in English, visually and linguistically emphasising these instructions to Tiberius's user. The rubric additionally informs us that these particular Psalms should be used to express devotion to the Cross, a function and context of their performance that is not apparent from their incipits or surrounding texts alone (Fig 1.3). The second-person singular used in this rubric indicates the performance of psalmody as non-liturgical devotion.



**Fig 1.3:** An English rubric directing Latin psalmody: '*Sing þas sealmas swa oft swa swa þu oftust mæze þære halgan rode to lofe 7 to wyrþmynte*'. London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A.iii, f. 58v. Photo © The British Library.

This use of bilingual rubrication to direct the function and performance of devotional texts suggests that, for users of these books, Latin was associated with devotion and English with practical instruction, contrary to the associations conventionally held regarding the

devotional use of the vernacular in the Middle Ages. These connotations of English are further suggested by the material in Ælfwine's Prayerbook that *is* translated: directions for prayer, prognostics, didactic texts, and apocryphal facts. This distinction complicates the connection between non-Latinate prayer and individual spiritual practice that is frequently advocated in literary criticism, recalling Barrau's view that Latin was spoken as a vernacular in monastic contexts.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, while the presence of English is traditionally connected with lay audiences, all three of these books originated in religious houses. Even if we assume that the English rubrics *do* imply the potential reception of these prayers among users with limited Latinity, the fact that only the rubrics are in English implies that how and when they were performed was more important to understand than what was performed. Further analysis of the rubrics in these manuscripts will reveal how contextual, functional and performative information is encoded in a given text or series of texts through its paratextual features.

### **Devotions to the Cross in Ælfwine's Prayerbook: ff. 57r-73v**

Both Galba and Ælfwine's Prayerbook contain devotions directed to the Cross, a theme integral to eleventh-century devotional culture.<sup>62</sup> The sequence of prayers performed *ante crucifixum* in the latter manuscript is included in this chapter as an excellent representative of this cultural trend. The origins and prominence of devotion to the Cross in pre-Conquest England have been discussed by Sarah Larratt Keefer, while Kate Thomas has explored the texts and practices

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<sup>61</sup> Julie Barrau, 'Did Medieval Monks Actually Speak Latin?', in *Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. by S. Vanderputten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 293-317.

<sup>62</sup> For a comprehensive overview of pre-Conquest devotion to the Cross, see the three volumes of the Sancta Crux/Halig Rod (SCHR) project: *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 1, Medieval European Studies 9 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2008); *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 2, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 3 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010), all ed. by K. Jolly, C. E. Karkov and S. Keefer.

specifically associated with its non-liturgical veneration.<sup>63</sup> The significance of devotion to the Cross to our understanding of personal prayer in pre-Conquest England has been recognised in recent scholarship on the subject. Liuzza has shown how prayers directed to the Cross evidence intersections between public and private prayer, as ‘liturgical performances are related to personal devotions’ through the symbol of the Cross.<sup>64</sup> Like Thomas, Liuzza examines the close relationship between the liturgy of the Cross and related prayers found in *libelli precum*, seeing in them a historical continuity that ‘trace[s] a line of development from Anglo-Saxon devotion to the personal and emotional prayers of Anselm and the affective piety of the later medieval devotion to the Five Wounds of Christ’.<sup>65</sup> While he describes such prayers as ‘performative’, however, aspects of their physical performance, such as the role of posture and gesture, are less involved in his analysis.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, Thomas outlines the wealth of information that such devotions provide regarding the performance of non-liturgical prayer in monastic contexts, presenting veneration of the Cross as ‘a genre of prayer which, more than any other, unites words with images and the spiritual with the physical’.<sup>67</sup> That said, her analysis of the private performance of liturgical offices of the Cross in eleventh-century manuscripts primarily focuses on variations in their content and compilation rather than their paratexts. Catherine Karkov has considered the significance of devotion to the Cross in Ælfwine’s Prayerbook; however, her analysis primarily centres on the manuscript’s illustrations rather than its paratexts.<sup>68</sup> A holistic reading of these devotions incorporating all elements of the manuscript page will show how the material text articulates the structure and performance of its devotions, guiding its user’s devotional practice through visual cues.

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<sup>63</sup> S. Keefer, ‘The Veneration of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England’, in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 143-184, and Kate Thomas, *Late Anglo-Saxon Prayer in Practice: Before the Books of Hours* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2020).

<sup>64</sup> Roy Liuzza, ‘Prayers and/or Charms to the Cross’, in *SCHR 1*, pp. 279-323 (p. 280). Liuzza lists all of the prayers to the Cross in Ælfwine’s Prayerbook and their contemporary analogues on pp. 289-290.

<sup>65</sup> Liuzza, p. 294.

<sup>66</sup> Liuzza, p. 297.

<sup>67</sup> Thomas, p. 129.

<sup>68</sup> C. Karkov, ‘Abbot Ælfwine and the Sign of the Cross’, in *SCHR 1*, pp. 103-32.

Ælfwine's Prayerbook contains three sequences of prayers to the Cross, the longest of which begins on f. 57r with an excerpt from the Gospel of John describing Christ's Passion. Although this text clearly begins a new section in the manuscript, it is rarely treated as integral to this series of devotions.<sup>69</sup> Günzel does not print the text in her edition and does not include it or the prayer that follows it (A44) in the sequence of 'Prayers to Holy Cross' that she describes as 'intended for private devotion and penitence'.<sup>70</sup> Liuzza similarly omits the Gospel text from this sequence, although he does include A44.<sup>71</sup> These editorial omissions do not reflect the frequent inclusion of Gospel accounts of the Passion in pre-Conquest prayer-books; for example, the ninth-century Book of Cerne prefaces a series of non-liturgical devotions with the same passage as Ælfwine's Prayerbook.<sup>72</sup> By beginning devotions to the Cross with an account of the crucifixion, an appropriate frame of mind is established in the person praying, with its detailed and graphic account of Christ's suffering inviting an imaginative visualisation of the scene that elicits affective response. The layout of these devotions anticipates the later pseudo-Bonaventuran practice of guided meditation on the Passion, in which users of such texts were encouraged to situate their meditation within an awareness of the chronology of the Passion narrative. This meditative practice was also closely associated with liturgical prayers, further connecting communal and personal devotion.<sup>73</sup> The *mise-en-page* of the Passion text in Ælfwine's Prayerbook helps to articulate its function of establishing an imaginative and emotional state suitable for performing the devotions to the Cross that follow it (Fig 1.4).

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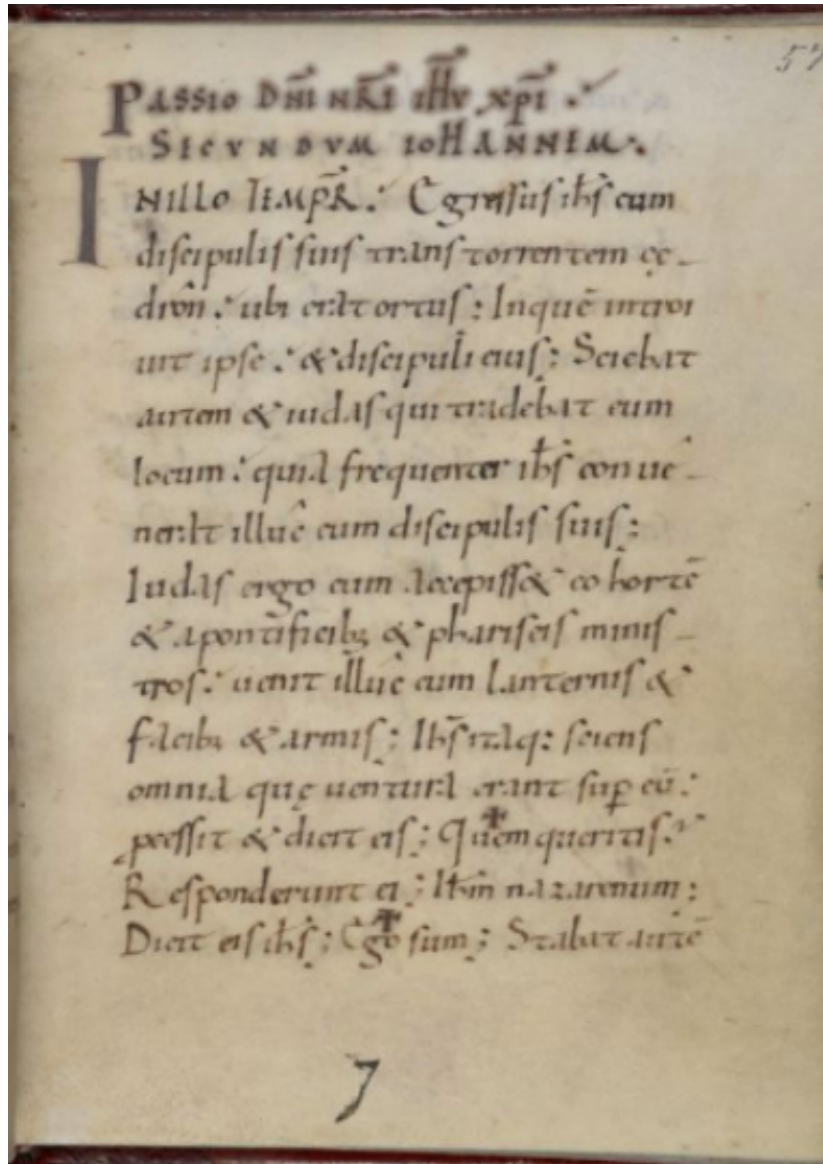
<sup>69</sup> The folio preceding the Passion text was originally blank. The hand that added the material on f. 56v is later than the original hands on ff. 56r and 57r.

<sup>70</sup> Günzel, p. 52.

<sup>71</sup> cf. Liuzza, pp. 289-290.

<sup>72</sup> Kuypers, pp. 63-79.

<sup>73</sup> For discussions on this style of Passion meditation and its connections with liturgical prayer, see Denise Baker, *Julian of Norwich's Showings: From Vision to Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), and Annie Sutherland, 'Julian of Norwich and the Liturgy', in *A Companion to Julian of Norwich*, ed. by Liz Herbert McAvoy (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), pp. 88-98.



**Fig 1.4:** The opening folio of the Passion (Titus D.xxvii, f. 57v). Note the rubric, number of punctuation symbols and crosses marking the speech of Christ. Photo © The British Library.

The text opens with the rubric ‘*Passio Domini Nostri Ihu Christi : secundum iohannem*’ copied in scarlet rustic capitals.<sup>74</sup> It retells the betrayal and the burial of Christ, rendering his suffering and death the centrepiece of the extract. The rubric not only identifies the text and makes it easy to locate, but also authenticates it by emphasising its scriptural source and suggesting its function: the prayers that follow are intended to enhance the user’s meditation on the events of the Passion that they re-enact in their imagination. The copying of the first few

<sup>74</sup> ‘The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, according to John’.

words of a biblical passage in rustic capitals is a feature common to Anglo-Saxon bibles, interpretatively preconditioning the reader's approach to the text through the visual communication of generic associations. The first clause, 'in illo tempore' is also copied in rustic capitals. Notably, it is not actually in the source text, functioning as a temporal marker that evokes the interplay between sacred and secular time that later works, such as Aelred of Rievaulx's *Threefold Meditation* explored in Chapter 3, engage with more explicitly.

This text is heavily punctuated with a variety of symbols: the *punctus*, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus versus* and *punctus interrogativus*. This extensive and detailed punctuation facilitates the reading aloud of the text and affective engagement with it, with the diversity of punctuation marks suggesting that nuance and tone were considered crucial to realising its significance. From this we can infer that the reception of this text demanded the active engagement of its user. While this passage could have been read aloud in public as well as in private contexts, its placement in the manuscript before a series of personal prayers to the Cross and the omission of some of the Gospel account render its solitary performance more likely. Another paratextual feature directs the performer to focus particularly on the words of Christ by marking his speech with a cross (✠) wherever it occurs. The inclusion of this symbol could reflect the connection of this text with the devotions to the Cross that follow it. It could also be a physical prompt to cross oneself when hearing or assuming Christ's voice, involving the body as well as the mind in devotional performance. This function of the sign of the Cross is evidenced, for example, in the thirteenth-century prayers in Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* discussed in Chapter 4, which also use the symbol of the Cross to prompt a physical action. The association of these symbols with physical performance is supported by the legend of the image following the Gospel account, which places Ælfwine under the protection of the Cross on which Christ hung.

The presentation of this passage as a carefully punctuated Passion meditation intended to elicit devotional response is further illustrated through comparison with the layout of this

same excerpt in other contemporary sources. It is important to bear in mind Richard Marsden's reminder that 'to talk of 'the' Vulgate in the earlier medieval period is misleading, for this was an age of fluid textual traditions [in which] biblical manuscripts may vary considerably in their textual details'.<sup>75</sup> As biblical punctuation was not formally standardised, we can assume that at least some of the motivation behind the presentation of these Gospel passages was concerned with their performance. Like Ælfwine's Prayerbook, the Book of Cerne prefaces its sequences of non-liturgical prayers with the four Gospel accounts of Christ's Passion and Resurrection.<sup>76</sup> Cerne reinforces the association stated above between reading the Gospel accounts of the Passion and personal devotion, as the Gospels are presented as prefaces to prayer. In Cerne, each Gospel is accompanied by a full-page illustration facing the main body of text; however, these illustrations do not communicate the personal and supplicatory character of Ælfwine's Prayerbook, which presents Ælfwine kneeling in prayer underneath Christ's Cross. Cerne's illustrations instead depict the author of each Gospel with his associated symbol: John, for example, is painted alongside an eagle. The punctuation of Cerne's Gospels also differs from that of Ælfwine's Prayerbook. Cerne uses primarily the *punctus* and *punctus interrogativus*, a smaller range of punctuation symbols, and does not mark Christ's speech with the sign of the Cross, a symbol potentially correlated with prompting physical gestures. Thus, while the accounts of the Passion in Cerne and Ælfwine's Prayerbook function similarly, their character and realisation differ.

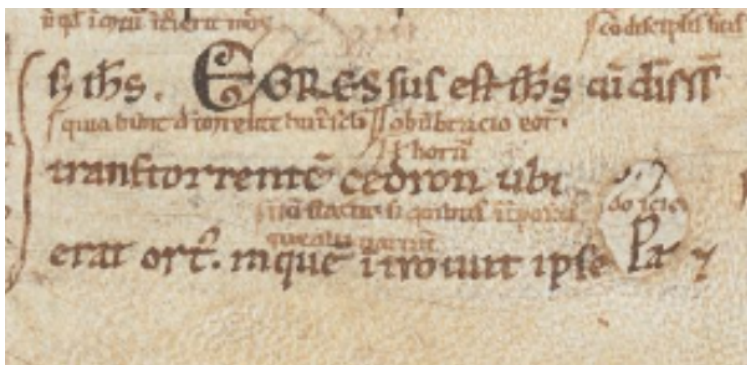
The punctuation of the Gospel passage in Ælfwine's Prayerbook also differs from that of contemporary biblical manuscripts in containing a larger variety of punctuation marks. An

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<sup>75</sup> Richard Marsden, 'The Biblical Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. 1: 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 406-435 (p. 408).

<sup>76</sup> Kuypers's edition of Cerne includes its biblical texts; however, he renders all of the manuscript's punctuation marks as *punctus*, which makes his readings unsuitable for paratextual analysis. The manuscript can be viewed online courtesy of Cambridge University Library, clearly indicating the different punctuation symbols used in the original text: <<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-LL-00001-00010/1>>

illustrative example is London, British Library, Additional MS 8091, a glossed text of John's Gospel copied in the first quarter of the eleventh century.<sup>77</sup> Its gloss implies that its primary use was academic, an interpretation supported by its punctuation (Fig 1.5). While its punctuation marks occur at the same points as Ælfwine's text, Additional 8091 almost exclusively uses the *punctus* for all functions, including Christ's questions, which are indicated by *punctus interrogativi* in Ælfwine's Prayerbook and Cerne. Christ's speech is also undifferentiated from the surrounding text. Another example, the contemporaneous 'Préaux Gospels' (Additional MS 11850), suggests preparation for public performance in its subdivision into verses accompanied by marginal lections.<sup>78</sup> The Préaux version of this passage (ff. 164r-165v) also does not indicate Christ's words with textual markers. The apparently unique characteristics of the punctuation and presentation of the Gospel passage in Ælfwine's Prayerbook thus reinforce its association with affective performance, affirming its integrity to the devotional sequence within which it is included. Its cultivation of mental focus on and affective response to Christ crucified complements the devotions that follow it.



**Fig 1.5:** The opening lines of John 18 in Additional MS 8091. This glossed Gospel contains significantly fewer types of punctuation marks than Ælfwine's Prayerbook and does not visually differentiate Christ's speech from the surrounding narrative. Photo © The British Library.

<sup>77</sup> This manuscript is described by Alexander Andrée, 'The *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Gospel of John: A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscripts with a Presentation of the Text and its Sources', *Revue Bénédictine* 118 (2008), pp. 109-134 and 289-333 (p. 324).

<sup>78</sup> This manuscript has been primarily studied on account of its illustrations; for a relatively recent description, see Elżbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066: A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, vol. 2 (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), p. 29.

The Passion narrative in Ælfwine's Prayerbook is immediately followed by a devotion to the Cross beginning *Aue, alma crux* (A44). This devotion contains no rubrics or rubrication and no *litterae notabiliores*. As it is copied in a smaller and more closely spaced hand, it was probably included to fill up the blank space left at the end of f. 64v, with the concluding *Amen* extended to the end of the final ruled line of the folio. This prayer is a shorter version of a series of prayers found in Tiberius A.iii, where it forms part of a sequence of prayers rubricated for use in solitary prayer against one's enemies performed before a crucifix:

Gyf þe þynce þæt ðine fynd hwirlice embe þridien. þonne gang þu on gelimplicre stowe.  
7 þæ þa halgan rode to gescylenesse gecy. and asette þe aþenedum.<sup>79</sup>

While the text in Ælfwine's Prayerbook forms a self-contained prayer in its own right, the performative context indicated by the Tiberius manuscript aligns with the rubric that prefaces its devotions to the Cross on f. 66r: prayer in solitude in front of a crucifix. *Aue, alma crux* should, therefore, be included in the sequence of Prayers to the Cross in Günzel's edition. In the *Portiforium*, this text is rubricated similarly to Tiberius, specifying the posture with which one ought to pray: prostrating oneself, with arms outstretched.<sup>80</sup> These rubrics indicate that prostration was essential to performing this prayer, as a posture symbolising penance through the performer figuratively making a cross of themselves.<sup>81</sup> This example shows that the rubrics that frame texts might indicate a shared performative context or interpretation of a particular prayer, i.e., a cultural understanding of its function and meaning. Variations between rubrics are as important as textual variants when comparing and contrasting different versions of the same prayer.

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<sup>79</sup> Liuzza, p. 312.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> The significance of postures and gestures in prayer is discussed extensively in Chapter 4.

Ælfwine's Prayerbook follows the Gospel text with a full-page illustration depicting the Crucifixion.<sup>82</sup> The placement of this image on f. 65v, immediately preceding the first sequence of prayers said *ante crucifixum*, is clearly significant. Depicting the scene evoked in the passage just read, it provides a visual stimulus for meditation, assisting the imaginative visualisation of the text. Another significant aspect of the illustration is the legend inscribed above the Cross: '*hec crux consignet Ælfwinum corpore mente*'.<sup>83</sup> The direct invocation of Ælfwine by name inscribes him into the narrative of the Passion, crossing the temporal boundary between sacred and secular time in order to place him within the scene in the liturgical present. The deixis of '*hec crux*', '*this Cross*', further enhances this symbolism by simultaneously referring to the Cross literally painted onto the page and the spiritual Cross evoked by making its sign. The phrasing of this sentence is also noteworthy: the Cross is the subject, Ælfwine the object. This reversal of the expected roles between animate and inanimate things articulates the authority of the Cross as the source of divine power, grammatically reinforcing Ælfwine's position as a supplicant, which the prayers that follow the image articulate. The use of *consignare* is also of note: the DMLBS cites a range of meanings including to 'seal up', 'to stamp', 'to mark', or 'to sign' (i.e. a document).<sup>84</sup> The semantic field associated with *consignare* reinforces the impression of Ælfwine being marked in body and in soul with the spiritual protection of the sign of the Cross, a petition explicitly articulated in the sequence of prayers that follow the image:

Sitque super me signum crucis tue. et defendas me a malis preteritis ... Per istius crucis signaculum a periculis mundi liberemur.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> The images in Ælfwine's Prayerbook are described by Günzel on pp. 12-15. They are discussed in detail in *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, ed. by J. Backhouse, D. Turner and L. Webster (London: British Museum, 1984), E. Kantorowicz, 'The Quinity of Winchester', *The Art Bulletin* 29 (1947), pp. 73-85, J. Kidd, 'The "Quinity of Winchester" Reconsidered', *Studies in Iconography* 7-8 (1981-1982), pp. 21-33, and Barbara Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990).

<sup>83</sup> 'Let this Cross consecrate Ælfwine in body and in soul'.

<sup>84</sup> *consignare*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/consignare>>.

<sup>85</sup> 'And let the sign of your Cross be upon me, and defend me against prior sins ... Through that Cross which may liberate [me] from the dangers of the world.' f. 69v.

Making the sign of the Cross becomes a contract between Ælfwine and Christ articulated through prayer, in which he signs himself over to God in exchange for spiritual protection. The association between crossing oneself and spiritual protection in this context will be returned to in Chapter 4, where the morning devotions in Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* reveal similarities in function and significance with these prayers.

The image is followed by prayers addressing the body of Christ crucified: his right and left hands and feet, his chest, his mouth, and his ears (A46). The sequence is rubricated '*Si uis orare ante crucifixum hos Psalmos canta*', informing us about the function and significance of these prayers and the context in which they were performed.<sup>86</sup> The conditional *si uis* associates them with ad hoc prayer, while the use of the second person facilitates a direct and intimate connection between book and user. *Ante crucifixum* specifies where the prayers are to be performed, suggesting a visual stimulus that might have enhanced their effects. Although the phrase probably refers to prayer before a crucifix, it could also refer to the miniature of Christ crucified immediately preceding, in which Christ's feet, hands, mouth, ears and chest are prominently depicted (Fig 1.6).

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<sup>86</sup> 'If you would like to pray in front of a crucifix, sing these Psalms'.



**Fig 1.6:** The depiction of the Crucifixion in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, clearly showing the nailed hands and feet. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 65v. Photo © The British Library.

The *mise-en-page* of these prayers helps to communicate their structure. To ensure that the rubric takes up exactly two lines, the rubric directing the first prayer *ad pedem dexterum* is copied immediately afterwards, separated by a *punctus*; in the subsequent prayers, however, each rubric specifying the appropriate part of Christ's body occupies its own full line. The visual separation between performance directions and the content of prayer is therefore clearly emphasised. Each prayer is prefaced by the opening verse of a Psalm begun with a two-line red *littera notabilior* extending slightly into the left margin. The Psalm verses are deliberately copied in a smaller and more close-set hand so that they take up no more than 2/3 of a line, allowing a rubricated *oratio* to fill the rest of the line. The non-liturgical prayers that follow each Psalm are copied next. They are distinguished from the Psalms by opening with a blue, rather than a red, two-line initial, with the first line of each prayer also copied in rustic capitals.

The final *Amen* that closes each set of petitions to a particular body part is rubricated. Within the non-liturgical prayers, individual petitions are distinguished from one another by beginning with capital letters executed in alternating colours. As Günzel's edition does not fully reproduce the *mise-en-page* of these prayers, I have reproduced the *mise-en-page* of f. 66r below (Fig 1.7) in order to more clearly show the significant visual layout of the page:

**SI VIS ORARE ANTE CRUCIFIXUM HOS PSAL  
MOS CANTA. AD PEDEM DEXTERUM :-**

**D**omine quid multiplicati sunt. **ORATIO.**

**O** CRUX SPLENDIDOR CUNCTIS ASTRIS  
mundo celebris atque multum amabi  
lis. plurimum & suavis. que sola fuisti  
digna portare talentum mundi;

**D**ulce lignum ⁊ dulces clavi. dulcia ferens  
pondera. Salua me tuum famulum.  
in tuis laudibus omni die deuotus. **AMEN.**

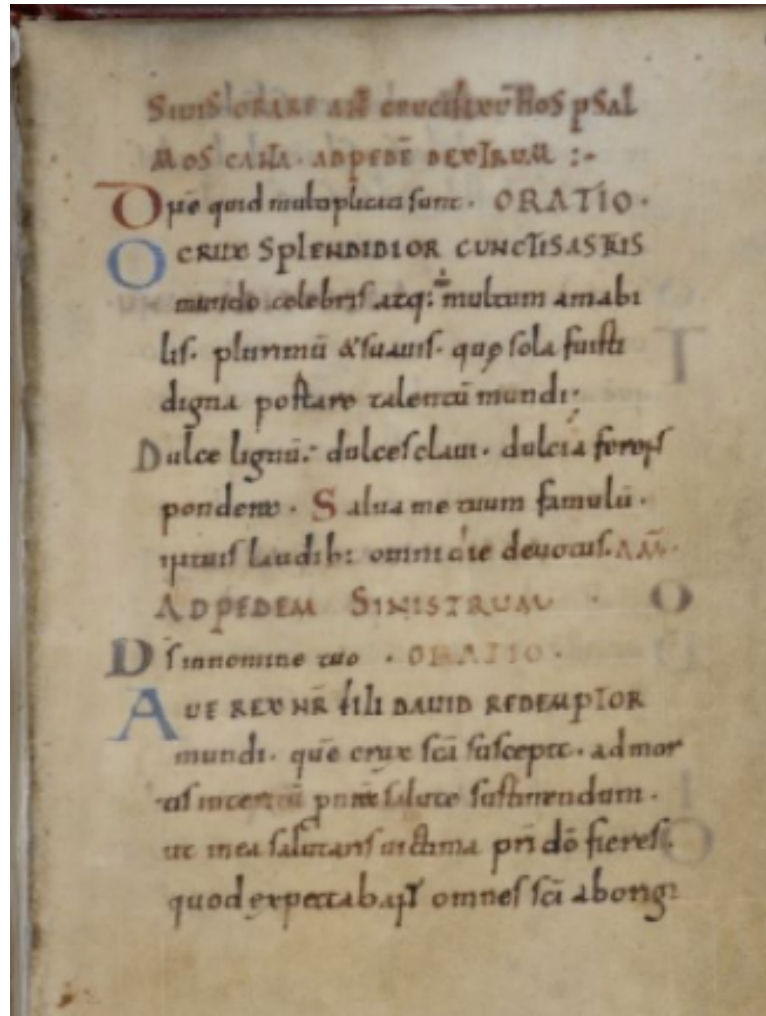
**AD PEDEM SINISTRUM.**

**D**eus in nomine tuo. **ORATIO**

**A**UE REX NOSTER FILI DAUID REDEMPTOR  
mundi. quem crux sancti suscepit ...<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> 'If you would like to pray in front of a crucifix, sing these Psalms: To the right foot: Lord, why are they multiplied [that afflict me]. Prayer: O Cross, more splendid than all the stars, honoured throughout the world and worthiest of love, and especially sweet, such that you alone were worthy to bear the weight of the world. Sweet wood, sweet key, sweet weight-bearer: Save me your servant, every day devoted to your praises. Amen. To the left foot: Lord, in your name [make me saved, and judge me in your virtue]. Prayer: Hail our king, the son of David, the Redeemer of the world, who took up the holy Cross ...'. Contrast Günzel's alternative lineation of the prayer (p. 123).



**Fig 1.7:** The first series of petitions to the body of Christ crucified, demonstrating the care taken with the visual articulation of their structure. Cotton Titus D.xvii, f. 66r. Photo © The British Library.

This *mise-en-page* exemplifies how manuscript rubrication can inform us about more than an appreciation for visual order. The design neatly compartmentalises the unit of prayers directed towards each body part; it is easy to imagine a user directing his gaze from the right foot to the left, and then to the right hand, as he follows the sequence visually encoded in the book.

After the final prayer directed to the body, a series of petitions rubricated *Preces* follows on f. 67v, each one beginning with an alternating red, brown, or blue *littera notabilior*. The lineation of the first two petitions suggests that the manuscript design originally intended each petition to begin on a separate line (a layout typically seen in litanies), but that limitations of space resulted in the scribe doing what he could to at least fit all the prayers on the same

folio. The attempted evocation of the *mise-en-page* of a litany suggests that the page design had intended to reinforce the call-and-response literary structure of the prayers. The *Preces* are followed by another sequence of prayers to the Cross headed by the rubric ‘*Cum hoc dicis, prosterne in terram et dic*’ (f. 68r).<sup>88</sup> Like the rubric that opens the Psalm-petitions, it fills an entire line of the folio and is copied in scarlet rustic capitals. This visual break divides the two blocks of prayers, indicating that the sequence categorised by Günzel as A46 was not necessarily seen as a single unit by the original compilers. Similarly, while Günzel labels all the devotions of A46 as penitential, it is only in this rubric that the first explicit indication of the prayers’ use in penance is evidenced through the direction to prostrate oneself in prayer. Performance directions such as these are often overlooked in critical readings of prayer texts, which are conventionally interpreted in the same manner as literary texts rather than as scripts for performance. However, the posture in which a particular prayer was performed is integral to its successful realisation. It expresses its intent and enables prayer to function more effectively by capitalising on the connotations of certain physical postures to produce corresponding emotional responses.<sup>89</sup> Prostrating oneself while praying penitentially reinforces one’s sense of self-abasement and shame before God given the symbolic vulnerability and humiliation associated with adopting such a position.<sup>90</sup>

The direction to prostrate oneself queries whether Ælfwine was expected to look at his book while he prayed. A speculative answer might be provided by the *mise-en-page* of the prayers on f. 68r. Like the Psalm-petitions, the component prayers of the sequence are begun with capital letters in alternating red, blue, and scarlet ink, visually organising their order and distinguishing individual texts from one another. While heavily abbreviated incipits are given

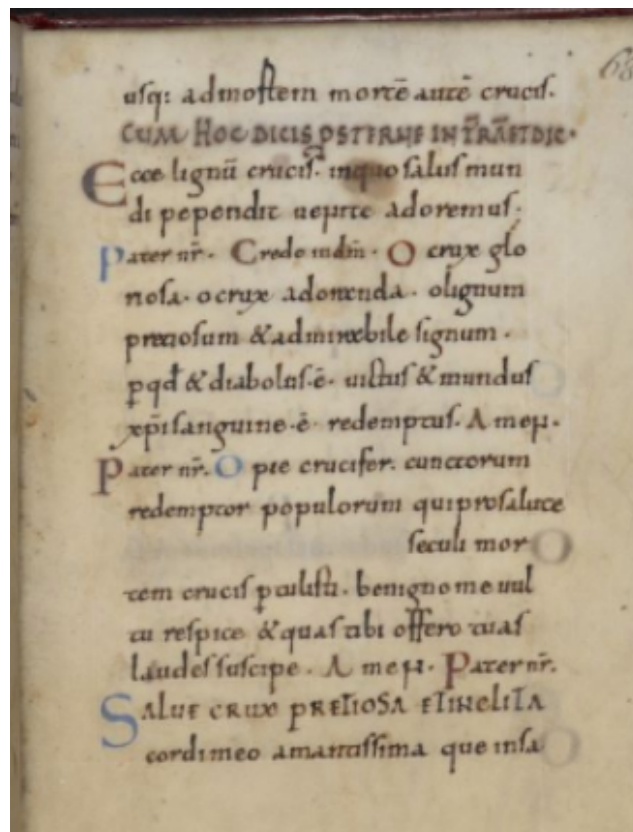
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<sup>88</sup> ‘When you say this, prostrate yourself on the ground and say’.

<sup>89</sup> The relationship between posture and emotion has been the subject of many psychological studies; see, for example, Nele Dael, Marcello Mortillaro, and Klaus Scherer, ‘Emotion expression in body action and posture’, *Emotion* 12 (2011), pp. 1085–1101.

<sup>90</sup> Rachel Fulton provides a more extensive psychological reading of the significance and consequences of cruciform prostration in ‘Praying with Anselm’, pp. 721–722.

for the familiar Paternoster and Creed, the longer non-liturgical devotions are copied in full. It is reasonable to assume that Paternoster and Creed might have been prayed facedown from memory, with the alternating coloured initials of the book providing an easy visual reference for locating the texts of the less familiar prayers. The treatment of these prayers in the manuscript is shown below (Fig 1.8):



**Fig 1.8:** The *mise-en-page* of the petitions on f. 68r Photo © The British Library.

The prayers gathered under this rubric are visually divided into blocks of devotions ending with a Paternoster. As before, the opening prayer of each block is indicated by a two-line *littera notabilior* in alternating red and blue ink that extends into the left margin, with the first line of text copied in rustic capitals. The ending Paternoster is likewise marked by a slightly enlarged capital P in the contrasting colour to the opening initial of the block. The smaller coloured initials outline the structure of the longer prayers, in which new *sententia* begin with a capital

letter in alternating blue, red, and scarlet ink and *punctus* are used to mark pauses within phrases. Every new prayer begins on a new line, even when there is over half a line of space left on the preceding line. For example, on f. 68v, the scribe could not fit even an abbreviated *Pater noster* on the third from bottom line without running into the margin, so he copied the incipit out in full on the penultimate line to fill as much space as possible, followed by the opening line of *O ihu clementissime* on the final ruled line. This same decision is seen again on f. 69r and indicates that the visual layout of the manuscript was considered significant enough to attempt to maintain despite the potential waste of expensive parchment.

Two lists follow these devotions to the Cross, one of reasons to venerate the Cross and the other consisting of seven petitions to the Cross. The first exemplifies how medieval devotional texts can conflict with modern concepts of what constitutes a “prayer text”, as it is not a narrative text voiced in the first person but is included in a sequence of prayers, implying a devotional use. Both of these lists are introduced by capitalised scarlet rubrics, and each item is introduced by a two-line *littera notabilior* in an alternating coloured ink, articulating the visual structure of the text. The scribe even alternates between the Insular and Caroline form of D at the beginning of new petitions to further visually emphasise narrative structure. Of particular note is the *mise-en-page* of the second list on f. 70v. Each petition is begun by a two-line *littera notabilior* in alternating colours of ink, and ended by an abbreviated *Amen* in red ink, visually marking each petition (Fig 1.9). The petitions each occupy two lines, and are carefully lineated in order to make their literary structure more apparent, as in:

**Domine ihu xpe pro benedicta cruce tua  
intra me sis ut me reficias. amen.**  
**Domine ihu xpe pro beata cruce tua  
circa me sis ut me conserues. amen.**<sup>91</sup>

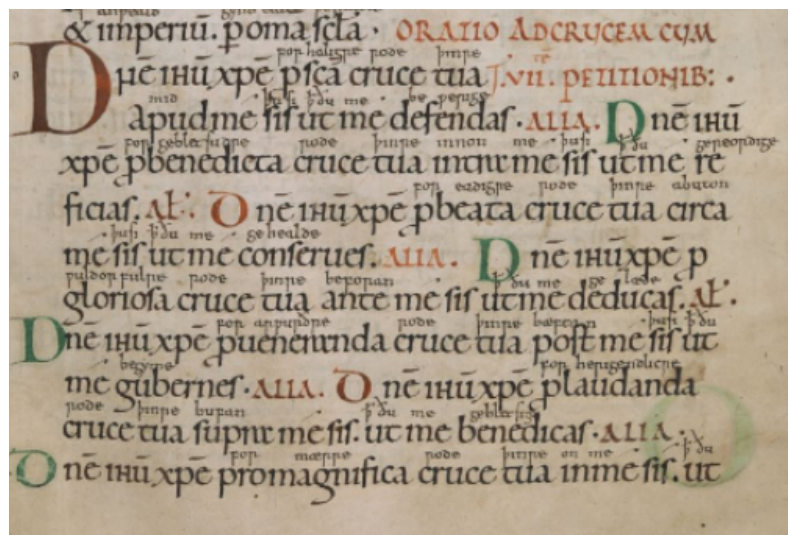
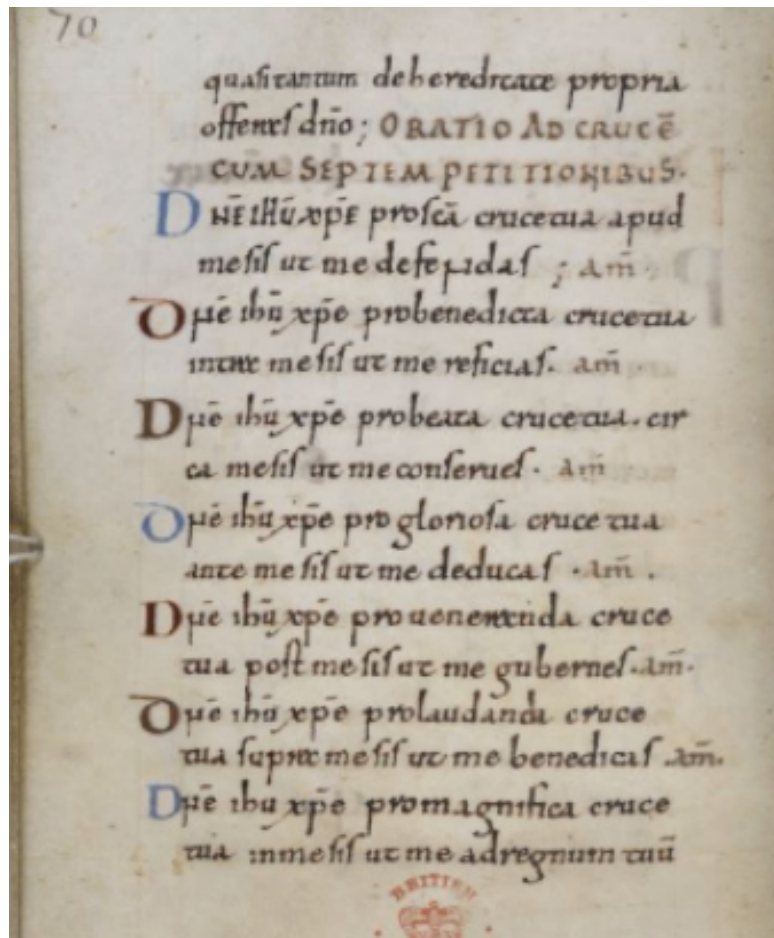
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<sup>91</sup> ‘Lord Jesus Christ, through your blessed Cross  
be within me and remake me. Amen.  
Lord Jesus Christ through your blessed Cross  
be around me and preserve me. Amen.’

This *mise-en-page*, which is not reproduced in Günzel's edition, emphasises the syntactic parallelism of each petition. By beginning each second line with a different preposition (*apud/intra/circa/ante/post/supra/in*), the layout visually emphasises the desire of the prayer for complete protection by the Cross by invoking different angles of the performer's personal space. By aligning the two halves of each petition so that the varied words in each sentence—the adjective modifying the Cross, the preposition articulating the proximity of the user, and the action that the user prays for the Cross to perform—are visually aligned, the textual layout emphasises the variation in the narrative while maintaining the chant-like structure of its regular rhythm. The layout of the manuscript page is carefully customised to articulate the meaning of the prayer text, and also its function. This layout is partially observed in the contemporary London, British Library MS Arundel 155 (ff. 173v-173r). Although the petitions are not lineated as in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, Arundel begins each petition with alternating red and green *litterae notabiliores* and also alternates Insular and Caroline D; the final *amen* in Ælfwine becomes an *alia* in Arundel (Fig 1.10).<sup>92</sup> While the exact layout of the prayer differs between the two manuscripts, the similarities in their use of rubrication evidences a contemporary awareness of the ways in which *mise-en-page* articulates devotional performance and literary structure.

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<sup>92</sup> For the text of the Arundel prayers with their English glosses, see J. J. Campbell, 'Prayers from MS Arundel 155', *Anglia* 81 (1963), pp. 82–117.



Figs 1.9 and 1.10: Same petition, different layout: Ælfwine's Prayerbook, f. 70r, and Arundel 155, f. 173v.  
Photos © The British Library

Returning to Ælfwine's Prayerbook, on f. 71v a capitalised scarlet rubric indicates the content of the following text, the context in which it is to be performed, and the reasoning behind its provision: '*Passio hic domini breviter conscripta tenetur. ad sanctamque crucem. bona hic oratio constat* :-'<sup>93</sup> This is the longest rubric in the section examined here, and suggests that the compiler of this manuscript considered it an especially powerful devotion to the Cross, appropriately distinguished as a *bona oratio*. The isolation of the directional phrase *ad sanctamque crucem* using *punctus* emphasises this detail as significant to the performance of the text. The appellation *bona oratio* is the only subjective judgment we see in the rubrics examined here, and is as such particularly valuable, evidencing contemporary tastes in devotional material. Like the Passion narrative earlier in the manuscript, this text is also carefully punctuated for rhetorical performance, making extensive use of *punctus elevati* and *punctus versi*. A later twelfth-century hand has glossed the masculine forms of the original text with feminine endings, indicating the prayer's continued utility into the century following the Conquest.

The final sequence of prayers to the Cross is rubricated '*Oratio in .i. mane ad crucem*', indicating that the time the prayers were to be performed was especially important; they have a defined and appropriate contextual use.<sup>94</sup> The linking of these prayers with a specific canonical hour provides us with contextual information that could also indicate their function. The service of Prime affirmed monks' intentions for the day's work and sanctified their labours to God.<sup>95</sup> It was also the hour at which Christ was handed over to Pilate in the chronology of the Passion. Both contextual meanings might have been in the user's mind as he prayed, reinforcing the primary function of these prayers as petitions to Christ crucified for spiritual

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<sup>93</sup> 'You should have a briefly written account of the Passion of our Lord. And to the Holy Cross, this is a good prayer'.

<sup>94</sup> 'A prayer to the Cross in the early morning'.

<sup>95</sup> For the significance of the Canonical hours, see John Harper, *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century: a historical introduction and guide for students and musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

protection. As with the preceding prayers, the beginnings of new texts within a particular sequence are indicated by coloured capital letters in order to visually structure their performance, as in on f. 72v: ‘Gloria patri. Sicut erat’. This effect is particularly significant in the final prayer of the sequence on f. 73r. Its literary structure is visually articulated by the beginning of each petition with a capital letter in alternating coloured inks: ‘Pro ueneranda cruce. custodi os meum. Pro sancta cruce. custodi manus meas et brachia mea’.<sup>96</sup> The effect achieved by textual layout in the seven petitions is achieved here by manuscript punctuation, with *punctus* dividing the two halves of each petition; like the prayer discussed above, the punctuation also emphasises the varied words in a metrically consistent devotion. The rubricated initials therefore make the text easier to perform and its structural artistry more apparent.

### **Galba’s *Confession Between Priests*: ff. 98r-102v**

Unlike Ælfwine’s Prayerbook, Galba contains no overarching scheme of rubrics and rubrication. While divisions between texts are marked with two-line *litterae notabiliores*, rubricated initials do not always appear as structural markers within texts, and longer rubrics identifying the function or context of a particular text are less common. These qualities reflect Galba’s production as a collection of unruled blank quires contributed to by many different hands: it was not a pre-planned collection of prayers, and its rubrication reflects the conventions of its individual scribes.

One particular prayer in Galba is distinguished by its use of coloured ink to structure devotional performance: G62, rubricated *Incipit confessio inter presbyteros, A Confession Between Priests* (Fig 1.11). As one of the only items in the manuscript containing a titular rubric in coloured ink, it can be inferred that an awareness of the function and context of this

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<sup>96</sup> ‘Through the venerable Cross, guard my mouth. Through the holy Cross, guard my hands and my arms’.

prayer was integral to its appropriate performance. Support for this interpretation is provided by the omission of rubrics in Galba for prayers that possess them in other contemporary manuscripts. For example, G16, which is attested in three other pre-Conquest sources, is unrubricated in Galba.<sup>97</sup> Two of the other three witnesses rubricate it ‘*oratio Sancti Gregorii ... sicut ipse Sanctus Gregorius dixit quod nec malus homo nec diabolus numquam nocere poterit, nec ad animam nec ad corpus*’.<sup>98</sup> This rubric provides a prescriptive meaning and function for the prayer it describes that is not present in Galba, meaning that users of the other books would have been preconditioned to interpret the prayer differently. In fact, the function of the prayer specified in this rubric—obtaining spiritual and corporeal protection—is not actually echoed in its narrative, which is a penitential prayer that expresses contrition for one’s sins beginning ‘*peccavi domine. et nimis peccavi*’.<sup>99</sup> This comparative reading of G16’s paratexts suggests that the Galba version of this prayer was used in different contexts and for different reasons, or that its Gregorian associations were not necessarily integral to the text. Therefore, given the characteristics of Galba’s rubrication, we can assume that the details it specifies regarding the *Confessio*’s performance were essential to its successful realisation.

While Muir suggests that the *Confessio* did not occupy its current place in the manuscript but originally followed the prayers on f. 52v where the rubric *incipit confessio* is copied on the final line of the folio, this *incipit* is equally likely to refer to the penitential prayer immediately following it on f. 53r beginning, ‘*Deus inestimabilis misericordie*’ (G26). While the rubric of the *Confessio* specifies a context and function associated with its performance, the prayers that precede and follow the *incipit confessio* rubric better align with its reference to penitential devotion that does not require a particular context. For example, the rubric to G25 on f. 45r reads, ‘*In quacumque die cantauerit homo hanc orationem nec diabolus nec*

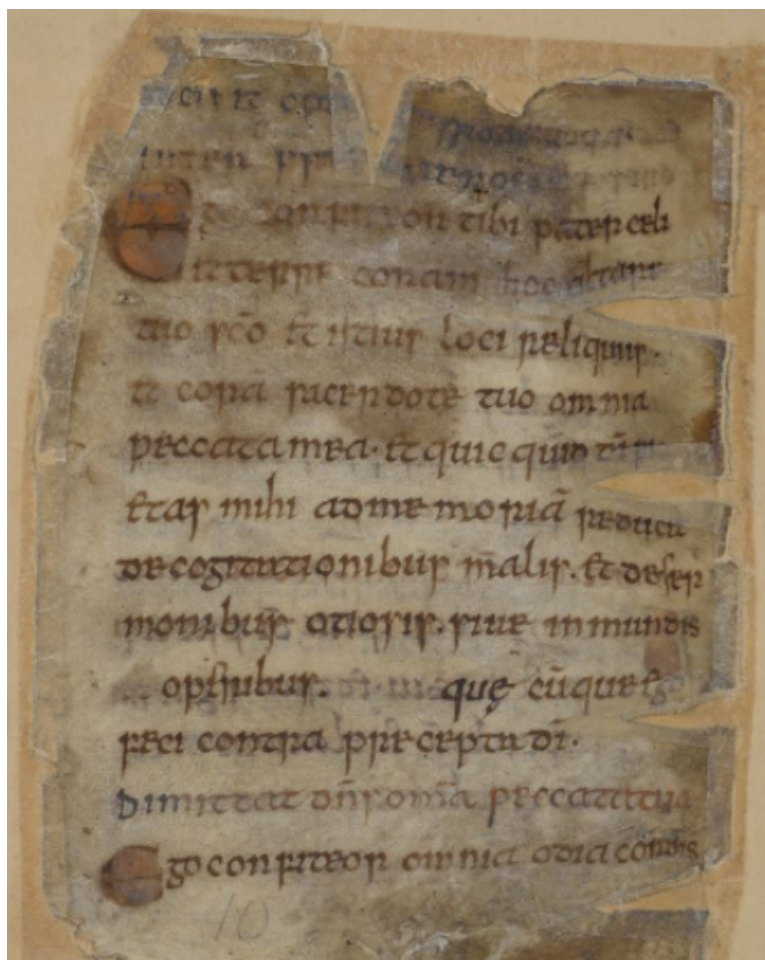
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<sup>97</sup> cf. Muir pp. xxix-xxxii.

<sup>98</sup> ‘St. Gregory’s prayer ... according to what St. Gregory said so that neither a wicked man nor the devil could harm him in any way, neither in spirit nor in body’.

<sup>99</sup> ‘I have sinned, Lord. And I have excessively sinned ...’

*ullus homo impedimentum ei facere poterit, et quod petierit dabitur ei*'.<sup>100</sup> The non-specific 'in quacumque die' and the stated function of the prayer as protection from spiritual and earthly enemies do not correspond with the rubric of the *Confessio*; it is even possible that the detail 'inter presbyteros' in its rubric was intended to differentiate it from the other confessions in the manuscript intended for solitary performance. This interpretation is supported by Bugyis, who claims that this particular prayer is the only one in Galba that 'indicates that more than one speaker is necessary for its recitation'.<sup>101</sup> However, the assumption that a second priest is *required* for the performance of this confession is not as straightforward as it initially appears.



**Fig 1.11:** The *mise-en-page* and rubrication of the *Confessio* (Cotton Galba A.xiv, f. 98r). The line breaks and contractions used by the scribe ensure that the rubricated *Dimittite* refrain occupies exactly one ruled line. Photo © The British Library.

<sup>100</sup> 'On whatever day a person sings this prayer, neither the devil nor another man would be able to do him harm, and he shall be granted that which he asks for'.

<sup>101</sup> Bugyis, p. 189.

The literary style of Galba's *Confessio* is modelled on the *Confiteor*, a penitential prayer whose popularity peaked during the early eleventh century, contemporary with Galba's compilation. Like the devotions to the Cross in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, the inclusion of this text indicates that Galba reflects trends in contemporary devotional culture. The *Confiteor* was customarily prayed at the foot of the altar, a context referenced in the Galba text: 'tunc cum ipso prosternat se ipse sacerdos ante altare'.<sup>102</sup> The direction to prostrate oneself, as a penitential position, reinforces the significance of the *Confiteor* as 'the prayer in which lowly man humbles himself before the great God'.<sup>103</sup> The opening phrase of the text also establishes the significance of the space in which it is performed. The reference to prayer before the church altar constructs a devotional space that invokes the presence of God, both in the literal and spiritual symbolism of the relics mentioned in the text and in the description of the second priest as 'God's': 'Ego confiteor tibi pater celi et terre coram hoc altare tuo sancto et istius loci reliquiis et coram sacerdote tuo omnia peccata mea'.<sup>104</sup> The long sentence, containing three conjunctions, articulates the speaker's encirclement by representatives of God and the church through its syntax. The importance of devotional space to the symbolism and experience of performing prayer will be further discussed in Chapter 3, where the directions for furnishing the altar in *De Institutione Inclusarum* likewise reference interactions with an anchoress's altar to achieve a similar effect.

The rubric suggests that this text would likely have been performed before Mass, when the priests involved would confess alone to each other before celebrating the communal rite.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> 'Then, when this [is done], the priest prostrates himself before the altar'. For a contextualisation of the performance of the *Confiteor*, see J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. by F. Brunner (London: Burns & Oates, 1959), p. 298.

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> 'I confess to you, father of heaven and earth, all my sins, before this altar sacred to you, and the relics of this place, and before your priest'.

<sup>105</sup> See Jungmann, pp. 297-300.

As such, the prayer destabilises the boundary between public and private devotion still further: if one man confesses to another before a public rite, would he have considered himself to be praying privately? Another interesting question elicited by this prayer is whether a polyvocal text necessarily implies more than one performer. While Muir describes it as ‘a dialogue between two priests’, its antiphonal structure does not convey the exchange expected between speakers in a dialogue. The voice that Muir interprets as a second priest only repeats the refrain ‘Dimitat dominus omnia peccata tua’ at appropriate moments, and otherwise does not participate in the performance of the text.<sup>106</sup> In fact, the rubrication of this prayer opens up the potential for it to be performed alone, as well as to another priest: the consistent execution of the second voice in coloured ink means that if the rubricated refrains are not read, the prayer functions as a monovocal devotion. Even if the refrains are read, the characteristic polyvocality of devotional texts, which invite their speakers to assume a range of voices and personae, means that alternation of first- and third-person speakers does not necessarily indicate that the text needed to be performed by more than one person.

The *Confessio*'s *mise-en-page* is more carefully executed than other prayers in Galba, suggesting that its paratext played an important role in facilitating its performance and articulating its meaning. Every phrase beginning ‘Ego confiteor’ begins on a new line with a two-line *littera notabilior* filled in with red ink. The refrain is copied on a single line in a contrasting colour, emphasising the text's change in voice. The rubrication of the refrain visually emphasises it on the page as the most important part of the *Confiteor*: the absolution of the sins confessed by the speaker. It also indicates the performance of an action, in this case the granting of absolution. This is one of the only texts in Galba in which coloured ink is used throughout (the others being the calendars and litanies); its rubrication is therefore particularly significant. Like the petitions in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, alternating colours are used to visually

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<sup>106</sup> ‘May God forgive all of your sins’. Muir, p. 130, n. 1.

articulate the structural progression of the text. Muir's *mise-en-page*, however, does not reflect the manuscript's: he includes a refrain marker in the margin where one does not appear in the manuscript and does not indicate *litterae notabiliores* or the changing colours of ink. He must not have considered this text's use of coloured ink 'significant' enough to note, even though it articulates the change of speakers that supports his dialogic interpretation of the prayer. Furthermore, Muir breaks the text into regular paragraphs beginning with *Ego Confiteor* on the basis that rubrics on ff. 99r-102v are 'wanting'.<sup>107</sup> This statement misleadingly implies that the original text is copied in paragraphs and that space was left for rubricated refrains that were never filled in. However, the prayer is copied as a single block of text, with no missing rubrics, *litterae notabiliores*, or refrains. This *mise-en-page* could either imply that the Galba scribes considered its form established after the first two carefully executed folios, and as such did not feel the need to take the time and effort to maintain the layout, or that they needed to save space. Alternatively, the refrain could not have been required after these paragraphs, and the speaker could have performed the final confessions uninterrupted. Muir's edition produces a misleading impression of a consistent visual and literary structure for the text, which might be expected by modern readers but does not accurately reflect the original execution of the manuscript. A manuscript's flaws can be as significant, if not more significant, than its intended design.

Other paratextual features of this prayer, its punctuation and annotation, facilitate contemplation of the sins enumerated during its performance. In the longer lists, such as on f. 100r, the negative qualities that the speaker attributes to himself are separated by *punctus*, offering a rhetorical space for pausing and reflecting on whether he has committed the sin in question. A second contemporary hand offers an alternative rhetorical delivery, increasing the accumulative effect articulated in the text by adding *et* interlinearly above each *punctus* to

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<sup>107</sup> Muir pp. 130-133, ns. 9, 14, 16, 17.

create an anaphora. This change reinforces the speaker's sense of his overwhelming sinfulness through the cumulative effect of a polysyndetic list. The presentation of the final directions 'tunc cum ipso prosternat ...' is also noteworthy. The directions are copied entirely in red ink, in line with the use of rubrication to mark performance directions in liturgical manuscripts.<sup>108</sup> This paratext clearly indicates that these actions are not part of the narrative of the prayer itself but are essential to its successful performance. The rubrication also emphasises that these instructions are directed towards the potential second priest, whose contributions to the performance of the *Confiteor* are always marked by coloured ink; if performed alone, these phrases might have been omitted. The individual prayers that make up the final devotional sequence of the *Confiteor* are visually structured by marking the first initial of each *incipit* with blue ink, the same organisational technique used in Ælfwine's Prayerbook.

### **Directing Devotion With Situational Rubrics**

Thus far, this chapter has considered how rubrics and rubrication function *within* texts, making their literary and performative structure visually apparent. The final type of rubric examined in this chapter will be called situational rubrics, which can vary in length from single phrases to several lines of text. A situation encompasses various contextual details pertaining to a given prayer, such as when, why, and by or for whom it should be performed. This kind of rubric does not occur within a prayer text itself, but either prefaces or follows it. Some of the rubrics already examined, like the rubric to G13 beginning 'Ðis gebed sceal man singan ...' or the prayers supplied to Ælfwine for devotion 'ante crucifixum', are therefore situational. However, the rubric in Ælfwine's Prayerbook that describes a prayer as a 'bona oratio', while informing us about its contemporary reception, is not situational; instead, it presents a contemporary judgement of a particular text. Situational rubrics are a type of paratext that can enhance our

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<sup>108</sup> We see this, for example, in the litany (G61), in which every *Ora* is copied in red ink.

understanding of the function and significance of the texts they relate to, and possibly even contradict modern interpretations of the meaning of a particular text.

Situational rubrics mostly relate to two types of context: rubrics of time and place, and rubrics of person. Rubrics of time and place detail *when* and/or *where* a particular prayer should be performed. *Time* can refer to an hour of the day or canonical hour, or to a day of the week. Although private prayer is conventionally defined as prayer performed outside the canonical hours, the rubrics examined below indicate that this generalisation might not always hold: a text used in the liturgy might be marked as suitable for private prayer, and non-liturgical texts might also be performed in a communal context. When a prayer, or sequence of prayers, is performed might alter its function and meaning independently of the source or genre of the text itself.

*Place* refers to *where* a prayer is performed, i.e. its spatial and/or ritual context. For example, Galba contains prayers blessing specific rooms in the monastery, such as the kitchen, cellar, refectory, and bedrooms (G81), with the blessing for every room specified in its rubric even though each one begins with an appropriately themed Psalm. For example, the blessing *in coquina* begins, ‘the Lord nourishes me’ (Ps 23:1). Examining these contextual rubrics allows us to identify prayers associated with a specific occasion and function, versus prayers whose context, being undefined, might be performed in a variety of contexts and therefore have a less rigidly defined meaning.

One example of a situational rubric that establishes a definite context for the performance of specific prayers occurs in the Office of the Cross in Ælfwine’s Prayerbook. The Gloria, Paternoster, and Creed—prayers associated with a variety of different contexts—are rubricated ‘*oratio ad .i. mane ad crucem*’.<sup>109</sup> This temporal direction allows us to infer that these particular prayers would have been performed before starting the devotional day. While

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<sup>109</sup> ‘Prayer in the early morning to the Cross’.

these three texts have liturgical uses, their rubric reminds us that the boundaries between public and private prayer are more fluid than often assumed: liturgical texts are not always public and non-liturgical texts are not always private. Other texts in Ælfwine's Prayerbook distinguished by rubrics of time specifying when they ought to be performed include the '*orationes cotidiantes pro peccatoribus*', which are immediately followed by prayers labelled '*matutinales*' and '*vespertinales*' (A73).<sup>110</sup> Although Günzel groups these prayers into a single unit, their situational rubrics differentiate them into three sequences: prayers for sinners, prayers specifically for Matins, and those likewise for Vespers. They would not have been prayed sequentially like their editorial layout suggests. Galba similarly contains a sequence of '*orationes cotidianis diebus*' (G29) whose rubric differentiates them from the preceding collects for Easter. Other prayers in A76 are rubricated for '*mane prima*', '*in prima mane*' and '*post vesperam*'.<sup>111</sup> These temporal markers again indicate non-sequential devotional practice: although the texts are copied sequentially, prayers for Matins could not be immediately followed by prayers for Vespers. Examining these rubrics therefore gives us an insight into how this prayer-book might have been used.

Other prayers in Galba and Ælfwine's Prayerbook are linked to a particular ritual context. One example is the pair of prayers in Galba rubricated '*ante communionem*' (G79) and '*post communionem*' (G80). While the prayer before communion references the body and blood of Christ, the fragments of the other prayer do not suggest a specific context; our knowledge of when and why that prayer would have been performed is indebted to its rubric. Likewise, the hymn *Ardua spes mundi* (G63) is rubricated for performance '*in letania maiore*' and would thus have been prayed only on Sundays and feast days. These rubrics suggest that these texts were unlikely to have been prayed outside of these specific contexts. Some longer

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<sup>110</sup> 'Daily prayers for sinners', '[those for] Matins', '[those for] Vespers'.

<sup>111</sup> 'Morning Prime', 'in the early morning', 'after Vespers'.

situational rubrics reveal more information about the places associated with particular prayers. The oblations prayer G13 discussed above is a noteworthy example of the importance of situational rubrics. The entire text is copied in red ink and begins with a prominent capital Ð, indicating the rubric's importance to the realisation of the text. As divisions between the preceding prayers in the manuscript are only indicated by an opening *littera notabilior*, we can assume that the copyist of this prayer believed its context to be an integral part of its meaning, and as such felt obliged to make it particularly prominent for the user of the manuscript.

The second category of situational rubric, rubrics of person, is perhaps the most fruitful for considering the boundaries between public and private prayer. Rubrics of person state or imply the person or people for whom a prayer was provided or performed. Such rubrics might also suggest whether a text or sequence of texts was copied for individual or collective use. Rubrics associated with private devotion are often copied in the first person singular or address the user in the second person, as in the rubric that prefaces the Office of the Cross in Ælfwine's Prayerbook: '*si vis orare ante crucifixum hos Psalmos canta*' (A46).<sup>112</sup> By contrast, rubrics for texts performed collectively or as a member of a community (rather than as a private individual) use plural pronouns, as in the prayers beginning on f. 56v rubricated '*collecta. oremus*' (A76).<sup>113</sup> These prayers also use the first-person plural throughout, beginning, 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui dedisti **nobis** ... **quesumus** ...'.<sup>114</sup> The plural number implies an association with the liturgy, where singular forms rarely occur; prayers adapted from liturgical settings for private use often have their plural forms changed to the singular form, as in the prayers at the end of the Office of the Virgin (A51), which open 'Sancta mater Christi Maria esto mihi adiutor famulo tuo'.<sup>115</sup> The adaptation of the Office of the Virgin for non-liturgical prayer anticipates its development into a separate Office associated with individual and/or lay

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<sup>112</sup> 'If you want to pray in front of the Cross, sing these Psalms'.

<sup>113</sup> 'A collect. Let **us** pray.'

<sup>114</sup> 'Omnipotent and eternal God, who gave **us** ... **we** request ...'.

<sup>115</sup> 'Holy mother of Christ, Mary, aid me, your servant'.

performance, as exemplified in the devotional programmes of *Ancrene Wisse* and the de Brailles Hours compared in Chapter 4. In this context, we could assume that prayers voiced in the plural might have been read aloud clause by clause and repeated by an audience; this impression is strengthened by their punctuation, which separates each clause with *punctus* to break up the text at points convenient for collective repetition:

OMNIPOTENS SEMPITERNE DEUS. QUI DEDISTI  
 nobis fidelibus tuis in confessione uere  
 fidei aeternae trinitatis gloriam agno  
 scere. & in potentiam maiestatis  
 adorare unitatem. quesumus ut eiusdem  
 fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper  
 muniamur aduersis. Per. (f. 56v)<sup>116</sup>

Günzel labels this sequence 'Private Prayers' and interprets sequences A52 and A76 as 'typical collection[s] of private prayers'.<sup>117</sup> However, the situational rubric of A76 makes this distinction less straightforward. Furthermore, while the prayers of A52 are in the singular, those of A76 are not. The text of A76's petitions additionally implies collective recitation in its plural forms: 'fratres nostros' (f. 60v), 'famulis et famulabus tuis, fratribus et sororibus nostris, spiritualibus et secularibus, presentibus et absentibus, cunctisque benefactoris nostris' (f. 61r) and 'parentum et amicorum nostorum' (f. 64r) suggest performance by a monastic community.<sup>118</sup> As Abbot of New Minster, Ælfwine might well have led daily prayers from his personal book. While Ælfwine's name is inscribed into the book as a supplicant in the prayer rubricated *item alia* on f. 61v, this prayer is also in the first person, suggesting that it might not have been used for collective prayer; the use of *item alia*, 'another similar' suggests that this

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<sup>116</sup> 'Omnipotent and eternal God. Who gave us, your faithful, [the ability] to recognise in the confession of true faith the glory of the eternal Trinity, and to adore the unity and power of their majesty. We beseech you that we might obtain steadfastness in faith from being constantly strengthened by adversity'.

<sup>117</sup> Günzel, p. 60.

<sup>118</sup> 'Our brothers', 'your male and female servants, our brothers and sisters, religious and secular, present and absent, and our benefactors', 'our relatives and friends'.

prayer was an optional inclusion in the service, perhaps supplied for occasions on which Ælfwine prayed this same sequence of texts alone.

Rubrics of person might also clarify the recipient of a prayer. For example, the 'Celtic Capitella' in Galba (G54) is structured by rubrics that indicate on whose behalf each petition ought to be performed: religious brothers and sisters, sinners, sponsors of the monastery, and so on. Although these are often implicit in the narrative text, this is not always the case. For example, the petition *pro penitentibus* in the Capitella does not explicitly specify its direction in the text, praying for divine mercy 'super seruos tuos' without any mention of penance.<sup>119</sup> Likewise, a prayer rubricated '*salvatio crucis devota*' in Ælfwine's Prayerbook (A52) opens 'omnipotens dilectissime deus', and only mentions the Cross once ('per signum salutifere crucis tue').<sup>120</sup> This rubric clarifies that the prayer is intended for devotion to the Cross—an intention not prescribed in the text itself. A contrasting case, in which the editorial title of a prayer differs from its inscribed recipient, is G45. Titled by Muir 'A Petition for Spiritual Protection', the prayer appears to be a prayer to St. Benedict for the protection of a monastic community, rather than for individual protection.

## Conclusion

This examination of manuscript rubrication shows how just one paratextual feature can perform several crucial functions in devotional books: distinguishing prayer texts and directions to perform them, articulating the structure of devotional practice, and making the aesthetics of literary structure more apparent to the user. These directions are as practical as they are aesthetically pleasing, also informing us about the contexts, locations, and functions associated with the performance of a particular prayer. This chapter therefore demonstrates the importance

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<sup>119</sup> 'For sinners', 'on your servants'.

<sup>120</sup> 'A salutation devoted to the Cross', 'Most beloved omnipotent God', 'through the restorative sign of Your Cross'.

of paying careful attention to how rubrics might inform us about textual meaning and performance, independent of any prior assumptions we might carry to our reading of a text. Seemingly minor details, like the use of singular versus plural forms, the use of English or Latin, and the use of manuscript punctuation can alter our readings of an entire prayer, in terms of context and function as well as meaning.

In addition to opening up new interpretative approaches to prayer texts themselves, analysing the paratexts of devotional books has the potential to inform us of their contemporary reception and audience. For example, the presence of English in these predominantly Latin books could be further investigated for evidence of connections between religious communities and the laity: Ælfwine might have requested the inclusion of certain texts in his prayer-book to facilitate duties of pastoral care, while Galba's inclusion of male- and female-voiced prayers implies that it circulated within more than one textual community. These public uses of supposedly private prayer-books are additionally suggested by their containing plural-voiced prayers or those performed as a call-and-response structure, like litanies. Conversely, the rubrication of Psalms or prayers associated with the liturgy with titles suggestive of ad hoc prayer, such as the copying of Ælfwine's Office of the Virgin in the first-person singular indicates how devotions conventionally characterised as communal were prayed in other contexts. The afterlives of these *libelli precum*, too, invite us to study the continued use of pre-Conquest devotions into the twelfth century. A47, a female-voiced prayer to a guardian angel added to Ælfwine's Prayerbook in the twelfth century, implies its later circulation within female religious communities; Galba similarly contains male-voiced prayers glossed with feminine endings and vice versa.

The following chapter develops this interpretative approach and methodology, focusing on performative and contextual aspects of prayer suggested by a specific kind of rubric: *tituli psalmorum*. Using the eleventh-century psalter London, Lambeth Palace MS 427 as a case

study, it illustrates the similarities between two seemingly different manuscript archetypes associated with monastic houses, psalters and *libelli precum*. The sustained use of these books well into the twelfth century indicates a continuity in the literature and practices of personal devotion following the Conquest, with the later addition of English and female-voiced prayers foregrounding the new audiences of monastic devotional literature discussed in Chapters 3-5.

## 2. The Glossed Psalter: Praying the Psalms with Lambeth 427

Chapter 2 examines monastic psalters, a type of manuscript whose provenance and audience complement those of the *libelli precum* previously examined.<sup>1</sup> Fifteen of the forty to fifty psalters that survive from pre-Conquest England contain English glosses.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the Psalms, all fifteen contain other devotional material, such as litanies, canticles, and hymns, which were almost certainly incorporated into personal devotion in addition to their liturgical uses.<sup>3</sup> In five of these psalters, the Psalms are introduced with prefaces that emphasise their value as prayer texts, and outline programmes of verses that correspond to the various circumstances which might inspire a desire to pray, including penance, thanksgiving, and consolation.<sup>4</sup> Nine contain additional non-liturgical prayers, which are either glossed or written in English in seven.<sup>5</sup> Other qualities of these manuscripts further suggest their envisioned use by individuals: their small size, decorated initials, *mise-en-page*, glosses, and, in some cases, illustrations, imply that their envisioned use was in personal contexts as opposed to public ones.

This chapter analyses the ways in which the paratexts accompanying the Psalms direct their performance as ad hoc devotion, using the mid-eleventh century Lambeth Psalter (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427) as a case study.<sup>6</sup> Like the majority of Anglo-Saxon

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<sup>1</sup> These psalters are defined as monastic on the basis of their origins: like *libelli precum*, the majority of surviving examples are associated with religious houses.

<sup>2</sup> M. J. Toswell estimates that there are between forty to fifty surviving pre-Conquest psalters in *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, *Medieval Church Studies* 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014). Jane Roberts lists fifteen of these as containing English glosses in 'Some Anglo-Saxon Psalters and their Glosses', in *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Francis Leneghan and Tamara Atkin (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2017), pp. 37-71 (pp. 37-38). In the footnotes below, the sigla that Roberts assigns to each psalter will be used to refer to them.

<sup>3</sup> For example, sequences of devotions to the Cross compiled for non-liturgical prayer, like those found in Ælfwine's Prayerbook combine psalms, antiphons, canticles, and non-psalmodic prayers.

<sup>4</sup> The psalters with prefaces are A, D, G, H, and I..

<sup>5</sup> These are A, C, D, G, H, I, J, K, and L; only C and J do not contain English glosses or texts of their additional prayers. At least one of these psalters, J, is incomplete, meaning that the possibility that it originally included additional English prayers cannot be discounted.

<sup>6</sup> Images and quotations from the manuscript are my own unless otherwise specified. Permission for including these images was granted courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library. The other eleventh-century psalters to which Lambeth is compared are referenced by their number in Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, which also provides manuscript descriptions and catalogue references: N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957). For descriptions of Lambeth, see M. R. James and C.

psalters, the Lambeth Psalter has been investigated piecemeal rather than as a whole: while its gloss, prayers, and *tituli psalmorum* have been the subject of individual studies, no critical reading has integrated these components together; some of its contents, like its prefaces, have never been edited. The close reading of Lambeth's paratexts illustrates that manuscripts whose function is not typically perceived as devotional can equally suggest production for use in prayer. Expanding on the preceding analysis of rubrics and rubrication in prayer-books of this period, this chapter considers how the provision and layout of rubrics particular to the Psalms, *tituli psalmorum* and *diapsalma* markers, shape their performance and reception. This holistic approach follows Susan Boynton's view that approaching monastic psalters 'as integrated collections brings out fundamental connections between the performance of the monastic liturgy and those prayers that scholars usually characterize as devotional'.<sup>7</sup> While Boynton considers how Psalter manuscripts direct devotional performance in liturgical contexts, this chapter explores the opposite perspective, investigating how Lambeth's presentation of the Psalms invites their use in personal devotion. Rereading this psalter in its manuscript context illustrates how assumptions traditionally brought to the study of these books limit our appreciation of the diverse ways in which they functioned: in passing over Lambeth's paratexts and non-liturgical prayers, previous critical readings have overlooked its devotional character.

The Lambeth Psalter was produced in the first half of the eleventh century, probably at a major ecclesiastical centre.<sup>8</sup> It now contains non-liturgical prayers, prognostics, litanies, and hagiographies of varying dates; its original contents--the prefaces, Psalms, canticles, and penitential prayer *Confessio pro peccatis ad deum*--indicate that it was envisioned as a

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Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 588-590; Ker, pp. 432-433; and Patrick P. O'Neill, 'Latin Learning at Winchester in the Early Eleventh Century: The Evidence of the Lambeth Psalter', in *Ashgate Critical Essays on Early English Lexicographers*, vol. 1, ed. by R. W. McConchie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 355-378 (pp. 355-359).

<sup>7</sup> Susan Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters', *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 895-931 (p. 896).

<sup>8</sup> The earliest evidence of Lambeth's ownership connects it with Llanthony Priory, which was founded in 1136. Its potential origins are discussed by James and Jenkins, p. 588, and K. Bennett, *The Book Collections of Llanthony Priory from Foundation until Dissolution (c. 1100-1538)* (unpublished doctoral thesis: University of Kent, 2007).

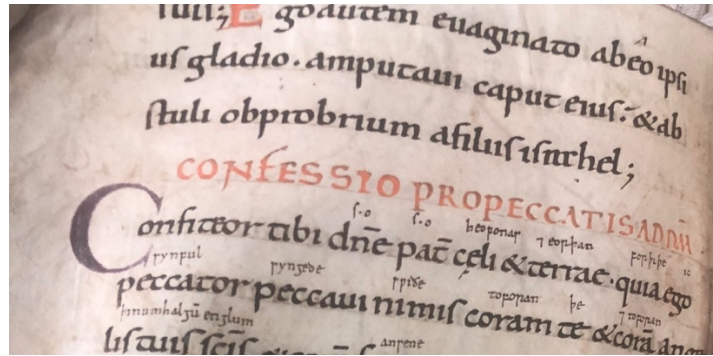
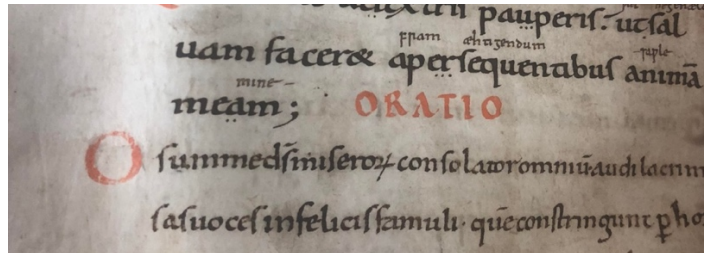
devotional compilation from the outset rather than as a Psalter alone.<sup>9</sup> The rubrics and placement of its other eleventh-century prayers, *O summe deus miserorum* (ff. 141v-142r) and *Eala drihten leof* (f. 183v), also suggest that they were planned inclusions. Both prayers fill the exact amount of space left for them, and the rubric of *O summe deus* resembles the hand of the main rubricator (Figs 2.1 and 2.2).<sup>10</sup> A longer version of the English prayer is in the twelfth-century London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius A.ii, evidencing continuity in the devotional literature of post-Conquest England.<sup>11</sup> A blank space on ff. 65r-65v now contains material added in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hands, but was probably originally left for a third non-liturgical prayer, as Psalm 50 ends halfway through f. 65r but the rubricated *titulus* of Psalm 51 is copied across the bottom three lines of f. 65v. The intervening blank half-folios would allow for the inclusion of a prayer similar in length to *O summe deus miserorum* (Figs 2.3 and 2.4).

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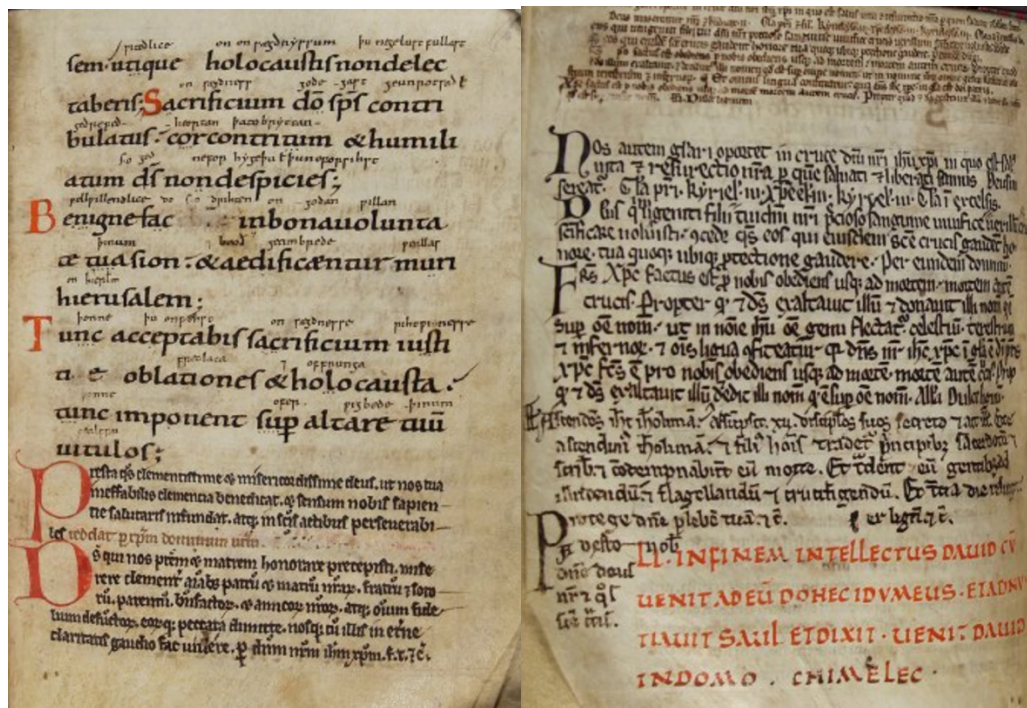
<sup>9</sup> See O'Neill, pp. 358-359, for Lambeth's original contents. The *Confessio* is printed by M. Förster, 'Die altenglischen Beigaben des Lambeth-Psalters', *ASNSL* 132 (1914), pp. 328-334 (pp. 329-331).

<sup>10</sup> *O summe deus miserorum* is printed in Förster, pp. 328-329. The Lambeth text of *Eala drihten leof* has been edited by Sarah Larratt Keefer in *Old English Liturgical Verse: A Student Edition* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2010), p. 162. O'Neill sees the 'austere character of the manuscript' as affirming that texts, rather than illustrations, were intended to be incorporated at these points (p. 358).

<sup>11</sup> Printed in E. Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, 6 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 94-97 and Larratt Keefer, pp. 164-173. The other texts in Julius are edited in J. Cross and T. Hill, *The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).



**Figs 2.1 and 2.2:** The rubrics of *O summe deus miserorum* (f. 141v) and the *Confessio* (f. 183v) appear to be the work of the same rubricator, implying that space was left for the later addition of this prayer.



**Figs 2.3 and 2.4:** The *mise-en-page* of ff. 65r-65v suggests that a third prayer contemporary with the original psalter was supposed to be included here; the thirteenth-century devotion that now occupies this space implies that Lambeth's later users recognised the intended purpose of the blank space. The small brown text written above the top line on f. 65v is an abbreviated version of the prayer copied in full immediately below it, evidencing that the texts later added to the manuscript were planned inclusions. Photos © Lambeth Palace Library.

As with other pre-Conquest manuscripts, critical readings of Lambeth have all but exclusively focused on its English text, approaching it primarily as a glossed psalter rather than as a devotional compilation or prayer-book. Even Patrick O'Neill, who observes that 'aside from its Old English gloss, the Lambeth Psalter has largely been ignored', primarily examines it for 'evidence about Latin learning in late Anglo-Saxon England' communicated in its gloss.<sup>12</sup> O'Neill's connection of Lambeth with language learning and studying the Psalms exemplifies the conventional view of glossed psalters as fulfilling an academic function, with alternative contexts for their use rarely proposed.<sup>13</sup> For instance, Gernot Wieland describes pre-Conquest glossed manuscripts as 'classbooks' specifically designed for teaching.<sup>14</sup> While he acknowledges the potential use of glossed prayer-books in 'private [monastic] reading', this reading is still characterised as academic rather than devotional, with individual monks using them as 'library books' for personal learning as opposed to 'classbooks' for communal teaching.<sup>15</sup> Other readings of Lambeth maintain this strictly academic association, presenting it as a particularly sophisticated 'library book' concerned with theological scholarship of the psalter. These approaches, too, primarily focus on its gloss. Fred Robinson saw Lambeth as an advanced scholastic production evidencing contemporary approaches to textual criticism and translation theory.<sup>16</sup> Jane Roberts likewise considers Lambeth 'the most scholarly [Psalter] text' on account of the quality and complexity of its gloss.<sup>17</sup> This didactic function of glosses

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<sup>12</sup> O'Neill, p. 355.

<sup>13</sup> As in, for example, R. Bremmer, 'Footprints of Monastic Instruction: A Latin Psalter with Interlinear Old Frisian Glosses', in *Space, Text and Margin in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Sarah Larratt Keefer and Rolf H. Bremmer Jr (Paris: Peeters, 2007), pp. 203–33, Evert Wiesenekker, *Word be Worde, Andgit of Andgite: Translation Performance in the Old English Interlinear Glosses of the Vespasian, Regius and Lambeth Psalters* (Huizen: Bout, 1991), and Helmut Gneuss, *English Language Scholarship: A Survey and Bibliography from the Beginnings to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> Gernot Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?' *ASE* 14 (1985), pp. 143–173 (p. 166).

<sup>15</sup> Wieland, p. 153.

<sup>16</sup> Fred C. Robinson, 'Syntactical Glosses in Latin Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Provenance', *Speculum* 48 (1973), pp. 443–75.

<sup>17</sup> Jane Roberts, 'Some Psalter Glosses in their Immediate Context', in *Palimpsests and the Literary Imagination of Medieval England*, ed. by Leo Carruthers, Raeleen Chai-Elsholz, and Tatjana Silec (New York: MacMillan, 2011), pp. 61–79 (p. 68).

is extended to potentially *non-monastic* psalters on the basis that their envisioned recipients almost certainly possessed lower levels of literacy, Latinity, and religious education.<sup>18</sup> M. J. Toswell claims that ‘many of the psalters of Anglo-Saxon England were glossed, illustrated, or otherwise laid out in such a way as to suggest careful study of the text ... [as] the principal teaching text for *all* Christians’, a different reading practice to that prompted by the Books of Hours that she interprets them as anticipating.<sup>19</sup> While she recognises the importance of the Psalms to personal as well as liturgical prayer, she presents their glosses as didactic rather than devotional, ‘a careful mixture of material for teaching and learning in [a] psalter’.<sup>20</sup>

As these critical readings show, manuscripts like the Lambeth Psalter are rarely approached in the context of personal prayer. Even Roberts, who observes that glossators did engage with the ‘metaphoric possibilities’ inherent to creative, literary translation, does not consider their use as devotional books.<sup>21</sup> Contemporary sources, however, evidence the role of glossed psalters as personal prayer-books. The *vita* of Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167) specifically mentions his glossed psalter, indicating the continued popularity of such books into the twelfth century:

He ordered that his glossed psalter, and Augustine’s *Confessions*, and text of John’s Gospel, and relics of particular saints, and miniature Cross which had belonged to the late Henry, Archbishop of York, be brought before him, and said to us: ‘Look, I have kept these alongside me in my little oratory, and I enjoyed them as much as possible while I sat alone in there.’<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Non-monastic psalters are those that either suggest or confirm their production for lay or non-monastic audiences. As ‘the most common books [produced] for private devotion’, Toswell proposes that many of the more elaborate surviving examples were ‘often produced for royalty or the higher nobility’. M. J. Toswell, ‘The Late Anglo-Saxon Psalter: Ancestor of the Book of Hours?’, *Florilegium* 14 (1996), pp. 1-14 (p. 2).

<sup>19</sup> Toswell, p. 1. Emphasis mine.

<sup>20</sup> Toswell, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Roberts, p. 66.

<sup>22</sup> ‘Precepit afferri coram se spalterium glosatum et confessiones Augustini et textum euangelii Johannis et reliquias quorundam sanctorum et paruulam crucem que fuerat bone memorie archiepiscopi Henrici Eboracensis, et dixit nobis, ‘Ecce hec in oratoriolo meo penes me retinue et in his pro posse delectabar, solus in eo sedens’.’ *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, by Walter Daniel, ed. and trans. by Maurice Powicke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 58.

This account clearly associates Aelred's glossed psalter with individual devotion, as he lists it among the personal possessions that he kept in the oratory where he prayed alone. It might even be significant that the psalter is the first item that he asks for, suggesting that it was the most important item that he wanted to have with him as he died. The juxtaposition of devotional texts and objects with liturgical and non-liturgical uses further reinforces the difficulty of strictly defining the two types of prayer in this period; the mention of John's Gospel in particular recalls the previous chapter's exploration of its connections with devotional books.

In addition to this historical context, various qualities of the Lambeth manuscript imply its devotional use. Although describing Lambeth as a glossed psalter implies that it only contains the Psalms and that it is only the Psalms that are glossed, its two Latin prayers are also glossed, one partially, the other fully.<sup>23</sup> The glossing of the non-Psalmodic prayers is unlikely to relate to the textual criticism of the Psalms that O'Neill presents as the function of the Lambeth gloss. Lambeth's compilation and design also suggest that it was consciously crafted for praying the Psalms as much as for studying them. Measuring 212x158mm with generous margins bordering a written space of only 166x111mm, Lambeth is significantly smaller than other contemporary glossed psalters, but similar in size to *libelli precum*.<sup>24</sup> Its size and inclusion of non-liturgical texts invites us to approach it as a little book of prayers as much as a little book of Psalms. Its rubrication recalls that of Ælfwine's Prayerbook, facilitating non-sequential prayer by enabling navigation within and between texts. Each Psalm begins with a red three-line *littera notabilior* extending into the left-hand margin, and each verse begins with a smaller red capital letter. Mid-line breaks are indicated in red, and the Psalms are punctuated

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<sup>23</sup> The gloss is printed in U. Lindelöf, *Der Lambeth-Psalter, eine altenglische Interlinearversion des psalters in der Hs 427 der erzbischöflichen Lambeth Palace Library: I, Text und Glossar*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 35.i (Helsinki, 1909). The *tituli psalmorum*, non-liturgical prayers, and prefaces are not included in this edition.

<sup>24</sup> The Winchcombe, Arundel, Tiberius, Vitellius, Stowe and Junius Psalters (Ker nos. 13, 134, 199, 224, 271, 335) all have larger folios and narrower margins than Lambeth, even after trimming. Roberts's table comparing the fifteen Anglo-Saxon glossed psalters confirms Lambeth to be the smallest of the group (p. 64).

using *punctus*, *punctus elevati* and *punctus versi* to facilitate their performance. Rubricated *tituli psalmorum* are copied in the margin, with the words *verba Christi* often in contrasting colours to draw the reader's attention. The emphasis on Christ's voice invites Christocentric devotion, anticipating one of the definitive themes of affective piety, with the *tituli* often associating a particular Psalm with events in the life of Christ on which the performer could meditate.<sup>25</sup>

Another indication of Lambeth's potential devotional use is the placement of its additional prayers. The blank spaces left in the original manuscript on ff. 65r-65v, 141v-142r, and 183v correspond with the tripartite division of the Psalms into fifties, traditionally connected with penitential prayer.<sup>26</sup> This concern is further reflected in Lambeth's penitential prayers and prefaces. While this division of the Psalter indicates an awareness of liturgical context, the other traditional divisions of the liturgy—the eightfold, at Psalms 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, and 109, or the tenfold, which additionally incorporates Psalms 51 and 101—are not observed, possibly suggesting that Lambeth was not produced as a specifically liturgical book.<sup>27</sup> While contemporary pre-Conquest psalters frequently contain other texts, they often appear in discrete blocks at the end of the psalter proper rather than interspersed with the Psalms. In some cases, these additions appear to not have been part of the manuscript's original design, being copied after its initial completion. The Winchcombe and Tiberius psalters contain blocks of prayers after rather than within the Psalms, while the Arundel and Eadui psalters contain prayers copied at later dates in additional quires or on previously blank folios.<sup>28</sup> In Arundel, the texts provided for 'prayer after the Psalter' ('oratio post psalterium', f. 11v) occur before

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<sup>25</sup> O'Neill, by contrast, argues that the *tituli psalmorum* 'offer further evidence of scholarly interest in Jerome's original text' without considering other functions that they might fulfil (p. 361).

<sup>26</sup> For a summary of the evidence for the tripartite division of the Psalms, see M. McNama, 'Psalter text and Psalter study in the early Irish Church (A.D. 600-1200)', in *The Psalms of the Early Irish Church*, Journal for the Study of Old Testament Studies Supplement Series 165 (2000), pp. 19-142 (pp. 111-112).

<sup>27</sup> The structure of the canonical hours is discussed by John Harper, *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century: a historical introduction and guide for students and musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

<sup>28</sup> Ker, nos. 13, 199, 134, and 135.

the Psalms, further implying that they were not originally envisioned inclusions (otherwise, one assumes, they would actually appear ‘post psalterium’). In this way, the compilation of the Lambeth Psalter recalls Toswell’s view that ‘the Psalms were part of the process of penance and part of the developing tradition of private prayer and devotion’ in the eleventh century.<sup>29</sup>

The potential of the Lambeth Psalter and manuscripts like it to be interpreted as prayer-books as well as academic documents has not been realised in present research. Its non-liturgical Latin prayers have been printed only once each, while its sole English text, *Eala drihten leof*, has been dismissed by scholars as incomplete due to the existence of a longer version in an unrelated twelfth-century manuscript.<sup>30</sup> In the context of personal devotion, the Psalms receive less critical attention than prayers apparently unconnected with the liturgy. Psalmody continues to be approached as primarily liturgical: excluding any mention of private prayer, Toswell observes that ‘a manuscript with extensive glossing in Latin or with a complete interlinear version in Old English might be an unlikely choice for liturgical use, yet this too happened’.<sup>31</sup> Her assessment of the devotional use of these books as ‘unlikely’ exemplifies the restrictive functions that modern scholars assign to glossed psalters. Philip Pulsiano notes that ‘there are no Anglo-Saxon service books extant that contain the entire corpus of Psalm texts in an arrangement unquestionably designed for use in formal worship’, meaning that the specifically liturgical use of a particular book can never be confirmed.<sup>32</sup> Lambeth exhibits few of the characteristics essential to Elizabeth Solopova’s definition of a liturgical psalter: of the ‘150 Psalms, preceded by a calendar and followed by the canticles for daily offices, the litany of the saints and collects’, it originally contained only the Psalms and collects.<sup>33</sup> While

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<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> As in Dobbie, pp. 141-143.

<sup>31</sup> Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Philip Pulsiano, ‘Psalms’, in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by R. Pfaff (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), pp. 61-85 (p. 61).

<sup>33</sup> Elizabeth Solopova, *Latin Liturgical Psalters in the Bodleian Library: A Select Catalogue* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2013), p. x. O’Neill describes the erased litany over which the present fifteenth-century one was written as ‘arguably ... a later addition’ on codicological grounds (p. 359).

contemporary psalters rarely contained *only* the Psalms, Lambeth is unusual in not containing these virtually ubiquitous features. Therefore, it could have been produced for personal prayer as well as for liturgical use or academic interest, further complicating distinguishing liturgical from ad hoc devotion on the basis of content.

Reinterpreting the Lambeth Psalter as a prayer-book consequently invites us to reassess the function of its gloss. If its primary purpose was scholastic, we would surely expect all of the Psalms to be glossed; however, Psalm 58 is only partially glossed, and Psalm 151 is not glossed at all. O'Neill also observes that the gloss was added in a later hand after the completion of the manuscript, meaning that Lambeth's lineation does not necessarily indicate the planned inclusion of interlinear text.<sup>34</sup> Even Roberts, who conversely considers Lambeth's gloss 'integral' to the psalter, notes that it was not ruled for.<sup>35</sup> Two alternative functions of the gloss can be proposed: making Lambeth a bilingual prayer-book and eliciting contemplative engagement with the Psalms. As well as providing its users with an English text of the Psalms, the glossing of the non-liturgical prayers further supports the first possibility, even in the only partially glossed *O summe deus miserorum*. The glossed section of this prayer describes the gradual weakening of the body before death and petitions God for spiritual protection. It initially seems an incomplete translation of the Latin because it omits an entire phrase of the original text.<sup>36</sup> However, when the English text is read independently of the Latin, it serves as a prayer in its own right, whose literary language incorporates many of the rhetorical devices of Anglo-Saxon poetry:

hebet uisus. crescit dolor capitis. ruunt dentes. remunt membra. decidunt tote **uires**.  
**Perquirat iam acerba mors** aditum nostre domus. quem attendit antiquissimus hostis  
 inferorum ...

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<sup>34</sup> O'Neill, p. 359.

<sup>35</sup> Roberts, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Psalters and their Glosses', p. 40.

<sup>36</sup> Förster, for example, describes this section of the gloss as incomplete: 'auch hier (*uires* bis *mores*) ist die Glosse forttradiert' (p. 328, n. 3).

deorcaþ zesihð. wecsð sar heafdes. feallaþ teþ. cwaciaþ lima. hreosað ealle færeld ures huses. þæs becepð se wyrsta feond helwara ...<sup>37</sup>

When read independently, the gap between ‘ealle’ and ‘færeld’ makes sense contextually, with ‘hreosað ealle færeld ures huses’ reading ‘all the members of our houses decay’; the unfortified house broken into by thieves is a metaphor for the aging body penetrated by sins.<sup>38</sup> This partially glossed prayer thus presents an alternative English text that could have been intended for users less proficient in Latin. The fully glossed *Confessio pro peccatis ad deum* (f. 183), in which care was also taken to produce a literary translation, could have fulfilled a similar function. Supporting evidence for this possibility is given by the glossing of the opening phrase (Fig 2.5). The only words that are not glossed are the first two, ‘confiteor tibi’, ‘I confess’. Retaining these specific words in Latin could suggest this prayer’s potential function: Michael Cornett observes that the word *Confiteor* indicated the genre and function of confessional prayer as ‘a ritual form of beginning to initiate the confession of sins’.<sup>39</sup> Not glossing these words indicates their importance to establishing the purpose of the following prayer, and suggests that they would have been spoken in Latin even if the English text was performed.<sup>40</sup>

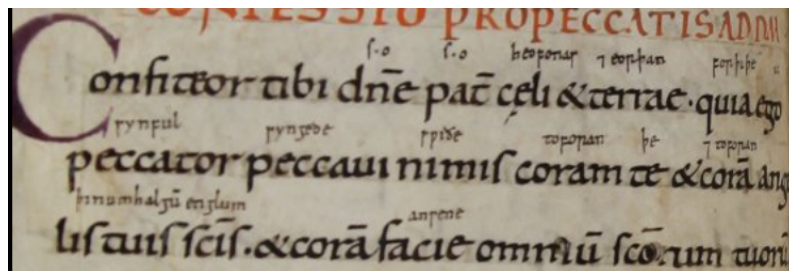


Fig 2.5: The opening lines of the *Confessio pro peccatis ad deum* (f. 183v).

<sup>37</sup> Förster, pp. 328-329. The bolded text is the unglossed phrase.

<sup>38</sup> Bosworth-Toller evidences OE ‘færeld’ glossing Latin ‘membra’. *færeld*, Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, ed. by Thomas Northcote Toller et al., comp. by Sean Christ and Ondřej Tichý (Prague: Faculty of Arts at Charles University, 2010) <<http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/062181>>. Accessed 2020.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Cornett, *The Form of Confession: A Later Medieval Genre for Examining Conscience* (PhD Dissertation: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011), p. 80.

<sup>40</sup> In the opening lines of the *Confiteor*, the abbreviation ‘s.o’ can be seen in the gloss. This particular abbreviation recurs throughout the Lambeth Psalter gloss, often glossing ‘domine’, ‘pater’, or ‘deus’. I was unable to find any indication of what this abbreviation meant; I have since corresponded with Elizabeth Solopova, who was also unfamiliar with the abbreviation and unable to confirm its precise meaning.

The Lambeth Psalter could as such evidence interactions between religious and lay users in devotional contexts, with its gloss allowing it to function simultaneously as a Latin and English book of prayers. This interpretation is further supported by the inclusion of the English prayer *Eala, drihten leof* in the manuscript, whose links with contemporary Latin penitential prayers are explored in greater detail below. However, the use of English need not exclusively indicate a non-Latinate user: Aelred, his hagiographer claimed, invoked Christ's English name in prayer, which he considered 'in some ways sweeter to hear'.<sup>41</sup>

Lambeth's glosses could also have facilitated the meditative reading of the Psalms. In a culture where monks were encouraged to contemplate individual words in the Psalms, the gloss might have been provided to maintain engagement with indubitably memorised Psalm texts by offering alternative readings.<sup>42</sup> Joseph Dyer notes that the monastic *ruminatio* centred on 'the amount of attention that can be given to each word' of a particular Psalm.<sup>43</sup> He illustrates this point by quoting the influential rule of Basil the Great (d. 379), which claims that the Psalms could only be prayed wisely (*sapienter*) when 'understanding [is] fixed on the power of every word in the inspired text'.<sup>44</sup> The Lambeth gloss invites meditation on specific words through the act of translation, with some words in the gloss supplied with more than one translation, from which the user could choose the one that he thought best fitting. In this way, the monk's 'obligation of deepening their prayerful understanding of every word in the Psalter' is fulfilled through intellectual engagement that prevents its rote recitation from memory.<sup>45</sup> This use of glossed psalters interrogates the traditional narrative of the development of non-Latin prayer-books summarised by Chaoluan Kao: that 'the appearance of French and English in

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<sup>41</sup> Powicke, p. 136.

<sup>42</sup> On the complexity of the Lambeth gloss, see Philip Pulsiano, 'Old English Glossed Psalters: Editions versus Manuscripts', *Manuscripta* 35 (1991), pp. 75–97.

<sup>43</sup> Joseph Dyer, 'The Psalms in Monastic Prayer', in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Nancy van Deusen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 59–89 (p. 60).

<sup>44</sup> Dyer, p. 63. See also Dyer, n. 29.

<sup>45</sup> Dyer, p. 64.

prayerbooks of the thirteenth century may be viewed as the first phase of vernacular prayerbooks' predominantly associated with women.<sup>46</sup> Not only are these psalters significantly earlier, but they rarely demonstrate the adaptations for female users seen in, for example, the emendations to Ælfwine's Prayerbook or the alternating masculine and feminine forms in Galba. They instead evidence what Lauren Mancía calls an 'emotional monasticism' that contemporary affective texts, such as the *Confessio Theologica*, were composed in response to.<sup>47</sup>

Considering glossed psalters as devotional books requires us to reconsider the assumptions conventionally brought to interpretations of their function and reception. It also invites us to focus on other aspects of their manuscripts aside from their glosses. This chapter will demonstrate Lambeth's suitability as a devotional book by examining three of its paratexts that have not received the same degree of critical attention as its gloss: its prefaces, *tituli psalmorum*, and *diapsalma* markers. The connection of these specific features with the performance of the Psalms as opposed to their interpretation will be particularly emphasised.

### **Prefacing Prayer in the Lambeth Psalter**

The Lambeth Psalter's potential role in private devotion is contextualised by its three prefaces: Jerome's letter to Paula and Eustochium (f. 1), *De Virtute Psalmorum (On the Virtues of the Psalms)* (ff. 1v-2r), and the *Suscipe dignare* (f. 2v).<sup>48</sup> All traditionally attributed to or associated with the Gallican Psalter, they present Lambeth as anticipating the later medieval *Psalter of St.*

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<sup>46</sup> Chaoluan Kao, *Reformation of Prayerbooks: The Humanist Transformation of Early Modern Piety in Germany and England* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), p. 131.

<sup>47</sup> Lauren Mancía, *Emotional monasticism: affective piety in the eleventh-century monastery of John of Fécamp* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019).

<sup>48</sup> This letter is traditionally edited as a preface to the Gallican Psalter, as in Migne, where it is called *Jerome's Preface to the Book of Psalms (Praefatio Hieronymi in Librum Psalmorum)*, PL 29:117-120. *De Virtute Psalmorum* is printed in PL 131:142-144; its association with the Gallican Psalter is reinforced by its printing within a letter attributed to Jerome. The *Suscipe dignare* is printed in PL 115:1441.

*Jerome*, a specific compilation of Psalm verses associated with penitential prayer.<sup>49</sup> The Lambeth text of *De Virtute Psalmorum* contains corrections in a fifteenth-century hand, indicating its continued use into a period where the tradition of praying Saint Jerome's Psalter was well established. Scott Goins has written that Jerome's works strive to promote a 'union of the academic and the ascetic', and are as concerned with spirituality and devotion as they are with textual criticism, an interpretative approach rarely applied to discussions of his works.<sup>50</sup> While O'Neill sees these prefaces as evidencing academic interest in the textual criticism of the Psalms, they also appear in other contemporary psalters that are not connected with scholastic use. For example, Arundel 155 begins with a preface similar to *De Virtute Psalmorum, Laus psalterii (In Praise of the Psalms)*; it also contains the *Suscipe dignare* in its compilation of prayers to be performed before psalmody ('ante psalterium'). The tenth-century Ramsey Psalter (London, British Library, Harley MS 2904) similarly contains *De Virtute Psalmorum, Laus psalterii*, and *Suscipe dignare*. Lambeth's devotional purpose is suggested by these texts directing non-liturgical psalmody, recalling Genette's definition of the preface as a paratext whose 'chief function [is] to ensure that the text is read properly'.<sup>51</sup> Contextualising an interpretation of the Lambeth Psalter with its original prefaces thus communicates how they shaped the significance, performance, and function of its prayers.

In the first preface, Jerome outlines the methods that he used to compile his text of the psalter and defines the critical signs used to indicate variant readings between different versions of the Psalms. This letter has the practical purpose of defining these notations to readers unfamiliar with them and summarising the history of the Gallican Psalter. However, it is also

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<sup>49</sup> The order of the Lambeth canticles is that given for the 'Gallican Canticles after 785' in J. Mears, *Canticles Eastern and Western* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), pp. 63-65. For the text of the *Psalter of Saint Jerome*, see PL 115:1451-1456. Annie Sutherland lists the six MSS containing later Middle English versions of the abbreviated psalter in *English Psalms in the Middle Ages, 1300-1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), ch. 4, n. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Scott Goins, 'Jerome's Psalters', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. by William Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 185-200 (p. 185).

<sup>51</sup> Genette, p. 197.

relevant to prayer, reflecting the belief that psalmody performed using a mis-worded text is meaningless. Writing in response to complaints about a version ‘defaced by scribal errors’, Jerome attempted to produce a faithful Latin translation, asking that ‘what I have carefully corrected might be copied with care and diligence’.<sup>52</sup> He dedicates his psalter to the ‘zealous’ (*studioso*) Christian and criticises those who use “incorrect” versions as sinfully scorning the ‘purest source’ (*purissimo fonte*) of Christ’s words. The concern with correctly articulated psalmody is also expressed in Part I of *Ancrene Wisse*, which specifies an appropriately severe penance for the anchoress who ‘gluffeð of wordes oðer mis neomeð uers’ (38, f. 19v/2-3). It is also significant that Jerome wrote to Paula and Eustochium, devout laywomen whose psalmody would be connected with personal prayer, rather than priests concerned with performing the liturgy.

The second preface, *De Virtute Psalmorum*, extols the Psalms as perfect prayer texts. It emphasises psalmodic prayer as facilitating a direct and personal connection to God by inviting one to contemplate how ‘there is no verse in which there is nothing of the Lord’s way, or of the commands or teachings of God, or of [His] words, or law, or justifications, or sermons, or justice’.<sup>53</sup> It accordingly presents the psalter as the ideal basis for private prayer, particularly regarding the avoidance of sin:

The song of the Psalms ... is the mental restoration of sinful men. It absolves sins ... [and] extinguishes sinful desires. ... It kindles a spiritual fire beneath the heart, raises fear of all sins: it is the battle of virtues, it expels the roots of all sins daily like a worn *lorica* and it protects like a helmet. ... Whoever continually values the song of the Psalms is unable to sin.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> ‘scriptorum vitio depravatum’, ‘quae diligenter emendavi, cum cura et diligentia transcribantur’.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Et licet ad obitum mortis, hujus hymni virtutem compleveris, nunquam perfecte, ut puto, illum intelligere poteris, in quo nullus versus est in quo non sit vel via Domini, vel vel mandatum seu praeceptum Dei, vel verba, lex, vel justificationes, vel sermones, vel judicia’. PL: 131:143.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Canticum Psalmorum ... homini peccatori refectio mentis est. Delet peccata, ... voluntatem illicitam exstinguit. .... Ignem spiritalem in corde succendit, omnium vitiorum sollicitudinem tollit: certamen bonorum est, quotidie radicem omnium malorum expellit, sicut lorica induta et sicut galea defendit. ... Qui diligit canticum Psalmorum assidue, non potest agere peccatum’. PL 131:142.

While this description of psalmody equally applies to liturgical prayer, this preface establishes a variety of functions that psalmody might fulfil, from expressing praise, to mitigating distress, to a more general desire ‘to pray’. It also varies between the verbs *dicere* and *cantare*, suggesting the alternation of spoken and chanted prayer. Francis Leneghan’s assessment of the evidence for sung psalmody in this period sees in the English metrical Psalms a performative model that he associates with *ruminatio*—a devotional reading practice as opposed to an academic one.<sup>55</sup> The *mise-en-page* of the Lambeth Psalter, with its clear rubrication and numbering of individual Psalms, easily allows its user to perform the devotional programme recommended in this preface. Its use of the second person also establishes an intimate, personal dialogue between reader and book, again suggesting non-liturgical use by addressing an individual reader. This preface’s emphasis on sin and penance complements the penitential prayers included in the Lambeth Psalter, again correlating psalmody with voluntary, penitential prayer.

The use of the Lambeth Psalter in personal prayer is further suggested by the third preface, *Suscipe digneris*. This text was particularly associated with non-liturgical psalmody, traditionally prefacing breviary Psalters.<sup>56</sup> Daniel Anlezark quotes a contemporary source championing the breviary Psalter ‘as a substitute for the whole Psalter, if sung with a devout mind’.<sup>57</sup> Correlating with the penitential prayers included in Lambeth, this text establishes psalmody performed as personal penance:

Deign to receive, Lord God almighty, these sacred short verses (*versiculos*), which I, kneeling in supplication, desire to perform in the honour of your name, **for myself**, a wretched, miserable sinner ...<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Francis Leneghan, ‘Making the Psalter Sing: The Old English Metrical Psalms, Rhythm, and *Ruminatio*’, in *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature*, pp. 173-197.

<sup>56</sup> Daniel Anlezark, ‘The Psalms in the Old English Office of Prime’, in *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature*, pp. 198-217 (n. 25).

<sup>57</sup> Anlezark, p. 202. The *Suscipe Digneris* is discussed in n. 23.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Suscipere digneris, Domine Deus omnipotens, hos versiculos consecratos, quos supplex decantare ego cupio in honorem nominis tui, **pro me** misero, indigno peccatore, ....’ PL 115:1441.

This preface frames the use of the Psalms that follow it in the context of personal supplication for absolution from sin; the diminutive ‘versiculos’ implies a connection with praying the breviary Psalter or with non-sequentially praying excerpts from different Psalms. It also suggests other aspects of how psalmody might have been performed, including its posture (kneeling), intention (to receive remission of sins), and affective orientation (penitential). As opposed to the predominantly communal focus of liturgy, in which the Psalms are prayed for the Christian community, the church, the dead, and so on, *Suscipe digneris* strongly suggests Lambeth’s use in private prayer, being spoken in the voice of an individual desiring to perform the Psalms as penance. This distinction recalls the use of plural pronouns to indicate communal prayer in Ælfwine’s Prayerbook discussed in Chapter 1.

Read together, these prefaces all emphasise non-liturgical psalmody as the ideal practice for contemplation and private devotion. The movement from general to personal prayer is implied by the progression of pronouns in the three texts: the first speaks in general terms regarding the text of the Psalter, the second uses the second person to speak directly to its reader, and the third, expressed in the first person, establishes the affective orientation and motivation with which he offers up his prayer. Lambeth’s Psalms are therefore framed as penitential prayers ideal for performing self-scrutiny and penance, more so than as academic texts produced for theological scholarship of the Psalter.

### **Shaping Meaning and Performance with *Tituli Psalmorum***

This connection of psalmody with personal prayer is further supported by Lambeth’s *tituli psalmorum*, descriptive rubrics beginning every psalm.<sup>59</sup> Psalm *tituli* are usually omitted from

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<sup>59</sup> For a full list of medieval *tituli*, see P. Salmon, *Les ‘Tituli Psalmorum’ des manuscrits latins*, *Collectanea Biblica Latina* 12 (Rome, 1959). Lambeth’s *tituli psalmorum* are printed in J. Lawlor, ‘The Catach of St. Columba’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 33C (1916), pp. 241-437 (pp. 413-436).

critical readings and editions of medieval psalters, although a significant number of psalter manuscripts contained them. A contemporary reader would not have received the Psalms independently of these paratexts and the hermeneutic traditions that they communicate, which, in Dyer's words, 'subtly insinuated themselves into [their] mind' to the extent that any reading of a medieval psalter is incomplete without them.<sup>60</sup> Boynton observes that Psalm *tituli* 'constitute a rich source of information on medieval hermeneutics' by indicating how the users of a given psalter interpreted each text.<sup>61</sup> Like the *diapsalma* markers examined below, *tituli psalmorum* are a paratext closely associated with performance, often specifying the voice or persona with which a particular Psalm should be prayed. For example, the *titulus* to Psalm 18 reads 'this Psalm should be sung in the character of Christ, and in the character of the Church' (Fig 2.6).<sup>62</sup> Examining Lambeth's *tituli* allows us to investigate the psalmody of its contemporary users within the same interpretative framework that shaped their devotional practice.

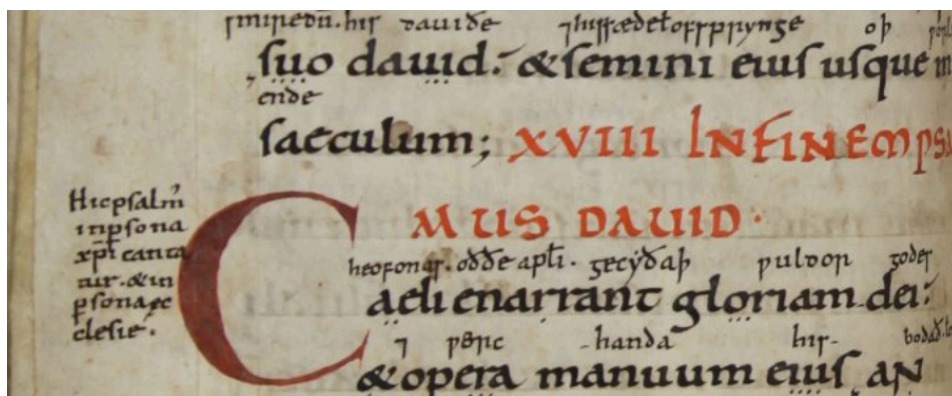


Fig 2.6: The *titulus* to Psalm 18 (f. 29v). Photo © Lambeth Palace Library.

<sup>60</sup> Dyer, p. 66.

<sup>61</sup> Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 82. Boynton refers exclusively to the Christian *tituli* and does not define *tituli psalmorum* as a paratext.

<sup>62</sup> 'Hic psalmus in persona Christi cantatur. & in persona ecclesie.'

A *titulus* refers to two classes of heading given to individual Psalms: the ‘biblical’, the original Hebrew headings attached to the earliest texts of the Psalms, and the ‘Christian’, which provide tropological or Christocentric exegesis.<sup>63</sup> In Lambeth, the Hebrew *tituli* are copied in red rustic capitals, marking divisions between Psalms, with the Christian copied in the margin in coloured ink. The two sets of *tituli* reflect the traditional layers of scriptural exegesis, with the Hebrew giving the literal, historical exposition of each Psalm, and the Christian its spiritual, moral, or allegorical one. Psalm 3 presents an illustrative example of the different characters of the two traditions: the Hebrew *titulus* reads, ‘A Psalm of David, when he fled from his son Absalom’, the Christian, ‘the voice of Christ to the Father regarding the Jews’.<sup>64</sup> While virtually all medieval psalters incorporate the Hebrew *tituli psalorum*, fewer contain additional Christian *tituli*; the Lambeth Psalter is perhaps unique among contemporary examples in giving certain Psalms more than one Christian *titulus* as well.<sup>65</sup> As the Christian *tituli* are almost certainly opportunistic additions to the Lambeth Psalter, consisting of heavily abbreviated phrases added to its margins in at least six different hands, they potentially represent a variety of individual interpretative responses to specific Psalms.<sup>66</sup>

O'Neill observed that the colour of each of Lambeth's sets of Christian *tituli* corresponds with the exegetical tradition from which it derives: green or violet for the pseudo-Bede *Argumenta Psalorum*, blue for *tituli* shared by the *Argumenta* and Columban Series of *tituli psalorum*, black for *tituli* shared by the Columban Series and the pseudo-Jerome *Breviarium*

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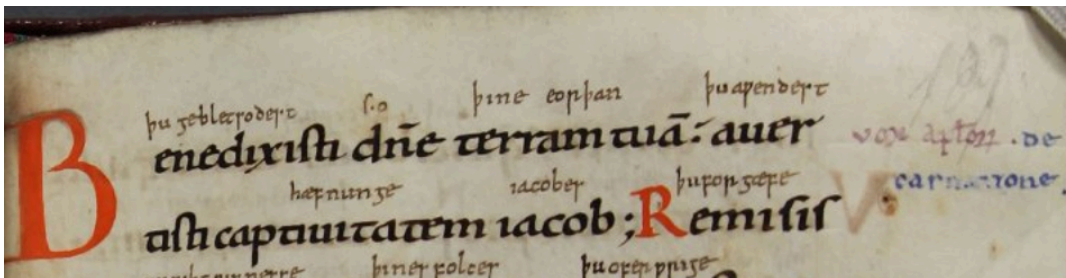
<sup>63</sup> I use Richard Pfaff's terminology for describing Psalm *tituli* in ‘The *Tituli*, Collects, Canticles, and Creeds’, in *The Eadwine Psalter; Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. by M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop and R. Pfaff, Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association, 14 (Cambridge: MHRA, 1992), pp. 88-108. Pfaff's definition of medieval Psalm *tituli*, and his description of those in the twelfth-century Eadwine Psalter, is valuable contextual reading.

<sup>64</sup> ‘Psalmus David cum fuoeret a facie Absalon filii sui. Vox Christi ad patrem de iudeis’. ff. 10v-11r.

<sup>65</sup> The psalms in Lambeth 427 with more than one contemporary Christian *titulus* are Psalms 4, 12, 13, 20, 23, 26, 39, 40, 41, 44, 49, 50, 54, 58, 63, 67, 73, 84, 90, 91, 123, 125, 126, 128, 134, 136, 140, 142, 144, 145, 149, and 150. Some psalms contain additional *tituli* in a fifteenth-century hand; these are not listed here.

<sup>66</sup> The hands can be distinguished as follows: “wide black” (e.g., Psalm 10), “small black” (e.g. Psalm 12), “black rustic capitals” (e.g., Psalm 104), “green”, “blue”, and “purple”. None of the black hands are identical with that of the Lambeth glossator.

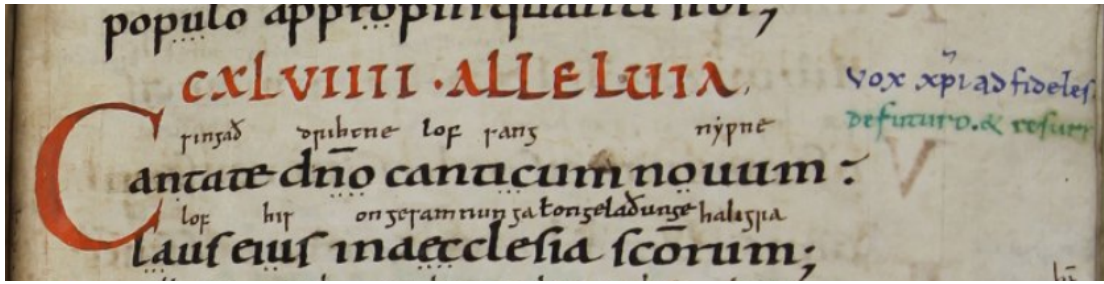
in *Psalterium*, and brown for the *Breviarium*.<sup>67</sup> However, he does not comment on their potential role in devotional engagement with the Psalms, and does not speculate on why the Lambeth compilers chose different *tituli* for different Psalms or why some Psalms contain multiple *tituli* and others none at all. The association of different colours in the manuscript with different types of *titulus* in Lambeth--blue or green for voice *tituli* (those specifying the identity of the Psalm's speaker), black for tropological readings, red for the historical sense--suggests that the intellectual engagement they sought to inspire was linked with the practice of *ruminatio* discussed above. By visually differentiating the Christian *tituli* that relate to the voice of the person praying, the importance of identity to devotional performance is indicated. The Christian *tituli psalmoreum* to Psalms 84 and 148 are illustrative examples of this concern (Figs 2.7 and 2.8). Another significant voice *titulus* is that of Psalm 18 quoted above, whose performance directions incorporate the dramatic connotations of the Latin *persona*.<sup>68</sup>



**Fig 2.7:** The two Christian *tituli* of Psalm 84 are copied in different colours (f. 113r). The purple voice *titulus* reads ‘the voice of the apostles’ (*vox apostolorum*); the tropological blue *titulus* reads ‘about the incarnation’ (*de {in}carnatione*). Photo © Lambeth Palace Library.

<sup>67</sup> See O’Neill, pp. 368-369.

<sup>68</sup> The DMLBS defines *persona* as ‘a personage, character, part, represented by an actor’. *persona*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/persona>>.



**Fig 2.8:** The colour-coded *tituli* to Psalm 148 (f. 181r) again differentiate the *titulus* concerned with identity ('the voice of Christ to the faithful', *vox Christi ad fideles*) from that providing an exposition of the Psalm ('about the future and the resurrection', *de futuro & resurrexionem*). Photo © Lambeth Palace Library.

Boynton additionally observes that some *tituli* 'project tropological or moral readings that treat the Psalms as a guide for personal behaviour'.<sup>69</sup> While she primarily explores the interactions between the Psalms and their *tituli* in terms of a 'hermeneutics of liturgical performance', they will be considered here in relation to private psalmody.<sup>70</sup> Dyer notes that there is no evidence that *tituli* were ever read out as part of the liturgy, and we can therefore assume their provision to be primarily targeted at those wishing to pray individually, as they would predominantly be encountered by an individual reader rather than being read aloud to a group.<sup>71</sup>

Although O'Neil considers the Lambeth *tituli* as academic in nature, discussing them in terms of 'emendation' and 'conformity' with respect to patristic traditions, they are equally applicable to private devotion.<sup>72</sup> Many of Lambeth's Christian *tituli* suggest the use of specific Psalms in ad hoc prayer: for example, the *titulus* to Psalm 38 describes it as a 'confessio' (f. 48r), while that to Psalm 40 reads, 'here, the mercy awaiting the humble is described'.<sup>73</sup> Devotional interactions with Lambeth's *tituli* are further facilitated by the combination of two

<sup>69</sup> Boynton, p. 83.

<sup>70</sup> Boynton, p. 86.

<sup>71</sup> Dyer, p. 73.

<sup>72</sup> See O'Neill, pp. 367-370. Nowhere in his discussion of *tituli psalморum* does he elaborate on possible allegorical readings or devotional function. This strictly academic function is sustained in his analysis of the Paris Psalter, whose connections with devotional performance are likewise unelaborated. See Patrick O'Neill, 'The Old English Introductions to the Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter: Sources, Structure, and Composition', *Studies in Philology* 78.5 (1981), pp. 20-38. A contrasting assessment of the Paris Psalter, which points to its *tituli* as evidence of its compiler's devotional and intellectual engagement with the Psalm texts, is Emily Butler, 'The Role of the Compiler in the Paris Psalter', *English Studies* 98 (2017), pp. 26-34.

<sup>73</sup> 'Hic iubetur inpendi misericordiam pauperibus'. f. 52v.

*tituli* in some Psalters. For example, Lambeth's Christian *tituli* to Psalm 13 read, 'this Psalm signifies the Jewish people who said, "he is not God", and therefore murdered him', and 'the words of Christ', with the latter copied in contrasting green ink (Fig 2.9).<sup>74</sup> In this way, Christ's death and voice are emphasised in Lambeth, bringing these associations to the mind of the performer when this Psalm is prayed.

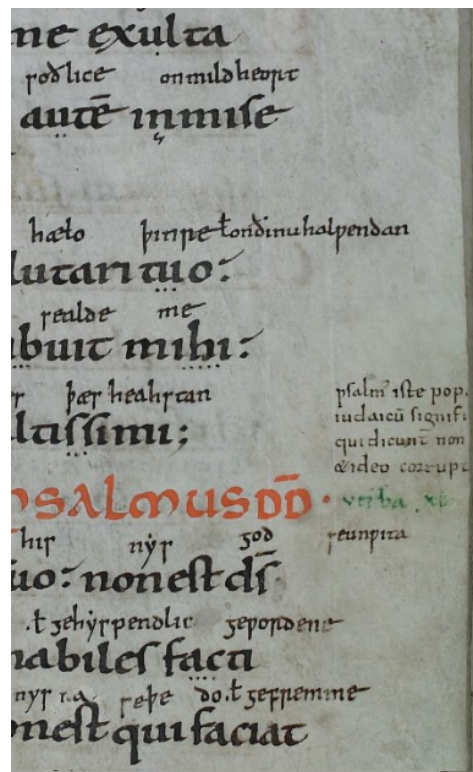


Fig 2.9: f. 17r, showing rubric of Psalm 13 and *tituli*. Photo © Lambeth Palace Library.

With Psalm 13 traditionally interpreted as the cry of the soul that feels itself isolated and deserted, this meaning is reinforced in the speaker's mind as they perform the voice of Christ deserted on the Cross: one should experience the feeling of having been forgotten by God, in order to feel a stronger love of Christ and greater trust in the Lord's mercy.<sup>75</sup> David's fear of

<sup>74</sup> 'Psalmus iste pop{ulum} iudaiucum signifi{cat} qui dicunt non {est Deus} et ideo corrup{erunt}. **verba Christi.**'

<sup>75</sup> For a selection of patristic commentaries on Psalm 13, see Craig Blaising, Carmen Hardin, and Thomas Oden, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Psalms 1-50* (Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2008), pp. 103-107.

being abandoned by God is related by the *titulus* to Christ's abandonment by the Jews; a link could also be made to Christ's fear on the Cross that God had forsaken him (cf. Matthew 27:46, Mark 15:34). The person who chose to pray Psalm 13 might already have had this meaning in mind as he prayed, or, alternatively, the *titulus* could recommend the Psalm to someone seeking to pray because he already felt these negative feelings and was turning to prayer in order to assuage them. It suggests a function to the Psalm that is not immediately apparent in its text.

The concern of the Lambeth compilers with the voice of prayer can also be linked to the persona that the speaker is invited to assume during a particular Psalm. For example, the *titulus* to Psalm 41 reads 'vox paenitentis': '[in] the voice of the penitent'. This association of Psalm 41 with penance reflects patristic tradition. Cassiodorus concluded his exposition of this Psalm as follows: 'every sin is a disease of the soul ... so he [the person praying] longs for his soul to be healed, that is, by remission of sins'.<sup>76</sup> When performed, the voice of the Psalm becomes the voice of its performer, whose prayer is defined as explicitly penitential: 'I said, "O Lord, be gracious to me; heal me, for I have sinned against you"' (Psalm 41:5). This *titulus* could further link Psalm 41 with the penitential texts copied into the Lambeth Psalter; *O summe deus miserorum*, for example, petitions God to heal the speaker's soul and body, which are diseased with sin. Another *titulus* that connects the Lambeth Psalms with Christocentric, penitential prayer is that of Psalm 19, whose opening verse, 'may the Lord hear thee in thy day of tribulation', is contextualised with a *titulus* presenting them as words spoken to Christ on the Cross (f. 26r). By aligning his own suffering with the suffering of Christ, Lambeth's user could derive spiritual comfort and reassurance through performing this prayer. The presentation of the *tituli psalmoreum* in the Lambeth psalter therefore suggests that their provision was not only related to the exegesis of the biblical text. Rather, they exhibit a concern

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<sup>76</sup> Blaising et. al., p. 323.

with voice and identity, facilitating the user's performance of the Psalm text by indicating the context, reason, and speaker associated with a particular Psalm.

### **Another Performative Paratext: *Diapsalma***

In addition to *tituli psalmorum*, Lambeth indicates *diapsalma* with the abbreviation **DP**. A *diapsalm* (literally, 'apart from the Psalm' in Greek) translates the *selah* mark of the Hebrew Psalter, in which it occurs 71 times. While O'Neill defines *diapsalma* as 'an obscure word marking stanzaic divisions', the use of the term to indicate literary structure is not necessarily straightforward: for example, in Lambeth, the longest Psalms, 76 and 119, contain no *diapsalma*, and some of the Psalms, such as 2 and 86, contain one after only the second verse.<sup>77</sup> The only analysis of Lambeth's *diapsalma*, which Lindelöf does not print, is given by O'Neill, who sees in their provision 'further evidence of scholarly interest in Jerome's original text'.<sup>78</sup> Interpreting the function of the Lambeth *diapsalma* as 'scholarly', however, is complicated by the fact that they do not always mirror the *selah* of the Hebrew Psalms. Sometimes, they even occur in Psalms that have no *selah* at all, such as Psalm 2. Their function appears more closely connected with the performance of the Psalms rather than with the visual articulation of literary structure, reflecting the conventional understanding of *selah* as a liturgo-musical mark or as an invitation to ruminate on a particular verse. This interpretation of *selah* is reflected in the Amplified Bible, which translates it as, 'pause, and calmly think on that!'

The *diapsalma* mark in Lambeth is either rubricated or written in slightly enlarged letters. It always occurs at the end of lines or in the margin if the space at the end of a line is insufficient. It is usually in the hand of the main scribe; the exceptions (on ff. 73r, 80v, 92v, and 109r) are in the hand of the glossator. Two of these (at ff. 80v and 92v) replace an original

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<sup>77</sup> O'Neill, p. 361.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*

mark partly obscured by the binding of the manuscript, indicating their integrity to the original text. The marker is always slightly spaced away from the preceding text in order to make it more visible to the reader (Fig 2.10).

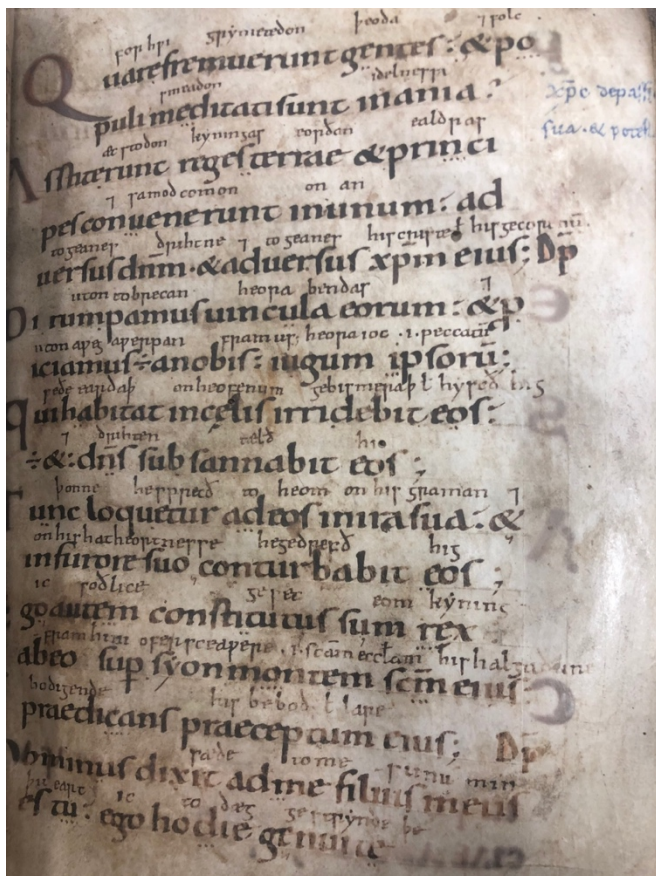


Fig 2.10 f. 6r. The *diapsalma* mark occurs twice here, touched with red ink.

In Lambeth, this marker occurs in the following places:

Folio	Verse	Context	Is this a Hebrew <i>selah</i> ?
6r	2:2	The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes met together, against the Lord and against his Christ.	No
“	2:6	But I am appointed king by him over Sion his holy mountain, preaching his commandment.	No
7r	3:4	But thou, O Lord art my protector, my glory, and the lifter up of my head.	Yes
7v	4:4	Know ye also that the Lord hath made his holy one wonderful: the Lord will hear me when I shall cry unto him.	Yes

8v	4:5	Be angry, and sin not: the things you say in your hearts, be sorry for them upon your beds.	No
26r	19:3	May he send thee help from the sanctuary: and defend thee out of Sion.	Yes
26v	20:3	In thy strength, O Lord, the king shall joy; and in thy salvation he shall rejoice exceedingly.	Yes
31r	23:5	He shall receive a blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour.	Yes
38v	31:5	I have acknowledged my sin to thee, and my injustice I have not concealed. I said I will confess against myself my injustice to the Lord: and thou hast forgiven the wickedness of my sin.	Yes
39r	31:7	Thou art my refuge from the trouble which hath encompassed me: my joy, deliver me from them that surround me.	Yes
41v	33:7	This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him: and saved him out of all his troubles.	No
50v	39:9	That I should do thy will: O my God, I have desired it, and thy law in the midst of my heart.	No
56r	43:10	But now thou hast cast us off, and put us to shame: and thou, O God, wilt not go out with our armies.	No
61v	48:13	And man when he was in honour did not understand; he is compared to senseless beasts, and is become like to them.	Yes
“	48:16	But God will redeem my soul from the hand of hell, when he shall receive me.	Yes
62v	49:8	I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices: and thy burnt offerings are always in my sight.	No
63r	49:16	But to the sinner God hath said: Why dost thou declare my justices, and take my covenant in thy mouth?	No
66v	51:6	Thou hast loved all the words of ruin, O deceitful tongue.	Yes
67v	53:4	O God, hear my prayer: give ear to the words of my mouth.	Yes
68v	54:8	Lo, I have gone far off flying away; and I abode in the wilderness.	Yes
69r	54:23	Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee: he shall not suffer the just to waver for ever.	No
70v	56:4	He hath sent from heaven and delivered me: he hath made them a reproach that trod upon me. God hath sent his mercy and his truth.	Yes
71r	56:10	I will give praise to thee, O Lord, among the people: I will sing a Psalm to thee among the nations.	No

72r	58:5	Neither is it my iniquity, nor my sin, O Lord: without iniquity have I run, and directed my steps.	Yes
73v	58:14	When they are consumed: when they are consumed by thy wrath, and they shall be no more. And they shall know that God will rule Jacob, and all the ends of the earth.	Yes
73r	59:3	O God, thou hast cast us off, and hast destroyed us; thou hast been angry, and hast had mercy on us.	Yes
74v	60:3	To thee have I cried from the ends of the earth: when my heart was in anguish, thou hast exalted me on a rock. Thou hast conducted me;	Yes
75v	61:8	In God is my salvation and my glory: he is the God of my help, and my hope is in God.	Yes
79v	65:14	[I will pay thee my vows] Which my lips have uttered, And my mouth hath spoken, when I was in trouble	Yes
80r	66:2	May God have mercy on us, and bless us: may he cause the light of his countenance to shine upon us, and may he have mercy on us.	No
“	66:4	Let people confess to thee, O God: let all people give praise to thee.	Yes
80v	67:3	As smoke vanisheth, so let them vanish away: as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God.	No
81r	67:9	The earth was moved, and the heavens dropped at the presence of the God of Sina, at the presence of the God of Israel.	No
“	67:14	If you sleep among the midst of lots, you shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and the hinder parts of her back with the paleness of gold.	No
81v	67:17	Why suspect, ye curdled mountains? A mountain in which God is well pleased to dwell: for there the Lord shall dwell unto the end.	No
82r	67:27	In the churches bless ye God the Lord, from the fountains of Israel	No
92v	74:3	When I shall take a time, I will judge justices.	Yes
93r	75:3	And his place is in peace: and his abode in Sion:	Yes
“	75:8	Thou art terrible, and who shall resist thee? from that time thy wrath.	Yes
94v	76:3	In the day of my trouble I sought God, with my hands lifted up to him in the night, and I was not deceived. My soul refused to be comforted: [I remembered God, and was delighted, and was exercised, and my spirit swooned away.]	Yes
94r	76:10	Or will God forget to shew mercy? or will he in his anger shut up his mercies?	Yes

95v	76:15	Thou art the God that dost wonders. Thou hast made thy power known among the nations: [With thy arm thou hast redeemed thy people the children of Jacob and of Joseph.]	Yes
102r	81:3	Judge for the needy and fatherless: do justice to the humble and the poor.	No
103r	82:4	They have said: Come and let us destroy them, so that they be not a nation: and let the name of Israel be remembered no more.	No
106r	83:5	Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord: they shall praise thee for ever and ever.	Yes
107v	84:3	Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of thy people: thou hast covered all their sins.	No
109v	86:2	The Lord loveth the gates of Sion above all the tabernacles of Jacob.	No
“	86:7	The dwelling in thee is as it were of all rejoicing.	Yes
110r	87:8	Thy wrath is strong over me: and all thy waves thou hast brought in upon me.	Yes
“	87:12	Shall any one in the sepulchre declare thy mercy: and thy truth in destruction?	No
111r	88:6	The heavens shall confess thy wonders, O Lord: and thy truth in the church of the saints.	No
113r	88:35	Neither will I profane my covenant: and the words that proceed from my mouth I will not make void.	No
113v	88:43	Thou hast set up the right hand of them that oppress him: thou hast made all his enemies to rejoice.	No
“	88:47	How long, O Lord, turnest thou away unto the end? shall thy anger burn like fire?	Yes
118v	93:16	Who shall rise up for me against the evildoers? or who shall stand with me against the workers of iniquity?	No
173v	138:3	Thou hast understood my thoughts afar off: my path and my line thou hast searched out.	No
“	138:7	Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy face?	No
“	138:10	[If I take my wings early in the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea:] Even there also shall thy hand lead me: and thy right hand shall hold me.	No
174v	142:5	I remembered the days of old, I meditated on all thy works: I meditated upon the works of thy hands.	Yes

Many of Lambeth's *disapsalma* occur at points inviting meditation on the text, either using rhetorical questions or explicitly referencing memory or contemplation. If these marks were

included to reflect interest in the textual criticism of the Gallican Psalter, one would expect the *selah* markers to occur only in their expected positions, which they do not. Instead, *diapsalma* highlight passages in the text deemed especially useful for stimulating devotion. This function of *diapsalma* is alluded to in patristic commentaries on the Psalter. For example, Gregory of Nyssa claimed that:

[The] *diapsalma* is a pause that occurs suddenly in the midst of the singing of a Psalm in order to receive an additional thought that is being introduced from God. Alternatively ... [it is] a teaching from the Spirit that occurs in a mysterious manner in the soul, when the attention given to this new thought impedes the continuity of the song.<sup>79</sup>

This tradition of linking *selah* to meditative pauses facilitates a ruminative and individual engagement with the Psalms. The rubrication and placement of Lambeth's *diapsalma* markers indicates that its user was expected to note and interpret them appropriately. They often occur in verses that articulate the speaker's secure faith in God, meditate on God's judgement and wrath, or consider the speaker's fear of not being saved on account of his unworthiness. These concerns are mirrored in the three non-liturgical prayers incorporated into the Lambeth Psalter and suggest a possible function and significance for praying the Psalms in this particular context. In addition to their use as pause markers for contemplation, they might also have indicated points at which it was considered beneficial to incorporate another prayer text into the performance of a particular Psalm—such as, for example, the non-liturgical prayers included in Lambeth. This practice has a basis in monastic tradition: Dyer cites a passage from Cassian's *Institutes* describing the practice of breaking up longer Psalms with other prayers in order to maintain engagement with the text rather than reciting it automatically by rote.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Blasing et al., p. 20. A contrasting interpretation was advocated by Diodore of Tarsus, who claimed *dispsalma* to be purely practical, rather than interpretative, markers, 'mean[ing] a change of tune and alteration of rhythm' (ibid). If this approach is taken, it could inform us about how the users of Lambeth were expected to perform the Psalms as they prayed.

<sup>80</sup> cf. Dyer, n. 12.

### From Prayer to Confession: Three Penitential Prayers

In addition to the Psalms and Canticles, Lambeth contains three non-liturgical prayers: *O summe deus miserorum*, *Confessio pro peccatis ad deum*, and *Eala, drihten leof*. The inclusion of these texts foregrounds this psalter as a devotional as much as a didactic, book, complementing the performance of non-liturgical psalmody. As the rubrics of the prayers imply, they are penitential in nature, concerned with recounting the speaker's sins and articulating the shame and compunction inspired by doing so. These prayers complement the contextualisation of psalmody as penance in Lambeth's prefaces, a topical concern of mid-eleventh-century devotion. In this way, Lambeth, which O'Neill describes as 'innovative' on account of the continental sources of its glosses and canticles, can also be said to be a modern psalter on account of its concern with eliciting inward reflection.<sup>81</sup>

*O summe deus miserorum* expresses compunction for a life lived in sin and petitions for divine mercy at the hour of death. It opens by addressing God as 'the comfort of all the miserable' on behalf of those 'strangled by the dreadful noose of sin'.<sup>82</sup> The speaker then admits that he has neglected to confess all the sins committed since his youth; now, he is an old man whose body rapidly decays as death approaches. He begs for salvation so that his enemies might not triumph at his passing, and that God might 'be [his] holy defender at the hour of death'.<sup>83</sup> The prayer ends with the hope that the wicked shall be cast into the eternal flames of hell and the righteous spared this torment. While it is thematically similar to the prayer *Domine exaudi orationem* in Galba, *O summe deus miserorum* does not appear in any other medieval prayer-book of which I am aware.<sup>84</sup> Although O'Neill and James imply that it

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<sup>81</sup> O'Neill, p. 150.

<sup>82</sup> 'O summe deus, miserorum consolator omnium, audi lacrimosas uoces infelicis famuli, quem constringunt perhorrendi laquei peccatorum'. Förster, p. 328.

<sup>83</sup> 'sed esto mihi pius defensor in articulo mortis'. Förster, p. 329.

<sup>84</sup> It is not, for example, in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi: A Register*, ed. by Max Lütolf (Bern: Francke, 1978).

is a later, unplanned addition to the manuscript, the manuscript itself does not support this assumption. The text occupies exactly one and a half folios, without beginning or ending a new quire or altering the ruling of the folios on which it appears; its *mise-en-page*, together with its rubric in the insular capitals of the original rubricator, suggest its planned inclusion. While the hand that copies the prayer is not the same hand that copies the Psalms, it is remarkably similar: an attempt has clearly been made to preserve the visual unity of the manuscript, enhancing the integrity of the texts in their manuscript context.

The prayer's language and imagery are carefully crafted to reinforce its links with the Psalms and maintain the performer's affective engagement. Alliteration and homoteleuton are frequently used in order to enhance its somatic qualities, involving the senses as well as the mind. For example, in the opening phrase, the alliterative collocation of 'infelicis famuli' and the echoed sound of 'miserorum ... omnium ... peccatorum' aurally reinforce the conceptual links established in the narrative. The imagery of judicial punishment also complements the Psalms that it is copied alongside. The image of God consigning the wicked to hell echoes the end of Psalm 108, 'it is he who will tread down our foes', while the invocations of judgement recall Psalm 109:

They say, 'Appoint a wicked man against him; let an accuser stand on his right. When he is tried, let him be found guilty; let his prayer be counted as sin.' (Psalm 109:6-7)

Although the premise and content of *O summe deus* are similar to *Domine exaudi orationem*, subtitled by Muir 'A Prayer for Reconciliation as Death Approaches', it exhibits developments in the treatment of sin and confession that are not present in the earlier text.<sup>85</sup> Both texts are

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<sup>85</sup> While Galba is contemporary with Lambeth, *Domine exaudi orationem* dates to the ninth century (cf. Muir, p. xxxi).

voiced by a speaker anxious for their fate in the afterlife, aware that he is wounded by unconfessed sins as his death approaches:

*Galba*: Lord, hear my prayer, for I know now that my time is near ... I therefore humbly beseech you, Lord, that you illuminate my heart, in which my sins are truly innumerable.<sup>86</sup>

*Lambeth*: I listened to vices ... readily sinned in the days of my youth, letting go of your law. Now, old age drags me, overcome, to the end.<sup>87</sup>

Reflecting on the innumerable sins committed throughout one's life in order to inspire a sense of fear and provoke a more ardent desire for divine mercy anticipates the emphasis placed on self-scrutiny and interior reflection in the devotional literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Hugh of Saint-Victor, for example, instructed audiences of *De Modo Orandi* that 'it is essential that we exercise our souls in meditation if we want to wisely and effectively pray to God, [because] in the contemplation of our misfortunes, we discern what it is necessary for us to ask for'.<sup>88</sup> The best way to reflect on such misfortunes, he continues, is 'if someone were to contemplate all of the sins that he has committed from an early age, which he will continue to bear, and brings to his mind's eye times gone by and the days of his life'.<sup>89</sup> Such an exercise could not fail to inspire a person to turn to God, as a soul 'terrified by the magnitude of its own sins'.<sup>90</sup> This conclusion is reflected in the Lambeth prayer's culmination in the speaker's prayer that God 'absolve me of my millions of sins' as he reflects on his life

<sup>86</sup> 'Domine exaudi orationem quia iam cognosco quod tempus meum prope est ... te ergo deprecor, domine, humiliter ut inlumes cor meum quia peccata mea innumerabilia sunt ualde'. Muir, p. 42

<sup>87</sup> 'Obediui uitiiis ... facilis ad peccandum in puerile etate, pretermittens tua iussa. Iam pertrahit me deuictum senectus ad occasum ...'. Förster, pp. 328-329.

<sup>88</sup> 'Primum igitur necesse est, ut si prudenter et utiliter Dominum orare volumus, jugi meditatione animum nostrum exerceamus, et in consideratione miseriae nostrae discamus, quid nobis necesse est petere'. Hugh of Saint-Victor, *L'oeuvre de Hugues de Saint-Victor. I. De institutione novitiorum. De virtute orandi. De laude caritatis. De arrha animae*, ed. by H. B. Feiss and P. Sicard, trans. by D. Poirel, H. Rochais and P. Sicard (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), p. 128..

<sup>89</sup> 'Si cogitare quisque voluerit quae ab ineunte aetate mala fecerit, quae sustinuerit, et constituat ante oculos suos praeterita tempora et dies vitae suae'. *De Modo Orandi*, p. 130.

<sup>90</sup> 'Territus enim magnitudine malorum suorum animus, et diffidens de propriis viribus, ad Deum se convertit.' *De Modo Orandi*, p. 132.

from birth until the hour of death, emphasised by the alliteration and assonance of ‘mihi milies mille crimina’. His innumerable sins are highlighted in the gloss using a similar repetitive effect, which mirrors the original metre and alliteration by interweaving ‘s’ and ‘þ’: ‘forzif nu me þusend siðan þusend synna’.<sup>91</sup> Unlike the Galba prayer, which expresses more contrition than fear, *O summe deus* imaginatively and vividly dramatizes the approach of death in order to cultivate affective engagement and response. The heart is allegorised as the ‘innermost sanctuary’ (‘aditum’) of the house of the body, violated by ‘the oldest demons of hell, seeking to steal souls like cunning thieves’.<sup>92</sup> The sense of fear is further cultivated by the shift from speaking about an individual penitent to the impending fate of all humanity (‘pertrahit *me*’ to ‘*nostrae* domus ... [et] animas’), as the speaker is guided to imagine a universal fate that he, too, cannot escape. The English gloss begins at this point in the text, and maintains the rhetorical emphasis on the soul-stealing demons, mirroring the superlative ‘antiquissimus’ as ‘wyrsta’ and framing the actions of the thieves in sinister, sibilant metrical prose: ‘se wystra feond helwara, secende forstulen sawla swaswa se litize ðeof’.<sup>93</sup> The use of this prayer in order to inspire emotional and heartfelt compunction is sustained in the gloss, which, rather than providing an exact translation of the Latin text, mirrors its general sense while incorporating equally effective literary devices into an English alternative. Again, the glossing of this prayer could suggest that Lambeth was used as a bilingual prayer-book by the community to which it originally belonged.

*O summe deus* then expresses the speaker’s contrition using the language of interiority that characterises the self-scrutiny required for contrite confession. The prominence of ‘newly-discovered tropics of self-knowledge (specifically, self-knowledge in the form of knowing how one has sinned)’ that Maya Raskolnikov observes in late twelfth and early thirteenth century

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<sup>91</sup> Förster, p. 329.

<sup>92</sup> ‘quem attendit antiquissimus hostis inferorum, querens furare animas uelut callidus latro’. Förster, p. 329.

<sup>93</sup> *ibid.*

devotional literature is anticipated in this eleventh-century prayer.<sup>94</sup> The use of *recognosco* over the *cognosco* used throughout *Domine exaudi orationem* implies that the Lambeth speaker has recognised through reflection his own sinfulness: ‘O Lord, I *recognise* (‘*recognosco*’) myself to have sinned to you alone’. The DMLBS characterises *recognoscere* by its sense of recollection and returning: ‘to know again’, ‘to recollect’, ‘to recall to mind’.<sup>95</sup> This definition conveys an active mental effort that reflects the process of recalling the sins that one has committed. This sense of self-recognition is articulated, albeit less precisely, in the opening line of the English prayer *Eala drihten leof* on f. 183v, ‘ic wat mine sawle. synnum forwundod’, with the alliterative collocation of ‘sawle’ and ‘synnum’ somatically reinforcing the links between the two concepts. *O summe deus miserorum* likewise petitions for the healing of sins in the hidden depths of the spirit and the body:

Break the chains of my thousands of sins that bind me; cleanse the thousands of wounds that fester within me; and now absolve me of my millions of sins.<sup>96</sup>

The syntax structures the petition into a tricolon that shares a consistent rhythm, each clause divided by *punctus* into two corresponding halves. The dramatic effects achieved by the speaker’s admission of his own sinfulness is emphasised by the wordplay of ‘mille ... mille ... milies mille’ (‘a thousand ... a thousand ... a thousand thousand’), which articulates the multiplication of sins within his soul. Both the flesh and spirit are also invoked in the images of chains binding his body and wounds of sin harming his soul, allowing the third petition to pray for absolution of the outer and the inner man through their combination into ‘milies mille’.

The earlier prayer in Galba does not suggest the same process of self-reflection: absent any

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<sup>94</sup> Maya Raskolnikov, ‘Confessional Literature, Vernacular Psychology, and the History of the Self in Middle English’, *Literature Compass* 2 (2005), pp. 1-25 (p. 7).

<sup>95</sup> *recognosco*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/recognosco>>.

<sup>96</sup> ‘Rumpe uincola pro meis milibus peccatis, que stringent me. Sana milia uulnera, que fetent intus me. & ignosce nunc mihi milies mille crimina’. Förster, p. 329.

suggestion of interior wounds of sin, the speaker in this prayer states, ‘I have sinned, Lord, I have sinned too much in my life; I learn of all my wrongdoings’, and the text then expresses the hope that the speaker might act virtuously not in thought or intent, but in good works (‘in bonis operibus’).<sup>97</sup> The *cognosco* used in this text implies learning about something for the first time, before any reflective process can take place: ‘to become acquainted with’, ‘to acquire knowledge of’, ‘to learn’.<sup>98</sup> The references to the Passion in the Lambeth prayer, which foreshadow the Christocentricity of the developing affective piety of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are also absent. In *O summe deus miserorum*, the speaker petitions God as ‘Lord, who rules over the men that you created and redeemed with your own blood’, whereas *Domine exaudi orationem* petitions using examples from biblical literature; for example, the speaker prays to have his prayers heard just as Tobias and Sarah had their prayers heard.<sup>99</sup>

The second non-liturgical prayer in Lambeth appears immediately before the third, in between the Psalms and canticles. Rubricated *Confessio pro peccatis ad deum*, it is a penitential text of a form popular during the early Middle Ages, the *Confiteor*; another contemporary example of the genre, Galba’s *Confession Between Priests*, was discussed in Chapter 1. This prayer opens with a petition to God for mercy, admitting that the speaker has sinned in the sight of Him and the angels, recalling the beginning of the Galba prayer. It then continues with an anaphoric list of sins in doublets covering every type of vice a person might possibly commit, from masturbation to murder. It ends with a petition to God for absolution of these sins. The text is, with the exception of the opening and closing phrases, glossed in English in the hand of the original glossator.

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<sup>97</sup> ‘peccauī, domine, peccauī nimis in uita mea; omnes iniquitates meas ego cognosco’. Muir, p. 43.

<sup>98</sup> *cognosco*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/cognosco>>.

<sup>99</sup> cf. Muir, p. 42.

This prayer has many stylistic and generic parallels with contemporary confessional texts, two of which will be discussed below.<sup>100</sup> Michael Cornett has identified texts of this style as precursors to a later medieval genre that he labels 'the form of confession', which 'presents a full range of possibilities of sin for anyone, [and] has this comprehensive purpose ... [to] function as a mirror for self-examination'.<sup>101</sup> He lists 24 pre-twelfth century Latin and English examples of the genre in 37 manuscripts, demonstrating the popularity and availability of such texts.<sup>102</sup> Integral to their form is a first-person speaker, a penitential "I" that the performer is invited to identify with, which 'literalises the mirror function of the genre' by enacting self-examination.<sup>103</sup> Crucial to their successful functioning is the inspiration of affective response: the performer cultivates feelings of shame and compunction through admitting themselves culpable of any number of the listed sins, emotions which in turn inspire the heartfelt articulation of the concluding petition for absolution. While Cornett believes that these prayers were performed in connection with sacramental confession, either 'used in preparation for the private sacrament of penance or [as] the liturgical *Confiteor*', they also lend themselves to individual spiritual practice.<sup>104</sup> We have already seen this function of psalmody as personal penance recommended to users of the Lambeth Psalter in the prefaces and *tituli psalmodum* discussed above; its inclusion of penitential texts such as this *Confessio* further suggests its devotional use.

The *Confessio* is a prayer in a profoundly psalmic mode, complementing its manuscript context. It intends to inspire the simultaneous experience of intense and conflicting emotions: shame of oneself and desire for God. By confronting himself as a man who 'has sinned in [the above] ways, and in many other innumerable ways, the number of which I can neither

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<sup>100</sup> To discuss every analogue of such popular and widely circulated texts would occupy too much space a thesis not dedicated to the subject.

<sup>101</sup> Cornett, p. 5.

<sup>102</sup> cf. Cornett, Appendix A.

<sup>103</sup> Cornett, p. 64.

<sup>104</sup> Cornett, p. 233.

apprehend nor recall nor even recount’, the *Confessio*’s performer undergoes the transformative experience of penance, cultivating a more fervent desire for God through feeling compunction.<sup>105</sup> This quality of the text again anticipates *De Modo Orandi*, in which prayer is likened to a bird taking flight:

These two wings, that is, the misery of men and the mercy of the Redeemer, lift up prayer, which, as the mind alternates between contemplating each one, excites itself to unceasing devotion, whose spiritual desires rise up on an impulse, lifted in flight.<sup>106</sup>

The *Confessio*’s utility is enhanced by its literary qualities, which aid the speaker in reflecting on its litany of sins in order to consider whether he has committed them. The sins listed are grouped in doublets, in the form ‘per ... & ...’, separated by *punctus*; the punctuation provides consistent opportunities for the speaker to pause and ruminate on the sins he has just read. The sins are for the most part paired in terms of their likeness to each other, as in ‘greed and gluttony’ (‘cupiditatem & gulam’), ‘fornication and adultery’ (‘fornicationem & adulterium’) and ‘false testimony and lying’ (‘falsum testimonium & mendacium’). This technique facilitates a fuller confession by inviting the user to meditate on the differences between sins that might be initially considered interchangeable: for example, *gula* refers specifically to the overconsumption of food and drink, whereas *cupiditas* relates to the concept of possession, connoting lust, avarice, cupidity, and self-aggrandisement.<sup>107</sup> The Latin text strives to incorporate as many literary techniques as possible in order to enhance the aural resonance of the text, such as assonance (‘per obliuionem & ignorantiam’), alliteration (‘per luxuriam & libidinem’), rhyme (‘per uanam letitiam & tristitiam seculi’), and sibilance (‘per

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<sup>105</sup> ‘in istis & in multis atque inumeris aliis causis peccauī, quarum ego numerum retinere nec recogitare nec etiam remunerare ualeo’. Forster, p. 331.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Istis duabus alis, miseria scilicet hominis et misericordia Conditoris, oratio subleuatur, quia dum mens alterna horum consideratione se ad deuotionem incessanter excitat, quodam spiritualis desiderii impetu sursum leuata uolat’. *De Modo Orandi*, p. 128.

<sup>107</sup> Compare the DMLBS entries for *gula* and *cupiditas*: DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/gula>> and <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/cupiditas>>.

suspicionem & sursurrectionem’, an especially evocative use of the technique given its application to ‘suspicion and whispering’). This effort is mirrored in the English gloss, which contains more alliterative doublets than the Latin text, as in, ‘þurh slæwþe 7 þurh slapelnesse’ for ‘per accidiam & somnolentiam’. The glossator’s attempt to preserve the literary techniques of the original indicates their contribution to the prayer’s successful functioning.

Comparing the Lambeth *Confessio* to two contemporary analogues that might also be considered forms of confession reveals it to be forward-looking in its approach to penance, anticipating twelfth-century developments in the function and spirituality of confession. The first is prayer G31 in Galba, which begins ‘Domine deus meus omnipotens ego humiliter te adoro’.<sup>108</sup> It opens by addressing God using epithets that evoke the concern of divine judgment: ‘You are the king of kings and lord of lords, you are the witness of all ages ...’<sup>109</sup>. After contemplating this theme, the speaker then turns to Christ to beg for forgiveness, declaring, ‘I now want to confess to you all of my sins’.<sup>110</sup> He then enters into a form of confession strikingly similar to Lambeth’s *Confessio*, opening with the *Confiteor* followed by a list of sins grouped in doublets. The speaker then petitions Christ, as the greatest of priests (‘sacerdotem summum’), to grant him remission of his sins, and to lead him into doing only God’s will and those deeds which he ought to do. The text ends with a petition for protection from the devil and for God’s defence against temptation and evil deeds.

While Lambeth and Galba forms of confession might seem superficially identical, a closer examination of the structure and language of the latter reveals significant differences in its approach to articulating sin. The opening addresses of the text, first to God, and then to Christ, facilitate compunction through juxtaposition: Christ, ‘alone without sin’ (‘unus sine peccato’),

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<sup>108</sup> Muir, pp. 83-86. This text is an earlier prayer attested in three eighth- to ninth-century English prayer-books, which are listed in Muir, p. 83, n. 1. It is surprising that O’Neill does not consider the similarities between the Galba and Lambeth confessions, as it might have strengthened his claim for a Winchester origin for the Lambeth manuscript.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Tu es rex regum et dominus dominantium, tu es arbiter omnis saeculi ...’

<sup>110</sup> ‘Tibi nunc uolo confitere omnia peccata mea’.

is contrasted with the sinful speaker, who can only hope to be saved ‘not on account of my worthiness, but through your great mercy’.<sup>111</sup> By contrast, the Lambeth text is almost entirely self-focused: the opening and closing phrase aside, the prayer is concerned solely with the sins the speaker may have committed. It also does not reference the presence of a priest, constructing a listening audience that is entirely spiritual: ‘I confess to you, God, ... I have sinned excessively before you and before your holy angels and in front of all your saints’.<sup>112</sup> The significance of this omission is reinforced when the fact that only five of the thirty-seven pre-twelfth century forms of confession do not clearly presume a sacramental context is taken into account.

The different experiences elicited by the performance of these confessions are further articulated by the literary structure of each text. Although the two prayers are punctuated similarly, with *punctus* providing reflective pauses between each doublet, the Galba text repeats the verb ‘peccauī’ at the beginning of each doublet, reinforcing the emphasis on the act of having sinned; conversely, the Lambeth text eschews repeating the verb in favour of building up an anaphoric list that reinforces the speaker’s claim that he cannot remember, let alone count, all the sins he could possibly have committed. While the Galba prayer shares some doublets with the Lambeth prayer (such as ‘peccauī per furtum et per rapinam’), the majority of its pairs are linked more to parts of the body rather than to sinful intentions—for example, ‘I have sinned with my hands and with my feet; I have sinned with my bones and with my flesh’.<sup>113</sup> This difference in the siting of sin could reflect the different cultural traditions from which each prayer originated. Cornett notes that sinning with the parts of the body was a common trope in early medieval confessional texts deriving from the Celtic *lorica*, and lists several examples of forms of confession of this type, which mostly date to the eighth and ninth

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<sup>111</sup> ‘Mihi non reddas secundum merita mea, sed secundum magnam misericordiam tuam’.

<sup>112</sup> ‘confiteor tibi, domine ... peccauī nimis coram te & coram angelis tuis sanctis & coram facie omnium sanctorum tuorum’. Förster, pp. 329-330 and Muir, p. 84.

<sup>113</sup> ‘peccauī in manibus et in pedibus; peccauī in ossibus et in carne’.

centuries like the Galba text.<sup>114</sup> Muir likewise sees this prayer as ‘characterised by [an] effusive Celtic piety’.<sup>115</sup> This devotional tradition differs significantly from the Continental character of the Lambeth Psalter identified by O’Neill.<sup>116</sup> Rather than linking to an older Celtic form of devotion, the Lambeth manuscript, O’Neill argues, ‘is innovative in having both the full series of “new” canticles and the most recent continental readings’.<sup>117</sup> The focus on interior sins in the Lambeth text—such as cupidity, bitterness, and ignorance—as opposed to the exterior means with which the sin was committed highlights the shift towards private penance and self-scrutiny that was beginning to take place in the mid-eleventh century.

The second text to which the Lambeth *Confessio* will be compared is contained in Arundel 155 (ff. 177r-180v), another *libellus precum* analysed in Chapter 1.<sup>118</sup> This ‘inquisitio’ consists of two prayers that would have been read sequentially: *Domine, iesu Christi, qui in hunc mundum*, and the Lambeth *Confessio*.<sup>119</sup> As with the rubrics in other contemporary *libelli precum* previously discussed, its rubric clearly outlines the context and function associated with performing this particular devotion, indicating that an awareness of these aspects was integral to its successful realisation. The rubric reads, ‘On whichever day someone performs this prayer, the devil will not harm him, nor will any other man be able to hold him back’.<sup>120</sup> The text is, therefore, intended to function as a means of requesting spiritual protection and avoiding temptation. Arundel’s *mise-en-page* reinforces the importance of the rubric by copying it in alternating green and red ink in order to visually distinguish it from the rest of the

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<sup>114</sup> Cornett, p. 190, n. 35. See also Cornett, Appendix A, nos. A1.1–A1.8, A7, A9, A13.2, A20.1, A20.2, A23.

<sup>115</sup> Muir, p. 83, n. 1.

<sup>116</sup> See O’Neill, p. 360.

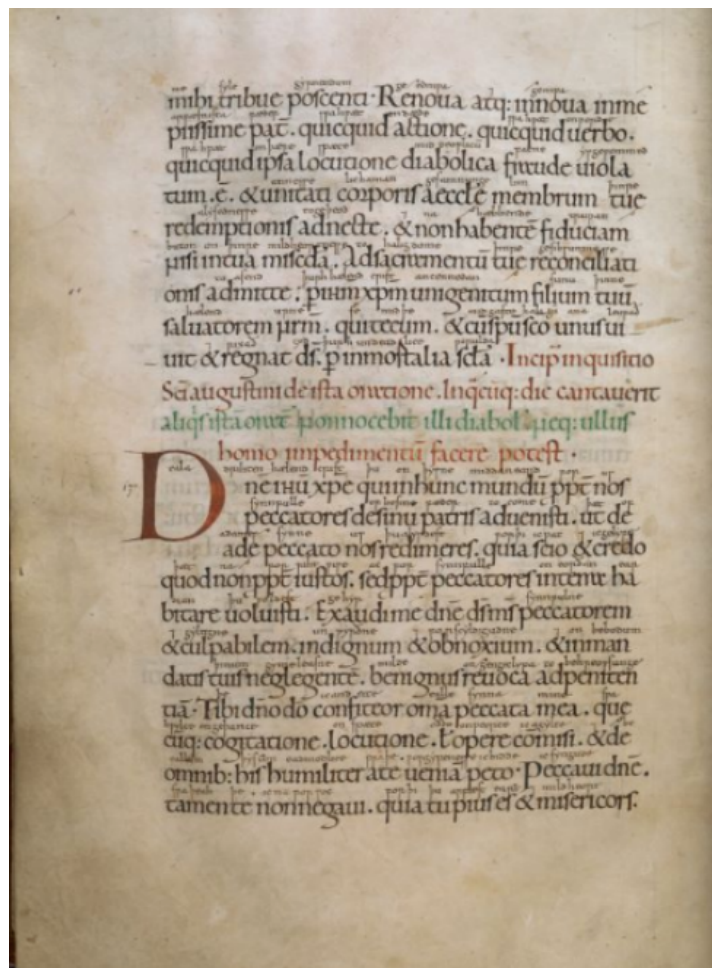
<sup>117</sup> O’Neill, p. 362.

<sup>118</sup> The non-liturgical prayers in Arundel are printed by J. J. Campbell, ‘Prayers from MS. Arundel 155’, *Anglia* 81 (1963), pp. 82–117.

<sup>119</sup> The intended sequential reading of these prayers is conveyed by the fact that they both fall under the ‘inquisitio’ rubric; in Arundel, prayers that are presented as alternatives to each other rather than intended to follow one another are rubricated ‘alia’ (‘another one’), which does not occur here. This practice is also exemplified in Ælfwine’s Prayerbook, in which plural-voiced prayers suggestive of public performance are occasionally accompanied by first-person alternatives similarly rubricated ‘alia’, implying use in solitary devotion.

<sup>120</sup> ‘In quacunq[ue] die cantaverit aliquis istam orationem, non nocebit illi diabolus, neque ullus homo impedimentum facere potest’.

page (Fig 2.11). It is therefore essential to read these prayers with the rubrics that preface them, although, as previously discussed, rubrics are frequently omitted from critical editions of such texts.



**Fig 2.11** Arundel 155, f. 177v: the rubric opening the prayer that includes the *Confessio*. Photo © The British Library.

This prayer begins by addressing Christ as the saviour of mankind, petitioning for the absolution of all the speaker's sins, who abases himself as 'sinful and blameworthy, undeserving and negligent and guilty'.<sup>121</sup> The text also suggests how and where it might have been performed: as a humble petition for mercy by the door of the church, prostrate before

<sup>121</sup> 'peccatorem et culpabilem, indignum et negligentem atque obnoxium'.

images of the saints—a context similar to Galba’s *Confiteor*.<sup>122</sup> Its opening phrases and rubric are virtually identical to Galba’s version of the text (G25), suggesting that prayers of this kind circulated widely in eleventh-century England and that they and others like them would be familiar to users of these manuscripts.<sup>123</sup> However, the Arundel and Galba texts of the prayer differ in their self-definition. The Arundel text is rubricated ‘inquisitio’, framing the prayer as performing a ‘search’ for something, recalling the role of confessional texts in “searching” the inner self. This self-scrutinising reading practice is not reflected in the other text, whose role as a precursor to confession is revealed only by the rubric appearing after its conclusion, *incipit confessio*.<sup>124</sup> While we do not know which, if any, of Galba’s surviving penitential texts followed this prayer, Arundel immediately follows it with a version of Lambeth’s *Confessio*. The grouping of the prayer and the confession under the same rubric in Arundel and the implication that a confession originally followed it in Galba, too, suggests how this specific text might have been performed by contemporary users of these prayer-books: i.e., that it would almost certainly have been followed by some sort of form of confession.

As in Lambeth, the Arundel *Confessio* is glossed in English. The presence of the gloss could suggest Arundel’s potential use by non-Latinate audiences as, similar to Lambeth, it allows the manuscript to function as a bilingual prayer-book. Both texts are punctuated identically, implying similar methods of performance. In addition to these potentially similar receptions, their glosses could evidence a closer relationship between these monastic prayer-books. Although they are not by the same scribe, the text *and* the gloss of the two versions are

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<sup>122</sup> ‘Humiliter at te ueniam peto ... ad portam aecclesie, ad pignora sanctorum tuorum prostrates indulgentiam peto’.

<sup>123</sup> The Arundel and Galba versions of this prayer diverge after the opening section, with the Arundel text being significantly longer; for the Arundel continuation of the prayer, see Muir, p. 62, n. F. The omission of an entire section of the text in Galba could indicate that the compilers of these prayer-books perceived the texts that they incorporated as flexible to a certain extent, and thus adapted their length or their structure to better fit the specific circumstances of the devotional book that they intended to produce.

<sup>124</sup> The Galba rubric could potentially refer to the prayer that follows *Domine iesu christe qui in hunc mundum* in its present binding, *Deus inestimabilis misericordie*, which, perhaps uncoincidentally, precedes the *inquisitio* in Arundel (ff. 175v-177v).

nearly identical, and, as discussed above, the psalters share several additional texts.<sup>125</sup> It is possible that some of the Lambeth prayers could have been copied from Arundel, or that the Lambeth compilers had access to Arundel at some point. No editor or researcher of either manuscript has observed this possible relationship between the two books. Lambeth, like Arundel, could be associated with Christ Church, Canterbury, or at least have circulated together at some point in time, indicating a valuable relationship between two medieval books previously considered unrelated.

The third non-liturgical devotion in the Lambeth Psalter is an English prayer beginning *Eala drihten leof*, a longer version of which is in the early twelfth-century London, British Library Cotton Julius A.ii.<sup>126</sup> Neither text is a holograph and the manuscripts are unrelated, indicating that more than one version of this prayer circulated in England before and after the Conquest. The fact that the hand of *Eala drihten leof* is later than that of the Lambeth scribe and glossator affirms the continued use of English as a language of prayer and the Lambeth Psalter as a devotional book into the twelfth century.

*Eala drihten leof* is not glossed in Latin, and a direct Latin source or analogue has not been traced. It opens with a petition to God to cure the speaker's soul of the wounds of sin. The misery of the man enslaved to the will of the devil is then contrasted with the satisfaction of the man who submits to the will of the Lord and works in His name. The Lambeth text ends on the warning that the unrepentant man will be unable to share in heavenly rewards 'butan he þæs yfles ær geswice'. As this version of the prayer comprises only the first eleven lines of that found in Julius, it is usually dismissed in favour of the latter text as a partial or incomplete work.<sup>127</sup> However, Lambeth's contemporary reader would probably not have known the longer

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<sup>125</sup> While the glossators' hands appear superficially similar, the Arundel glossator's <e> is longer and his <ʒ> closes with a loop, whereas the Lambeth glossator's <e> is shorter and wider and his <ʒ> is open-tailed.

<sup>126</sup> This prayer does not have a fixed editorial title and it is not rubricated in either of its manuscripts. In *ASPR* it is simply titled 'A Prayer'; Sarah Larratt Keefer's recent edition titles it 'Ah, Beloved Lord'.

<sup>127</sup> e.g. as in Dobbie, pp. 141-143. While he suggests that Lambeth is missing a folio after f. 183v (p. lxxxvi), the manuscript's collation disproves this theory: Ker finds additional leaves in quires 7, 8, and 25, but no leaves

version represented in Julius, whose manuscript is at least fifty years later: to them, *Eala drihten leof* was a complete devotional text, and should be treated as such in critical readings of this prayer. It is similar thematically and functionally to the *Confessio* that precedes it. It is possible that one of Lambeth's users chose to fill the blank space at the end of f. 183v with part of a longer exemplar, or that this was the complete text of the prayer accessible to him; either way, it is presented to potential users of the book as a finished, rather than partial, devotion.

Previous readings of this prayer, in engaging with it independently of its historical and material contexts, have not been favourable. Greenfield and Calder allocate it just one sentence in their *New Critical History of Old English Literature*, in which it is described as a prayer '[whose] speaker rather tearfully and melodramatically beats his breast, acknowledging over and over his smallness as compared to the Lord's greatness', inferior '*poetically*' to the *Soul and Body* texts of the Vercelli Book.<sup>128</sup> This apparently damning assessment can, ironically, be interpreted positively. If we consider the function of this prayer as intended to elicit affective response to its user's innate sinfulness, then the 'melodrama' and 'tearfulness' conveyed by its language arguably fulfils this task. It achieves what it is crafted to do. Dobbie's edition of the prayer in his *Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* also demonstrates how an awareness of material and institutional context is required to fully interpret its significance. As the title of the volume implies, *Eala drihten leof*, unimaginatively titled *Prayer*, is presented as a minor member of the Old English literary canon, even though it is similar in length to (and appears in more manuscripts than) so-called major texts like *Wulf and Eadwacer*. Dobbie's notes to the text are brief: his only comment on literary style observes the rhetorical pattern of 'Eala' + a petition ('Geara me', 'gemilsa ... me', 'getiþa me' at 2, 9, and 22).<sup>129</sup> The literary devices that give the

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wanting (p. 343). Larratt Keefer prints a semi-diplomatic Lambeth text, but does not critically edit it or provide the same level of detail in its textual apparatus compared to the Julius text (p. 162).

<sup>128</sup> Stanley Greenfield and Daniel Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), p. 235.

<sup>129</sup> Dobbie, p. lxxxvii.

prayer its artistic qualities, such as its use of verbal echoes and repetition, envelope patterns, and internal rhyme (as in l. 9, ‘gemilsa þyn mod. me to gode’), pass unmentioned.

Other readings that account for the contexts in which *Eala drihten leof* was composed and circulated give it a more favourable reception. Barbara Raw briefly discusses it as a work of art in terms of form as well as text, noting how the structural patterns of its language are echoed in the *mise-en-page* of the Julius text; however, she allocates the prayer only a few brief mentions in a chapter that primarily focuses on other, more well-known works in the Exeter Book.<sup>130</sup> Its longest and most detailed critical readings are by Sarah Larratt Keefer, who is also responsible for its retitling as *Ah, Beloved Lord* in her recent edition of the text. Larratt Keefer emphasises this particular prayer as exemplifying the need to appreciate medieval texts in their manuscript contexts, as works whose ‘physical and spatial peculiarities’ are essential to unlocking their meaning.<sup>131</sup> Rather than ‘focus[ing] on the text *as* a text by its narrowest definitions’, she encourages those interacting with medieval devotional texts to consider the manuscript page as a ‘visual product’ that facilitates imaginative engagement.<sup>132</sup> However, what is notably absent from her reading of *ABL* as visually encoding ‘Anglo-Saxon aesthetic sensibilities’ is any mention of *performance*.<sup>133</sup> The only consideration she gives to the *use* of the text is to argue that ‘despite its use of the first-person singular pronoun, it is a piece given to aphorism, deliberately structured for rhetorical effect on its audience’, supposing public recitation of this prayer as a homiletic exhortation without considering the self-reflexivity of prayer texts, in which the user is as much the audience as the performer.<sup>134</sup> The ‘active reader effort’ that she sees as essential to unlocking the meaning of prayers such as *ABL* concerns the

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<sup>130</sup> Barbara Raw, *The Art and Background of Old English Poetry* (London: Edward Arnold, 1978), pp. 141-144.

<sup>131</sup> Sarah Larratt Keefer, ‘Respecting the Book: Editing Old English Liturgical Poems in their Manuscripts’, *Florilegium* 11 (1992), pp. 22-52 (p. 22).

<sup>132</sup> Larratt Keefer, ‘Respecting the Book’, p. 30.

<sup>133</sup> Larratt Keefer, ‘Respecting the Book’, p. 25.

<sup>134</sup> Larratt Keefer, *OE Liturgical Verse*, p. 157.

‘two languages [of] the eye and the intellect’, with no mention of somaticism or the affect.<sup>135</sup> Her reading of *ABL* is grounded in the modern concept of the text as aesthetic object, rather than as performative tool. Furthermore, while she views the Julius text as ‘an attempt at xerographic (or identical) replication of the exemplar text’s layout, which may even provide the form of a still-earlier recension, carefully preserved from book to book, its lineation copied exactly’, none of these layout conventions are present in Lambeth, indicating that not all versions of the text circulated with the same *mise-en-page* and that it is therefore not necessarily an integral part of the work.<sup>136</sup> Insofar as literary context goes, Larratt Keefer is content to compare *ABL* to ‘wisdom literature’ and liturgical verse without citing any direct textual comparisons; she compares this ‘wisdom literature’ to ‘the prose texts of chronology and measurement’ that appear in, for example, Ælfwine’s Prayerbook.<sup>137</sup> The basis for her comparison between *ABL*, *The Six Ages of the World*, and directions for bloodletting is not immediately apparent or further substantiated.

Although a direct source for this prayer has not been identified, its language exhibits the influence of contemporary Latin prayers—including those in Lambeth itself—as well as the Psalms. Its opening address to God as judge (‘dema god’) links to *O summe deus miserorum*, which petitions God as ‘uenientem iudicem’, as well as to the opening of Psalm 4, ‘Deus justitiae meae’. The following declaration, ‘ic wat mine sawle synnum forwundod’, echoes the same prayer again, ‘recognosco me pecasse tibi soli’; it also resembles a phrase in the Arundel and Galba confessions, ‘omnes inquietates meas ego cognosco’.<sup>138</sup> All four texts recall Psalm 50:5, ‘inquietatem meam ego cognosco’, which is likely a direct borrowing in the latter two. The trope of God-as-healer is expressed here similarly to the prayer *Domine Ihesu Christe qui in hunc mundum* discussed above, with the image of God as the foremost doctor

<sup>135</sup> Larratt Keefer, ‘Respect for the Book’, p. 29.

<sup>136</sup> Larratt Keefer, *OE Liturgical Verse*, p. 159.

<sup>137</sup> Larratt Keefer, *OE Liturgical Verse*, p. 157.

<sup>138</sup> ‘I recognise myself to have sinned to you alone’; ‘I think about all of my sins’.

echoing the phrase ‘tu es medicus meus potentissimus’.<sup>139</sup> The conclusion of *Eala drihten leof*, that the man who serves the devil will receive no rewards unless he discards his love of sin, is thematically similar to Psalm 75:6: ‘all the foolish of heart were troubled ... and all the men of riches have found nothing in their hands’. This prayer thus shares notable similarities with Cornett’s forms of confession, although he himself does not list it as an example of the genre.

The punctuation of *Eala drihten leof* also enhances its experiential effects by making aspects of its literary style and narrative content more apparent to its performer. Internal rhyme is used to link important concepts in the prayer, emphasising them when performed aloud, as in the phrases ‘side oððe wide’ and ‘þin mod me to gode’. A similar effect is achieved using a combination of sibilance and rhetorical stress in the line, ‘ic wat mine sawle synnum forwundod’. The prayer also engages its user by playing on words with different interpretations: in the phrase, ‘þinum earminge. se bið earminge’, the petition for God’s mercy is effectively juxtaposed with the misery of the sinful man. The prayer’s punctuation also articulates its structure. Rather than placing a *punctus* after every half-line, the scribe places them after every petition within a section begun by a *littera notabilior*, inviting them to pause and reflect on the phrase that they have just uttered. For example, in the first section of the prayer (‘Eala drihten leof’ to ‘side oððe wide’), *punctus* are placed after the opening address to God, the petitions ‘geare me’, ‘ge hæl þu hy’ and ‘gelacna þu heo’, and the declarations ‘ic wat mine sawle synnum forwundod’ and ‘forþon þu eðest miht ...’. These phrases are not equal in length, but the placement of the *punctus* separates them in a way that is beneficial to shaping the function and the meaning of the prayer. Similarly, in the next section (‘Eala frea brihta’ to ‘me to gode’), the *punctus* separates the address to God and the petition to him.

The *mise-en-page* of *Eala drihten leof*, like that of Lambeth’s other texts, visually clarifies its structure and articulation to its user. It opens with a two-line red “E” extending into the left

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<sup>139</sup> ‘You are my most powerful healer’.

margin; its syntax is indicated by beginning new *sententia* with capital letters touched with red ink at ‘Gehæl þu hy’ (2-3), ‘Eala frea’ (5), ‘Syle ðine are’ (6-7) and ‘Se bið earning’ (7). Although Dobbie notes the presence of these initials, he claims that ‘there are no sectional divisions’ in the Lambeth version of the prayer, and proposes no other reason why they might have been rubricated.<sup>140</sup> As the previous chapter demonstrated, the use of coloured ink often fulfils a practical, performative function; these initials facilitate the performance of the text as a petition by indicating its structure. Evidence that the text was to be performed aloud is also found in the accents used to mark the correct pronunciation of particular words, such as ‘geáre’ (1) and ‘síðe’ (5). The text is punctuated with *punctus*, which are used to indicate clauses within a *sententia*; unlike the Julius text, whose punctuation appears to fulfil a visually aesthetic role as opposed to a performative one, Lambeth’s punctuation facilitates performing the text aloud. In Julius, more *punctus* are used, but they occasionally appear in the middle of clauses in order to mirror a *punctus* used in the following line, as in the opening three lines:

Æla drihten leof. æla dema god. geara  
me. ece waldend. ic wat mine saule. syn  
num forwundod. (J 1-3a)

The assumption that the scribe is concerned with the visual reflection of the punctuation in these pairs of lines is reinforced by the fact that there is no syntactical or rhetorical reason why a *punctus* would be placed before ‘ece waldend’ or after ‘saule’. The ‘craftedness’ seen in the prayer by Dobbie and the ‘patterned kind of writing’ identified by Raw applies as much to the visual layout of the page as it does to its literary structure, and affirms the importance of reading a medieval text in its manuscript context, as the punctuation is not preserved by Dobbie or Larratt Keefer in their critical editions of the prayer.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Dobbie, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>141</sup> Dobbie, p. lxxxvii; Raw, *Art and Background*, p. 122. Although Larratt Keefer provides a ‘semi-diplomatic’ and critical edition of the Julius text on facing pages, her textual apparatus refers only to the critical text.

## Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the functions of glossed psalters might not always be as straightforwardly academic as conventionally assumed, using the Lambeth Psalter as a case study of a manuscript in which the purpose of the gloss is arguably as devotional as it is scholarly. It has shown that scholarship of such books can, and should, incorporate consideration of their use as prayer texts as well as academic ones. In addition, it has also shown how psalter paratexts, such as *tituli psalmorum*, and the inclusion of non-liturgical prayer texts can optimise a book for private as well as public psalmody. Previously unmentioned links between the Lambeth Psalter and other contemporary manuscripts, in particular the Canterbury book Arundel 155, also suggest a possible origin for this manuscript, and these relationships between texts also suggest how such manuscripts circulated among their original communities of origin and the types of uses that such books might have had.

Building on the themes of textual performance explored in this chapter, the following chapter analyses devotional performance with reference to a genre typical of the following century: the devotional treatise. Primarily based on Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum*, it explores how the themes and practices of personal prayer foregrounded in these earlier manuscripts were realised in later texts. The analysis of verbs and rubrics concerned with devotional performance in the Lambeth Psalter is reflected in the examination of Aelred's treatise, while the association of psalmody with non-liturgical prayer is linked to the daily devotions expected of twelfth-century anchoresses.

### 3. The Devotional Treatise: Paratexts to Prayer in *De Institutione Inclusarum*

The methods and intentions of non-liturgical prayer have been explored thus far with reference to eleventh-century monastic prayer-books. This specificity is due to the association of the manuscripts examined with religious houses. As these sources are the most common types of prayer-book surviving from this period, they can be considered representative of contemporary approaches to personal devotion.<sup>1</sup> However, the texts and the paratexts of these earlier examples were also shown to anticipate later developments in the literature and performance of prayer. Their possible reception by non-Latinate audiences, as suggested in their inclusion of English prayers and glosses, was likewise discussed, contextualising the increased transmission of the practices and texts of monastic prayer to lay and semi-religious audiences during the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> It is this transitional period, whose literature evidences an often unrecognised continuity between the devotional texts of eleventh-to thirteenth-century England, that is the subject of this chapter.

Reflecting the historical developments observed in the audiences, concerns, and style of twelfth-century devotional literature, Chapter 3, though similarly analysing the paratexts of devotional works, differs from the rest of the thesis in terms of the nature of its sources and the focus of its close reading. In so doing, it establishes continuity in a study that would otherwise appear to fall into two distinct parts, with the first centred on pre-Conquest monastic prayer-

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<sup>1</sup> For the pre-Conquest manuscripts containing non-liturgical devotions, see Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Arizona: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Semi-religious’ is a modern term used to describe men and women who undertook religious vows while retaining their lay status. Contemporary sources define them as belonging to a *status tertius*, a ‘third estate’ neither lay nor religious, or *via media*, a “middle way” on the margins of, but not fully integrated into, the clergy. For an overview of the terminology used to refer to these liminal figures, see Walter Simons, ‘On the margins of religious life: hermits and recluses, penitents and tertiaries, beguines and beghards’, in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 4: Christianity in Europe 1100-1500*, ed. by Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 309-313 (pp. 311-312).

books and the second on thirteenth-century devotional works associated with lay anchorites.<sup>3</sup> While the primary sources examined elsewhere represent various *manuscript* genres, this chapter explores ad hoc prayer through a *literary* genre instead: the devotional treatise.<sup>4</sup> While devotional treatises are a very different type of source to devotional manuscripts, they are equally productive for investigating how the paratexts of prayers influence their performance. As they often include devotional programmes or prayer texts accompanied by instructions directing their meaning and use, we can consider them as paratexts *to* prayer itself, shaping personal devotion in a manner similar to the codicological features previously discussed. Like the rubrics and prefaces discussed in earlier chapters, devotional treatises frequently specify extra-textual contexts integral to particular prayers, such as the time, place, and intentions with which they should be performed. Their particular relevance to the goals of this study is further supported by the emphasis that they frequently place on the cultivation of desirable intentions and emotions in prayer, which is often expressed in passages detailing specific things to reflect on or to request while praying.

In addition to rationalising their inclusion, it is necessary to define what is meant by the label 'devotional treatise'. Although the works thus categorised below share defining qualities that invite their generic classification, the term is not used in medieval sources; the selected examples also differ significantly from each other in content, provenance, and style. For the purposes of this chapter, devotional treatises are practical texts of spiritual guidance directing the pursuit of some form of the religious life. In addition to regulating external matters like

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<sup>3</sup> This consideration also led to my decision to exclude twelfth-century manuscripts of Psalter-Hours, such as the *St. Albans Psalter*, from the study in favour of devotional treatises. Psalter-Hours would have, I felt, provided too little variety in the type of manuscript examined, and many such manuscripts (including the *St. Albans Psalter*) often contain solely liturgical prayers, complicating the analysis of non-liturgical prayer. I considered looking at twelfth-century French devotions in order to complement the post-Conquest context; however, many such devotions are contained in post-thirteenth century manuscripts, again problematising their inclusion. Selecting *De Institutione Inclusarum* as an example of writing that is paratextual to prayer also established a link with the following analyses of *Ancrene Wisse* and the Nero Prayers.

<sup>4</sup> Additional support for defining literary texts as paratextual is provided by Genette's categorisation of forms like prefaces, blurbs, and forewords as paratexts in his original study.

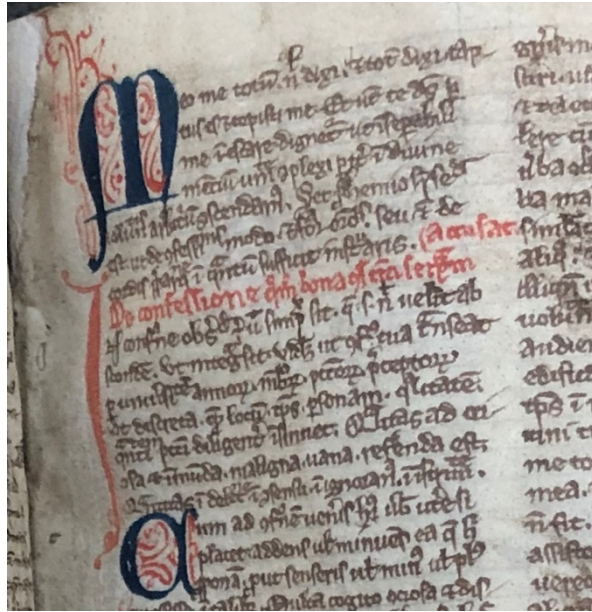
clothing, diet, and social interactions, devotional treatises often discuss the practice and the significance of both routine and ad hoc prayer. In many examples, these directions are accompanied by a programme of daily worship or recommended prayer texts.<sup>5</sup> Alongside these similarities in content, devotional treatises share elements of narrative structure. Invariably voiced in the first-person, their literary form presents a dialogue through which the author, whether named or anonymous, addresses a recipient inscribed into the text. He or she is usually presented as already on the verge of spiritual perfection, an aspirational figure modelling a treatise's efficacy for wider audiences.<sup>6</sup> Their narratives are often divided into sections pertaining to different aspects of the religious life, following a preface in which the author establishes the goals and prospective audiences of his treatise. Manuscripts of such treatises clearly indicate these structural divisions using descriptive rubrics or *litterae notabiliores*, highlighting their importance to the visual and thematic clarity of the text (Fig 3.1).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The 'seruise' of Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* is the subject of Chapter 4. Treatises discussed in this chapter containing daily devotional programmes include *De Institutione Inclusarum* and the untitled *regula* in Hatton 101.

<sup>6</sup> Many devotional treatises, including *Ancrene Wisse* and *De Institutione Inclusarum*, direct certain parts of their teaching not to their inscribed recipients (who have advanced beyond the need for elementary instruction), but to wider audiences desirous of emulating them.

<sup>7</sup> For example, the *Liber Confortatorius* uses descriptive rubrics to introduce new sections and sub-sections of the text, which are reflected in Monika Otter's translation. The original manuscript, London, British Library, Sloane MS 3013, is digitised online, showing the rubrics as clearly visible. Also available online is the sole manuscript of the letters of Osbert of Clare, London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A.xvii, which also uses rubrics and *litterae notabiliores* to indicate literary structure within, as well as between, individual letters. The careful visual layout of the thirteenth-century manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* is discussed extensively in Chapter 4.



**Fig 3.1:** A devotional treatise contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 101, which incorporates the *Threefold Meditation of De Institutione Inclusarum*, is organised using *litterae notabiliores* and descriptive rubrics.

Identifying these shared characteristics allows the genre to encompass a diverse group of sources that use different terminology to describe themselves. The majority refer to themselves as 'rules' that regulate some form of the spiritual life. However, the specific Latin terms that they use to define themselves encompass a range of legislation and formality that is difficult to fully convey in translation. For example, John of Fécamp called the compilation of ascetic treatises composed for Agnes of Poitiers (d. 1077) upon her entry into the religious life a 'little book' (*libellus*) of 'documents' (*documenta*) and 'sermons' (*sermones*) that presented 'a guide (*norma*) for living well according to the rule of your [religious] order'.<sup>8</sup> The Latin *documentum* is typically used in reference to a written 'teaching', 'model', or 'example'—didactic connotations that are not fully expressed by the English 'document' or 'rule'.<sup>9</sup> Abelard composed a *regula* for the nuns of the Paraclete (c. 1133-1138) to fulfil Heloise's request 'that you set out some kind of rule (*regula*) for us, and write it down'; *regula* implies a more

<sup>8</sup> John of Fécamp, *Dudum Quidem*, in *Un Maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle, Jean de Fécamp*, ed. by Jean Leclercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes (Paris: Vrin, 1946), pp. 208-212 (p. 211).

<sup>9</sup> *documentum*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/documentum>>.

prescriptive degree of legislation than John's *documenta*.<sup>10</sup> Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum* (c. 1160) presents a *formula* that 'directs [a recluse's] behaviour and allows [her] to follow the essential practices of the religious life', a contemporary legal term for a contract or regulation.<sup>11</sup> The early thirteenth-century *Ancrene Wisse*, the first such treatise composed in Middle English, initially refers to itself as a *regula*, which is translated as 'riwle', reflecting its intention to provide a formal mode of living for its recipients.<sup>12</sup> The mid-thirteenth century *Dublin Rule*, which shares notable correspondences with *De Institutione Inclusarum* and *Ancrene Wisse*, calls itself a *norma* (a specifically ecclesiastic rule) 'for men and women of perfection, manifestly an order [*ordo*] of the anchoritic life and true charity'.<sup>13</sup>

While the various phrases listed above could all be translated as 'religious rules', other devotional treatises do not define themselves as rules, meaning that the two terms should not be used interchangeably. In some treatises, only certain sections are labelled as rules. An untitled treatise in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 101, which prefaces the *Threefold Meditation of De Institutione Inclusarum*, does not call itself a rule, but describes its section on prayer as a 'rule for prayer' (*forma orationis*)—the same term used by Aelred to refer to his

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<sup>10</sup> 'ut aliquam nobis regulam instituas, et scriptam dirigas quae feminarum sit propria et ex integro nostrae conversionis statum habitum que describat'. Printed as Letter 5, 'From her to him' (*Item eadem ad eundem*) by J. T. Muckle, in 'The Letter of Heloise on Religious Life and Abelard's First Reply', *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955), pp. 240-281 (p. 242). The proposed date range of 1133-1138 for the three 'Letters of Direction' is suggested by Betty Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003), p. xi.

<sup>11</sup> 'Exigis a me ... certam tibi formulam tradam, ad quam et mores tuos dirigere et necessaria religioni possis exercicia ordinare'. C. H. Talbot, 'The De Institutis Inclusarum of Ailred of Rievaulx', *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis* 7 (1951), p. 177. See also *formula*, sense B, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/formula>>.

<sup>12</sup> 'Cuius due sunt *regule* ...' (1, f. 4r/6). *Regulae* is them glossed as 'riwlen': 'moni cunne *riwlen* beoð. Ach *twa* beoð bimong alle ...' (1, f. 4r/12-14). The use of 'riwle' or 'wisse' depends on the manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse*. Although present scholarship favours *Ancrene Wisse*, Francis Magoun argued that the two terms are interchangeable on the basis of linguistic evidence in '*Ancrene Wisse* vs. *Ancrene Riwle*', *ELH* 4 (1937), pp. 112-113.

<sup>13</sup> 'Incipit norma perfectorum virorum et mulierum salubris, scilicet ordo anachoritalis vite et vere caritatis ...' L. Oligier, 'Regulae Tres Recluserum et Eremitarum Angliae Saec. XIII-XIV', *Antonianum* 3 (1928), pp. 151-190 and pp. 299-320 (p. 170). Correspondences between the *Dublin Rule* and these earlier sources are discussed by Hope Emily Allen, 'Further borrowings from 'Ancren Riwle'', *Modern Language Review* 24 (1929), pp. 1-15, and Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism: Ideology and Spiritual Practices* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012). For the use of *norma* to mean "rule" in primarily ecclesiastic contexts, see *norma*, senses 2 and 3, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/norma>>.

treatise as a whole.<sup>14</sup> This *forma* outlines aspects that a person *must* take into account when praying, such as the postures or intentions associated with specific devotions. Hatton's *forma orationis* is followed by a section rubricated *De Preparatione Cordis (About Preparing the Heart)*, which is concerned with regulating inward thoughts and desires so that 'your soul is prepared for devotion'.<sup>15</sup> While this section discusses how to *prepare* for prayer and contains a recommended devotional routine, it is never described as a rule, perhaps because its advice is not intended to be obligatory. Other significant examples of the genre, primarily those composed for recipients already professed in the religious life, avoid describing themselves as rules altogether. Goscelin of Saint-Bertin calls his *Liber Confortatorius*, a work of spiritual encouragement addressed to the nun-anchorite Eva of Wilton (d. 1125), 'more of a book (*liber*) than a letter (*epistola*)' on account of its length, making no mention of religious rules.<sup>16</sup> The *Liber Modo Bene Vivendi*, another twelfth-century treatise directed to nuns, also calls itself a *liber* that offers 'words of spiritual correction' (*uerba sanctae admonitionis*) to complement an established devotional practice.<sup>17</sup> Osbert of Clare (d. 1158) composed a devotional exhortation for the Abbess of Barking whose structure and content resembles that of contemporary treatises: it is subdivided into chapters (*capitula*) with descriptive rubrics, each containing an *exemplum* conveying spiritual guidance.<sup>18</sup> Concerned with similar themes to the treatises previously discussed, such as the maintenance of chastity, the inspiration of prayer, and the exercise of the virtues, Osbert's letter, while not referring to itself as a rule, intends to render its recipient exemplary 'not only in word, but also in deed'.<sup>19</sup> It is likely that these works,

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<sup>14</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 101, f. 202r. This treatise has never been edited.

<sup>15</sup> 'preparandus est animus tuus ad deuotacionem'. Hatton 101, f. 202v.

<sup>16</sup> The Latin text of the *Liber* is taken from C. H. Talbot, *The Liber Confortatorius of Goscelin of Saint-Bertin* (Rome: Pontificum Institutum S. Anselmi, 1955).

<sup>17</sup> *Liber de Modo Bene Vivendi*, PL 184:1199A.

<sup>18</sup> Letter 42, in E. W. Williamson, *The Letters of Osbert of Clare* (London: Oxford University, 1929), pp. 153-79. For its *mise-en-page*, see London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xvii, ff. 61v-84v. While it is impossible to confirm whether the rubrics are authorial, the text of the letter reflects the divisions in the manuscript: for example, the opening sentence following many of the rubrics often explains the significance of the specific example that Osbert has selected.

<sup>19</sup> 'ut non tam verbo subiectis tibi proficias quam exemplo'. Williamson, p. 153.

despite their similar function and content, do not call themselves rules because they are intended to complement rather than construct the religious life already practised by their inscribed audiences.

Despite their use of varying terminology to describe themselves, all these works share the defining qualities previously listed: the first-person narration of a figure of spiritual authority, an inscribed (semi-)religious audience of exemplary character, structural division into a preface and subsections, passages intended to stimulate the affect and inspire prayer, directions on how, when, and why to pray, and texts recommended for ad hoc devotion. All express the desire to enrich their recipients' devotional practice by providing meditative stimuli and practical directions. The inspiration and expression of heartfelt, affective devotion is their central concern, hence the label devotional treatises. I believe this term to be more suitable than others conventionally used to refer to such texts. Bella Millett's study of treatises associated with anchorites refers to them collectively as 'rules', which problematises the inclusion of related works that eschew that label.<sup>20</sup> Barbara Newman's '[works of] spiritual formation' similarly sidelines treatises intended to complement, rather than to construct, their audience's spiritual life.<sup>21</sup> Monika Otter's 'advice literature' likewise does not reflect the specific focus on devotional *practice* that these works share; in addition, 'advice' does not necessarily correspond with the obligation of the audiences of certain treatises to follow their directions.<sup>22</sup> Ann Warren's 'ascetic treatises' similarly does not invoke the emphasis on the practice and effects of personal devotion evidenced in such works, as asceticism is primarily associated with disciplining the body rather than the soul in current usage.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, not all of these works

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<sup>20</sup> Bella Millett, 'Can there be such a thing as an anchoritic rule?' in *Anchoritism in the Middle Ages: Texts and Traditions*, ed. by Catherine Innes-Parker and Naoe Kukita Yoshikawa (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 1-30.

<sup>21</sup> Barbara Newman, 'Flaws in the Golden Bowl: Gender and Spiritual Formation in the Twelfth Century', *Traditio* 45 (1989), pp. 111-146.

<sup>22</sup> Monika Otter, *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: The Book of Encouragement and Consolation (Liber Confortatorius)* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). The OED defines *ascetic* as 'severely abstinent' and 'austere', which cannot be equally applied to all the

emphasise ascetic practices such as fasting, abstinence, and poverty to the same degree. For example, Aelred's emphatic praise of fasting and poverty is not mirrored in Osbert's contemporary letter, which does not mention diet, clothing, or poverty at all. Other treatises, such as *Ancrene Wisse*, include directions for moderating ascetism relative to the health and inclination of individual anchorites.

The choice to include devotional treatises in a thesis primarily focused on manuscript sources might initially seem incongruous. Another complication is extrapolating aspects of devotional performance from works that are *about* prayer, but that do not always contain prayer texts. While some treatises include the devotional texts that their instructions are intended to complement, others do not, while treatises containing devotional meditations often describe them as intended to enrich or inspire prayer rather than to constitute prayer itself.<sup>24</sup> For example, the opening of Aelred's *Threefold Meditation* explains that it should be performed *after* prayer rather than *as* prayer, 'when your mind has been purged of sinful thoughts by the exercise of the virtues'.<sup>25</sup> In treatises that include programmes for daily worship, such as *Ancrene Wisse* and the Hatton treatise, prayers are often abbreviated to their incipits rather than copied out in full.<sup>26</sup> While some treatises circulated with accompanying devotions, such as the Titus and Nero versions of *Ancrene Wisse*, others did not. The absence of accompanying devotions in many treatises not only complicates the assessment of *what* their users prayed, but

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treatises listed in this chapter. "ascetic, adj. and n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2020. Web. 26 March 2020.

<sup>24</sup> For example, Goscelin's *Account of the Lord's Passion* provides a meditation intended to inspire fervent and devout prayer to Christ (Otter, pp. 57-62). 'And if you are not being drawn [to God],' this section concludes, 'pray that you might be'. (Otter, p. 62). Another *exemplum* is subtitled 'A Model of Affection' (Otter, pp. 26-31), which describes Mary's sorrow at the Passion in evocative language intended to cultivate the reader's emotional alignment with the text.

<sup>25</sup> 'Cum igitur mens tua ab omni fuerit cogitationum sorde uirtutum exercitacione purgata ...'. Talbot, p. 200. Prayer is included in the list of the 'virtues' accompanying this instruction.

<sup>26</sup> Daniel Anlezark examines the Psalm *incipits* of *Ancrene Wisse* for evidence of the performance and significance of its users' psalmody. Daniel Anlezark, 'Praying the Psalms in the *Ancrene Wisse*', *English Studies* 98 (2017), pp. 84-95.

also of how features such as rubrics, punctuation, and *mise-en-page* shape devotional practice.<sup>27</sup>

It could be argued, therefore, that devotional treatises evidence how their users were *supposed* to pray, but not how or what they *actually* prayed. This perception is frequently reflected in critical readings of devotional treatises. Often treated as expressions of ideals as opposed to realities, they are rarely used as sources for the texts and practices of personal devotion.<sup>28</sup> Julia Bourke describes '[anchoritic] guides [as] expressions *only* of the author's own ideology, like mirrors, reflecting a construction of their reader that reveals more about the writer's image of an ideal anchorite than about the anchorite's own emotions or imagination'.<sup>29</sup> Mari Hughes-Edwards likewise argues that 'anchoritic guides are not factual revelations of anchoritic practice, but normative ideological texts which provide valuable evidence of what some of the most talented medieval spiritual thinkers believed should be the purpose and could be the potential of this important spiritual vocation'.<sup>30</sup> She criticises the ambiguous nature of treatises addressed to recluses personally known to their authors as both 'professional tools' and 'personal documents', implying that their inherent 'subjectivity' undermines their utility.<sup>31</sup> Warren likewise interprets anchoritic treatises as 'created for specific women', with their guidance thus not applicable to a variety of audiences.<sup>32</sup> More recently, Diane Watt has argued that devotional works written by and for women were subject to 'overwriting' as a consequence of the male-dominated nature of literary production and composition.<sup>33</sup> While she contextualises the potential masculine involvement in feminine works less negatively than

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<sup>27</sup> The notable exception, the prayer texts copied into some early thirteenth-century manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*, are the subject of Chapter 5.

<sup>28</sup> Another significant exception, Part I of *Ancrene Wisse*, is the subject of Chapter 4.

<sup>29</sup> Julia Bourke, 'An experiment in "neurohistory": Reading emotions in Aelred's *De Institutione Inclusionum* (Rule for a Recluse)', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 42 (2016), pp. 124-142 (p. 124). Emphasis mine.

<sup>30</sup> Mari Hughes-Edwards, 'The Role of the Anchoritic Guidance Writer: Goscelin of St. Bertin' in *Anchoritism in the Middle Ages: Texts and Traditions*, ed. by Catherine Innes-Parker & Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 31-45 (p. 33).

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Warren, p. 103.

<sup>33</sup> Diane Watt, *Women, Writing, and Religion in England and Beyond, 650-1100* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).

Bourke and Hughes-Edwards, observing that ‘overwriting was often intended to improve, modernize and preserve the earlier material rather than destroy or censor it’, the very act of ‘overwriting’ means that the experiences recounted in an ‘overwritten’ work, while perhaps gesturing towards or containing traces of an individual’s lived experience, cannot be taken as proof of it.<sup>34</sup> When devotional treatises are read as literary documents as opposed to legislative ones, they are usually interpreted in light of how they facilitated the theoretical, rather than the practical, aspects of devotional performance. Nicholas Watson, for example, sees *Ancrene Wisse* as cultivating ‘a spirituality of the inner life’ realised through prayer, without commenting on the practical or performative instructions, such as when or how prayer ought to be performed, that the treatise provides.<sup>35</sup> Otter similarly presents the *Liber Confortatorius* as ‘heir to a rich tradition of meditative and advisory spiritual literature’ that is defined in terms of ‘a personal, prayerful approach to philosophical and theological thought’.<sup>36</sup> Her definition of the spirituality expressed in Goscelin’s text as one in which ‘reading, meditation, and prayer form one indissoluble spiritual practice’ does not fully reflect the physical and somatic aspects of the *Liber’s* engagement with prayer.<sup>37</sup>

Recontextualising twelfth- and thirteenth-century devotional treatises with respect to their manuscripts undermines these assumptions regarding their content and reception. The prevailing view of devotional treatises as specifically directed to individual women limits our appreciation of their contemporary reception and the ways in which their spiritual guidance was practically realised. To begin with, not all such texts addressing female readers were exclusively intended for or read by women. Many treatises listed in this chapter, including *De Institutione Inclusarum* and *Ancrene Wisse*, survive in manuscripts suggestive of male or

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<sup>34</sup> Watt, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Nicholas Watson, ‘The methods and objectives of thirteenth-century anchoritic devotion’, in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England IV, The Exeter Symposium IV: Papers Read at Darlington Hall, July 1987*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987), pp. 132-153 (p. 136).

<sup>36</sup> Otter, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*

mixed-gender audiences produced within fifty years of their composition.<sup>38</sup> The ways in which different versions of these works evidence adaptation for the specific needs of their envisioned users demonstrate that the incorporation of ‘personal’ qualities can facilitate, rather than hinder, a rule’s ‘practical’ implementation. Devotional treatises often explicitly state that their users may alter them in order to best suit their individual circumstances, thus constituting a type of text as concerned with adjusting to reality as with constructing ideals.<sup>39</sup> They are as such suitable sources for exploring historical approaches to the practice and meaning of prayer. Furthermore, the predominant focus on works addressed to anchorites in the academic study of devotional treatises has been at the expense of those that are not, such as the *Liber Modo Bene Vivendi* or the Hatton treatise.

Devotional treatises are also ideally situated for assessing continuity and change in devotional practice during the twelfth century. Their proliferation in this period reflects the rise of popular religious commitment on an unprecedented scale.<sup>40</sup> Literature directing a person how to pray and live well was essential to the legitimacy and success of laypeople aspiring to the religious life. As didactic texts of spiritual instruction, devotional treatises consequently include detailed advice regarding the practice, content, and function of prayer.<sup>41</sup> The necessity of providing their audiences with sufficient knowledge of *how*, *when* and *why* to pray, factors as integral to correct practice as *what* to pray, resulted in instructional material accompanying prayer texts, such as prefaces, rubrics, and rules, becoming the norm in devotional books rather than the exception. The methodology of reading devotional texts in their manuscript context is

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<sup>38</sup> The thirteenth-century Titus and Caius versions of *Ancrene Wisse* use mixed-gender or male pronouns.

<sup>39</sup> *Ancrene Wisse*, for example, explicitly warns its users with an emphatic double negative that ‘ze ne schule naut bi haten hit ach habben hit on heorte. 7 don hit as ze hit hefde bihaten’ (7, f. 6v/4-6), while Aelred includes alternative directions regarding prayer and fasting for illiterate or weak anchoritees (cf. Talbot, p. 185 and pp. 187-188).

<sup>40</sup> On the historical context connected with the rising popularity of devotional treatises, see Tom Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>41</sup> While my previous chapters demonstrated that *libelli precum* and psalters contain basic prompts as to where, when, and by whom the prayers therein should be performed, the rubrics and marginalia providing this information communicate significantly less detail than the explicit instructions found in most devotional treatises.

therefore sustained throughout this thesis, even though the selected works were not primarily chosen on the basis of their manuscripts. As paratexts to prayer, devotional treatises are habitually overlooked by literary critics even though they establish the interpretative framework within which their original users would have engaged with their contexts.

Therefore, dichotomising ‘factual’ and ‘ideal’ devotional practice is untenable. Rachel Fulton has criticised the reluctance of scholars to engage with the question of whether the historical practice of prayer reflected its expressed ideal: ‘how can we assume’, she counters, ‘that monastic authors did not mean what they said [about prayer]’?<sup>42</sup> She observes that devotional literature would not have been composed and presented with as much diligence if prayer really was ‘just all for show’.<sup>43</sup> The popularity, translation, and adaptation of many of the treatises listed in this chapter further supports Fulton’s assessment that spiritual literature successfully acted on its users and was in turn enacted by them. The fact that most of them present themselves as having been composed in response to a direct request further evidences their utility; it is unlikely that their recipients would have requested guidance that they did not intend to follow or been provided with guidance that they could not adhere to.<sup>44</sup> Devotional treatises frequently state that those who follow their advice will transform into the model of perfection that they describe. The trope of the *speculum*, guidance literature that facilitates self-alignment with the text as if it were a mirror, is often invoked in devotional treatises, whether implicitly or explicitly.<sup>45</sup> For example, the *Liber Modo Bene Vivendi* commands: ‘take this book, and place it before your eyes like a mirror, and at all times contemplate it like a mirror—for the teachings of God are also mirrors, in which souls scrutinise themselves ... so that they

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<sup>42</sup> Rachel Fulton, ‘Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice’ *Speculum* 81 (2006), pp. 700-731 (p. 705).

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> The sole exception is the *Liber Comfortatorius*, whose addressee is not recorded as having requested its composition or even as having maintained contact with its author after her enclosure. On the relationship (or lack thereof) between Goscelin and Eva, see Monika Otter, ‘Interpretative Essay: *Inclusae Exklusae*: Desire, Identification, and Gender in the *Liber Comfortatorius*’, in *Liber Comfortatorius*, pp. 151-167.

<sup>45</sup> For an overview of the *speculum* in medieval literature, see Ritamary Bradley, ‘Backgrounds of the Title *Speculum* in Mediaeval Literature’, *Speculum* 29.1 (January 1954), pp. 100–115.

might please the heavenly spouse'.<sup>46</sup> Bella Millett suggests that the conclusion of *Ancrene Wisse*, while not explicitly including the *speculum*, references Augustine's command 'to gaze into this book as if it were a mirror' to similar effect.<sup>47</sup> Osbert presents Judith as the perfection of pious femininity to Adelidis, inspiring her to 'assume the form of Judith' (*assume formam Iudith*) by emulating the behaviours and attitudes that he depicts her as possessing.<sup>48</sup> These qualities of devotional treatises demonstrate their suitability as primary sources for this chapter.

### **Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum***

As in other chapters, one devotional treatise has been selected as a case study for the genre: Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum*.<sup>49</sup> Composed around 1160, it illustrates the ways in which devotional treatises shape the practice of prayer and inform us about the contexts and significance of personal devotion. Recalling the colour-coded distinction of the Christocentric *tituli psalmodum* discussed in Chapter 2, the figure of Christ is the imaginative and emotional focus of its piety, depicted in vivid, somatic language as conversant with the silent anchorite, the lover of the chaste virgin, an innocent and vulnerable child, and a crucified martyr.<sup>50</sup> The first section, which is concerned with regulating the 'outer person', includes an outline of the devotional day, which is primarily structured around praying the Hours. The second section provides meditative stimuli and spiritual guidance intended to cultivate the inner soul.<sup>51</sup> This devotional programme is complemented by a *Threefold Meditation* intended to

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<sup>46</sup> 'Nunc ergo, charissima soror, hunc librum accipe, et eum ante oculos tuos quasi speculum propone, eumque omni hora velut speculum contemplare. Praecepta namque Dei specula sunt, in quibus se ipsas animae inspiciunt ... quod in se coelesti sponso placeat'. *Liber de Modo Bene Vivendi*, PL 184:1199A-B.

<sup>47</sup> 'uos in hoc libello tanquam speculo possitis inspicere'. Quoted in Millett, *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition*, vol. 2, p. 301.

<sup>48</sup> Osbert of Clare, Letter 42, in Williamson, p. 142.

<sup>49</sup> This treatise is translated by Mary Macpherson as 'A Rule of Life for a Recluse', in *Aelred of Rievaulx: Treatises and the Pastoral Prayer*, ed. by M. Basil Pennington (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 41-102. I provide my own translations of the Latin as I analyse the technical language Aelred uses in relation to monastic regulations and devotional practice, which MacPherson does not always accurately convey.

<sup>50</sup> These images recur throughout Aelred's sermons and spiritual works. For a select bibliography of Aelred's compositions, see M. Basil Pennington, 'Select Bibliography', in *Treatises and the Pastoral Prayer*, pp. 119-121.

<sup>51</sup> The daily programme is given in Talbot, pp. 184-187.

inspire ‘that sweet love of Jesus to grow in your affect’, enriching the performance of active devotion (‘good works’ that include prayer) as well as contemplative meditation.<sup>52</sup> When read alongside each other, the two sections of *De Institutione Inclusionum* evidence the intersections and affinities between prayer and meditation as well as between the inner and outer person. The ways in which *De Institutione Inclusionum* articulates Aelred’s personal devotional practice are further illustrated through comparison with his *vita*, composed by a fellow monk at Rievaulx, Walter Daniel.<sup>53</sup>

Before beginning the close reading of *De Institutione Inclusionum* and the *Threefold Meditation*, it is important to outline the differences between the complementary, but distinct devotional practices of prayer and meditation. It is important to note that prayer and meditation, like liturgical and ad hoc prayer, cannot be distinguished on the basis of content, but rather on that of context and practice. For example, Anselm described his devotional texts as ‘prayers *or* meditations’ (‘orationes *sive* meditationes’), which could be performed either *as* prayer, or specifically ‘read ... to inspire the affect to prayer’.<sup>54</sup> While the traditional progression of the monastic *lectio divina* moved from reading (*lectio*) to meditation (*meditatio*) and then on to prayer (*oratio*), Aelred presents prayer as an essential prerequisite to the correct performance of the *Threefold Meditation*, as a virtue which ‘purges the mind of all impure thoughts’.<sup>55</sup> In a passage from *De Institutione Inclusionum* discussed in further detail below, Aelred appears to directly connect *lectio* with *oratio*, writing that reading devotional works like the *Vitas Patrum* before Compline inspires a ‘spiritual fervour’ and ‘a heart filled with devotion’ in evening

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<sup>52</sup> ‘ut ille dulcis amor Jesu in tuo crescat affectu’. Talbot, p. 200.

<sup>53</sup> *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, by Walter Daniel, ed. and trans. by Maurice Powicke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950). While the *Vita* is inevitably idealised given its genre, it depicts a model of Christian piety whom its audiences were inspired to emulate, like *De Institutione Inclusionum*.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Nec debet intendere lector ut quamlibet earum totam *perlegat*, sed quantum sentit sibi deo adiuvante valere ad accendendum affectum orandi’. Anselm, ‘Prologue’ to *Orationes Sive Meditationes*, in F. S. Schmitt, *Saint Anselm: Opera Omnia*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1940-1961), vol. 3, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Cum igitur mens tua ab omni fuerit cogitationum sorde uirtutum exercitacione purgata ...’ Talbot, p. 200. As noted above, prayer is listed among these ‘virtues’. On *lectio divina*, see Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982).

prayer.<sup>56</sup> *Ancrene Wisse*, which drew extensively from *De Institutione Inclusarum*, constructs a similar relationship between reading and prayer:

Ofte leoue sustren ze schulen vri lesse forto Mare reden Redunge is god bone. Redunge theacheð hu 7 hwet me bidden 7 beode bizet hit efter. amide þe redunge hwenne þe heorte likeð. kimeð up andeuociun þ is wurð Monie bonen. (211, f. 129v/16-f. 130r/1)

We can thus infer that, in these contexts, reading, prayer and meditation fulfilled different functions and had different performative methods—but not necessarily different texts—associated with them. Of particular interest here is the rationale behind *Ancrene Wisse*'s recommendation of reading over prayer as 'accidies salue' (211, f. 129v/11). In medieval devotional writing, *acedia* was often used to refer to a mental state that we might now define as depression, characterised by hopelessness, apathy, or a lack of motivation.<sup>57</sup> By filling the listless or depressed soul with 'gastlich gledschipe 7 froure of gledful hope' (211, f. 129v/13-14), reading enables an anchorite to discern what to pray for, and to perform her prayers with an appropriately devout heart. In this way, her prayer will more successfully 'bizet ... efter' what it requests if it is prefaced by reading, and its increased efficacy allows her to 'vri lesse' while achieving the same desirable outcome. The reason for including this distinction at this point in the chapter is to contextualise its discussion of certain parts of the *Threefold Meditation* in the context of prayer, as opposed to that of meditation. It also shows the importance of performing prayer with the correct affective orientation and intentions—contextual

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<sup>56</sup> 'Facto autem paruo aliquam lectionem de Vitas partum ... legat, ut orta ex his aliqua compuncione, in quodam feruore spiritus completorium dicat, cum pecto pleno deuocionis ...' Talbot, p. 185.

<sup>57</sup> Goscelin similarly recommends devotional reading *contra taedia* (an equivalent term to *acedia*) in the *Liber Confortatorius*; Otter contextualises contemporary approaches to and remedies for *acedia* in literature produced for religious audiences in *Liber Confortatorius*, p. 80, n. 1. For a more in-depth discussion of *acedia*, see Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967). While the sin of sloth is usually connected with *physical* apathy or laziness in modern usage, it more frequently refers to an undesirable mental state or attitude in historical sources.

information that we have often seen expressed in the paratexts to the devotional texts examined in this study.

In addition to these aspects of devotional performance, *De Institutione Inclusarum* also reflects historical developments in the spiritual and cultural milieu in which such treatises were composed. Its suitability for both clerical and lay audiences renders it an ideal source for assessing the transitional character of twelfth-century devotion. Aelred describes the first section of the treatise, which includes directions on prayer, as ‘a form of living which, while adjusted to the needs of the weak, leaves the strong the freedom to progress to greater perfection’.<sup>58</sup> Although it is directed to a nun-anchorite, the provisions made for illiterate (or non-Latinate) recluses suggest that the audiences he anticipated for his rule were not necessarily clerical. As such, *De Institutione Inclusarum* connects the previous analysis of monastic prayer-books with the forthcoming discussion of prayer texts associated with lay anchorites in Chapters 4 and 5. *De Institutione Inclusarum*’s popularity is further evidenced by its surviving manuscripts, which are discussed in greater detail below. It significantly influenced contemporary literature of spiritual guidance directed to various kinds of audiences: as well as works directed specifically to anchorites, other twelfth-century devotional treatises concerned with cultivating the affect, including Hugh of Saint-Victor’s *De arrha animae* and Bernard of Clairvaux’s *De diligendo Deo*, borrowed from it.<sup>59</sup> Aelred’s use of guided meditation to cultivate affective response in *De Institutione Inclusarum* and the *Threefold Meditation* anticipates the similar techniques used in the later thirteenth-century texts studied in the final two chapters. In this way, this treatise is uniquely representative of the intersection between lay and monastic devotional practices during the twelfth century, in addition to being a widely read and influential source in its time.

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<sup>58</sup> ‘Hec ... scripsi, infirmis temperatum quondam modum uiuendi proponens, forcioribus ad perfectiora progrediendi libertatem relinquens’. Talbot, p. 188.

<sup>59</sup> Talbot, p. 169.

Comparing *De Institutione Inclusionum* with other contemporary devotional treatises further supports its suitability as a historical source for the methods and intentions of personal prayer in twelfth-century England. Its popularity, as evidenced in its surviving manuscripts, illustrates that contemporary audiences considered it a valuable and practical source of spiritual guidance. Ten manuscripts remain containing all or part of the original Latin text, ranging in date from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries; four of these date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>60</sup> A Middle English adaptation survives in two fourteenth-century manuscripts, evidencing its perceived utility for audiences unable or unwilling to pursue a formal religious life.<sup>61</sup> Unlike *De Institutione Inclusionum*, which caters to prospective audiences with varying levels of spiritual experience and Latinity, the *Liber Confortatorius*, another twelfth-century treatise addressed to an English nun-anchorite, assumes an erudite, clerical reader possessing a sophisticated understanding of scripture and the Psalms. The *Liber Modo Bene Vivendi* and Abelard's letter to Heloise, composed for similar audiences, likewise address those already established in the spiritual life.<sup>62</sup> In contrast to Aelred's widely circulated treatise, Goscelin's *Liber* survives in only one manuscript, London, British Library Sloane MS 3103, associated with the Benedictine abbey of St Sauveur-le-Vicomte in Normandy.<sup>63</sup> The surviving manuscripts of the *Liber Modo Bene Vivendi* date from the late thirteenth to early fifteenth centuries, and are likewise predominantly associated with male religious houses.<sup>64</sup> The only known copies of the *Dublin Rule* are in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 97 and London, British

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<sup>60</sup> For the manuscripts of *De Institutione Inclusionum*, see Alexandra Barratt, 'The textual tradition of the *De institutis inclusionum* of Aelred of Rievaulx', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 8 (1979), pp. 195-211.

<sup>61</sup> *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusionum: Two Middle English Translations*, ed. by John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, EETS OS 287 (London: Oxford University Press, 1984).

<sup>62</sup> Anne Mouron speculates on potential audiences for the original Latin text of the *Liber* and its later Middle English adaptation in *The manere of good lvyng: a Middle English translation of pseudo-Bernard's Liber de modo bene vivendi ad sororem* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), p. 18.

<sup>63</sup> Although the imagery and concerns of the *Liber* anticipate those of *De Institutione Inclusionum* and, by extension, its thirteenth-century descendants, there is no indication that Goscelin's work was known to these later authors.

<sup>64</sup> See Mouron, pp. 18-19.

Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E.vii, which were both owned by monasteries.<sup>65</sup> The manuscript record does not as such suggest that these other works as widely circulated among diverse audiences as *De Institutione Inclusarum*.

The manuscript record complicates reading *De Institutione Inclusarum* alongside the *Threefold Meditation* in its material context, with the earliest manuscript containing both works compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century. Three thirteenth-century versions of the *Threefold Meditation* survive, in which it is prefaced by other devotional treatises or contemplative works, while the earliest manuscript of *De Institutione Inclusarum*, the late-twelfth century Hereford, Hereford Cathedral P.i.17, is damaged, breaking off just before the *Threefold Meditation*.<sup>66</sup> The thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Meditation* were produced between c. 1240-1280, also postdating the requisite time period. However, as the only twelfth-century manuscript is incomplete, the two earliest thirteenth-century manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 36 and Hatton 101, composed c. 1240-1260, will be used to analyse the *Meditation*. In both these cases, the *Meditation* will be read in dialogue with the treatises that precede it; as it is never included in a manuscript without prefatory spiritual guidance (whether Aelred's own work or otherwise), it must be contextualised alongside its accompanying works in order to fully signify.

Alexandra Barratt has produced the only thorough study of the manuscripts of *De Institutione Inclusarum* and the *Threefold Meditation*. She downplays the significance of those containing only the *Threefold Meditation*, presenting them as exemplifying the contemporary treatment that 'one might expect of a twelfth-century treatise which was much read'—that is, 'not treated with excessive respect, being borrowed, abridged, rephrased, translated and mis-attributed'.<sup>67</sup> Reinterpreting the abridged versions in their historical and cultural context

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<sup>65</sup> Oliger, pp. 156-157.

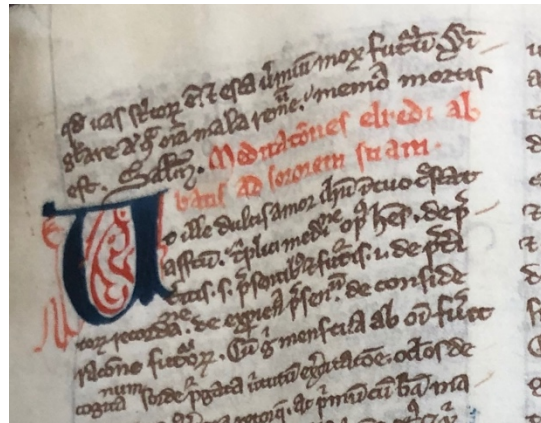
<sup>66</sup> The twelfth- and early thirteenth-century manuscripts are described by Barratt, p. 195.

<sup>67</sup> Barratt, p. 196.

interrogates this assessment. In them, Aelred's work is not treated disrespectfully, nor is it unattributed or rephrased. Rather, it is presented as an authoritative source of appropriate material for meditating on divine love. In Bodley 36, it is rubricated 'The meditation of Abbot Aelred for his enclosed sister' ('Meditacio Eldredi abbatis ad sororem inclusam') and forms part of a collection of meditative tracts on confession, virtue, charity, and love by distinguished authors including Hugh of Saint-Victor, Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Augustine. The Hatton 101 *Meditation* follows a manual of religious instruction concerned with confession, prayer, and the preparation of the heart, activities whose affective engagement the *Threefold Meditation* intends to cultivate; Aelred's work is rubricated as in the Bodley manuscript (Fig 3.2). Another mid-thirteenth century manuscript, London, British Library Royal 8 D iii, is a compilation of devotional and pastoral treatises similar to Bodley 36, in which Aelred's work is given a longer and more detailed rubric: 'Here begin some sentences excerpted from the treatise of the venerable Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx, which he composed for the *Rule for Recluses* [sent] to his sister'.<sup>68</sup> This compilation prefaces the meditations with material from *De Institutione Inclusarum* itself, dispensing advice on evening prayer, the maintenance of chastity and guarding against temptation. The value of Aelred's work for use in devotional practice is clearly recognised by these later medieval compilers; as with the *Liber Confortatorius*, its original composition for an enclosed woman attests its suitability for those aspiring to holiness, although the practical material specifically directed to anchorites is omitted.

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<sup>68</sup> 'Incipiunt quedam sentencie excepte de tractatu uenerabilis Aelredi abbatis Riualensis, quas fecit de institutis inclusarum ad sororem suam'. Royal 8 D.iii, f. 166r.



**Fig 3.2:** The opening rubric of the *Threefold Meditation* in Hatton 101, f. 208v. Although it is integrated into a different devotional treatise, the *Meditation* is clearly attributed to Aelred.

The presentation of Aelred's work in these early manuscripts informs us about the ways in which it was received. These compilations reflect contemporary audiences' observation of the precondition for its successful performance established in its opening sentence: 'when your mind has been purged of all unclean thoughts through the practice of the virtues'.<sup>69</sup> The preface to the *Threefold Meditation* specifically lists prayer as one of these virtues, establishing a relationship between prayer and meditation explored in greater detail below. Another interesting feature of these three manuscripts is their similarity in design: all are copied in double columns with red and blue *litterae notabiliores*, dividing the meditations into smaller sections suitable for non-sequential reading. The analysis of the material texts will specifically focus on the Hatton and Bodley manuscripts, as they are the two earliest thirteenth-century versions. As in the other chapters, close reading of paratextual features such as rubrics and *mise-en-page* will be incorporated into literary criticism of the *Meditation* itself.

Despite its stated intention 'to provide an established rule that directs [a recluse's] behaviour and allows [her] to perform the necessary practices of the religious life', *Institutione Inclusarum* is not often read as a practical text.<sup>70</sup> For example, Charles Talbot

<sup>69</sup> 'Cum igitur mens tua ab omni fuerit cogitationum sorde uirtutum exercitatione purgata'. Talbot, p. 200.

<sup>70</sup> '... certam tibi formulam tradam, ad ... mores tuos dirigere et necessaria religioni possis exercicia'. Talbot, p. 177.

commended the second half of *De Institutione Inclusarum* as ‘not a dry, legal tissue of precepts and prohibitions concerned with the external and material conduct of the life of the recluse, but a warm and enthusiastic exhortation to the practice of the highest form of religious asceticism and contemplation’.<sup>71</sup> He sees these ideals as exemplified in ‘the triple form of meditation’ following the main text.<sup>72</sup> His assessment, however, centres on a dichotomy between Martha and Mary that is unsupported by the text. Talbot believes that ‘the recluse should not be like Martha ... but a contemplative like Mary’; thus, while ‘prayer must be her constant occupation’, he asserts that ‘by prayer, Saint Ailred did not mean the fulfilment of the Divine Office ... but meditation on short incidents of Our Lord’s life and Passion’.<sup>73</sup> Talbot’s assumption that ‘contemplative’ prayer could not have included the liturgy has been interrogated throughout this thesis, and is further disproved in *De Institutione Inclusarum*. While Talbot equates prayer with meditation, Aelred specifically distinguishes the two practices in the proem to the *Threefold Meditation*. He establishes the requirement for properly performing meditation as follows: ‘[a] mind purged of all sinful thoughts by the exercises of the virtues’.<sup>74</sup> ‘Two things pertain to the true love of God,’ he explains, ‘the affect of the mind, and the performance of works’.<sup>75</sup> Meditation is listed as one of these internal affects, while prayer is numbered among the external ‘works’, with both practices articulating the love of God; the link between them is stylistically articulated through the collocation of *affectus* and *effectus*. In the *Meditation* itself, Aelred guides its performer to praise ‘good works, [which] adorn prayer, increase devotion, excite desire’.<sup>76</sup> This example illustrates that Aelred does not elevate Mary over Martha to the extent that Talbot implies. Marsha Dutton rightly observes

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<sup>71</sup> Talbot, p. 173.

<sup>72</sup> Talbot, p. 174.

<sup>73</sup> Talbot, pp. 173-174.

<sup>74</sup> ‘Cum igitur mens tua ab omni fuerit cognitacionum sorde uirtutum exercitacione purgata, iam ...’ Talbot, p. 200.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Ad dei uero dilectionem duo pertinent, affectus mentis, et effectus operis’. *ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> ‘Bonis eciam operibus pingescat oratio, augeatur deuocio, dilectio excitetur’. Talbot, p. 203.

that Aelred presents the ‘dynamic tension’ between Martha and Mary as a spiritual friendship in which Christ is placed at the centre of the two counterparts in order to connect them. ‘When Aelred writes about Mary and Martha,’ she points out, ‘he is explicit in placing Jesus with them’.<sup>77</sup> Rather than rejecting the role of Martha, a recluse must instead use the practices of the active life, which include prayer, to successfully realise inward meditation. Through Christ, the outer and inner are joined rather than separated.

While Dutton only quotes from the *Threefold Meditation* in her reading of Aelred’s spirituality, it is important to note that the meditation is never presented without a prefacing devotional treatise in any of its surviving manuscripts, even if that treatise is not by Aelred. All of these treatises discuss matters such as prayer and the preparation of the heart, cultivating the necessary affective orientation for the *Meditation*’s performance. The manuscripts of the *Threefold Meditation* evidence that Aelred’s instructions to prepare for its performance with prayer and other devotional exercises were observed in practice. Critical readings of the *Meditation* should be contextualised with reference to the devotional treatises accompanying it in its contemporary manuscripts. Therefore, my analysis of the methods of devotional practice that Aelred presents will be supported not only by *De Institutione Inclusarum*, but also by the other treatises prefacing the work in its early manuscripts: the untitled text in Hatton 101, and the compilation of devotional treatises in Bodley 36.

In addition to the significance of and relationship between prayer and meditation in *De Institutione Inclusarum*, the methods that Aelred sets out for devotional performance have not been fully examined. The somatic and affective aspects of the *Threefold Meditation* have been explored by Bourke in relation to what she calls ‘neurohistory’, a reading practice that ‘involves the conscious and deliberate use of a textual stimulus to evoke, alter, or otherwise

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<sup>77</sup> Marsha Dutton, ‘The Sacramentality of Community in Aelred’, in *A Companion to Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-1167)*, ed. by Marsha Dutton (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 246-267 (p. 251).

influence the reader's own affective state'.<sup>78</sup> Despite her emphasis on the sensory aspects of neurohistory, however, Bourke does not discuss the role of the body in prayer at all, associating it with 'a style of slow, focused, meditative or contemplative reading' performed 'to construct a spiritually significant internal space'.<sup>79</sup> The interplay between physical and affective sensation—the 'blend [of] the spiritual with the corporeal' that Aelred advertises as the purpose of his treatise—is unconsidered.<sup>80</sup> Laura Diener has offered a more holistic reading of the treatise, which argues that when performing the *Threefold Meditation*, 'if done correctly, [a recluse's] affective involvement would produce physical reactions, such as physical shaking and actual tears'.<sup>81</sup> Diener sees the function of the *Meditation* as facilitating affective identification with its characters, such that an anchorite 'would try literally to become [Mary], if only for a few moments, by assuming her own experiences ... [of] a spectrum of sensations, from complete happiness to utter despair'.<sup>82</sup> However, Diener's methods of achieving this alignment with the text are primarily emotional. Her conclusion that the anchorite 'literally involve[s] herself in the drama' does not discuss physical performance in significant detail, although *De Institutione Inclusarum* covers aspects including posture and gesture and interactions with devotional objects in the cell.<sup>83</sup> For example, she reflects on the overwhelming sorrow that Mary and the anchorite feel at beholding Christ crucified without referencing Aelred's specific instruction to have a crucifix on the altar in order to facilitate precisely that. She also does not incorporate Aelred's own condition for the 'correct' performance of the meditation—preparation with prayer—into her assessment. As will be

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<sup>78</sup> Bourke, p. 126.

<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> 'spiritualia corporalibus ... interserens'. Talbot, p. 177.

<sup>81</sup> Laura Michele Diener, 'The Anonymous Heroine: Aelred of Rievaulx's Rule for His Sister', in *The Ties that Bind: Essays in Medieval British History in Honor of Barbara Hanawalt*, ed. by Linda E. Mitchell, Katherine L. French, and Douglas L. Biggs (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 105-120 (pp. 112-13).

<sup>82</sup> Diener, p. 113

<sup>83</sup> Diener, p. 114.

discussed below, *De Institutione Inclusionum* incorporates the body into the performance of the accompanying *Threefold Meditation* as well as prayer in order to enhance affective response.

### **Externalising the Affect: The Outer Rule on Prayer**

The majority of the directions regarding the content and performance of prayer in *De Institutione Inclusionum* are in the first section, which establishes a ‘rule of life’ (*modum vivendi*) to regulate the ‘outer person’ (*exterioris hominis*).<sup>84</sup> Accordingly, the practical and contextual aspects of devotional practice are primarily explicated: the times for prayer, the content of the daily programme, and recommendations for supplementary exercises. The preface indicates the importance of these directions, which ‘allow [a recluse] to fulfil the essential (*necessaria*) activities of the religious life’.<sup>85</sup> In this, *De Institutione Inclusionum* is similar to *Ancrene Wisse*, whose opening section similarly outlines the daily prayers expected of its user, framing its devotional texts with paratextual written instructions. Both sets of daily devotions are crucial to fulfilling an anchorite’s vocation and providing a structural and symbolic framework for her spiritual life, and thus merit closer examination. In this context, Talbot’s previously mentioned hierarchisation of scripted and spontaneous prayer is further undermined.<sup>86</sup>

Despite its stated importance, *De Institutione Inclusionum*’s Outer Rule has received little critical attention. Its guidance is commonly described as directly borrowed from the Benedictine Rule, conveying a traditional outline of the spiritual life with little modification.<sup>87</sup>

A closer reading of the Outer Rule, however, reveals that Aelred’s work reflects the specific needs of his envisioned audience and his own personal spirituality. While he introduces his

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<sup>84</sup> Talbot, p. 188.

<sup>85</sup> ‘Certam tibi formulam tradam, ad quam ... necessaria religioni possis exercicia ordinare’. Talbot, p. 177. Macpherson translates *necessaria* as ‘basic’, which does not communicate the essentiality of these instructions and is unsupported by the DMLBS. cf. Macpherson, p. 43.

<sup>86</sup> cf. Talbot, p. 174.

<sup>87</sup> As in, for example, Talbot, pp. 171-172; MacPherson, p. 53 n. 42 and p. 55 n. 53.

guidance as primarily derived from ‘a variety of regulations of the Fathers’, his source material is excerpted and rearranged rather than straightforwardly copied, with references to these works rarely explicitly cited.<sup>88</sup> Macpherson identifies his invocation of the Fathers as a ‘commonplace’ trope of the genre, used to validate a treatise’s spiritual authority rather than to literally describe its content.<sup>89</sup> Comparing *De Institutione Inclusarum*’s devotional programme with the corresponding sections of the Benedictine Rule reveals significant differences between the two regarding the function and significance of prayer. These differences are further illustrated through comparison with another contemporary routine based on the Benedictine Rule: that in Abelard’s *regula* for the Paraclete nuns.<sup>90</sup> Supporting analysis of the devotional treatises that preface the *Threefold Meditation* in Hatton 101 and Bodley 36 is also provided. These comparisons demonstrate that prayer is not only treated in relation to the ‘outer person’ in *De Institutione Inclusarum*, but also to the ‘inner’; their correspondences thus facilitate the ‘blending of the spiritual and the corporeal’ that it promises to establish.<sup>91</sup>

The devotional programme of *De Institutione Inclusarum* is primarily based on Chapter 48 of the Benedictine Rule.<sup>92</sup> Much of its practical and moral guidance directly corresponds with it, including the warnings against idleness, variations between the winter and summer timetables, and discussion of the significance of Lent. An anchorite should also pray the Hours ‘as set out in the Rule of Saint Benedict’.<sup>93</sup> While its framework for the devotional day is similar, however, Aelred’s treatise exhibits a markedly different treatment of prayer performed *outside* the Hours. The Benedictine Rule designates the time between each Hour for either

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<sup>88</sup> ‘ex diuresis partum institutis, aliqua ... excerpens’. Talbot, p. 177.

<sup>89</sup> Macpherson, p. 44, n. 4. Andrew Taylor’s analysis of the historical and cultural development of *auctoritas* in the Middle Ages observes that ‘the very act of aligning a text with a tradition’ constituted a valid and established means of empowering and authenticating it. Andrew Taylor, ‘Authorising Text and Writer’, in *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), pp. 1–28 (p. 7).

<sup>90</sup> ‘Letter 8: From Abelard to Heloise’, in Radice, pp. 130–210.

<sup>91</sup> ‘spiritualia corporalibus ... interserens’. Talbot, p. 177.

<sup>92</sup> The relevant passage is Talbot, pp. 184–186.

<sup>93</sup> ‘secundum formam regule beati Benedicti’. Talbot, p. 184.

reading or work, directing monks to ‘*learn* [as opposed to, say, ‘contemplate’ or ‘pray’] the Psalms’ after dinner. No specific mention is made of personal prayer or psalmody. Abelard similarly recommends the alternation of ‘reading, chanting, or handiwork’ between each Hour without mentioning prayer.<sup>94</sup> He also specifies that reading or singing before the altar should only be performed with ‘previous preparation’, seemingly warning against spontaneous prayer.<sup>95</sup> Aelred instead offers a choice between reading, psalmody, prayer, and work, emphasising that whatever activity she selects must be ‘guided by her devotion’.<sup>96</sup> For example, vigils must be performed ‘with as much devotion as she is able’; alternating spiritual exercises prevents boredom limiting her engagement with a particular task.<sup>97</sup> This stipulation is unique to Aelred’s treatise, and establishes the importance of affective involvement in the performance of daily tasks. In this way, all of her actions become a means of expressing devotion, and, by extension, prayer. The consistent emphasis on affective engagement reflects that the guidance of the Outer Rule is as concerned with cultivating inner, spiritual desires as externalising them.

This section of *De Institutione Inclusarum* also lays the foundation for the successful performance of the *Threefold Meditation* in its discussion of devotional reading. Reading is specifically linked with inspiring the affective response essential to successful prayer: before bed, ‘[a recluse] should read to herself in silence a passage from the *Lives of the Fathers* or the *Institutes*, or of their miracles, so that a certain compunction is aroused out of them; in such a fervour of spirit she should say compline, and, with a heart filled with devotion, retire to bed’.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Radice, p. 165. Abelard appears to use the verb ‘chanting’ in connection with liturgical psalmody, implying a metrical, rhythmic performance distinct from ‘reading’ and ‘meditation’. Abelard’s directions do not reference prayer. Radice, pp. 164-165.

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.* As will be discussed, Aelred’s contrasting treatment of the altar in *De Institutione Inclusarum* creates a space in which both liturgical and non-liturgical prayer should be performed.

<sup>96</sup> ‘prout ea deuocio’. Talbot, p. 185.

<sup>97</sup> ‘cum qua potest deuocione ... nocturnas uigilias celebret’. Talbot, p. 184.

<sup>98</sup> ‘Facto autem paruo interuallo aliquam lectionem de Vitis partum, uel Institutis, uel miraculis eorum sibi secrecies legat, ut orta ex his aliqua compunccione, in quodam feruore spiritus completorium dicat, et cum pectore pleno deuocionis, lectulo membra componat’. Talbot, p. 185.

While the Benedictine Rule primarily associates reading with study, a connection maintained by Abelard, Gopa Roy points out that the verbs Aelred uses in reference to reading, *cogitare* and *revolvere*, imply a ruminative practice closely allied with prayer.<sup>99</sup> The use of reading to elicit the emotion essential to heartfelt prayer is dramatized in the *Threefold Meditation*. Its purpose as a preliminary activity to affective prayer is evidenced by reading being the first thing that the anchorite does upon commencing the meditation:

First, with the blessed Mary, having entered her bedroom, unfold (*euolue*) the books that prophesy the virgin birth and the advent of Christ. ... Hearing [the angel's] greeting, and thus filled with wonder and amazement, greeting your sweetest Lady with the greeting angel, shouting and saying: *Aue gracia plena* ...<sup>100</sup>

Here, reading is imaginatively associated with heartfelt and affective prayer. The verb *evolvere* adds symbolic connotations to the act of opening a book, invoking a slow and ruminative process of 'drawing out' or 'unfolding' a text rather than straightforwardly reading it.<sup>101</sup> In both the Hatton and the Bodley versions of the *Meditation*, the pace of this activity is further modulated by the punctuation of the text, with each action that the performer takes (meeting Mary, entering the room, unfolding the book, and so on) separated by *punctus*. The act of reading with Mary in this context additionally communicates symbolic significance. Traditional depictions of the Annunciation in Books of Hours prominently feature Mary holding a book; by mirroring her actions, the performer thus aligns herself with her.<sup>102</sup> This

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<sup>99</sup> Gopa Roy, 'Sharpen Your Mind with the Whetstone of Books: The Female Recluse as Reader in Goscelin's *Liber Confortatorius*, Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum*, and the *Ancrene Wisse*', in *Women, the Book, and the Godly: Selected Proceedings of the St. Hilda's Conference, 1993*, ed. by Lesley Smith and Jane Taylor, vol. 1 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), pp. 113-122 (p. 118). Abelard primarily connects reading with education, specifically recommending reading the works of the Church Fathers or the scriptures.

<sup>100</sup> 'Primum cum beata Maria, ingressa cubiculum, libros quibus uirginis partus et Christi prophetatur aduentus euolue. ... Audias salutantem, et sic replete stupor et extasi dulcissimam dominam tuam cum angelo salutante salutes, clamans et dicens: *Aue gracia plena* ...'. Talbot, p. 200.

<sup>101</sup> *evolvere*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/evolvere>>.

<sup>102</sup> On the art of Books of Hours, see Roger Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Brazillier, 1997) and Roger Wieck and Lawrence R. Poos, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Brazillier, 2001). Laura Saetveit Miles discusses the historical development of depicting Mary reading in 'The Origins and Development of the Virgin Mary's Book

symbolism then translates to the literal act of reading a book. The meditation also encourages specific emotional responses to the visualised scene, juxtaposing the intense emotions of *stupore* and *extasi* with a tricolon of verbs emphatically shaping the articulation of the following prayer: *salutens, clamans, dicens*. In this way, the *Ave Maria*, performed as part of the daily routine of prayer, is revived as a direct greeting to Mary; the *Threefold Meditation* thus interacts with liturgical prayer rather than being separate from it. Performing the *Meditation* enacts the reading practice set out in *De Institutione Inclusarum*, in which compunction is elicited and the heart affected with intense emotion.

This connection between reading, prayer, and meditation—and the difficulty of maintaining strict distinctions between them—is further substantiated by the devotional treatises accompanying the thirteenth-century versions of the *Threefold Meditation*, which support Aelred’s emphasis on the necessity of devout and heartfelt prayer. The treatise in Hatton 101, while composed for an ordained user, shares notable similarities with Aelred’s programme that evidence the widespread applicability of his directions.<sup>103</sup> Hatton’s discussion of prayer is divided into two sections, *De Oratione* et *De Preparatione Cordis*. Much like Aelred’s ‘outer’ and ‘inner’ sections, *De Oratione* discusses the “external” aspects of prayer—how, when, and for whom to pray—and *De Preparatione Cordis* the “internal”—why and with what emotion one should pray. *De Oratione* sequentially lists the texts for daily prayer and their associated intentions, while *De Preparatione Cordis* opens with instructions regarding their affective and bodily performance:

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at the Annunciation’, *Speculum* 89.3 (2014), pp. 632-669, and *The Virgin Mary’s Book at the Annunciation: Reading, Interpretation, and Devotion in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2020).

<sup>103</sup> The Hatton rule directs its user to pray after ‘going into the church [and] putting your hands on the Host’, indicating that he was ordained. ‘Denique ueniens ad ecclesiam ponens manum super hostum 7 dic ...’ Hatton 101, f. 202v.

Now, the ways in which the heart should be prepared for prayer are shown. When you are awoken for Vigils: your soul is prepared for devotion in such a way that you eagerly leap out of bed and strike your body ...<sup>104</sup>

This section then provides directions for prayers intended to cultivate the affect towards spiritually beneficial things. ‘After [Matins]’, it continues, ‘going into the church [and] placing your hands on the Host, say: “Out of wrong and sinful thoughts, you redeem me, the affect of my heart, the appetites of my flesh”’.<sup>105</sup> This expression of gratitude is enacted by touching the Host, exemplifying how connections between material objects and spiritual meaning can enhance the meaning of prayer. The heart is further cultivated by performing ‘separate verses combined with some kind of spiritual meditation’, illustrating the relationship between prayer and meditation established in the opening of the *Threefold Meditation*.<sup>106</sup>

In Bodley 36, the *Meditation* is prefaced by Hugh of Saint-Victor’s *De Laude Caritatis*, which expresses the importance of loving and desiring God.<sup>107</sup> Aligning with Hatton’s use of devotional objects to cultivate a physically expressed desire for Christ, Hugh’s explanation for the efficacy of *caritas* is mediated through language evoking interactions with material things:

But if you love something more, you desire to reach it more quickly, and you hasten so that you might seize it: thus, you run through desire, and you seize through desire.<sup>108</sup>

Hugh figures desire as the means by which one reaches and experiences God; his use of the verb *apprehendere*, ‘to seize’, conveys the urgency and tangibility of this possession. *De Laude Caritatis* is followed by three texts that cultivate this urgent, spiritual love: an extract from the pseudo-Augustine *Liber exhortacionis* inviting praise and contemplation of the Virgin

<sup>104</sup> ‘Nunc quomodo preparandum sit cor ad oratio uidus est. Quando ad uigilias surgendum est.’ preparandus est animus tuus ad deuotionem. ita scilicet ut feruenter exilias a lecto. 7 corpore excusso ...’ Hatton 101, f. 202v.

<sup>105</sup> ‘Perpera me hic cogitationes male tu redempcionem affectus cordis. appetitus carnis’. Hatton 101, f. 202v.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Et uersus singulos consperges meditatione aliqua spiritali’. Hatton 101, f. 202v.

<sup>107</sup> Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De Laude Caritatis*, PL 176:969-976.

<sup>108</sup> ‘Sed quo plus diligis, eo citius pervenire cupis, et festinas ut apprehendas, ergo per dilectionem curris, et per dilectionem apprehendis’ PL 176:972D-973A.

rubricated *de beata Virgine Maria*, the *Threefold Meditation*, and William of Saint-Thierry's *De amore dei*, whose paired meditations are rubricated *de contemplando deo* and *de natura amoris*. The manuscript is copied in only two hands and organised by rubricated *litterae notabiliores* and titles, suggesting that Aelred's meditation was deliberately chosen to fill a predetermined compilation of devotional texts.

Like Hatton, the Bodley manuscript likely circulated among male, clerical audiences: not only does it contain a text of the *Speculum Monachorum*, but a fifteenth-century inscription indicates ownership by the house of Friars Minor at Carmarthen. The *Speculum* shares notable similarities with both the Hatton treatise and *De Institutione Inclusarum* regarding the direction of prayer.<sup>109</sup> Composed in the mid-twelfth century, it presents a monk with a series of aphorisms that guide him through the liturgical day and regulate his behaviour. Although it is not addressed to a named individual or voiced in the first person, it calls itself an 'ordinem et modo vivendi', functioning similarly to the devotional treatises discussed above. It shares the emphasis of *De Institutione Inclusarum* on affectively engaged and heartfelt prayer, stating that 'your heart should be in psalmody, unless it perhaps is snatched away by something higher'.<sup>110</sup> It also specifies the appropriate posture for non-liturgical prayer: 'in between [Psalms], you must stand in prayer'.<sup>111</sup> Another link between the *Speculum* and *De Institutione Inclusarum* is its directions regarding the relationship between reading and prayer, which differ from the traditional progression of *lectio divina* outlined above: 'after reading is prayer: and if [a monk] draws near to reading, he should not desire learning as much as flavour'.<sup>112</sup> Like Aelred, the *Speculum* presents reading as preliminary to prayer, with the purpose of inspiring devotion, rather than as part of a movement from reading to meditation to prayer. It also recommends the

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<sup>109</sup> Arnoul de Bohéries, *Speculum Monachorum*, PL 189:1175-1178.

<sup>110</sup> 'Ad Psalmodyam cor habeat; nisi fortassis ad aliquid sublimius rapiatur'. PL 189:1175A.

<sup>111</sup> 'Ad intervallum debet stare ad orationem'. PL 189:1175B.

<sup>112</sup> 'Post lectionem est orandum: et si ad legendum accedat, non tam quaerat scientiam, quam saporem'. PL 189:1175C.

practice of self-scrutiny and penance when lying in bed at night, another similarity with *De Institutione Inclusarum*.

The diversity of the audiences implied in these manuscripts of *De Institutione Inclusarum* and the *Threefold Meditation*—nun-anchorites, non-Latinate women, ordained priests, and friars—suggests that the similarities in the presentation of the *Meditation* and directions regarding personal devotion indicates cultural norms about the reception of Aelred's work and the function and practice of prayer. In all these manuscripts, the *Meditation* is read alongside devotional treatises concerned with establishing the correct affective orientation and methods of performing prayer, illustrating that the context established in the opening line of the *Meditation* (that it be performed after the mind has been purified by prayer) was likely observed in practice. The wide range of audiences also affirms Aelred's claim that *De Institutione Inclusarum* and its accompanying meditation was suitable for users possessing any level of spiritual strength, be they 'strong' or 'weak'. These comparisons place Aelred's work within an established devotional and literary tradition and indicate the universal applicability of his teachings on prayer and its connection with meditation.

In addition to discussing the content and contexts of prayer, *De Institutione Inclusarum* also expresses a concern with regulating the affect during devotional practice. The importance of maintaining affective engagement with prayer is illustrated by Aelred's repeated recommendation against prolonged prayer, which could inspire a distaste for it, in favour of brief and frequent prayer.<sup>113</sup> This advice extends to the illiterate recluse, who should frequently pause and pray only 'briefly' (*breviter*) before resuming her work.<sup>114</sup> Aelred's satirical depiction of the unchaste recluse, tempted to sin through a wandering mind, reinforces the importance of mental and physical presence in devotional performance. It is not sufficient, he

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<sup>113</sup> cf. Talbot, p. 184.

<sup>114</sup> Talbot, p. 185.

warns, ‘to confine the body behind walls while the mind roams at random’.<sup>115</sup> The unbalanced mind is reflected in an unbalanced body, with the distracted anchorite likened to a ‘drunkard [who] staggers through the Psalms, gropes through her reading, wavers while at prayer’.<sup>116</sup> The literal and spiritual passage through devotional texts is presented as a symbiotic relationship, reflecting the allegorical blindness of the ignorant as much as the incapacity of the drunkard.

Contemporary manuscripts of the *Threefold Meditation* reflect this emphasis on brief prayer by dividing it into short paragraphs clearly separated by *litterae notabiliores*. In Hatton 101, the opening paragh of each section is copied in alternating colours. Bodley 36 subdivides the text even further, highlighting the opening letter of each *sententia* with coloured ink in addition to using the same system of coloured paraphs as Hatton (Fig 3.3). Of additional note is that each paragraph contains prayers associated with different daily offices: the first contains the *Ave Maria*, while the third contains the verses from Isaiah 9:6 and the *Gloria in excelsis*, emphasising their association with the Feast of the Nativity. This practice yet again exemplifies that prayer and meditation cannot be distinguished on the basis of their content: the *Meditation* includes prayers, and prayer can be a preliminary to affective, inward meditation.

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<sup>115</sup> ‘Sed multi ... uel ignorantes uel non curantes, membra tantum intra parietes cohibere satis esse putant, cum mens non solum perugacione dissoluatur ...’ Talbot, p. 177.

<sup>116</sup> ‘Quasi in Psalmis ebria titubat, in lectione caligat, fluctuat in oracione’. Talbot, p. 178.

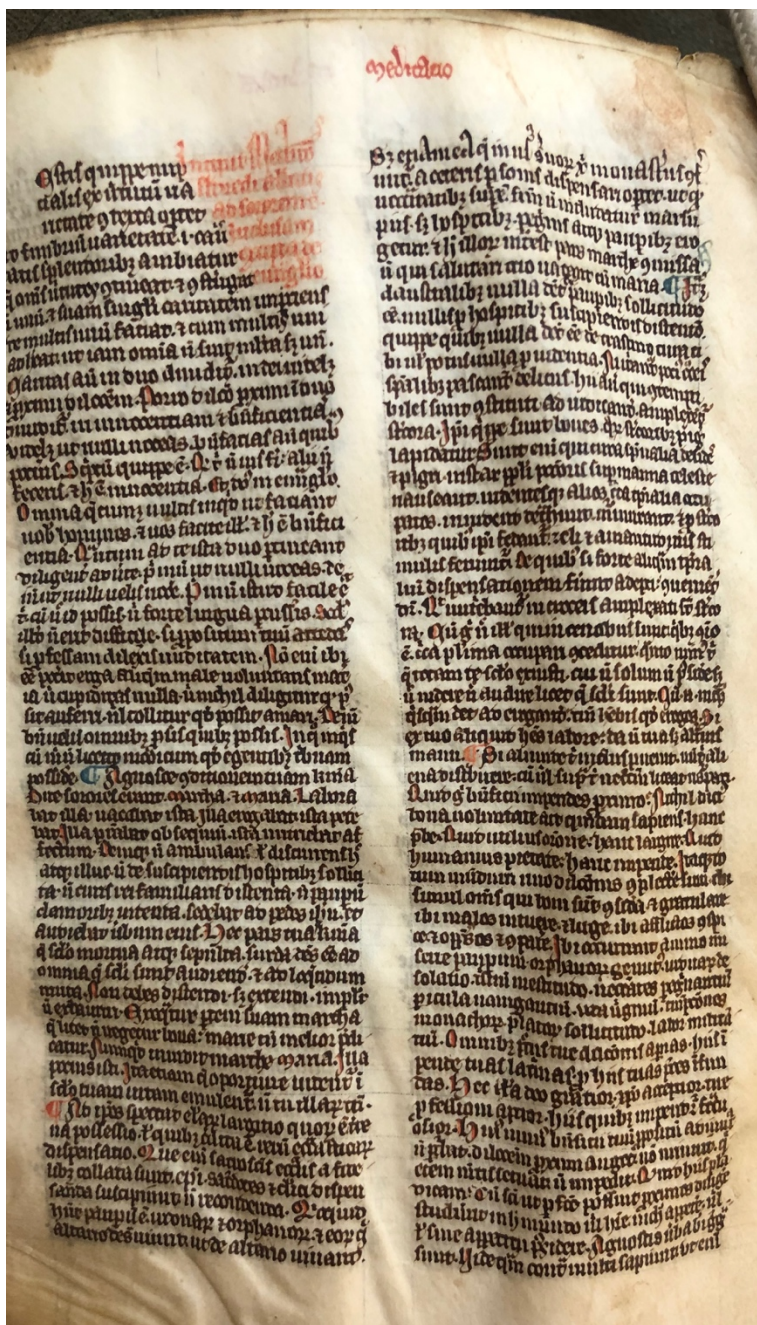


Fig 3.3: The *ordinatio* of the *Threefold Meditation* in Bodley 36, f. 70r, showing the secondary rubrication of *sententia* in the text.

Walter Daniel’s account of Aelred at prayer mirrors his emphasis on the need for mental focus to its successful practice in *De Institutione Inclusarum*. Daniel quotes him as saying that there should be no thought of anything other than God in prayer, as ‘only two meet and come

together in prayer: a person and God Himself'.<sup>117</sup> Involving other elements invites unsuccessful prayer by inspiring someone to make an inappropriate request or causing them to forget what they are petitioning for.<sup>118</sup> These internal aspects of prayer—its motivation and its function—are regulated in the 'inner rule' of *De Institutione Inclusarum*, which opens with the instruction to 'commend your good intentions to He who inspired them with all your heart's devotion, demanding with the most intense prayer that what is impossible for you naturally might be declared easy through grace'.<sup>119</sup> The ability of prayer to cultivate and express desire is rearticulated in the *Threefold Meditation*, when Aelred invites the recluse to recall how '[God] transported you to those ineffable delights and pleasures of Paradise while praying'.<sup>120</sup> These instructions reiterate the emphasis placed on heartfelt and devout prayer in the Outer Rule, establishing their mutual signification.

As well as placing the devotions of the 'outer rule' in the context of personal prayer (that is, what the recluse should meditate on and ask for herself), the Inner Rule establishes their wider significance by allegorising prayer as the means through which an enclosed woman serves her community. Prayer performed on behalf of society is the way in which someone symbolically dead to the world fulfils the commandment to love her neighbour through 'suffering *with*' them (*compatere*).<sup>121</sup> By 'reflect[ing] on the downcast and the oppressed', she cultivates compassionate and tearful prayers that are more pleasing to God.<sup>122</sup> It is this function of prayer, Aelred concludes, that 'fulfils [her] profession'.<sup>123</sup> *De Institutione Inclusarum*

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<sup>117</sup> 'Duo tantum in prece conueniunt et congruent sibi, homo et ipse Deus'. Powicke, p. 20.

<sup>118</sup> 'Si tercius quid fuerit preter hos duos, iam causa non auditur ut decet ne cut oportet exauditur. ... Sic iam unum non erit tecum set duo contra te, si petieris aliquid a Deo quod non debes uel aliud in prece cogitaueris quam hoc quod petis'. *ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> 'Primum igitur o uirgo, bonum propositum tuum ipsi qui inspirauit cum summa cordis deuocione commenda, intentissima oracione deposcens, ut quod tibi impossibile est per naturam, facile senciat per gratiam'. Talbot, p. 189.

<sup>120</sup> 'Quociens orantem in quoddam ineffabile delicias et paradysicas amenitates transportabat'. Talbot, p. 212.

<sup>121</sup> cf. Talbot, p. 199.

<sup>122</sup> 'Quid utilius oracione? Hanc largire. ... Ibi afflictos conpice et oppressos, et compatere'. *ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> 'tue professioni apcior'. *ibid.*

indicates the significance of this aspect in the rhetoric used to emphatically convey this point to its user:

‘What good, then, do you bestow on your neighbour? Nothing is more valuable than good will’, a certain holy man said. Offer this. What is more useful than prayer? Extend this. What is more human than piety? Expend this.<sup>124</sup>

Aelred’s explanation of the value of outer and inner spiritual practices—good works, prayer, and piety—is initially expressed in interrogative phrases, perhaps inviting the reader to pause and reflect on possible responses. They are then answered by short imperatives that reinforce their significance. The verbs used in the passage, *praeberere*, *largire*, and *impendere*, recall the language of economic transaction; their association with spending money reinforces Aelred’s point that an anchorite dispenses wealth and alms spiritually rather than materially. His clever use of economic rhetoric alongside the variety of emotions invoked in this passage to effectively convey its message has been overlooked in critical readings of the text, perhaps because Macpherson’s translation preserves neither the rhetorical structure nor the imagery of the Latin.<sup>125</sup> Bourke’s assessment of this passage as one that ‘could potentially function as a psychotropic mechanism to induce *caritas* or compassion’ does not encompass all of the affects that the anchorite is directed to feel in that moment, such as congratulation for the good, sorrow for the sinful, and pity for the oppressed, in addition to compassion.<sup>126</sup> It also overlooks the establishment of the meaning and function of prayer that it is also concerned with. This example demonstrates how prayer is simultaneously an exterior and interior spiritual activity, as it externally articulates and makes use of the inner virtue that it cultivates.

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<sup>124</sup> ‘Quid igitur beneficia impendes proximo? Nichil dicitur bona uoluntate’, ait quidam sanctus. Hanc prebe. Quid utilius oratione? Hanc largire. Quid humanius pietate? Hanc impende.’ *ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> For example, ‘pietate’ is translated as ‘pity’, a reading unsupported in the DMLBS, and the imperative phrases are translated as nouns, e.g. ‘hanc largire’ becomes ‘let this be your largesse’. cf. Macpherson, p. 77; *pietas*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/pietas>>.

<sup>126</sup> Bourke, p. 131.

The final external aspect of prayer specifically discussed in the Outer Rule is its physical realisation: with what posture and in what way it should be performed. This function of the treatise, approached in this chapter as a literary paratext to the prayers it directs, recalls the situational rubrics identified in Chapter 1's examination of *libelli precum*, codicological paratexts that functioned similarly in outlining these aspects of devotional practice. While *De Institutione Inclusarum* does not contain the explicit directions of *Ancrene Wisse* or the illustrations of a Book of Hours, it still communicates a significant amount of information about the methods associated with its user's prayer. Of particular interest are the verbs that Aelred uses when discussing various devotional exercises. The differences between reading, prayer, liturgy, and psalmody are clarified by the verbs associated with each activity. The observation of the Hours is governed by *celebrare*, a verb primarily associated with formal and public religious ceremonies including communal prayer.<sup>127</sup> *Celebrare* is not used in reference to any other types of devotion, a restriction shared with the *Liber Confortatorius*. The specific choice of this verb thus suggests that the Offices were performed differently from the psalmody recommended as a separate devotional exercise and the Psalms incorporated into the *Threefold Meditation*. Regarding psalmody, the phrase *psalmorum modulatione* suggests rhythmic and possibly melodic incantation: *modulatio* indicates a regular measure, often used in musical contexts.<sup>128</sup> This term is notably not used in the instructions directed to an illiterate anchorite, who is to only repeat (*repetens*) the Lord's Prayer, interspersing (*interserens*) her recitation with any Psalms that she might know.<sup>129</sup> The use of *modulatio*, a specific and technical verb, is unique to *De Institutione Inclusarum* among the devotional treatises examined in this chapter;

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<sup>127</sup> *celebrare*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/celebrare>>. Aelred's use of *celebrare* occurs in the following contexts: 'cum horam primam in diuinis obsequiis *celebrauerit*' and 'secundam formam regule beati Benedicti nocturnas uigilias *celebret*'. Talbot, pp. 183-184. Macpherson's translation does not reflect the specificity of Aelred's language, translating the first instance as 'said' and the second as 'recite' (cf. Macpherson, pp. 54-55).

<sup>128</sup> *modulatio*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/modulatio>>.

<sup>129</sup> Talbot, p. p185.

these primarily use the verb *cantare* (to sing) in reference to both psalmody and prayer, less clearly differentiating the method of their performance. Elsewhere, Aelred uses the verb *psallere*, which again is a musical term that also denotes ‘to sing according to a chant’.<sup>130</sup>

These technical verbs used to denote psalmody as a devotional practice can be contrasted with the use of the Psalms as personal and petitionary prayer in the *Threefold Meditation*, where verbs of speech, such as *clamare*, ‘to shout’, and *dicere*, ‘to say’, are used. The use of *dicere* in particular is shared with the prefaces discussed in Chapter 2, further reinforcing its association with personal prayer. We can therefore consider the differentiation between psalmody and prayer as one of method, rather than of content, supporting Macpherson’s association of psalmody with ‘solitary and personal prayer’ as well as the Divine Office.<sup>131</sup> Performing the Psalms in this way facilitates the self-alignment of the performer with the Psalmist, as she ‘shouts’ or ‘speaks’ the words as her own rather than rhythmically reciting them. Talbot’s edition interestingly appears to evidence the success of this aspiration: when the recluse imagines Christ turning his face from her as a sinner, she desperately throws herself at His feet and ‘shout[s]: *How long will you turn your face away from me?*’.<sup>132</sup> This is the *incipit* of Psalm 12, which Talbot does not reference, including the recluse’s cry in quotation marks rather than italicising it like the other excerpts from the Psalms. It could be argued that this choice evidences the successful blending of the recluse’s voice with that of the Psalmist that the *Threefold Meditation* strives to facilitate.

Information regarding the postures associated with prayer can be extrapolated from both the ‘outer rule’ and the *Threefold Meditation*. It is likely that Aelred expected his recluse to rise and then kneel while she prayed. This is indicated by the verbs describing the transitions between psalmody, reading and prayer: ‘as long as the Psalms please you, use (*utere*) them; if

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<sup>130</sup> *psallere*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/psallere>>. ‘Sic tempus completorii psallens exspectet’. Talbot, p. 185.

<sup>131</sup> MacPherson, p. 56, n. 55.

<sup>132</sup> ‘clama: *Usquequo faciem tuam avertis a me? ...*’ Talbot, p. 203.

they become tedious to you go over (*transi*) to reading; if this becomes dull, rise up (*surge*) to prayer'.<sup>133</sup> The association of *transire* and *surgere* with literal actions in medieval Latin sources implies that these directions suggest physical imperatives rather than figurative use.<sup>134</sup> The importance of correct posture is reiterated in his instructions for the illiterate recluse, emphasised with anaphora: 'she must *rise up* and *kneel* and briefly pray to her God and immediately resume the work that she had interrupted'.<sup>135</sup> The detail that she must stand up before kneeling back down suggests that the act of kneeling to pray was symbolically significant. Other sources associated with *De Institutione Inclusarum* echo the image of kneeling at prayer. The *Vita Aelredi* describes how Aelred 'assailed the Father with prayers on bent knee, with a contrite soul and the spirit of truth', portraying him as the model of perfect devotion.<sup>136</sup> The Hatton treatise also specifies that prayer should be performed 'with bent knees' (*cum genuum flexione*), while *Ancrene Wisse* references 'cneolunges' as a beneficial form of devotion.<sup>137</sup>

Other references to devotional postures correlate specific types of prayer with symbolic actions that articulate their significance. For example, Aelred recommends the repetition of the name of Jesus as a form of prayer, the performance of which, combining prostration ('throw [your]self more often at Jesus's feet'), repetition, and desire, elicits 'tears of compunction' more effectively than any other practice.<sup>138</sup> The ways in which the act of prostration and the emphasis on frequent engagement with the figure of Jesus is enhanced by Aelred's directions for the oratory will be explored below. As with kneeling, other devotional treatises dramatize the success of prostrate prayer. The Hatton treatise directs its user to 'alternate standing and

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<sup>133</sup> Talbot, p. 184. The citations in the DMLBS reflect the literal use of these verbs.

<sup>134</sup> *transire* and *surgere*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/transire>> and <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/surgere>>.

<sup>135</sup> 'Illa sane quod litteras non intellegit ... surgat et genua flectat et breuiter oret deum suum et statim opus quod intermiserat resumat'. Talbot, p. 185.

<sup>136</sup> 'flexis genibus patrem pulsabat precibus in animo contrite et spiritu ueritatis'. Powicke, p. 40.

<sup>137</sup> Hatton 101, f. 202r.

<sup>138</sup> 'Frequencius solito incumbat oracioni crebrius se pedibus Iesu prosternat, crebra dulcissimi nominis illius repeticione compuncionem excitet, lacrimas prouocet, cor ab omni peruagacione compescat'. Talbot, p. 187.

facedown prostration [when praying], silently saying some supplication or Psalm'.<sup>139</sup> Aelred's own preference for this model of prayer is recorded by Daniel, and the *Threefold Meditation* repeatedly directs its performer to throw herself at Jesus's feet as she petitions Him with her prayers. Its efficacy might be due to the psychological effects of prostration, considered by Peter Damian 'the best and the most useful [of] all modes of praying' on account of its dual symbolism of respect and self-abasement.<sup>140</sup> An apparently real example of the success of this technique is Aelred's tale of the penitent monk, who is often associated with Aelred himself. 'Prostrate at Jesus's feet', weeping, and 'cry[ing] out repeatedly', the penitent monk's prayer grants him 'some temporary relief' from the temptations of the flesh.<sup>141</sup> The placement of this anecdote in the Inner Rule to exemplify how prayer guards against sinful temptations reflects how a desirable and appropriate affective orientation is externalised through the body. The two sections of *De Institutione Inclusarum* again intersect. The nightly confessional prayer recommended in the Inner Rule is also accompanied by symbolic physical gestures: as an anchorite recalls her sins, she beats her breast, sighs, and makes the sign of the Cross, externally as well as internally expressing penitence.<sup>142</sup> These directions contrast with those in *Ancrene Wisse*, whose similar recommendation for bedtime self-scrutiny and penance is expressed only through words: 'crieð 3eorne merci 7 for 3eouenesse' (37, f. 18v/9-10). The former treatise likely reflects historical change in the practice and regulation of penitential prayer; while *Ancrene Wisse* was composed in a context where more frequent and formal confession was expected of religious men and women, the sacramental gesture of striking the breast was

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<sup>139</sup> 'cum omni intercede stans. uel procidens in faciem. supplicationem uel Psalmum aliquem silentius dicens'. Hatton 101, f. 202v.

<sup>140</sup> Quoted in Richard Trexler, 'Legitimizing Prayer Gestures in the Twelfth Century: the *De Penitentia* of Peter the Chanter', *History and Anthropology 1* (1984), pp. 97-126 (p. 113). Peter's discussion of posture in relation to devotional expression is analysed extensively in Chapter 4.

<sup>141</sup> cf. Talbot, p. 192.

<sup>142</sup> cf. Talbot, p. 190.

considered appropriate remission in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>143</sup> These external gestures would be necessary for internal compunction to fully signify.

The physicality expected of heartfelt and successful prayer is also evidenced in the *Threefold Meditation*. The postures assumed by the anchorite consistently shift between kneeling, rising, and prostration, mirroring the frequent alternation that Aelred sees as essential to avoiding distastefully prolonged prayer. Symbolic gestures are also directed: for example, the physical movements expected to accompany prayer are evoked in the petition, ‘let pure hands be lifted in prayer ... and let a heart free from anger and quarrelling be lifted’.<sup>144</sup> This action literalises the role of prayer as externalising the affect, with the raising of the hands articulating the lifting of the devout heart. Other actions physically, imaginatively, and symbolically immerse the performer in the scenes that she visualises and reinforce their significance. When Jesus prays for the disciples, ‘Father, keep them in Thy name’ (John 17:11), she is commanded: ‘bow your head, so that you might also deserve to hear, *I want them to be with me, wherever I am* (John 17:24)’.<sup>145</sup> In performing this action, the anchorite includes herself amongst the disciples and places herself under the spiritual protection of Christ’s prayer. The imperative mood of these verbs heightens the sense of obligation to perform these actions as she imaginatively engages with the Gospel narratives. ‘Stretch out your hand to receive something’, the narrator guides her at the Last Supper; it is not difficult to imagine an anchorite successfully aligned with the text extending her real hand out at this point.<sup>146</sup> When she contemplates John reclining on Christ’s breast, she ‘bow[s] her head’ as she voices his prayer, an action that symbolically incorporates her into the body of the faithful.<sup>147</sup> The affective

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<sup>143</sup> cf. Macpherson, p.65, n. 20. An overview of the development and formalisation of confessional practice during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is Alexander Murray, ‘Confession Before 1215’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3 (1993), pp. 51-81.

<sup>144</sup> ‘Leuentur pure manus in oracione ... Leuentur et cor sine ira et disceptacione’. Talbot, p. 203.

<sup>145</sup> ‘Inter hec cum sacratissima illa oracione discipulos commendans parti dixerit: *Pater serva eos in nominee tui, inclina capud ut et tu merearis audire: Volo ut uni sum ego, et illi sint mecum.*’ Talbot, p. 205.

<sup>146</sup> ‘ut aliquid accipias extende manum’. *ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> ‘inclina capud’. *ibid.*

culmination of the meditation—her self-identification with Mary Magdalen at Christ’s resurrection—is expressed with the body rather than by words:

'Mary'. At this utterance let all the floods burst forth, let tears stream up from the very bottom of your heart, let sighs and sobs issue from your inmost depths. ... Tears preclude any further utterance as the voice is stifled by emotion and excess of love leaves the soul dumb, the body without feeling.<sup>148</sup>

It is only through her outer self that the anchorite overcome by emotion can express how she feels within, through the symbolic act of shedding tears.<sup>149</sup> The *Vita Aelredi* evidences the significance of tears in Aelred’s devotional philosophy by describing the effects of his own personal practice:

He rarely prayed without tears. Tears, he said, are indicative of perfect prayer; tears are messengers between God and man; tears display the entire affect of the heart; tears announce the will of God to the soul. Without tears, prayer is unable to pierce the clouds of heaven; without tears, petitions cool, dry up, and wither; without tears, prayer pours onto deaf ears that consequently fail to hear the words of the parched soul.<sup>150</sup>

The interpretation of tears as indicating the fulfilment of prayer is evidenced in other treatises. The *Liber de modo bene vivendi*, for example, encourages its user to ‘to call to memory your sins in prayer with tears, for she who does not have compunction or contrition of heart does not have pure prayer’.<sup>151</sup> The body is as important to the realisation of prayer as the mind; the act of shedding tears not only stimulates the desired feeling of contrition, but also externalises

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<sup>148</sup> ‘*Maria*: rumpantur ad hanc uocem omnes capitis cataracte, ab ipsis medullis eliciantur lacrimae, singultus atque suspiria ab imis trahantur uisceribus ... Nam plura dicere lacrimae prohibent, cum uocem obcludat affectus, osque anime corporisque senus nimis amor absorbeat’. Talbot, p. 208.

<sup>149</sup> Elina Gertsman outlines medieval attitudes and interpretations of tears in relation to affective devotion in *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>150</sup> Vix autem aliquando orauit sine lacrimis; lacrimae, inquit, indicia sunt oracionis perfecte, lacrimae legaciones existent inter Deum et hominem, lacrimae cordis totum produunt affectum, lacrimae Dei ad aniam uoluntatem nunciant. Sine lacrimis oratio nubem celi pertransire non sufficit, sine lacrimis postulaciones tepescunt arescunt et deficient, sine lacrimis ociosis auribus ingeritur oracio et ideo non capiunt uerba arentis anime.’ Powicke, p. 20.

<sup>151</sup> ‘Admoneo igitur te, soror charissima, ut in oratione cum lacrymis ad memoriam reducas peccata tua; quia qui non habet cordis compunctionem vel contritionem, non habet mundam orationem.’ PL 184:1215C.

what is intensely felt within. The *Liber* author reiterates this logic more explicitly: ‘the spirit is signified in the attitude of the body’.<sup>152</sup>

The intersections between the two sections of *De Institutione Inclusionum* and the *Threefold Meditation* reveal how the external performance and aspects of devotional practice intersect with those within. This dialogue is maintained in the Inner Rule, whose guidance for cultivating the ‘inner person’ is expressed through material objects. Exploring Aelred’s discussion of the space and tools associated with prayer, devotional paratexts that constitute a key component of this section, demonstrates that just as the Outer Rule is concerned with inner things pertaining to external prayer, the external things treated in the Inner Rule also regulate the inner person.

### **Internalising Performance: The Inner Rule on Prayer**

Thus far, the thematic and conceptual unity of *De Institutione Inclusionum* has been illustrated by showing how the Outer Rule also regulates interior aspects, primarily affective orientation and the symbolism of devotional performance. In the same way, the following section of the treatise, which implicitly governs the ‘inner’ person, constructs and shapes an anchorite’s spiritual life through the means of external things. Far from being divided into separate halves, the two sections of *De Institutione Inclusionum* provide symbiotic spiritual guidance that links, rather than dichotomises, the outer and inner person, which the incorporation of evidence from the *Threefold Meditation* and Inner Rule to support the reading of aspects of the Outer has intended to demonstrate.

Aelred’s use of the material world to shape an anchorite’s spiritual life is most clearly illustrated in his detailed instructions for furnishing the altar. The inclusion of these directions in the latter half of the treatise is indubitably a conscious decision. It allows Aelred to imbue

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<sup>152</sup> ‘gestus corporis signum est mentis.’ PL 184:1215B

each of the material objects that he lists—linen cloths, crucifixes, and images—with symbolic significance that constructs the meaning of the anchorite’s vocation and influences her devotions. The specific reference to an ‘oratory’ suggests that prayer should be performed in this dedicated space, whose design shapes its occupant’s devotional practice. The connections between interior and exterior space relate to *De Institutione Inclusionum*’s treatment of prayer as well as the *Threefold Meditation*. Analysing the treatment of material objects in the Inner Rule enhances our understanding of the function and significance of both routine and spontaneous prayer performed in *De Institutione Inclusionum*.

Analysing prayer spaces in twelfth- and thirteenth-century devotional treatises illustrates notable developments in the contexts and performance of personal devotion relative to the earlier sources previously examined. The situational rubrics of the *libelli precum* examined in Chapter 1 informed us about two particular types of context: rubrics of *person* (who might have performed a particular prayer) and rubrics of *time and place* (when or where it might have been prayed). The prefaces and *tituli psalmorum* of the Lambeth Psalter suggested *why* a particular Psalm might have been performed or possible motivations for non-liturgical psalmody. Lambeth’s confessional prayers suggested that the context in which they were used was related to their function: performing penance, sacramental or otherwise. What devotional treatises offer us that these earlier sources do not is a detailed evocation of devotional spaces: not just *where* prayer was performed, but what this space offered in terms of devotional objects or symbolic layout.<sup>153</sup> While the rubrics of Galba, Ælfwine’s Prayerbook and the Lambeth Psalter offer little insight into where their users might have prayed, *De Institutione Inclusionum* references specific locations associated with different functions of

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<sup>153</sup> 'Symbolic layout' refers to aspects of the furniture or architecture of the cell holding symbolic, as well as practical, qualities. For example, the anchorhold referenced in *Ancrene Wisse* requires three windows, one specifically reserved for looking into the church and the others for necessary interactions with the outside world. Anchorites are explicitly warned not to use the special church window for secular affairs 'for þe hali sacrament þe ze nomeð þer þurch' (56, f. 28r/8-11).

prayer: penitential prayer performed at night in bed, psalmody in an oratory, meditation before a crucifix placed on an altar. This level of detail is more specific than that found in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, for example: we don't know in what kind of space the prayers *ante crucifixum* would have been performed, or how Ælfwine himself might have interacted with the crucifix before which he prayed. These aspects of prayer are directly discussed in *De Institutione Inclusarum*, and thus offer valuable insight into the practice, as well as the meaning, of prayer for its contemporary audiences. In this section, particular emphasis will be placed on the inscribed reader of Aelred's treatise, offering an insight into the devotional practice of individual anchorites as opposed to the wide variety of audiences evidenced in its manuscripts.

The use of exterior things to regulate interiority is not unique to *De Institutione Inclusarum*. The ways in which devotional treatises allegorise space to construct symbolic frameworks is widely recognised in critical literature. Robert Hasenfratz's influential essay on anchorholds as transformative and allegorical spaces illustrated how *Ancrene Wisse's* mapping of the architecture of the cell onto the anchorite's body enables the 'metaphorical re-imagining' of her lived experience essential to her successful internalisation of the Inner Rule.<sup>154</sup> This connection between cell and inhabitant is maintained by Jocelyn Price and Christopher Cannon, who explore the relationship between interior and exterior space in *Ancrene Wisse* alongside other contemporary devotional texts, *De Institutione Inclusarum* and the *Katherine Group* hagiographies.<sup>155</sup> Price in particular observes that Aelred's treatise uses the metaphorical interplay between inner and outer 'as a mode for illuminating the spiritual via correspondences with physical structures and processes', an interpretative framework whose

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<sup>154</sup> Robert Hasenfratz, 'The Anchorhold as Symbolic Space in *Ancrene Wisse*', *Philological Quarterly* 84 (2005), pp. 1-26 (p. 1).

<sup>155</sup> Christopher Cannon, 'The Form of the Self: *Ancrene Wisse* and Romance' *Medium Aevum* 70 (2001), pp. 47-65, and Jocelyn Price [Wogan-Browne], "'Inner" and "Outer": Conceptualising the Body in *Ancrene Wisse* and Aelred's *De Institutione Inclusarum*' in *Medieval English Religious and Ethical Literature: Essays in Honour of G.H. Russell*, ed. by G. Kratzmann and J. Simpson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986), pp. 192-208.

devotional significance will be assessed in greater detail below.<sup>156</sup> Liz Herbert McAvoy has edited a collection of essays on the symbolism of space in anchoritic literature that explores this theme through a wider range of sources, primarily considering how the ‘rhetoric’ of enclosure cultivated through the cell influences an anchorite’s interactions with the society in which he or she lived.<sup>157</sup>

While devotional treatises frequently invoke literal and conceptual space in order to convey spiritual guidance or shape their audiences’ perception of their lived experience, *De Institutione Inclusionum* exhibits a slightly different approach to space in the context of prayer. The significance of space in devotional treatises is primarily interpreted in metaphorical terms, downplaying their audiences’ engagement with literal things. Linda Georgianna presents the cell as ‘a whole moral world in miniature’, in which an anchorite ‘withdraw[s] into herself’ to seek Christ away from ‘external realities’.<sup>158</sup> Nicholas Watson advocates that the cell ‘enclosed [an anchorite] within a powerful imaginative structure, [which] required only a personal and affective realisation of its significance’ to function as an escape from the hardships of enclosure.<sup>159</sup> Price similarly argues that *De Institutione Inclusionum* metaphorises space to offer a recluse ‘imaginative consolation for ... the restriction and sensory deprivation of [her] life’, a theme carried over into her reading of *Ancrene Wisse*’s use of the cell as eliciting ‘imagined bodily experience’ in its audiences.<sup>160</sup> For Elizabeth Robertson, the treatment of the cell in *Ancrene Wisse* and *De Institutione Inclusionum* represents a ‘pervasive view of women as grounded in their bodies’, with the sensual prayers of the *Wooing Group* acting as a means of legitimising and expressing desire.<sup>161</sup> Monika Otter also sees the cell as connected with

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<sup>156</sup> Price, p. 205.

<sup>157</sup> *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold: Space, Place and Body within the Discourses of Enclosure*, ed. by Liz Herbert McAvoy (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008).

<sup>158</sup> Linda Georgianna, *The Solitary Self: Individuality in the Ancrene Wisse* (London: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 5.

<sup>159</sup> Watson, p. 141.

<sup>160</sup> Price, p. 199 and p. 202.

<sup>161</sup> Elizabeth Robertson, *Early English Devotional Prose and the Female Audience* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), p. 8.

sexuality, claiming that it is presented in the *Liber Confortatorius*, *De Institutione Includarum* and *Ancrene Wisse* as ‘a metonymy of [an anchorite’s] own body, as impenetrable as she should be virginal’.<sup>162</sup>

The treatment of space in these frequently paired sources is, however, not exactly equivalent. Unlike the *Liber Confortatorius* and *Ancrene Wisse*, where the cell is vividly allegorised as transformative spaces including the battleground between vice and virtue and the bridal chamber of the Canticles, Aelred never describes the anchorhold in other terms. The only reference to the cell as something other than a *cellula* is clearly articulated as a simile: ‘*as though* [you were] dead to the world and buried with Christ in his tomb’.<sup>163</sup> Similarly, *De Institutione Includarum* does not reflect the symbolic mapping of cell onto occupant that is emphasised in critical readings of other treatises, especially *Ancrene Wisse*. While Aelred associates enclosure with the maintenance of chastity, chastity is not as explicitly connected with sexuality as Otter suggests. The directions for guarding virginity in the Inner Rule do not mention the cell or its windows at all, instead impressing the necessity of single-minded focus on the Bridegroom awaiting the chaste and pure Bride and warning her of a variety of temptations that might threaten her purity.<sup>164</sup> Rather than invoking the cell as a metaphorical conduit for spiritual teaching, *De Institutione Includarum* instead concentrates on a particular aspect of its furnishing: the oratory. Aelred illustrates how material objects function as devotional tools that assist affective and successful prayer. His specific focus on the oratory indicates the importance of space to the practice of prayer, presenting it not as an extension of the self, but as the ideal place for expressing ardent and heartfelt desire for God.<sup>165</sup> While *Ancrene Wisse* only briefly references a dedicated prayer space in its Outer Rule, mentioning

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<sup>162</sup> Otter, ‘Interpretative Essay’, p. 153.

<sup>163</sup> ‘*quasi* mortua seculo in spelunca Christo conspeleri’. Talbot, p. 188.

<sup>164</sup> cf. Talbot, pp. 189-191. These temptations are not necessarily sexual: purity is maintained by avoiding idleness, gluttony, negligence, and carelessness in addition to ‘bodily heat’.

<sup>165</sup> While, for example, the anchorite is encouraged to align herself with the altar cloth as a symbol of purification, the cloth is an object within the devotional space, not the space itself.

bowing to images and relics during Part I's daily devotions, *De Institutione Inclusionum* elaborates on the necessity of appropriately decorating the oratory in the 'Inner, outlining the symbolism of its constituent parts and the spiritual wealth, devotion, and virtuousness that they inspire.

Aelred's own use of material objects to contemplate spiritual things is suggested in the *Vita Aelredi*. Daniel's description of Aelred at prayer mentions his contemplation of worldly things as a means of inner ascent: 'when he thought about the beauty, order, or value of created things, he contemplated [God], who cannot pass away, in transitory things'.<sup>166</sup> Aelred's directions for furnishing the cell in *De Institutione Inclusionum* correspond with the account that his *vita* gives of his own enclosure in his later years. Daniel describes how, in the last decade of his life, Aelred occupied a purpose-built *mausoleum*:

In the corner of the said cell he built an inner chamber and ordered that it be closed off by a wooden partition, in which, gathering together a cross and relics of various saints, he established a place of prayer.<sup>167</sup>

This episode suggests that a dedicated space for devotional practice was important to Aelred's spirituality and indicates his awareness of the ways in which external context might influence interiority. It is especially noteworthy that he encloses himself at prayer using the partition, reflecting the connection between isolation and single-minded focus on God that he expresses in *De Institutione Inclusionum*. Elizabeth Freeman speculates that the success of *De Institutione Inclusionum* is partially due to it having been composed within this *mausoleum*: 'perhaps such experience akin to enclosure heightened his sensitivities to the opportunities and distractions

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<sup>166</sup> 'Si quando uero de creaturarum pulcritudine dispositione uel utilitate cogitaret, ipsum in re transitoria estimabat qui transire non potest'. Powicke, p. 19.

<sup>167</sup> 'Plane in Angulo supradicte celle quasi quoddam interius cubiculum constituens, claudi illud lignea interiectione precepit. In quo crucem et reliquias quorundam sanctorum collocans, locum ibi oracionis dedicauit'. Powicke, p. 40.

of the recluse's cell'.<sup>168</sup> A close reading of the presentation of prayer space in *De Institutione Inclusarum* thus reveals how the emotional and physical performance of prayer can be influenced by external things—a connection that will be further substantiated by relating these aspects to the daily devotions of the Outer Rule and the performance of the *Threefold Meditation*.

Aelred's instructions for furnishing the oratory relate to his definition of the function of prayer. His directions illustrate his concern with maintaining and cultivating humility, without which the supreme virtue of chastity 'withers and fades away'.<sup>169</sup> The connection of chastity, humility, devotion and prayer reflects the inclusion of prayer among the 'exercise[s] of the virtues' in the proem to the *Threefold Meditation*, again illustrating the relationship between prayer and meditation. In maintaining humility, prayer supports 'the sure and safe foundation of all the virtues'; opening the discussion of prayer space in this manner establishes the function of the devotions described in the preceding section.<sup>170</sup> The virtue of the anchorite is then correlated with the layout of her devotional space: expensive and lavish decorations invite pride and are indicative of spiritual emptiness, while the humble and fulfilled soul is content with simpler objects expressing allegorical significance.<sup>171</sup> Where she prays becomes indicative of the state of her soul, whose glory should come 'from within, not from without: in real virtues, not in paintings and statues'.<sup>172</sup> Much as prayer simultaneously cultivates and externalises the affect, the oratory shapes and reflects the inner virtue of the person at prayer.

The relationship between prayer and the maintenance of virtue is expressed in other contemporary treatises; however, these do not share Aelred's use of devotional objects to

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<sup>168</sup> Elizabeth Freeman, 'Ælred of Rievaulx's Pastoral Care of Religious Women, with Special Reference to *De institutione inclusarum*', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 46.1 (2011), pp. 13-26 (p. 14).

<sup>169</sup> 'arescit atque marcescit'. Talbot, p. 194.

<sup>170</sup> 'Hoc [humilitate] est certum atque securum uirtutum omnium fundamentum'. *ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> cf. Talbot, pp. 194-195.

<sup>172</sup> 'In his gloriis, in his delecteris, intus non foris, in ueris uirtutibus, non in picturis et ymaginibus'. Talbot, p. 196.

communicate spiritual guidance. The Hatton treatise advises its user to identify specific sins assailing him through prayer in order to counteract them by contemplating their antithesis; for example, ‘when you are oppressed by laziness: consider why it is proper to work today’.<sup>173</sup> *Ancrene Wisse* directs an anchorite tempted in a specific sense to recall how Christ suffered in all five of his senses on the Cross. For example, if she is tempted by a smell, she should remember that ‘þe munt of caluarie þer ure lauerd hongede. wes þe kwalm stouwe þer leizen ofte licomes iroted buuen eorðe 7 stunke swiðe fule’ (84, f. 43r/1-4). ‘He wes iderued’, the author continues, ‘in al his oðere wittes’. (84, f. 43r/6-7). Goscelin advises Eva to ‘arm [her]self to virtue’ with ‘greatness of mind, constancy, and an invincible spirit ready to overcome anything’, cultivated by ‘the expectation of the rewards of the crown and eternal prize’ that awaits the pure anchorite.<sup>174</sup>

After establishing the correlation between prayer and virtue, which illustrates the function and meaning of prayer, Aelred then describes the essential features of an anchorite’s altar. The specific concentration on a dedicated space for prayer indicates the importance of context to successful devotional practice, and his explanation of the symbolic meaning of each component contributes to the affective engagement reiterated as crucial in the Outer Rule. His detailed instructions about what ought to be included—a white linen cloth, a crucifix, and images of the Virgin and John—are accompanied by explanations of their significance, a feature unique to *De Institutione Inclusarum*.<sup>175</sup> While these details could be a practical concession to lay anchorites unsure of what an appropriate altar ought to contain, the use of everyday and familiar objects to communicate spiritual guidance benefits all kinds of

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<sup>173</sup> *Contra temptationes*: De remediis contra temptationes. Ad orandum quem insurgunt uitia disce ad remedium adhere. ... Cum tepore deprimens .’ cogita quora hodie operari licet’. Hatton 101, f. 205r.

<sup>174</sup> Otter, pp. 35-46.

<sup>175</sup> While *Ancrene Wisse* details the symbolism of furnishings such as window coverings in Part II, it does not specifically discuss the furnishings of prayer space.

audiences. Analysing the role of each of these objects reveals how prayer spaces and devotional objects play essential roles in shaping the meaning and effects of an anchorite's prayer.

While the devotional treatises referenced above are primarily interpreted as aligning the cell with its inhabitant, Aelred instead links the anchorite with a specific object on her altar: the linen cloth. This alignment reinforces the significance of her vocation and its role in bringing her closer to Christ, with its placement in the oratory contextualising these interactions with regard to devotional performance. The detailed explanation of linen production symbolises the purification of the soul through suffering.<sup>176</sup> Each stage of the process is linked with the maintenance of a specific virtue: the labour and effort of penance, the cleansing achieved by fasting, the washing of compunction, the discipline of religious observance. This alignment enables the altar to represent the meaning of the anchoritic life defined in the Outer Rule, as reciprocating the suffering of Lent.<sup>177</sup> Many of the virtues listed, including confession, religious observance, and compunction, are associated with or performed by prayer. Praying in front of the altar thus reminds the anchorite of the transformative process she is undergoing through enclosure, supporting the previous discussion of self-denial as a means of overcoming temptation.

The altar cloth also recalls Christocentric piety. The linen is placed close to Christ, as she aspires to be: it 'adorns the altar [and] covers Christ's body', recalls 'the waters of baptism in which we are buried with Christ', and is threshed and pierced with iron nails in an echo of the crucifixion.<sup>178</sup> Like the cloth, the anchorite suffers alongside Christ. Placing the cloth underneath the crucifix symbolises the ultimate goal of enclosure. The method of refining linen ensures that 'it might ascend to more perfect beauty', advertising the result of successfully

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<sup>176</sup> cf. Talbot, p. 196.

<sup>177</sup> cf. Talbot, p. 185.

<sup>178</sup> 'Panni linei candidi ... ut ex eo ornetur altar, Christi corpus ueletur. ... Linum aquis immergutir, nos in aquis baptismatis Christo conspelimur.' Talbot, p. 196.

following Aelred's spiritual guidance.<sup>179</sup> This phrasing recalls the closing line of the Outer Rule, which provides advanced audiences with 'the freedom to advance to greater perfection'.<sup>180</sup> The furnishing of the altar therefore serves as another link between the Outer and the Inner sections of the treatise, mediated through prayer.

After describing the linen cloth, Aelred then turns to the crucifix, which played a crucial role in devotional performance. His specification that it should 'bring before your mind his Passion to imitate' suggests that an anchorite was expected to look at it while she prayed.<sup>181</sup> In addition to recalling the *imitatio Christi* central to her vocation, the anchorite's interactions with the crucifix enhance her desire for and devotion to Him, as she is embraced and consoled by his body in her prayers. Aelred's description of Christ's body prompts physical actions as well as imagined ones: 'his wide arms invite you to embrace him, which will pleasure you'.<sup>182</sup> The image of Christ's outstretched arms as a loving embrace awaiting the devout soul recurs throughout related literature: it is evoked, for example, in *Ancrene Wisse* and *The Wooing of Our Lord*, discussed in subsequent chapters.<sup>183</sup> The Hatton treatise also directs its user to 'continuously look at the wounds of God' when praying to Christ, similarly suggesting that his devotions would have been supported by the literal prompt of a crucifix.<sup>184</sup> The ways in which the crucifix itself facilitated such interactions is demonstrated by one of the two surviving examples from twelfth-century England, which likely stood on an altar (Fig 3.4). The prominent nails in his hands and feet recall the iron nails that thresh impure linen, while his emaciated ribs, outstretched arms, and detailed expression humanise the figure to which her prayers are directed.

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<sup>179</sup> 'Porro ut ei perfectior accedat pulchritudo'. *ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> 'forcioribus ad perfectiora progrediendi libertatem relinquens'. Talbot, p. 188.

<sup>181</sup> 'Sufficiat tibi in altario tuo salutatoris in cruce pendentis ymago, que passionem suam tibi representet quam imiteris'. Talbot, p. 196.

<sup>182</sup> 'brachiis ad suos inuitet amplexus in quibus delecteris'. Talbot, p. 196.

<sup>183</sup> Sara Lipton discusses meditation on Christ crucified in '"The Sweet Lean of His Head": Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages', *Speculum* 80.4 (2005), pp. 1172-1208.

<sup>184</sup> 'facies domino supplicantur ... usque uulnerum deum intute'. Hatton 101, f. 202v.



**Fig 3.4:** A twelfth-century crucifix likely produced for an altar. Aspects of the image referenced in *De Institutione Inclusionum*, such as the pectoral area and the outstretched arms, are clearly visible. Photo © Christie's.<sup>185</sup>

In addition to the sense of touch invoked in these interactions, *De Institutione Inclusionum* engages the senses of taste and smell using the symbolic imagery of sweetness.<sup>186</sup> Mary Carruthers has shown how this trope evoked a ‘sensory paradox’ of intense and conflicting sensations—‘pleasant and harsh, delectable and bitter’—inviting ‘aesthetic

<sup>185</sup> This crucifix is photographed and described by Milo Dickinson, '5 Minutes with ... an Anglo-Norman Bronze Crucifix', *Christie's*, 11th November 2018 <<https://www.christies.com/features/5-minutes-with-An-Anglo-Norman-bronze-crucifix-9571-1.aspx>>. Accessed 26th January 2021.

<sup>186</sup> This language recurs in *Wooing* 36/598-599: ‘A. iesu swa swet hit is wið þe/to henge’.

response' to Christ.<sup>187</sup> Her analysis of Bernard of Clairvaux's use of the term in his sermons on the Canticles draws on passages that share notable similarities with *De Institutione Inclusarum*. For example, both Bernard and Aelred use the image of virgins drinking from Christ's sweet breasts as a metaphor for experiencing divine love.<sup>188</sup> However, unlike Bernard, Aelred specifically grounds this metaphor in relation to a physical object. Bernard links the sweet oil expressed from the breasts to the sweet taste of *caritas*, while Aelred directly references the crucifix on the altar when he writes, 'the milk from his naked breasts will infuse you with sweetness, which will comfort you'.<sup>189</sup> The connection with taste is reinforced by his description of the ornaments that she is to eschew as 'tasteless' or 'senseless' (*ineptis*), reinforcing that their outer beauty is negated by their spiritual emptiness. Cultivating affective response by literally and spiritually seeing Christ's body exemplifies the 'blending the spiritual and the corporeal' outlined in the Preface. The importance of looking at the crucifix is further suggested by Aelred's comment in the Outer Rule that 'when you frequently see a certain face, or hear a certain voice, its image is so much more firmly inscribed in your memory'.<sup>190</sup> As such, frequent, daily prayer in this space would make devotional practice more successful through the constant viewing of Christ's image.

The *Threefold Meditation* reinforces the emphasis on looking at Christ by inviting her to contemplate 'with how glad a face Christ approaches she who renounces the world' and the 'delights' that he rewards her with.<sup>191</sup> The image is also a focal point that helps guide the direction to 'throw herself at Christ's feet' in prayer repeated throughout the *Threefold Meditation*. For example, in the Pharisee's house, she is told:

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<sup>187</sup> Mary Carruthers, 'Sweetness', *Speculum* 81.4 (2006), pp. 999-1013 (p. 1000).

<sup>188</sup> cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 19, quoted in Carruthers, p. 1000.

<sup>189</sup> 'nudatis uberibus lac tibi suavitatis infundat quo consoleris'. Talbot, p. 196.

<sup>190</sup> 'Nam quanto sepius eundem uideris uultum, uel uocem audieris, tanto expressius eius ymago tue memorie imprimetur'. Talbot, p. 182.

<sup>191</sup> 'Inspice munera quam iocunda facie abrenunciante seculo Christus occurrit, quibus esurientem deliciis pauit ...' Talbot, p. 212.

If he still will not let you approach his feet, be insistent, beseech him, raise your eyes to him brimming with tears and extort from him with deep sighs and unutterable groanings what you seek.<sup>192</sup>

This scene combines aspects of external prayer discussed above—the lifting of the gaze to mirror the lifting of the heart, the sighing and groaning articulation of prayer, and the shedding of contrite tears—with a specific spatial context, which arguably makes its performance more effective. The freedom to pray independently of the written text is suggested in the ‘deep sighs and unutterable groanings’, inviting the performer to speak (or not to speak) to Christ in her own words.

The evocation of devotion to Christ’s feet, iconographically associated with the worship of his humanity, is also consistently related to imagery of taste and smell. At the crucifixion, she is again directed to devote herself to Christ’s feet and taste them: ‘Run [to him], and lap up those sweetest drops, and lick away the dust from his feet’.<sup>193</sup> The ‘drops’ of Christ’s sweat, likened to blood, add a Eucharistic element to this devotional imagery, and the superlative heightens the feeling of sensory excess. When she imagines herself as Mary Magdalen at the conclusion of this section, its culmination is expressed through touching and tasting Christ’s feet: ‘Why can I not touch them? Those desirable feet, pierced through with nails for me, drenched in blood—can I neither touch them, nor kiss them?’<sup>194</sup> The image that she is directed to linger on is that of the disciples clasping Christ’s feet, in which she is invited to participate—an action that could have been literally mirrored by clasping the feet of the crucifix that she owned.

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<sup>192</sup> ‘Si tibi adhuc suos negat pedes, insta, ora, et grauidos lacrimis oculos attolle, imisque suspiriis inennarrabilibusque gemitibus extorque quod petis’. Talbot, p. 203.

<sup>193</sup> ‘Acurre, et suauiissimas illas guttas adlambe, et puluerem pedum illius linge’. Talbot, p. 206.

<sup>194</sup> ‘Quare non tangam? Desiderata illa uestigia pro me perforate clauis, perfuse sanguine, non tangam, non deosculabor?’ Talbot, p. 209.

The use of images as visual stimuli and focal points in devotional performance is further suggested by Aelred's recommendation that an anchorite also own images of the Virgin and John. The importance of the message that these images communicate is indicated by Aelred's specification that only these two figures should be represented on the altar, in contrast to, for example, *Ancrene Wisse's* implication that an anchorite might own a variety of personal 'imaines' and 'relikes', with only representation of the Virgin being mandatory (18, f. 10r/17). As with the other components of the altar, these icons visually communicate the symbolism of her vocation, in this case recalling the chastity that Aelred presents as the supreme and essential virtue of an anchorite. That *De Institutione Inclusionum* was composed with wider audiences in mind is indicated by the significance of these images as representing 'how pleased Christ is by virginity in both sexes'.<sup>195</sup> This phrase reminds us that the language of desire and love used to express devotion to Christ in such texts is not indicative of specifically female readership.

The placement of these images also visually represents one of the most evocative scenes in the *Threefold Meditation*. *De Institutione Inclusionum* implies that the icons should be placed below the crucifix on either side, as they symbolise how Christ united the Virgin and John at the crucifixion. In the *Threefold Meditation*, the anchorite is invited to 'approach the Cross with the Virgin Mother and the virgin disciple', aligning herself with them by mirroring their actions.<sup>196</sup> The self-identification of the anchorite with John is further illustrated in the second section of *De Institutione Inclusionum*. Aelred's evocation of John's 'blessed legacy' lists consolations that the anchorite is later advised to include in her nightly prayers: 'the refuge of the wretched, the comfort of the afflicted, the consolation of the poor, the salvation of the despairing, the reconciliation of sinners'.<sup>197</sup> These textual links reinforce the function accorded

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<sup>195</sup> 'cogites quam gratia sit Christo utriusque sexus uirginitas'. Talbot, p. 196.

<sup>196</sup> 'Cum matre uirgine et discipulo uirgine acede ad crucem ...' Talbot, p. 207.

<sup>197</sup> 'O beatissimum hoc testamentum Iohannem ... miserorum refugium, afflictorum solacium, pauperum consolatio, desperatorum erectio, peccatorem reconciliatio'. Talbot, p. 197.

them in *De Institutione Inclusarum*, using prayer to ‘increase charity’, out of which the anchorite might ‘ascend to unity’.<sup>198</sup>

## Conclusion

The spiritual guidance contained in the Outer and Inner sections of *De Institutione Inclusarum* is intertwined rather than distinct, with each part making use of literal and metaphorical things to shape the external and internal aspects of prayer. While Aelred’s treatise contains direct links to earlier sources of personal devotion, such as the Benedictine Rule and *libelli precum*, it demonstrates cultural shifts in the meaning and practice of prayer during the twelfth century. The treatise’s detailed instructions regarding the furnishing of devotional space offers an unprecedented level of detail that demonstrates the importance of spatial as well as temporal context to the practice of prayer, while its thematic concerns and literary style anticipate the later English works directed at lay anchorites, *Ancrene Wisse* and the *Wooing Group*. As the first treatise that makes explicit mention of non-religious audiences, *De Institutione Inclusarum* foregrounds the proliferation of such works produced for non-Latinate users during the thirteenth century. Building on this context, Chapters 4 and 5 explore aspects of the performance and articulation of prayer in these works, illustrating the legacy and influence of these aspects of Aelred’s text.

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<sup>198</sup> Hec tibi incentium prebeant caritatis ... hinc enim omnibus ad unum necesse es tut conscendas’. Talbot, p. 197.

## 4. Praying the Hours: Performing Part I of *Ancrene Wisse*

Chapter 3 explored twelfth-century approaches to the practice and meaning of prayer articulated in devotional treatises, introducing primary sources selected on the basis of literary rather than codicological genre. It considered such works as paratexts to prayer itself, examining their instructions directing the performance and significance of the devotions that they either reference or contain. This chapter develops on these foundations by analysing a devotional compilation whose prayers, while structured as a self-contained manual of religious instruction, are an integral part of a wider work: Part I of the thirteenth-century guide for recluses, *Ancrene Wisse*.<sup>1</sup> Like *De Institutione Inclusarum*, one of the earliest treatises containing modifications for lay anchorites, *Ancrene Wisse* is the first such work composed in English, evidencing the continued opening up of the ‘semi-religious’ life to wider audiences. It is an unparalleled source regarding the practice and the content of anchoritic prayer, with every devotional sequence accompanied by detailed instructions directing how, when and why it should be performed. Recalling the interspersing of liturgical and non-liturgical prayers in the *libelli precum* and psalters examined in Chapters 1 and 2, Part I’s devotions are similarly multimodal: while they constitute an anchorite’s daily ‘seruise’, subsequent sections of the treatise imply their use outside the canonical Hours. As in *De Institutione Inclusarum*, the sustained dialogue between the Outer and Inner rules of *Ancrene Wisse* further complicates differentiating routine and ad hoc prayer on the basis of content.

While *Ancrene Wisse* is perhaps *the* most studied representative of its genre, Part I has received comparatively little critical interest. Its prayers are rarely read in dialogue with other sections of *Ancrene Wisse* or the *Wooing Group* devotions that circulated in its early

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<sup>1</sup> Quotations from *Ancrene Wisse* in this chapter are from *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe, Edited From B. M. Cotton MS Cleopatra C. VI*, ed. by E. J. Dobson (London: Oxford University Press, 1972) unless specified otherwise. All images of manuscripts are taken from the British Library website.

manuscripts, perhaps because they are typically defined as liturgical.<sup>2</sup> Barbara Raw disassociates Part I's texts with an 'emotional, individual kind of prayer' because of their connections with 'the official liturgy', describing them as 'a great contrast to the rest of *Ancrene Wisse*' in tone and in function.<sup>3</sup> Her assessment exemplifies the tendency to disassociate obligatory prayer from that which inspires affective response, which has been interrogated throughout this thesis. Critical readings focused on anchoritic prayer, like those of Denis Renevey and Nicholas Watson, do not reference Part I at all, but separate the prayers in *Ancrene Wisse* itself from others associated with it.<sup>4</sup> Verbal and structural correspondences between Part I's prayers and those of the *Wooing Group*, elucidated both in this chapter and in Chapter 5, complicate such divisions, inviting us to explore how these so-called liturgical prayers lend themselves to performance in a variety of contexts.

In addition to being overlooked in comparative readings of *Ancrene Wisse*, Part I is often excluded from analyses of the treatise itself. Bella Millett has argued that the two rules of *Ancrene Wisse* belong to different genres, with the Inner offering 'a metaphorical ... exposition of divine rather than human precepts' superior to the Outer's 'contemporary [and] generic monastic legislation'.<sup>5</sup> She implies Part I to be distinct in genre and in function from the rest of the work, inflexibly legislative as opposed to imaginatively literary. Linda Georgianna similarly praises the Inner Rule as diametrically opposed to the Outer, presenting it as 'an anti-rule [that] is descriptive rather than prescriptive, complex and discursive rather

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<sup>2</sup> These prayers are the subject of Chapter 5.

<sup>3</sup> Barbara Raw, 'The Prayers and Devotions in the *Ancrene Wisse*', in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. by B. Rowland (London: Allen, 1974), pp. 260-271 (p. 268).

<sup>4</sup> Denis Renevey, 'Enclosed Desires: A Study of the Wooing Group', in *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England*, ed. by W. Pollard and R. Boenig (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 39-62, and Nicholas Watson, 'The Methods and Objectives of Thirteenth-Century Anchoritic Devotion', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England IV, The Exeter Symposium: Papers Read at Darlington Hall, July 1987*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987), pp. 132-153.

<sup>5</sup> Bella Millett, 'The Genre of *Ancrene Wisse*', in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 29-44 (p. 42).

than limited'.<sup>6</sup> Despite the prevalence of this interpretative approach, the strict separation of Outer and "Inner is not supported by *Ancrene Wisse* itself. While details of the Outer Rule can be varied because 'nis heo italt bute to seruin þe inre', some form of it must be upheld, as without its support, the Inner will collapse (4, f. 5r/11-12). The Preface explains that 'euch an [of *Ancrene Wisse*'s chapters] falled efer þe oðer. 7 is þe latere dale speked iteizet to þe arre', emphasising the connections between all eight sections (13, f. 8v/6-8). Janet Grayson has acknowledged the integrity of the Outer Rule to the structure and fulfilment of *Ancrene Wisse*, writing that 'the Outer Rule stands at either end of the inner, encircling it, protecting it, as if it were a body enclosing the soul'.<sup>7</sup> However, she does not fully explore the connections between Parts I and VIII and the rest of the work, considering their concerns as primarily practical rather than spiritual. References to Part I's prayers in other sections of the work evidence that they could be—and were—turned to in voluntary and personal devotion. Its directions will also be shown to be less 'prescriptive' and 'limited' than Georgianna gives them credit for.

Analyses highlighting the significance of Part I have done little to remedy the conventional perception of *Ancrene Wisse* as lacking thematic and stylistic unity. Robert Ackerman valued it as a historical source, emphasising that 'the *raison d'etre* of the anchoress, as is true of all religious, was the life of prayer, and therefore to Part I of the Rule, the devotional handbook, special importance must be assigned'.<sup>8</sup> Ackerman went on to produce an edition of *Ancrene Wisse* with Roger Dahood that contained only the Preface and Part I, presenting the significance of the 'prescribed' daily devotions as 'the proper context for understanding ... the remainder of the treatise'.<sup>9</sup> Much like the examples referenced above, however, Ackerman

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<sup>6</sup> Linda Georgianna, *The Solitary Self: Individuality in Ancrene Wisse* (London: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Janet Grayson, *Structure and Imagery in Ancrene Wisse* (Hannover: University of New England Press, 1974), p. 228.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Ackerman, 'The Liturgical Day in *Ancrene Riwe*', *Speculum* 53 (1978), pp. 734-744 (p. 734).

<sup>9</sup> *Ancrene Riwe: Introduction and Part I*, ed. by Robert Ackerman and Roger Dahood (New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1984), p. 3.

separates Part I from the rest of the work. His claim that ‘*Ancrene Riwe* has been read and evaluated ... to the virtual neglect of its true nature as a religious rule’ dichotomises the practical ‘religious rule’ and the artistic ‘literary monument’, implying that in order to be one a work cannot be the other.<sup>10</sup> The critical apparatus and textual notes of the edition primarily supply parallels between its prayers and those of the liturgy, with little emphasis on their artistic or affective qualities. As a consequence, Ackerman and Dahood’s edition did little to improve the usual reception of Part I among literary critics as summarised by one reviewer: that, in contrast to the rest of *Ancrene Wisse*, it ‘does not make lively reading’.<sup>11</sup> This chapter will show how Part I’s concern with devotional performance presents its prayers as ‘lively’ and engaging rather than an unchanging selection of texts recited daily by rote. As in previous chapters, the ways in which its manuscript directs its user’s devotional practice are examined, illustrating how the instructions given about prayer are reinforced by paratexts that shape interpretative response, such as punctuation, rubrication, and *mise-en-page*.

The Cleopatra text of *Ancrene Wisse* (London, British Library Cotton Cleopatra C.vi) is cited in this chapter. This manuscript was chosen on the basis that it is the earliest, dating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and evidences the stages of its text’s extensive revision. Its influence on the textual tradition of *Ancrene Wisse* affirms the wide circulation and acceptance of its readings.<sup>12</sup> To analyse Part I relative to contemporary devotional compilations, Cleopatra is compared with the de Brailles Hours, which, produced only a few years later (c. 1240), is considered the earliest fully developed English Book of Hours.<sup>13</sup> This

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Celia Sisam, ‘Review of Ackerman and Dahood’s *Ancrene Riwe*’, *Notes & Queries* NS 37 (1990), pp. 332-333 (p. 332).

<sup>12</sup> Dobson claims that ‘[Cleopatra’s] influence can be traced on all the surviving manuscripts of the β-group’ of *Ancrene Wisse* (p. xi). For a stemma of the *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts, see Bella Millett, *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, with Variants from Other Manuscripts*, vol. 1, EETS OS 325 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. lx.

<sup>13</sup> The de Brailles Hours are described, dated, and analysed by Claire Donovan, *The de Brailles Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London: The British Library, 1991). On the historical development of Books of Hours, see John Harthan, *The Book of Hours: With a Historical Survey and Commentary*

decision reflects previous interpretations of *Ancrene Wisse*'s devotions as anticipating the texts and practices associated with Books of Hours.<sup>14</sup> While these two case studies differ in terms of their envisioned audience, layout, function, and design, there is as such an established precedent for reading them together. As both books contain the Hours of the Virgin, they enable comparison of the *mise-en-page*, punctuation and rubrics associated with specific prayers. The unique aspects of the devotional programme contained in *Ancrene Wisse* as regards the function and meaning of prayer will be further illustrated through comparative readings with *De Institutione Inclusarum*, which the author of *Ancrene Wisse* used as a source.

### **The Significance of Part I in Manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse***

The Cleopatra manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse* demonstrates that its creators were as concerned with its realisation as its content. The original text was extensively revised by two principal annotators, most above all in Part I.<sup>15</sup> Because their emendations do not completely erase its initial readings, Cleopatra presents a composite portrait of the development of its text of *Ancrene Wisse*. It was on this basis that Ackerman and Dahood selected this version, 'notable not only because of its early date ... but because it bears physical evidence, far more than any other copy extant, of use over several decades', for their edition of the Preface and Part I.<sup>16</sup>

Like the other thirteenth-century manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*, Cleopatra is a small codex, measuring 205x150 mm with wide margins that occupy a significant proportion of the

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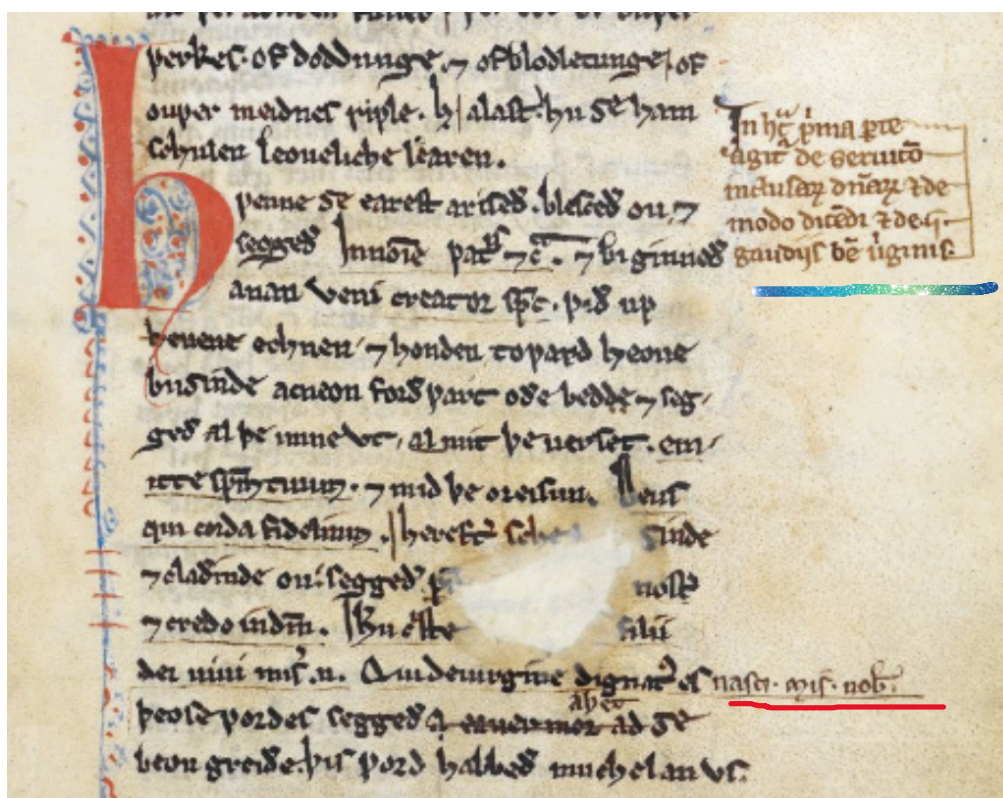
by John Harthan (New York: Crowell, 1977) and Roger Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1997).

<sup>14</sup> As in Bella Millett, 'Ancrene Wisse and the Book of Hours', in *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Denis Renevey and Christian Whitehead (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), pp. 21-40, Cate Gunn, *Ancrene Wisse and Vernacular Spirituality in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), pp. 67-69, and Gerard Sitwell, 'Introduction', to *The Ancrene Riwe*, ed. by Mary Salu (London: Burns and Oates, 1955), pp. vii-xxii (pp. xxi-xxii).

<sup>15</sup> Dobson proposes that the disproportionate amount of activity in the opening parts of the manuscript suggests that Scribe B got tired of editing the text (p. xciv). The importance of prayer to the anchoritic vocation, a topic discussed at length below, questions this assumption—more attention would surely have been paid to the most important section of the text.

<sup>16</sup> Ackerman and Dahood, p. 5.

folio space (written space 60x115 mm). Its collation and ruling present it as a working document: the quires are irregular, holding anywhere between three and ten folios, and the number of ruled lines varies between eighteen and twenty-eight.<sup>17</sup> The manuscript contains three main hands, labelled by Dobson ‘A’, ‘B’, and ‘D’ (Fig 4.1).<sup>18</sup> ‘A’, the original copyist, and ‘B’, its principal revisor, were contemporaries, while ‘D’ was active in the fourteenth century. The major alterations to Part I are almost exclusively B’s work; D usually limits himself to adding of virgules, paraph marks, and running titles, visually organising the page while leaving B’s readings to stand.



**Fig 4.1:** Examples of the activity of Cleopatra’s three scribes on f. 9v. B (red) completes a verse that A copied only part of, ‘who was worthily [born] of the Virgin. [Have mercy on us.]’, implying that envisioned recipients were not expected to know this devotion.<sup>19</sup> D’s (blue) rubric suggests the contemporary perception of Part I’s key components: ‘in this first part, the [daily] service of the lady recluses is given, and the way of saying [it], and the Five Joys of the blessed Virgin’.<sup>20</sup> Photo © The British Library.

<sup>17</sup> For the collation and lineation of the manuscript, see Dobson, p. xxix and p. xli.

<sup>18</sup> Millett uses the alternative labels C1/C2/C3.

<sup>19</sup> ‘Qui de uirgine dignatus es [nasci. miserere nobis.]’

<sup>20</sup> ‘In hac prima parte agitur de seruicione inclusarum dominarum 7 de modo dicendi 7 de 5 gaudiis beate uirginis’.

The majority of B's alterations to Part I are concerned with the visual and rhetorical clarity of the text: he adds capital letters to indicate the beginning of new *sententia*, corrects word division, and modifies spelling and punctuation marks.<sup>21</sup> The character of his work emphasises the importance of the exact and correct performance of Part I's prayers. The nature of B's revisions led Dobson to conclude that he was the author of *Ancrene Wisse*.<sup>22</sup> If he were correct, Cleopatra would be a rare example of a medieval manuscript that preserves its autograph punctuation. Whether or not B was indeed the author (a conjecture that Ackerman and Dahood declare 'scarcely necessary'), his revisions are certainly *authoritative*, altering the performance and interpretation of A's original text.<sup>23</sup> They are as such invaluable evidence of how contemporary scribes understood and deployed paratextual elements to ensure that prayer texts effectively affected their users.

Despite the significance of Cleopatra's emendations, its text has been historically overlooked in favour of the later Corpus version (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 402). As a result, the contributions that Cleopatra could make to our understanding of medieval punctuation and devotional performance have yet to be fully recognised. Even Dobson himself believed that the 'alterations to punctuation are the most mechanical and therefore the least interesting aspect of Scribe B's editorial work', despite simultaneously describing them as 'the most telling evidence of [B's] detailed concern for and understanding of the text'.<sup>24</sup> Dobson's tendency to make value judgments regarding Cleopatra's 'correctness' prompted him to draw inaccurate conclusions from the manuscript evidence. Erroneously assuming that Cleopatra is 'the revision of which [Corpus] is a fair copy' and only 'a year or two' older, he evaluated its

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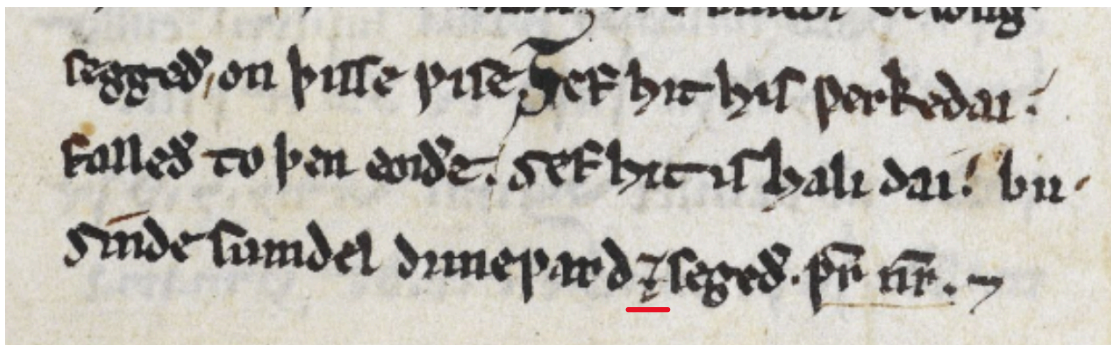
<sup>21</sup> For a lengthier description of B's activities, see Dobson, p. xcvi.

<sup>22</sup> For Dobson's claims regarding Scribe B's authorship, see pp. xcvi-xcix. His hypothesis has not gone unchallenged; see, for example, Manfred Görlach, 'Review of Dobson's *Ancrene Wisse*', *Anglia* 93 (1975), pp. 222-225.

<sup>23</sup> Ackerman and Dahood, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Dobson, p. xcix.

readings in comparison to the allegedly superior Corpus text rather than in their own right.<sup>25</sup> For example, he criticised B's addition of an ampersand in the directions for praying Matins on f. 10r as a 'false alteration' because 'A's original text agrees with Corpus', even though B's reading makes perfect sense (and, if B *were* the author, would surely be more correct).<sup>26</sup> The inclusion of an ampersand here, a seemingly trivial detail, actually influences the performance of these devotions. The original reading could be interpreted as directing the entirety of Matins to be performed either prostrate or kneeling, followed by the Paternoster, whereas B's alteration specifies that it is *specifically* the Paternoster that should be performed in these postures (Fig 4.2). Emendations such as these indicate the importance of reading medieval texts with their original punctuation, which is rarely reflected in critical editions.



**Fig 4.2:** The importance of punctuation to directing performance, illustrated on f. 10r. Replacing the original *punctus* with an ampersand clarifies that the Paternoster is part of Matins, rather than a separate devotion, and that only it (and not the entire Office) should be performed 'fall[ing] to þen eorðe ... [or] buzinde sumdel duneward'. Photo © The British Library.

Although Dobson's edition meticulously reproduces all three layers of Cleopatra's punctuation, he does not discuss its significance in relation to devotional performance or interpretation, describing the alterations without analysing them. Even Ackerman and

<sup>25</sup> Dobson, p. ix. He concluded that 'when the effect of [B's] alterations is to bring the Cleopatra text into exact agreement with Corpus, there is no more to be said; the alterations are justified by the Corpus text ... [and are] almost invariably right, against Corpus' (p. xcvi). Malcom Parkes revised the dating of Corpus to 1270-1280 (cf. Millett, *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition*, p. xi). For a criticism of Dobson's editorial approach, see Millett, *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition*, pp. xlix-lvi.

<sup>26</sup> Dobson, p. 18.

Dahood's edition, which intended 'to make available ... an often neglected portion of the *Ancrene Riwe* in a form demonstrably close to that which was actually known and used in the thirteenth century', modernises its *mise-en-page* and punctuation.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, much of the evidence that Cleopatra provides about the development and performance of *Ancrene Wisse*'s prayers has not been investigated.

While the prayers of Part I have been underappreciated as examples of devotional literature, analyses of their manuscripts have emphasised the ways in which *Ancrene Wisse*'s *mise-en-page* facilitates the use of its texts. Roger Dahood has shown how the layout of the prayers in early manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* visually encodes Part I's written directions.<sup>28</sup> He sees their use of coloured initials and rubrication as constructing a 'chronological frame' for the prayers, communicating a dynamic 'impression of movement' through its devotions.<sup>29</sup> This design is ideal for organising a book that would be returned to at various points during the day. Dahood also briefly touches on how the *mise-en-page* articulates the significance of particular prayers by using a hierarchy of coloured initials to organise them 'from centre to periphery', thus indicating which texts are more important than others.<sup>30</sup> In a later paper, Dahood reiterated that the visual organisation of Part I's manuscripts 'would have provided readers with reliable indicators of the structure of the text', which their makers clearly considered important.<sup>31</sup> However, he did not directly associate Part I's paratexts with performance, instead concluding that '*Ancrene Riwe* was in some measure set out as a study text' as opposed to a devotional one.<sup>32</sup> His impression of its structuring Part I's prayers as rigid

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<sup>27</sup> Ackerman and Dahood, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Roger Dahood, 'Design in Part I of *Ancrene Riwe*', *Medium Ævum* 56 (1987), pp. 1-11.

<sup>29</sup> Dahood, 'Design in Part I', p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Roger Dahood, 'The Use of Coloured Initials and Other Division Markers in Early Versions of *Ancrene Riwe*', in *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, ed. by E. Kennedy, R. Waldron, and J. Wittig (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988), pp. 79-97 (p. 97).

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*

and invariable is also contradicted by its designation of certain sequences as optional, which an anchorite might perform all, some, or none of depending on her inclination or health.

The ways in which the design of Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* facilitates devotional as much as referential reading are illustrated through comparison with the de Brailles Hours. Unlike Cleopatra, whose simplicity and utility reflects its production for a small community of anchorites, the de Brailles Hours is a carefully designed and expensive book made by a known artist, William de Brailles, for the personal use of a laywoman.<sup>33</sup> While *Ancrene Wisse's* prayers combine liturgical and non-liturgical devotions in both Latin and English, the de Brailles Hours contain the standard Latin texts associated with the Hours of the Virgin: the Hours themselves, the penitential Psalms, the gradual Psalms, and litanies. Only the final three folios of the manuscript contain non-liturgical prayers, consisting of French devotions written in different hands to the main Latin text. Interpreting Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* as a forerunner of Books of Hours on the basis of content, therefore, is not necessarily straightforward. Although its service is structured around the Hours of the Virgin, it does not contain them; Matins is the only Hour to have its prayers and accompanying instructions provided within the text, and even these are interspersed with observations regarding postures appropriate for prayers at other times. In fact, no manuscript of Part I includes the full texts of the Hours. Where Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* and the de Brailles Hours do correspond, however, is in their design and their paratexts. While the two prayer-books differ in the specific devotions that they contain, both use a hierarchy of *litterae notabiliores*, *mise-en-page*, and punctuation to visually and rhetorically articulate the structure and delivery of their texts. In both manuscripts, the beginning of individual prayers within the sequence is indicated by capitalising their first letter, or, in de Brailles, more elaborate *litterae notabiliores*. Divisions between prayers are marked

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<sup>33</sup> For the work of William de Brailles, see S.C. Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailles, an English Illuminator of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1930).

with *punctus*. Particularly significant prayers, such as those beginning a new devotional sequence in de Brailles or the *Aves* of *Ancrene Wisse*, are further visually emphasised with historiated initials in the former book and decorated coloured initials in the latter.

Examples such as these show that aspects of *mise-en-page* associated with non-sequential reading can be as connected with prayer as with ‘study’. They also demonstrate how stepping away from prior assumptions brought to interpreting a text can open up new considerations of its function and meaning. Part I of *Ancrene Wisse*, like the de Brailles Hours, presents its user with an ordered compilation of daily devotions, but it is rarely read as a prayer-book. Cleopatra’s use of visual cues, punctuation, and rubrication to guide anchorites through Part I highlights how paratextual features, which are often passed over, support the written directions explicitly stated in the text. Re-examining the non-verbal articulation of the structure and content of its prayers through Mary Carruthers’s model of *ductus* allows us to explore how it directs their performance. This theoretical background is further recommended by Carruthers’s exploration of *ductus* in relation to devotional literature. This reading evidences how Part I’s *ductus* complicates the distinction between the liturgical and private performance of its devotions, demonstrated by selected examples from this manuscript.

### **Structuring Devotional Performance: The Role of *Ductus***

Mary Carruthers has illustrated how the internal organisation of a text directs reader-response. She calls this structural framework *ductus*, ‘the way that a composition guides a person to its various goals’.<sup>34</sup> She considers the *ductus* of devotional texts as primarily concerned with engaging the memory, eliciting affective response by prompting the recollection of

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<sup>34</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 78.

experiencing a particular emotion.<sup>35</sup> Carruthers's use of technical terms associated with music and drama further aligns *ductus* with textual performance: its modulation of tempo, tone, flow and direction 'conducts a thinking mind' through the making of meaning.<sup>36</sup> These creative and non-linear qualities of the *ductus* of devotional texts are contextualised with respect to the monastic practice of *lectio divina*, whose associative and contemplative character prompted affective and imaginative engagement with 'the schemes and tropes of Scripture'.<sup>37</sup> Another important aspect of *ductus* is that it guides without being prescriptive, offering a variety of potential paths through a text towards its final goal.<sup>38</sup> Carruthers's work exemplifies how the rhetoric of prayer texts reflects their practical function as tools or scripts crafted to elicit the emotional responses articulated in their narratives.

However, *ductus* as defined by Carruthers cannot be straightforwardly applied to *Ancrene Wisse*'s prayers. *Lectio divina* was a monastic technique in which the lay recipients of *Ancrene Wisse* were unlikely to have been instructed. Despite identifying the ways in which *lectio divina* facilitated imaginative engagement with sacred texts, Carruthers primarily analyses the potential affective responses elicited by the *ductus* of non-liturgical devotions. She instead examines the *ductus* of the liturgy independent of its prayers, considering how the 'architectural rhetoric' of sacred space vivified the routine performance of familiar texts.<sup>39</sup> Reflecting her privileging of the role of memory in devotional experience, she describes prayer performed from written texts as 'a necessary prelude to prayer' rather than prayer itself, a creative exercise in 'productive thinking [that] does not involve simply copying, but chain-making and wall-building'.<sup>40</sup> This emphasis on creativity, originality, and individual choice is

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<sup>35</sup> Carruthers initially outlined the concept of memory-images in relation to devotional practice in *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Her theory is summarised in *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 7-10.

<sup>36</sup> Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>37</sup> Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 116.

<sup>38</sup> Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 117.

<sup>39</sup> Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 268-270.

<sup>40</sup> Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 164.

seemingly incompatible with the performance of scripted, daily devotions like those contained in *Ancrene Wisse*. Also absent from Carruthers's analysis is the extension of the 'movement' demanded by *ductus*, which she figures in a solely cognitive sense, to the praying body, which could be modulated by the use of manuscript punctuation and instructions within a text.

To discuss *ductus* in Part I of *Ancrene Wisse*, whose prayers are closely connected with those of the liturgy, initially seems incompatible with this model of creative, ad hoc devotion. However, they facilitate it to a greater extent than initially appears. The kinetic imagery that frames Carruthers's process of *ductus* complements the cues directing the physical performance of prayer examined in previous chapters, which *Ancrene Wisse* evidences in more explicit detail than any other source. Furthermore, the daily prayers of Part I are not themselves liturgy, although they are frequently described as liturgical in style and in function.<sup>41</sup> Acknowledging that none of Part I's sequences correspond exactly with liturgical offices, Gerard Sitwell categorised them as 'semi-liturgical devotions', prayers performed *as* liturgy that are not themselves liturgical.<sup>42</sup> Bella Millett further subdivides its prayers into those unconnected with specific offices and those that she calls 'quasi-liturgical devotions', which amalgamate material such as Psalms, antiphons, and collects with non-liturgical devotions.<sup>43</sup> In addition to its texts, the methods and character of Part I have also been aligned with liturgical practice. Emphasising *Ancrene Wisse's* debt to the Hours of the Virgin and the Psalms, Elizabeth Robertson sees Part I as demanding a reading practice that she calls 'liturgical literacy', in which interpretative and performative approaches associated with the liturgy are transferred to non-liturgical texts.<sup>44</sup> Robertson's model, while commendably emphasising the

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<sup>41</sup> In contemporary religious houses, the Hours of the Virgin were recited after the canonical Hours rather than in place of them. This practice is referenced, for example, in *De Institutione Inclusarum*, which directs an anchoress to pray them after vigils. A non-Latinate anchoress, rather than substituting the Benedictine Hours with the Marian ones, was only to recite 'the Paternoster and whatever Psalms she might happen to know'. cf. Talbot, pp. 184-185.

<sup>42</sup> Sitwell, pp. xxi-xxii.

<sup>43</sup> Millett, '*Ancrene Wisse* and the Book of Hours', p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth Robertson, 'Savouring *Scientia*: The Medieval Anchoress Reads *Ancrene Wisse*', in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, pp. 113-131 (p. 129).

ways in which liturgical books use paratextual cues to direct devotional practice, ultimately downgrades Part I's creative potential. 'Because *Ancrene Wisse* itself is described as interchangeable with the Psalms', she argues, the sections of the text performed daily 'simply become another liturgical text' equivalent to daily monastic psalmody.<sup>45</sup> The common thread running through all of these interpretations is the assumption that liturgical prayer is obligatory, formal, and repetitive. Implicit too is a rigid distinction between liturgical and private prayer, as though the texts of Part I were unlikely to have been performed in any other context.

The first counterargument to these conventional assumptions about liturgical prayer is that the distinction between formal and personal worship is rarely clearly defined. Susan Boynton's examination of monastic psalters that intersperse liturgical and non-liturgical devotions reminds us that 'an individual could experience the liturgy as a personal devotion, and prayers that were evidently intended for individuals to recite can be liturgically structured'<sup>46</sup>. The *libelli precum* and psalters discussed in the first two chapters illustrated that a prayer need not have been performed as liturgy simply because it has a liturgical use, with Psalms and collects rearranged alongside other prayers into diverse and unique devotional sequences. Second, the view of liturgical/obligatory prayer as fixed, unchanging, and repetitive is not necessarily corroborated by these texts. Bruce Holsinger has challenged the conventional view of routine prayer as less likely to elicit imaginative or emotional response than prayer performed in other contexts, emphasising the significant influence that the texts and traditions of the liturgy exerted on medieval literary composition and performance.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, the term liturgy itself implies a standardised approach to prayer that is not reflected in the instructions *Ancrene Wisse* gives regarding its devotions. The contexts within which the

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<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Susan Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters', *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 895-931 (p. 897).

<sup>47</sup> Bruce Holsinger, 'Liturgy' in *Middle English*, ed. by P. Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 295-314.

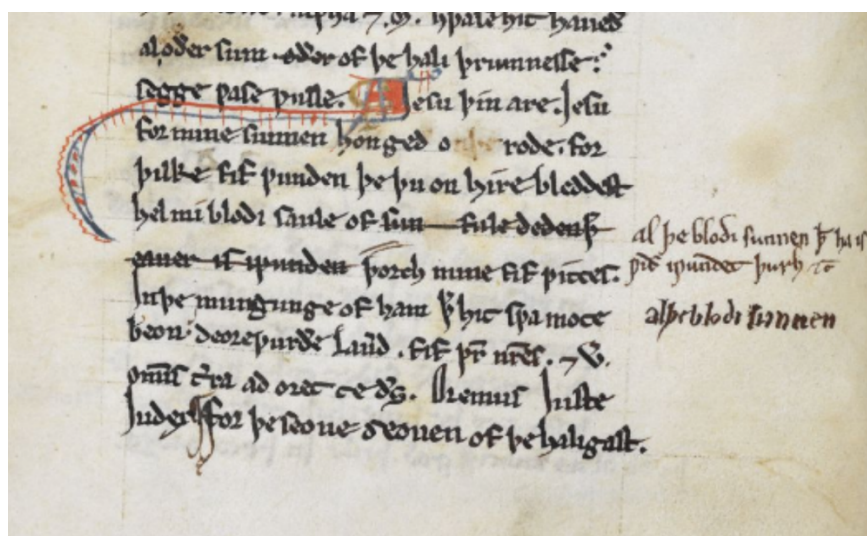
prayers of Part I were performed and the methods and intentions associated with them vary, thus prescribing different approaches to the same text. The Preface explicitly states that an anchorite must not vow to uphold the first and last parts of the rule, including the daily prayers, exactly as written, but should treat them with a necessary degree of flexibility: ‘þeos riwle changin hire misliche. efter vchanes manere 7 efter hire euene’ (4, f. 5r/16-17). The daily service, unlike the liturgy, could be adapted to meet the needs and abilities of individual anchorites. For example, some of its devotions can be omitted by those who are sick, old, unfamiliar with them, or simply find them ‘to long’ (30, f. 15r/9). This concession is not made in *De Institutione Inclusarum*, whose recommendations for brief and varied prayer extend only to those performed in between the Hours, not the Hours themselves. In addition, Part I’s prayers are not necessarily intended to substitute for the liturgical hours: an anchorite is advised to listen to the priest’s service and is on no account to overwrite it with the sound of her own.<sup>48</sup>

The *mise-en-page* of Part I also facilitates non-sequential reading, again contrasting with the perception of its prayers as invariable. Frequent references are made to the possibility of self-directed prayer within each sequence, giving the anchorites the ‘choice ... in how to “walk” among them’ integral to Carruthers’s model of *ductus*.<sup>49</sup> These directions are either explicit, inviting the anchorite to ‘segge [whichever prayers] wase wulle’ (24, f. 12v/12) and ‘þullich oðere bonen [performed] on oure azenwise’ (36, f. 17v/22-24), or implied with the conditional: ‘on þisse wise 3e mazen 3ef 3e wulleð seggen oure Pater nosteres’ (23, f. 12r/16-17). Even prayers that have a traditional text, like the Paternoster and Ave Maria, might be said in the anchorite’s own way (36, f. 12r/22-24). Dahood’s assessment of the potential for discontinuous reading facilitated by *Ancrene Wisse*’s *mise-en-page* is further supported by the ways in which the prayers of each devotional sequence are incorporated into the main text.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Toward þe preostes tiden *hercnið* se forð 3e mazen. ach wið him *ne Schule nouðer uersailen ne singgen þ he maze iheren*’ (36-37, f. 18r/16-19).

<sup>49</sup> Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 117.

Incipits of prayers not begun with *litterae notabiliores* are underlined in order to distinguish them from their accompanying instructions. This underlining could also be a visual cue to an anchorite to turn from *Ancrene Wisse* to the prayer texts that she has written elsewhere, either those of the Hours (cf. 19, f. 11r/1-2) or supplementary prayers written on scrolls (cf. 36, f. 18r/1-5). Some of Part I's prayers are distinguished with decorated and colourful opening initials, visually emphasising their placement in the manuscript. The prayers so labelled include the salutations to the Cross (f. 9v) and an English penitential prayer beginning 'A iesu þin are' (f. 12v), whose pair of marginal annotations emphasise the main point of its confession: 'hel mi blodi saule of [al þe blodi sunnen þ ha is wið iwundet þurh] mine fif wittes. <al þe blodi sunnen>' (Fig 4.3). This prayer anticipates the directions that begin Part III, where the wrathful anchorite is compared to the pelican who sheds her own blood to repent for her sins. 'Do as deð þe pellican', the author advises, 'dachze þe blod of sunne ut of [ower] breoste. þ is of þe heorte þ þe saule lið inne' (95, f. 48v/2-4). Its paratexts thus facilitate its use outside of the daily prayers as part of ad hoc penance; its two nearly identical annotations in different hands could suggest that Cleopatra's contemporary users perceived this prayer as particularly important.



**Fig 4.3:** The paratexts of the penitential prayer beginning 'A iesu þin are' (f. 12v) facilitate its incorporation in ad hoc devotion. Photo © The British Library.

As well as cross-referencing the prayers contained within Part I itself, the likelihood that contemporary users of *Ancrene Wisse* would have possessed additional prayers is strengthened by the statement that any devotions not included in the text are ‘iwrten ouer al’ and easy to obtain (36, f. 17v/20). Part I also recommends the performance of prayer, psalmody, reading, meditation, and other forms of personal devotion ‘hwense ze mazen izemen’ (36, f. 18r/1-8); the collocation of this instruction with references to prayers that Part I provides examples of (Paternosters and Aves) further suggests their potential use as templates for personalised, creative prayer. The variety of the devotional works that Cleopatra’s envisioned recipients could have turned to during their prayers is illustrated by the number of languages and genres recommended in *Ancrene Wisse*. In addition to the prayers copied into Part I itself, anchorites are encouraged to perform ‘versailunge of sauter’ (almost certainly in Latin), ‘redunge of englich oðer of frensch’, and ‘salmes 7 vreisuns’; ‘hali þochtes’ and ‘cneolunges’ could reference meditation or devotional exercises performed with written texts (36, f. 18r/1-7). For example, Part IV provides a ‘hali meditaciun’ in Latin verse with an accompanying English translation, supplied for use in times of temptation (177, f. 105v/7-21). Performing this kind of meditation should be accompanied by some of the devotional activities previously listed in Part I, namely prayer, reading, and work (cf. 176-177, f. 105r/15-22). Another detail related to this verse that further suggests that *Ancrene Wisse*’s envisioned recipients owned multiple devotional texts is that it ‘wes zeare itacht ow’ (177, f. 105v/7-8), although this is its only occurrence in the entire treatise.<sup>50</sup>

As such, the reading practice set out in Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* differs from that of the Books of Hours with which it has been compared. Unlike *Ancrene Wisse*, which invites its user

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<sup>50</sup> Millett suggests that this comment could reference one of the English verses in *Seinte Margarete*, which is similar to the English translation given in *Ancrene Wisse* (*Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition*, vol. 2, p. 170). While *Ancrene Wisse* does reference ‘ouwer englise boc of seinte margarete’ (180, f. 107v/9-10) almost immediately after this verse, the Latin original could derive from another source, as its rhyming phrases occur in other examples of contemporary religious verse.

to travel between a variety of devotional texts and books, prayer-books like the de Brailles Hours ‘provided a series of unchanging texts that could simply be read through and absorbed’.<sup>51</sup> The use of ‘simply’ implies a rote, unimaginative devotional practice that contrasts with the flexibility inherent to Part I’s prayers outlined above. Absent from the de Brailles Hours is the invitation to incorporate texts unconnected with the psalter or breviary into personal devotion, or the possibility to adapt the length of certain Hours; Donovan reiterates its traditional character by commenting that ‘none of [its] texts was newly composed’.<sup>52</sup> By contrast, the ‘variation from one occasion to another’ that Carruthers sees as a ‘given’ in a *ductus* that facilitates imaginative reader-response can be discerned in Part I, despite the association of many of its prayers with the liturgy.<sup>53</sup> Although the devotions of *Ancrene Wisse* are based on the Hours of the Virgin, they are not the Hours proper; Ackerman describes Part I as containing more ‘general counsel’ than actual prayer texts.<sup>54</sup> Its sequences resemble those associated with *non*-liturgical prayer in the *libelli precum* discussed in Chapter 1, which also blend Psalms, collects, and antiphons with non-liturgical texts. The diversity and adaptability of *Ancrene Wisse*’s devotions further undermines Mari Hughes-Edwards’s assessment of anchoritic rules as ‘normative’ challenged in the previous chapter—a ‘normativity’ more strongly reflected in the de Brailles Hours.<sup>55</sup>

Examining the *ductus* of Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* allows us to explore the potential use of these prayers in personal, imaginative devotion, reinterpreting prayers traditionally associated with liturgy in a revised context. The flexibility of the content and direction of the service it sets out is rarely acknowledged; this potential is balanced with the prescriptive

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<sup>51</sup> Donovan, p. 25.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 117.

<sup>54</sup> Ackerman, p. 737.

<sup>55</sup> Mari Hughes-Edwards, ‘The Role of the Anchoritic Guidance Writer: Goscelin of St. Bertin’ in *Anchoritism in the Middle Ages: Texts and Traditions*, ed. by Catherine Innes-Parker & Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 31-45 (p. 33).

guidance regarding the performance and significance of its texts required of a treatise composed for lay anchorites. Reflecting the interplay between outer and inner definitive of devotional treatises, two kinds of *ductus* will be explored in this chapter. Outer *ductus* encapsulates instructions directing the postures, gestures, affective orientation, and combination of prayers appropriate to specific sequences articulated within the written text, while inner *ductus* refers to the manuscript's use of punctuation, *mise-en-page*, and coloured initials to guide the user through the surface writing. Through this analysis, the potential of the prayers of Part I to be combined with other devotions associated with enclosed audiences and the ways in which the methods of their performance articulate their significance will be demonstrated, showing the integral role that this frequently overlooked section of *Ancrene Wisse* plays in constructing its meaning.

### **Outer *Ductus*: Posture, Gesture, and Affect**

In addition to outlining the structure and content of the devotional day, Part I describes the postures, gestures, and contexts pertaining to each prayer with an unprecedented degree of detail. Ackerman observed its emphasis on the physical realisation of prayer, noting that ‘occasionally, an incipit is cited solely because of the need for informing the anchoress about the devotional gesture to be made at that point’.<sup>56</sup> That said, he views the significance of these instructions in historical rather than devotional terms, seeing them as ‘the best evidence that the original anchorites were without liturgical training’.<sup>57</sup> His lack of further discussion regarding the wide range of gestures invoked in the text—‘kneeling, beating the breast, signing oneself with the cross, and the like’—suggests that Ackerman viewed them as conventional, reflecting a monastic custom with which the lay recipients of *Ancrene Wisse* were expected to

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<sup>56</sup> Ackerman, p. 741.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*

align themselves.<sup>58</sup> Like Hughes-Edwards, he interprets the function of *Ancrene Wisse* as constructing a normative identity for its audiences that aligned them more closely with established forms of the religious life. However, Part I will be shown to construct a spiritual identity for its users that differentiates them from, rather than relates them to, conventional monasticism, with the combinations of posture, gesture, context, and text unique to its prayers reinforcing the symbolism of the anchoritic vocation developed in *Ancrene Wisse*. It is worth reiterating Ackerman's definition of the pre-eminence of Part I with a slight qualification: its placement at the beginning of the work conveys its 'primary importance' to an anchorite, but as regards her unique circumstances rather than generally fulfilling the monastic '*opus Dei*'.<sup>59</sup> This chapter will analyse specific devotional sequences from Part I, namely the morning and midday prayers. In so doing, it will show how the *ductus* of Part I complements Robertson's discussion of reading practices associated with *Ancrene Wisse*, which briefly explores how the 'bodily performance' demanded by the text maintains affective and imaginative engagement with the daily prayers.<sup>60</sup> It develops on her work by recontextualising the physical cues in Part I in relation to the meaning and effects of devotional performance rather than more cognitive aspects of literacy.

The ways in which posture and gesture articulate the function and meaning of prayer have been discussed by Richard Trexler.<sup>61</sup> Through a detailed analysis of *De Penitentia*, a twelfth-century prayer manual attributed to Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), Trexler concludes that the emphasis on the physicality of prayer in contemporary sources demonstrates the body's role in 'legitimizing' its efficacy and symbolism.<sup>62</sup> Additionally, the function of a given prayer

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<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Ackerman, p. 738.

<sup>60</sup> Robertson, pp. 129-130

<sup>61</sup> Richard Trexler, 'Legitimizing Prayer Gestures in the Twelfth Century: the *De Penitentia* of Peter the Chanter', *History and Anthropology I* (1984), pp. 97-126. Trexler later edited this treatise as *The Christian at Prayer: An Illustrated Prayer Manual Attributed to Peter the Chanter* (New York: Medieval Texts and Studies, 1997).

<sup>62</sup> Trexler, 'Legitimising Prayer Gestures', p. 98.

can be indicated by the method of its performance.<sup>63</sup> Peter's manual, like Part I of *Ancrene Wisse*, relates to both obligatory and ad hoc prayer, addressing clerical audiences wishing to incorporate additional prayers into their daily devotions.<sup>64</sup> Where possible, *Ancrene Wisse*'s treatment of specific postures and gestures will be compared with that of related contemporary texts, such as the de Brailles Hours or *De Institutione Inclusarum*.

### *The Morning Prayers*

Part I opens with a series of morning devotions (15-18, f. 9r/12-f. 10r/21). Upon waking, the recluse crosses herself and recites *In nomine patris, etc.*, followed by *Veni creator spiritus* 'wið up a heuene echnen 7 honden toward heoue[ne] buzinde acneon forðwart oðe bedde' and *Deus qui corda fidelium* (15, f. 9r/13-15). She then dresses herself, repeating the Paternoster, the Creed, and a prayer for Christ's mercy until she is ready; she is advised to keep these devotions 'in muðe ofte ... sitten oðer stonden' (16, f. 9v/1-2). When dressed, she sprinkles herself with holy water and performs a sequence of Aves prostrate in the direction of the church altar, meditating on the body and blood of Christ kept there. She then kneels before her crucifix and prays five salutations in memory of the five wounds; at the final one, she beats her heart. Next, she performs the *Adoramus* five times, crossing herself at each one. Then, with the prayer, 'have mercy on us, you who died for us', she beats her breast again, makes the sign of the Cross on the ground, and kisses it (18, f. 10r/13-15). Finally, she kneels before 'vre lauedi onlitnes' and prays five Hail Marys, bowing or kneeling before any additional images or relics that she owns (18, f. 10r/15-16). These devotions are immediately followed by the Matins of Our Lady.

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<sup>63</sup> For example, Peter writes that prayer before images of Christ must always be prostrate in order to display appropriate humility and self-abjection before the Redeemer. cf. Trexler, 'Legitimizing Prayer Gestures', notes 70-72.

<sup>64</sup> Peter specifically recommends the treatise to 'whoever wants to chant the aforesaid [canonical] hours combined with other personal prayers' ('Quicumque ergo velit iamdictas horas canta revelet iam alias preces privatas confundere'. Quoted in Trexler, 'Legitimizing Prayer Gestures', note 14.).

The significance of these morning prayers is illustrated through comparison with those found in other devotional books. Pre-Conquest routines for morning prayer usually consisted of brief sequences of Psalms and prayers petitioning for spiritual protection shorter than those contained in *Ancrene Wisse*.<sup>65</sup> Devotional treatises contemporary with *Ancrene Wisse* contain relatively little guidance for morning prayer. *De Institutione Inclusarum* begins its devotional programme with Vigils ‘as prescribed in the Rule of St. Benedict’, followed by the Hours of the Virgin and personal prayer that is either ‘brief or prolonged’ depending on its user’s desire.<sup>66</sup> Aelred specifies neither the content nor the intention of these supplementary prayers, as they should be ‘inspired by devotion’.<sup>67</sup> The Hatton treatise begins the section *De Oratione* with non-specific instructions to ‘frequently pray in the morning ... until Tierce’.<sup>68</sup> These directions for pre-dawn prayer are expanded on in the following section, *De Preparatione Cordis*, which, like *De Institutione Inclusarum*, begins the devotional day with Vigils, followed by the Matins of our Lady.<sup>69</sup> The de Brailles Hours contain no prayers preceding Matins; while Donovan interprets the illustrated roundels accompanying its opening as a ‘visual sermon’ inviting ‘a meditation on the theme of [Christ’s] betrayal’ before morning prayer, the manuscript does not specify this interpretation or explicitly link the images with Matins.<sup>70</sup> The detailed performance directions and compilation of texts included in Part I of *Ancrene Wisse*

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<sup>65</sup> Kate Thomas discusses pre-Conquest *ordines* for morning prayer in *Late Anglo-Saxon Prayer in Practice: Before the Books of Hours* (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2020), pp. 80-88. Her observation of the emphasis that these earlier texts place on posture and gesture in devotional performance further indicates their essential contributions to realising the significance of prayer.

<sup>66</sup> ‘... secundum estimacionem suam plus media nocte repauset, et sic surgens cum qua potest deuocione secundum formam regule beati Benedicti nocturnas uigilias celebret. Quibus mox succedat oracio quam secundum quod eam spiritus sanctus adiuuerit, aut protelare debe taut aberuiare’. Talbot, p. 184.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Post orationem in honorem Virginis debitum solvat officium, sanctorum commemorationes adjiciens. Cave autem ne de numero Psalmorum, vel commemoratione, aliquam tibi legem imponas; ... ut salubri alternatione spiritum recrees ... inspirans devotio dictat; tempus quod restat usque ad auroram, operi manuum cum Psalmorum modulatione deserviat.’ *ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> ‘crebrius matudinem supplicantur ... usque terciā’. Hatton 101, f. 202r.

<sup>69</sup> ‘Quando ad uigilias surgendum est ⁊ preparandus est animus tuus ad deuotacionem. ... ⁊ post ⁊ salutans matrem domini ⁊ matutinas eius decantans’. Hatton 101, f. 202v. The corresponding section of *De Institutione Inclusarum* similarly begins, ‘sic surgens cum qua potest deuocione secundum formam regule beati Benedicti nocturnas uigilias celebret’. Talbot, p. 184.

<sup>70</sup> Donovan, pp. 42-43.

are therefore deserving of more critical attention than they have previously received, on the basis of their uniqueness relative to other contemporary sources.

Analysing the *ductus* of *Ancrene Wisse*'s morning prayers illustrates how their structure and performance articulate the significance of the anchoritic vocation and inspire affective response. The first act of the anchorite's day is to cross herself 'in the name of the Father [and the Son and the Holy Spirit]' (cf. 15, f. 9r/12-13), a gesture that symbolically reaffirms her dedication to God and invokes His spiritual protection. This intention is reiterated in *Veni, creator spiritus*, which petitions the Holy Spirit to enter the heart and fill it with grace, a desire echoed in the following prayers' invocation of 'sending forth [God's] spirit' to guide 'the hearts of the faithful'. This function of the sign of the Cross is recalled throughout *Ancrene Wisse*; for example, Part II advises an anchorite to cross her mouth, ears, and eyes when conversing at her window to protect herself from potential sin (53, f. 26v/11-17). In performing these prayers before she has even dressed herself, the anchorite signals her intention to consecrate her will, actions, and desires to God. This interpretation is further reinforced by her repeating the Paternoster and Creed while dressing, clothing herself literally and spiritually with God's word (cf. 15, f. 9r/19-21). This combination of action and prayer typifies the transvaluation of an anchorite's lived experience from secular to sacred associations, a theme central to Georgianna's study of *Ancrene Wisse*. She argues that 'the interpenetration of inner and outer realities is not merely an imagistic pattern; it typifies the anchoress's *experience*' such that almost every literal action becomes invested with a deeper spiritual meaning.<sup>71</sup> The prayers of Part I, which Georgianna only briefly examines, support her assessment. By contextualising the ordinary act of getting dressed within the performance of a devotional routine, the anchorite reinforces the function and symbolism of the text that she is living.

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<sup>71</sup> Georgianna, p. 58.

The way in which the performance of prayer allegorically transvalues the significance of outer actions is further exemplified in the *Veni, creator spiritus*. Its specified setting and posture mirror conventional depictions of the Annunciation, in which Mary kneels on her bed holding a book, raising her eyes and hands to heaven—a detail so significant that the instructions accompanying the prayer reiterate it twice.<sup>72</sup> The *Threefold Meditation* that Aelred composed to complement *De Institutione Inclusarum* also outlines the importance of these particular devotional postures. ‘Let pure hands be raised in prayer’, the performer is guided; elsewhere she is directed to ‘lift up eyes weighed down with tears ... and beg for what you seek’.<sup>73</sup> Illustrations accompanying *De Penitentia* convey the necessity of lifted hands and eyes, including these features in depictions of postures where practical (Fig 4.4).



**Fig 4.4:** Thirteenth-century Christians at prayer in Leipzig University Library, MS 433, modelling hands and eyes raised to God (ff. 55v, 56v, and 58v). Photos © Leipzig University Library.

The performance of these devotional actions in Part I recalls one of the fundamental themes of anchoritic spirituality. Through this prayer, an anchorite aligns herself with Mary, who is presented throughout *Ancrene Wisse* as the ideal on whom a recluse should model herself. ‘ze

<sup>72</sup> On the iconography of the Annunciation, see Laura Saetveit Miles, ‘The Origins and Development of the Virgin Mary’s Book at the Annunciation’, *Speculum* 89.3 (2014), pp. 632-669.

<sup>73</sup> ‘Leuentur pure manus in oracione ... et grauidos lacrimis oculos attolle ... extorque quod petis’. Talbot, p. 203.

mine leoue sustren’, the author urges, ‘folezeð ure lauedi’ (54, f. 26v/18-19). The *Threefold Meditation* likewise explains that ‘all of this [the Incarnation] was done for you, virgin, so that you might diligently consider the virgin whom you have resolved to imitate’.<sup>74</sup> Although this theme has been well-explored in critical readings of *Ancrene Wisse*, the evidence that the daily devotions contribute regarding it is often passed over in favour of material drawn exclusively from the inner rule. For example, Lydia Shahan’s analysis of Mary as the model anchorite in *Ancrene Wisse* does not identify the symbolic potential of Part I’s prayers.<sup>75</sup> Much like the Holy Spirit penetrated Mary at the Annunciation, *Veni creator spiritus* invites the descent of Christ into the anchorhold, which is explicitly linked with Mary’s womb in Part VI: ‘nes he him seolf reclus in Marie wombe. ... 3e beoð his feloazes reclus as he wes inmarie wombe’ (277, f. 175v/7-12).<sup>76</sup> The anchorhold thus becomes the site of a daily re-Annunciation, evoking the indwelling of Christ in the literal and symbolic architectures of the anchorhold and its inhabitant.<sup>77</sup> The association of these prayers with Marian devotion is reinforced in the fourteenth-century Vernon version of *Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1).<sup>78</sup> Vernon’s compilers interpolated a twelfth-century Latin prayer to the Virgin by Marbod of Rennes (*Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam*) into Part I, indicating a contemporary awareness of the connection between *Ancrene Wisse*’s prayers and veneration of Mary, even though Part I itself does not explicitly state this association.<sup>79</sup> The *Ureisun of Ure Lefdi*, one of the prayers accompanying the Nero version of *Ancrene Wisse* (London, British Library, Cotton Nero

<sup>74</sup> ‘Hec omnia propter te, o uirgo, ut uirginem quam imitari proposuisti diligenter attendas’. Talbot, p. 200.

<sup>75</sup> Lydia Shahan, ‘Beholding the Handmaids of the Lord: The Virgin Mary as Model in Thirteenth-Century Anchoritic Texts’, *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 7 (2016), pp. 103-134.

<sup>76</sup> The association of Mary’s womb with the anchorhold-as-tomb is discussed by Alexandra Barratt, ‘Context: Some Reflections on Wombs and Tombs and Inclusive Language’, in *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Liz Herbert McAvoy and Mari Hughes-Edwards (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 27-38.

<sup>77</sup> The symbolic architectures of the anchorhold are further explored in Robert Hasenfratz, ‘The Anchorhold as Symbolic Space in *Ancrene Wisse*’, *Philological Quarterly* 84 (2005), pp. 1-26.

<sup>78</sup> *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe: The ‘Vernon Text’: Edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet. a. 1*, ed. by Arne Zettersten and Bernhard Diensberg with an introduction by H. L. Spencer, EETS 310 (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

<sup>79</sup> The Latin prayer is printed in Thompson, p. 80.

A.xiv), is an English adaptation of this same text, further strengthening the links between *Ancrene Wisse's* devotions and those that circulated with it, although they are rarely read alongside each other today. Vernon also contains an English translation of *De Institutione Inclusarum*, again suggesting that these works were read together. These parallels illustrate how the performance of Part I establishes the interpretative framework within which the anchorite rationalises her lived experience.

Another potential significance of the act of raising the hands and the eyes in prayer is referenced in Part IV of *Ancrene Wisse*. After discussing appropriate measures against sinful temptations, the author sets out a devotional routine that acts against 'þe dogge of helle' (214, f. 131r/20):

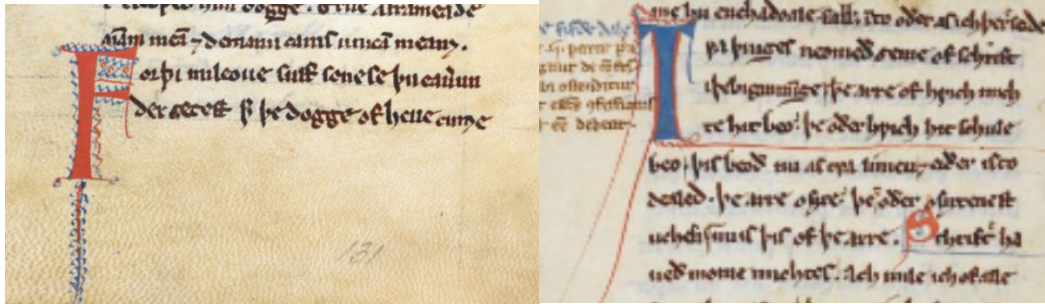
Mid þe halirode staf. ... sture þe. **hold up echnen on hech towart heouene.** gred efter sucurs. deus in adiutorium 7 cetera. Veni creator spiritus. Exsurgat deus 7 dissipentur. deus in nomine tuo saluum 7 cetera. domine quid multiplicati sunt. Ad te domine leuauimus animam 7 cetera. ad te leuauimus oculos 7 cetera. (214, f. 131v/10-17)

In this context, the gestures, postures, and prayers of the morning sequence are performed as a means of spiritual protection, through which their user petitions 'after sucurs'. The raising of the eyes to heaven literally enacts the prayers referenced in the sequence, which reference raising the eyes and the soul. Here, performing these prayers is vivified as going to war with the devil. The likening of the sign of the Cross to a staff that attacks sin echoes the contemporary *Katherine Group* hagiographies associated with audiences of *Ancrene Wisse*; Shari Horner interprets Saints Katherine and Margaret crossing themselves as a prelude to spiritual conflict as a gesture 'imbuing [the] body with spiritual power through a textual act'.<sup>80</sup> The manuscript visually signals the importance of this passage by beginning it with a colourful

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<sup>80</sup> Shari Horner, 'Saint's Lives', in *The History of British Women's Writing, 700-1500: Vol. 1*, ed. by Liz Herbert McAvoy and Diane Watt (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 95-103 (p. 97).

and embellished capital F extending into the lower margin, which is equal in size to and more embellished than the initial that begins Part V, an entirely new section of the treatise, four folios later (Fig 4.5):



**Fig 4.5:** The importance of Part IV’s directions for prayer against temptation is indicated in the treatment of their opening initial, ‘Forþi mi leoue sustren ...’, (f. 131r), particularly when compared with one that indicates an entirely new chapter of the treatise (f. 135v). The *mise-en-page* of the manuscript further suggests that anchorites were encouraged to return to Part I’s prayers outside the mandatory ‘seruise’. Photos © The British Library.

This example is one of the clearest pieces of evidence that the prayers of Part I were not only performed as part of the daily service but were used in ad hoc devotion.

The next two devotional sequences, dedicated to the Host and the Cross respectively, further use symbolic postures, gestures, and spaces in order to cultivate affective prayer in response to the Passion. The Passion was a dominant presence in anchoritic spirituality, with the hardships of enclosed life figured as reciprocating Christ’s suffering on the Cross. ‘þe treowe ancras’, the author explains in Part III, ‘makeð creoz of ham seolf ... 7 in bitternesse of flesch beoreð godes rode’ (105, f. 54r/2-7). Aelred wrote that ‘an anchoress more clearly understands the significance of [Lent] inasmuch as she recognises its expression in her own life’.<sup>81</sup> While the texts of these prayers do not directly reference the Passion, aspects of their performance consolidate these associations. Before performing them, an anchorite sprinkles herself with holy water. The importance of this gesture is evidenced by the author’s

<sup>81</sup> ‘inclusa maxime que temporis huius rationem tanto melius intellegit, quanto eam in propria uita sua expressius recognoscit’. Talbot, p. 187.

specification that she ‘schulen eauer hebben’ a supply (15, f. 95/3-4). Cate Gunn’s discussion of the literature of spiritual guidance contemporary with *Ancrene Wisse* cites the use of holy water as an action of ‘symbolic value’ that, like the prayers discussed above, sanctifies the ‘external’ by aligning it with the ‘internal’.<sup>82</sup> The external cleansing of the body represents the internal cleansing of the soul, purified from sin with ‘inner repentance and tears’.<sup>83</sup> In Part I, this symbolically cleansing gesture reminds an anchorite of her culpability in Christ’s crucifixion, the theme of the upcoming devotions. It also adds a somatic quality to her practice, providing a tactile stimulus recalling what she is instructed to meditate on as she prays, ‘godes flesch 7 on his blod’ (16, f. 9v/4-5).

The association of these prayers with penance suggested by the use of holy water is reinforced by the kneeling posture in which they were performed. Peter writes in *De Penitentia* that kneeling articulates truly penitential prayer, a theme echoed in the petitions of *Ancrene Wisse*.<sup>84</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, *De Institutione Inclusarum* and the Hatton treatise also specify that prayer should be performed on one’s knees. In the de Brailles Hours, Saint Theophilus is depicted at prayer kneeling with outstretched hands like the illustrations of *De Penitentia* shown above; the French rubric on the top margin of the page affirms this posture’s penitential connection: ‘he repents to Our Lady for her mercy’ (Fig 4.6).<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Gunn, p. 118.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> cf. Trexler, ‘Legitimizing Prayer Gestures’, p. 113.

<sup>85</sup> ‘se repenti a nostre dame de merci’.



**Fig 4.6:** Kneeling penitential prayer in the de Brailles Hours, f. 38v. Photo © The British Library.

Kneeling in prayer before the altar is also connected with prostration, another posture often mentioned in *Ancrene Wisse*. *De Penitentia*'s seven modes of prayer include four standing postures, one kneeling, one halfway between kneeling and prostration, and full prostration.<sup>86</sup> The treatise outlines a progression from kneeling to prostration via leaning forward to kiss the ground in veneration of Christ—another action recurring in *Ancrene Wisse*. *De Penitentia* connects prostrate prayer with venerating the body and blood of Christ, the stated purpose of these devotions in Part I. Peter claims that, on sight of the altar, 'righteous men ... prostrate themselves and fall on their face during the preparation and consummation of the flesh and blood of Christ'.<sup>87</sup> Signifying complete surrender, adoration, and humility in the face of God's sacrifice, *De Penitentia* defines prostration as 'out of all the methods of praying ... the best and most useful'.<sup>88</sup> It is possible that a devout anchorite would have progressed beyond kneeling to prostration while praying this sequence. The role of the body in performing these

<sup>86</sup> Peter's *forma orandi* is quoted in Trexler, 'Legitimizing Prayer Gestures', n. 24.

<sup>87</sup> Quoted in Trexler, 'Legitimizing Prayer Gestures', n. 32.

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in Trexler, 'Legitimizing Prayer Gestures', n. 79.

devotions reinforces their recalling of the Passion in their direction to the Cross, the symbol of ‘God’s sacrifice’. These prayers are further connected to the Passion through the additional times at which they should be performed—the elevation of the host and before communion—which are moments specifically associated with the crucifixion. The author then recommends the re-recitation of this sequence at midday, recalling the darkness that covered the earth at noon while Christ suffered (cf. Mark 15:33-38). Details such as these support Catherine Innes-Parker’s assessment that ‘devotion to the Passion is so thoroughly fused with [the recluse’s] daily prayers that the two are difficult to separate’.<sup>89</sup>

As in *De Institutione Inclusarum*, devotional space is also invoked in order to reinforce the significance of these prayers. *Ancrene Wisse* specifies that the first set should be prayed facing the altar, which could be seen through a squint in the wall dividing the cell and the church.<sup>90</sup> This direction capitalises on the symbolic architecture of the anchorhold to elicit feelings of desire for Christ. Windows are defined at the beginning of Part II as liminal spaces through which the unguarded heart might flee in the pursuit of desire (cf. 41, f. 20v/19-23). The church window, however, is God’s window, used exclusively to receive communion (cf. 56, f. 28r/1-11). Praying before God’s window, therefore, redirects carnal and spiritual desire towards appropriate things. The location of the church altar as close to an anchorite but inaccessible to her aligns the affective responses elicited by Part I’s prayers with those of the so-called *Wooing Group*, which circulated in three of the four early manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*. Both *Ancrene Wisse*’s prayers and those of the *Group* juxtapose the desire elicited by Christ’s imagined nearness with the painful acceptance of his unattainability. The way in which the wall of the cell divides the anchorite from the altar literally enacts the symbolic association of walls with

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<sup>89</sup> Catherine Innes-Parker, ‘*De Wohunge of ure Lauerd* and the Tradition of Affective Devotion: Rethinking Text and Audience’, in *The Milieu and Context of the Wooing Group*, ed. by Susannah M. Chewning (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), pp. 96-122 (p. 121).

<sup>90</sup> On the conventional layout of church anchorholds, see Rotha Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London: Methuen, 1914).

sin established in *Ancrene Wisse*. In Part IV, the author references the church altar when he warns wrathful and quarrelling recluses:

Iesu crist for beode ear **habeo iset wel**. naut ane to neomen **godes flesch 7 his blod** ne wurðe nan se wit les. ach þ eanes ne bihalde þer on ne loke wið wreððe towart him ... (168, f. 114r/11-16)

In this way, the prayers of Part I anticipate the themes and concerns of subsequent sections of the text, further establishing the unity of *Ancrene Wisse*. The correlation between images of walls and acknowledgement of sin is also apparent in the *Wooing Group* prayers, evidencing conceptual and literary connections between *Ancrene Wisse* and its associated works. *On ureisun of God Almihti* likens an anchorite's sinfulness to a 'wal' dividing her from Christ, using a rhetorical structure that metrically emphasises this sin as 'mine':

þe bitternesse of alle mine attri sunnen is þe lettunge. Mine sunnen beoð wal bi tweonen me. 7 þe. ... þat ich ne mei. ne ne der lufsum Godd : cumen iþine eihsihðe. (*UGA*, 88-96)

The barrier that sin creates between the anchorite and God is emphasized by the punctuation of 'me. 7 þe' separating her from her object of desire. The wall of the cell thus literally and metaphorically enforces the remoteness of Christ from the anchorite; as Ayoush Lazikani observes, '[Christ's] distance in Heaven is compounded by his distance from her soul, burdened as it is with sins'.<sup>91</sup> The shared reference to 'godes flesch 7 his blod' in Parts I and IV links an anchorite's daily devotions with the inner self that they are intended to cultivate, while the wall of sin that separates her from Christ in Part IV and *UGA* is literalised in the instruction to pray at the church wall.

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<sup>91</sup> Ayoush Lazikani, 'Remembrance and Time in the Wooing Group', in *Reconsidering Gender, Time, and Memory in Medieval Culture*, ed. by Elizabeth Cox et. al. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 79-94 (pp. 79-80).

These thematic and symbolic concerns are developed in the second sequence of prayers to the Cross, performed ‘in þe munegunge of þe vif wunden’ (17, f. 9v/19-20). They express devotion to the Cross as the instrument of humanity’s redemption, and are likewise prayed kneeling, with their direction to a crucifix further reinforcing their stated significance. Beginning *Admoramus te Christi*, they directly address Christ in the second person, suggesting his presence in the cell through establishing a dialogue between Christ and anchorite. This connection is further developed in other chapters of the treatise. The use of the crucifix to symbolically link Christ and anchorite recurs in Part III’s *exemplum* of the eagle and its nest. Reflecting the connection of medieval bestiaries with moral allegory, the author describes how the eagle ‘deð in his nest an deorewurðe ʒimstan’ (108, f. 55v/12-13) that is beautiful, valuable, and protects his chicks from harm.<sup>92</sup> This jewel, he explains, ‘is Iesu crist’ (108, f. 55v/16), possessed by the virtuous anchorite ‘iþe nest of hire heorte þ is in hire ancre hus [that] habbe his iliche þ is þe crucifix. 7 bi halde often þer on 7 cusse þe wunden stude. i swote munnunge of soðe wunden þ god oðe rode mildeliche þolede’ (108-109, f. 56r/11-17). Reverencing the crucifix is a means of possessing Christ, facilitated by the symbolic potential of the anchorhold, which is allegorised as the anchorite’s heart. The tactile act of kissing the crucifix, recalling *De Institutione Inclusarum*, literalises the concept of possessing and engaging with Christ’s body.<sup>93</sup> In this way, the significance of the inner rule and the practice of the outer authenticate each other, and the interactions with the crucifix function as a means of possessing Christ, inside and outside the anchorite’s heart.

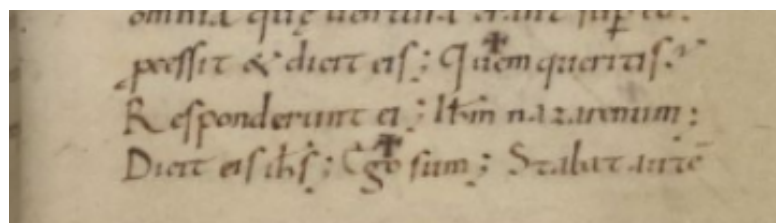
These prayers conclude with a devotional gesture linking the heart and the Passion. The specification of beating the ‘heorte’, as opposed to the ‘breoste’ referenced elsewhere in Part I,

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<sup>92</sup> On the allegorical nature of medieval bestiaries, see Debra Strickland, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), and Wilene Clark, *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and its Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

<sup>93</sup> ‘Sufficiat tibi in altari tuo Salvatoris in cruce pendentis imago, quae passionem suam tibi repraesentet, quam imiteris; expansis brachiis ad suos te invitet amplexus in quibus delecteris; nudatis uberibus lac suavitatis infundat, quo consoleris.’ Talbot, p. 196.

might recall the *memoria Dei*, especially relevant to a sequence of prayers performed before the Cross. According to Eric Jaeger, ‘medieval culture often treated the heart as the literal site of memory, understanding, and imagination, and hence as the center of verbal and specifically textual activity’; the etymology of the Latin *recordare* (‘to remember’) from *cor* (‘the heart’) figured memory as an ‘extension of the inner, remembering subject’.<sup>94</sup> By performing these prayers inside and outside the Hours, an anchorite holds Christ with her in her heart. Passages such as these establish the connections between the two rules of *Ancrene Wisse* that critical readings often obscure: in this case, an anchorite assailed by the temptation of covetousness might follow a rereading of Part III with praying devotions from Part I. Another link between the morning prayers to the Cross and other devotions in *Ancrene Wisse* occurs in the prayers that the anchorite should perform before sleeping (37, f. 18v/13-f. 19r/7). The points at which the anchorite crosses herself and prays to the Cross are accompanied by crosses written into the text: she thus inscribes herself literally and symbolically with a representation of Christ. These crosses could also suggest a more direct encounter between body and text: in medieval prayer-books, ‘the celebrant was required to kiss the crucifix painted on the ... page, often kissing it out of existence’.<sup>95</sup> These crosses recall those inscribed into Ælfwine’s Prayerbook examined in Chapter 1, which articulated Christ’s presence by marking his speech with similar symbols (Fig 4.7).



<sup>94</sup> Eric Jaeger, 'The Book of the Heart: Reading and Writing the Medieval Subject', *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 1-26 (p. 2).

<sup>95</sup> M. Camille, 'Sensations of the Page: Imaging Technologies and Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts', in *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, ed. by G. Bornstein and T. Tinkle (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 33-54 (p. 41).

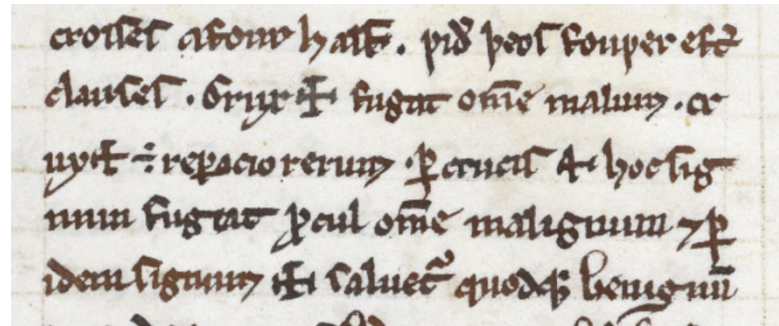


Fig 4.7: Marking Christ's presence in devotional books. Cleopatra C.vi, f. 18v and Titus D.xxvii, f. 57v. Photos © The British Library.

The final petition of this sequence, the *Miserere*, consolidates the affective responses cultivated by the preceding devotions. The anchorite must beat her breast, make the sign of the Cross on the ground with her thumb, and kiss it. These actions reiterate the penitential aspects of the prayers, with the act of kissing the ground considered 'especially sincere' in *De Penitentia*.<sup>96</sup> The kissing of the ground recalls Christ's descent to the earth for the sins of mankind. This again has a transvaluative function, bringing Christ into the anchorite's present by marking the earth on which she now stands as the same earth on which Christ walked and was martyred. The actions of kissing the earth and crossing it in order to recall Christ's descent to earth and sacrifice recur in the following sequence:

Ed þis word. Nascendo formam sumpseris. Cusset þe eorðe. 7 alswa Inþe te deum et þisse worde non oruisti virginis vterum. 7 ed þe masse. In þe muchele crede exmaria virgine 7 homo factus est. (19, f. 10r/22-26)

Here, the kissing is further linked with phrases recalling the Incarnation, associating Mary's womb with the earth and, by extension, the anchorhold. The action of blessing the earth reinforces Christ's indwelling in it. The association of the ground with penance also symbolises the recluse's rejection of the material world, maintaining the link between embodiedness and sinfulness sustained throughout the rest of the work. Anne Savage observes that *Ancrene*

<sup>96</sup> Trexler, p. 113.

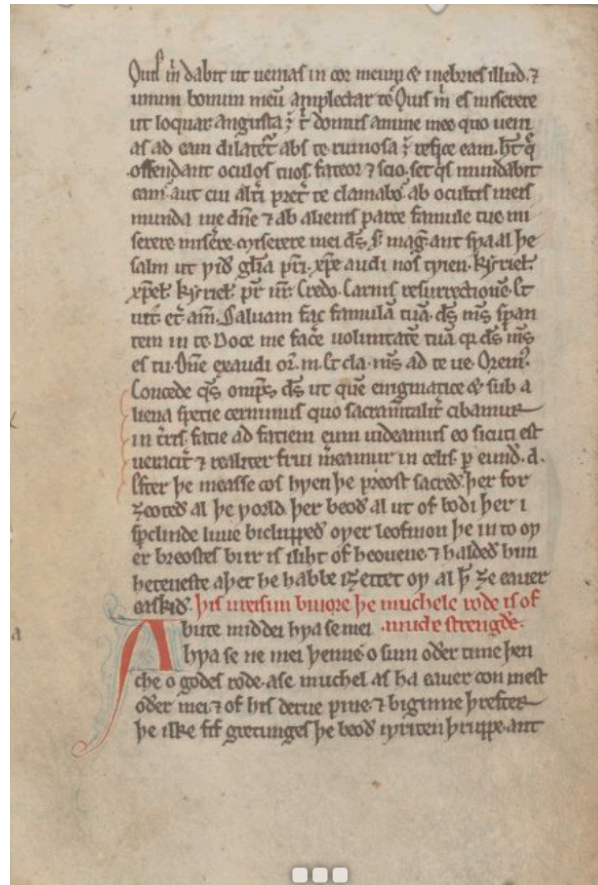
*Wisse*'s depictions of the human body 'evoke fear and disgust' of its 'substance' and its 'treacherous nature' because of its inherent potential to sin, a relationship further supported by the interaction with the ground through penitential gestures.<sup>97</sup>

### *The Midday Prayers*

The second example illustrating the outer *ductus* of Part I is the sequence of prayers performed at midday. Like the morning prayers, this compilation is unique to *Ancrene Wisse*. Its combination of text, context, and posture similarly anticipates the symbolic purpose of enclosure developed throughout the treatise. Unlike the morning prayers, however, this sequence is entirely optional, recommended to 'hwa se mei'; its flexibility is additionally indicated by the non-specific time associated with its performance: 'Abute middei ... oðer sumtime' (29, f. 14v/18-19). This detail again illustrates the difficulty of straightforwardly categorising Part I's prayers as obligatory liturgy, as despite containing texts with liturgical uses, it is explicitly labelled as optional. In the Corpus manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse*, this sequence is rubricated, 'þis ureisun biuore þe muchele rode is of muche strengðe', emphasising its particular utility to the manuscript's envisioned recipients (Fig 4.8). It is the only sequence of prayers in Part I of the Corpus text to have its own rubric, which is executed similarly to the rubrics that begin new sections of *Ancrene Wisse* itself. The paratext of this sequence thus informs us about how it was presented to contemporary recipients of the manuscript.

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<sup>97</sup> Anne Savage, 'The Solitary Heroine: Aspects of Meditation and Mysticism in *Ancrene Wisse*, the Katherine Group, and the Wooing Group', in *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England*, ed. by William Pollard and Robert Boenig (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 62-83 (p. 71).

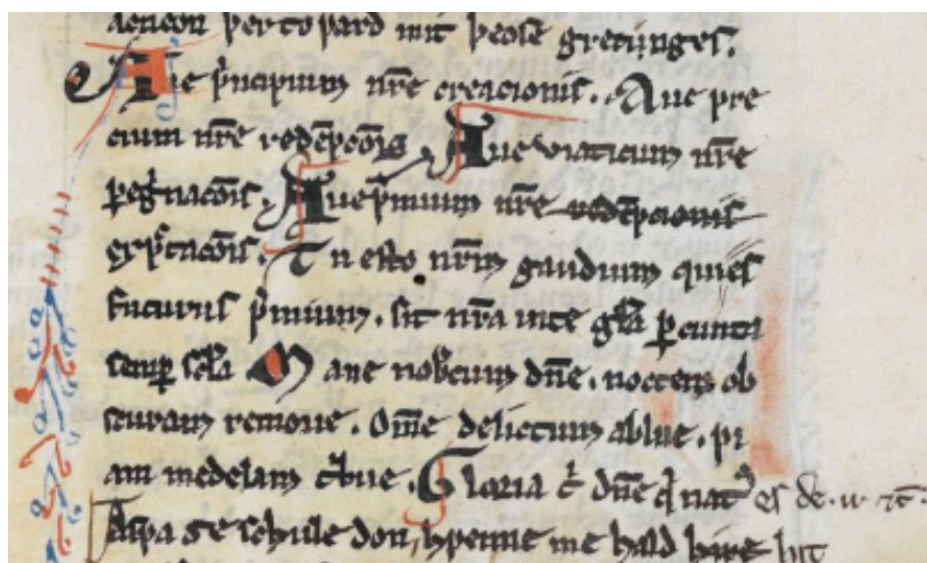


**Fig 4.8:** The rubric of the midday prayers in the Corpus manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, f. 8v) distinguishes this sequence as ‘of muche strengde’ and reiterates the important detail of performing it ‘biore þe muchele rode’. The rubric is executed similarly to that which opens Part I on f. 4v, visually emphasising the location and excellence of these particular prayers. Photo © Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Like the morning prayers directed to the Cross, praying these devotions in front of a crucifix helps to elicit the affective responses that they intend to evoke. An anchorite is told to ‘þenche on godes rode as heo mest mei 7 of his deorewurde pine’ while she performs these prayers, thus contextualising their significance in relation to the Passion (29, f. 14v/18-21). The superlative ‘mest’ emphasises the emotional and imaginative effort that she must dedicate to fully performing these prayers. In the other contemporary versions of *Ancrene Wisse*, this instruction is more emphatically stated: both the Nero and Corpus texts read, ‘þenche o godes rode also muchel ase heo euer con mest oþer mai’ (N 15/2-3, C 13/248), using the alliterative collocation of ‘muchel’, ‘mest’, and ‘mai’ to further reinforce the point. The beginning of this sequence with a period of meditation on the Passion is additionally suggested by the instruction

to pray the five greetings to the Cross included in the morning prayers ‘þer efter’ contemplating Christ’s suffering (29, f. 14v/21), recontextualising devotions formerly prayed in praise of the Cross.

As before, the Aves that begin the midday sequence of prayers are performed prostrate before the altar. The importance of physical posture to the successful realisation of prayer is evidenced by the author’s repeating the gestures that should accompany them, although they, like the texts, are ‘iwrite þruppe’: ‘biginne þer efter þilke fif gretunges þe beoð iwrite þruppe. 7 alswa cneoli to vhan. 7 blescin as hit seið þear 7 beate þe breoste’ (29, f. 14v/21-15r/1). The paratexts of the Aves in Cleopatra facilitate this direction for referential reading. They are some of the only prayers in Part I that begin with embellished *litterae notabiliores* as opposed to capital letters; the other prayers thus highlighted in the manuscript include the Five Joys and the prayer ‘A iesu þin aore’ discussed above, i.e. other texts that might be turned to outside of the daily devotions as part of ad hoc prayer (Fig 4.9). By not repeating the texts or incipits of these prayers alongside their accompanying performance directions, *Ancrene Wisse* implies that knowledge of how to practise a given prayer was as important as its content.



**Fig 4.9:** Devotions in *Ancrene Wisse* that are prayed in more than one context, like the *Aves* performed in the morning devotions to the Cross and the optional midday prayers (f. 9v), are visually distinguished on the page in order to facilitate non-sequential reading. Photo © The British Library.

After the Aves, the anchorite must ‘maken a þulli bone’ (29, f. 15r/2); the adverb ‘a’ emphasises that the following prayers are essential to the sequence, with its infrequent use in the rest of Part I rendering the instruction more forceful. The first compilation of prayers expresses gratitude for Christ’s sacrifice, petitions for mercy, and venerates the Cross as the instrument of human redemption. Their elaboration on the themes of the preceding morning prayers is further highlighted by the use of the same postures and gestures in their performance. The anchorite then recites the antiphon *Save us Christ [through the virtue of the Holy Cross]* standing and crossing herself. *De Penitentia* lists standing prayer as one of the three fundamental postures of ‘body prayer’ associated with expressing praise and gratitude to God.<sup>98</sup> This connection is sustained in the prayer texts that follow this antiphon in *Ancrene Wisse*: Psalm 99 (which begins, ‘be joyful’) and the *Gloria*. The penitential feeling of the morning prayers thus becomes one of praise and gratitude in this new context.

The next sequence of the midday prayers, however, returns to the earlier sombre mode. The antiphon, *Save us, Christ, the Saviour of the world, through the virtue of the Holy Cross*, requires the anchorite to cross herself and beat her breast as she prays for the same mercy accorded to Peter. As discussed above, these gestures typically signify an invocation of spiritual protection and the compunction arising from heartfelt repentance. Although they do not accompany the same antiphon, the miniatures on the first folio of the de Brailles Hours also reference Peter’s betrayal: his three denials of Christ are quoted alongside each roundel, and he is depicted without a halo in the final image (Fig 4.10).

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<sup>98</sup> A summary of the scripture that Peter cites in support of the symbolism of standing prayer is given by Trexler, ‘Legitimizing Prayer Gestures’, pp. 101-102. Trexler himself does not comment on the character of standing prayer.



**Fig 4.10:** The opening illustration of the de Brailles Hours, f. 1r. Peter's denial of Christ (bottom right) is juxtaposed with a remorseful Peter, relegated into the margin. Recalling the imagery of walls in *Ancrene Wisse* previously discussed, the sinful, halo-less Peter is walled off from Christ by the illustration's border, visually articulating his guilt. Photo © The British Library.

While Donovan sees these pictures as inviting meditation on 'the theme of betrayal', thus encouraging de Brailles's reader to avoid aligning themselves with Peter, their depiction of him weeping, his isolation visually evoked by literal marginalisation, positions him as the ultimate penitent expressing superlative remorse.<sup>99</sup> This reading is substantiated by a closer look at de Brailles's paratexts. The caption accompanying this image emphasises his compunction: 'Peter cries with bitterness'.<sup>100</sup> Contemplating Peter's remorse reminds the viewer of her own sins, whose culpability in condemning Christ subsequently recalls Peter's betrayal. The roundels depicting Christ's torture and humiliation, accompanied by descriptive captions detailing his suffering, further cultivate the compunction that the user is expected to feel; it is perhaps uncoincidental, given de Brailles's female owner, that the accusatory figures in these

<sup>99</sup> Donovan, p. 42.

<sup>100</sup> 'peres plure avec amertume'.

illustrations are women. She might, therefore, have been expected to emotionally align herself with the penitent Peter rather than to reject him outright. In this context, the *Ancrene Wisse*'s reference to Peter accompanied by penitential gestures, followed by petitions for mercy performed prostrate—the posture symbolising the highest degree of penance—establishes the emotions with which the anchorite is to pray these prayers: remorse, fear, and shame. Unlike the morning prayers, prostration is explicitly demanded here: ‘þenne falleð adun 7 seggeð ...’ (30, f. 15r/10-11).

Following the antiphon, the anchorite once again prostrates herself and recites a petition for mercy and a Paternoster, after which she returns to prayers performed ‘as ear’ earlier in the day. While the repetition of ‘as ear’ (30, f. 15r/14, 15, 17) emphasises that the *content* of the prayers is unchanged, the new context within which they are prayed alters their function. While these two groups of prayers are not the only sequences of Part I illustrative of its *ductus*, they are the clearest examples of the care and effort taken to format its directions. Moving on to discuss ‘inner’ *ductus* with regard to another overlooked feature of the text—its punctuation—further emphasises the significance of Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* to our appreciation of the meaning and practice of anchoritic prayer.

### **Inner *Ductus*: Punctuating Performance**

Thus far, I have considered how the outer *ductus* of Part I’s prayers directs its outer aspects, detailing the postures, places, and contexts associated with specific devotions. The majority of Scribe B’s alterations to Part I, however, are concerned with its inner *ductus*: the ways in which non-lexical components of the written text, such as punctuation marks and capital letters—in a sense, paratexts to reading—help to convey its intended interpretation. Dobson observed that ‘a great many of the alterations in the manuscript are to punctuation, and are occasioned by the fact that scribe A used a very rudimentary system of pointing which both scribe B and scribe

D found inadequate'.<sup>101</sup> B's extensive engagement with *Ancrene Wisse's* punctuation demonstrates a contemporary awareness of its contributions to shaping textual meaning and performance, although, as this thesis has reiterated throughout, medieval works are rarely read with their original punctuation.

B makes five principal types of internal revision: the addition of a punctuation mark, the erasure of a punctuation mark, the replacement of one punctuation mark with another, alterations to the placement of capital letters, and alterations to the form of punctuation marks.<sup>102</sup> Some revisions restructure the instructions directing sequences of prayers in order to more clearly convey them to the user, while others are concerned with ensuring the legibility of the text or its correct articulation. His emendations reflect Carruthers's characterisation of *ductus* as directing movement through a text on a rhetorical level as well as an imaginative one. The connection between punctuation and performance is strengthened by its function. Unlike punctuation today, medieval punctuation is primarily concerned with prosody rather than grammar; Dobson's criticism of Cleopatra's revisions as 'mak[ing] correct punctuation very difficult' illustrates that a modern understanding of punctuation should not influence readings of medieval texts.<sup>103</sup>

As above, two of Part I's prayer sequences have been selected as exemplifying how B's alterations to punctuation shape the inner *ductus* of prayer by structuring the progression of a devotional sequence and correlating specific prayers with their required postures and gestures. These are the instructions directing the Matins of Our Lady and the Five Joys of the Virgin. The first example illustrates how Cleopatra's punctuation structures movement through a series

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<sup>101</sup> Dobson, p. xlix.

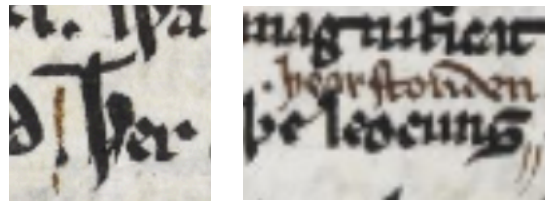
<sup>102</sup> Attributing the latter two classes of alteration to B reflects Dobson's argument that 'alterations of punctuation by erasure cannot be objectively attributed to scribe B except when they occur on pages well removed from the areas of scribe D's activities' (p. ciii). As D's activity in Part I largely consists of the insertion of virgules, paraph marks and running titles to denote structural divisions in the text, we can assume that erasures of punctuation marks are more likely to be B's work; furthermore, D does not erase a *punctus* when he inserts a virgule after it.

<sup>103</sup> Dobson, p. xcix.

of devotions, while the second shows how the inner *ductus* of a text can direct its interpretation as well as its performance.

*Punctuating Performance: Directing the Matins of Our Lady*

The Matins of Our Lady is the only canonical Hour whose texts are referenced in *Ancrene Wisse*. The anchorite should observe the other Hours ‘as ha haueð iwriten ham’ and is given no further details regarding their performance save that each be prayed ‘vhtide sunderliche ase forð as ha mei’ (19, f. 11/2-3). While Matins immediately follows the morning prayers discussed above, B clarifies that they are a distinct series of devotions by beginning their directions with a capital P in place of A’s smaller one. B further visually emphasises the change of subject by crossing through its top stem, distinct to his other capital P (Fig 4.11).



**Fig 4.11:** Comparing capital P on ff. 10r and 11v. B’s addition of a crossbar was perhaps an attempt to make the transition to Matins as visually apparent as possible. Photos © The British Library

While Matins is the closest devotional sequence in *Ancrene Wisse* to prayers traditionally associated with the liturgy, Part I gives only the incipits of each prayer rather than their full text; its instructions instead supply a text for the anchorite’s body that outlines the postures and gestures accompanying each prayer.<sup>104</sup> Within these instructions, the directions for each individual prayer are separated by *punctus*, with each clause containing only one incipit (bolded in the quotation below):

<sup>104</sup> The association of many of these instructions with Psalms or versicles that appear in every Hour, such as *Deus in adiutorium meum* and the Paternoster, suggests that these performance directions were applied to all prayers, and not just Matins.

ed **deus inadiutorium** makeð ancros from þe foreheued to þe breoste. 7 falleð to þe eorðe 3ef hit is werkedei wið **Gloria** oðer buzeð duneward. 3ef hit bið hali dai oðet **sicut erat**. þus et vñ **Gloria patri**. 7 ed þe beginnunge of þe **venite**. 7 ed **venite ad oremus**. 7 ed þe **ave maria**. ... (18-19, f. 10v/3-9)

The inner *ductus* of the Matins instructions thus visually cues the location of each prayer within the surrounding text, facilitating cross-reference with another prayer-book, in which the full text might be written.

Analysing aspects of *Ancrene Wisse*'s Matins in conjunction with the Matins of the de Brailles Hours illustrates how Scribe B's punctuation shapes their performance and significance to reflect the occupation and intentions of his envisioned audience. The de Brailles Matins is presented as a morning devotion commemorating the birth and childhood of the Virgin. Donovan argues that, following the meditation on the betrayal of Christ presented in the preceding miniatures, Matins evokes 'sunnier things', presenting Mary 'as the model of love and compassion ... [and] the devotion to the Virgin as a joyful one'.<sup>105</sup> Mary's conception, dedication in the temple, and Annunciation are depicted in the miniatures accompanying Matins as a pictorial narrative glossed by explanatory captions. Each prayer is linked to the event depicted in its corresponding initial; for example, the first *Deus in adiutorium meum* is accompanied by an illustration of Joachim's expulsion from the temple on account of his childlessness, aligning it with the miraculous birth of the Virgin. What these images do not convey is an indication of how or with what intent Matins was to be prayed. No accompanying performance directions are provided and the illustrations do not suggest typical postures of prayer; the captions, likewise, describe the events depicted in the miniatures literally as opposed to allegorically. The caption accompanying the painting of Joachim reuniting with Anna on f. 5v, for example, reads, 'il racuntrent' ('they reunite') and shows the couple

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<sup>105</sup> Donovan, p. 45.

embracing and kissing. Although Donovan observes that ‘the truth of the Immaculate Conception of Mary is established in this initial’, this allegorical symbolism might not have been apparent to its lay user.<sup>106</sup>

By contrast, the performance directions accompanying the Matins of *Ancrene Wisse* relate its significance to penance and self-abjection. Matins immediately follows the morning prayers and maintains their concern with expressing repentance and petitioning for spiritual aid. The anchorite begins Matins with a Paternoster and Creed recited prostrate, bowing from the waist on holy days of obligation. The contrasting character of the phrases ‘falleð to þen eorðe’ and ‘buzinde sumdel duneward’ implies the physical exertion inherent to the act of prostration. With around thirty holy days in the liturgical year, prostration was the usual posture in which Matins was begun, signifying repentance and subjection to God. B alters the punctuation of this passage in order to rhetorically emphasise the difference between working and holy days, changing A’s *punctus* after ‘werkedai’ into a *punctus elevatus* and altering the form of A’s *punctus elevatus* after ‘hali dai’ into a clearer form (cf. 18, f. 10r/22-23). The form that the anchorite’s prostration took could have further reinforced its penitential symbolism. The depiction of prostration in manuscripts of *De Penitentia* emphasises its association with penance: the performer adopts a cruciform pose, and the illustration further emphasises this connection by showing him lying on a cross (Fig 4.12).

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<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*



**Fig 4.12:** The association of prostration with penance shown in Leipzig, University Library, MS 433, f. 55v.  
Photo © Leipzig University Library.

Following these prayers, she is to ‘ba stille’ without changing posture; the separation of this instruction from the rest of the text by *punctus* invites a moment of private reflection before continuing on. The prayers *Domine labia mea aperies* and *Deus in adiutorium meum* are performed standing and illustrate the symbolic potential inherent in making the sign of the Cross. In the first, the anchorite crosses her mouth with her thumb, invoking the presence of the Lord as she ‘opens her lips’ in prayer. In the second, she makes a larger cross that covers her upper body while petitioning the Lord ‘to come to her aid’, signifying the placement of her entire body under God’s spiritual protection. The sequence then continues with a series of directions specifying when in each prayer the anchorite must prostrate herself (or bow). These are visually and rhetorically articulated through *punctus* separating each element of the anaphoric list, as in ‘7 ed þe beginnunge of þe venite. 7 ed venite ad oremus. 7 ed þe aue maria. 7 ...’ (19, f. 10v/7-10). This separation reaffirms that these prayers are performed at different times and are not one continuous sequence. *Punctus* are also used to separate a versicle whose physical enaction is particularly important: ‘ed þis word. nascendo formam sumpseris. cusset þe eorðe’ (19, f. 10v/21-22). The significance of the Incarnation is symbolised by the anchorite

kissing the ground at these words, an action that must also be repeated at other verses celebrating the humanity of Christ: ‘you did not despise the virgin’s womb’ in the *Te Deum* and the phrases ‘born of the Virgin Mary’ and ‘was made man’ in the Nicene Creed (19, ff. 10v/21-11r/1).

In this passage, B’s most consistent and systematic revisions are concerned with clearly associating each prayer with its corresponding posture. His primary change is to insert *punctus elevati* where no punctuation mark was originally written in order to connect the physical actions accompanying a prayer with the moment at which they should occur. Progression through the Matins devotions is signalled through B’s revision of rhetorical stress, with his punctuation linking temporal and textual markers with their corresponding physical gesture: ‘Adoramus : cneolinde’ (17-18, 10r/11-12), ‘Alast : to þe oðer imaines ... luteð oðer cneoleð’ (18, 10r/17-18), ‘Þer efter anan : vre lauedi vtsong seggeð’ (18, f.10r/20-22). As stated above, the added *punctus elevati* also clarify the distinction between postures performed on different days, an important variation to the anchorite’s daily routine. These emendations to punctuation reflect the correlation between performing prayer and articulating its meaning. For example, the new punctuation emphasises that the *Adoramus* is to be performed kneeling, a posture described in *De Penitentia* as expressing humility.<sup>107</sup> B also inserts capital letters to further clarify transitions between prayers and between physical postures and spaces: in the example cited above, the capitalised ‘Adoramus’ encompasses everything performed kneeling before the crucifix, ‘Þer efter’ marks the transition to praying before the image of Our Lady, and ‘Alast’ to personal relics and images elsewhere in the anchorhold. These instructions recall Carruthers’s discussion of ‘stational liturgies’ in their correlation of a particular devotion with a visual stimulus; their *ductus*, however, is articulated in the written text, which engages with the ‘architectural rhetoric’ of the anchorhold.

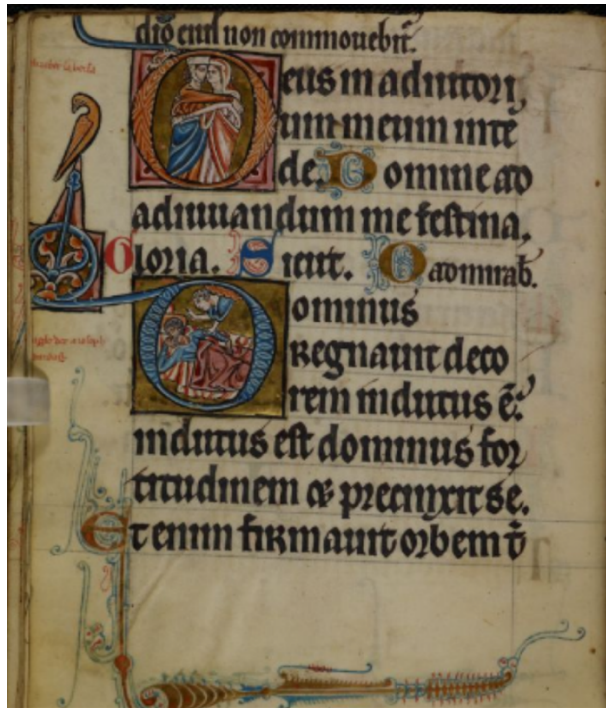
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<sup>107</sup> Quoted in Trexler, ‘Legitimizing Prayer Gestures’, p. 107.

Another example of B's use of punctuation to reinforce written instructions for prayer occurs at the beginning of f. 11r, when he discusses what should be prayed after Matins. This section is clearly distinguished from the preceding one by a bold opening capital letter flourished with red ink. B inserts a *punctus elevatus* after each temporal marker in the text, using rhetorical stress to emphasise the importance of the time of day to its corresponding prayer: 'vh tide sunderliche : ase forð ha mei' (19, f. 11r/2-3), 'Isomer : Iþe dazinge. þis winter schal biginnen : ed þe halirode dai in heruest' (19-20, f. 11r/5-7), 'Isumer : biforð marezen' (20, f. 11r/8). The subject of each sentence is indicated in the main clause, with its corresponding time linked to it in the dependent clause. These revisions suggest that Scribe B was concerned with correctly guiding his audience through the performance of their daily prayers. The new punctuation is what enables *Ancrene Wisse* to function effectively as a guidance text, supporting Denis Renevey's characterisation of the treatise as establishing 'conditions of reading which allow for the safe transfer and accommodation of monastic practices to a new audience'.<sup>108</sup> B's clear distinction between the prayers and times for each Hour contrasts with the *mise-en-page* of the de Brailles Hours, in which each flows into the other without rubrics or text specifying where one ends and another begins. On f. 13v, for example, the last prayer of Matins is immediately followed by the first of Lauds; the opening initial of Lauds is no different in size to the larger initials that divide prayers within each Hour (Fig 4.13). This feature, like the continuation of prayer references shown in fig 4.1, implies that recipients of *Ancrene Wisse* were expected to have comparatively little liturgical training.

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<sup>108</sup> Renevey, p. 62.



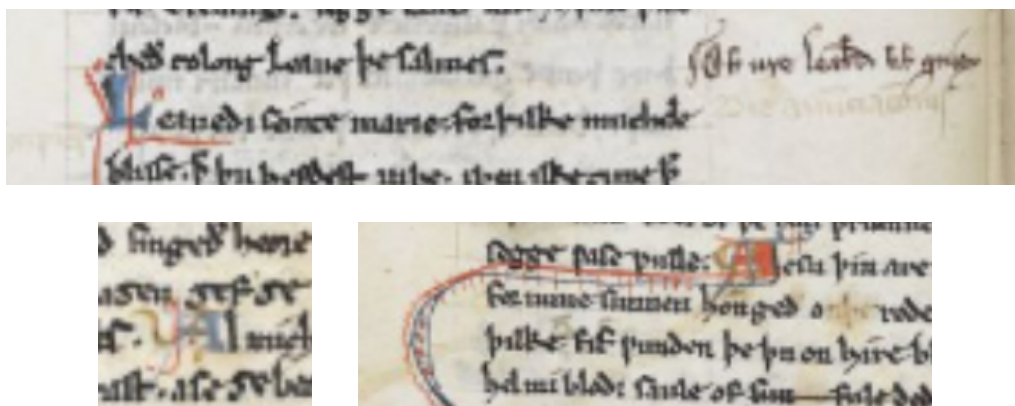
**Fig 4.13:** Matins into Lauds in the de Brailles Hours, f. 13v. The de Brailles Hours, like *Ancrene Wisse*, were produced for a devout laywoman, but contain relatively little direction through the prayers. This comparison illustrates the level of guidance provided in the latter text. Photo © The British Library.

#### *Punctuating Significance: The Inner Ductus of the Five Joys*

In addition to directing an anchorite's movement through its prayers, B's revisions to punctuation reflect a concern with clearly communicating the meaning of a particular passage. His changes to the Five Joys of the Virgin exemplify his awareness of the role that punctuation plays in shaping textual interpretation. B's alterations illustrate a use of punctuation that Malcolm Parkes defined as 'deictic', which specifies a particular interpretation to a reader. The contrasting mode, reflected in Scribe A's original readings, is 'equiparative' punctuation, which leaves the reader with more interpretative agency.<sup>109</sup> In discussing B's deictic punctuation, illustrative comparisons will also be made with the Five Joys in the de Brailles Hours (ff. 103v-105r).

<sup>109</sup> Malcolm Parkes, *Pause and Effect: A History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992).

The first category of alterations to *Ancrene Wisse's* Five Joys is concerned with engaging its reader's attention. The significance of devotion to Mary in anchoritic spirituality, as outlined above, is further indicated by B's addition of a descriptive rubric in the margin of f. 15v: '§ of ure leafdi fif zoies'. Unlike B's other marginal additions, which supply material lacking from the original text, this rubric is a finding-aid that helps Cleopatra's user easily locate the Marian prayers of Part I, suggesting their value to their audience. By contrast, the Brailles Joys are incorporated into a compilation of prayers directed to Mary structured as a series of Aves and are not indicated within the longer text. As in the other texts supplied as templates for personal prayer in Part I, such as the author's own Paternoster (f. 12r) and the petitions to Christ beginning 'A iesu þin are' (f. 12v), each Joy begins with a *littera notabilior* in blue ink embellished with red flourishes extending into the margin, another example of their prestige and utility amidst the otherwise sparse decoration of Cleopatra's pages (Fig 4.14).



**Fig. 4.14:** The opening initial and rubric of the Five Joys of the Virgin on f. 15v. Compare those of the Paternoster and the petitions to Christ on f. 12. Photos © The British Library.

The next series of alterations that B makes are concerned with establishing the correct reading of the text. B adds diacritics to distinguish between homonyms, as in 'god'/'god'' (God/good) (ff. 5v/15, 5r/22, 12r/24, and 15v/12) and 'þe'/'þé' (the/thee) (ff. 12r/21-23, and 16v/15). By indicating the correct readings of these words, the diacritics determine the meaning of the passages in which they occur. In the fifth Joy, which describes Mary's coronation by her

son in heaven, the alteration to ‘þa he vnder feng þé vnimete blisse’ (33, f. 16v/15-16) clarifies the reading, ‘when he took *you* into immeasurable joy’, as opposed to ‘when he received the immeasurable joy [of Heaven]’. In the first Joy, the alteration to ‘Jesu god . godes sune. ... nom flesch 7 blod’ (31, f. 15v/12-13) clarifies the repetition of Jesus as God and the Son of God, invalidating the contextually appropriate alternative, ‘Jesus, good God’s son’. This change coincidentally makes the prayer recall the opening phrases of the *Ureisun of God Almihti* and the *Lofsong of ure louerde*, which both address Jesus as God’s true son. Such similarities between the language of the Joys and that of the *Wooing Group* prayers further suggests their use in personal as well as daily prayer. While these changes are minor in themselves, they are indicative of a greater concern regarding the interpretation of prayer: if the prayers are incorrectly performed in sense or in body, they cannot fully signify.

Supporting evidence for this interpretation is provided by B’s revisions to capital letters and enjambed words. B corrects A’s inconsistent capitalisation of individual prayers within each Joy in order to visually indicate the progression from one prayer to the next. Each sequence begins by describing one of Mary’s Five Joys, followed by a petition on behalf of the anchorite based on its central theme; for example, in the First Joy, the speaker praises Mary’s sinlessness at the Incarnation and then prays, ‘clense mi saule of flesliche sunnen’ (31, f. 15v/19-20). Then, an Ave Maria is recited, followed by a thematically appropriate versicle—in this case, the Magnificat, which echoes the earlier reference to the Annunciation—and five more Aves. Scribe A inconsistently capitalised the incipits of individual prayers, which B corrected to clearly distinguish between texts: ‘Aue maria. **M**agnificat. Aue maria **M**agnificat al vt fif siðen’ (31, f. 15v/20-21). B’s concern with ensuring that the prayers were easily enunciated is also indicated in this Joy through his alteration of A’s original ‘tac/nunge’ (31, f. 15v/17-18) to the full ‘tacnunge’ copied into the margin. While this observation might appear insignificant, it is important to remember the importance of correct pronunciation and

enunciation in prayer. This concern with enunciation is substantiated by the extensive punctuation of all the *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts and the harsh penance demanded of an anchorite who misreads her Psalms.<sup>110</sup>

Other alterations to the punctuation of the Five Joys shape their affective resonance. In the Second Joy (31-32, f. 16/1-11), B's revisions emphasise the juxtaposition of the sinless Mary with the sinful speaker. The added *punctus elevatus* in the phrase 'hal meidenhad 7 meidnes menske : heal me þ am þurch wil tobroken' highlights the difference between Mary ('þe') and the speaker ('me'). This use of punctuation resembles that of the passage from the *Ureisun of God Almhiti* quoted above: 'mine sunnen beoð wal bi tweonen me. 7 þe'. The mid-line pause reinforces the contrast between Mary's 'cleane bodie ... wið vten eauer vh bru<che> wið hal meidenhad 7 meidenes menske' and the anchorite's body, 'þurch wil tobroken'. The erasure of a *punctus* in the second half of the phrase, 'alse ich drede hwet sebo of dede', complements its internal rhyme and alliterative play between 'drede' and 'dede'. It also syntactically parallels the earlier 'meidenhad 7 meidenes menske', in which a *punctus* was also erased after 'meidenhad' in order to achieve a similar effect. The difference between the two women emphasised in this prayer inspires an anchorite to pray more fervently for the remission of her sins, so that she might more closely resemble the Virgin whom *Ancrene Wisse* encourages her to imitate. Relating to this theme, the revised punctuation further emphasises the necessity of chastity. While the speaker aspires to see Christ and Mary in heaven, the denial of this privilege to those unworthy of taking their place among the company of virgins is indicated by the removal of the *punctus* before 'zef ich ...', rhetorically stressing the conditional in the following clause. B's emendations of 'am'—'\n/am' and 'inblisse'—

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<sup>110</sup> 'zef ze þurch zemeles gluffeð of wordes oðer mis neomeð uers : neomeð ouwer venie dun et þeorðe. wið þe hond ane. 7 al fallen adun for muche mis neominge. 7 schawið ofte ed schrifte ouwer zemeles her abuten' (38, f. 19v/2-7). This notably occurs immediately after the list of modifications permitted to sick, old, or injured anchoresses, indicating that even these women cannot modify this form of discipline.

‘iblisset’ restore the intended sense of the phrase. A’s text could be interpreted, ‘... and behold the virgins’ honour, if I am worthy of being in bliss among their company’ whereas the revised text reads, ‘... and behold the virgins’ honour if I am not worthy of being blessed among their company’. The meaning and intention of the prayer is altered alongside its punctuation.

The rhetorical punctuation of *Ancrene Wisse* contrasts with the punctuation of the de Brailles Joys, whose *mise-en-page* has the primary function of articulating their literary form. Composed in monorhymed decasyllabic quatrains, each line begins with a *littera notabilior* in alternating red and green ink, with each couplet end-stopped with a *punctus*. There is no interlinear punctuation. While the punctuation of Part I’s second Joy shapes its significance by rhetorically emphasising the key components of each petition, the consistent rhythm and phrasing of the de Brailles quatrains does not as emphatically differentiate one petition from another or significant concepts within them:

Aue seinte marie gloriuse reine  
Ioie de tutes dames corune de uirgine.  
Requerez uotre duz fiz a qui le mund encline  
De tuz le pechez que io ai fet que il me doinst medicine.<sup>111</sup> (f. 103v)

B’s emendations to the Third Joy (32-33, f. 16r/11-16v/3) establish a stronger continuity between the prayers of Part I and the following sections of *Ancrene Wisse*. The *punctus elevati* added in the phrase ‘efter his derfe deað arisen to blisfule lif : his bodi seoue fald brichtere þenne þe sunne : zef me deiʒe wið him 7 arisen in him’ allows the rising intonation of the passage to mirror Christ rising from the dead. B’s revisions to the sense of the prayer are effected by his correction of ‘þeos derfe deað’ to ‘his derfe deað’ (clarifying that the death is specifically that of Christ) and emendations of *punctus* to *punctus elevati*. These not only

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<sup>111</sup> ‘Hail, Saint Mary, glorious queen/Joy of all ladies crowned as virgins,/Beseech your sweet son, to whom the world inclines,/That he might give me medicine for all the sins I have done’.

separate clauses by subject (the joy of Mary, the body of Christ resurrected, and the speaker's petition), but also isolate Christ's body as a visual image for the speaker to meditate on by bracketing it between two narrative pauses. The *punctus elevati* also separate phrases linked by different alliterative collocations: 'sechze'/'sune', 'derfe deað', 'bodi'/'brichtere', and 'seoue'/'sunne'. The metrical separation of the phrase 'his bodi seoue fald brichtere þenne þe sunne' emphasises Christ's beauty and desirability, and is echoed in Part VII's portrayal of the Christ-Knight wooing the soul: 'þu schalt', he promises, 'þe seolf beon seoue falt brichtere þenne þe sunne' (292, f. 185v/11-12). The imagery of Christ's torture on the Cross is echoed in *The Wooing of Our Lord*, in which the speaker petitions Mary to share in her emotions upon beholding the Passion, using similar language:

**Wohunge:** lafdi for þe Ioie þat tu hefdes of his ariste þe þridde dai þer after, leue þat i wið him and wið þe muhe imin ariste o domes dai gladien and wið zu beon iblisse ... (35/559-567)

**Cleopatra:** Lauedi seinte marie for þe muchele blisse þ þu hefdest þa þu sechze þi deorewurðe sunne. efter þeos derfe deað arisen to blisfule liue. ... zef me deize wið him 7 arisen wið him. .... for to beon in blisse his feolaze in heouene. (32, f. 16r/11-20).

The final clause of this Joy's petition, 'lead me to þin blisse' (33, f. 16v/2), is recalled in Part VII, when Christ promises to make the anchorite 'cwen of heoueriche' (292, f. 185v/11) like Mary, if she perseveres in her vocation. This Joy ultimately articulates the central concern of the anchoritic life—a living death undertaken to reciprocate the Passion—as a prayer to Mary, and articulates an anchorite's aspiration to share in her 'blisse' with Christ:

zef me deize wið him 7 arisen in him. wordliche deizen. gastliche libben dealen wið his pinen feolazeliche in eorðe for to beon in blisse his feolaze in heouene. ... efter þin muchele soreze : efter min muchele soreze þ ich am in her lead me to þin blisse. (32-33, ff. 16r/16-16v/2).

The lack of punctuation in ‘zef me deize wið him 7 arisen in him’ links literal death and spiritual life, which is emphasised by the pauses in the following phrase: ‘wordliche deizen. gastliche libben’. The lack of conjunctions highlights the separation between body and soul after death, with the syntax further conveying the apposition of the world and heaven. In contrast to the previous Joy, in which the two were divided by punctuation, Mary and the anchorite are aligned rhetorically in the phrase ‘after þin muchele soreze : efter min muchele soreze’ through the rhyme of ‘þin’/’min’ in otherwise identical clauses. The anchorite’s sorrow at being deprived of Christ on earth is paralleled to Mary’s sorrow at watching her son die.

In the Fourth and Fifth Joys (33-34, f. 16v/3-22), B again revises the punctuation of the prayer to alter its meaning and its rhetorical shape. He inserts *punctus elevati* into the following phrase to complement its internal rhyme with a falling cadence: ‘stize nu Heortiliche. **w**henne ich deize : gastliche. an domes dei : al licomliche to heouenliche blisse’ (33, f. 16v/10-12). This metrical and aural emphasis reinforces the links between these concepts. The insertion of another *punctus elevatus* after ‘brichtere þenne þe sunne’ (34, f. 16v/16) again emphasises this recurring image.

## Conclusion

The close reading of manuscript punctuation in this chapter illustrates how paratextual features can direct the meaning and the function of a devotional text. The rubrics and instructions framing Part I’s prayers were shown to complicate their straightforward classification as liturgical, therefore interrogating the contrast traditionally drawn between the devotions that accompanied early versions of *Ancrene Wisse* and those contained in the treatise itself. The potential use of Part I’s prayers in ad hoc devotion and their use of manuscript punctuation to direct their articulation and affective responses contextualises the analysis of the following

Chapter, which examines the punctuation of two of the prayers contained in another of its thirteenth-century manuscripts.

Reflecting on the extent to which modern scholars can recapture medieval experiences of prayer, Rachel Fulton writes that theorizing prayer ‘can take us only so far. What we need is an example, preferably one that would allow us to explore not simply crafted prayer in its experiential effects but also the intersection noted above between liturgical prayer ... and the experiences of devotion it was articulated to arouse’.<sup>112</sup> The Cleopatra manuscript is an ideal example. Analysing the punctuation of its prayers informs us about *how* as well as *what* its user was expected to pray. B’s revisions provide a rhetorical shape to its prayers, reinforcing their affective impact. The texture of the revisions to the punctuation of the text ‘are intended ... to make more expressive scribe A’s inadequate system’, shaping *Ancrene Wisse*’s reading practice and constituting an exhortation to performativity.<sup>113</sup> Rather than a perfunctory recitation of unvarying words, Cleopatra’s punctuation vivifies daily prayer, acting upon the emotional, as well as physical, responses of its reader, transforming daily prayer from rote recitation into emotionally charged dialogue with God.

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<sup>112</sup> Rachel Fulton, ‘Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice’, *Speculum* 81 (2006), pp. 700-731 (p. 705).

<sup>113</sup> Dobson, p. cxli.

## 5. Prayer on eise: Punctuating *On wel swuðe god ureisun of God Almihti* and *Þe Oreisun of Seinte Marie*

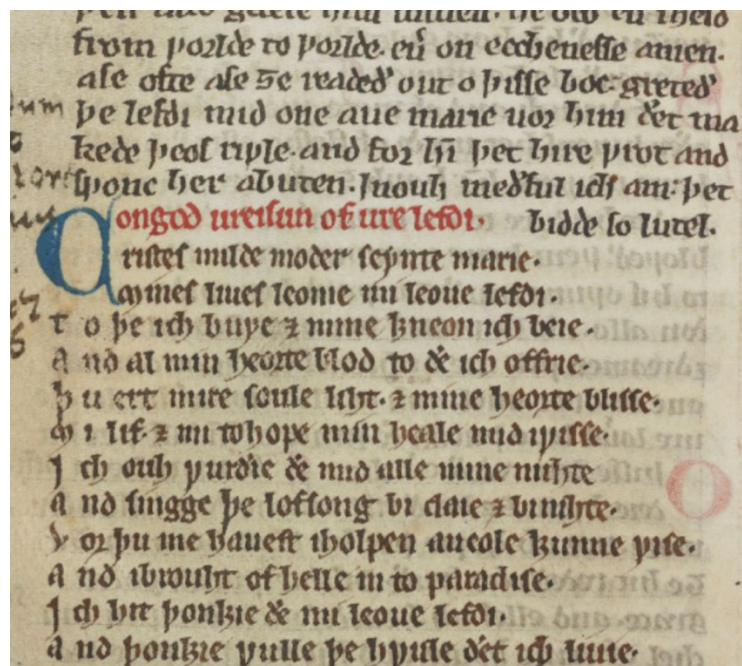
The previous chapter examined the internal organisation (*ductus*) of the devotions included in *Ancrene Wisse* itself, considering how paratexts such as punctuation and *mise-en-page* influence the interpretative and performative responses of their performer. It additionally demonstrated thematic and stylistic connections between Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* and the subsequent parts of the Inner Rule, suggesting potential uses of the daily prayers in ad hoc as well as routine devotion. Additional correspondences between the prayers of Part I and other contemporary devotions related to *Ancrene Wisse* were also outlined, further supporting their likely association. Developing on this analysis, Chapter 5 examines the *ductus* of two thirteenth-century prayers that accompanied *Ancrene Wisse* in one of its earliest manuscripts. It compares the punctuation of different versions of *On wel swuðe god ureisun of God Almihti* (*UGA*) and *Þe Oreisun of Seinte Marie* (*OSM*) to assess how variations between them can elicit different performative and affective responses. These prayers form part of the so-called *Wooing Group*, which comprises a number of thirteenth-century devotional texts that circulated in manuscripts containing either *Ancrene Wisse* or other works similarly connected with enclosed audiences.<sup>1</sup> The Nero manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse* (London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.xiv) is the principal source for the group, containing all of its prayers except *Þe Wohunge of ure Lauerd*.<sup>2</sup> Produced in the second quarter of the

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<sup>1</sup> For a full list of the works conventionally included in the *Wooing Group*, see Susannah Chewning, 'Introduction', in *The Milieu and Context of the Wooing Group*, ed. by Susannah Chewning (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), pp. 1-25 (p. 3). In this chapter, the texts of these prayers are cited from W. M. Thompson's edition (where the label *Wooing Group* itself originated) unless specified otherwise: *Þe wohunge of ure lauerd*, ed. by W. M. Thompson, EETS OS 241 (London: Oxford University Press, 1955). For a parallel text edition of these works, see Harumi Tanabe and John Scahill, *Sawles Warde and the Wooing Group: Parallel Texts with Notes and Wordlists* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2015).

<sup>2</sup> *Wohunge* is found only in the Titus manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xviii). In order to reflect its focus on the Nero manuscript, this chapter will reference its version

thirteenth century, Nero is the only manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse* containing a pre-planned devotional collection (Fig 5.1).<sup>3</sup> Its prayers are therefore ideally suited for exploring the content and methods of anchoritic devotion: while they may not have been originally composed for or exclusively read by anchorites, their deliberate inclusion alongside a version of the treatise explicitly directed to female recluses (cf. 85/8-12) substantiates the connection of Nero's texts with this audience.<sup>4</sup>



**Fig 5.1:** Evidence for Nero's predetermined inclusion of the prayers following *Ancrene Wisse* (f. 120v). The rubric and *littera notabilior* of *On god ureisun of ure lefdi* were added before Part VIII was completed, forcing Scribe A to complete the treatise alongside its title. This detail also shows that the two scribes were working together, again evidencing the predetermined compilation of the book. Photo © The British Library.

The comparative reading of manuscript punctuation presented in this chapter illustrates how Bernard Cerquiglini's concept of *variance*, integral to the textual

of *Ancrene Wisse: The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe*, edited from Cotton MS. Nero A. xiv, ed. by Mabel Day, EETS OS 225 (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

<sup>3</sup> All four manuscripts are described in *Ancrene Wisse, Volume I: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 402, With Variants from Other Manuscripts*, ed. by Bella Millett, EETS OS 325 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. xi-xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> For an outline of scholarship relating to audiences of *Ancrene Wisse* (both potential and inscribed), see Bella Millett, 'General Introduction', in *Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature II: Ancrene Wisse, The Katherine Group, and the Wooing Group*, ed. by Bella Millett (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), pp. 5-45 (pp. 15-17).

criticism of medieval works, can be extended to that of their paratexts.<sup>5</sup> As a highly influential and significant work that survives in nineteen known manuscripts, *Ancrene Wisse* is often presented as a source that exemplifies the nature and importance of *variance* in medieval literary culture.<sup>6</sup> The variant versions of its associated prayers, however, are rarely read together, perhaps because their readings are broadly similar. This omission reflects the traditional application of *variance* only to the lexical texts of a medieval work, overlooking the potential of differences in the rubrics or punctuation of its variant texts to invite alternative interpretative or performative responses. Exploring the *variance* of the punctuation, presentation, and compilation between the Nero and non-Nero versions of these prayers illustrates the significant role that paratexts play in directing the reception and performance of their accompanying texts, as while their readings generally correspond, their paratexts markedly differ. The significance of paratextual *variance* advocated in this chapter additionally complements Cerquiglini's emphasis on the essentiality of *variance* to a reading experience defined by 'an aesthetic of return, where pleasure lay in *variance*', especially when contextualised with reference to the final paragraph of *Ancrene Wisse*: 'O þisse boc redeð eueriche deie: hwon 3e beoð eise. eueriche deie lesse oðer more' (196/3-4).<sup>7</sup> Rereading the book in periods of 'eise' recalls the monastic concept of *otium*, pleasure experienced through self-directed reading and prayer—a literalised

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<sup>5</sup> I have opted to use Cerquiglini's term *variance* to describe variant readings between texts of the same work rather than Paul Zumthor's *mouvance*, as Cerquiglini deemphasises Zumthor's focus on variation between oral and written works in favour of that between written texts. See Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante*, trans. by Betsy Wing (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) and Paul Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix: De la 'littérature' médiévale*, Collection Poétique (Paris: Seuil, 1987).

<sup>6</sup> For the manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*, see Millett, 'General Introduction', p. 60; two additional lost manuscripts of the treatise are listed on p. 59. The seminal reading of *Ancrene Wisse* as the archetypal *oeuvre mouvante* is Bella Millett, 'Mouvance and the Medieval Author', in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 9-20. Another more recent discussion of the significance of *Ancrene Wisse*'s *variance* is Diana Denissen, *Middle English Devotional Compilations: Composing Imaginative Variations in Late Medieval England* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), pp. 3-5.

<sup>7</sup> Cerquiglini, pp. 36-37.

‘aesthetic of return’ through which an anchorite engages with different sections of the manuscript’s texts ‘lesse oðer more’ depending on her inclination and desire.<sup>8</sup> The ways in which the imagery and *ductus* of Nero’s devotions, like the prayers of Part I previously discussed, complement the Inner Rule of *Ancrene Wisse* further support the association of the *Wooing Group* with enclosed audiences, which some scholars, such as Ralph Hanna, have questioned.<sup>9</sup> Comparing the punctuation of the two versions of *UGA*, for example, reveals that the differences in the punctuation of the Nero text more closely align the prayer with the version of *Ancrene Wisse* that precedes it, interrogating Hanna’s assessment of the copying of such devotional texts as ‘sporadic’ and ad hoc as opposed to deliberately planned.<sup>10</sup>

In order to analyse how punctuation shapes devotional performance, Nero’s version of each prayer is juxtaposed with one that is contemporary but unrelated: London, Lambeth Palace MS 487 (*UGA*) and London, British Library, Royal MS 17 A.xxvii (*OSM*). These three sources are ideally suited for comparative analysis, as their similar readings, provenances, and dates reduce the likelihood of differences in punctuation being caused by textual variation. As each prayer in its respective manuscript was copied by a single scribe, their punctuation is also internally consistent. In order to reflect the contemporary reception of these prayers, the Nero text of *Ancrene Wisse* is cited in this chapter. *UGA* and *OSM* are quoted from Thompson’s *De wohunge of ure lauerd*, which is the only diplomatic edition containing both texts of each prayer. However, Thompson prints variant versions of the same work under different names:

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<sup>8</sup> On the monastic *otium*, see Bernard Bruning, ‘*Otium* and *Negotium* Within the One Church’, *Augustiniana* 51 (2001), pp. 105-149. On *otium* in a secular, albeit later medieval, context, see Gregory M. Sadlek, ‘*Otium*, *Negotium*, and the Fear of *Acedia* in the Writings of England’s Late Medieval Ricardian Poets’, in *Idleness, Indolence and Leisure in English Literature*, ed. by Monika Fludernik and Miriam Nandi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 17-39.

<sup>9</sup> Ralph Hanna, ‘Lambeth Palace Library MS 487: Some Problems of Early Thirteenth-Century Textual Transmission’, in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. by Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), pp. 78-88.

<sup>10</sup> Hanna, p. 88.

the Nero *OSM* is called *On lofsong of ure lefdi* and Royal's *De oreisun of seinte Marie*, while the Lambeth *UGA* is entitled *On lofsong of ure louerde*, which refers to an entirely different prayer in Nero. For clarity, I will use *pe oreisun of seinte Marie* and *Ureisun of God Almihti* to refer to each work, distinguishing by 'N *OSM*'/'R *OSM*' and 'N *UGA*'/'L *UGA*' where necessary. Although the non-Nero versions of *UGA* and *OSM* are incomplete, enough of each survives for comparing their punctuation: 121/160 lines of *UGA* and 49/85 lines of *OSM* as they appear in Nero. To ensure an accurate and fair analysis, I will base my comparison only on the sections of each text that correspond with the versions in Nero.

A comparative reading of manuscript punctuation allows us to explore how it influences performative and emotional responses to a text; cross-referencing the punctuation of manuscripts that are contemporary, but unrelated, has the potential to suggest alternative interpretations and realisations of punctuation symbols, which are difficult to infer from analysing the punctuation of only one example. The influence of punctuation on the reception of these prayers will be further illustrated through comparison with *De Ornamentis Verborum*, a treatise on poetic composition composed by Marbod, Bishop of Rennes (d. 1123).<sup>11</sup> Marbod's works circulated widely in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, with the use of his *Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam* as a source for *OSM* evidencing his influence on the composition of the *Wooing Group*.<sup>12</sup> The suitability of *De Ornamentis Verborum* as a source for contemporary understandings of the function and significance of punctuation is reinforced by its

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<sup>11</sup> The only edition of *De Ornamentis Verborum* that I was able to locate is Rosario Leotta, *De Ornamentis verborum e Liber decem capitolorum: retorica, mitologia e moralità di un vescovo poeta (secc.XI-X)* (Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998). As I was unable to consistently access it, I cite the text directly from the manuscripts analysed in this chapter.

<sup>12</sup> Denis Renevey summarises the relationship between the two prayers in 'Enclosed Desires: A Study of the Wooing Group', in *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England*, ed. by W. Pollard and R. Boenig (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 39-62 (p. 46). The text of *Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam* is printed in Thompson, p. 81.

inclusion of carefully punctuated examples demonstrating the correct application of each rhetorical device. Analysing the ways in which its punctuation articulates the effects of specific techniques used in the Nero Prayers further illustrates its importance to devotional performance. Two twelfth-century versions of *De Ornamentis Verborum* produced in England, London, British Library, Additional MSS 11983 and 24199, will be used to cite the punctuation of Marbod's text; the consistency of the punctuation between both versions reveals its integrality to the techniques it instructs.

### **The *Wooing Group*—without *Wooing*?**

Despite the cultural and literary significance of the whole *Wooing Group*, *Wohunge* (as the name suggests) has overshadowed its other prayers, receiving a disproportionate share of critical focus. The only collection of essays dedicated to the *Wooing Group* contains just one that is not centred on *Wohunge*, which is concerned with historical linguistics rather than literary criticism.<sup>13</sup> The remaining texts are rarely evaluated in their own right but are instead related to *Wohunge* as forerunners to a masterpiece. Their conventional treatment is exemplified in Catherine Innes-Parker's edition of the *Wooing Group*, which is the only one containing all of Nero's prayers.<sup>14</sup> After introducing *Wohunge* as 'a highly skilled composition combining poetic expression with a profound affective theology', the other prayers are merely listed by title; while *Wohunge* 'occupies a seminal position in the history of English literature and the development of English devotion', the only description of the others is that they are

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<sup>13</sup> Jeremy Smith, 'The Spellings <e>, <ea>, and <a> in two *Wooing Group* texts (MSS London, Cotton Nero A.xiv and London, Lambeth Palace 487), in *Milieu and Context*, pp. 84-95.

<sup>14</sup> Catherine Innes-Parker, *The Wooing of Our Lord and the Wooing Group Prayers* (Canada: Broadview Press, 2015). Thompson omitted *On god ureisun of ure lefdi (UUL)* from his edition of the *Group* on stylistic grounds. Nero's remaining texts, the Apostles' Creed and two Latin verses, have never been edited.

‘shorter’.<sup>15</sup> Further evidencing the historical neglect of the non-*Wohunge* prayers, the title of Thompson’s earlier edition, *De Wohunge of ure Lauerd*, does not indicate that it contains any other prayers at all. When the prayers are discussed as a group, *Wohunge* is always listed first, and his commentary on the prayers primarily centres on *Wohunge*, against which the other texts are measured. Compared to the ‘ecstatic mysticism’ of *Wohunge*, he writes, ‘the emotion seems less intense’ in the other prayers, which are ‘more reserved and conventional’ in content and in style.<sup>16</sup> He concludes that ‘the *Wohunge* is not merely derivative but an achievement of independent art’, implicitly downplaying its connections with the other prayers in the group and *Ancrene Wisse*.<sup>17</sup>

This chapter intends to redress the balance of critical attention by focusing only on the prayers in Nero, deliberately excluding *Wohunge*. Read in their manuscript context, they present a consciously structured devotional compilation whose prayers complement each other and *Ancrene Wisse*. They recall, for example, the Marian piety inherent to *Ancrene Wisse*: Denis Renevey observes that the Nero Prayers constitute ‘a complete display of the attributes of the Virgin Mary as model for the anchoritic life’, with all but one of the prayers containing a passage directed to her as well as to Christ.<sup>18</sup> The punctuation of *UGA* and *OSM* consistently singles out titles and honorifics related to Mary’s chastity and motherhood, recalling Chapter 4’s discussion of the emphasis that *Ancrene Wisse* places on an anchorite’s need to emulate her. Analysing the punctuation and literary language of the Nero Prayers demonstrates that they possess a higher level of artistic quality than is often afforded them and illustrates the ways in which the *ductus* of a prayer can provide performative as well as interpretative cues.

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<sup>15</sup> Innes-Parker, p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, p. xix.

<sup>17</sup> Thompson, p. xxv.

<sup>18</sup> Renevey, p. 50.

In not reading the Nero Prayers in relation to *Wohunge*, this chapter additionally interrogates traditional narratives of the historical development of English literature. While the *Wooing Group* prayers are conventionally described as representatives of a native style of alliterative verse, their connections with *De Ornamentis Verborum* illustrates their equal debt to Latin devotional literature. This connection was advocated by Elizabeth Salter, who defined the prayers as the earliest Middle English works to incorporate ‘a particular kind of devotional rhetoric first worked out in ... the Latin literature of affective devotion which had been developing since the eleventh century’.<sup>19</sup> While Salter’s manuscript concludes before presenting the comparative close reading of these works that she intended to advance, exploring the connections between *De Ornamentis Verborum* and the Nero Prayers that she suggested opens up new interpretative contexts and approaches that can be brought to readings of relatively well-studied devotional texts. We can consider, for example, the function of rhetoric in the context of prayer. In the prologue to his treatise, Marbod explains the purpose of his rhetorical techniques (*schemata verborum*) as follows:

If you are able to use these [techniques] like jewels or flowers  
 The work will be like a garden of sparkling pleasures  
 That exhales a multitude of sweet smells  
 And lacks not waves of flowers swaying by their stems,  
 The listener’s mind persuaded by the splendor of their colour.<sup>20</sup>

Marbod’s association of rhetoric with persuasion recalls the function of prayer as cultivating and redirecting the affect; it also complements the persuasive act of wooing

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<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Salter, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England*, ed. by Derek Pearsall and Nicolette Zeeman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> ‘Si potes his veluti gemmis aut floribus uti,/Fiet opus clarum velut hortus deliciarum,/Quo diversorum fragrantia spirat odorum,/Nec deerit fluctus florum de germine ductus,/Mens auditoris persuasa nitore coloris.’

as depicted in *Wohunge* and Part VII of *Ancrene Wisse*. The somatic imagery invoked in the simile of the garden is reinforced by aural cues of alliteration, rhyme, and metre, exemplifying how ‘sparkling’ literature engages the senses as well as the mind. Although these techniques are predominantly used in composing verse (*versaficatur*), Marbod promises that ‘they are also no less delightful in prose’; his own devotional verse, including the *Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam*, makes liberal use of the techniques listed in *De Ornamentis Verborum*.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to illustrating the connection of these prayers with Latin literary culture, this chapter presents critical readings of Nero’s works that highlight their artistic and affective qualities without measuring them against *Wohunge*. As mentioned above, there is little criticism specifically focused on the Nero Prayers; interpretations of them are often included in essays that consider the *Wooing Group* as a whole and, as a result, devote as much attention to *Wohunge* as to the rest of the group. Nero’s ‘integrity’ has been discussed by Caroline Cole, one of the few scholars to read its prayers in their material context.<sup>22</sup> She interprets the Nero manuscript as exemplifying that ‘a conscious book design contributes to the meanings of its component texts as surely as does the punctuation. To ignore and exclude this aspect of the work is to limit severely our reception of the prayers and our apprehension of them as constituents of a holistic entity’.<sup>23</sup> Despite mentioning punctuation, however, Cole does not analyse it in significant detail; her essay also focuses only on its four principal prayers, thus excluding *Ancrene Wisse*. As the principal text of the compilation, *Ancrene Wisse*

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<sup>21</sup> ‘Quae sunt in prosa quoque non minimum speciosa’. The majority of Marbod’s devotional verse has not been edited. André Wilmart discussed Marbod’s authorship of specific works in ‘Le florilège de Saint-Gatien: contribution à l’étude des poèmes d’Hildebart et de Marbode’, *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936), pp. 3–40, 145–181, and 245–258.

<sup>22</sup> Caroline Cole, ‘The integrity of text and context in the prayers of British Library Cotton MS Nero A. XIV’, *Neophilologisches Mitteilungen* civ (2003), pp. 85–94.

<sup>23</sup> Cole, pp. 86–87.

establishes the interpretative and performative frameworks within which these devotions would have been approached, contextualizing their contemporary reception as much as the manuscript does. Ayoush Lazikani's reading of the Nero Prayers, which does relate them to *Ancrene Wisse*, praises their 'textual tableaux' of Christ's suffering, which she considers essential to their successful cultivation of affective response and 'co-feeling'.<sup>24</sup> Lazikani does not discuss the manuscripts or the punctuation of the prayers, however, and her analysis primarily centers on the relationship between *Ancrene Wisse* and *Wohunge* at the expense of the other prayers.

In addition to their literary context, the manuscript contexts of *UGA* and *OSM* are rarely incorporated into critical readings despite their potential to inform us about their envisioned use or reception. While their texts are generally similar, their manuscripts markedly differ in character. *UGA* was added c.1240 to the final folios of Lambeth, which was originally compiled in the late twelfth century.<sup>25</sup> Unlike Nero's *UGA*, Lambeth's *UGA* is an outlier in its manuscript, being a much later addition to an earlier collection of texts. While Nero's contents suggest an envisioned use in personal devotion, Lambeth's homiletic material implies a connection with preaching, substantiated by Mary Swan's extensive research into the manuscript.<sup>26</sup> It thus resembles the Titus manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse* in character, whose inclusion of hagiographies and homilies alongside a version of the treatise directed to a mixed-gender audience similarly implies its production for use in primarily public contexts.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ayoush Lazikani, *Cultivating the Heart: Feeling and Emotion in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Religious Texts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015).

<sup>25</sup> Lambeth 487 is described in N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), #282.

<sup>26</sup> Mary Swan, 'Preaching Past the Conquest: Lambeth Palace 487 and Cotton Vespasian A. XXII', in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. by Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 403-23, and 'Reading for the Ear: Lambeth Palace Library MS 487, Item 10', *Leeds Studies in English* NS 41 (2010), pp. 214-224.

<sup>27</sup> On Titus's adaptation for audiences of men and women, see *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe: Cotton Titus D.xviii and the Lanhydrock Fragment*, ed. by Frances Mack and Arne Zettersten, EETS OS 252 (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. xv-xvi.

Furthermore, Lambeth's *UGA* and Titus's *Wohunge* are the only texts in their manuscripts voiced in the first-person, again differing from Nero's prayers.

The Royal *OSM* is contemporary with the Cleopatra *Ancrene Wisse*, dating to c.1225-1230.<sup>28</sup> The final thirteenth-century text in the present manuscript, it is prefaced by the moral treatise *Sawles Warde* and the *Katherine Group* hagiographies of Saints Katherine, Margaret, and Juliana.<sup>29</sup> As in Lambeth and Titus, *OSM* is the only prayer text in Royal. Bella Millett has characterised Royal's texts as possessing 'a form suitable for public delivery' on the basis of their genre and style; while she acknowledges that such works could have been read privately by enclosed women, she cites Royal in particular as indicative of a different reception.<sup>30</sup> Millett's assessment of Royal as a 'public' manuscript is further supported by the fact that it shares two of its texts with Titus, *Sawles Warde* and *Seinte Katerine*. While *OSM*, unlike the other texts in Royal, does possess a first-person speaker, it is perhaps significant that their voice is not grammatically gendered. The reduced likelihood of Royal's production for individual women is additionally suggested by the versified scribal colophon that concludes *Sawles Warde*, which is in the same hand that copied *OSM* (f. 10v).<sup>31</sup> It petitions, 'hwa se þis writ haueð ired. And crist *him* haueð swa isped. ... þet 3e bidden ofte For me'. The use of the pronouns 'hwa' and 'him' address a general reader, 'whoever has read this writ, and Christ has thus made *him/them* prosper', while '3e' is a plural pronoun. If the manuscript were originally compiled for a woman, we might expect to see the scribe

<sup>28</sup> Royal is described in George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western MSS in the Old Royal and King's Collections, British Museum*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum, 1921), vol. 2, pp. 220-221.

<sup>29</sup> The hagiographies are edited in S. T. R. O d'Ardenne, *The Katherine Group: edited from MS. Bodley 34* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1977), while *Sawles Warde* and *OSM* are included in Tanabe and Scahill.

<sup>30</sup> Bella Millett, 'The Audience of the Saints' Lives of the *Katherine Group*', in *Reading Medieval Studies* 16 (1990), pp. 127-156 (p. 138).

<sup>31</sup> These colophons are printed by Dorothy Kim, 'Female Readers, Passion Devotion, and the History of MS Royal 17 A. xxvii', *Journal of the Early Book Society* 15 (2012), pp. 153-213 (p. 163).

use ‘heo’ or ‘ou’ instead. *OSM*’s manuscript renders the prayer equally suitable for public as well as for private confession—a function that is not immediately apparent in Nero’s version of the text.

Much like the prayers themselves, these manuscripts have been largely overlooked by scholars. None have been accurately edited in their entirety, limiting our ability to interpret their prayers in their original contexts.<sup>32</sup> Critical readings of these manuscripts have been more concerned with locating supporting evidence for modern assumptions regarding their potential audiences than with the literary criticism of their texts. Discussions of Lambeth’s *UGA* often focus on its presence in the manuscript as evidence of female ownership rather than analysing the prayer in its own right. Thompson believed that Lambeth was owned by a thirteenth-century woman because he considered the *Wooing Group* prayers composed specifically by and for ‘devout women’, while Jonathan Wilcox likewise sees *UGA* as evidencing Lambeth’s circulation among female audiences.<sup>33</sup> Dorothy Kim’s analysis of Royal likewise primarily examines the manuscript for evidence of its contemporary circulation and function. She concludes that it was originally constructed as a series of portable booklets containing material considered suitable for an envisioned audience of religious women.<sup>34</sup> While she valuably emphasises the ways in which Royal’s texts complement each other, Royal contains no definite evidence affirming female ownership, and the ‘absolute consensus on their [female] readership’ that Kim claims is modern rather than medieval.<sup>35</sup> Its hagiographies, like the Latin sources from which they are adapted, are

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<sup>32</sup> The only edition containing all of Lambeth’s works, produced by Richard Morris in 1868, does not reflect its original compilation: it incorporates *Wooing Group* prayers *not* found in Lambeth into the main text, but relegates the *Poema Morale*, which directly follows the homilies, to an appendix. Richard Morris, *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (London: N. Trübner & co., 1868).

<sup>33</sup> J. Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), vol. 8, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> Dorothy Kim, ‘the History of MS Royal 17 A. xxvii’.

<sup>35</sup> Kim, p. 160.

equally suited for both public and private reading.<sup>36</sup> Arguments such as these reveal more about the modern association of affectivity with femininity than the contemporary reception of these thirteenth-century prayers. The sources examined throughout this study have illustrated that affective prayer was not exclusively performed by women, much in the same way that the male-voiced *UUL* was included in a manuscript almost certainly produced for female recipients.

While the uncertain provenances of Lambeth and Royal complicate their straightforward connection with female audiences, the Nero manuscript is ideally suited for use in exploring texts and practices associated with women's devotion. Its version of *Ancrene Wisse* uses exclusively feminine pronouns, while its prayers, unlike the hagiographies and sermons contained in its contemporary manuscripts, are less suggestive of use in public contexts. However, Nero's texts are rarely used in critical readings of *Ancrene Wisse* and the *Wooing Group*. Dismissed by E. J. Dobson as 'a manuscript written by a fussy and interfering scribe', traditional evaluations of Nero present an unreliable and poorly executed text riddled with scribal errors.<sup>37</sup> The *Wooing Group* is often read alongside the Corpus version of *Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402) instead. While Corpus is perceived as the best text of the treatise, it is perhaps the worst manuscript to base such comparative readings on, as it is the only version of *Ancrene Wisse* containing no additional prayers. While Nero is the only contemporary manuscript to include a predetermined selection of devotions accompanying *Ancrene Wisse*, there is no edition of its prayers that faithfully reflects their original context. Thompson prints his selected texts in a different order to the

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<sup>36</sup> On the sources of the *Katherine Group*, see Bella Millett, *Medieval English Prose for Women: Selections from the Katherine Group and Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. xiii.

<sup>37</sup> E. J. Dobson, 'The Affiliations of the Manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*', in *English and Medieval Studies Presented To J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. by Norman Davis and C. L. Wrenn (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962), pp. 128-163 (p. 133). Day similarly criticizes Nero for containing 'a very great many errors left uncorrected either by the scribe or any later reader' (p. xvii).

original and omits *UUL* altogether ‘because it is in rhymed and metered couplets, and is in other ways very different from this group’.<sup>38</sup> He additionally does not include Nero’s English text of the Creed or the two Latin texts that conclude the manuscript. His edition thus presents a significantly different impression of Nero to that communicated by the actual manuscript.

Innes-Parker’s edition of the *Wooing Group* more accurately reflects their manuscript context. Unlike Thompson, she defends *UUL*’s integrity to the Nero Prayers, emphasising the ways in which it complements the other devotions despite its different literary form.<sup>39</sup> However, she does not discuss Nero’s Creed at all, only indicating its presence in the manuscript in a footnote where she observes that ‘the Creed provides an affirmation of faith that completes [the preceding] *LUL*’s final affirmation of Christ’s power’.<sup>40</sup> In addition to its thematic and stylistic correspondences with the other prayers in the manuscript, the text of Nero’s Creed is unique, being shorter than standard contemporary versions.<sup>41</sup> Its *mise-en-page*, too, confirms its integrity to the devotional compilation: it immediately follows *LUL*, beginning with a *littera notabilior* of the same size (Fig 5.2). These qualities of the prayer invite a reconsideration of its omission from editions and lists of the *Wooing Group* prayers, and further convey the difficulty of distinguishing liturgical from non-liturgical prayers in devotional books. Like the Psalms and antiphons of the *libelli precum* examined in Chapter 1, whose rubrics established their suitability for individual prayer, the placement of the Creed in the manuscript and its correspondences with Nero’s other non-liturgical prayers suggest its

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<sup>38</sup> Thompson, p. xvi.

<sup>39</sup> Innes-Parker, pp. 36-37. Cole also discusses *UUL*’s place in the compilation in ‘The Integrity’.

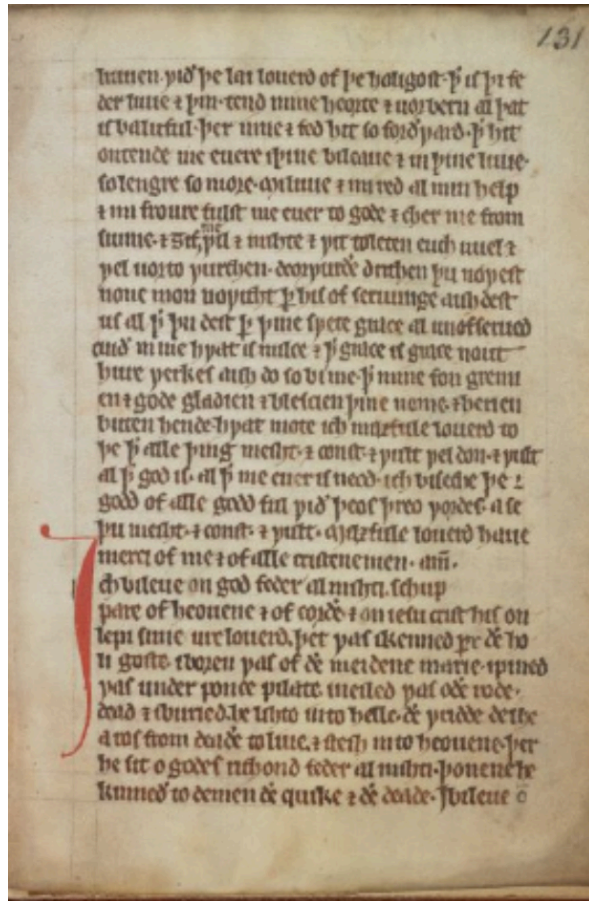
<sup>40</sup> Innes-Parker, p. 45.

<sup>41</sup> For texts of the Creed up to the early thirteenth century, see D. W. Chapman, ‘Trinitarian Terminology in Old English Liturgical Creeds’, in *Studies in the History of the English Language VI (Topics in English Linguistics): Evidence and Methods in the Histories of English*, ed. by M. Adams, L. Brinton, and R. D. Fulk (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2014), pp. 219-246.

possible incorporation into ad hoc devotion. When contextualised alongside Part I of *Ancrene Wisse*, the potential performance of the Creed as part of obligatory as well as voluntary devotion is additionally illustrated, further evidencing the flexible uses of apparently liturgical texts demonstrated in Chapter 4. To begin with, Part I's devotional sequences often reference praying a Paternoster and a Creed. However, Part I includes a version of the Paternoster (11/7-17) but not of the Creed; like Nero's Creed, *Ancrene Wisse's* text of the Paternoster is also not the standard one. *Ancrene Wisse* additionally indicates that this text of the Paternoster is optional, and thus an alternative to the traditional version, explaining, 'aþisse wise 3e muwen *3if 3e wulleð* siggen ower pater nosteres' (11/5-6).<sup>42</sup> Therefore, the inclusion of a non-traditional version of the Creed in Nero could have been intended to supply anchoresses with an alternative version of the prayer, similar to the Paternoster given in *Ancrene Wisse*.

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<sup>42</sup> Millett notes that the French version of *Ancrene Wisse* supports the presentation of this prayer as an alternative to the Paternoster, rubricating it, 'how you should say your Paternosters in honour of the Trinity' ('Coment vous devez dire voz Pater Nostres en lonourance de la Trinitee'). Unlike the earlier English versions, however, this rubric does not present the prayer as an alternative text to the Latin original, but instead as a replacement for it, as indicated by the imperative 'vous devez'. Millett describes the prayer itself as composed of 'commonplace' tropes found in contemporary Latin devotions. Millett, *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition*, vol. 2, pp. 27-28.



**Fig 5.2:** The *mise-en-page* of Nero's Creed on f. 131r and its correspondences with the other prayers in the manuscript suggest its integrity to a devotional compilation from which it has been traditionally excluded. Photo © The British Library.

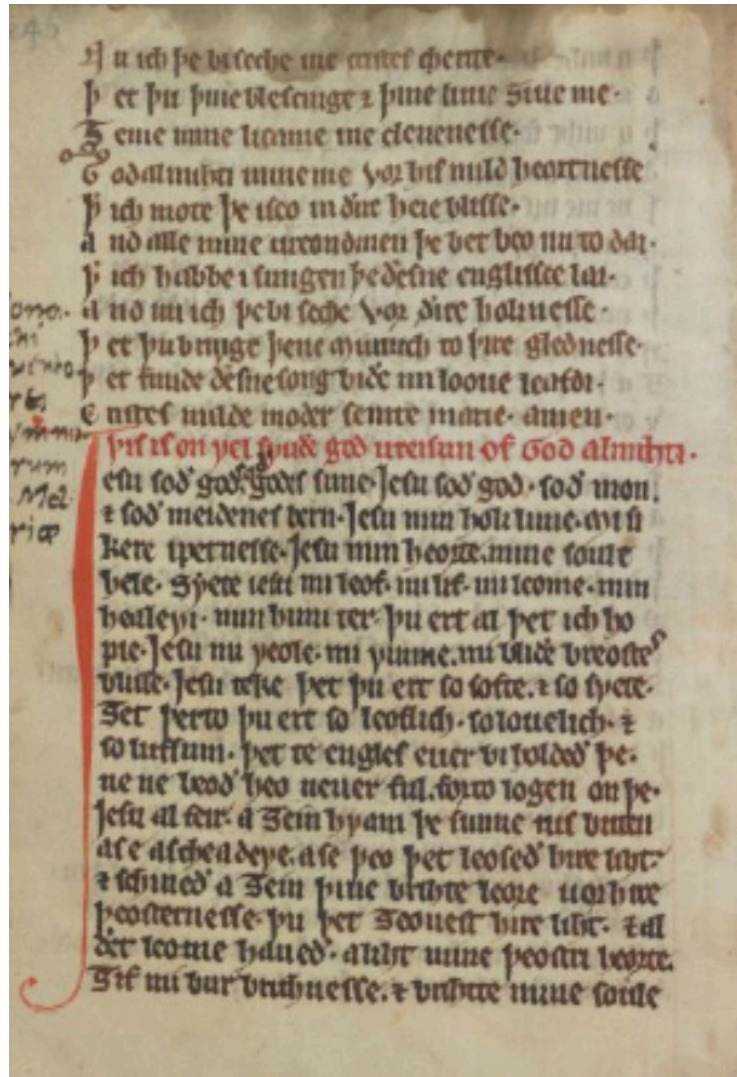
As well as excluding the Creed, Innes-Parker's edition does not reproduce the layout of the Nero Prayers. She radically alters their original lineation by printing them all as verse, considering Nero's *mise-en-page* 'simply inadequate for the expression of the text[s]'.<sup>43</sup> Her uniform presentation of the prayers' layout obscures the interpretative cues communicated by the variations in their original *mise-en-page*. For example, *UUL's* *mise-en-page* visually articulates its literary form by using conventions typically associated with the layout of rhymed verse: each line begins with a capital letter slightly spaced apart from the rest of the text and ends with a *punctus* (Fig 5.3). Its unique layout reflects the fact that it is the only text in the manuscript composed in this manner. *UUL's*

<sup>43</sup> Innes-Parker, p. 27.

*mise-en-page* additionally recalls thematic and performative associations related to its genre: as an ‘englissce lai’ (*UUL*, 168), it aligns itself with the French poetry of courtly love, appropriate for a male-voiced ‘lofsong’ (*UUL*, 8). Given that *Ancrene Wisse* recommends ‘redinge of englischs oðer of freinchs’ (19/4-5), its envisioned recipients would have likely been familiar with these aspects of French verse. *UUL*’s literary form thematically aligns it with the prayers following it in the manuscript: its dedication to the Virgin contextualises the wooing of Christ in the following prayer, *UGA*, as the expressions of desire associated with courtly love in both prayers are transvalued to expressing piety. It is, in a sense, a “Wooing of Our Lady”. It is perhaps significant that the identification of *UUL*’s speaker as Mary’s ‘owune hine’ (112), ‘ibrought in to þeoudome’ (98) as a monk for her love, is delayed until the penultimate couplet, maintaining the mood of the prayer as a romantic fantasy until its conclusion. The fluidity between wooer and wooed that Jennifer Brown identifies as central to the successful realisation of *De Wohunge of ure Lauerd* is, in this way, apparent in the other *Wooing Group* prayers, in design and structure as well as in content.<sup>44</sup>

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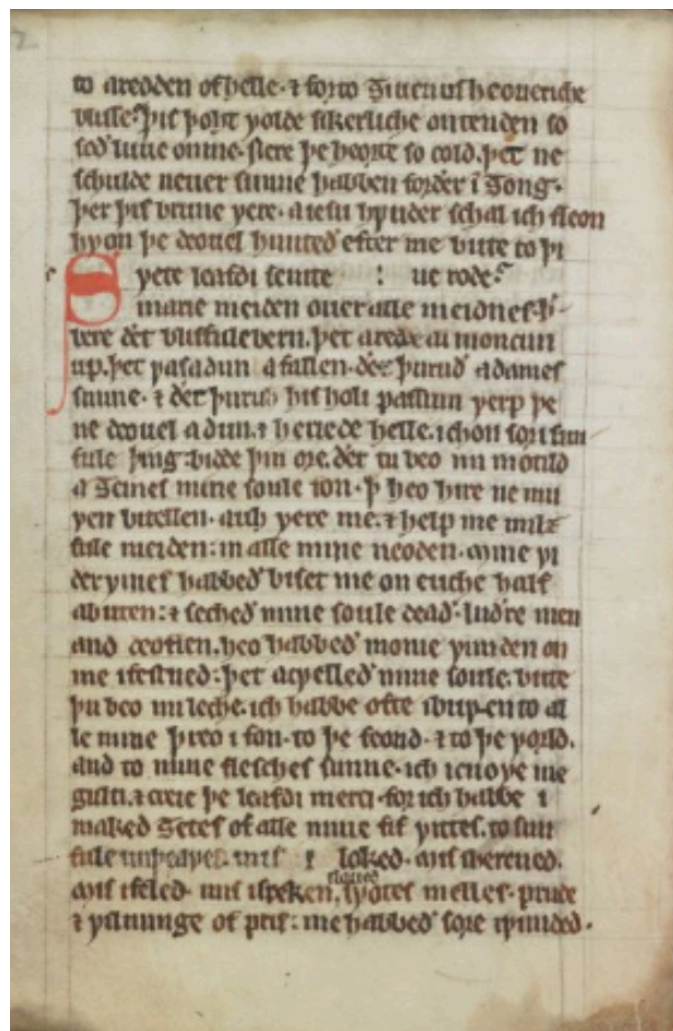
<sup>44</sup> Jennifer Brown, ‘Subject, Object, and Mantra in *De Wohunge of ure Lauerd*’, in *Milieu and Context*, pp. 66-83.



**Fig 5.3:** Verse into prose on f. 123v. The distinct *mise-en-page* and use of punctuation in *UUL* and *UGA* visually indicate their different genres, and, by extension, the different methods of performance associated with them. Photo © The British Library.

In addition to their layout, the editorial titles given to the *Wooring Group* prayers have also conditioned our interpretative responses to them. In the Nero manuscript, only *UUL* and *UGA* have rubrics, the other prayers beginning instead with three-line *litterae notabiliores*. As no space was left for rubrics, we can assume that they were not intended to have them (Fig 5.4). As a consequence, the various titles used to reference the other prayers reflect modern perceptions of their significance and function rather than medieval ones. For example, the possibility of reading *UUL* as the “Wooring of Our Lady” previously advocated contrasts with the choice of previous editors, including

Thompson and Morris, to title *OSM On Lofsong of ure Lefdi* instead. As Innes-Parker notes, however, *OSM* is not as much of a love-song as it is a penitential prayer: ‘unlike *UUL*, which is a celebration of Mary’s attributes and her protection of sinners’, she writes, ‘*OSM* is a form of confession ... [that is] less celebratory and more pleading’.<sup>45</sup> Likewise, the title *On lofsong of ure louerde*, which has no manuscript authority, implies that the prayer is an affective devotion to Christ in the style of *Wohunge* or *UGA*, downplaying its literary affinities with the Creed and confessional prayers.



**Fig 5.4:** Compare the rubrication of *UUL* in Fig 5.3 with that of *OSM* on f. 126v. The initial that opens this prayer is noticeably smaller, and the prayer is copied immediately after the end of *UGA* without space left for a title. Photo © The British Library.

<sup>45</sup> Innes-Parker, p. 211.

In addition, the rubrics that open *UUL* and *UGA* suggest their particular relevance to the envisioned recipients of the manuscript. Not only are they the first two prayers copied after *Ancrene Wisse*, but they are also emphasised as being especially good devotions: *On god ureisun of ure lefdi* and *On wel swuðe god ureisun of God Almihti*. The fact that only they are descriptively titled suggests that their contemporary reception differed from their current one. For example, omitting *UUL* from editions of the Nero Prayers on stylistic grounds does not reflect its original recommendation as a good prayer.

### **What is the Point of Manuscript Punctuation?**

The close reading of this chapter will illustrate the crucial role that punctuation plays in supplying a text's performer with rhetorical and interpretative cues. Manuscript punctuation can also suggest how the scribe or compiler of a text approached various aspects of his source material: its genre, its complexity, its literary style, its audience, and the reading practice that it demanded. Devotional texts often contain more punctuation symbols than required for grammatical clarification alone, as exemplified in their frequent presentation of passages densely punctuated with *punctus*. These pauses modulate the pace of reading, eliciting a slower and more ruminative approach to the text; they can also suggest which concepts were deemed particularly significant by distinguishing them visually (by punctuation marks) and aurally (by pauses in speech) on the manuscript page.

Thompson and Innes-Parker's editions of *UGA* and *OSM* adopt radically different approaches to their punctuation, which reflect their contrasting interpretations of its intended function. While Thompson accurately reproduces the original punctuation, he

does not comment on its usage—other than to misleadingly describe its application as ‘sporadic’—or compare the punctuation of individual manuscripts.<sup>46</sup> He describes the punctuation of the prayers as ‘semi-rhetorical’, reflecting his belief that it was intended to ‘generally clarify’ their readings despite not aligning with modern definitions of grammatical correctness.<sup>47</sup> While he notes that their punctuation frequently ‘mark[s] off segments of a prose phrase rhythm’, he does not consider the aesthetic or dramatic effects of this rhythm or connect it with devotional performance.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, Innes-Parker accurately contextualizes the prayers’ punctuation in relation to their genre, noting that ‘[the] punctuation of the Middle English [prayers] is not, primarily, syntactic; it is not intended to highlight grammatical phrases, but rather to indicate where the reader should pause for thought or rumination. This is typical of meditative or contemplative devotional texts’.<sup>49</sup> The association of prayer with this kind of performance indicated by their punctuation is referenced in *Ancrene Wisse* itself. In Part IV, the author advises anchoresses confronted with temptation to contemplate ‘holie meditaciuns’ (107/17-26). To facilitate this, he provides a rhymed Latin verse whose elements are linked by sound but separated by *punctus*:

Mors tua. mors domini. nota culpe. gaudia celi. Iudicii terror figantur mente  
fidei. (107/27-28).<sup>50</sup>

‘Euerichon of þeos wordes’, he explains, ‘wolde habben longe hwule uorte beon wel i opened. auh zif ich hie swuðe uorð-ward : demeore ze ðe lengre’ (107/34-108/1). The text’s punctuation facilitates these particular directions: by visually and syntactically

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<sup>46</sup> Thompson, p. xii.

<sup>47</sup> Thompson, p. xxvi.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Innes-Parker, p. 26.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Your death. The Lord’s death. The mark of guilt. The joy of heaven. The fear of judgment piercing the minds of the faithful’.

separating each pair of words, it specifies pauses for contemplation on the images or multiple meanings that they evoke. For example, ‘nota culpe’ can be understood in two ways depending on whether ‘nota’ is read as a noun or an imperative: ‘a mark of guilt’ or ‘mark guilt’. The first reading recalls the image of the sin-stained soul that recurs throughout *Ancrene Wisse*, while the second functions as an invitation to penitential self-scrutiny. These associations are further supported by the connotations of the Latin *nota* and *notare*, which can signify ‘a mark of ignominy or infamy, a reproach, disgrace’ and ‘to mark with infamy, to brand, accuse, stigmatize’ respectively.<sup>51</sup> This quality carries over into the English adaptation of the verse: while its readings expand the individual components of Latin original into pairs of alliteratively linked concepts, each line is similarly separated by *punctus*: ‘þench ofte mid sor of heorte o þine sunnen. þench ec of helle wo 7 heouenriche wunnen. þench ec ...’ (107/29-31). In this way, the punctuation of both lists complements their intended reading practice. It is perhaps significant that this verse is punctuated identically in the four early manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*.

Recognising the role that punctuation plays in shaping the reception of a text, Innes-Parker describes Nero’s punctuation in considerably more detail than Thompson, observing the ways in which it complements the metre and rhyme of its prayers.<sup>52</sup> However, as with her lineation of the prayers, her transcription of their punctuation is less faithful to the manuscript. The texts are idiosyncratically punctuated with both medieval and modern symbols, with no indication as to which correspond with original ones and which are editorial insertions. While she intended to use ‘the pointing of the manuscripts to guide the line divisions of the texts’, the readings that her approach

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<sup>51</sup> *nota* and *notare*, DMLBS (accessed 2020), <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/nota>> and <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/notare>>.

<sup>52</sup> Innes-Parker, pp. 25-26. Despite her identification of the role of manuscript punctuation in shaping devotional performance, that of the Royal and Lambeth manuscripts is not discussed at all.

elicits can differ from those prompted by the original *mise-en-page*.<sup>53</sup> For example, her transcription of *UGA* replaces *punctus elevati* with semicolons and some of the original *punctus* with commas, which radically alters the cadence of certain phrases:

woa is me þet ich am so freomede wið þe. auh ase þu al hauest licamliche iwend  
me from þe worlde ⁊ wend me ec heortliche. 7 turn me allunge to þe. wið soðe  
luue. 7 mid bi leaue. (N f. 124r)

Woa is me þet ich am so freomede wið þe.  
auh ase þu al hauest licamliche iwend me from þe world;  
wend me ec heortliche.  
ant turn me allunge to þe.  
wið soðe luue,  
ant mid bi leaue. (*WLWG*, 174/41-46)

In this example, the medial pause prompted by the semicolon differs from the rising intonation specified by the *punctus elevatus*. The alteration of the original equiparative punctuation of the Nero text into a mixture of full stops and a comma similarly changes its delivery. Innes-Parker's description of Nero's punctuation is also inaccurate in some cases: there is no *punctus exclamativus* in the manuscript and it is difficult to discern regular and deliberate variation between *punctus* and 'raised *punctus*' to indicate the length of pauses.<sup>54</sup>

To accurately assess the application of and *variance* in the punctuation of the selected case studies, the standard punctuation of contemporary manuscripts must be outlined. Tadao Kubouchi defines 'the basic punctuation symbols used in English manuscripts of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries' as follows: 'the simple point

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<sup>53</sup> Innes-Parker, pp. 27-28.

<sup>54</sup> Innes-Parker, pp. 77-78. Although she claims that 'the punctus is used for a minor pause; a raised punctus (at a midway height in the line) indicates a major pause and is often followed by a capital' in Nero, I have observed no clear-cut distinction between the two types of point in my own examination of the manuscript (p. 77).

[*punctus*], the *punctus elevatus*, the *punctus versus*, and the *punctus interrogativus*'.<sup>55</sup> The four principal thirteenth-century manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* reflect this expectation: all contain the *punctus* [·], the *punctus interrogativus* [?], and the *punctus elevatus* [∴]. Although the set of punctuation marks used in these manuscripts is the same, their application is quite different. Nero varies the marks used more regularly than Corpus and Titus, which use the *punctus* far more frequently, while Cleopatra contains the most emendations to its punctuation, which are often concerned with clarifying the relationships between clauses by altering *punctus* to *punctus elevati*.<sup>56</sup>

The punctuation of the Nero versions of *UGA* and *OSM* is more complex than those of Royal and Lambeth. The Royal *OSM* exclusively uses *punctus* with the exception of a single *punctus elevatus*. Given that the surviving copy represents over half of the Nero text, it is unlikely that there would have been any significant departure from this practice in the missing lines. The Lambeth *UGA* also uses the *punctus* in the majority of instances, although its use of the *punctus elevatus* is more frequent than Royal's, with six occurrences in 121 lines of text. However, the Lambeth scribe uses the *punctus elevatus* for multiple functions: to indicate interrogative clauses, to mark medial pauses, and to introduce a biblical quotation. The Nero versions of these prayers use a wider repertory of punctuation marks: there are 38 *punctus elevati* and 23 *punctus interrogativi* in the section of *UGA* paralleled in Lambeth, and 15 *punctus elevati* in that by the Royal *OSM*. Each mark appears to have a distinct function in Nero, with the

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<sup>55</sup> Tadao Kubouchi, 'What is the point? Manuscript punctuation as evidence for linguistic change', in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak and Akio Oizumi (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 171-188 (p. 172). For a full account of all the variants of punctuation marks, see Malcolm Parkes, *Pause and Effect: A History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), pp. 306-310.

<sup>56</sup> For the punctuation of the other manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*, see *Ancrene Wisse: The English Text of Ancrene Riwle, Edited From MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 402*, ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien, EETS OS 249 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. xiii, E. J. Dobson, *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, edited from B. M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. vi*, EETS OS 269 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. xlix, and Mack, p. xii.

*punctus elevatus* and *punctus interrogativus* respectively indicating medial pauses and interrogative clauses. The variation in the punctuation of the Nero and non-Nero versions of *UGA* and *OSM* presents us with two prayers that are worded similarly, but markedly different in character. Interpreting these differences enables us to appreciate the role that manuscript punctuation plays in shaping the performance and affective resonance of the text.

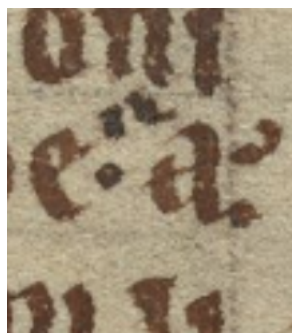
The variant readings between the punctuation of the three manuscripts are of the following kinds:

1. **Different mark:** Nero has a *punctus elevatus* or *punctus interrogativus* in the same place as a *punctus* in another manuscript.
2. **Additional mark:** Nero has a punctuation mark where none is present in another manuscript.
3. **Absent mark:** Nero does not have a punctuation mark where one is present in another manuscript.
4. **Different place:** The placement of a punctuation mark in the same phrase varies between Nero and another manuscript.

These categories are defined relative to the texts in Nero; 'additional mark', for example, does not imply that the Nero scribe deliberately inserted a mark where he felt one was lacking, but that Nero has a mark where a parallel text does not.

When interpreting *variance* in punctuation, it is important to acknowledge that it is impossible to verify if and/or where the Nero scribes consciously altered the original punctuation of their exemplars as opposed to faithfully reproducing it. In a textual culture characterised by *variance*, however, there is no reason to deny the possibility

that medieval scribes, rather than strictly adhering to the punctuation of their exemplar, might revise it to suit their own needs or the needs of their envisioned audience in much the same way as they might alter its wording. This possibility is particularly pertinent to readings of manuscripts containing *Ancrene Wisse*, which frequently demonstrate alterations to their punctuation alongside their readings. The extensive revisions to Cleopatra version of the treatise, the clearest representation of such scribal activity, were discussed in Chapter 4, with the Nero and Corpus manuscripts also exhibiting numerous emendations to their punctuation. In manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* that contain other contemporary texts, this concern with punctuation extends beyond the treatise itself. The punctuation of the Nero Prayers was revised after the completion of their texts, while Salter considered the scribe of *Wohunge* '[to] represent the contemporary interrogation mark with far greater care for its special features than the scribe, or scribes, of the *Ureisun*' (Fig 5.5).<sup>57</sup> Salter emphasised the ability of such subtle changes to manuscript punctuation to shape the reception and meaning of a text, criticising Thompson's omission of the emendations made to that of *UGA* 'since the good sense of a reading is involved'.<sup>58</sup>



**Fig 5.5:** An example of emended punctuation marks in the Nero *UGA*, f. 124r. The *punctus interrogativus* on the left is written in darker ink than the surrounding text. Photo © The British Library.

<sup>57</sup> Elizabeth Salter, 'Review of *De Wohunge of ure Lauerd* by W. Meredith Thompson', *RES* 13 (1962), pp. 166-168 (p. 167). It is unclear whether Salter is referring to the Nero or Lambeth version of *UGA*.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*

Before considering the ways in which *variance* in punctuation can indeed alter the ‘sense of a reading’, the evidence that it provides regarding the envisioned audiences of these manuscripts will be briefly outlined. The care taken with the punctuation of manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* suggests that works composed for recipients whose levels of literacy were variable—such as lay anchoresses—were presented to facilitate their comprehension and performance. For example, Nero consistently hyphenates words copied across two lines, supporting reading aloud and clarifying textual meaning. Hyphens are predominantly placed at points where the sense might be altered if a word copied over a line break is read as two separate words. For example, the hyphenation of ‘ich habbe i-maked zetes of alle mine fif wittes. to **sun-fule** unpeawes’ (N *OSM* 18-20) prescribes the reading ‘sunfule’ over the contextually valid, but different, ‘sum fule’ (the minims on <n> and <m> can be difficult to distinguish, especially at the end of lines). The inscribed audiences of the four principal manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* are all plural, further ensuring that their scribes could not straightforwardly assume a uniform level of literacy: the ‘leoue sustren’ of Cleopatra, ‘gentile wummen’ of Nero, ‘ancren of Englonð ... nuðe twenti oðe ma’ in Corpus, and ‘leoue freond[es]’ of Titus. The revisions to the punctuation of *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts might additionally reflect their potential use in public contexts, facilitating their being read by users potentially unfamiliar with the work. Like *De Institutione Inclusarum*, *Ancrene Wisse* evidences its deliberate composition for audiences beyond those inscribed in the text: Part V, for example, ‘limpeð to alle men i liche’, and the author uses an alliterated double negative to emphasise to the anchorites the treatise is directed to that ‘ich toward ou nomeliche nabbe nout i speken i þisse dole’ (155/10-12). While completely illiterate audiences might not have known how to read punctuation symbols, those able to read

*Ancrene Wisse* independently would likely have recognized them, much like literate people today are familiar with reading punctuated text.

### **The *Variance* of Punctuation: Some Statistics**

These tables illustrate the *variance* in the punctuation of the Nero and non-Nero texts of *UGA* and *OSM*, listing the marks contained in each manuscript alongside the frequency of their occurrence. The quantity of every punctuation mark in each text is also given relative to its total number of marks, illustrating the variation in each one's application of punctuation. The total number of punctuation marks contained in these texts reflects the high level of scribal engagement with this often overlooked paratextual feature.

#### *On wel swuðe god ureisun of God Almihti*

The Nero text contains **250** total punctuation symbols in the first 149 lines.

The Lambeth text contains **205** total punctuation symbols in 121 lines.

<b>Symbol</b>	<b>Nero (% of total)</b>	<b>Lambeth (% of total)</b>	<b>± Difference</b>
.	180 (72%)	198 (96.6%)	-18
:	38 (15.2%)	7 (3.4%)	+31
?	23 (9.2%)	0	+23
-	8 (3.2%)	0	+8
:	1 (0.4%)	0	+1

*pe oreisun of Seinte Marie*

The Nero text contains **84** punctuation marks in the first 45 lines.

The Royal text contains **46** punctuation marks in 31 lines.

Symbol	Nero (% of total)	Royal (% of total)	± Difference
.	62 (73.8%)	45 (97.8%)	+ 17
:	15 (17.9%)	1 (2.2%)	+ 14
-	7 (8.3%)	0	+ 7

These statistics demonstrate that the quantity and variation of Nero's punctuation is significantly greater compared to the other manuscripts despite their broadly similar readings. For example, the Nero *OSM* contains over twice as many punctuation marks as the Royal *OSM*, which significantly influence its performance and its meaning. Similarly, the Nero and Lambeth *UGA* contain roughly the same amount of punctuation marks, but the range of symbols is wider and more varied in Nero. This quality could suggest that the Nero scribes actively engaged with the punctuation of their exemplars, adapting it where they believed necessary or beneficial. Comparing the different uses of *punctus elevati* and *punctus interrogativi* in Nero and Lambeth, for example, reveals that while Lambeth's *punctus elevati* indicate rising intonation in both dependent and interrogative clauses, Nero distinguishes between the two by punctuating questions with *punctus interrogativi*. A passage in *UGA* that illustrates the effect that this variation can have on textual meaning is that in which the anchoress imagines Christ speaking to her from the Cross:

asþe moder to hire child. hwa  
leof : hwa lif : hwa deþ him þer  
bitweonen. hwa wule beo  
bi cluppet : (L *UGA* 46-48)

ase þe moder to hire childe. hwo leof?  
hwo lif? hwo deð him her bitweonen?  
hwoa wule beon bi cluppet? (N *UGA*  
54-56)

Nero's *punctus interrogativi* emphasise to its performer that Christ is directly questioning her from the Cross, while Lambeth's version, by not specifying that these phrases are questions, could be interpreted as a continuation of the description of Christ, i.e. that he is the 'leof' and the 'lif' who dies on the Cross. Nero's rhetorical questions elicit an anchoress's affective engagement with the text by inviting her to answer them. The punctuation of this specific passage additionally allows it to better complement the definition of enclosure in Part VI of *Ancrene Wisse* as 'þe best of alle' penances: 'to i hongede mid hore gode wille : o iesu cristes rode'. (157/31-32). The prayer invites an anchoress to perform the purpose of her vocation, a voluntary self-crucifixion performed 'mid hore gode wille' that reciprocates the Passion, by phrasing 'hwo deð him her bitweonen?' as a question that she is able to answer. When Part VII lists the four principal kinds of love to demonstrate how Christ's love surpasses them all, correspondences with the language of *UGA* are likewise invoked:

he luueð us more : **þen eni moder deð hire child.** he hit seið him sulf : þuruh  
isaie. numquit potest mater obliuisci filii uteri sui. 7 cetera ... up oðe rode ...  
ure louerd uor he nolde neuer uorziten us : he dude make of þurlunge **ine bo  
two his honden.** (180/26-35)

The rhetorical questions in Nero's *UGA* allow the text to dramatize the imagery of Part VII at this point, recalling the image of willingly embracing Christ crucified. This is one of several examples in which Nero's punctuation more closely aligns it with its text of *Ancrene Wisse*, even though their scribes differ, suggesting that the punctuation of the manuscript was an important concern for its users.

Due to the length of both prayers, a comparative line-by-line analysis of each text in its entirety was unfeasible. Therefore, selected examples of *variance* in manuscript punctuation that significantly influences the meaning and performance of prayer in both *UGA* and *OSM* will be examined. Throughout this analysis, comparisons with the punctuation as well as the literary devices in *De Ornamentis Verborum* will also be drawn.

### ***On wel swuðe god ureisun of God Almihti***

The differences between the punctuation of the Nero and Lambeth texts of *UGA* mostly reflect the kind of punctuation mark used rather than the overall number. While the two versions contain a similar number of marks occurring in roughly corresponding places, Nero uses a larger and more varied set of symbols, while Lambeth uses the *punctus* in all but six cases. The Nero *UGA* more closely controls the prayer's rhetorical shape and interpretation as a result, using cadence to emphasise particular phrases or clearly establish relationships between independent and dependent clauses. This in turn influences the affective and interpretative responses elicited by its performance.

### ***The Introduction***

#### **Lambeth**

Iesu soð god. godes sune. Iesu soð god. soð mon. Mon Maidene bern. Iesu min hali loue min sikere swetnesse. Iesu min heorte. Misel. misaule hele. Iesu swete. iesu mi leof. mi lif. mi leome. min halwi. min huniter. þu al þet ich hopie. Iesu mi weole mi wunne. mi bliðe breostes blisse. Iesu teke þet þu ert se softe. 7 se swote. ... (1-6)

#### **Nero**

Iesu soð god. soð godes sune. Iesu soð god. soð mon. 7 soð meidenes bern. Iesu min holi luue. Mi sikere swetnesse. Iesu min heorte. mine soule hele. Swete iesu mi leof. mi lif. mi leome. min healwei. min huni ter. þu ert al þet ich hopie. Iesu mi weole. mi wunne. mi bliðe breostes blisse. Iesu teke þet þu ert so softe. 7 so swete. ... (1-7)

*UGA* begins with an anaphoric, alliterative list of the attributes of Jesus, which uses concatenative repetition to emphasise his desirable qualities. In addition to the repeated words between clauses, the somaticism of this passage is enhanced by sibilance, plosives, and interweaving alliteration that links chains of images. The punctuation of this section contributes to a sense of suspended temporality, not only by delaying the first verb of the prayer (N *UGA* 5/L *UGA* 6), but also by modulating the pace of reading, inviting its user to pause and reflect on the cluster of words that she has just read.

The primary difference between the Nero and Lambeth texts is the regular punctuation of the former, which makes its metre more uniform and consistent. For example, Nero has additional *punctus* before the phrases ‘mi sikere swetnesse’ and ‘mi wunne’, ensuring that every image listed is in its own clause. By separating each attribute of Christ in this way, Nero’s punctuation visually and rhetorically guides its user to pause between each one and to reflect on it for as long as she is inclined. The regular punctuation also creates a chant-like rhythm whose sound further immerses her into devotional performance. The *punctus* also enhance the aural resonance of the interweaving alliteration on <s>, <b>, and <h>, the accumulative effect of clauses beginning with the same headword, and the internal half-rhyme of ‘heorte’, ‘leof’ and ‘leome’, thus engaging the senses as well as the imagination. The amount of *punctus* used in this list also allows the first verb clause, ‘þu ert’, to be delayed until the fifth line of the prayer, furthering this impression of suspended temporality. In this way, the manuscript pointing imparts an affective and narrative shape to a series of utterances that are syntactically disjointed.

The use of punctuation to shape a text at the expense of its grammatical cohesiveness complements Hugh of Saint-Victor’s definition of the perfection of prayer in *De Modo Orandi*, whose directions for self-scrutiny in penitential prayer were

discussed in Chapter 2. Hugh described ‘pure prayer’ (*pura oratio*) as arising ‘out of overwhelming devotion’, such that ‘when [the mind] turns itself to asking something from God, it forgets its request due to the magnitude of its love’.<sup>59</sup> The forgetting of a prayer’s request as a result of experiencing overwhelming devotion is implied in the structure of this part of *UGA*, with its first direct petition, ‘aligt mine þeostri heorte’, not occurring until line 15. The disrupted syntax conveyed in its punctuation corresponds with Hugh’s explanation that *pura oratio* ‘has its own affect, which, the more greatly and fervently it is [felt] within, the less clearly can it be expressed with words’.<sup>60</sup> This inversely proportional relationship between grammatical coherence and desire for God complements the opening of *UGA*, whose inclusion of multiple nouns directly correlates with the literary style of *pura oratio* that Hugh sets out:

It is known that some supplications are expressed through nouns alone, like this: ‘My mercy’, ‘my refuge’, ‘my protector’, ‘my liberator’, ‘my God’, ‘my aid’ ... This kind of supplication **that is expressed only through nouns**, whose external expression is the most imperfect, is just as much filled with an abundance of devotion within.<sup>61</sup>

Therefore, he concludes, of the three main kinds of prayer, ‘that which is only expressed with nouns can be seen to pertain to pure prayer’.<sup>62</sup> Although there is no way of proving that the author(s) or recipient(s) of *UGA* knew of *De Modo Orandi* specifically, the influence and popularity of Hugh’s works means that we can plausibly assume some

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<sup>59</sup> ‘Pura oratio est quando ex abundantia deuotionis mens ita accenditur ut cum se ad Deum postulatura conuerterit, pre amoris eius magnitudine etiam petitionis sue obliuiscatur’. Hugh of Saint-Victor, *L'oeuvre de Hugues de Saint-Victor. 1. De institutione novitiorum. De virtute orandi. De laude caritatis. De arrha animae*, ed. by H. B. Feiss and P. Sicard, trans. by D. Poirel, H. Rochais and P. Sicard (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), p. 136.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Affectus enim hoc proprium habet, quod quanto maior et feruentior intus est, tanto minus foris per uocem explicari potest’. *De Modo Orandi*, p. 137.

<sup>61</sup> ‘Sciendum est etiam quod supplicatio aliquando fit per sola nomina, sicut est illud: «Misericordia mea», «refugium meum», «susceptor meus» «liberator meus» «Deus meus» «adiutor meus» ... Sed illud genus supplicationis quod per sola nomina fit, quo magis est foris significatione imperfectum, tanto intus est abundantia dilectionis plenum’. *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> ‘Illud igitur quod solis nominibus fit ad puram orationem pertinere uidetur’. *De Modo Orandi*, p. 138.

degree of awareness of his philosophy—especially given that *Sawles Warde* is an adaptation of his *De Anima*.<sup>63</sup>

While *UGA* is not often compared with Latin works such as *De Modo Orandi*, some critics have commented on its use of punctuation to elicit affective response. Innes-Parker observes that ‘the object of [*UGA*] is not clarity of syntax, but intensity of meditation and feeling. ... The complexity of grammar thus reflects the complexity of the meditative process, which relies not only on an outward meaning ... but on an inner affective and intuitive meaning’.<sup>64</sup> Salter similarly saw the prayer’s phrasing as engaging with its user’s emotions as opposed to her intellect, demonstrating ‘an adherence to a special kind of logic—one proper to the spiritual situation’.<sup>65</sup> Her connection of *UGA*’s devotional rhetoric with Latin literary culture is further supported by the visual and stylistic correspondences between its opening lines and the verse techniques exemplified in *De Ornamentis Verborum*. The first technique Marbod lists is ‘repetition’ (*repetitio*), ‘when similar things and different concepts are frequently invoked by one and the same word’.<sup>66</sup> The accompanying verse demonstrating *repetitio* recalls *UGA* in content and in style:

Tu mihi lex. mihi rex. mihi lux. mihi dux. mihi vindex.  
Te colo. te laudo. te glorifico. tibi plaudo.<sup>67</sup>

The poetic voice addresses Christ using another anaphoric list separated by *punctus*, whose use of rhyme, repetition, and alliteration highlight his positive qualities in a manner almost identical to *UGA*. The two twelfth-century manuscripts of *De*

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<sup>63</sup> On the relationship between *Sawles Warde* and *De Anima*, see Wolfgang Becker, ‘The Source Text of *Sawles Warde*’, *Manuscripta* 24 (1980), pp. 44-48.

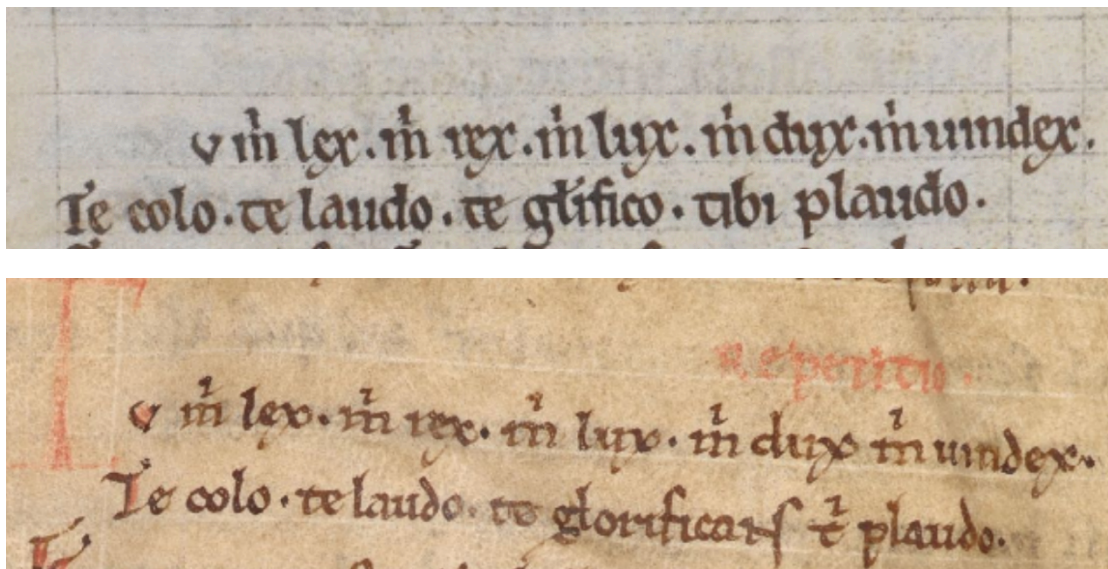
<sup>64</sup> Innes-Parker, p. 187.

<sup>65</sup> Salter, ‘Review’, p. 167.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Repetitio est, cum continenter ab uno atque eodem verbo in rebus similibus et diversis principia sumuntur’.

<sup>67</sup> ‘You [are] my law, my king, my light, my leader, my defender. I honour you, I praise you, I glorify you, I applaud you’.

*Ornamentis Verborum* examined in this chapter illustrate the ways in which the paratexts of *mise-en-page* and punctuation support rhetoric: each phrase occupies exactly one ruled line, with the *punctus* regularly spaced between each word. The shared layout of the two texts illustrates a contemporary recognition of the role of such features in communicating the structure and the articulation of a text (Fig 5.6). That *UGA* parallels the punctuation and structure of this verse as well as its themes and function likely reflects the influence of *De Ornamentis Verborum*.



**Fig 5.6:** The similar layout of ‘Tu mihi lex’ in Add MSS 24199, f. 61r (top) and 11983, f. 43v (bottom). The space left for rubrics in the former manuscript suggests that its rubrication would have also mirrored the latter’s, which is slightly earlier in date. The regular spacing and punctuation of each line complements the “regular” (*regulariter*) nature of *repetitio*, as does the consistent abbreviation of *mihi* at the beginning of each clause. Photos © The British Library.

These connections between *UGA* and *De Ornamentis Verborum* additionally evidence the prayer’s associations with contemporary religious culture. Calvin Kendall notes that descriptions of Christ as ‘lex/rex/pax (or dux)/lux’ functioned as a ‘decorative unit with symbolic overtones’ frequently featured in devotional art and literature; the opening of

*UGA* thus establishes the connection of the text with devotion to Christ.<sup>68</sup> Kendall's interpretation of the utility of these verbal clusters indicates the importance of *variance* to their function, although he does not use the term itself: 'since each word in the cluster acts as a synonym for Christ, the words are in effect interchangeable and endlessly variable'.<sup>69</sup> Also significant, perhaps, is that these clusters were often carved over doors or portals in churches—points of entry into devotional space, like the beginning of a prayer text. The punctuation of the opening lines of *UGA* thus communicates its genre and its function: a devotional text that should be read slowly and ruminatively in order to imagine Christ.

*The First Petition: 'Illuminate my Soul'*

Following the list of Christ's attributes, *UGA* introduces the speaker's first petition of the prayer: that Christ, who shines brighter than the sun, might illuminate her soul, which is blackened by sin:

**Lambeth**

Iesu al feir a zein hwam. þe sunne nis boten a schadwe. ase þeo þet leoseþ here liht. and scheomeþ azein þi brihte leore. of hire þesturnesse. þu þet zeuest hireliht. 7 al ðet leome hauest aliht mi þester heorte. zef þibur brihtnesse. mi saule þet is suti zet. (9-13)

**Nero**

Iesu al feir. a zein hwam þe sunne nis buten ase a scheidwe. ase þeo þet leoseð hire liht : 7 schineð a zein þine brihte leore uor hire þeosternesse. þu þet zeouest hire liht. 7 al ðet leome haueð. aliht mine þeostri heorte. zif mi bur brihtnesse. 7 brihtte mine soule þet is suti. (11-17)

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<sup>68</sup> Calvin Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 132.

<sup>69</sup> Kendall, p. 133.

The differences between the punctuation of the Nero and Lambeth versions of this passage influence its rhetorical shape. Unlike the previous example, in which the only variation in punctuation was the presence of more *punctus* in Nero, this section illustrates the ways in which changing the placement or nature of a punctuation mark can significantly influence the performance and reception of a particular phrase. In Lambeth, *punctus* are placed midway through the first phrase of the petition, indicating a medial pause midway through a clause: ‘Iesu al feir azein ham. þe sunne nis boten a schadwe. as þeo þ leoseþ here liht. and schomeþ azein þi brihte leor. of hire þesturnesse’. The breaks after ‘azein ham’ and ‘leor’ disrupt the flow of the prayer, as they are not places one would naturally expect to pause at. In Nero, the *punctus* more clearly separate concepts in the narrative in order to emphasise them: the *punctus* after ‘azein ham’ in Lambeth is placed after ‘Iesu al feir’, functioning as an address to Christ, while a *punctus elevatus* is placed after ‘liht’ in order to prescribe a rising intonation that emphasises the contrast between Christ’s brightness and the sun’s darkness. Nero’s punctuation additionally emphasises the rhetorical techniques used in this section of the prayer more clearly. Its placement of punctuation marks ensures that each successive clause contains exactly one word containing ‘liht’ or ‘brihte’ (‘liht/brihte/liht/aliht/brithtnesse/brihtte’) at either the beginning or end of a cadence, unlike Lambeth’s longer clauses. In this way, Nero’s structure articulates the rhyme and wordplay used in this section, with the concepts of ‘liht’ and ‘briht’ linked both by sound and by variation between the nouns and verbs associated with them. This variation exemplifies what Marbod calls *agnominatio*, a type of paranomasia: ‘when the same word and meaning is approached through the alteration or addition of only

one or a few letters, so that similar words are applied to dissimilar things'.<sup>70</sup> In this case, the similar language of light and brightness is applied to the dissimilar anchorite and Christ, juxtaposing her soul, 'suti' with sin, with his incomparable radiance. A similar instance of this technique is the repetition of the sun's 'þeosternesne', which is aligned with her 'þeostri heorte'.

Nero's punctuation also highlights the close parallels between the imagery of this passage and Part IV of *Ancrene Wisse*, allowing the two texts to resonate with one another. For example, the address to 'Iesu al feir' and the phrase 'brihtte mine soule þet is suti. 7 make hire wurðe to þine swete wuninge' are separated with *punctus*, recalling the passage in Part IV where the author reminds anchoresses that a soul stained with the 'blake spotle' of sin 'nis nout wurðe ðet **iesu crist** hire leofmon **ðet is al ueir**. ne cluppe hire ne cusse. er heo beo i waschen' (129/30-32). In an earlier passage, the author uses the metaphor of defending a besieged castle with scalding water to emphasise the efficacy of tearful prayer, writing that 'te soðe sunne þet is iesu crist : schineð þerefter : schennure to ðe soule' (110/9-10) of the woman who abjures the temptations of 'þisse worlde [þet] al nis bute ase asheadwe' (108/13). This passage echoes *UGA*: both texts allegorise the soul as a 'buruh' (109/30), juxtapose sun and shadow, identify Christ as 'soð', and alternate between verbal and nominal forms of the same lexeme in 'schineð' and 'schennure'. There are also verbal echoes between these two passages, which both share words such as 'leof', 'leome', 'soð', 'sunne', and so on. The Nero text of *Ancrene Wisse* runs against Corpus and Cleopatra in including the clause 'þet is iesu crist', which could imply that its compiler intended to emphasise this parallel with *UGA*.

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<sup>70</sup> 'Annominatio est, cum ad idem verbum et nomen acceditur commutatione vel additione unius litterae vel litterarum, ut ad res dissimiles similia verba accommodentur'.

This part of *UGA* also closely parallels Part II, where the anchoress is invited to align herself with the lady of the Canticles and speak to Christ-as-spouse:

luueliche clepeð ou to him ⁊ mit teos words. Surge propera amica mea formosa mea columba mea formosa mea ⁊ ueni. ostende michi faciem tuam. sonnet uox tua in aure mea. þet is. aris up hie ðe þeoneward. ⁊ cum to me **mi leofmon**. mi kulure. mi **schene**. mi **veire** spuse. ostende michi faciem tuam. scheau to me **ði leoue neb ⁊ ti lufsume leor**. ... (42/36-43/6)

The punctuation and structure of the English adaptation of the Canticles, like *UGA*, begins each address to Jesus with ‘mi’ and separates them with *punctus*. This practice is not reflected in the Latin quotation, which is completely unpunctuated, further suggesting the shaping of its translation to complement the prayer. The verbal echoes between Part II and *UGA* are indicated here with bolded text, again showing their correspondence. Like the lady of the Canticles, both this passage and the opening of *UGA* express desire for Christ in a manner that *Ancrene Wisse* praises as ‘properliche’ and ‘hu ze schulen siggen’ (42/30-32). *UGA* thus functions as a devotion that helps to enact the teachings of *Ancrene Wisse*.

These verbal echoes between *Ancrene Wisse* and *UGA* additionally complement the model of *variance* referenced at the beginning of this chapter, exemplifying Cerquiglini’s view of medieval literary culture as defined by ‘an aesthetic of return’. The shared words and imagery across the two texts facilitate a concatenative reading practice eloquently described by Anne Savage as ‘posit[ing] not simply an affective reading, but, over time, a distillation of affect, drop by drop, to be collected in the soul over a lifetime’.<sup>71</sup> These connections contradict Cole’s interpretation of Nero’s

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<sup>71</sup> Anne Savage, ‘The Wooing Group: Pain, Pleasure and the Anchoritic Body’, in *Milieu and Context*, pp. 165-177 (pp. 165-166).

‘integrity’ as ‘cumulative’ dependent on a linear reading of its texts.<sup>72</sup> While the manuscript certainly ‘exhibits a distinct textual integrity [and] a coherence underlies its compilation ... as a unified enterprise rather than a set of unrelated and unstructured items’, the connections between its texts establish a coherence that is not dependent on consistently reading them in a specific order.<sup>73</sup>

### *The Dividing Wall of Sin*

On other occasions, differences in the punctuation of Nero’s *UGA* influence the delivery and the significance of certain passages. One example of this *variance* is a passage that was briefly discussed in Chapter 4, in which the speaker laments her separation from Christ by a wall of sins, following a series of rhetorical questions through which she laments being unable to touch Christ and to despise the temptations of the flesh:

#### **Lambeth**

A swete iesu hwi wið earmes of luue ne cluppe ich þe swa faste. þ na þing ne þeonne ne maze breide min heorte. hwi ne cusse ich þe sweteliche ine gaste wið swote munegunge. of þine god deden. hwi nis me bitter al þ mi flehs likeð. hwi nis me unwurþ elc wurþliche þing. azein þe muchel delit of þi swetnesse. hwi ne fele ich þe i mi breostes swo swote ase þu art. hwi art tu me swo fremede. hwi ne con ich woze þe wiþ swete luue. uor alle þinge swetest. alre þinge leofluket. 7 luue wurðest. wei. wei. þe bitternesse of alle mine sunnen attri is þe lettunge. mine sunnen beoð wal bi tweonen me 7 þe. Mine sunnen werned me al þis swotnesse. Mine sunnen habbeð grimliche iwreþed me. 7 iuied me toward þe luueliche louerd. 7 þ is lute wonder. for swa ich ham wið hore horie fenliche ifuled. þ ich ne mei ne ne dear cume lufsum god i þie ehside. A iesu þin aore (64-80)

#### **Nero**

A swete iesu. hwi mid ermes of luue ne cluppe ich þe so feste. þet no þing þeonne ne muwe breiden mine heorte? hwi ne cusse ich þe sweteliche ine goste. wið swete munegunge of þine goddede? hwi nis me bitter. al þ mi flesch likeð.

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<sup>72</sup> Cole, p. 87.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*

hwi nis me unwurð euerich worldich þing azein þe muchele delit of þine swetnesse? hwi ne iuele ich þe imine breoste so swete ase þu ert? hwi ertu me so freomedē? hwi ne con ich wowen þe. wið swete luue words alre þinge sweetest. 7 alre þinge leoflucet 7 luue wurðest? wei wei. þe bitternesse of alle mine attri sunnen is þe lettunge. Mine sunnen beoð wal bi tweonen me. 7 þe. Mine sunnen werneð me : al þis swotnesse. Mine sunnen habbeð grimliche iwursed me. 7 iuied me toward þe luueliche louerd? 7 þ is lutel wunder. forso ich ham wið hore horie fenliche ifuled : þ ich ne mei. ne ne der lufsum Godd : cumen iþine eihsidē. a : iesu þin ore. (77-96)

This passage contains some of the most significant differences between the punctuation of Nero and Lambeth, as Nero contains a larger number of and more varied punctuation marks. It begins with the speaker asking why she cannot touch Christ or abstain entirely from sin. Nero's use of *punctus interrogatiui* gives the prayer a heightened sense of dramatic urgency through drawing attention to its quick succession of rhetorical questions. Rather than the regretful and introspective tone that could be applied to the passages in Lambeth by the equiparative *punctus*, the Nero text directly addresses Christ with an impassioned plea, emphasizing that this section is not a monologue but rather an unanswered dialogue. The lack of rhetorical questions in the section when the speaker turns inwards to reflect on her sinfulness heightens the contrast between this interrogative and soul-searching section and the shameful realization of her own sinfulness that follows it ('wei wei. þe bitternesse of alle mine attri sunnen is þe lettunge.'). Other punctuation marks present only in Nero further shape the delivery of the prayer, with some phrases containing *punctus* to specify a pause halfway through. These changes in the emotional fervor that the prayer seeks to inspire through its performance create a more compelling and immersive devotional practice through its use of dramatic contrast.

The rhetorical questions specified in Nero's punctuation complement another of Marbod's rhetorical techniques: 'reasoning' (*ratiocinatio*).<sup>74</sup> The examples of reasoning in *De Ornamentis Verborum* are composed of rhetorical questions and responses, enacting the impression of self-interrogation and scrutiny (Fig 5.7):

The greedy man seeks riches. What for? For when he meets pleasure.  
He is afraid to touch his earnings. Why? So that the hoard does not diminish.<sup>75</sup>

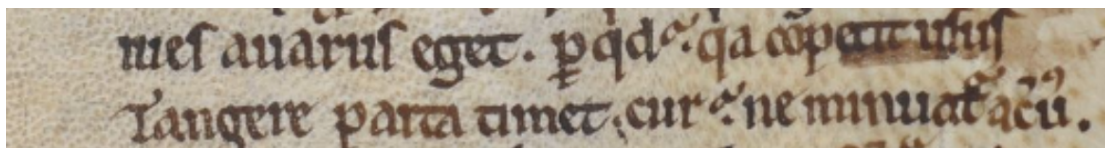


Fig 5.7: Add MS 24199 demonstrates the use of *punctus interrogativi* to phrase the technique of *racionatio* on f. 61r. Photo © The British Library.

The questions of *UGA* are answered by the speaker's acknowledgement of her own sins, the punctuation of which in Nero is considerably different to that of Lambeth. Nero divides each statement beginning 'mine sunnen' in half with a punctuation mark, considerably altering its delivery:

#### Lambeth

mine sunnen beoþ wal bi tweone me 7 þe. Mine sunnen werneþ me al þis swotnesse. Mine sunnen habbeþ grimliche iwreþed me. 7 iueed me towart te luueliche loured. 7 þ is lutel wunder.

#### Nero

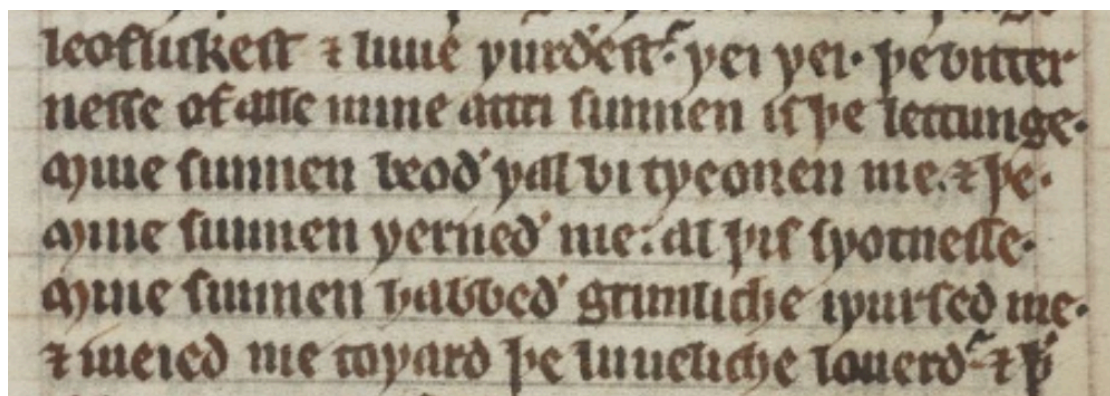
Mine sunnen beoð wal bi tweonen me. 7 þe. Mine sunnen werneð me : al þis swotnesse. Mine sunnen habbeð grimliche iwursed me. 7 iueied me toward þe luueliche louerd : 7 þ is lutel wunder.

The different punctuation of these passages exemplifies Nero's use of cleft sentences to create a literary structure that increases the focus on particular constituents of a

<sup>74</sup> 'Ratiocinatio est, per quam ipsi a nobis rationem poscimus, quare quidque dicamus, et crebro nosmet a nobis petimus uniuscuiusque propositionis explanationem.'

<sup>75</sup> 'Dives avarus eget. Per quid? Quia competit usus, /Tangere parta timet. Cur? Ne minuatur acervus.'

phrase.<sup>76</sup> In addition to the *punctus* literally dividing the speaker and Christ in the first phrase discussed in the previous chapter, the *punctus elevatus* in the second conveys a rising intonation that emphasizes the sweetness that her sins are depriving her of. A similar effect is achieved by the additional *punctus* in ‘Mine sunnen habbeð grimliche iwursed me. 7 iueied me’, while in the phrase ‘ich ne mei. ne ne der lufsum Godd’, it highlights the consequence of sin as separation from God by emphasizing the double negative. Likewise, the *punctus elevatus* before ‘þ is lutel wunder’ again manipulates the cadence of the prayer to emphasise this phrase, more emphatically articulating the speaker’s acknowledgment of her own sinfulness. The prayer’s *mise-en-page* in Nero, perhaps deliberately, complements the tripartite anaphora of ‘Mine sunnen’ by spacing the text so that each phrase occupies its own line; supporting evidence for this interpretation is the identical spacing of each repetition of ‘mine sunnen’ on successive lines (Fig 5.8).



**Fig 5.8:** Rhetorical *mise-en-page* in Nero’s UGA, f. 125r. The identical spacing of ‘mine sunnen’ on successive lines visually indicates the rhetorical structure of the prayer. Photo © The British Library.

<sup>76</sup> A cleft sentence is a complex sentence (consisting of one independent and at least one subordinate clause) whose meaning could be expressed in equivalent terms in a simple sentence (one independent clause). By using an unusual syntactic structure, cleft sentences rhetorically emphasise a particular constituent, e.g. “I love money” vs. “It’s money that I love”.

This passage culminates in the speaker emotionally petitioning for mercy, with narrative space for her affective response indicated by an interjection. The isolation of the address to Christ at ‘a : iesu þin ore.’ in Nero, achieved by adding a *punctus* at the end (Lambeth has none), modulates the pace of reading, placing more weight on the plea for mercy with the insertion of the narrative pause after the interjection. Nero’s *punctus elevatus* separates the interjection from the surrounding text, rendering it more emotionally charged as a result. The separation of this clause could also recall the petition in the prayers of Part I, beginning ‘Swete Iesu þin ore. ...’ (11/27), which similarly asks for Christ to ‘hel mine blodi soule of alle þe wunden [of sin]’ (11/29). Two other *punctus elevati* present only in Nero emphasise the content of the subsequent clause at ‘Mine sunnen werneð me : al þis swotnesse’ and ‘7 iueied me toward þe luueliche louerd : 7 þ is lutel wunder’.

These last two examples are instances of *variance* in punctuation where Nero has *punctus elevati* in places where Lambeth either has a *punctus* or no mark at all. The resulting variations in cadence fulfil two complementary functions: they indicate relationships between independent and subordinate clauses, showing which concepts in the passage belong together, and draw attention to specific phrases that the metre emphasizes. They frequently occur in phrases that juxtapose two contrasting concepts, such as heaven and earth or the flesh and the spirit. In this way, Nero’s text more clearly enacts the literary device that Marbod calls *contentio*, ‘when a speech is composed of opposing ideas’.<sup>77</sup> For example, in the phrase, ‘ase þu al hauest licamliche iwend me from þe worlde : wend me ec heortliche’ (N *UGA* 21-23), the *punctus elevatus* and rhyme of ‘licamliche’ and ‘heortliche’ emphasise the two concepts being contrasted,

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<sup>77</sup> ‘Contentio est, cum ex contrariis rebus oratio conficitur’.

while the repetition of the verb ‘wend’ articulates the speaker’s desire that her mental enclosure from the world reflect her physical enclosure.

This use of punctuation to emphasise *contentio* is also used throughout Nero’s text of *Ancrene Wisse*. A similarly phrased and rhymed contrast between ‘eorðlich’ and ‘heouenlich’ occurs in Part VII, where the author directs anchorites to ‘cheose nu euerichon of eorðlich elne. 7 of heouenlich : to hweðer heo wule holden.’ (185/29-30). As in *UGA*, *contentio* is used to dichotomise heaven and earth, separated by *punctus*, in order to highlight the need to choose between them. The *punctus elevatus* after ‘heouenlich’ again manipulates the rhythm of the phrase to emphasise the dichotomy between the two joys—that someone can only have one or the other, not both. While this example of complementary language and *ductus* between *Ancrene Wisse* and its accompanying prayers is perhaps trivial by itself, the frequency of parallels like these produces a cumulative effect that strengthens the association between the treatise and these devotions. Nero is the only one of its contemporary *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts to punctuate this phrase in this manner. Cleopatra’s contains no punctuation marks, while Corpus uses only *punctus*:

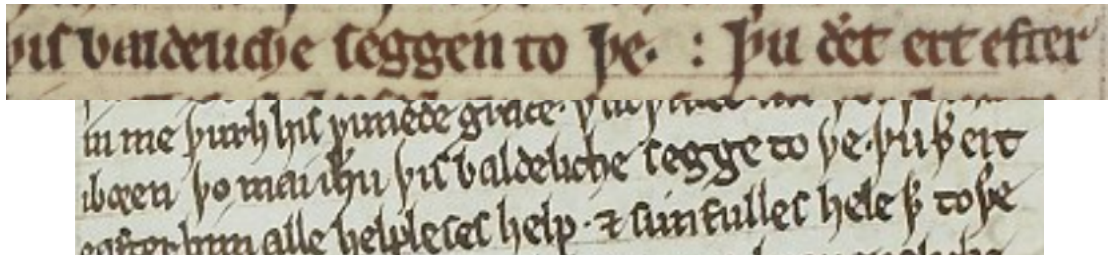
**Cleopatra:** Cheose nu euch an of eorðlich elne 7 heouenliche to hweðer ha wule halden (298, f. 189v/6-8)

**Corpus:** Cheose nu euchan of þes twa. eorðlich elne 7 heouenlich. to hweðer ha wule halden. (f. 110r)

Another example of how variations in punctuation can affect the rhetorical shape and resonance of prayer occurs towards the end of *UGA*, when the speaker addresses Mary for the first time. In the Nero text, the shift in focus from Christ to Mary is indicated by a colon that is spaced apart from the surrounding words, presenting a visual indication of the change in direction not present in Lambeth (Fig 5.8). Furthermore, the Nero

passage includes numerous *punctus elevati*, which all occur in places where Lambeth has no punctuation mark at all:

help me englene cwene of heouene : heouenliche leafdi. seinte marie. Moder 7  
 meiden deorewurðe wimmon. for to saluen sunfule : iesu crist bi com þi sune.  
 7 for ure sake þu were imaked meiden : godes moder. Nere þu nout ðer þu ert.  
 eadi ouer alle : 3if sunfule neren. for þi owe sunfule. for to clepien to þe  
 baldeliche : for hwam þu hauest þin eadinesse. (N *UGA* 128-137)



**Fig 5.8:** A clear indication of change in speaker marked in Nero's *UGA* (f. 125v, top), but not in Lambeth's (f. 66v, bottom). This is another example of punctuation being used to visually indicate the narrative structure of the prayer. Photos © The British Library and Lambeth Palace Library.

Here, Nero's *punctus elevati* emphasise important concepts in the narrative by placing them in rhetorically stressed positions. The first *punctus elevatus* provides a narrative shape to the speaker's address to Mary, separating the petition for mercy from her honorific titles with a pause that indicates Mary's sanctity by giving more weight to the repetition of 'heouene' and 'heouenliche' that it separates. Similarly, the subordinate clauses that follow the subsequent *punctus elevati* articulate concepts that the speaker is expected to pay particular attention to or reflect upon: Christ becoming human 'for to saluen sunfule', the paradox of Mary's dual nature as 'meiden' and 'godes moder', and the important conditional qualification that Mary would not have her position of blessed authority '3if sunfule neren'. The additional *punctus* in the Nero text (before 'seinte marie' and 'eadi ouer alle') also separate Mary's divine attributes in a similar manner to the address to Christ that opens the prayer, rhetorically stressing them to underline their significance. The pauses offer an opportunity for reflecting on the superlative mercy of Mary, in her role as heavenly mediator for repentant sinners,

increasing her emotional investment in their performance of the prayer. The fact that the Nero text contains significantly more punctuation marks than the Lambeth text from the beginning of the address to Mary (whereas the density of marks is roughly similar up to this point, and it is the *range* of marks used that is the significant variation between the texts) could also reflect the centrality of Marian devotion to anchoritic spirituality. By adding more punctuation marks to this passage, Nero demands a meditative and ruminative reading practice, offering the reader the opportunity to pause and reflect on the divine attributes of Mary, as well as that of Christ.

This comparison of two contemporary versions of *UGA* demonstrates the role that punctuation can play in shaping the articulation of a prayer and, as a result, its experiential effects. The ways in which the punctuation of the Nero text emphasizes verbal and thematic correspondences between passages of the prayer and *Ancrene Wisse* were also highlighted, illustrating the relationship between the manuscript's works. The next section moves on to compare the *variance* of punctuation in *OSM*, the only other prayer in Nero with a contemporary parallel text. While the above discussion was primarily concerned with questions of literary interpretation, the *variance* of *OSM* suggests how a text's punctuation can indicate its expected function; like *UGA*, the punctuation of the Nero version of the prayer also influences its performer's affective response.

### ***De oreisun of Seinte Marie***

In contrast to the texts of *UGA*, whose placement and number of punctuation marks generally correspond, the punctuation of the Nero and Royal texts of *OSM* significantly differs. While both texts use the *punctus* in the majority of cases, Nero contains nearly double the amount of marks as Royal and incorporates additional *punctus elevati* at

specific points in the text. Comparing the two prayers illustrates how narrative pauses can indicate not only the key points of a particular phrase, but also suggest a prayer's performance methods and function, as well as shape the significance of the text for its performer.

*OSM* is a penitential prayer directed to the Virgin Mary, in which the speaker confesses his or her sins and prays for her intercession. Its form corresponds with that of the forms of confession discussed in Chapter 2: much like the *Confessio pro peccatis ad deum*, it comprises a list of alliteratively and thematically linked sins that the speaker is to recite and reflect on.<sup>78</sup> In the Nero version, the sins, like those in the Lambeth Psalter, are consistently separated by *punctus*, indicating the importance of these narrative pauses to the prayer's performance. The use of *OSM* as a form of confession is further suggested by its correspondences with Part V of *Ancrene Wisse*. A successful confession is one in which 'mon schal wreien him suluen' (136/34); in *OSM*, the list of confessions begins with the affirmative statement, 'ich icnowe me gulti. 7 crie þe leafdi merci' (N *OSM* 17-18, R *OSM* 11-12), foregrounding the prayer as a means for self-scrutiny. This paragraph in *Ancrene Wisse* discussing self-accusatory confession includes references to Adam's sin and the devil, paralleling the opening lines of *OSM*. Part V's instructions that confession be complete (141/29) and plain (142/33) also complement the style of *OSM*, which sets out a straightforward list of sins encompassing the mind, the heart, and all five senses. Another more subtle connection between Part V and *OSM* is the pronouns used in the prayer, which are gender-neutral, aligning with *Ancrene Wisse*'s statement that the section on confession 'limpeð to alle men i liche' (155/10). While the Nero manuscript was likely compiled for enclosed

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<sup>78</sup> Although features of form and punctuation align *OSM* with contemporary forms of confession, Cornett does not list the prayer or its manuscripts in his study of the genre.

women, the potential use of the prayer in other contexts is suggested by its inclusion in Royal.

In addition to its connections with *Ancrene Wisse*, *OSM*, like *UGA*, includes some of the rhetorical techniques set out in *De Ornamentis Verborum*. It is the only prayer of the *Wooing Group* that has a known source: as an adaptation of the *Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam*, it evidences a direct connection between the English prayers and Marbod's devotional verse. While *OSM* is often described as a 'paraphrase' or 'free' translation of the Latin text, a comparative reading of the two prayers reveals an attempt by the English scribes to preserve the literary devices and imagery of Marbod's verse, while punctuating it in a manner that facilitates ruminative reading and associates it with forms of confession. While locating a manuscript containing a contemporary Latin text of the *Oratio* was not possible, comparisons can still be made between the structure and rhetoric of the two works, as well as with *De Ornamentis Verborum*.<sup>79</sup>

The principal variation in the punctuation of *OSM* is the quantity of punctuation marks, with Nero containing roughly twice as many as Royal. In most cases, Nero has an additional *punctus* at points where Royal has no punctuation at all. The narrative pauses prescribed in its version of the prayer serve two main functions: isolating images or concepts within phrases in order to emphasise them and modulating the pace of reading to ensure that the confession is read with an appropriate degree of self-reflection. The opening lines of the prayer (N *OSM* 1-7, R *OSM* 1-5) contain several examples of the first effect of these narrative pauses. The prayer begins by greeting Mary in her role as the mother of God, expressing humanity's debt to her for giving birth to the saviour of the sinful. This greeting incorporates many of the rhetorical

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<sup>79</sup> Due to COVID-19, I had limited access to research materials and manuscript catalogues. While I did find manuscripts containing some of Marbod's verses, none contained the *Oratio*. Thompson prints his text of the prayer directly from the *Patrologia Latina*.

devices associated with the *salutatio*, the opening address of a letter in medieval epistolary style.<sup>80</sup> Treatises on the *ars dictamini* (letter-writing) proliferated during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whose detailed instructions for composing the *salutatio* are incorporated into this part of *OSM*. One of the most influential examples, the late eleventh-century *Dictaminum Rarii*, emphasised the importance of the *salutatio* to the successful reception of a letter.<sup>81</sup> Essential to the *salutatio* is not only an awareness of the person receiving a letter and its intended function, but the use of rhetoric to ‘seize their goodwill’ (*captatio benevolentiae*), which might be achieved by praising the recipient or elevating them above the sender.<sup>82</sup> In Nero’s text of *OSM*, *punctus* are placed after each descriptive epithet applied to Mary or Christ in order to emphasise their delivery:

Swete lefdi seinte marie meiden ouer alle meidnes. þ bere ðet blisfule bern. þet aredde al moncun up. þet was adun afallen. ðet þuruh adames sunne. 7 ðet þuruh his holi passiuw werp þenne deuouel adun. 7 heriede helle. (N *OSM* 1-6)

In this example, *captatio benevolentiae* is achieved through listing Mary and Christ’s superlative qualities in their own clauses: she is ‘meiden **ouer alle** meidnes’, while Christ’s achievement of salvation is emphasised by *punctus* juxtaposing the contrast between ‘aredde al moncun **up**. þet was **adun** afallen’. In the corresponding sections of Royal, there are only two *punctus*, after ‘bern’ and ‘sunnen’. Nero’s additional *punctus* thus emphasise the narrative purpose of this section of the prayer. Its additional punctuation also highlights the rhyme of ‘adun/passiuw/sunne’, paralleling the internal

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<sup>80</sup> *Salutatio* is discussed by Carol Lanham, *Salutatio Formulas in Latin Letters to 1200: Syntax, Style, and Theory* (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1975).

<sup>81</sup> M. Iguanez, *Alberici Casinensis Flores Rhetorici* (Rome, 1938).

<sup>82</sup> On *captatio benevolentiae* and its development into an established trope of medieval letter-writing, see James Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (London: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 205-206.

rhyme used in Marbod's Latin verse. It also articulates the succession of short clauses beginning with 'ðet' in the middle of the passage by establishing a consistent rhythm; the punctuation thus emphasises the prayer's use of what Marbod calls 'similar cadence' (*similiter cadens*). The transition to the next stage of the *salutatio*, the introduction of the speaker, is marked in Nero by a *punctus elevatus* that emphasizes the first occurrence of the textual I and the intention for performing the prayer: 'ich on sori sun-fule þing : bidde þine ore' (N *OSM* 6-7). This clause parallels the second plea for Mary's intercession, whose cadence similarly emphasizes the content of the subordinate clause: 'help me milzfule meiden : in alle mine neoden' (N *OSM* 9-10).

Another section of *OSM* in which Nero contains a significantly larger amount of *punctus* is the beginning of the list of sins, as part of the confession, 'ich habbe i-maked ʒetes of alle mine fif wittes' (N *OSM* 18-33, R *OSM* 12-22). While the phrases punctuated in Royal are of varying lengths, Nero's more regular punctuation consistently breaks the passage down into shorter clauses that slow the pace of reading, compelling the speaker to acknowledge each sin that she lists. For example, Nero has a *punctus* dividing the phrase 'ich habbe i-maked ʒetes of alle mine fif wittes. to sun-fule unþeawes', which is not present in Royal. This pause draws the speaker's emphasis both to the 'fif wittes', whose sinful misuse is subsequently articulated, and to the admission of 'sun-fule unþeawes', rhetorically linking the two concepts in a way not achieved in the Royal text. The regular insertion of *punctus* between listed sins compels the speaker to pause as she reads them, inviting her to meditate on the sin enumerated and recall if she is truly guilty of it. Innes-Parker suggests that *OSM* might have been performed in preparation for sacramental confession because 'each sin is set apart, demanding that the reader ponder her own participation in that vice in its various

forms'.<sup>83</sup> The text's punctuation supports her interpretation of its potential function and the contexts in which it may have been performed, a form of evidence that her reading does not account for. Nero's punctuation recalls those of the forms of confession discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, which also separated each sin with *punctus* but linked them with alliteration.

The next passage discussed in *OSM* is one in which Nero's inclusion of *punctus elevati* significantly alters its articulation and conveys the rhetorical devices used in the prayer. The previous discussion of *UGA* indicated points in the text where the Nero version used *punctus elevati* to metrically emphasise phrases that juxtapose contrasting elements, reflecting the use of *contentio* in *De Ornamentis Verborum*. In this part of *OSM*, a similar practice is used, indicating a consistency in the punctuation of the Nero prayers that suggests its perceived importance to the shape of the text:

**Royal**

spac to uuel. 7 slaw to god.  
zemeles 7 unlusti. sum time to  
pleiful to drupi oderhwiles.

**Nero**

to vel : spac. 7 slow : to god.  
zemelais : 7 unlusti. sumehwile  
to pleiful : to drupi oðer hwiles.

The *punctus elevati* in Nero create variations in cadence that separate the clauses into rhythmically balanced but ideologically antithetical pairs, juxtaposing the speaker's readiness to follow the easier path of sin as opposed to the more challenging path of godliness. The rhythmic stress falling on the second item in each phrase ('spac', 'god', 'unlusti', 'drupi') emphasizes that these contrasts are a consequence of sin, and therefore incongruous with each other. The punctuation also emphasizes the envelope

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<sup>83</sup> Innes-Parker, p. 28.

patterns that structure the paired phrases, further emphasizing their contrast: ‘to vel’/’to god’ and ‘sumehwile’/’oðer hwiles’.

After this phrase, the speaker then summarises their predicament to Mary: they are wounded in body and in spirit by sin, as they have intended to sin even if they never acted on it. Again, Nero’s punctuation, by using additional *punctus* and *punctus elevati*, emphasizes the contrast between the body and the soul and the speaker’s confession of his or her intentions to sin:

**Royal**

ich am ladliche ihurt ilicome ant isawle wið allescunes pinen of sunnen sor þah  
þe werc nere in þe bodi þe wil wes in þe heorte

**Nero**

ich am lodliche ihurt ine licame. 7 ine soule ⁊ wið alles cunes sunnen. for þauh  
þet werc nere i þe bodie ⁊ þe wil was in þe  
heorte.

Nero’s punctuation rhetorically shapes the passage to highlight moments for pausing and reflection, in addition to creating syntactical structures that place rhythmical stress on important constituents in the phrase. The *punctus* between ‘licame’ and ‘soule’ emphasises that the fleshly wounds of sin belong to a distinct category from the spiritual through rhetorical separation in the narrative pause. The phrases separated by *punctus* are also alliterative units, allowing the punctuation to articulate the literary devices present in the passage. Nero’s *punctus elevati* place rhetorical stress on the dependent clauses that complete each phrase, highlighting their important subject matter: the variety and number of sins that have wounded the speaker, and the fact that the intent of sin originates in the heart (even if an act is not physically committed). The placement of the second *punctus elevatus* also recreates the ‘body-soul’ division generated by the addition of the first *punctus*. The lack of punctuation marks in Royal does not emphasise this ‘cause-and-effect’ relationship between wounds and sin and the emphasis on sinful intent rather than sinful action; the Nero punctuation guides its reader

through the words to the conclusions that she is expected to draw from them.

This use of *punctus elevati* to juxtapose contrasting narrative elements in Nero achieves a similar effect to the use of rhyme in the Latin *OSM*. In the corresponding section of the Latin text (21-25), the contrasted concepts are linked by rhyme, as in:

In corpore vel **anima** commisi cuncta **scelera**,  
Nam corpus quod **non potuit**, mens pertrare **voluit**.<sup>84</sup>

In *OSM*, these relationships are indicated alliteratively: ‘soule/sunnen’ and ‘werc/wil’. In the Nero text, the punctuation separates the two alliteratively connected concepts using *punctus elevati*, prescribing a rising intonation that metrically stresses the second half of each phrase. As in the Latin prayer, the two ‘halves’ of a phrase thus rhetorically and conceptually fulfil each other.

## Conclusion

As the final chapter in this study, Chapter 5 invites us to investigate prayer as performance in a dramatic as well as a literal sense, considering how variations in the punctuation of two texts of the same prayer can prescribe different interpretative and performative responses. While the readings of the three manuscripts are generally similar, their punctuation shows a considerable amount of variation: the Nero text contains more punctuation marks than either Royal or Lambeth, and also uses a wider repertory of symbols. The analysis of these prayers’ punctuation reflects contemporary perceptions of their genre and function, as well as the reading practice that they demand, aligning *UGA* with ruminative meditations and *OSM* with penitential forms of confession.

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<sup>84</sup> ‘I committed sins both in body and in soul/For whatever the body could not do, the mind wanted to carry out’.

This comparison has additionally illustrated research areas that could benefit from more systematic study. For example, it demonstrated the consistency of the punctuation throughout the Nero manuscript, showing numerous examples where the punctuation of the Nero Prayers and *Ancrene Wisse* correspond even though they were copied by different scribes. This suggests that their punctuation system was standardized to some degree in order to achieve this internal consistency across all the works in the codex, evidencing what is possibly one of the earliest house styles for manuscript punctuation in English texts. Similarly, the notable difference in the punctuation of contemporary versions of the same prayer could indicate that manuscript punctuation is a reflection of an individual scribe and his practice, rather than that of the exemplar he copied, thus allowing punctuation to evidence the articulation or reading practice associated with a given text within one textual community. The connections between the Nero Prayers and the Latin works of Marbod of Rennes emphasise the value in interpreting these texts apart from *De Wohunge of ure Lauerd*, allowing them to stand as literary achievements in their own right.

## Conclusion

This thesis has offered new insights into the practice and effects of non-liturgical prayer, a relatively well-studied area of research, by focusing on sources produced in a period traditionally neglected by scholars but in which there is growing academic interest. It has done so by presenting critical readings of devotional texts that incorporate the often overlooked evidence of the paratexts that presented them to contemporary recipients of their manuscripts. The integration of features often absent from or inexacty reproduced in standard critical editions, such as rubrics, *mise-en-page*, and punctuation, into its analysis highlighted the ways in which the manuscript page influences the reception and realisation of its contents. This codicological analysis additionally illustrated the ways in which producers and consumers of devotional books engaged with their paratexts as part of the creative process, as evidenced in the variation of paratexts between contemporary manuscripts of the same work whose readings generally correspond, or the annotations contributed by later recipients to an earlier text. Chapters 3 and 4 developed this interpretative approach by introducing the concept of extra-textual paratexts, defined as aspects external to the manuscript that fulfil a similar function in directing the performance and experience of prayer. This category of paratext includes considerations such as the layout and furnishing of devotional space and the written instructions intended to direct the realisation of the prayers included within treatises of spiritual guidance. The consistent connection of the function of devotional paratexts with the performance of prayer, in setting out the contexts, intentions, and methods associated with a particular text, further illustrates that contemporary audiences approached prayer as an activity, contrasting with its modern perception as an exclusively internalised experience.

The main findings of this thesis reflect several primary points of interest that invite us to reconsider the interpretative assumptions conventionally brought to the study of devotional texts and their audiences. The first is the impossibility of differentiating liturgical from non-

liturgical prayer on the basis of content alone, even in devotional books deriving from religious houses. The *libelli precum* featured in Chapter 1 contain sequences of prayers that, despite their liturgical associations, are rubricated or adapted for use in ad hoc devotion. For example, the singular pronouns of the Hours of the Virgin contained in Ælfwine's Prayerbook align the performance of an apparently liturgical sequence with personal, rather than communal, devotion. Chapter 2's close reading of the paratexts of the Lambeth Psalter similarly demonstrated the ways in which its prefaces, *tituli psalmorum*, and *diapsalma* markers facilitate psalmody performed as personal prayer, interrogating the traditional perception of the manuscript as concerned with the academic study of the psalter. These chapters illustrated the diverse range of features that can be labelled as paratextual—from visual cues (coloured ink) to entire texts (prefaces)—and demonstrated that details as seemingly trivial as the placement of a capital letter or the colour in which a *titulus* is copied can significantly influence the reception and realisation of the prayer that they accompany.

Chapters 3 and 4 expanded on the strictly codicological focus of the first two chapters by centring on the literary genre of devotional treatises. It was suggested that the frequent inclusion of devotional texts framed by instructions directing the contexts, methods and intentions associated with their performance in such works invited us to approach them as paratexts to the prayers they contain. The programmes for routine prayer included in the treatises examined in these chapters were shown to complement the performance of ad hoc devotion. Chapter 3's exploration of the intersections between outer and inner in *De Institutione Inclusarum* evidenced the difficulty of straightforwardly differentiating obligatory and personal prayer through analysing the connections between the directions given for routine and ad hoc devotion, a point further supported by the correspondences between the prayers referenced in the treatise and the *Threefold Meditation*, which forms an integral part of it. This reading was supported by codicological analysis of other contemporary manuscripts of the

*Meditation*, in which it is invariably prefaced by treatises of spiritual guidance that include directions on prayer, whether Aelred's or otherwise. The directions regarding the layout and content of an anchoress's altar in *De Institutione Inclusarum* were shown to anticipate those similarly contained in its successor, *Ancrene Wisse*, with both works illustrating the ways in which devotional space could function as a paratext external to, but influential on, prayer. Chapter 4's examination of the instructions framing the prayers of Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* similarly presented them as a paratext to devotional performance, with their direction of extra-textual aspects such as the physical posture and time of day associated with its prayers constructing a *ductus* that guided an anchoress through her daily service. The important role that the body played in making prayer signify was evidenced through comparison with the contemporary devotional manual *De Penitentia*, which reinforces its exegesis of the symbolism of various postures and gestures with illustrations depicting model Christians at prayer. Passages from the subsequent chapters of *Ancrene Wisse* that suggest the use of Part I's prayers in ad hoc devotion were also discussed, further interrogating the conventional division of the Outer and Inner rules in critical readings of the treatise. These conclusions were consolidated in the analysis of Chapter 5, whose comparative close reading of the punctuation of contemporary, but unrelated, texts of two prayers that circulated in early manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* demonstrated the influence that this underappreciated paratextual feature exerts on the performance and experiential effects of devotional texts.

In addition to blurring the boundaries between routine and ad hoc prayer, paratextual analysis demonstrated how manuscripts of devotional texts can offer valuable insights regarding the methods of their performance and the effects that they were intended to elicit. In some cases, these insights are communicated through written statements in a prayer's text or paratexts. For example, the rubric beginning a sequence of devotions to the Cross in Ælfwine's Prayerbook specifies that they should be performed *ante crucifixum*, while the instructions

directing a sequence of prayers to the Cross in *Ancrene Wisse* similarly contextualise their performance: ‘falleð acneon to þe crucifix’ (16, f. 9v/17-18). In both manuscripts, the imaginative focus of these prayers—contemplation of Christ crucified—is supported with a visual stimulus, in this case a literal crucifix. A more significant paratext influencing devotional performance, however, is manuscript punctuation, whose influence on the articulation—and, by extension, tone and emotional resonance—of prayer was reiterated throughout the study. Comparative close readings of manuscript punctuation, particularly that of Chapter 5, demonstrated that reading a prayer text with its original punctuation can suggest how it was performed, and, therefore, the emotional responses that it was intended to elicit. Another similar exercise was advanced in Chapter 2, whose comparison of three penitential prayers composed in a similar literary form demonstrated that the ways in which they were punctuated influenced their reception as well as their performance. As part of this process, the medieval punctuation of these prayers was compared with its modern equivalent, exemplifying how critical editions risk obscuring these aspects of a text in familiarising its punctuation for present audiences.

The third, and perhaps most significant, conclusion illustrated by this study is that some of the typical assumptions conventionally brought to studies of particular works or kinds of text can limit our appreciation of their contemporary reception and use. For example, Chapter 4 demonstrated the likely use of the prayers contained in Part I of *Ancrene Wisse* in ad hoc devotion, interrogating their conventional association with strictly routine, liturgical prayer. Its emphasis on the connections between the Outer and Inner rules of the treatise argued for the generic and thematic unity of a work whose constituent parts are often read separately from each other, contradicting their original reception. Chapter 2’s analysis of the paratexts of the Lambeth Psalter likewise showed that a type of book whose function is traditionally defined as academic, the glossed psalter, lends itself equally to personal, devotional use.

An evaluation of the methods and sources presented in this study reveals that its limitations can form the basis of productive future research into the performance and significance of devotional texts. The period 1050-1250 established in the introduction intended to facilitate the highlighting of works traditionally excluded from studies of affective prayer on account of their date of composition, primarily those that fall between the traditional period boundaries delimiting Old and Middle English. As a consequence, however, it was near impossible to integrate prayers written in French due to the limited number of surviving and accessible pre-1250 manuscripts. A separate study whose period boundaries relate to the date of *composition* of selected works rather than the date of *copying* would reflect the importance of French as a devotional and literary language during this period, in addition to offering a point of departure for investigating the connections between the three languages of Norman England. The codicological focus of this thesis similarly left little room for consideration of theoretical approaches to prayer and its paratexts in medieval sources, with more emphasis being placed on the direct analysis of selected case studies and their texts. The word limits of a DPhil thesis similarly meant that, in order to cover a wide range of literary and manuscript genres, the close reading of each chapter focused on only one to two primary examples, a restriction that prevented the inclusion of other, equally significant and valuable sources. The decision to exclude more well-studied authors or works of devotional literature, such as Anselm, John of Fécamp, and *De Wohunge of ure Lauerd*, in favour of those that have not received significant critical attention likewise reflects these limitations; a longer study that is able to integrate analyses of these highly significant sources would inevitably present a more comprehensive picture of the texts and themes of personal devotion.

The most straightforward expansion of this study's findings to future research conducted on a larger scale is, therefore, achieved by extending the methods and objectives of its analysis of case studies to encompass a greater number of sources. For example, Chapter

l's analysis of the role of rubrics in directing the performance and meaning of prayer texts could be extended to other pre-Conquest prayer-books containing equally significant paratextual evidence. Two of these were introduced in Chapter 1 as supplementary sources to the principal manuscripts: London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A.iii and Arundel MS 155. While these books, like the *libelli precum* featured in the chapter, contain liturgical and non-liturgical prayers interspersed with other types of text and accompanied by descriptive rubrics and a noteworthy *mise-en-page*, they were not selected as case studies because neither has been edited in full. In printing only the prayers or English texts of these books excised from their manuscript context, the present editions of their devotions cannot fully convey the ways in which they were originally received. Producing full editions of these devotional books that incorporate their original paratexts would enhance our knowledge of the devotional culture and literature of pre-Conquest England. A similar approach can be adopted to the emphasis placed in manuscript punctuation. While it would be unthinkable to read a modern work with altered punctuation, manuscript punctuation is often modernised in editions of medieval works and treated as a non-integral part of the text. Chapter 5's work on the punctuation of two of the so-called *Wooing Group* prayers establishes the foundations for productive future research on the later devotional compilation *A Talkyng of þe Loue of God*, whose complex system of punctuation has been little explored despite its stated intention of enhancing affective response.<sup>1</sup> Its preface presents one of the most explicit surviving medieval commentaries on the role of punctuation in devotional works, explaining that it is easier to 'fynde lykyng' in a text 'zif hit beo riht poynted'.<sup>2</sup> Despite the potential of *A Talkyng* to inform us about the

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<sup>1</sup> Academic consensus is divided on the date of composition of *A Talkyng*. While its two surviving manuscripts date to the first half of the fourteenth century, it could have been composed as early as the third quarter of the thirteenth, as the latest work it incorporates is *Pe Wohunge of ure Lauerd*. For a recent assessment of the date of *A Talkyng*, see Annie Sutherland, 'A Talkyng of The Loue of God: The Art of Compilation and the Compiled Self', in *Late Medieval Devotional Compilations in England*, ed. by Marleen Cré, Diana Denissen, and Denis Renevey (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), pp. 109-130.

<sup>2</sup> *A Talkyng of Þe Loue of God*, ed. by M. Salvina Westra (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1950).

contributions of medieval punctuation to devotional performance, the treatise has been little studied. Its reference to ‘cadence’, for example, has been primarily cited in investigations of *A Talkyng’s* Latin sources or affiliations, although its punctuation connects this ‘cadence’ with affective response.<sup>3</sup> While *A Talkyng’s* connections with two earlier thirteenth-century prayers, *On wel swuðe ureisun of God Almihti* and *Pe Wohunge of ure Lauerd*, are widely recognised, their manuscripts’ use of punctuation to facilitate their successful realisation is not. A comparative reading of the punctuation of the sections of *A Talkyng* derived from these prayers alongside their original texts would be an ideal starting point for analysing how the punctuation of devotional texts influences reader-response.

It seemed fitting to take the final words of this thesis from the preface to *A Talkyng of Pe Loue of God*, which articulates the importance of integrating both text and paratext into close readings of devotional works, in the words of a contemporary recipient:

þis tretys. Is a talkyng of þe loue of God. And is mad for to sturen. hem þat hit reden : to louen him þe more. And to fynde lykyng. and tast in his loue. Hit falleþ for to reden hit. esyliche and softe. So as men may mest in Innward felyng. and deplich þenkyng. sauor fynden. ... Men schal fynden lihtliche þis tretys in Cadence. After þe beginning. zif hit beo riht poynted. & Rymed in sum stude. To beo more louesum. to hem þat hit reden. God ziue us grace. so for to rede : þat we mowen haue heuene to ure Mede. Amen.

By beginning with an explanation of why the text is presented as it is and the correct way to use it, *A Talkyng* highlights the importance of understanding the function and significance of medieval paratexts in order to fully appreciate the narratives that they accompany. In so doing, we might find a new or renewed appreciation for works that are often passed over in favour of more well-known sources, such as the other prayers in the *Wooing Group* or Part I of *Ancrene*

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<sup>3</sup> Margery Morgan, ‘A Treatise in Cadence’, *Modern Language Review* 47.2 (1952), pp. 156-164, and Michael Sargent, ‘What Kind of Writing is *A Talkyng of Pe Loue of God?*’, in *The Milieu and Context of the Wooing Group*, ed. by Susannah Chewning (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), pp. 178-193.

*Wisse*, which might thus become as 'louesum' to us as those with which we are already familiar.

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- London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D.xxvi + xxvii\*
- London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A.xvii\*
- London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E.xviii\*
- London, British Library, Harley MS 2904\*
- London, British Library, Royal MS A.xxvii
- London, British Library, Royal MS 2.A.xx\*
- London, British Library, Royal MS 8 D.iii

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<sup>1</sup> Asterisked manuscripts are those that are free to view online courtesy of the institutions to which they belong.

London, British Library, Sloane MS 3013\*  
 London, Lambeth Palace, MS 427\*  
 London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 7  
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