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The Blood Motifs of the Fourteenth Century Yorkshire Mystics

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THE BLOOD MOTIFS OF THE FOURTEENTH
CENTURY YORKSHIRE MYSTICS

by
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LIFE

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Mysticism

By the time of the flourishing of the Yorkshire mystics in the fourteenth century, mysticism was an aged if not precisely delineated expression of man's faith in his ability to transcend his narrowly defined universe of physical phenomena. However, despite man's long established confidence in his power to approach the Godhead, there exists little unanimity in mysticism's referent. A Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey, the anonymous author of *Mediaeval Mystical Tradition* and *St. John of the Cross*, observes:

*Mysticism is one of the most abused words in all civilized languages, and very many misunderstandings, both in the past and in the present, have been caused by failure to realize that not only do different "schools" use the same words in varying senses, but that even the "classical" meaning varies at different periods.*

At various stages in man's development, the term has been employed to designate many divergent concepts. On occasion, it has been utilized to signify theosophy, Christian science, spiritualism, demonology, occultism, visions, and "other-worldliness, or even mere dreaminess and impracticability in the affairs of life."

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The etymology of the word "mystic" has contributed to the aura of mystery enveloping the movement. For the Greeks, the mystic was "one who has been, or is being, initiated into some esoteric knowledge of Divine things, about which he must keep his mouth shut (ΜΥΕΙΣ); or, possibly, he is one whose eyes are still shut, one who is not yet an ἜΠΟΙΤΗΣ." Manifesting an increased tendency toward introspection, the classic mystic established the conviction that he deliberately closed his eyes to all external considerations, a conviction closely allied with the contemplative basis of medieval mysticism. Professor Baumgardt points out that the Latin mutus and the English "mute" have the same root as the Greek myein; hence, in a negative sense, mysticism seems to define a silent, secret, and seclusive involvement. These qualities are embodied in the secret cults of ancient Greece--those of Zeus, Dionysos, Demeter, and the famous Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries.

More positively, mysticism has its origin in the raw material of all religions--"namely, that dim consciousness of the beyond, which is part of our nature as human beings." It implies, as Miss Underhill notes, "the abolition of individuality; of that hard separateness, that 'I, Me, Mine' which makes of man

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5 W. R. Inge, p. 5.
a finite isolated thing." In its purest form, mysticism is the science of man's union with the Absolute. Whether the mystic is a Greek philosopher, a Father of the Church, or a Yorkshire mystic, his activity is best delineated as a direct personal ascent to God, an ascent implemented by meditation and contemplation.

Plato, "the first formulator of a mystical method," is the author of the stages of mystical movement which provide the basis for those of medieval mysticism. The necessity of the initial stage of purging the soul permeates much of Platonic thought. In order to contemplate the Good and the Beautiful, man must remove the hindrances which are rooted in the body. In the Phaedo, Plato states:

In this present life, I reckon that we make the nearest approach to knowledge when we have the least possible concern or interest in the body, and are not saturated with the bodily nature, but remain pure until the hour when God himself is pleased to release us. And then the foolishness of the body will be cleared away and we shall be pure and hold converse with other pure souls. . . . For no impure thing is allowed to approach the pure.

Clearly, the enjoyment of the Good, for Plato, requires the essential prelude of purging the soul of every taint of imperfection, a purgation that can be effected only by liberating the soul from the restrictions of the senses and the mundane aspects

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of physical existence.

The approaching or the Pure constitutes the second stage or step of mystical ascent, a step described in the *Phaedrus* as a "heavenward pilgrimage"\(^9\) accomplished, according to the *Symposium*, on the wings of contemplation.\(^10\) Continually emphasized in the increasing proximity to the Good, the Beautiful, and the Pure is the intellectual affinity for these concepts which were once known in a preexistent state, concepts now obscured by the veil of life. The greater the success of the Platonist in releasing his conscious self, which is "imprisoned in the body like an oyster in his shell,"\(^11\) the closer he comes to the World of Ideas.

However, Plato never brings man "into full harmony with the contemplative union of the later mystics"--the ultimate unitive stage of medieval mysticism. Divine rapture is as far as Plato progresses. "A clinging in recollection to those things in which God abides, and in beholding which He is what He is"\(^12\) never extends beyond an intellectual contemplation of the Idea of the Good with unclouded vision. For Plato, the Idea of the Good is the object of all knowledge; as a principle of unification, it

\(^9\)Ibid., p. 260.

\(^10\)Ibid., p. 335.

\(^11\)Ibid., p. 254.

\(^12\)J. B. Collins, p. 8.

\(^13\)Plato, p. 253.
transcends all the specific concepts of Beauty, Justice, and Truth. Just as light is the necessary condition of sight, within the Platonic perspective the illumination of the Idea of the Good is essential for any cognizance of the True. 14

The contemplative temperament of the classic mystic is assimilated in modified form by his Christian counterpart. The former pursued only his own perfection; consequently, his contemplation affected merely his intellectual quest for a knowledgeable enrichment of the mind. Christian mysticism, however, evolves from an analysis of the love of God as the end for contemplation. "Hence it is not content to find fruit for the intelligence, but penetrates beyond to the will, that it may there enkindle love."15

"The fons et origo of all Christian mysticism is found in the Johannine writings and in the Epistles of St. Paul."16 St. John continually stresses the concept of divine love which is fundamental to all Christian mystics: "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him" (I John iv.16).17 The doctrine emphasized by St. Paul is that of a mystical identity with Christ: "And I live, now not I: but Christ liveth in me"

14 See The Republic, Book VI, 502-509.

15 Albertus Magnus, On Union with God (St. Louis: St. Louis University Press, 1913), p. 60.

16 J. B. Collins, p. 21.

17 See also I John iv.7-21; II John 5-6.
Although St. Augustine did not author a complete Christianized mystical system, the Bishop of Hippo is, nonetheless, of sufficient import to prompt Professor Baumgardt to discuss the possibility that he merits the epithet "Prince of Mystics."¹⁹

St. Augustine's mystical significance rests on his providing a Christian equivalent of Platonic contemplation and ascent to God, an equivalent that establishes the ever-present Augustinian influence in the Golden Age of Christian mysticism. Joseph Collins develops in detail the Saint's contemplative method replete with primary documentation. In brief, the method involves five steps: the consciousness of an intense, yet ill-defined longing for God; a search for the changeless Truth and immutable Light; a contemplation of the visible objects of nature terminating with the realization that they are without exception subject to change and decay; an introspective analysis of the faculties of one's own soul; and a final discovery of God both in and above the soul. ²⁰

St. Augustine's most significant contribution to the explication of mystical experience is discerned in his famous discourse with his mother prior to her death at Ostia. Space pre-

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¹⁸ See also Rom. vi.11; xiii.14; II Cor. iii.18; iv.10; I Cor. xi.1; Gal. iii.27; Eph. iv.5.

¹⁹ D. Baumgardt, pp. 21-24.

cludes the inclusion of the entire tenth chapter of Book IX of the **Confessions** which defines the mystic's progress through the corporeal world to the "presence" of the Godhead. However, the essence of the quest is succinctly expressed prior to Augustine's elaboration of the procedure:

We then were conversing alone very pleasantly; and, "forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before," we were seeking between ourselves in the presence of Truth, which Thou art, of what nature the eternal life of the saints would be, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man.²¹

Later, Augustine stresses the mystery aspect of the unitive stage of mystical progress; he poetically describes the experience in a manner reminiscent of Dante's "Paradise" as he and St. Monica "leave" the physical world and reach for the spiritual existence:

*We, lifting ourselves with a more ardent affection towards 'the Self-same,' did gradually pass through all corporeal things, and even the heaven itself, whence sun, and moon, and stars shine upon the earth; yea, we soared higher yet by inward musing, and discoursing, and admiring Thy works; and we came to our own minds, and went beyond them, that we might advance as high as that region of unfailing plenty, where Thou feedest Israel for ever with the food of truth, and where life is that Wisdom by whom all these things are made, both which have been, and which are to come; and she is not made, but is as she hath been, and so shall ever be; yea, rather, to 'have been,' and 'to be hereafter,' are not in her, but only 'to be,' seeing she is eternal, for to 'have been' and 'to be hereafter' are not eternal. And while we were thus speaking, and straining after her, we slightly touched her with the whole effort of our hearts; and we*

sighed, and there left beyond 'the first-fruits of the Spirit;' and returned to the noise of our own mouth, where the word uttered has both beginning and end."22

However, as Dom Butler indicates,23 the claim of a unitive step that is consistently and unequivocally made by generations of mystics finds, perhaps, its simplest and most arresting expression in an earlier passage of the Confessions: "And thus, with the flash of a trembling glance, it [the mind] arrived at that which is. And then I saw Thy invisible things understood by the things that are made."24 This quotation illustrates the visionary and symbolic aspects of mysticism.

Despite the obvious importance of St. Augustine to the consolidation of Christian mysticism, the great coryphaeus of the non-pagan mystics is the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, an Alexandrian theologian, whose De Mystica Theologia in the Latin translation of John Scotus Erigena appears to be the only treatise confined exclusively to mystical principles prior to the appearance of the writings of St. Bernard and the Victorines. Although Joseph Collins illustrates Dionysius' lack of originality by cataloguing his dogmatic indebtedness,25 this fifth century

22 Ibid., p. 160.
23 Dom Butler, p. 4.
24 St. Augustine, p. 119 (Book VII, Chapter xvii).
theologian is, nevertheless, the author of Christianity's initial formal system of mystical theology; in fact, Dom Butler designates the Areopagite, the "Father of scientific Mystical Theology." Dionysius' influence extends from the translations of Erigena to Hugh of St. Victor's ten volume Commentary on the Heavenly Hierarchy of the Areopagite.

Chapter I of De Mystica Theologia establishes the three stages of Christian mystical ascent, stages predicted on the previously cited Platonic order:

For not without reason is the blessed Moses bidden first to undergo purification himself and then to separate himself from those who have not undergone it; and after all purification hears the many-voiced trumpets and sees many lights flash forth with pure and diverse-streaming rays, and then stands separate from the multitudes and with the chosen priests presses forward to the topmost pinnacle of the Divine Ascent.

Furthermore, Dionysius explains that the union after the "pressing forward" is not with God but, rather, with the place wherein God dwells.

Since the Creator is invisible, God's incomprehensible presence is demonstrated through the symbolic language of entities subordinate to God. The indispensability of symbols to mystical expression is logical and demands little explication.

26 Dom Butler, p. 6.

By the very nature of mystical experience, the mystic is compelled to communicate the inexpressible by the only means available. The symbol and image, inadequate though they may be in the delineation of the formless consciousness of the "beyond," are, nevertheless, "the flesh and bones of ideas" and "the clothing which the spiritual borrows from the material plane." The symbolic tendency is inherent with the sympathetic intuition by which mysticism strives to solve the "riddle of the universe."

The introductory chapter of *De Mystica Theologia* also develops the non-intellectualism of Christian mysticism, a quality already noted. The mystic, according to Dionysius,

renounces all the apprehensions of his understanding and is enwrapped in that which is wholly intangible and invisible . . . and being through the passive stillness of all his reasoning powers united by his highest faculty to Him that is wholly Unknowable, of whom thus by a rejection of all knowledge he possesses a knowledge that exceeds his understanding.30

This mental state is defined further in Chapter II:

Unto this Darkness which is beyond Light we pray that we may come, and may attain unto vision through the loss of sight and knowledge, and that in ceasing thus to see or to know we may learn to know that which is beyond all perception and understanding (for this emptying of our faculties is true sight and knowledge) . . . .31

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28 W. R. Inge, p. 5.

29 E. Underhill, p. 80.

30 Dionysius the Areopagite, p. 194.

31 Ibid.
De Mystica Theologia partially exemplifies the extent to which Christian mysticism is both a continuation of Platonic mysticism—the stages of mystical ascent—and a departure—the negation of the traditional concept of intellectualism.

The Platonic attraction toward the Good and the Beautiful is a further assimilation into the Dionysian system; De Divinis Nominibus is the source for this instance of classic "borrowing." Again, the usurpation is mitigated by modification.

Yea, and the Divine Yearning is naught else than a Good Yearning towards the Good for the mere sake of the Good. For the Yearning which createth all the goodness of the world, being pre-existent abundantly in the Good Creator, allowed Him not to remain unfruitful in Himself, but moved Him to exert the abundance of His powers in the production of the universe.32

In a sense, the Creator is more than a magnet of Goodness—as the Platonist might envision a Supreme Power—He has, for Dionysius, imparted some of the superabundant goodness of His nature to the "Good Yearning" of the mystic. Hence, the way is prepared for a more intimate unitive stage than had ever been contemplated by Plato. Earlier in De Divinis Nominibus, the author gives figurative expression to this fusion of the Christian mystic and the object of the mystical quest: "The soul, leaving all things and forgetting herself, is immersed in the ocean of Divine Splendour, and illuminated by the Sublime Abyss of the Unfathomable

32 Ibid., p. 102.
Finally, De Divinis Nominibus contains an adaptation of the Platonic concept of the pre-existent state:

Thus the Pre-existent is the Beginning and the End of all things: the Beginning as their Cause, and End as their final Purpose. He bounds all things and yet is their boundless Infinitude, in a manner that transcends all the opposition between the Finite and the Infinite. For, as hath been often said, He contains beforehand and did create all things in One Act, being present unto all and everywhere, both in the particular individual and in the Universal Whole, and going out unto all things while yet remaining in Himself. He is both at rest and in motion...

Christian compatibility with the classic concept of pre-existence is achieved by transferring the quality to an all transcending God rather than by considering man as living a series of physical existences punctuated by periods of reward or punishment with corresponding periods of complete knowledge, knowledge that is clouded by Lethean draughts prior to each reincarnation.

For some inexplicable reason, Western mystical interest seems to have waned following Dionysius' writings. After a lapse of centuries, mysticism achieved a twelfth and thirteenth century renaissance with the flourishing school of St. Victor at Paris and the writings of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. One can only speculate as to reasons for the great revival of mystical in-

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33 Ibid., p. 152.
34 Ibid., p. 143.
35 See the vision of Er, The Republic, Book X.
terest during this period. G. G. Coulton somewhat cynically attributes the resurgence to the belief that the Church had become too strictly collectivist; consequently, the minds of strong individuality escaped into the mystic life, "where they could breathe freely apart from that all-controlling influence of the official clergy; a life strongly unsacerdotal, though not as yet antisacerdotal."³⁶ This theory could conceivably explain the mystical appeal for the layman; however, it is a difficult theory to substantiate when applied to the "official clergy" mystic.

What G. G. Coulton might have had in mind is what Carl Horstman expresses less pyrotechnically as a possible cleavage between mysticism and scholasticism. For Horstman, medieval English mysticism was a reaction to the excessive development of scholasticism in the hands of Duns Scotus. The very excess of ingenuity, subtlety, and definition, which distinguished the English schoolman, could not but call forth the re-action of the heart, which usually appears whenever the formula, the definition stifles the free flow of spiritual life.³⁷

A more pertinent explanation—from the perspective of this dissertation—is offered by Joseph B. Collins; he considers medieval mysticism as a "new and highly important branch of


theology" that derives its new found vitality from a shifting theological interest to the Incarnation and Passion of Christ. This view is ostensibly Dom Knowles' contention that the proto-Renaissance spirit of affective devotion to the humanity of Christ was one of the primary influences in the fourteenth century flowering of English mystics. 39

A third explanation centers on the fact that this theological emphasis upon the humanity and suffering of Christ appears to parallel the distress, turmoil, and suffering of the medieval period; hence, an empathy emerges, one fusing the medievalist's physical hardships with his contemplation of Christ's human agony. Father Pepler, eliciting the privation of the age as a major impetus for the renewed appearance of the mystic, observes:

The desert and thorns were a necessary part of the blooming of the rose. Only when the cross lies heavily does the spirit soar; these physical ills act as the purgation of the spirit and persecution calls forth the noblest in man. At a period of physical comfort and well-being, when prosperity fills purse and belly with the good things of the world, we do not look for mystics. 40

A final factor in the flourishing of the medieval English mystic is

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38 J. B. Collins, p. 37.


mystics is seen in Carl Horstman's declaration that the English climate was conducive to their development: "Nowhere had Christianity been embraced with greater warmth than in England, and nowhere was there a more fertile soil for mysticism."\(^{41}\) This rather dogmatic generalization is at least partially verified by Anglo-Saxon fact and tradition. The general receptiveness of the early English to Christianity is a matter of history: Bede records the genial reception accorded St. Augustine and his forty monks by Aethelberht, who was already married to Bertha, a Frank Catholic.\(^{42}\) Moreover, there appears to be no known instance of any of the early missionaries suffering martyrdom. Professor Baugh believes "all England was permanently Christian"\(^{43}\) a century after Augustine's arrival. Even England's subsequent invaders—the Danes in the ninth and tenth centuries and the Normans in 1066—were either Christians or responsive converts. The tradition of a much earlier Christian influence is matter for the next chapter.

Regardless of the difficulty in ascertaining one paramount reason for the rebirth of mystical interest in England following the Norman conquest—all of the aforementioned factors undoubtedly contributed in part to the renascence—there can be

\(^{41}\) R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, xi.


little serious question today concerning the influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Bonaventure on English mysticism in general and the Yorkshire mystics in particular. An earlier controversy did exist as to St. Bernard’s import. Edmund Gardner, in his 1910 introduction to The Cell of Self-Knowledge: Seven Early English Mystical Treatises, considers Bernard, as well as Bonaventure, as English mysticism’s chief influence. However, Dom Knowles, in 1927, declares, “Of St. Bernard ... the English mystics make little use.” Thirteen years later, Etienne Gilson published a penetrating study, The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, which was intended to refute the misconception that Bernard’s mysticism failed to exert significant influence owing to its lack of systematic form. Gilson’s scholarship provided the impetus for Sr. Mary Ignatius’ Ph.D. dissertation, “The Tradition of St. Bernard of Clairvaux in English Literature during the Middle Ages,” which establishes, among other considerations, not only correspondences between the deep imagination and speculative devotion of the Saint and the spirit


45 Dom Knowles, p. 59.

of the English mystics, but also several positive relationships, including Richard Rolle's translation of the third chapter of the 
Pseudo-Bonaventure Meditations entitled The Rule of Life of Our 
Lady, Rolle's paraphrasing of Bernard's Jesu Dulcis Memoria in 
his The Form of Perfect Living, and Julian of Norwich's reliance 
on St. Bernard's concept of divine love in her Revelations.

The Bernardine influence is further substantiated by other 
pertinent studies. Carl Horstman indicates a number of Richard 
Rolle's indebtednesses, including the possible translation of De 
Adventu Sermo VI and the Yorkshire mystic's citing of St. 
Bernard on such subjects as the sweetness of Jesus' name; the 
"mynd of the passion"; the delights of prayer; the "arrows of

47 Sr. Mary Ignatius Meany, "The Tradition of St. Bernard 
of Clairvaux in English Literature during the Middle Ages" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of English, St. John's University, 1947), pp. 90-92.

48 Ibid., pp. 75-76.
49 Ibid., pp. 117-118.
50 Ibid., p. 89.

51 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, II, 60. As is seen in the chapter of this dissertation devoted to Richard Rolle, his authorship of a number of works ascribed to him by Horstman is doubted by other scholars. This problem, however, is not pertinent at this point since the question of author identity is not germane to a consideration of Bernardine influence on the age.

52 Ibid., I, 35.
53 Ibid., p. 37.
54 Ibid., pp. 57 and 114.
55 Ibid., pp. 146 and 333.
the foe [the devil];\textsuperscript{56} the signs by which the soul can recognize the visitation of divine grace;\textsuperscript{57} the opposition of the spirit of the world to that of Christ;\textsuperscript{58} and the colloquy in heaven that preceded the Redemption.\textsuperscript{59} Helen Gardner focuses attention on Walter Hilton's documenting his \textit{Scale of Perfection} with quotations from Bernard's sermons on the Canticles.\textsuperscript{60} Earlier proof of Bernard's importance is apparent in the \textit{Ancren Riwle}; Part VI of the Penance section exhorts the reader: "Now pay good attention, for it is nearly all from the Sentences of St. Bernard."\textsuperscript{61} Since meditation and contemplation of death are common with the mystics, another indication of Bernardine mystical influence is suggested by G. R. Owst's claim:

\begin{quote}
From the so-called \textit{Meditations} or \textit{Sayings} of St. Bernard, in particular, a very favorite medieval source-book for sermons,
\end{quote}

\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p. 150.
\item\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 148.
\item\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., p. 150.
\item\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., pp. 349 ff.
\item\textsuperscript{60} Helen Gardner, "Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England," \textit{English Association Essays and Studies}, XXII (1936), 118.
\item\textsuperscript{61} \textit{The Nuns Rule being the Ancren Riwle}, ed. Francis A. Gasquet (London: Burns & Oates, 1926), p. 263.
\end{enumerate}
our English homilists seemed to have derived their conception of Death as a skulking, ghostly tyrant, who flits through all lands from place to place, sparing none, be he rich or poor, high or low, king or emperor, pope or prelate, religious or secular, a dread visitor whose coming is sudden, privy and unannounced.62

Although the Medytacions was first published in 1496 by Wynken de Worde, it is possible that an earlier English translation existed. Sister Ignatius notes that in the colophon to the 1531 edition, "Richard Whitford, the 'editor,' expressly mentions an older English version which he felt himself called upon to prove."63

Naturally, the existence of an earlier edition would be of greater import as a Yorkshire influence than the later 1496 or 1531 edition. Carl Horstman supplies further evidence of St. Bernard's impact on the era; he cites several early fourteenth century verse dialogues between St. Bernard and the Blessed Virgin Mary written in the northern dialect of the Yorkshire area. One such poem, "St. Mary's Lamentation to St. Bernard on the Passion of Christ," is credited by Horstman to William Nassyngton, a Yorkshire contemporary and follower of Richard Rolle.64 Not only is Bernard the inquisitor of the Blessed Virgin, but also Bernard's treat-

63 Sr. Mary Ignatius Meaney, p. 73.
ment of the Passion is the apparent source of Mary's narration of her Son's crucifixion. Under St. Bernard, the story of the Passion had acquired greater sensibility and vividness. As Sr. Ignatius observes:

St. Bernard had not been content with presenting the Passion as a philosophical motive for contrition and amendment of life, but had dwelt with tender insistence upon the sheer weight of human pain which it involved. Not only the awful anger of the Father, but the nails, the cross, the spear, became under St. Bernard's pen the objects of imaginative and emotional realization. The figure of Christ upon the cross is no 'objet d'art' in ivory or bronze, but a bleeding, quivering human form whose sufferings speak to the most indifferent heart. 65

This growing preoccupation with the suffering humanity aspect of the Passion becomes almost "a 'photographic' devotion," 66 one very evident in the works of the Yorkshire mystics.

The channel by which St. Bernard's works reached England and the Yorkshire area is clearly traced by Frances Comper:

It is not surprising that we should meet with St. Bernard's writings in Latin, as well as in English translation, in so large a number of MSS. in our libraries, when we remember that St. Bernard had in 1131 sent his secretary William with twelve monks from Clairvaux to establish houses of the Order in England. He fixed upon Yorkshire, always a refuge for hermits and monks because of its vast spaces of uncultivated and waste land. Within twenty years, five of the great Cistercian Abbeys were founded: Rievaulx, Kirkstall, Fountains, Byland, and Roche. 67

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65 Sr. Mary Ignatius Meany, p. 75.
66 Rev. Pepler, p. 32.
Allen R. Benham catalogues the known works of St. Bernard in the monastery library of Rievaulx. 68

However, the distinction of being the most universally cited source of Yorkshire mysticism falls to St. Bonaventure, a great favorite of the English. In fact, the Seraphic Doctor had been nominated in 1265 to the Archbishopric of York by Clement IV, an honor he declined in order to remain Minister General of the Friars Minor. Carl Horstman considers the Bonaventure influence on Rolle so pronounced that he labels the leader of the Yorkshire mystics the "English Bonaventure" since his writings cover basically "the same ground of mystic, moral and popular theology as those of that great writer." 69 Still further, Horstman attributes the entire development of English mysticism to St. Bonaventure's influence. 70 Even, Geraldine Hodgson, who is somewhat reluctant to admit that Rolle regularly read anyone's writings, concedes that he probably was a frequent student of Bonaventure's works. 71 Knowledge of the Saint's mystical treatises—Itinerarium Mentis


70 Ibid., p. xiii.

in Deum, De Triplici Via, Lignum Vitae, Vitis Mystica seu Tractatus de Passione Domini, De Perfectione Vitae ad Sorores--verifies the degree to which the English mystics were indebted not only for Bonaventure's contribution in preserving and continuing the general nomenclature of mystical ascent inherited from the Platonists and the early Church Fathers, but also for his insistence on a grimly realistic delineation of the physical features of Christ's Passion.

The link between Bonaventure and Rolle appears to be John Hoveden, chaplain to Queen Eleanor and one of the first prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of Hoveden, Yorkshire. Although Hoveden died about 1275--twenty-five years before the birth of Richard Rolle--he left a poetic legacy in the style of Bonaventure. Hoveden's major creative effort was "Philomela sive meditatio de nativitate, passione et resurrectione Jesu Christi," a 4000 line, rhyming couplet poem in imitation of one bearing the same title and commonly ascribed to Bonaventure. 72 Frances Comper cites this poem as one of Rolle's early influences. 73

Though Saints Bernard and Bonaventure constitute the major direct influences on the Yorkshire mystics, other figures cast long shadows across the lonely path traversed by Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, Dame Julian, and the mysterious author of The Cloud

72 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, xiii.
73 Frances Comper, p. 159.
of Unknowing. The writings of John Cassian, whose *Collationes*
was used from earliest days in England as a powerful factor in
the development of mystical doctrine; of Bede, who was advanced
in the contemplative life extolled by every mystic; of the Augustinian canons of St. Victor; and of Meister Eckhart, whose mysticism rested on a scholastic terminology which he translated as best he could into the language of the people; all these, as well as a multitude of secondary authors, contributed to the mystical heritage of the fourteenth century. From these elements, Rolle's literary mystics created their brilliant mosaic of "a journey of the soul to God on the wings of contemplation."  

Clearly, the medieval mystic shares much with his Greek counterpart. He sees, as did his classical brother centuries prior, a greater unity in the universe than is commonly recognized in ordinary experience. For both, the individual soul strives to attain a self-proposed object, one conceived as apart from itself in terms of the absolute reality. This quest originates where conscious, coherent thought terminates and is achieved "by focusing the entire mental horizon into one single vision in which all detail is lost, and the solitary impression left upon the mental retina is a vague, but overpoweringly real and harmonious, image

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75 G. G. Coulton, p. 522.
76 J. B. Collins, p. 2.
Both thrill, if successful, with the communion or intimate union with the object of mystical ascent; and, for both, the union—although transient, if not momentary in character—brings the soul "to further longing, to greater purification, and to deeper contemplation."  

These similitudes are, however, balanced by several telling differences. The non-Christian mystics generally maintain the immanence theory of the transcendental world. According to this doctrine, the created universe is perceived as the self-revelation of an indwelling deity: the world is not projected from the Absolute but immersed in the creating force. To the proponents of the immanence theory, the quest for the Absolute is not really an ascent, but merely a realization of some facet of self. The concept is explicit in Plotinus' observation:

God—we read—is outside of none, present unperceived to all; we break away from Him, or rather from ourselves; what we turn from we cannot reach; astray ourselves, we cannot go in search of another; a child distraught will not recognize its father; to find ourselves is to know our source.  

The contrary belief, one supported by most of the Christian mystics, is the emanation theory. Evelyn Underhill best explicates this thesis:

77 G. Coulton, p. 519.
The solar system is an almost perfect symbol of this concept of Reality; which finds at once its most rigid and most beautiful expression in Dante's "Paradiso." The Absolute Godhead is conceived as removed by a vast distance from the material world of sense; the last or lowest of that system of dependent worlds or states which, generated by or emanating from the Unity or Central Sun, become less in spirituality and splendour, greater in multiplicity, the further they recede from their source. 80

For the Christian, the emanation theory—which achieves its most complete literary expression in the Cloud of Unknowing—precludes the possibility of the Pantheistic heresy.

A second contrast is discerned in Christocentric contemplation. Prior to the medieval era, mystical contemplation was fundamentally Theocentric in that some type of deity was the object of reflection. However, during the Middle Ages, a growing preoccupation with the humanity of Christ establishes contemplation of the Lord's physical suffering as a conventional phase in effecting the second and third stages of mystical ascent. 81 The agony stress is fused with the divine love concept—the concept already cited as the essence of Christian mysticism—so that the two are inextricably coupled. H. C. Graef notes:

The mystic contemplates the Godman stretched out in torments on the cross, and in his burning desire to give Him love for Love he tortures himself to show forth this love and to have something to give that costs him dear, to say not only in

80 E. Underhill, p. 97.

81 As is illustrated in Chapter II, Richard Rolle's Ego Dormio et Cor Meum Vigilat exemplifies this aspect of Christocentric contemplation.
words but in deeds "I love You."\textsuperscript{82}

The desire of the mystic to give "love for Love," to repay in kind, should not be construed as implying an essential asceticism in the mystical method. Dr. Inge states:

We shall find reason to conclude that, while a certain degree of austere simplicity characterises the outward life of nearly all the mystics, and while an almost morbid desire to suffer is found in many of them, there is nothing in the system itself to encourage men to maltreat their bodies.\textsuperscript{83}

This conclusion is especially true in regard to the Yorkshire mystics. For example, Richard Rolle, in the \textit{Form of Living}, advises Margaret, an anchoress and the Hermit's disciple, to "punysche pi body, skilwisely & wisely, in wakyns, fastyngs, & in prayers, & meditacions..."\textsuperscript{84} Strict asceticism tends to isolate man by concentrating attention on the separate individual, an effect that is obviously contrary to the spirit of the true mystic.

As a consequence of Christocentric contemplation, Christian mysticism in the medieval era alters the Platonic formula of man-God to one of man-Christ-God. This latter species of mysticism derives its hallmark from its predication on the doctrine of the Mediatorship of Christ. "We here touch on a point of the utmost significance. There is no profounder mark of the originality


\textsuperscript{83}W. R. Inge, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{84}R. Rolle, \textit{Richard Rolle of Hampole}, I, 41.
of Christianity than its conception of the Logos as becoming a Mediator between two natures instead of existing as an intermediary between two natures."\textsuperscript{85} As is delineated in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, the Mediatorship of Christ is frequently expressed in terms of His sacrifice on the cross.

The Christian attitude toward sin—an attitude that achieves vivid artistic enunciation during the medieval period—further differentiates classic and Christian mysticism. For the medieval mystic, purification is more than the conditioning initial step in mystical ascent; it acquires infinitely greater significance in that purification is a requisite for salvation.

Finally, building on the Bernardine view that the story of the Prodigal Son is an allegory of man's desertion of the Paradise of Good Conscience, the medieval mystics evolve the Allegory of the Pilgrimage of Life. Walter Hilton's "Parable of the Pilgrim"\textsuperscript{86} must be acknowledged as the most detailed account of this allegory to be found in fourteenth century mystical writings. When one considers the import of \textit{The Scale of Perfection}, it becomes "indisputably clear that the principles of Christian mysticism enter vitally into the concept of the Christian as a pilgrim on the road of life, bent toward his heavenly home."\textsuperscript{87} However,

\footnotesize{
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{86} \textit{The Scale of Perfection}, Book II, Chapter \textit{xxi}.
  \item \textsuperscript{87} J. B. Collins, p. 69.
\end{itemize}
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the "road of life" travelled by the pilgrim often appears to be
closer to the Way of the Cross when observed within the context
of the medieval mystic's meditative emphasis upon the blood sa-
crifice of Christ for both the active and contemplative modes of
life.

This brief summary of mysticism from its scriptural and
classical genesis to its medieval renaissance has accentuated only
the most fundamental elements necessary for a consideration of the
Yorkshire school of mysticism, whose leaders--Richard Rolle and
Walter Hilton--were an essential ingredient in the intellectual
and spiritual movement of the fourteenth century. Raised in an
area dotted with numerous abbeys, priories, friaries, collegiate
churches, and in some instances educated at Merton College, Oxford
--the center of the century's intellectualism--the Yorkshire my-
stics were exposed to every cultural and theological current that
swept through England during the revival of learning that followed
the Norman occupation.

In the contemporary renewal of interest in the mystical
movement, a controversy has arisen regarding the degree to which
the mystics of any period adhere to the dogmatic principles of
their age. There is, as the Benedictine author of Medieval
Mystical Tradition and St. John of the Cross states:

a tendency in some circles to draw a sharp differentiating
line between the "great mystics" who, it is implied, held
loosely to dogma, and soared aloft above "institutional
religion," and the ordinary, flat-footed rank and file who
obediently trudged along, accepting whatever theologians
imposed upon them. \(^{88}\)

Since the Yorkshire writers can hardly be categorized with the "ordinary, flat-footed rank and file" mystics, a study of their literary accomplishments should in some manner contribute to a resolution of the controversy. Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation is to analyze the English writings of Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, Dame Julian, as well as the Cloud of Unknowing, in an effort to determine whether these works evidence a "'pure' mysticism free, of every taint . . . of affective devotion, or philosophy, or psychology" \(^{89}\) or indicate the use of the multiple Blood Motifs of blood theology that appear to permeate other works of the Middle English period. In the case of Richard Rolle, the restriction to the English writings is extended to include two Latin treatises—Incendium Amoris and Emendatio Vitae—that were translated into English early in the fifteenth century. This inclusion permits a complete analysis of Rolle's most mature literary period. The Blood Motifs include the primitive, classical, and Christian concepts of blood vengeance and sacrifice; the Old Testament prefigures of Christ; considerations of blood ransom involving the questions of devil's rights and the abuse of power theory; and the various symbols of the Passion and the Eucharist. Finally, it must be noted that conformity to the tenets of blood

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\(^{88}\) A Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey, p. 1.

\(^{89}\) E. Colledge, p. 14.
theology is also considered within the analytical scope of this dissertation's proposal.
Blood Theology

That the history of mankind is written in blood is evident upon any scrutiny of human development. However, it is not the blood of conquest to which this writer refers; rather it is the blood of religious sacrifice and ritualism that has recorded man's progress through the ages. From the Paleolithic period through the modern era, evidence of the intimate relationship existing between blood and man's gradual enlightenment crowds the pages of history.

The ceremonial interments of primitive man included covering the body with a red ochreous powder, which through the centuries left an indelible stain on the skeletal remains. Furthermore, the sites of prehistoric cave paintings indicate that the primitive artist smeared blood on his representations, probably in an effort to give vitality to the images that he prayed would materialize on the next day's hunt. The secluded locations of these paintings, often reached only after crawling long distances through rock fissures, attest to the reverence which early man associated with these areas. Studies of primitive and prehistoric rites reveal that blood was considered to be the essence of life; and that by the primitive law of association any substance resembling blood, like red ochre, had a similar significance and potency. Therefore, blood, or its equivalent, being the vehicle of life and consciousness, was employed as a reviving agent—hence the custom of burying ochre with the dead. Finally, since blood and its surrogates were regarded as life-giving agents, they
readily became the means of establishing a vital alliance of soul-substance between those thus united in a blood-bond. This association explains blood's emergence as one of the most important and potent vehicles in effecting inter-communion between the sacred and human order and in consolidating tribal relationships.90

The employing of blood as the unifying element of the sacred and human orders is observed in classical literature. For example, blood being utilized in this fashion, as well as to renew vitality and to restore health, is apparent in Odysseus' visit to the Kingdom of the Dead to question Teiresias. Homer's wanderer must first prepare a suitable sacrifice:

Perimedes and Eurylochôs held fast the victims, while I drew my sword and dug the pit, a cubit's length along and across. I poured out the drink-offering for All Souls, first with honey and milk, then with fine wine, and the third time with water, and I sprinkled white barley-meal over it. Earnestly I prayed to the empty shells of the dead, and promised that when I came to Ithaca, I would sacrifice to them in my own house a farrow cow, the best I had, and heap fine things on the blazing pile; to Teiresias alone in a different place I would dedicate the best ram among my flocks.

When I had made prayer and supplication to the company of the dead, I cut the victims' throats over the pit, and the red blood poured out. Then the souls of the dead who had passed away came up in a crowd from Erebos: young men and brides, old men who had suffered much, and tender maidens to whom sorrow was a new thing; others killed in battle, warriors clad in blood-stained armour. All this crowd gathered about the pit from every side, with a dreadful great noise, which made me pale with fear.

Then I told my men to take the victims which lay there

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slaughtered, to flay them and burn them, and to pray to mighty Hades and awful Persephoneia; I myself with drawn sword sat still, and would not let the empty shells of the dead come near the blood until I had asked my questions of Teiresias.

However, before Odysseus can interrogate Teiresias, the Theban prophet orders:

"Move back from the pit, hold off your sharp sword, that I may drink of the blood and tell you the truth." As he spoke, I stept from the pit, and pushed my sword into the scabbard. He drank of the blood, and only then spoke as the prophet without reproach.

This section of The Odyssey is interesting not only for the use of blood as an elixir but also for the details of the sacrifice which closely parallel procedures of primitive human and non-human sacrifices, in particular those of the American Indian. Another significant feature of Homer's narration is the sprinkling of white barley-meal over the libation of honey, milk, wine, and water. A prefigure of the Eucharist is not too remote in this allusion when one is aware that other pagan rites contained Eucharist-like devotions. For example, the Aztecs, in addition to their calendrical system of human sacrifice, twice a year in May and December, ate sacramentally a dough image of their god Uitzilopochtli in order to secure health and strength.

Other examples of the posited alliance between blood and

92 Ibid., p. 117.
life are found in ancient writings. It was often noted that the blood flowing from a mortally wounded person seemed to carry with it, or actually seemed to be, the life of the dying person. Records of the Egyptians, the Akkadians, the Arabs, the Hebrews, the Romans, and the Greeks, all witness the widespread conviction of the importance of blood. 93

Typical is Virgil's Aeneid, a work saturated with instances of blood significance. There is the oracle's foreboding answer to Eurypylus' question as to what the Greeks can do to appease the gods during the terrifying storm that follows the completion of the wooden horse:

> Blood, O Greeks, and a slain virgin
> Appeased the winds when first you came here; blood
> Must pay for your return, a life be given,
> An Argive life. 94

Just as Homer speaks interchangeably of the psyche and of blood escaping through various wounds, Virgil records Priam's life "going out with the cruel wound"; 95 Mettus' shedding "his life-blood over the brambles"; 96 Rhoetus' "red life spurting / Out of the mouth"; 97 Pallas' pulling Turnus' spear out of his breast

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95 Ibid., p. 51.

96 Ibid., p. 229.

97 Ibid., p. 245.
only to have "his blood, his life, come with it"; and Mezentius' pouring "his life in crimson over the armor." In addition, sacrificial blood is used to rest Polydorus' spirit. Blood is equated to strength by Entellus. Lavinia's dowry is blood. The Sabine army is delineated as "a great host of Sabine blood." Finally, in the last battle, "the life and blood of Turnus / Go to the winner."

The epic genre is not unique in its manifestations of the blood import. A study of primitive dramatic ritual indicates the proximity of the resurrection cycles of Osiris and Dionysus to the advent of tragedy. In Literature and the Irrational, Wayne Schumaker presents a synthesis of contemporary scholarship regarding the anthropological views of Greek tragedy. Particularly interesting is George Thomson's explanation of the dithyramb, which he believes to have belonged originally to a Dionysian thiasos, or band—actually, a secret society which had grown out of a totemic

98 Ibid., p. 281.
99 Ibid., p. 297.
100 Ibid., p. 63.
101 Ibid., p. 127.
102 Ibid., p. 188.
104 Ibid., p. 363.
clan and preserved something of the clan's structure and functions. In the beginning, except for a male priest, the society was composed of women only. Its principal rite, derived from initiation ceremonies, comprised three parts: an orgiastic sortie into the fields, a sacrament which consisted in dismembering a victim and eating it raw, and a triumphant return. The ritual was projected as a myth of Dionysus' passion, but its function was to make the soil fertile.\textsuperscript{105}

The previously mentioned Aztec calendrical sacrifice exemplifies the fertility facet of human sacrifice since it was the result of the desire to appease the gods and thereby assure a bountiful maize crop. Chapters III and IV of E. O. James' \textit{Origins of Sacrifice} contain a comprehensive history of the relationship existing between all variations of human sacrifice—including head-hunting and cannibalism—and the productivity of the soil.

Gradually, as man's capacity for refinement increased, human sacrifice was supplanted by that of a substitute victim. Judaism, with its scapegoat and paschal lamb, presents ample Old Testament illustrations of the humanization of the sacrificial process. Specifically noteworthy are the Biblical accounts of Abraham and Isaac, and Melchizedech.

Another incident, that of Cain and Abel, is similar to these two since a prefigure of Christ's sacrifice is presented; however, the accounts differ in that a real victim has been offered in this latter case. Abel has been killed, not a substitute victim.

figure; hence, the account is in the older blood tradition. In fact, the significance of Yaweh's remark to Cain concerning the calling out of Abel's blood is not fully realized unless one is cognizant of the convention of blood revenge—an ancient tradition continuing today in the vendetta, especially in areas of the Mediterranean where relatives of the murdered are obligated to take vengeance on the responsible individuals.

The most nearly complete literary manifesto of primitive blood vengeance is discerned in Greek drama's only extant unified trilogy—Aeschylus' Oresteia, consisting of the Agamemnon, The Choephoroi, and The Eumenides. Each component of the trilogy must be viewed not as an individual play, but rather as a single act of the whole tragedy of a curse upon a house, a curse whose machinations clearly delineate the ancient blood vendetta. Naturally, the pertinent allusions do not equally permeate the three dramas. Since Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon constitutes the action of the initial drama and since the vendetta of Orestes is not operative until after the murder, significant references are with one exception non-existent in the Agamemnon. The exception is found toward the end of the Cassandra scene when the unfortunate prophetess previews the action of The Choephoroi:

   He, to avenge his father's blood outpoured
   Shall smite and slay with matricidal hand. 106

The Choephoroi abounds with obvious evidence that Aeschylus was well aware of the details of blood vengeance. In the recognition scene of Orestes and Electra, the duty of kin to avenge the wronged is stated by Orestes, who has been plagued by spirits of the murdered dead who call unto their kin for vengeance... 107

The playwright has already prepared his audience for the blood vengeance theme in the third strophe of the parados:

On the life-giving lap of Earth
Blood hath flowed forth;
And now, the seeds of vengeance, clot the plain--
Unmelting, un-effaced the stain. 108

According to the code of the blood vendetta, it is specifically the spilled blood upon the ground that cries for revenge, a revenge that requires additional bloodshed. This facet of the creed is expressly defined by the Chorus:

Nay the law is sternly set--
Blood-drops shed upon the ground
Plead for other bloodshed yet;
Loud the call of death doth sound,
Calling guilt of olden time,
A Fury, crowning crime with crime. 109

The earlier quotation which had identified the cause of Orestes' troubled mind as the spirits of the murdered calling for vengeance does not contradict this emphasis upon blood pleading for retaliation. One must remember that for primitive man the

107 Ibid., I, 239.
108 Ibid., I, 231.
109 Ibid., I, 243.
spirit, the soul, the life principle was equated to the blood: blood was the "seat" of the spirit. Furthermore, any atonement other than a second bloodshedding involving blood of the offender is useless; as Orestes observes, a substitute will not suffice:

Be blood once spilled, an idle strife he strives
Who seeks with other wealth or wine outpoured
To atone the deed . . .

Blood alone "will repay / The price of the blood of the slain, that was shed in the bygone day." Both this concept of "blood for blood" and the one regarding blood being the seat of the spirit parallel the principle of Leviticus 17.11: "Since the life of a living body is in its blood, I have made you put it on the altar so that atonement may thereby be made for your own lives, because it is the blood, as the seat of life, that makes atonement."

The Eumenides, the terminal act of the Oresteia, contains reinforcing allusions to the requirements of the vendetta; but, more particularly, Aeschylus, in this drama, utilizes the primitive blood vengeance code to solve the paradox of Orestes' vengeance. By fulfilling his obligations to the first vendetta--represented in the drama by Apollo--Orestes, in typical classic irony, is immediately transformed from the agent of one vendetta to the object of another, this one being represented by the

110 Ibid., I, 248.
111 Ibid., I, 251.
The paradox is resolved and Orestes is relieved of the consequences of the second vendetta when the Chorus Leader's argument that Clytemnestra had been innocent of blood guilt because "she was not kin by blood to him she slew" is turned in Orestes' behalf. Apollo, the defense counsel in the trial before Athena, argues that by the same logic Agamemnon's son is free of any blood guilt associated with the killing of his mother since the blood line is carried by the male; hence, the father is the only legitimate parent:

Not the true parent is the woman's womb
That bears the child; she doth but nurse the seed
New-sown: the male is parent; she for him,
As stranger for a stranger, hoards the germ
Of life, unless the god its promise blight.

The final act of this tragedy of blood vengeance concludes with Athena's casting the tie-breaking vote in Orestes' favor and with the appeasement of the Furies, thereby terminating any possible continuation of the blood vendetta.

Vestiges of this creed of blood vengeance are present in various medieval romances. Prof. Roger Sherman Loomis, in his recently published work, The Grail: From Celtic Myth to Christian Symbol, devotes Chapter VIII to the revenge motif of the Conte del Graal and its sequels. In short, this phase of Dr. Loomis' study continues an earlier one by Alfred Nutt, which established

112 Ibid., I, 292.
113 Ibid., I, 294.
a parallel between an Irish saga, Boyhood Deeds of Finn, and the
enfances of Perceval. Nutt points out that the tradition of Finn,
still current in Ireland and Gaelic Scotland as late as the
nineteenth century, stressed the young hero's obligation to avenge
his father's murder; and that this blood-feud bore a significant
resemblance to the vendetta in certain versions of the Grail
quest. 114 Going further, Loomis constructs a case for the Finn
saga's being the ultimate source of the responsibility which rests
on Perceval to avenge a murdered relative--his father in Sir
Percyvelle and Tristan, his uncle in the Manessier sequel, and his
male cousin in Peredur and Perlesvaus. 115

While the unknown architects of Stonehenge could conceivably have offered human sacrifice to some pagan god--possibly a
sun deity--later Anglo-Saxon culture is more directly linked not
to the blood of human sacrifice but to that of Christ's atonement.
Centuries prior to the Teutonic invasions of 449 A.D. and the
mission of Saint Augustine in 597 A.D., tradition places Saint
Joseph of Arimathea in England converting Evalac, the king of the
nebulous and legendary Avalon. 116 The same tradition attributes

114 Alfred Nutt, Studies on the History of the Holy Grail

115 Roger Sherman Loomis, The Grail: From Celtic Myth to
Christian Symbol (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963),
P. 84.

116 John Hardyng, Cronicle (London: F. C. and J. Rivington,
to the befriender of Christ the designing of the Red Cross shield of Saint George, the shield that was originally intended for the Christianized Evalac; then, according to Arthurian lore, the property of Sir Galahad; and only later the possession of Saint George when he became patron of England. The subsequent rulers of England, according to John Hardyng's *Cronicle*, chose this shield with its "crosses of goules [in] signification of the bloode of Christe bleede on ye crosse" \(^{117}\) as their standard. Later, it became England's official ensign and is still to be seen in the Union Jack. \(^{118}\)

Joseph of Arimathea is further associated with English Christian lore via the Glastonbury legends of the Grail—Glastonbury on occasion being identified as the long sought Avalon. It is alleged that the Saint used the Grail, which is traditionally perceived as the dish of the Last Supper, to catch drops of Christ's blood as they fell from the cross. The legend declares that Joseph brought two cruets filled with the blood and sweat of the Lord to England and that these were buried with him at the time of his death. \(^{119}\)

An excellent summary of the growth of the Glastonbury legends is found in J. Armitage Robinson's treatment of the sub-

\(^{117}\) *Ibid.*


ject, a summary certainly meriting inclusion at this point.

We are now in a position to trace from the outset the successive stages of its development.

(1) Isidore of Seville (c. 638) says that St. Philip preached Christ to the Gauls, and led the barbarous peoples, near neighbours of darkness and bordering on the tempestuous Ocean, to light of knowledge and the harbour of faith.

(2) This is repeated (c. 830) by Freculfus, bishop of Lisieux (Bk. II, c. 4).

(3) The anonymous biographer of St. Dunstan (writing c. 1000) records the legend that the first preachers of Christ in Britain found at Glastonbury a church built by no skill of man, and consecrated by our Lord Himself to the honour of His Virgin Mary.

(4) William of Malmesbury (c. 1130), though he knows this story, will not commit himself further than to say that, if St. Philip preached in Gaul as Freculfus said, then it was not incredible that he should have sent disciples into Britain.

(5) The charter of St. Patrick (c. 1220) marks a further development of the legend. The new points are that we now have twelve disciples of St. Philip and St. James; that they build the church at the bidding of the archangel Gabriel; and that three pagan kings give them twelve portions of land.

(6) This is again developed shortly before 1250, by the final reviser of William of Malmesbury's book, in an introductory chapter which says that the leader of St. Philip's disciples was Joseph of Arimathea, and that he arrived A.D. 63, in the fifteenth year after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

(7) To this final edition of the De Antiquitate two marginal notes have been added, perhaps before the end of the thirteenth century. One tells us (p. 7) that Joseph was accompanied by his son Josephes and many others, and that he died on the island. The other (p. 45) gives us names of the three kings as Arviragus, Marius and Coillus, adding that the only son of the last of these was Lucius, the first Christian king of Britain. The former note mentions the Grail Legend as its source; the latter is derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

All this lay before John of Glastonbury, when at the end of the fourteenth century he recast the earlier history of the abbey. By him we are now given for the first time an orderly account of the full legend of Joseph of Arimathea as it was told at Glastonbury:

(1) The simplest form of the St. Joseph early story--taken over word for word from the Gospel of Nicodemus.

(2) His attendance on the Blessed Virgin and his presence at her Assumption--from the Transitus Mariae.
(3) His connexion with St. Philip who sends missionaries to Britain—an addition to the story which had been told in St. Patrick's charter.

(4) The voyage to Britain on the miraculous shirt of his son Joseph; his imprisonment by the king of North Wales, and his release by King Mordrain—from 'the book which is called The Holy Grail.'

(5) His arrival at Glastonbury, his work and his burial there—Glastonbury additions to the legend of the Grail.\(^{120}\)

By the fourteenth century, then, the Joseph of Arimathea legend is renowned enough to merit serious attention.

The Glastonbury abbey's relationship with the crucifixion is not limited to Joseph's cruets. As Prof. Loomis states, "the abbey must have had an extraordinary interest in relics of the Passion."\(^{121}\) The Chronica of John of Glastonbury catalogues the following purported relics: part of the Last Supper table; pieces of the pillar to which Christ was bound during the scourging, the scourge, the garment Herod gave Christ, the sponge from which Christ drank the wine mixed with myrrh, the other sponge from which He was offered vinegar and gall; many splinters of the cross; eight portions of Mount Calvary; some of the earth and a stone where the cross had stood; a spike of the crown of thorns; and six fragments of the Holy Sepulchre.\(^{122}\)

\(^{120}\) Ibid., p. 37.

\(^{121}\) R. S. Loomis, p. 250.

These "relics" were all to be found in the abbey's sacristy during the fourteenth century. Whether the fraud perpetrated at Glastonbury was malicious or merely the result of misguided piety is of little import from the perspective of this dissertation. However, the obvious folk interest in the Passion—an interest that would make such a collection conceivable—is of paramount significance. This interest in Christ's blood and the passion is not confined to one isolated area. Its religious art manifestations are geographically widespread. For example, Edward Dorling's *Heraldry of the Church* records a shield of old stained glass in the vestry of Saint Nicholas' Church, Sidmouth, Devonshire. The shield contains a small crown placed above each of Christ's wounds with the following inscriptions: under the hands, "Wel of wisdom" and "Wel of mercy"; under the heart, "Wel of everlasting life"; under the feet, "Wel of grace" and "Wel of ghostly comfort." Similar devices portraying the Lord's wounds are to be found in Cobham Church, Kent; in a mural at Gawsworth Church, Cheshire; and in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, Canterbury. It is significant to note that the designations of the

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wounds in these inscriptions are partially assimilated into the dialogue of some of the English cycles. As an example, in "The Burial of Christ" mystery of the Digby Plays, Hadvleyn, horrified at the appearance of Jesus' body, addresses the bloody wounds as "ye welles of mercy / dyggide so depe." 126

Furthermore, as a consequence of the crusades, or of a growing devotion to the blood of Christ, or even of an embryonic rivalry developing between various areas—possibly provoked by the alleged presence of the two cruets of Joseph of Arimathea near Glastonbury—the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries witnessed a number of purported relics of Christ's blood appearing throughout England. As early as 1171, such a relic was supposedly being venerated at the Cathedral of Winchester. 127 In 1257, Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, was credited with bringing two relics from the Holy Land, depositing one at Ashridge and the other at Gloucester; later, in 1352, another relic at Edington was attributed to Richard's generosity. 128 Still another specimen, supposedly on exhibit for a time at Westminster Abbey, was said to have been obtained by Henry III from the Patriarch of

127 Xavier Barbier de Montault, Oeuvres (Poitiers, 1899), VII, 537.
Finally, the Hailes relic, alluded to by Chaucer's pardonner, was a gift of Edmund, Count of Cornwall, who presumably sent it, along with a history of Pope Urban IV, to the monastery at Gloucestershire in 1270. These examples, by no means, constitute the extent of English association with conjectured blood relics—either of the crucifixion or of later "host miracles." Certainly, the transplanting of Norman culture on English soil following the 1066 Conquest would be expected to add to the English awareness of presumed Continental relics. The action of the famous Croxton Play of the Sacrament, the only complete and typical miracle drama preserved in English, is an amalgamation not of incidents related to English relics, but of events surrounding rumored blood relics resulting from supposed host miracles that occurred in such Continental locations as Buren, Belitz, Brussels, and Paris.

The last nineteen pages of this chapter have developed the folk aspect of blood theology. Primarily, this phase of the blood creed contains elements gleaned from the mist of primitivism the Golden Age of classicism, and the triumph of Christianity. Occasionally, a later emergence of some Blood Motif is merely the modification of some earlier motif or attitude. For example, the

129 Ibid., p. 144.
regenerative features of the Eucharist in a spiritual sense parallel the physical rejuvenation attributed, by primitives, to cannibalism or to the drinking of human or animal blood. The supernatural vitality acquired from partaking of Christ's body and blood, in a folk sense, is not too far removed from the earthly vitality associated with blood and its surrogates by early man. Finally, the recording of so many blood "relics" and the reputed occurrence of numerous "host miracles" are mute evidence that the primitive attitude linking magical powers with blood became mixed with Christian superstition, well-meaning though it may be.

However, the folk aspect presents only one side of blood theology; there is the other side—the world of the formal theologian, the complex universe of Christianity's schoolmaster. At times, the two facets merge, meeting in a nebulous "no-man's land." This fusion is illustrated by the reference that has been made to scripture's use of the primitive blood vengeance code. Since periodic and detailed allusions will be made to formal medieval theology in explication of the various blood motifs as they appear in the writings of the Yorkshire mystics, it is sufficient to terminate this chapter with a brief synthetic view of the theological background of the medieval era and the formal theology available to Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, Dame Julian, and the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*. To a degree, this theological panorama has been previewed in the "Mysticism" section of this chapter. However, as will be seen, chronological continuity requires a second look at certain men who have figured
prominently in the mainstream of medieval theology as well as in its mystical backwash.

As intimately fused as are the body and blood of Christ in the doctrine of the Eucharist so too is formal medieval theology a part of the tradition of blood sacrifice from which it also evolved. The sacred science is beyond question the intellectual mode of the medieval world; in fact, it probably is not exaggeration to claim that the history of the Middle Ages is in reality the growth and development of theology.

The overmastering strength of theology, of a clergy which as a rule absorbed all the functions of a literary class, gave its shape to everything with which it came into contact. Society was treated as though it were actually a theocracy; politics, philosophy, education, were brought under its control and adjusted to a technical theological terminology. Its subject matter—"the conception of man's divinely mediated salvation, and of the elements of human being which might be carried on, and realized in a state of everlasting beatitude" constituted, according to most authorities, the scope of ultimate intellectual interests for the medieval period. As the age progressed, theology, "Madame la Haute Science" of the thirteenth century," emerged supreme over all other disciplines. It was


the crown jewel of university curricula; a study of the Arts was merely the apprenticeship for the infinitely more serious contemplation of God and the relations between God and His created universe.

Christopher Dawson speaks of the medieval period as consisting of "three phases of religious development which are in point of time as far from one another as we ourselves are from the Reformation." 134

First, there is the religion of the later Roman Empire, which we may call Patristic Catholicism. Secondly, there is the religion of the Dark Ages, the age of the conversion of the barbarians. Thirdly, there is the religion of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, which are often regarded as the central period of the Middle Ages but which were also, as Pere Mandonnet and Prof. Haskins have pointed out, essentially an age of the renaissance of European culture. 135

Later in his study, Dawson returns to the three phases to label the Patristic age the "creative period of Western theology," 136 which found its expression in the work of St. Augustine; to designate the second phase "the age of traditionalism par excellence"; 137 and to declare the third stage "the age of scholastic-


135 Ibid.

136 Ibid., p. 89.

137 Ibid.
ism--of the systematic dialectical reorganization of the whole traditional material."\textsuperscript{138} The exhaustiveness of this reorganization can be appreciated only upon realization that

All the materials that lie scattered in the writings of the Fathers--in sermons and commentaries and controversial treatises--are to be found again built up into the imposing and symmetrical edifice of thirteenth-century scholastic theology.\textsuperscript{139}

The writings of St. Augustine loomed as a fundamental consideration for medieval theologians, much in the same fashion as certain of his works were essential reading for some of the medieval mystics. Prof. H. O. Taylor writes, "For all the Middle Ages the master in theology was Augustine. Either he was studied directly in his own writings, or his views descended through the more turbid channels of the works of men he influenced."\textsuperscript{140} With the apparent emphasis, at least in Western theology, on the sacraments as a means of grace and the Christian existence as a life of grace, it is only logical to accept Taylor's view and to agree with Prof. Dawson's statement: "Thus the tendency of Western theology finds its representative and embodiment in St. Augustine, the Doctor of Grace."\textsuperscript{141} Above all, Augustinian dogma was basic, thereby appealing to both mystic and theologian.

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.
\hfill \textsuperscript{139} Ibid., p. 90.
\hfill \textsuperscript{140} H. O. Taylor, II, 433.
\hfill \textsuperscript{141} C. Dawson, p. 91.
It was conservative; it appealed to authority and to the past. The concept of God was most fundamental, penetrating all speculation. The pattern of all things was in the divine ideas. God governs all things and lovingly cares for all. Men approach Him through creatures which share in the perfection of the Divine Pattern. Affective union with God involves something of the vision of God and may be termed mystical. Grace rules the whole moral life. The lines between philosophy and theology, nature and supernature, speculative thought and practical living, are not too clearly drawn. Appeal is made to the will, emotion and affection rather than to intellect.

What better recommendation for the subjective mystic and the objective theologian is there than these qualities elicited by Father Kaiser?

One of the men most influenced by the author of De Civitate Dei and Confessiones was the so-called "Father of Scholasticism," St. Anselm of Canterbury. While the doctrines of other saints appear to dominate the era, it is Anselm that is of prime importance to any consideration of blood theology. His Cur Deus Homo, written in 1096, inaugurated a new epoch in atonement literature by denying the controversial theory that, in the sacrifice of the cross, Christ was offered to the devil as a ransom of blood for fallen man. The argument of Anselm's theory is found succinctly summarized in Part II, Chapter 7:

God will not do it i.e. make satisfaction for sin because He ought not and man will not, because he cannot; therefore that God and man may do this, it is needful that the same person

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shall be perfect God and perfect man, who shall make this satisfaction; since he cannot do it unless he be very God, nor ought, unless he be very man.\textsuperscript{143}

The ransom concept--so strong in medieval literature, especially in the English cycles--had degraded the view of the redemption in the eyes of many of Anselm's contemporaries because they interpreted the crucifixion as either a concession to the devil or a trick played on Satan, a trick baited with the blood of Christ.\textsuperscript{144}

The logic of \textit{Cur Deus Homo} precluded these possibilities; nevertheless, medieval literature indicates that the controversy continued little affecting the average layman who was content to accept the ransom concept at face value, shorn of ingenious theological implications.

The medieval theologian who earned the distinction of being called a "second Augustine" by his colleagues was Hugh of St. Victor. For the purpose of this brief survey of medieval theology, it is sufficient to note that the recurring theme of his major works--\textit{De Vanitate Mundi}, \textit{De Laude Caritatis}, \textit{De Modo Orandi} and \textit{De Meditatione}--is love, both the love that man owes God and the love that God manifests for man.

However, "of all medieval saints, Bernard and Francis im-

\textsuperscript{143} St. Anselm, \textit{Prologium; Monologium; An Appendix in Behalf of the Fool by Gaunilon; and Cur Deus Homo}, trans. S. N. Deane (Chicago: The Open Court Co., 1935), p. 246.

\textsuperscript{144} A detailed discussion of the "devil's rights" and "abuse of power" facets of the ransom motif appears in the next chapter when the ransom motif is analyzed.
pressed themselves most strongly upon their times." These two heroes of the Church were the transitional figures from the first epoch of medieval theology to the second. They were also vital exponents of the love theme that permeated the writings of Hugh of St. Victor.

A catalogue of St. Bernard's accomplishments and an account of his career would constitute a representative chronicle of the first half of the twelfth century. Reformer, religious superior, crusader, humanitarian, Bernard was so influential that Prof. Taylor believes he "for a quarter of a century swayed Christendom as never a holy man before or after him." That Bernard was, in addition, a significant mystical force has already been indicated. For this saint, love was better than knowledge since love extends beyond knowledge and is its own cause and end. Whether Bernard's preoccupation with the love theme arose from his meditations on the humanity of Christ or whether the former led to the latter is difficult to ascertain and a moot theological point. What is of more importance is that in his instruction, Bernard replaced the severe figure of the Byzantine Christ, majestically enthroned as the awful Judge of Doomsday, with the human and humane Jesus, the infant of the manger, the lost child of the temple

145 H. O. Taylor, I, 431.
146 Ibid., I, 408.
147 In Cantica, lxxxiii, 4.
and the willing victim of the crucifixion. As Dawson observes, the theologian of Clairvaux preferred "to dwell on the human likeness of Jesus, the human suffering of His Passion and the human weakness of His Infancy."148

The thirteenth century witnessed the flowering of theology in Scholasticism. It was the era of Duns Scotus and the great doctor of theology, Thomas Aquinas, as well as a number of secondary figures. Challenging these theologians and the century were the continued explorations into the humanity of Christ, on one hand, and the latent controversy about to be triggered by the crystallization of Eucharistic dogma, on the other hand. While the figure of Thomas Aquinas and his unprecedented and unsurpassed works on the Eucharist engaged the intellectuals of the period, the figures of Francis—the second of the transitional figures—and Bonaventure—already delineated as the most universally cited source of Yorkshire mysticism—with their considerations of the humanity of Christ probably appealed more to the typical layman, if the following observation by C. Dawson is valid.

The movement which had the greatest influence on medieval religion and medieval culture was not the speculative mysticism of the Dominicans but the evangelical piety and the devotion to the Humanity of Jesus that found its supreme expression in the life of St. Francis. This movement has far less connection with the scientific theology of the schools than the other, though one of its most notable representatives, St. Bonaventure, was also one of the greatest scholastic theologians. It was pre-eminently practical, emotional and hu-

148 C. Dawson, p. 100.
man, owing nothing to learned tradition or metaphysical ideas, but springing directly from the heart and from personal experience.  

While some question may exist as to whether the devotion to the humanity of Christ owed "nothing to learned tradition," anyone familiar with the details of St. Francis' life will attest to the correctness of the observation that the devotion found its ultimate manifestation in the life of this humble man.

The stories and legends regarding the Assisi saint's love for not only God and man but also animals and inanimate objects as well are legion. Apparently, isolated from the turmoil of the medieval period, Francis' entire existence was Christ-orientated. His life of sacrifice, obedience, humility, and piety was the logical culmination of a fervent desire to imitate the Lamb of Calvary. This patron saint of the humble best personifies the change from the Augustinian tradition to the more human religious conventions of the thirteenth century. As the late Pierre Rousselot recorded:

St. Augustine had considered the struggle for truth and holiness, before all, as a personal affair between the individual soul and God; it is by that that he had so to speak 'interiorized God.' But he had not in the same way interiorized Jesus. The humanity of Christ remains with him rather in the background. The great novelty of the Middle Ages, their incomparable religious merit, was understanding and love, or rather one might say, the passion of the humanity of Christ. The Incarnate Word, homo Christus Jesus, is

149 Ibid., p. 99.
no longer only the model to be imitated, the guide to be followed, and on the other hand, the uncreated light that enlightens the interior of the soul; He is interior, even in respect of His Humanity; He is the spouse of the soul, who acts with it and in it; He is the friend.¹⁵⁰

Amidst this commentary lauding the new current of intimacy flowing from speculations of Christ's humanity, it might be well to observe that at least one student of the era considers the thirteenth century as having, to a degree, over-emphasized the suffering humanity of the Lord. Father Louis Bouyer, writing in *Liturgical Piety*, laments:

And, finally, the idea of the Mass as an absorbing contemplation of Our Lord in His Passion only, to the total exclusion of any thought of His Resurrection and of His final glory in His Whole Mystical Body, together with the reduction of the liturgical mystery to a mere memorial of the Passion, --all this is nothing but the final development of the medieval over-emphasis on the suffering Humanity of Christ, combined with the effects of the gradual disappearance of the true idea of the liturgy as sacramental, this idea having already been buried under a merely sentimental and allegorical remembrance of the past, in the *Expositiones Missae*.¹⁵¹

The death in 1308 of a somewhat controversial personality ended the Golden Age of Scholasticism. It is to Dun Scotus' eternal glory that he was the great defender of the Immaculate Conception doctrine in a period of skepticism, skepticism which even

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St. Thomas Aquinas seemed to share. However, what is of moment to this study is not his defense of this doctrine nor his stress on the love of God as the end of man, but rather his "relaxation of the bonds uniting the sacraments with the humanity of Christ, his explanation of transubstantiation as an adductive substitution." As Father Kaiser explains, "The doctrine of Scotus that transubstantiation is an annihilation of the bread and an adducing of the substance of the Body and Blood is hard to sustain in light of the teaching of Trent and all subsequent theology."154

Scotus' theory of transubstantiation fed the fever of Eucharistic controversy that appeared as early as 831 with the writing of The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ by Paschasius Radbertus, monk and later abbot of Corbey. This work, eventually presented in 844 to Charles the Bald, solidified opinion and focused attention on Eucharistic thought by stressing the spiritual character of the transformation. According to Cecilia Cutts, who has done considerable research on the matter for her dissertation on the Play of the Sacrament, Radbertus taught that "the elements are wholly and substantially converted into the body and blood of Christ and after the consecration do not truly and

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properly continue to exist as bread and wine."\textsuperscript{155}

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the medieval scene witnessed the rise of dissenters, men such as Tanchelin, who in 1126 persuaded nearly the entire populace of Anvers that the Eucharist was not essential for salvation, and Pierre de Erivius, who denied that the priest could change the Host into the body and blood of Christ. Immediately questions arose: whether the body of Christ is present in reality or as a figure; whether the Host is subject to corruption; what happens to the Host if received by the wicked; what happens if the consecrated Host is eaten by an animal or burnt; whether the body of Christ is broken with the species; and whether the Host undergoes the ordinary process of digestion.\textsuperscript{156}

By 1381, Wyclif was laboring unceasingly in an effort to corrupt the people's faith. Gradually, the Lollard heresy spread, gaining adherents and widening its sphere of influence. As late as the end of the fifteenth century, Lollard beliefs and activities were sufficiently troublesome to warrant frequent and sometimes desperate efforts by the clergy to counteract them. The principal teachings of the Lollards were aimed at the entire structure of medieval Catholicism. For the Wycliffites, the seven sa-


\textsuperscript{156}Ibid., p. 432.
craments were dead symbols of a corrupt Church; the vows of celibacy could be renounced; marriage was valid without the sanction of the Church; the Church was the Synagogue of Satan, with the Mass the topstone of the Antichrist; new-born infants were considered innocent, hence no need for baptism; no day was holy; Purgatory did not exist; and the only penance for sin was repentance. But above all, the doctrine of transubstantiation was the central target of the Lollards.

Positive Catholic reaction was in the form of "stimulating an increased devotion through processions, offering indulgences to those who visited certain shrines such as the Blood of Hales, to all who adored the Host, etc.; through the founding of Chantry; possibly through the presentation of religious plays." In regard to this last point, the Chester plays are believed to have been revived in 1447 for the purpose of reinforcing waning laity devotion. In addition, Miss Cutts' dissertation proposes that the Play of the Sacrament was composed as part of the Catholic reaction to the Lollard heresy. Another positive Catholic answer was the authorization by Archbishop Arundel in 1410 of a prose translation of Bonaventure's Meditationes Vitae Christi, a translation that Miss Cutts believes was intended expressly to combat Lollardism.

157 Ibid., p. 128.
158 Ibid., p. 68.
Probably the best analysis of the medieval Eucharistic controversy that this writer has seen is Father Francis Clark's *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*. While the text is meant primarily as a discussion of the post-medieval era, the author's presentation of the medieval background to the Reformation disputes concerning the Eucharist is excellent. It is not this writer's intent to dwell on Father Clark's forthright acknowledgement of the various abuses and popular superstitions that were instrumental in advancing and prolonging the controversy, nor on the chronology of reform literature devoted to the debate; however, worthy of inclusion at this point is the Jesuit's pertinent summary of the medieval Eucharistic theology inherited by the Reformation epoch.

(i) 'In the Mass there is offered to God a true and proper sacrifice', the highest act of Christian worship.
(ii) The sacrifice of Christ's redemptive passion is all-sufficient to atone for all the sins of all men: 'through the shedding of his blood he redeemed us and rescued us from the power of darkness and brought us into his kingdom'. The Eucharistic oblation in no way implies that anything is wanting in the sacrifice of the cross, nor does it 'in any way detract from that sacrifice'.
(iii) Christ, 'since his priesthood was not to be terminated with his death', established in his Church an order of priests 'the Apostles and their successors in the priesthood', through whom he would continue his sacrifice for all time.
(iv) The Mass is not an absolute sacrifice, independent of the unique sacrifice by which Christ 'wrought our eternal redemption'; but it was instituted at the Last Supper as a relative sacrifice, by which that 'sacrifice in blood, accomplished but once on the cross, was to be represented, so that the memory thereof should remain till the world's end'.
(v) Nevertheless 'the sacrifice of the Mass is not a mere commemoration', nor 'only a sacrifice of praise and thanks'; in it, really present, 'Christ himself is contained', and in
very truth 'his body and blood are offered to the Father under the appearances of bread and wine'.

(vi) The sacrifice of the altar is in a true sense one with the sacrifice of the cross. 'The victim is one and the same, and he who now offers through the ministry of priests is the selfsame as he who then offered himself on the cross'.

(vii) The newness of the Mass-sacrifice, and its difference from the sacrifice of Calvary, 'is only in the manner of offering'. For the Mass is 'an unbloody immolation', a mystical sacrifice, in which 'the Church through her priests immolates Christ under visible signs'. Hence Christ, who 'offered himself only once by way of death', does not in any way suffer death, pain, or change in the sacrifice of the altar.

(viii) All the efficacy of the Mass flows from the sacrifice of Calvary; 'the fruits of the bloody oblation are received in superabundance by means of the unbloody oblation'. Through the latter men are enabled to participate in all the graces and benefits won for them by Christ. It 'applies the saving force of the sacrifice of the cross for the remission of the sins which we daily commit'; it is 'offered for the sins, penalties, satisfactions and needs of the faithful'. Thus 'the Mass is in truth a propitiatory sacrifice.

(ix) This propitiatory application of Christ's sacrifice through its liturgical re-enactment is not to be understood in the sense that the Mass justifies the wicked without their repenting; but rather, 'appeased by this offering, the Lord granting grace and the gift of repentance, forgives sins, even the greatest crimes'.

(x) The effects of the Mass-sacrifice do not extend to the welfare of the living alone; 'but it is also offered for the faithful departed in Christ who are not yet fully cleansed'.

The relevancy of certain points of this concise summary will become apparent in the survey of Yorkshire mysticism that is to follow. Furthermore, the findings of this dissertation will per-
mit some evaluation of Father Clark's concluding statement:

In the summary just given can be seen a body of doctrine about the Eucharistic sacrifice which is neither confused nor unorthodox by Catholic standards. Far from it being the case that by the end of the middle ages the whole concept of the sacrifice was wrapped in confusion and error, the theologians of the time handed on a coherent and traditional teaching. Whatever their other defects and domestic disputes may have been, here they presented a united front. 156

To complete an appreciation of the theological atmosphere of this turbulent era, one must be cognizant of the various religious customs and practices that evolved during the period. As early as the end of the eighth century, Friday was observed liturgically by votive Masses which priests were allowed to use to commemorate the Passion whenever no higher feast occurred. 157

The observance of Passion Sunday developed in the ninth century. 158 The weekly memory of the Last Supper with special veneration to the Blessed Sacrament on Thursdays can be traced to a custom originating in the early centuries of the second millennium. 159 St. Julian, a Belgian nun, was the first to suggest a special feast in honor of the Blessed Sacrament to be celebrated

156 Ibid., p. 95.
158 Ibid., p. 179.
159 Ibid., p. 29.
on a day other than Maundy Thursday. From this suggestion, the Corpus Christi feast and processions arose with St. Thomas Aquinas composing hymns and texts of the Mass and Divine Office for the new feast. St. Bernard's composition of the hymn *Jesu Dulceo Memoria*—already cited as one of Richard Rolle's sources—evidences Bernard's—and the age's—promotion of the veneration of the sacred name of Jesus. To combat the decline in the laity's partaking of the Communion service, the fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215 established the Easter Communion regulation. "The law was not made to inaugurate a new practice but to safeguard the minimum demands of an old tradition." Two additional venerated very essential to this study developed during the period. Originating at the time of the Crusades when knights and pilgrims began to follow, in prayerful meditation, Christ's route to Calvary was the reverence of the suffering Lord with special meditation on His Passion. This institution—the Stations of the Cross—owes its promulgation to the zealous efforts of the Franciscan friars. The other very popular and widely practiced de-

160 Ibid., pp. 260-261.
161 Ibid., p. 139.
162 The emphasis placed on the divinity of Christ appears to have been responsible for the decline as well as the germination of the then embryonic transubstantiation controversy.
163 F. X. Weiser, p. 213.
164 Ibid., p. 180.

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votion was that to the sufferings of Mary—the Feast of the Seven Sorrows.165

No more fitting conclusion to this section on the sacred science of the Middle Ages can be written than can be found in the words of Henry Osborn Taylor, who with a few strokes of the scholar's quill captures the mood of this formative chapter in the exploration of man's relationship with his Creator. One side of the medieval theological cliff was the soft limestone of emotionalism, which under the heat and pressure of sorrowful meditation could become the beautiful marble of Christian mysticism.

As generation after generation clung to this system as to the stay of their salvation, the intellectual consideration of it became instinct with the emotions of desire and aversion, and with love and gratitude toward the suffering means and instruments which made salvation possible—the Crucified, the Weeping Mother, and the martyred or self-torturing saints. All these suffered; they were sublime objects for human compassion. Who could think upon them without tears? Thus medieval religious thought became a well of emotion.166

The other side of the promontory contained the adamant granite of authority, destined to survive the eroding effects of the heretical elements.

Here all was authority. Scripture was the primary source; next came the creed, and the dogmas established by councils; and then the expositions of the Fathers. Thus the meaning of the authoritative then authoritatively systematized. The process had been intellectual and rational, yet with the driven rationality of Church Fathers struggling to formulate and express the accepted import of the Faith delivered to the saints. Authority, faith, held the primacy, and in two sen-

165 Ibid.
166 H. O. Taylor, I, 19.
ses, for not only was it supreme and final, but it was also prior in initiative efficiency.167

Without an appreciation of both the emotional and authoritative facets of medieval theology, one cannot begin to understand the era.

The purpose of this chapter has been twofold. First, it has been an introductory chapter establishing the necessary perspective for an analysis of the Yorkshire mystics. This point of vantage has been achieved by providing two background synthesizes: one of mysticism and the other of medieval theology. In both the emphasis has been on those individuals necessary for sketching a brief history of the movement as well as affording the reader fundamental knowledge of those mystical and theological currents most proximate to the intended analysis. Secondly, this chapter has attempted to delineate the formative elements of blood theology, that mosaic of the Christian sacrificial heritage so inextricably coupled with the entire panorama of primitive and classical concepts of blood import and sacrifice.

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167 Ibid., II, 327.
"The true Father of English Literature"—this title, first bestowed on Richard Rolle by Carl Horstman in 1895, has since assumed, in modified forms, the proportions of a classical epithet among medieval scholars devoted to the promulgation of either Rolle's works or his reputation. Characteristic of this adulation are the following comments. First to restrict the title of "Father" to the field of prose is Geraldine Hodgson, who considers Rolle to be "this forgotten man, the true Father of English Prose" who "stands the test of genius." Following Miss Hodgson's limitation, G. C. Heseltine believes Rolle merits the title because he was the first to write with originality and enthusiasm in English since the Conquest—that is, he was the first to write in that amalgam of Old English, Norman-French, and Latin which was the basis of modern English." Returning to Horstman's designation, G. R. Owst observes: "As the outstanding figure of

1Richard Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, II, ii.

2Richard Rolle, Some Minor Works, p. 16.

3Ibid.

this movement [the translation into English of Latin homilies and
treatises as well as the popularization of them among medieval
English laymen], if for no other reason, Richard Rolle, the hermit
of Hampole, deserves the title bestowed on him by Horstman, that
of 'the true Father of English Literature.' Finally, for Con­
ad Pepler, Rolle is at least the 'Father of English Mysticism.' And
so the praise contracts and expands with each subsequent
writing. Of general praise, there is generally no dearth; only
the extensiveness of genre is in question.

However, this recent praise notwithstanding, Richard Rolle
is still fundamentally what Miss Hodgson designated him--a "for­
gotten man." Little of a definitive nature is known of him.
Ironically, Rolle's pioneering in literature of the vernacular
following the Conquest--the very basis for the aforementioned
praise--is apparently the cause of six centuries of relative neg­
lect. G. C. Heseltine best expresses the traditional explanation
for Rolle's virtual anonymity:

When Wyclif began his translation of the Bible he found ready
to hand Richard Rolle's translation and commentary upon the
Psalter and the Canticles, and there is reason to believe
that he based his English version upon these. The nuns of
Hampole Priory, fearful of the way in which Rolle's work was
being appropriated and interpolated by the Lollards, hid away
genuine copies of his works for posterity, but posterity
never found them.

5 G. R. Owst, p. 7.

6 Conrad Pepler, O.P., "Richard Rolle," English Spiritual
18.
Hence Rolle holds a position in English literature largely usurped by his more spectacular fellow-countryman and successor, John Wyclif. Wyclif was born in Rolle's neighbourhood; he was a young man of twenty-five, at Oxford, when Rolle died. Like everybody else, he knew of Rolle's work and fame; he had a good deal of Rolle's Yorkshire energy and pioneering spirit; he had, in addition, the environment of learning, and was ostensibly at least a scholar. So he opportunistically followed up the work Rolle had begun in his Psalter. The contempt which Rolle had for wranglers and disputers he did not share. Rolle's disgust with unworthy religious he shared in full. Unfortunately he lacked Rolle's humility—the essential virtue in a wise man and the indispensable one to a holy man. He fell into grave errors, assumed the oracle, and gained the notoriety which was magnified a hundredfold after the Reformation when his errors and others became widespread and culminated in Schism. His humility and wisdom came with age, but in the blaze of publicity he had overshadowed Rolle, and Rolle has been left in the shadow ever since.  

While the action of the Hampole Priory nuns appears to have been responsible for denying researchers Rolle's original manuscripts—thereby relegating any study of his works to manuscripts written at the earliest a generation after his death these Cistercian sisters may have instigated the preparation of the Office of St. Richard Hermit in an effort to effect his canonization. If so, they are instrumental in at least providing literary and religious students with the major source of Rolle's biographical data. Miss Allen suggests two reasons for the nuns' 

8Hope Emily Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole and Materials for His Biography (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1927), p. 46. Subsequent references to this monumental work will be shortened to Writings Ascribed.
interest in the cause of Rolle's sainthood: "In addition to the personal veneration which they doubtless had for his memory [he was probably their spiritual advisor prior to his death], they had a practical stake in the cult that brought pilgrims to their little house."9

The **Office** consists of nine lessons, **secret** and **post-communion** prayers, and descriptions of twenty-seven miracles attributed to Rolle. One of the miracles involving the raising from the dead of a Yorkshire man named John after money had been placed on his body as an offering to Rolle is dated on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1381.10 Another miracle of a similar nature is dated on the Feast of the Assumption, 1383.11 Consequently, Miss Allen conjectures that the **Office** was composed a short time after the 1383 date.12 However, since the miracles would logically be arranged chronologically and since the 1383 miracle is only the sixth in a catalogue of twenty-seven, the **Office** might have been prepared closer to 1400, the approximate date of the Bodl. e Musaeo 193 and Uppsala Univ. C. 621 MSS., the earliest of the **Office** manuscripts.

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9Ibid., p. 51.


11Ibid., p. 312.

Unfortunately, the Office does not contain the dates of Rolle's life. Nevertheless, Rolle scholarship is generally agreed that the Hermit lived from approximately 1300 to 1349. Horstman is the first to point out that Rolle's writings contain no reference to his own old age though his early Latin works do allude frequently to his youth.\(^{13}\) A study of Rolle's associates—Archdeacon Neville, John Dalton, and Margaret Kirkeby—as well as a pre-1322 dating of Rolle's Judica, a work presumably written when its author was twenty-one, leads Hope Allen to conclude: "Rolle's birth would then be fixed at c. 1300, that is, possibly a year or two before 1300, but, hardly later."\(^{14}\) The death date of 1349 is, according to Miss Allen, "the only absolutely sure date that we have in tracing his life."\(^{15}\) The certainty of this biographical fact is established by agreement of such early English bibliographers as John Leland and John Bale in addition to a number of manuscript references. This abundance of evidence is explained by Miss Allen:

The extraordinary frequency of notes and colophons giving this information probably arises from the agitation occasioned by Lollardy; our extant copies of Rolle's works all belong to the Lollard period, when it was probably safe, where possible, to fix the date of a religious author before the rise of heresy.\(^{16}\)

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\(^{13}\) R. Rolle, *Richard Rolle of Hampole, II*, v n.


\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 430.

\(^{16}\) Ibid.
In absence of a better explanation, Miss Allen's will have to suffice. In further support of the 1349 date, Miss Comper writes:

There is certainly no mention of him after that date, and early in that year the Black Death raged in Yorkshire with unusual violence for several months. It was the worst outbreak in the north of which we have records. In the city of York three-fourths of the inhabitants died, and out of ninety parish priests in the East Riding only thirty were left. It is thought that Richard was one of the many victims and it was probably owing to the depletion of the monasteries by this terrible devastation that his name never appeared among the roll of canonised saints. 17

The "negative" evidence aspect of this quotation is obviously more noteworthy than is Miss Comper's speculation regarding the failure to canonize Rolle. As previously indicated, the Office was composed at least thirty-four--possibly even fifty--years after Rolle's death. By this time, one would expect that the Church had recovered sufficiently to have pursued Rolle's sainthood if it deemed the Hermit worthy of the honor. It is more likely that Rolle's reputation--aside from the Cistercian sisters' opinion of him--was somewhat tainted by that of his Yorkshire contemporary Wyclif, just as later Erasmus was to suffer because of his proximity to Luther, thereby precluding canonization at that time. 18

Lesson I of the Office establishes Rolle's birthplace as "the village of Thornton, near Pickering, in the diocese of

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17 F. M. Comper, The Life and Lyrics of Richard Rolle, p. 3.

18 It is interesting to note that Blessed Richard of Ham-pole was among the names included in Newman's prospectus for The Lives of the English Saints. Unfortunately, Rolle was one of a hundred and eighty-three whose lives were never written.
At the proper age, Richard was sent to the University of Oxford, where he was maintained by Thomas Neville, who was later to become Archdeacon of Durham. "At Oxford . . . Richard had access to the cream of medieval culture. Scholars from all over Europe were there to learn, to teach and to dispute." The first lesson indicates that Rolle "desired rather to be more fully and perfectly instructed in the theological doctrine of Holy Scripture than in physics or the study of secular knowledge." However, at the age of eighteen, Rolle, "considering that the time of mortal life is uncertain and its end greatly to be dreaded," decides to leave Oxford in order to pursue a more spiritual existence at home. The initial lesson concludes with the often quoted story of Rolle's assumption of the hermit's role. The narration has prompted G. G. Coulton to suggest a certain "eccentricity" in Rolle's character, a charge not seriously considered by more objective medieval scholars. Since the tale is so characteristic of the Hermit's individuality, it deserves full quotation. Rolle, a short time following his return from Oxford, addresses his sister:

19 Office, p. 301.
20 R. Rolle, Selected Works of Richard Rolle, p. x.
21 Office, p. 301.
22 Ibid.
23 G. G. Coulton, p. 524.
"My beloved sister, thou hast two tunics which I greatly covet, one white and the other grey. Therefore I ask thee if thou wilt kindly give them to me and bring them to me to­morrow to the wood near by, together with my father's rain­hood." She agreed willingly, and the next day, according to her promise, carried them to the said wood, being quite ign­orant of what was in her brother's mind. And when he had received them he straightway cut off the sleeves from the grey tunic and the buttons from the white, and as best he could he fitted the sleeves to the white tunic, so that they might in some manner be suited to his purpose. Then he took off his own clothes with which he was clad and put on his sister's white tunic next his skin, but the grey, with the sleeves cut out, he put on over it, and put his arms through the holes which had been cut; and he covered his head with the rain-hood aforesaid, so that thus in some measure, as far as was then in his power, he might present a certain like­ness to a hermit. But when his sister saw this she was as­tounded and cried: "My brother is mad! My brother is mad!" Whereupon he drove her from him with threats, and fled him­self at once without delay, lest he should be seized by his friends and acquaintances.24

The second lesson records Rolle's actions pursuant to his affecting the hermit's habit. He goes to church on the vigil of the Assumption, takes the place assigned to the wife of John Dalton, a wealthy squire, and prays. "And when she entered the church to hear vespers, the servants of the squire's house wished to remove him from their lady's place. But she from humility would not permit them, lest he should be disturbed in his devo­tions."25 After vespers, the lady's sons recognize Richard as the son of William Rolle. Furthermore, they had studied at Oxford together. On the feast of the Assumption, Rolle returns to the

24Office, p. 302.
25Ibid.
and without bidding from anyone, he put on a surplice and sang matins and the office of mass with the others. And when the gospel had been read in the mass, having first besought the blessing of the priest, he went to the preacher's pulpit and gave the people a sermon of wonderful edification, in so much that the multitude which heard it was so moved by his preaching that they could not refrain from tears; and they all said that they had never before heard a sermon of such virtue and power.  

Following the conclusion of Mass, Rolle is invited, according to Lesson III, to dinner at Dalton's manor. Upon being questioned as to his identity, Richard is reluctant to acknowledge that he is the son of William Rolle. Dalton is a friend of his father, and Richard is "newly made a hermit without his father's knowledge and against his wish . . . ."  

Lessons IV-VI are concerned with Rolle's residence at the Dalton estate, where he is supported as a hermit by the squire for a period of approximately four years. Lesson IV relates that Richard "began with all diligence, by day and night, to seek how to perfect his life, and to take every opportunity he could to advance in contemplative life and to be fervent in divine love."  

The fifth lesson traces briefly Rolle's ascetic practices—mortification of the flesh by numerous fasts, frequent vigils, repeated sobs and sighings, use of a hard bench for a bed, and a desire for death in order to be united with Christ. Lesson VI alludes to his

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26 Ibid.  
27 Ibid., p. 303.  
28 Ibid.
writings which were intended for the edification and conversion of his neighbors. Later in his life, Rolle's "personal reputation for wisdom and sanctity drew thousands of visitors to him, it is said, from all Christian countries." In addition, Lesson VI stresses Rolle's own "busyness" and intense concentration, qualities that the Hermit recommends frequently to his readers.

In Lesson VII, the compilers of the Office insert an incident in Rolle's life that is of sufficient import to warrant complete citation.

"When I had perceived my especial vocation, and laying aside my worldly dress had determined to serve God rather than man, it befell that on a certain night in the beginning of my conversion there appeared to me, while resting on my bed, a very beautiful young woman, whom I had seen before and who loved me—in honorable love—not a little. And when I looked on her and was marvelling why she had come to me in solitude and at night, suddenly, without delay or speech, she placed herself beside me. When I felt this, fearing lest she should entice me to evil, I said I would arise and, with the sign of the cross, invoke the blessing of the Holy Trinity upon us. But she held me so strongly that I could neither speak nor move my hand. Whereupon I perceived that not a woman, but the devil in the form of a woman, was tempting me. So I turned me to God, and when I had said in my mind: 'O Jesu, how precious is Thy blood!' and made the sign of the cross on my breast with my finger, which had now begun in some measure to be capable of movement, behold, suddenly all disappeared, and I gave thanks to God who had delivered me. From that time therefore I sought to love Jesus, and the more I advanced in His love the sweeter and more pleasant did the Name of Jesus savour to me; and even to this day It has not left me. Therefore blessed be the Name of Jesus for ever and ever. Amen." 30

Indications are discerned in this passage, quoted by the composers

30Office, p. 305.
of the Office from Rolle's writing, of two possible devotions: one to the blood of Christ and the other to the name of Jesus. Whether this quotation truly represents Rolle and his mysticism is, of course, material for the last section of this chapter.

The few facts that are known regarding Rolle's later years are revealed in Lesson VIII. The Hermit is credited with exorcising "a certain lady . . . drawing nigh to death--in whose manor Richard had a cell . . . ." Following the exorcism--possibly of Lady Dalton--the demons "went forthwith to his cell and disturbed him so much that for the time they made the place unfitted for his contemplation." Subsequently, Rolle left his Dalton residence, identified as near Topcliffe, "so that dwelling in many places he might benefit many unto salvation, and sometimes also that he might escape impediment to contemplation . . . ." A curious "defense" of Rolle's movements follows at this point in the Office. As a result, scholars such as Horstman, Comper, and Allen have been led to speculate as to possible disagreements between Rolle and Dalton, persecutions by Church hierarchy that Rolle might have criticized or challenged, and false accusations by detractors. Often, these writers substantiate their theories with evidence in form of Rolle's personal allusions in the \textit{Melum}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{31} Ibid., p. 306.
\item \textit{32} Ibid.
\item \textit{33} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Contemplativorum and the Incendium Amoris.34 Despite these elaborate conjectures, the apology in the Office reads simply:

For frequent change of place does not always come from inconstancy; as is the accusation of certain who are given to quick and perverse judgment of their neighbours, but whose crooked interpretations and habits of detraction ought not to make a sensible person neglect those things which he has found by experience to be good and conducive to virtue. For in the canon and decrees of the Church many causes sometimes are assigned for which change of place may be made; of which the first is when pressure of persecution makes a place dangerous; secondly, when some local difficulties exist; and thirdly, when the saints are harassed by the society of evil men.35

The vague generalities of this passage would naturally entice the Rolle scholar. Lesson VIII next traces Rolle to Richmondshire, from which he travels twelve miles to cure Lady Margaret, a recluse at Anderby, of an illness that had deprived her of the power of speech for thirteen days. This woman is presumably the Margaret for whom Rolle wrote the Form of Living.36 Several years later, Lady Margaret is again ill. By this time, Rolle has again moved and has been serving as spiritual advisor to the sisters of Hampole. When Margaret's messenger arrives at Hampole to summon Rolle, he learns that the Hermit has died and that the illness of Lady Margaret "had returned to the recluse shortly after the hour

34 See C. Horstman's introduction to his second volume; Miss Allen's Works Ascribed, pp. 470-488; and Chapter IX of F. M. Comper's The Life and Lyrics of Richard Rolle.


36 The Rawl. C. 285 MS. is addressed to "Cecil"; however, this variation is attributed to a scribe's substitution.
of Richard's departure."\(^{37}\) Margaret, after visiting Rolle's grave, is never again afflicted.

The *vita* of the *Office* terminates in Lesson IX with a long passage from Chapter XIII of the *Fire of Love*, which describes how and by what means that blessed zealot of God, the hermit Richard, reached the stage of perfect love and charity . . . ."\(^{38}\)

The passage is a narration of Rolle's own mystical ascent.

In addition to providing the aforementioned 1381 and 1383 dates, the *miracula* of the *Office* indicates that Rolle's tomb was constructed in the church of the Hampole nuns. According to the account of the first miracle, "a certain householder called Roger,"\(^{39}\) after experiencing several visions of Rolle, is inspired to erect a tomb in the church for the Hampole hermit. During the transporting of the necessary stone, Roger's cart collided with the side-post of the gate and cast the said stones with great force upon Roger himself. Yet he was in no wise hurt by this, nor felt any shaking or pain of body; and though his foot was very tightly jammed by the stones, he was able to get it out without injury to foot or leg.\(^{40}\)

This miracle is commemorated by Roger's placing one of the stones at the gate of the churchyard and another on the tomb of the Hermit.

\(^{37}\) *Office*, p. 308.

\(^{38}\) Ibid.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., p. 310.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., p. 311.
Aside from the scant data preserved in the **Office of St. Richard Hermit**, nothing additional is known with any degree of certainty. A tradition does exist that Rolle, following his Topcliffe stay with the Daltons, pursued a doctorate at the Sorbonne. Most Rolle scholars, while conceding the possibility of this additional study, refuse to accept it as readily and definitely as does G. C. Heseltine, who states:

But there is no reason to doubt the records in Paris—early eighteenth-century copies of the lists of alumni and writers at the Sorbonne—wherein he is said to have lived there at least from 1320 to 1326 . . . It is very likely that he went to Paris and took his Doctorate there [The English Martyrologie by "A Catholic Priest," published in 1608, lists Rolle as a doctor]. The University of Paris had long been popular with the English since its first charter had been obtained from the Pope and by an Englishman, Robert, Cardinal Curzon of Kidleston, in 1211. Rolle refers in his writings to the translation of St. Maglorius which took place in Paris when, according to the Sorbonne records, he would have been there.41

Logic appears to support the Heseltine deduction that there is no reason to question the early eighteenth century copies of the Sorbonne records. Rolle has enjoyed two periods of popularity: once during his own lifetime and again, to a much lesser degree, during recent years. Evidence of Rolle's own contemporary fame is discerned in the numerous works, including the *Pricke of Conscience*, incorrectly ascribed to him by manuscripts of his age. Nevertheless, by the eighteenth century, Rolle's position, owing to the Reformation and the stigma of the Wyclif association, would

hardly have warranted his name being falsely appended to the Sorbonne lists.

These few facts, while not delineating clearly the image of Richard Rolle, at least establish a hazy outline of this lonely, well-educated hermit. This contemplative shadow achieves the proportion of "Father" as his true greatness gradually emerges with each subsequent study of the writings attributed to him.
Authenticated Works

Regrettably, the Office contains references to only one work, the Incendium Amoris or the Fire of Love. As Previously indicated, none of Rolle's own manuscripts is extant. As a result, the problem of authenticating the authorship of the many works ascribed to Rolle remains matter for scholarly conjecture. Until the publication of Carl Horstman's two volume edition of Richard Rolle's English writings in 1895, there had been no sustained effort to determine the extent of the Hermit's literary prolificacy in the vernacular. Since then, this monumental publication has provided the Rolle researcher with copies of all pertinent English manuscripts known to Horstman—with the exception of the previously published Bramley edition of the English Psalter—as well as descriptions of the Latin editions and manuscripts. True, this eminent German scholar has since been proven erroneous in some of his ascriptions; nevertheless, as Dundas Harford states:

Horstman's work may have many faults, but at least his industry and accuracy as a copyist are worthy of all admiration, and readers of Rolle owe him ungrudging thanks for rendering accessible to them so many of his writings, and for setting them on the track of so many more.42

The following outline represents an abridgment of Horstman's classification of Rolle's writings. The list comprises those works that Horstman was able to trace in the libraries of

I. Latin Works

A. Definite Authorship

1. Hymn to the Virgin
2. Melum contemplativorum ardentium in amore dei
3. Capitulum de Judicio dei sec. Hampole
4. Exhortatio quaedam bona
5. Quomodo apparebit dominus in iudicio
6. Regula heremitarum
7. Liber de amore dei contra amatores mundi
8. Postillae ejusdem super Cantica
9. Postillae ejusdem heremitae super novem lectiones mortuorum (Job)
10. Moralía in Job
11. Postilla ejusdem super Threnos sive lamentationes Jeremiae
12. Tractatus super psalmum 20
13. Expositio psalterii
14. Magnificat
15. Incendium amoris (Melodia amoris)
16. De emendatione peccatoris (Emendatio vitae, Vehiculum vitae, Duodecim capitula)
17. Tractatus super oratione dominica
18. Expositio symboli apostolici
19. Expositio symboli Athanasii (Quicunque vult)
20. Super "Mulierem fortem quis inveniet"
21. De dei misericordia, sive de VIII viridariis
22. Miscellanies in MS. Valiol 224

23. Prayers, hymns, epigrams, sentences, and short notes dispersed in various manuscripts and collections

B. Doubtful Works Ascribed to Rolle

1. Consilia Isidori
2. "Memento miser homo quod cinis es," a meditation
3. Meditatio divinae laudis et spei veniae sec. Ricardum heremitam
4. Bonum notabile sec. Ricardum Hampol heremitam, quod temptationes spirituales multum prosunt animae peccatrici
5. Aliud notabile dictum per eundem Ricardum de cautelis diaboli contra timidam conscientiam
6. Meditatio S. Augustini
7. Meditatio: "Domine deus spiritus sancte, timeo et desidero loqui de te pro me"
8. Matutinae in veneracione nominis Jesu editae a b. Ricardo de Hampule
9. Missa de eodem et ab eodem ut creditur edita: "In nomine Jesu omne genu"
10. Liber de arte moriendi
11. Novem virtutes

C. Works Wrongly Ascribed to Rolle

1. De XII utilitatis tribulationis
2. Speculum peccatoris
3. Scala coeli, or Scala clausuralium
4. Cantus philomenae

II. English Works

A. Works Bearing His Name
1. The form of living—an epistle to Margaret Kirkby
2. "Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat," epistle to a nun of Yeddingham
3. "Pe commandment," epistle to a nun of Hampole
4. Cantica divini amoris, and another poem, of the same kind: "Thy joy be ilka deles"
5. "A grete clerk pat men calls Ricard of Saynt Victor"
6. Meditatio Ric. heremite de passione domini, in two MSS.
7. Minor pieces in MS. Thornton
   a. Encomium nominis Jesu
   b. De imperfecta contritione, two tales from Caesarius
   c. Moralia Richardi heremite de natura apis
   d. De vita cuiusdam puellæ incluse propter amorem Christi, a tale from Heraclides
   e. A notabill tretys of the ten commandementys
   f. De 7 donis Spiritus sancti
   g. De dilectatione in deo
8. Commentary on the Psalter
9. The Prick of Conscience

B. Anonymous Works in Northern MSS., Probably Written by Rolle
1. Meditation on the Passion, and of three arrows on Doomsday
2. 9 points
3. St. Anselm's Admonitio morienti
4. On grace
5. On prayer
6. Our daily work
7. The Mirror of St. Edmund, a translation
8. Poems in MS. Thornton

C. Pieces in the West Midland MS. Reg. 17 B XVII
1. Lay-Folks Mass-Book
2. A Poem on Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, World, Man, Sin, Grace, Virtue, Good works, God's Mercy, God's Justice
3. The twelve profits of tribulation
4. Of the double coming of Christ, a translation of St. Bernard De adventu Domini sermo VI
5. Miscellanies in Latin and English, including two poems on themes of the Prick of Conscience

D. Minor Poems of MS. Vernon

E. Doubtful Works
1. Psalter in verse
2. St. Mary's lamentation on the passion of Christ
3. Minor pieces in the West Midland MS. Ashm. 751
4. Short pieces in MS. Harl. 1022

F. Works Wrongly Ascribed to Rolle
1. Contemplatyon of the drede and love of God
2. The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons
3. 2 epistles "maad of Richard Hampul as some men supposen, but whoever made it, myche deuout ping is perinne"
4. Speculum vitae
5. And many of the pieces in the lists of Tanner and Pits
   a. Orologium Sapientiae
   b. Consilia Isidori "O man knowe piselfe"
c. Meditatio S. Augustini "Seynt Austyne the holy doctour techeth"
d. Pety Iob
e. The seven penitential psalms in verse
f. The profits of tribulation
g. The boke of the craft of dying, a translation of De arte moriendi
h. A tretyse of gostly batayle
i. The Myror of synneres, a translation of the Speculum peccatoris
j. Of three arrows on Doomsday\textsuperscript{43}

As a preface to his list of Rolle's English works, Horstman includes a fairly comprehensive summary of the problem involved in authenticating the Hermit's vernacular writings. First, Rolle's name had apparently become so intimately fused with the religious and mystical literature of his age that all works of this character found in such collections as the MS. Harl. 1706 were readily credited to him. On the other hand, his works were frequently confused with those of his followers--particularly Hilton and Wyclif--who freely borrowed from him. Horstman elicits a similarity of style between Hilton and Rolle as a contributing factor. To illustrate further this confusion of master and disciple, Horstman alludes to Wyclif's appropriation of Rolle's original work in the Lollard's Commentary on the Psalms and Canticles.

\textsuperscript{43} R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, II, xxxvi-xliii.
Moreover, translations and imitations of Rolle's works often assumed his name. Finally, some of the Hermit's writings were divided only to be integrated later with someone else's work; frequently, the entire combination then became attributed to Rolle. So confusion soon commenced to set in; it begins in the Mss., appears in the early prints, was magnified by Tanner [an early bibliographer], and has since invaded the modern catalogues of Mss.”

The principal test in determining Rolle's authorship of English writings is, according to Horstman, one of dialect. Since Rolle resided primarily in the precincts of Yorkshire, the German philologist states:

It is obvious that he can only have written in the northern dialect—unlike Wycliffe who, though a northerner, from his long residence in the South adopted the southern speech, and W. Hilton who, though originally writing in northern English, gradually admitted the mixed forms of the neighbourhood where he resided (Thurgarton in Notts). Indeed, all the genuine works of R. Rolle have been traced in northern texts exhibiting the same pure northern forms, the same vocabulary. It follows that works which on closer examination are found to be of Midland or Southern origin, cannot be his; hence many works in Tanner's list must be rejected. Nor can even northern texts which give translations of his Latin works, be accepted as his, if they are found to seriously misunderstand the meaning—for it is impossible that he himself should have mistaken the sense of his words; such is the case in several of the pieces of Ms. Thornton, though here given with his name. On the other side, we may safely ascribe to him those northern texts which in the Mss. are found mixed up with works of his and contain the same peculiarities of language and style, the same cadenced prose &c., though not bearing his name. The only possible means of approximately arriving at the truth is, therefore, to follow up the northern Mss.

Ibid., p. xxxix.
which contain, or may contain his works. 45

In spite of more recent proposals, Horstman's test of dialect must remain fundamental to any investigation of Rolle's English works. Equally basic to this facet of Rolle scholarship is Horstman's catalogue of the Hermit's characteristic vocabulary which is included as an extended footnote to this quoted passage.

The second colossus of Rolle scholarship appeared in 1927 with the publication of Hope Emily Allen's greatly anticipated Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole and Materials for His Biography. In regard to number of works considered genuinely Rolle's, Miss Allen's text represents the opposite pole from Horstman's rather liberal accreditation. For example, Allen accepts only eleven English commentaries, epistles, and short prose pieces as well as a handful of lyrics as definitely having been written by the Hampole Hermit. These constitute less than a third of those validated by Horstman. The nature of Miss Allen's work is correctly revealed in her introductory paragraphs:

The present volume will supply lists of all the manuscripts of the works of Richard Rolle, hermit of Hampole, and of writings ascribed to him falsely or doubtfully which have come to light during a long investigation of manuscript collections. All information of assistance for determining his canon that can be derived from medieval sources will be quoted, whether in the form of scribe's notes and colophons appended to manuscripts and early editions of the works, or of references in early compilations and bibliographies. The evidence will be given for disproving false ascriptions, and the authenticity of true and doubtful works will be discussed.

The most salient features of each piece will be described, but their structure is so informal that no summaries are attempted. Since the bulk of Rolle's work is either unprinted or only accessible in rare early editions, the present descriptive catalogue of the writings may be useful for its quotations. On that account works which have never been printed will be quoted more at length than those easily accessible. To collect the materials for an understanding of Rolle's place in literary and religious history may be called the primary purpose of the present study; but since materials have been up to now in confusion, the principal enterprise has actually been that of determining the canon. To this purpose other considerations have when necessary been sacrificed, for other studies can follow the determination of the canon better than they can precede it. Whatever material brings any evidence as to the authorship of the writings has primarily been given in that connexion, in order that the canon may so far as possible be settled once for all.\(^{46}\)

In spite of the obvious merit of Allen's important contribution to the establishment of Rolle's canon, it is impossible to agree with statements such as that of Effie Mackinnon: "Happily Miss Allen's work is unimpeachable. The canon has been settled once for all. It remains merely to accept her conclusions as a foundation for further study."\(^{47}\) Just as Allen challenges Horstman's deductions, other Rolle devotees have stepped forth to question her judgments. Representative is Miss Hodgson's reluctance to surrender four works attributed to Rolle by Horstman but rejected by Allen:

There are perhaps only four of the Writings which Miss Hope has excluded, at any rate tentatively if not positively, which Rolle's lovers will decline to give up save on incon-


trovertible evidence that he cannot have written them. These are, Our Daily Work; Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows on Doomsday, and the two little tracts, On Grace and On Prayer.48

Apparent in this quotation is the indication that Miss Allen is not as universally positive in her conclusions as a superficial scanning of her text or a reading of Miss Mackinnon's treatment of the Allen canon might imply. Actually, while Miss Allen is somewhat dogmatic as to the works she accepts without reservation, by her own testimony she indicates that the final word has not been recorded in regard to other works.

As a result, the attitude of this writer corresponds to that of G. C. Heseltine, who writes:

There has been some discussion amongst scholars as to what works are Rolle's and what are not. But such discussions are of no more than academic value. To us who seek to know Rolle and understand his works it will not matter very much if we innocently regard as his the works, to quote an old joke, of "another man of the same name." On the whole, authorities are fairly well agreed on the principal works attributed to him, and if in accepting the majority opinion we mistakenly attribute to Rolle a work which, though certainly like his, was written by a disciple or imitator, there will be no great harm done.49

Heseltine's point is not necessarily the academic heresy that it might appear to be; at least it is not from the perspective of this dissertation. The primary purpose of this study is to anal-


49 R. Rolle, Selected Works of Richard Rolle Hermit, pp. xxv-xxvi.
analyze English mystical literature of the fourteenth century in order to determine the extent of its Blood Motifs. The Yorkshire school provides a convenient limitation to the project as well as obviously providing the most significant mystical literature of the age. If, then, the analysis of Rolle's works includes investigations of works about which there is reasonable contemporary doubt as to authorship, and even if later scholarship proves conclusively that Rolle is not the author of one or more of them, there will, nevertheless, in Heseltine's words, "be no great harm done." The study will merely have provided a little more research than had originally been envisioned.

The disagreement with Miss Mackinnon's blind acceptance of Miss Allen's canon notwithstanding, Miss Mackinnon's dissertation has provided this writer with a table of Rolle's accepted writings, a table which permits the chronology and grouping of the Latin and English works to be seen at a glance. This synthesis in tabular form is the result of a very careful reading of the materials provided in Miss Allen's text. Since the analysis of the Blood Motifs in Rolle's writings will concentrate first on those works universally accepted as genuine, Miss Mackinnon's chronology is both an apt conclusion to this segment of the Rolle chapter and a proper transition to the next section.
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ENGLISH WORKS

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English Lyrics

50 E. Mackinnon, pp. 42-43.
As is discerned in the preceding table, the English Psalter is dated after 1337. The basis for this deduction is Miss Allen's conjecture that the war alluded to in the Psalm XXI commentary is the war with France that was declared in 1337 and continued throughout the remainder of Rolle's life.\footnote{H. E. Allen, Works Ascribed, p. 186.} Using the same approach—that of utilizing internal evidence—Rev. H. R. Bramley, the editor of the 1884 edition of the English Psalter, places the date of composition between 1316 and 1326. Rev. Bramley reasons that the description of the pestilence in the explanation of Psalm I may have been suggested by the plague of 1316. As for the 1326 date:

Allusion is made to 'ill pryncys,' to 'oure pryncys now that ledis thaire life in filth of syn,' and to the strife which is poured out on them; to the perplexities of the prelates, and to their being slain. There can be little doubt that these expressions refer to the 'evil times' and character of Edward II, to his wars with the nobles, to the entanglement of the bishops in the contending factions, and specially to the death of Walter de Stapledon, bishop of Exeter and Lord Treasurer, who having been left by the king as governor of the city of London was murdered in Cheapside, Oct. 14, 1326. It might perhaps be conjectured from the absence of any clear allusion to the murder of the King, which took place Sept. 21, 1337, that the completion of this commentary is to be assigned to the period between those two events.\footnote{Richard Rolle, The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles with a Translation and Exposition, ed. Rev. H. R. Bramley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884), pp. xv-xvi. Subsequent references will be to Psalter.}

Regardless of the exact date, the consensus is that in two respects "this work opened a new period in Rolle's production,
which was to be the last: it was written in English, and for a friend."53 According to a verse prologue included in the Bramley edition, Rolle

Closed the sauter that sues here; in englysch tong sykerly,
At a worthy recluse prayer; cald dame Merget kyrkby.54

Once having inaugurated his English writings, Rolle appears to have returned to Latin only twice: once to write the *Incendium Amoris* and the other time to compose the *Emendatio Vitae*.

On initial observation, a work such as a *Psalter* might seem to be an unlikely source of original thought. Rolle states in his prologue:

In expounynge. i. fologh haly doctours. for it may com. in some enuyous man hand that knawes noght what he sousd say, that will say that. i. wist noght what. i. said. and swa doe harme til hym. and til othere. if he dispise the werke that is profytabile for hym and othere.55

However, to anyone conversant with Rolle's writings, it becomes immediately apparent that the Hermit's "touch" is ever-present in the commentaries. For example, Miss Allen observes that Rolle's "whole mystical doctrine could be expounded from his *Psalters*."56

In support of her thesis, she cites the English *Psalter* several

54*Psalter*, p. 1.
55Ibid., p. 5.
times: once for Rolle’s statement that the fire of love is more than a metaphor [Ps. XXXVIII. 4] and four times for Rolle’s insistence that mystic joy is an actual foretaste of heaven [Ps. XXXII. 3; Ps. LXVII. 27; Ps. XXVI. 11; Ps. XXXIX. 4]. Additional English previews of Rolle’s mysticism are discerned in references to the mystical song of heaven that is heard by only a few; the “perfit men. that ere brennand with the flaumme of godis luf, and passis in till contemplative life”; the mystical wounding of men by God’s love; "gastly steghynge [ascending]”; Scripture’s help in the mystical ascent; the importance of “busyness” to mystical love; contemplation as the "goed ʒernynge [that] liftis va til heuen"; and the Christocentric gathering, “thare is thi rest and thi sikirnes [security].”

In addition to the mystical character of the English Psalter, there are non-mystical illustrations of the Rolle imprint.

57 Ibid., pp. 180-181.
58 Psalter, Ps. XXXIX. 4, p. 146.
59 Ibid., Ps. XLI. 1, p. 153.
60 Ibid., Ps. LXXVI. 17, p. 276.
61 Ibid., Ps. CXIX. 1, p. 437.
62 Ibid., Ps. CXX. 1, p. 438.
63 Ibid., Ps. CXXI. 1, p. 439.
64 Ibid., Ps. CXXII. 1, p. 440.
65 Ibid., Ps. CXLV. 1, p. 481.
The explication of Psalm XXI contains a distinction between the poor and the rich, a distinction that is one of Rolle's favorite themes:

The pore ere meke men and despisers of this warld. thai sall ete gastly mete in sweetnes of luf and gladnes of heuuen: and thai sall be fild foluand ihu crist, and louand in brennand deuocioun: & swa thai sall nother couaite the plente of this warld, ne dred the hungere, bot seke god. Pore men louys god. riche men thaim self: for thi thof the bodis of pore men dye, thaire hertis lifes with outen end. and riche men lifes in this warld in ioy, and sythen thai dye in endles pyne. 66

There are also the typical Rolle denunciations of "flaterers and bakbiters" 67 and the "enuyous men [who] thynkis how thai mught fordo the goed fame of a haly man." 68 Finally, and most significantly, the English Psalter reveals the Rolle stamp with its numerous indications of blood import, indications that will be shown to consistently permeate Rolle's other English writings.

The English Psalter establishes in the vernacular Rolle's association with the various facets of Christ as a ransom figure. Rolle's theological studies at Oxford and possibly the Sorbonne appear to have thoroughly prepared him in the field of redemptive thought. From the early Church Fathers up to Rolle's own era, a major consideration of the theologians had been the exact nature of Christ's role as a sacrificial victim. Against a background of

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66 Ibid., Ps. XXI. 27, p. 82.
67 Ibid., Ps. XIV. 4, p. 51.
68 Ibid., Ps. XL. 8, p. 152.
the contention between God and Satan for the possession of mankind
the giants of theology projected the so-called theory of "devil's
rights." This concept consists of three forms: the legal or ran-
som theory; the political or abuse of power theory; and the poeti-
cal or metaphoric theory. The ransom theory, proposed by St. Am-
brose and St. Jerome, states that by sinning mankind had become
the captive or slave of the devil. By his own efforts, man could
not buy his freedom. As a result, it became necessary for Christ
to liberate man by offering His blood as a ransom to the devil.
The second form, the abuse of power theory, considers a compact
to have existed between God and the devil, one limiting their re-
spective sovereignties. By agreement, Satan received from God the
power to subject all men to death as a consequence of their sins.
However, by slaying the innocent Christ, the devil had violated
the compact; God was, therefore, justified in depriving Satan of
his captives as a result of his having abused his rights. This
theory, supported by St. Augustine and St. Leo the Great, elimin-
ates any possibility of a ransom being given to the devil, who is
merely being punished for his compact violation. God's success in
manipulating this violation is sometimes conceived as having re-
sulted from a hiding of the divine nature of the Savior from Satan.
"In this trickery the Fathers saw another proof of God's wisdom,
who by His cleverness was able to inveigle even the Father of Lies
in order to overcome him." 69 Furthermore, since Adam was seduced

69 J. Riviere, The Doctrine of the Atonement, tr. Luigi
by deception, it was only fitting that the devil be deceived.\textsuperscript{70}

The role of Christ's blood in the two theories is explained by Father Rohling:

In the one it is paid to the devil as a ransom for mankind, in the other it is shed unjustly by the devil, who abuses his power in doing so. In the one case the Blood is paid to the devil, in the other it is not paid to the devil; he is merely permitted to shed it, that he might overstep the rights which God had given him, and thus forfeit the power which he had received over the rest of mankind.\textsuperscript{71}

Finally, the poetical form may be either the ransom theory or the abuse of power theory expressed allegorically.

Of the two major theories, the ransom theory appears to have been decidedly less prominent than the abuse of power theory since it is beset with a number of inconsistencies. The major obstacle to an acceptance of the ransom theory is that the blood of Christ is traditionally considered as fulfilling the typical bloody sacrifice of the Old Testament, sacrifices that certainly were not offered to the devil. By the year 1000, theologians such as St. Leo, the Venerable Bede, Alcuin, Sedulius Scotus, and Atto of Verceilli had labored to establish that Christ's blood was not paid as a ransom to the devil but rather was offered by Christ as a blood sacrifice to God the Father.\textsuperscript{72} Nevertheless, as already noted in


\textsuperscript{71}Ibid., p. 41.

\textsuperscript{72}Ibid., p. 109.
regard to Cur Deus Homo,73 the ransom theory, possibly because of its psychological appeal, continued to exert significant influence on medieval religious and secular literature.

Excluding the commentaries prompted by the appearance of "deliverer" and "redeemer" in the context of the Psalms themselves, one discovers that Rolle's utilization of the redemptive motif runs the gamut of the "devil's rights" theory. However, the overwhelming majority of instances involves three facets of the legal or ransom form: man's captivity, man's inability to effect his own ransom, and man's subsequent reliance on God's purchase from the devil.

Man's slavery is the concern of six of Rolle's explanations. Early in the English Psalter—the explanation of Psalm II. 3 and 4—the Hermit stresses the need to break the "bandis of couatis & ill dreed, that byndes men in synne."74 In Psalm VI. 4, it is specifically man's "saule [that is] bondyn in synn, and lettid [hindered] with many enmys in turnynge."75 The commentary on Psalm LVI. 5 establishes the intimate connection between God's mercy and the freeing of men's soul:

God sent his mercy til my saule, forgifand my syn, and his sothfastnes, punysand me mercyfully, and swa he toke out my saule, that was bunden in bandis of syn, fra the myddis of

73 See p. 53.
74 Psalter, Ps. II. 3 and 4, p. 9.
75 Ibid., Ps. VI. 4, p. 22.
whelpis of lyouns, that is, fra the comun life of warldis lufers, that ere the whelpis of deuelas. 76

Two references depict man's captivity as servitude in the "prison of the deuel." 77 In the sixth and final passage, a slightly modified form of the slavery theme is presented: "The saules of pore men he sal by out of okeringe [usury] of the devil, that asks mare in paynes than was done in synnes." 78

Man's redemptive impotence is the subject of Psalm XLVIII. 7 and 8 and Rolle's interpretation of these verses.

7. Frater non redimet. redimet homo: & non dabit deo placa­cionem suam. (Brother sall not bye, sall man bye; and he sall noght gif til god his quemynge [appeasement]. (Bro­there crist sall not bye swilke. for thai trayst noght in him. bot in thaire vertu. Wha sa trayst in this brother he sall not drede in ill day. sall man bye thaim. nay, thof he be neuer swa myghty. aswha say, thai ere in prison of the deuel. and nane is to bye thaim oute. for crist will noght, thare frend mey noght, than ere thai lost: and swa he sall noghi gif til god. his quemynge. that is, he wil noght gif til god luf of his hert. that myght queime him.

8. Et precium redempcionis anime sue: & laborabit in eternum & viuet adhuc in finem. (And the prise of the biynge of his saule: and he sall trauaile withouten ende, and he sall lif 3it in the ende. (That is, he sall not doe verray penaunce and almusdede, thurghe the whilke he myght bye his saule fra hell. and therfor he sall trauaile withouten ende in pynes . . . 79

Despite the fact that the text necessitates Rolle's concentration on this particular element of the ransom theory, the Hampole my-
stic does expand significantly upon the bare Scriptural statement. According to Rolle, whoever trusts in his own "vertu" is excluded from Christ's buying. This idea appears later, slightly modified, in the reference to "synful men that are noght boght." Furthermore the wholly self-reliant cannot be ransomed by a friend nor can he "gif til god his quemynge." More specifically, such a person is incapable of any penance or "almusdede" that will allow him to "bye his saule fra hell." Certainly, in this citation, Rolle's concept of this feature of the ransom theory is considerably more extensive than its Scriptural suggestion.

No less than thirteen other references are made to the third part of the ransom theory--the divine agency essential for redemption. Four of the allusions are simply statements of God's or Christ's buying man, "His folke," or man's soul "fra the seruys of the deucl and of syn." In a fifth instance, man, in addition to being bought, is made "rightwis." A sixth reference credits the buying from the devil to "crist criand in the cross." By a variety of expressions, the remaining ascriptions elicit the blood of Christ as the price of the ransom. One is a dramatic

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80 Ibid., Ps. LXXXI. 7, p. 302.
81 Ibid., Ps. VIII. 1, p. 28; Ps. LXXX. 9, p. 299.
82 Ibid., Ps. XCIX. 4, p. 350.
83 Ibid., Ps. LXX. 25, p. 252.
84 Ibid., Ps. LXXXVIII. 6, p. 320.
85 Ibid., Ps. XXX. 6, p. 106.
statement by Christ: "With my blode man kynd be delyuerd fra the
deuel."\textsuperscript{86} A second instance involves an address to the Father:
"Thou boght in thin arme. that is, in thi sun, with his blode.
thi folke."\textsuperscript{87} A third passage identifies the "preciouse blode" as
the device for breaking "the pouste [power] of the deuel."\textsuperscript{88} An­
other statement links the price of blood to Christ's mercy: "With
the pryse of his blode he boght the fra hell. and if thou will
ouercum thi fas, he corouns the in heuen. that is noght bot of
his mercy."\textsuperscript{89} A fifth reference to the blood as the price paid
for the ransom establishes metaphorically the Red Sea of Christ's
bloodshedding. In explicating the verse, "And he sauyd thaim of
the hand of hatand: and he boght thaim of the hand of enmy,"
Rolle states, "That is, he sauyd thaim of the myght of pharao, and
of his men, that hatid thaim. and that bitakyns baptem. in the
whilke we ere boght fra the deuyl with the blode of crist that was
likynd by the rede see."\textsuperscript{90} The basis for this simile is eluci­
dated in Father Rohling's \textbf{The Blood of Christ}:

Another figure employed to describe its [the blood's] effects

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., Ps. XXI. 2, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., Ps. LXXVI. 14, p. 275.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., Ps. LXXVII. 47, p. 284.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., Ps. CII. 4, p. 357.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., Ps. CV. 10, p. 374.
is that of the Red Sea. In the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea the writers [theologians] discern a figure of the sacrament of baptism. The waters of the Sea signify the waters of baptism, and the redness of the waters the Blood of Christ, which consecrates the waters of baptism and empowers them to cleanse from sin.  

As this example of Rolle previews, the medieval mystics employ a variety of figures to express the belief that the Passion of Christ was markedly bloody in order to vividly illustrate the Redemption as an infinite source of grace and forgiveness. Unification of Christians is presented as an adjunct of their purchase from the devil in a sixth passage: "Crist with his blode boght cristen men fra the deuyl, and gedird thaim tobe a folk of god, that biforn was scatird in sere errours."  

The final statement interprets "plentevous bying" as meaning that Christ's blood "bouȝt all the worlde." The obvious theological implication expressed here is the universality of the Redemption. As Father Rohling explains:

This Blood was shed not only for the Jews, but also for the Gentiles; it redeems all who are willing to believe. Not only have all men been redeemed, but there is no sin which Christ cannot cleanse away with His Blood, and no scars of transgression are so deep that they cannot be effaced by the remedy which He supplies.

91 J. H. Rohling, p. 111.  
92 Psalter, Ps. CVI. 2, p. 380.  
93 Ibid., Ps. CXXIX. 7, p. 448.  
94 J. H. Rohling, pp. 47-48. Father Rohling cites a number of references for this theological point, including St. Jerome and St. Augustine; see p. 48 and p. 61.
The blood of Christ was given once, but it was shed for all men, for all time, for all sins; hence, as Rolle states, Christ's blood "bou3t all the warlde."

Decidedly less frequent and less positive are the English psalter's revelations of the abuse of power theory. One clear reference is made to the innocent victim motif:

Crist was withouten syn. forthi the reprofe that thai sayd that he had the deuel in him. and that thai spittid in his face, that semes gret shame bifor men to thole [suffer], he suffird all for godis luf. we suffire mykil for oure synn.  

Somewhat less definite is a statement that nevertheless can be interpreted as echoing Satan's loss. Rolle addresses the Savior:

Thou out takis the helples, that is mannys kinde, fra the pouste of the deuel, that was stalworthere: for he overcome him, and robbid the nedy and the pore: that ware we, for gure syn: bot now he lesis vs of his hand, thorth his passion. 

In a sense, the "ruse" involved in duping the devil can result in the act being depicted as a robbing of captive mankind from Satan. Finally, a curious reversal of the roles of Christ and Satan is expressed by Rolle when he says, ".i. preche the myght of ihū [Jesus]. that crucified the deuel and sloghe syn . . . "  

This comment can be accepted as revealing an awareness of the abuse of power theme in that the devil's hold on man is finally destroyed by Christ. According to the tenets of the abuse of power concept,

95 Psalter, Ps. LXVIII. 10, p. 239.
96 Ibid., Ps. XXXIV. 12, p. 124.
97 Ibid., Ps. LXX. 20, p. 251.
Satan lost his right to mankind when he subjected Christ to death; therefore, the act resulted in the inversion of authority whereby the crucified was transposed into the crucifier.

Closely allied with this consideration of a broken compact between God and Satan is a relatively minor class of medieval allegory—the Charter of Christ. This literary type develops its theme under the figure of a legal charter or grant; "essentially, this document purports to be a grant of Heaven's bliss, made to mankind by the Saviour, upon condition that man give, in return, his love to God and to his neighbor." The Charter's structure is generally predicated on that of its legal prototype even to the formulae that mark the various divisions of the medieval charter.

As is sometimes the case with medieval literature, Scripture appears to provide the impetus for literary creativity. Two such Biblical suggestions are

And this is why he is mediator of a new covenant, that whereas a death has taken place for redemption from the transgressions committed under the former covenant, they who have been called may receive eternal inheritance according to the promise. For where there is a testament, the death of the testator must intervene; for a testament is valid only when men are dead, otherwise it has as yet no force as long as the testator is alive.

and

And you, when you were dead by reason of your sins and the


99 Epistle to the Hebrews IX, 15-18.
uncircumcision of your flesh, he brought to life along with him, forgiving you all your sins, cancelling the decree against us, which was hostile to us. Indeed he has taken it completely away, nailing it to the cross.100

The Colossians' allusion to the cancelled, hostile decree clearly substantiates the similarity existing between the Charter motif and the abuse of power theme.

The Charter has survived in five distinct forms: the Carta Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, a fifteenth century Latin prose charter of twenty-one lines; the Carta Libera d. n. Iesu Christi--also titled Carta Redempcionis humae--a fourteenth century Latin poem of thirty-eight lines; the Carta Dei, a fourteenth century Middle English poem of forty-two verses; the so-called Short Charter,101 a Middle English poem of thirty-two lines which manifests probable fourteenth century origins; and the Long Charter, another fourteenth-fifteenth century Middle English poem extant in three versions of 234, 418, and 618 lines.102

Genre characteristics gleaned from the various Charter forms include the legal externals of a medieval charter; the grant of heaven to man as his heritage; the day of the crucifixion as the date of the sealing or bestowal of the deed; the Reddendo clause specifying the requirement of love to God; a number of

100Colossians II,13-14.

101Some of the Short Charter manuscripts contain interesting, though crude, drawings of such items as Christ's wounds being depicted as suns giving forth rays of blood, a pelican picking her breast, and various instruments of the Passion. See Spalding, pp. xx-xvi for complete descriptions.

102M. C. Spalding, pp. xiii-xvi.
witnesses ranging from the phenomena of nature to the evangelists, St. John, the Virgin Mary, the Holy Ghost, and God the Father; the writing of the deed in Christ's blood; Christ's promise of mercy to the repentant; either Christ's wounds or the instruments of the Passion as seals of the deed; the stretching of Christ's body on the cross, as parchment on a harrow, so that His bones can be numbered; and the numbering of Christ's wounds at 5460.

Apart from the Charter form proper, manifestations of its characteristics are discernible in a few isolated instances. The Digby "Burial of Christ" mystery is one example:

Mawdleyn--
'Cum hithere, Ioseph, beholde & looke,
How many bludy letters ben wretin in pis buke,
Small margente her is.'

Ioseph--
'Ye, this parchement is stritchit owt of syse.'103

Another allusion occurs in Chaucer's A B C. Interestingly, the reference is not to be found in Chaucer's apparent source for this short poem--the prayer in Deguilleville's Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine.

He vouched sauf, tel him, as was his wille, 
Become a man, to have our alliaunce, 
And with his precious blood he wroot the bille 
Upon the crois, as general acquitaunce,

To every penitent in ful creunce;\textsuperscript{104}

A meditacion of be fyue woundes of Ihesu Crist, a work no longer ascribed to Rolle, contains a third echo:

\begin{quote}
oure blessed fadir of heuene spared not his owen sone but suffrede hym to be streyned on the harde cros, moore dispi­tously & greuously pan euer was schepys skyn streyned on the wal or yp-on pe parchemyn-makeris narowe a3ens pe sonne to drye.\textsuperscript{105}
\end{quote}

Usually, the appearances of the Charter elements in other genres are infrequent and singular. However, the English Psalter constitutes a noteworthy exclusion to the rule in that it contains a variety of the Charter ingredients. As was previously the case with the "deliverer" references, caution must be employed so as not to attach too much importance, if any, to the numerous appearances of "heritage" and "testament" in Rolle's commentaries. In most cases, the Scriptural text contains the terms.

Nevertheless, several of the Psalter's allusions to the words are significant. For example, in referring to "hale heritage in blisse. when for the goed werke that here did he sall resaife his body glorifide,"\textsuperscript{106} Rolle stresses the obligation of meriting the heritage. In other passages, the Hermit expresses other modes of the obligation. In one case, the testament is a "couaunte that we made with the in baptem," one that continues as


\textsuperscript{105} R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, II, 440.

\textsuperscript{106} Psalter, Ps. XXIV. 14, p. 90.
long as "we kepid thi biddyngis." In another statement, man is given the testament of an endless heritage as long as he obey's God's commandment to "lif rightwisly." Later in the same commentary, the endless heritage is given "til anyly tha that ere takyne with the strenge of predestinacioun of god." In other words, the heritage belongs to only those who submit to the force of God's plan. Finally, the Reddendo clause is, at least, implied in Rolle's observation that "This kinge is worthy to be loved, for he sal deliver the pore that trustes haly in him, fra the diuel, whaim mens synns maks mighty." From a negative viewpoint, the testament is violated when men "dispend the godes of thaire lord falsly" or when "men 3eldis til god ill for goed, despisand his woundis and his biddyngis." As for punishment, "the wicked men, that filed thi testament, thou sall brynge thaim in til the pit of hell. thare ded and myrknes is that lastis ay."

In addition to one reference which assigns both the mercy

107 Ibid., Ps. XLIII. 19, p. 161.
108 Ibid., Ps. CIV. 7, p. 367.
109 Ibid., Ps. CIV. 10, p. 367.
110 Ibid., Ps. LXXI. 12, p. 254.
111 Ibid., Ps. LXXVII. 41, p. 283.
112 Ibid., Ps. CXV. 3, p. 405.
113 Ibid., Ps. LIV. 26, p. 199.
of God and His testament to all who love Him, the mercy with other references to the Charter form such as a direct allusion to the will and to the witnesses of the testament:

Mercy he giftis, forgifand syn. Sothfastnes [truthfulness], demand merits. he leiris mercy thurgh the whilke he is quemed [pleased], and sothfastnes thurgh the whilke he is vntamed [invincible]. and thof that be noght knawn til all, it is knawn til the sekand his witword [will], that is, his passion, and his ded, when he made his testament, and hight [promised] vs life, and zeldeis it. and sekand his witnesynges, that is, bihaldis that he sayd in prophetis, and witnesid in the euangelistics: for thai ere witnes of his hightynge [promising].

Of course, the sublime witness of Charter literature is God Himself. Although not specifying the Charter figure, Rolle does use the Father as a witness to man's spiritual inheritance: "In heritage. that is, in lastand possession .i. gat of god, whas ayre .i. am, forto be his trew witnes. and that is til me withouten end."

One reverberation of the metaphor of Christ's body being the stretched parchment upon which is written God's grant appears in the English Psalter. In elucidating the verse, "Thai grof [dug] my hend and my fete; thai noumbird all my banes," Rolle states:

He says thai grof, forto shew the mykilnes of his pyne. vgly grauynge in hend and fete. and as the erth that is grauen

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114 Ibid., Ps. LXXXVIII. 28, p. 323.
115 Ibid., Ps. XXIV. 11, p. 90.
116 Ibid., Ps. CXVIII. 111, p. 427.
This explication demonstrates rather graphically Rolle's imaginative faculty, for he fuses the simile of the body as the medium of communication--in this case the recording of pain instead of the delineating of the charter--with that of a fruitful tilling of the soil. In considering the numbered bones as the "wordis," Rolle follows closely the Charter tradition even though he does alter the convention to correspond to the sense of the Scriptural text.

Probably the most consequential passage involving the Charter form is the following:

This is the day of grace in the whilke god gafe hele, and we ere bough out of syn. and endles heritage restorid. be we glade & fayne. for than the deuyl lost his right. and man qwkynd agayn. and for it is day of hele.

The "day of grace" is, of course, the day of the crucifixion--hence, a dating reminiscent of the Charter's dating. The other elements discerned in the quotation--the ransom, the restoration of the heritage, and the loss of the devil's right--clearly evidence the passage's importance by establishing the proximity of

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117 Ibid., Ps. XXI. 17, p. 17.

118 In the sermon "De Quarta Feria," St. Augustine views the Church as the Lord's field which is irrigated by the precious blood.

119 Psalter, Ps. CXVII. 23, p. 409.
the Charter and the devil's rights motifs.

Additional examples of the testament,\textsuperscript{120} the heritage and heir theme,\textsuperscript{121} Christ's promise not to fordo His "cuuaunt,"\textsuperscript{122} and the spending of the precious blood\textsuperscript{123} could be evoked to further illustrate the ransom motif and its corollary the Charter; but these would merely be repetitious.

A refinement of the blood sacrifice concept is seen in the use of blood as spiritual medicine and the identification of Christ as a physician or some other agent of convalescence. The basis for the motif is probably rooted in the primitive association between blood and vitality or blood as the life factor itself. As a student of Scripture, Rolle would be expected to be aware of this ancient correlation—an expectation that is justified by the Hermitt's observation that "a manys saule is in the blode."\textsuperscript{124} Father Rohling calls attention to St. Augustine's\textsuperscript{125} employment of the metaphors:

One of the most beautiful figures concerning the precious Blood is that in which he [Augustine] calls it Christ's medicine. Especially in his sermons he likes to refer to Christ

\textsuperscript{120}Ibid., Ps. LXXXIII. 21, p. 267.

\textsuperscript{121}Ibid., Ps. XXXII. 12, p. 116; Ps. LXXXIII. 3, p. 263; Ps. LXXXI. 6 and 8, p. 302.

\textsuperscript{122}Ibid., Ps. LXXVIII. 34, p. 324.

\textsuperscript{123}Ibid., Ps. XX. 1, p. 74.

\textsuperscript{124}Ibid., Ps. XIII. 6, p. 48.

\textsuperscript{125}St. Augustine is the first of the "haly doctours" referred to by Rolle in the Psalter, Ps. I. 1, p. 5.
as our Physician who uses this remedy in our behalf.\textsuperscript{126}

In several ways, Rolle utilizes these figures. He addresses God as "my helpe, that salues the wounde of my syn."\textsuperscript{127} In another passage, the Lord is termed a "leche":

Doe mercy on that manere, that thou helpe my saule in this world with pynes: for .i. accuse my syn, and opynd my wounde, and says, .i. haf synned til the. thou ert leche, helpe it.\textsuperscript{128}

Still later in the \textbf{English Psalter}, the Hampole mystic repeats the "leche" identification:

Contryte of hert ere thai that offerst til him the sacrifice of sorowful gast. perfite helpe sall be when we ryse glorifyde in body and saule. but now as a leche he byndis oure brekynge of oure krokid hertis. that thai be rightid til his luf. his byndynge is the sacramentis, in the whilke we hate comforth til we perfytyly be hele.\textsuperscript{129}

The last illustration of these figurative equations is observed in Rolle's perception of God's mercy being symbolized by the blood of Christ's sacrifice and that, in turn, being labeled "gastly medysyn."\textsuperscript{130}

Another figure of Christ's blood, wine, was anticipated first by the primitive law of association. Later, the blood was prefigured in the Old Testament by Isaias' vision of the man whose

\textsuperscript{126}J. H. Rohling, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{127}Psalter, Ps. XXVI. 15, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{128}Ibid., Ps. XL. 4, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{129}Ibid., Ps. CXLVI. 3, pp. 484-485.
\textsuperscript{130}Ibid., Ps. LXXII. 4, p. 257.
garments were "like theirs that tread in the wine press," the wine drunk by Noe, the wine offered by Melchisedech, and Jacob's foretelling that Juda would wash his robe in wine and his garment in the blood of the grape.

The indication in Psalm XXII. 7 of the inebriating quality of the chalice prompts an elaboration by Rolle that defines the intoxication as a spiritual rejuvenation that seems to parallel the primitive and classical concepts of a physical reinvigoration:

That is, thou made glad my thought in gastly joy, and my chalice. that is, the wyne of thi luf, hetand and strenghand me withinen. myn, for i. take it of the: and drunkynand. that is, gerand [causing] me forgete all vayn delites of this warld. what it is bright. for it gifes me the brightness of lif withouten end. The effect of the acquired wisdom in the forgetting of "all vayn delites of this warld" recalls Teiresias' speaking as a true prophet following his drink of blood. Furthermore, the reference to "the wyne of thi luf"--repeated later in the Psalter as "wyne, that is, the hote drynk of crists luf" continues the echo of primitive blood consumption; for, theologically, there is no more suitable evidence of God's love for man than the blood sacrifice of His Son.

The chalice of this quotation--as well as the "chalis of

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131 Isaias LXIII.
132 Psalter, Ps. XXII. 7, p. 84.
133 Ibid., Ps. CIII. 16, p. 362.
clere wyn"\textsuperscript{134} and "the chalice. that is, pyne and passion\textsuperscript{135} of other passages—establishes the twofold symbolism of the chalice. F. R. Webber, including the chalice as one of the major symbols of Christ's Passion, observes that it receives its identity from the Savior's prayer concerning the cup of suffering in Gethsemane.\textsuperscript{136} Moreover, the chalice's Eucharistic significance is apparent to any Christian. This duality, however, poses no problem when one considers the interconnection of the Passion and the Eucharist—the bloody and the unbloody sacrifice.

Strangely, Evelyn Underhill notes in Rolle what she believes to be the "curiously marked aloofness of the English medieval mystics from Eucharistic devotion and references.\textsuperscript{137} Miss Underhill's deduction is supported by Hope Allen.\textsuperscript{138} As indicated the duality of symbolism does permit the chalice to be interpreted as both a Passion and Eucharist figure. Furthermore, there exists in the English Psalter and throughout Rolle's other writings a number of references to "brede of aungels," which, according to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{134}Ibid., Ps. LXXIV. 7, p. 269.
\item \textsuperscript{135}Ibid., Ps. CXV. 4, p. 405.
\item \textsuperscript{136}F. R. Webber, Church Symbolism (Cleveland: J. H. Jansen 1937), p. 136.
\item \textsuperscript{137}Evelyn Underhill, "Ricardus Heremita," Dublin Review, Oct. 1928, p. 187.
\end{itemize}
H. Flanders Dunbar's *Symbolism in Medieval Thought*, is a gift that can be "both the Eucharist and knowledge in theology and philosophy."\[139\] The Eucharistic symbolism is advanced by St. Thomas Aquinas' use of *panem angelorum* in his communion prayer;\[140\] Dante's employment of *pan de li angieli* in the *Divine Comedy*, when only those who have fed on it are permitted to sail on the sea of Paradise;\[141\] and the reference to the Bread of angels becoming the Bread of men in the *Hymns of the Breviary and Missal*.\[142\]

Rolle distinctly demonstrates his awareness of the Eucharistic motif in his definition of the term as it appears in Psalm LXXVII. 29:

> Brede of aungels is crist. for in his sight thai hafe that thaim list. and him etis man in the sacrament. and in luf. and that is fode that he sendis in haboundance. for when all the folke has etyn him jit he is hale. he is mete of the whilke the mare we ete the mare we may. the mare we hafe the mare vs list.\[143\]

Although not applied to "brede of aungels," the twofold symbolism of the Eucharist and knowledge is utilized in Rolle's explication of the verse, "And he fede thaim of the grese of whete: and of the


\[140\] Ibid., p. 322.


\[143\] *Psalter*, Ps. LXXVIII. 29, p. 281.
huny stane he thaim fild." The Hermit explains:

That is, he fed thaim with the body of crist. and gastyly vndirstandyng. and of huny that ran of the stane. that is, of wisdome that is sweete till the hert, he fild thaim. and 3it thai leghid til him.\textsuperscript{144}

While these two explanations do not manifest a major interest in Eucharistic devotion and references, they are the foundation for an interpretation of Eucharistic allusions in other writings of the Hampole hermit which, in turn, will support further a rejection of the Underhill-Allen thesis of "marked aloofness."

There are several other references to "mete of crist"\textsuperscript{145} that is given to those who live well, ghostly food that is the gift of those who dread God,\textsuperscript{146} and "brede of aungels [that is the] syght of the trinyte."\textsuperscript{147} Admittedly, these examples develop the knowledge theme. And, in the last case--since the "syght of the trinyte" comes to those in the "perfyt pes, that all sall hare that ere withinen ierusalem"\textsuperscript{148}--the reference is most probably to the divine wisdom of the beatific vision rather than to the mystical union.

The Psalms prompt several commentaries by Rolle that de-

\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., Ps. LXXX. 15, p. 300.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., Ps. CIII. 28, p. 365.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., Ps. CX. 4, p. 395.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., Ps. CXLVII. 3, p. 486.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid.
fine clearly a Christian adaptation of primitive blood vengeance.

In elucidating the twelfth verse of Psalm IX, Rolle teaches:

If we suffer persecution & the deed of ill men for soth-fastness, we shall not let the say and to doe godis will. for he is sekand with vengaunce the blode of thaim that are wrangwisly slain or harmed. in his dome, where joy is till him that has suffred wrange. and pyne till him that did wrange. and he has vmethought [remembered] him to glorifie his servantes and to punysch thaire mysdoers, and he has noght forgetyn the cry of pore men. that is, great desire of thaim that ere in anguys, and says till god.¹⁴⁹

Man's kinship with God is apparent in this passage since in accordance with blood vengeance only a relative would seek "with vengaunce the blode of thaim that are wrangwisly slain or harmed."

In another quotation, Rolle resolves the paradox existing between blood vengeance and the new law of Christian charity:

Leswhen [lest at some time] we faile of lounge, and then genge [nations] say, where is thaire god. that is, whi helpis he thaim noght. if thai hafe swilke a god as thai say. and knawn be in naciouns: that is, in ill men. that we may see vengaunce. that is, endles pyne, of the blode of haly martirs that tirantis slogba. Alswa the ded of sugetis [subjects] sall be soght of prelatis, for thai dye thorgh thaire defaut. and the sorow of fettird. that is, of haly pore men, bunden in charite, & sorowand for the malice of riche men. inga [enter]. that is, que me in thi sight. Je sall wit that a rightwisman has no delite of the pyne of his enmy. here whaim he hatis noght. bot in the rightwisnes of god whaim he lufis.¹⁵⁰

Undoubtedly, primitives took some form of pleasure in being cognizant of their fulfillment of the obligations of the blood ven-

¹⁴⁹Ibid., Ps. IX. 12, p. 33.
¹⁵⁰Ibid., Ps. LXXVIII. 11, pp. 292-293.
detta. However, this gratification is not consistent with the lesson of love first taught by Christ and later reaffirmed by the medieval theologians and mystics. Rolle presents his solution to this enigma of justice by transferring the "delite" to a pleasure accruing from a realization that the "rightwisness of god" prevails.

The villains of the ancient revenge code are the "men of blood" whose blood guilt merits the terrible retribution of additional bloodshed. Within the Christian context, the Hampole mystic defines "men of blodis" as the lost men, "tho that hatis thair neygburs. & that lifis fleshly as blode askis,"\textsuperscript{151} "tha that slas thaire aghen saule. or othere menny's bodis,"\textsuperscript{152} and those doomed "til endles fire. that is thaire slaghtire."\textsuperscript{153}

The most infamous of the "men of blood" is Judas, to whom Rolle devotes a considerable portion of his commentary on Psalm CVIII. In this explication, Judas becomes representative of all "men of blood": "nou3t onely of iudas may all that is seyd in this psalme be takyn, bot of all cristes enemys. fals iewis & fals cristen men."\textsuperscript{154} Judas' role as a blood figure is best defined by his betrayal of innocent blood, his "sellyng of crist."\textsuperscript{155}

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., Ps. XXV. 9, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., Ps. LIV. 27, p. 199.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., Ps. CXXXVIII. 18, p. 466.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., Ps. CVIII. 8, p. 389.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., Ps. CVIII. 30, p. 393.
Although Christ's law does not necessitate the blood retaliation required by primitive justice, some form of retribution is, nevertheless, necessary. Judas, despairing of this betrayal, chose the more primitive form of restitution rather than avail himself of Christ's unlimited mercy. As Rolle expresses it, "for he, Judas, wrmthou3t him not to do mercy til his owne soul."156 Cardinal Piazza clearly relates the older mode of satisfaction to Judas' situation when, in his Meditations on the Blood of Christ, he, first, elucidates the fact that in God's scheme of redemption "only blood suffices for the expiation of sin"157 "Like the voice of Abel's blood, the voice of men's sins and crimes continues to cry to heaven for vengeance"158 and, secondly, correlates Judas' suicide to the demand for and a fulfillment of a sanguine expiation:

Meanwhile the traitor, feeling the full weight of that same Blood on his conscience, rushes into the Temple and angrily casts the thirty pieces of silver onto the floor, shouting to his seducers, 'I have sinned in betraying innocent blood' (Mt 27,4). He then disappears and hangs himself from a tree in the field of blood. But, the rope being incapable of supporting his weight for long, the dead traitor falls to the ground. As he strikes the earth, his body bursts, spilling his entrails over the ground. Blood for blood.159

Another divulgence of Richard Rolle's rather comprehensive

156 Ibid., Ps. CVIII. 14, p. 390.


158 Ibid., p. 15.

159 Ibid., p. 27.
command of the fundamentals of blood theology and its various motifs is seen in his analysis of the thorn symbol:

Rammyn. that thai call thefthorne. has swilke akynd. that is first soft, and sithen turnys it til thornes. swa syn is swete, and delites men now. bot eftere this life it prikis thaim fulsare. forthi he says, are joure thornes. that is, joure synnes, vndirstode the rammyn, that is, sharp damna-cion in the last ende.160

During the medieval era, thorns came to signify grief, tribulation and sin. The symbolism undoubtedly evolved from Christ's having been crowned with thorns before the crucifixion as a parody of the Roman emperor's festal crown of roses. According to Christian folk tradition, the rose is supposed to have grown in Paradise without thorns, which it acquired only after Adam's fall to remind man of the sins he had committed.161 The symbolic thorn has deep English roots, for St. Joseph of Arimathea is credited with having planted a thornwood staff at Glastonbury in commemoration of Christ's Passion.162 In addition, the correlation between man's folly and the crown of thorns is expressed in a fourteenth century English poem, "A Devotion on the Symbols of the Passion."

The thorn analysis does not exhaust Rolle's reliance on the thorn symbolism. Speaking of his own love for God, the Hermit attributes to it a perfection of heart that permits him to "lepe

160_\textit{Psalter}, Ps. LVII. 9, p. 206.


162 F. R. Webber, p. 71.
ouer all the 'thorny and the lairy [miry] besynes' of this
warld."\textsuperscript{163} Later, Rolle explains that only those come to God that
"be noght full of thornes and brers of synnes."\textsuperscript{164}

Three additional Christian adaptations of ancient blood
conventions appear in the English Psalter. The first interprets
primitive human sacrifice in terms of the medieval scene: the
verse, "And thai spilt blode innocent. the blode of thaire sunnys
and of thaire doghtirs: the whilke thai offird til ydols of
chanaan," is explicated as meaning "Thus do thai that goed willis
and thoghtis turnys in til warldis likyne or fleysly luf."\textsuperscript{165}
In another instance, Rolle explains the hyssop, a plant used in
ancient blood purification rites, as being allegorically applica-
table to his contemporaries:

Ysope is a medicynall erbe, whos rote drawis nere the stone.
& it purges the longes of inflacioun. & clens the breste fro
stoppyng of ill humores. & it betokyns medenes. whorwith
who so is stroenkild [sprinkled] in penaunce. it purges him
fro bolnynge of pride & makis him buxsum & lawe to god. &
clens his hert of ell syones, that before stoppid grace fro
the saule, and makes him to drawe to criste. thorugh whos
sheddyng of blode. he sall be clenst of the lepire of
synn.\textsuperscript{166}

The third modification involves two statements which indicate that
under the new law God requires not the "sacrifice of bestis [and]
offrynge of other thyngis" but simply love in general or the specific love expressed in "thi vowes that thou hight when thou toke baptem." 168

Finally, several miscellaneous references demonstrate further Rolle's theological orthodoxy. Christ's Passion is a source of protection for the righteous. 169 Melchisedech 170 and John the Baptist 171 are established as prefigures of Christ. And the breaking of the stone alluded to in Psalm LXXVII. 18 is explained as God's permitting "crist to be woundid on the cross" in order that the water of grace could flow "in till the hertis of trew men." 172

These foregoing Blood Motifs have been the salient ones discernible in the English Psalter. As indicated, the appearance of such terms as "deliverer," "redeemer," "heritage," and "testament" directed merely by the Scriptural text does not justify discussion unless Rolle expands upon the Scriptural suggestion. In the interest of space conservation, only the most essential por-

167 Ibid., Ps. XXXIX. 9, p. 147.
168 Ibid., Ps. XLIX. 15, p. 181.
169 Ibid., Ps. XXVI. 9, p. 96.
170 Ibid., Ps. CIX. 5, p. 394.
171 Ibid., Ps. CXXXI. 18, p. 452.
172 Ibid., Ps. LXXVII. 18, p. 279.
tions of the commentaries have been utilized even though it would have been frequently legitimate to quote much more extensively. For example, in the case of Psalm XXI, which is interpreted as "the voice of Christ in his passion," the entire explication might have been cited instead of merely those segments devoted explicitly to the distinction between the poor and the rich, to Christ's blood as the price of the redemption, and to the Charter motif.

However, the positive import of the English Psalter is not its preview of Rolle's mysticism nor its revelation of some of the Blood Motifs; rather its true value rests in its being a reliable indication of Rolle's conscious utilization of the era's blood heritage. The Hermit's explications leave little question, if any, of the extensiveness of his knowledge of the various facets of blood theology. This comprehensiveness, coupled with the invariable attribution of the work to Rolle, establishes the English Psalter as an essential element in determining the blood-orientation of Richard Rolle's mysticism.

173 I bid., Ps. XXI. 1, p. 76.
**Super Magnificat**

Mackinnon's chronological table places the Super Magnificat—also titled Canticum Marie—prior in composition to the English Psalter. Actually, the English Magnificat circulated with the English Psalter so that it is really impossible to date one earlier than the other. As previously cited, the English Psalter is traditionally believed to have initiated Holle's English period.

Miss Allen's study reveals that the English version of the Magnificat differs from its Latin counterpart:

The English piece interprets the texts in the person of the Virgin Mary, and thus gives what is perhaps to be designated as the 'historical' interpretation. The Latin, on the other hand, makes the piece into a drama of the individual soul, and thus gives what should perhaps be called the 'moral' interpretation.175

The "historical" interpretation is certainly evident throughout this brief commentary which expounds carefully the doctrine of the Incarnation and terminates with a definite deliverance statement:

He receyfyd israel in kynde. in grace. in defens. in gouernynge: thoro takyng in kynde. he riptydy vs out of deth. and out of the ire of god. thoro takyng in grace; he drogh vs out of synne. thoro takyng in defense he delyuers vs; that our enemy hafe not the maystry of vs. thoro takyng in gouernynge, he ledes vs out of the perilis of this way: thoro takyng in blisfulhed, he bryngeth vs out of all wrecchidnes of synne. and sorrow, and settys vs in the ioy of heuen. Amen.176

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176 *Psalter*, p. 526.
Obviously, the Incarnation was but the first step which led ultimately to the Passion and mankind's reconciliation with God. The necessity of the God-Man has already been documented by St. Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*.

Robert Benson's *A Book of the Love of Jesus*, which is a collection of ancient English devotions in prose and poetry, speaks of three distinct marks of medieval English piety: an intimate familiarity with Christ, a great reverence and love for the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a deep love for the details of the Passion. Actually, the reverence for Christ's mother assumed such magnitude during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that Mary's role as the source of the precious blood elevated her to the position of co-redeemer of mankind. The sublimity of the Blessed Virgin is expressed mystically—"this blessed maiden, before all in prynelige of brennand luf, sho louyd god. and in syn-guler ioy shae was glad in cryst. the songis of louyng. er swet-test in hur mouth" and theologically—"in wombe he made perfit hir haloghing" in the *Magnificat*. Although the Hermit does not reveal in his explication any positive suggestion of the co-redeemer function, he does in the Psalter proper imply the co-impor-

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178 *Psalter*, p. 523.
tance of the Incarnation and the Passion: "He [God] heldid [inclined] his ere [in answer to man's prayer for assistance] in his incarnacioun, & in his passion."\textsuperscript{180}

To disassociate the Blessed Virgin from the redemptive facet of Blood Motifs is virtually impossible. Christ's mother must remain more than simply a fringe, historical figure. She is, in a very real sense, the vehicle of Christ's ultimate blood sacrifice; and her sorrow punctuates with poignancy the human tragedy of the crucifixion. In medieval literature, she figures prominently in the mystery dramas devoted to Christ's Passion and is one of the witnesses of the Charter genre. Consequently, within the perspective of this dissertation, the English Magnificat cannot be consigned to a position of relative unimportance even though it contains but one pertinent allusion. Finally, the fact that Rolle shifted the emphasis in the English version to the Blessed Virgin may conceivably reflect an increasing correspondence with those qualities of medieval English piety elicited by Robert Benson.

\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., Ps. CXIV. 2, p. 403.
Incendium Amoris

Although the Incendium Amoris and the Emendatio Vitae are Richard Rolle's terminal Latin works, their 1435 translation into English by Richard Misyn warrants their inclusion within the limitations of this dissertation's proposal. The Misyn translation is fortunate in that it permits this study to analyze completely Rolle's works from the English Psalter to his English lyrics, a period acknowledged to be his greatest. The authenticity of these two works is relatively unquestioned owing to the numerous manuscript ascriptions to the Hampole hermit.

The Incendium Amoris may contain several autobiographical allusions: revelations of persecutions and slander, of reproaches from various women, and of personal involvement in the treatment of the poor by the wealthy. This possibility has led to the conclusion of a fairly late composition. Furthermore, a note in the Hereford Cathedral MS. O. viii. 1, presumably a copy of a memorandum found in a lost autograph manuscript, claims that in 1343 Rolle experienced a supernatural intimation that he would live twelve additional years. Since the Incendium Amoris stresses, among other considerations, Rolle's passionate desire for imminent death, Miss Allen reasons that this concentration

182 Ibid., p. 27.
would not have been included if the author had already had his "revelation"; hence, a late date but one prior to 1343 is assigned to the Incendium Amoris. 183

Until the appearance of the 1898 definitive edition of the works of St. Bonaventura, the prologue and title of the Incendium had been ascribed to the Saint. Now they are considered spurious by Bonaventura scholars. As a result, F. M. Comper observes:

This is interesting as freeing Rolle—-at any rate in this case—-from the charge of incorporating the writings of others in his works. Not that the charge was a serious one in those days, when the pride of authorship was unknown. Rolle's aim was to kindle men's hearts to love God; by his own words if he could, or if he found his thoughts better expressed by another, he would gladly use what that other had written or said. 184

In addition, the Comper edition of The Fire of Love and The Mending of Life contains an introduction by Evelyn Underhill which discounts any correlation between Rolle's Incendium and the Stimulus Amoris, "probably composed by James of Milan," 185 on the grounds that while the Stimulus is an ordered didactic treatise, the Incendium is highly subjective, the "work of original genius." 186

Little is really known of the Richard Misyn who translated

183 Ibid., p. 228.
185 Ibid., p. xxiii.
186 Ibid., p. xxiv.
Rolle's last two Latin treatises for "edificacyon of many saules." The English manuscript contains two colophons, one at the end of each book of the Incendium. In the explicit to Book I, the translator is identified by name as a hermit, a member of the Carmelite order, and a bachelor of sacred theology:

Explicit liber primus Incendij Amoris Ricardi Hampole hermite, translatus a latino in Anglicum per fratrem Ricardum Misyn heremitam & ordinis carmelitarum Ac sacre theologia bachalareum, Anno domini Millesimo ccccxxxvto.

The second explicit establishes Misyn as "Priorum Lincolniensem." Rev. Ralph Harvey, the editor of the Misyn translation, includes in his edition a summary of additional references that may refer to Rolle's translator:

Beyond what we find in the colophons at the end of the books of these MSS., nothing can be found with any certainty concerning this Richard Misyn. No record of him exists at Lincoln; and the furthest we can go, is to say that he was possibly the Ricardus Mysyn mentioned in 1461-2 in 'The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York.' Surtees Soc. 1872, p. 62:--

'Nomina Fratrum et Sororum admissorum per Dominum Johannem Burton, Rectorem ecclesiae Sancti Martini in Mikelgate, et suos consortes, Anno Domini millesimo CCCmoLXJO [1461-2]. Per dominum Johannem Burton, secundum magistrum nostrae gildae.

In primis, frater Ricardus Mysyn, suffragenus, ordinis Fratrum Carmelitarum . . . .'

An earlier bishop of the same name is mentioned on the

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188 Ibid., p. 68.

189 Ibid., p. 104.
rim of Archbp. Scrope's Indulgence Cup, ib. 291 n, 292 n. See Poole and Hugall's Hist. and Descriptive Guide to York Cathedral, p. 197:

"Recharde arche beschope Scrope grantes on to all tho that drinkis of this cope xiti dayes to pardun. Robert Gul- sun. Beschope Musin grante to same forme afore saide xiti dayis to pardun. Robert Stensall."

"Beschope Musin" was probably Richard Messing, who, according to Cotton (Fasti Eccl. Hib., iii. 277) was bishop of Dromore from 1408 to 1410. Another bishop of the same name was admitted into the Guild in 1461-2, as 'Frater Ric, Mysyn, suffragenus, ordinis Fratrum Carmelitarum.'

Miss Comper, concurring with Rev. Harvey's conclusion that nothing beyond the information of the colophons is definite, does add:

In the Carmelite records preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum [Harl. MS. 3838], the death is noted of a Richard Messin, Bishop of Dromore, under the year 1462, who was buried with other Fathers of the order in their monastery at York, i.e. in the same year as Richard Mysyn was admitted a member of the Corpus Christi Guild. But at present it must remain a matter merely of conjecture if these references relate to the Richard Misyn to whom we owe our translation.191

The Incendium Amoris is a mystical treatise dedicated primarily to the purpose of "firing" men to the love of Christ, a love which Rolle indicates consists of heat, sweetness and song.192 Book I, Chapter XX of the Misyn version193 provides the Rolle student with a concise summary of the stages in the Hermit's mystical ascent. Instead of the three definite steps customarily asso-

190Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.
192Misyn Translation, p. 33.
193Chapter XIX in other editions since only the Misyn translation counts the prologue as a chapter.
associated with Christian mysticism since the time of Dionysius the Areopagite, Richard Rolle develops a more complex system of ascent. For the Hampole mystic, conversion—man’s turning to Christ in disdain of all transitory things—is a fundamental prerequisite for the traditional first mystical step of purgation. Following the cleansing stage is the opening-of-the-heavenly-door step, the ordinary illuminative period of more conventional systems. Finally, the unitive step comprises a threefold development: the fire of love—as revealed in the English Psalter, this fire or heat involves a quasi-physical impression—the sweetness, which always accompanies the fire or heat; and the final experience of jubilant song. At this last step in the ascent, thoughts and meditations are converted into heavenly music.194

Another important mystical denotation of the Incendium Amoris concerns the wound of love. As disclosed in Chapter I of this dissertation, asceticism is not essential to mysticism; nonetheless, a number of mystics, possibly even the majority, view asceticism favorably as an inducement to mystical ascent, at least an inducement to the purgation step. The Incendium manifestation of this attitude appears to involve an analogous relationship between Christ’s wounds and Rolle’s sense reaction to the divine love symbolized by the wounds of the crucifixion. This Christocentric wound of love is diversely expressed. Rolle relates the

194 Dunlas Harford, an editor of The Mending of Life (London: H. R. Allenson, 1913), suggests on page xxix of his edition that Rolle may have borrowed this concept from Bede.
motif to the purgation step in the statement: "To hym in lufe euerlastynge pat longis, lufe is enoght to chastys[ chastise ], per is no wounde grettar ne sweeter pen of lufe." In another passage, it is correlated more directly to the title theme of the Incendium:

Of be flaume perfore of godis lufe it is, be mynde pat it takis to wond, pat it say: 'wondyd with charite I am,' & longinge I am made for my lufe--wher of it is sayd: Amore langueo, 'for lufe I long.'

On occasion the wound motif is incorporated with other motifs; this fusion will be demonstrated in the analysis of the motifs in question.

Dominating the Incendium Amoris is a Passion symbol modified to harmonize with the Hermit's divine love affirmation. Its basis is discovered in the rope figure which is considered one of the symbols of Judas' betrayal of Jesus; for, according to John 18:12, "Then the band and the captain and officers of the Jews took Jesus, and bound him, and led him away to Annas first . . . ."

"According to tradition, it was with a rope that Judas hanged himself after the betrayal, in desperate repentance for his awful deed." Another implication of the rope symbol is revealed in "A Devotion on the Symbols of the Passion"; this medieval devotional lyric refers

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195 Misyn Translation, pp. 97-98.
196 Ibid., p. 40.
197 G. Ferguson, p. 320.
To the pillar, Lord, also
With a rope they bound thee too;
The sinews from the bones did burst
So hard 'twas drawn and strained fast;
That bond release me and unbind
Of that I've trespassed and been unkind! 198

The binding of Christ which releases man from his bond is plainly a reference to the captivity facet of the devil's rights discussion. The inference of the Incendium is that man is now bound in love to God; whereas, formerly, he was bound to Satan.

Again, Richard Rolle employs a variety of expressions to convey his thought. Some are simple averments that "ilke man treuly bat lufys ye god is fre, nor to bondage of synne byndes no3t hym-self, bot to pe servys of rightwisnes stedfastly standys," 199 or that "lufe neuer-be-lesse, god & man cuppyls." 200 Other more graphic delineations of the motif emphasize the permanence of this new bond, apparently in contradistinction to the impermanence of mankind's previous binding to Satan. One passage proclaims that the soul "rauischyd be godis gras" is tied to God "with pe bande of lufe vnabyl to be lausyd." 201 Earlier in the Incendium Amoris, Rolle utilizes the bond-unable-to-be-loosened theme in defining the reward of the blissful after the general judgment: "Of pis it is scheuyd pat swetnes euerlastyng mostis per myndes, pe whilk

198 R. H. Benson, p. 94.
199 Misyn Translation, p. 9.
200 Ibid., p. 98.
201 Ibid., p. 86.
vnabily to be lousyd, pe bande of trew charite byndis."\(^{202}\) Book II, Chapter VIII begins with an allusion to this bond concept: "O swete Ihesu, pi lufe in me I bynde with a knot vnabyl to be lowsyd, sekand pe tresure pat I desire, and longynge I fynde, for in the I case not to thyrst."\(^{203}\) The entire eleventh chapter of Book II is devoted to the theme "that parfite lufe to god byndis withoute lowsynge & makis man myndy of his god . . . ."\(^{204}\)

A ramification of this modified bond motif emerges in a reference to a saint's mind which "to lufe endles, vnabyl to be lowsyd, is knyttyd."\(^{205}\) This variation is more attuned to mystical expression since, for example, the unitive stage is best envisioned as a knitting, an intimate intertwining of the mystic and his Creator. This knitting metaphor is not restricted by the Hampole mystic to spiritual intelligences: man's mind must "to criste fully be knytt . . . ellys sothely heuenly sounde he takis nott, nor in gostely songe Ihesu, nor his praysynge he sall not synge in mynde or mouth."\(^{206}\) Lastly, just as those who love earthly pursuits are excluded from God's grace, "no man treuly to god par­fitely is knyttid qwhils he in desyre to any creature warldly is

\[^{202}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 13.}\]
\[^{203}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 88.}\]
\[^{204}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 98.}\]
\[^{205}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 55.}\]
\[^{206}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 56.}\]
Despite the emphasis of the bond of love motif, visages of the Satanic slavery theme are perceptible in the *Incendium Amoris*. Those who are not partners "of cristis gaynbyinge [ransom]... be per wyckyd & vnclene warkis pa despys & frely to be fendis pam-self jeldis." Also, whoever "put hys mynde in womans lufe & hir desyr als blistung rest" is strongly bun with a foull bande of febyl vanite. Bot for he to god with all his hart wald not turn, his wrecchidnes he knew not to tyme he felt it. & perfore he fell to be pytt of bondage, for to be seytt of ioy he beheld not. Finally, the devil "be vnclennes worpi sawls to bondage of folymakis sogett."  

Various allusions to the ransom motif are evident in the *Incendium*, whose basic theme of reciprocal love is naturally predicated on Christ's sacrifice. Usually, however, the ransom references are discerned in explanations of other points of dogma. In one case, Richard Rolle indicates that charitable works performed in sin or for the wrong purpose may actually provoke man's Redeemer to vengeance:

Thay gif more-ouer brede to pe pore, clethyngye parauntyr [perchance] to be cold, bot whils pare almus is done in dedely synne or for vaynglory, or sekyrly of binges vntreuly

A second instance explicates the purchase from the devil's power within a more extensive explanation touching upon the Trinity and the Incarnation:

Pe some treuly euylastyng of pe fader is be-kume man in tyme, borne of a maydyn, bat he mankynd fro pe fendas power my3t gaynby. Pis is our lorde ivesu crite, be whilk only be festynd in oure mynde, pe whilkse onely for vs was tyde to be crosse.212

In a third passage, Rolle instructs that Christ is mankind's Lord only if man hates wickedness and gives his heart to its Purchaser:

Truly if pou crite lufe with all pi wil & all fylth of wyckedis pou hatis & pi hart pou gifis to hym it boght, per he pi lorde be begrace, not pe feynd be syn.213

The Redendo clause of the Charter motif implied in this last example is more directly stated in the following quotation:

Therfore to all pat ar in pis exil, pis dar I schewe, pat all pai be maker of all binge pat wil not lufe, in-yo dyrknes endles pai sall be kest, & per sall fele with-outen ende byrnynge of pe fyer of hell, bat here with lufe of per gaynbyar wald no3t be lyghtynd.214

If one considers the "exil" reference in this foregoing passage as a temporary exclusion from the heritage guaranteed by the crucifixion, the theme is properly one of the Blood Motifs.

211 Ibid., p. 5.
212 Ibid., p. 16.
213 Ibid., p. 100.
214 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
Rolle, who seems rather partial to the exile concept, explains the theme in the **English Psalter**:

That is, .i. am in exile . . . my hert is in heuen; of my body be here, this may naman say verraly bot rightwismen. for thaire heritage is in heuen. and here thai ere as cum-lyngis [foreigners].

In another Psalter quotation, life is defined as an "exil fra heuen." The **Incendium Amoris** employs the exile designation no less than seven times. The most noteworthy of these identifications occurs in an early explanation of the incomparable mystical heat of love. The Hampole mystic states that after this "com-fortabil heet, & in all deuociun swettyst in me wer sched, playnly I troued [believed] slyke hete to no man happyn in pis exill."

One section of the **Incendium** contains a very concise summary of many ransom elements:

All hole truly or noght he takys, ffor hole he be gayn boght. Pi body forsoth & pi saule, in pe syn of pi Fadyr Adame was dampned: Qwharfor god into pe maydyns body is cume downe. & man be-cum, pe pris has gyfyn of pi delyuerans, þat not onely pi saull fro pe fendis power he suld delyuir. bot also pi body with pi saull, in þe ende of þe warld, he myght make blissyd. þe comamentis perfore pou has of lyfe euerlastyng; if pou will entyr to þe kyngdome lost & eft reparayld with cristis blode, þe behouys godis comamentis to kepe.

In this brief passage, Rolle economically indicates the complete-

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215 Psalter, Ps. CXVIII. 19, p. 413.
216 Ibid., Ps. CI. 24, p. 356.
217 Misyn Translation, pp. 2, 4, 11, 39, 97, 99.
218 Ibid., p. 2.
219 Ibid., p. 52.
ness of the deliverance, the price given for the voiding of Sa­tan's power, the lost heritage motif, the use of Christ's blood to reestablish mankind's inheritance, and a rather strong implication of man's obligation to keep the commandments in order to war­rant the true effect of Christ's act of blood sacrifice. Toward the end of the Incendium, Rolle delineates the eagerness with which Christ approached His sacrifice: the Lord "with so greet heet to pe cros hyde[hastened]." 220

Chapters XXVII and XXVIII accentuate the importance of meditation to the fire of love. In addition to some unspecified meditative recommendations in these chapters and elsewhere in the Incendium Amoris, the Hermit includes in Chapter XXVII a catalogue of spiritual gifts designed to anoint and make fair the soul. In climactic fashion, the list concludes with "woundys & cristis cros in mynde to paynte," 221 a rather poetic expression of meditative import. Chapter XXVIII terminates with a fairly detailed medita­tion on the Passion which is intended for a quasiclassical renewal of the soul:

'Egredimini filee syon & videte regem salomonem in diademate' pat is to say: "go forth 3e sawlys renwd, & vnderstand criste truly putt to deed for journ heell; behald in hym & 3e sall see his godly hede with bornes crownyd, his face be-spittyd, hys full fayr eyn be payns wan, hys bak scourgyd, his breste hurtt, hys worbi hands birlyd, hys swetyst syde with a spere

220 Ibid., p. 102.
221 Ibid., p. 59.
woundyd, hys feytt porow naylyd, & woundis sett porow al hys soft flesch, Als it is writtyn: fro pe sool of pe foyt to pe croune of pe heed in hym is no hele. Go forth perfere fro jour vnleful desyrs & see what crist for 3ow has suffyrd, pat syns playnly be outcast and to byrnynge of lufe 3our hartis be taght."222

To fully appreciate the significance of meditations within Rollean mysticism, one must be cognizant that meditation "agayns pe fendis dartes has redy defens"; furthermore, one must remember that meditation is converted into heavenly song at the ultimate stage of the Hermit's unitive step.

There are several positive references to the medicine motif, the first of which appears quite early in a mystical "Prayer of Endless Love":

O honely hete, all delite swettar all riches more delectable! O my god, o my lufe! in-to me scrith [glide] with pi charite pirlyd, with pi bewte wounded; sclyde doune & comforth me heuy; medecyn, to me wretch, to pi lufer schew pi-self; behald, in pe is all my desyre, & all my hert sekis. To pe my hert desyres; to pe my flesch is pirsty: and pou to me opyns not, bot turns pi face. Pou spars pi dore & hydes pi-self, & of an innocentis payns pou laghys.224

Although the content of this prayer is fundamentally mystical—the heat of love, the "thirsting" of the flesh for Christ, the door reference—the prayer contains echoes of the Passion other than simply an isolated medicine allusion. The pierced charity and the

222 Ibid., pp. 60-61.
223 Ibid., p. 70.
224 Ibid., p. 7.
wounded beauty phrases demonstrate the permeation of Passion overtones within the mystical frame that frequently distinguishes Rolle's writings. As previously noted in regard to the bond of love motif, the Hermit occasionally modifies or adapts conventional symbols or themes to better express his thought. In one instance, Rolle equates meditation to the "gostly medcyn" of God's love:

\[
Pis lufe bryngis vs gostly medcyn, & I hope no binge amonge all oper pat may be nowmbyrde [numbered] of clarkis pat may vs socur so mikyll & clens & fro all dreggis of wykydnes vs clere als fermen tu lufe of pe godhede & contynuall poght of owr makar.225
\]

Another passage elicits the mystic's wounding by his longing for his "lemmon"; however, the "medcyne of wrechis" that would heal the wound is delayed by continued living.226 And, in a fourth example, Rolle evokes Jesus to provide spiritual health so that he "be not lost with pe chylde of dampnacion."227

An interesting contrast appears in the Incendium involving the inebriation of wine motif. One statement describes the drunkenness of sinners' wine:

\[
Swetnes of heuenly lyffe vs moyste & to vs be not lefull [lawful] bittyr swetnes of pis lyfe to lufe; ffor gall of dragons, pat is to say, cursidyst wykkydnes, & bittyrnes of falshed is wyen of synnars, for pai it drynkand ar so maddyd pat pa see nott to pam qwhat is to cum; and venum of neddyrs [adders]; pat is schrewdnes killand, to pam is dedely drynk, & vnabyl to be helyd, for per males is incorrigibyll.228
\]

225 Ibid., p. 97.
226 Ibid., p. 88.
227 Ibid., p. 102.
228 Ibid., p. 89.
Eleven pages later, Rolle delineates the elation and edification of love's spiritual wine:

Luf is gostly syna, myndis of chosyn moystand, & makes bame bolde & manly, pat be venemus likvnge of be warld pa ha forgetyn nor perof has no care bot rather grete scorne.229

One other ramification of the wine motif discovered in the Incendium Amoris expounds the reciprocation involved when a "sawl fro be warld synnes departyd" gives to Christ "a drynke full lik­
andly made of hoot lufe." Christ is pleased that the soul "of be well of penans in pis lyfe dranke."230 Since Christ's crucifixion instituted the wells of wisdom, mercy, everlasting life, grace, and gostly comfort231 in short, penance--from which the soul could drink, Rolle is stating that after availing itself of the means of salvation the departed soul is now capable of returning love for love, a concept which is basic to mystical thought. This recipro­
cation is plainly couched in terms of blood sacrifice: primitive in regard to the drink of hot love, and Christian in regard to the well of penance.

The final Incendium reference of note is an explanation of "Panem angelorum manducauit homo," which Rolle interprets as

Aungell breed man has ettyn: & so kynde is renwyd & now sal pas in-to a godly Ioy & happy lyknes, so pat it sall be hap­pye, swett, godly & soundly & in pe seliff, sall feyll luste

229 Ibid., p. 100.
230 Ibid., p. 66.
231 See p. 45.
The Eucharistic identification with its supernatural rejuvenation is apparently intended by Rolle in this explication. The salutary effects of the consumption of angel's bread closely correspond to the devotional response that one envisions accompanying a mystic's partaking of the Eucharist. Any evidence of the intellectualism of spiritual wisdom— the other possible symbolism— seems rather conclusively absent.

There is one other reference of possible Eucharistic import, a reference to "gostly fode." Unfortunately, the allusion is brief and somewhat nebulous; all that can be said with certitude is the fact that this food "to byrnyng lufars holy is ordand in heuen." 233

The importance of the *Incendium Amoris* is the possibility that it reveals a significant mystical reliance on the tenets of blood theology and its Blood Motifs. The bond of love motif indicates Rolle's faculty for altering stock Passion figures to suit his purpose. Attention has also been called to the blood overtones that seem to punctuate Richard Rolle's particular pattern of mysticism. Furthermore, meditation on the Passion appears to enjoy some prominence in the Hermit's mystical scheme. However,

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232 Misyn Translation, p. 72.

233 Ibid., p. 10.
whether or not the *Incendium* provides a valid perspective for appraisal of Rolle's mysticism can be ascertained only after analyses of the other mystical treatises.
The *Ego Dormio et Cor Meum Vigilat* is probably the earliest of Richard Rolle’s three English epistles. Although the epistles, as well as the *Emendatio Vitae*, share the development of three grades of mystical love, only the *Ego Dormio* does not identify them by the titles "insuperable," "inseparable," and "singular" that appear in the *Emendatio Vitae*, the *Commandment*, and the *Form of Living*. Miss Mackinnon believes that this absence in the *Ego Dormio* suggests "that titles had not been evolved and that this is the first use of the three grades."\(^{234}\) Hope Allen also accepts the work as the progenitor of this group, but she thinks that the unspecified grades of love indicate that Rolle had not yet borrowed the titles from Richard of St. Victor. Furthermore, she suggests that the "bare classification might have been found by Rolle in his favourite St. Gregory."\(^{235}\)

One manuscript of the *Ego Dormio*, MS Cambr. Dd. V. 64, contains a dedication to a nun of Yedingham,\(^ {236}\) a small nunnery a few miles southeast of Pickering. Until 1322, John Dalton, Rolle’s early patron, maintained a manor, Foulbridge, which was located a mile from Pickering. Presumably, as a novice hermit,

\(^{234}\) E. Mackinnon, p. 59.


Richard Rolle was entertained at the manor. He may also have returned to the area later in his career during a period of itinerant preaching.

Actually, all three English epistles are written for women; consequently, Miss Allen deduces, "It seems likely that Rolle's women friends were the means of bringing him to write English." Attention has already been called to the Hermit's composing the English Psalter for Margaret Kirkeby, the same woman who later inspired the Form of Living.

The Ego Dormio is a relatively short didactic statement of Rolle's mystical way; therefore, it allows little opportunity for the employment of the various Blood Motifs. Significantly, however, this English epistle does substantiate further the disclosure in the Incendium Amoris that Passion meditation might be quite fundamental to the Hermit's mystical system. Moreover, the meditative import is decidedly increased in this work by Rolle's insertion of a very complete and vivid meditation on the Passion at the most critical point in his mystical hierarchy of love—the effecting of the third degree of love.

After representing the mystical way by the "neyn orders of aungels, pat er contened in thre ierarchies . . . Pe lawest es


239 Ibid., p. 246.
Rolle succinctly defines the first and second degrees of love. "The first degree of love is when a man holds the seven commandments, and keeps them from the seven deadly sins, and is stable in the growth of holy church." Then enters one into the second degree of love, that is, to forsake all the world, his father and mother, and all his kin, and follow Christ in poverty. Then before delineating the foremost degree, Rolle recommends that in preparation man avoid idleness, engage in some worthy endeavor, and think often of the Passion. At this point, the Hampole mystic inserts the graphic Meditatio de passione Christi:

My keyng pat water grette, and blode swette; sythen ful sare bette, so pat hys blode hys blode hym wette, when pair scowrges mette.
Ful fast pai gan hym dyng, and at pe pyler swyng, & his fayre face defowlyng with spittyng.
Pé thorne crownes pe keyng, ful sare es pat prickyng. Alas my ioy and my swetyng es demed to hyng!
Nayled was his handes, nayled was hys fete, & thyrled was hys syde so semely & so swete.
Naked es his whit breste, & rede es his blody syde; wan was his fayre hew, his wondes depe & wyde. In fyue stedes of his flesch pe blode gan downe glyde, als stremes of pe strande, hys pyne es noght to hyde.
Þis to see es grete pyte, how he es demed to pe dede, and nayled on pe rode-tre, þe bryght aungels brede.
Dryuen he was to dole pat es owre gastly gude, and also in pe blys of heuen es al pe aungels fude. A wonder it es to se, wha sa vnderstude, how god of mageste was dyand on pe rude.

241 Ibid., p. 52.
242 Ibid., pp. 53-54.
Bot suth pan es it sayde pat lufe ledes pe ryng; pat hym sa
law hase layde, bot lufe is was na thyng.
Ihesu, receyue my hert & to pi lufe me bryng: al my desyre
pou e rt, bot I couete pi comyng.
Pow make me clene of synne, & lat vs neuer twyn; kyndel me
fire with-in, pat I pi lufe may wyn, and se pi face Ihesu
in ioy pat neuer sal blyn.
Ihesu, my saule pou mend, pi lufe in to me send, pat I may
with be lend, in ioy with-owten end.
In lufe pow wounde my thoht, and lyft my hert to be; my saw-
le pou dere hase boght, pi luerer make it to be. Pe I
couete, bis worlde noght, & for it I fle; pou e rt pat I
haue soght: pi face when may I see?
Pow make my sawle clere, for lufe chawnges my chere; how lang
sal I be here? [when mai I negh be here, pi melody to
here.]
Oft to here sang, pat es lastand so lang? Pou be my lufying,
pat I [pi] lufe may syng.243

Following this meditation, man is ready for the third degree of
love.

And pan enters pow in to pe thirde degre of lufe. In pe
whilk pou sal haue grete delyte & comforth: if pow may get
grace to com partill. For I say noght pat pou or a nother
pat redes pis, sal do it all: for it es at goddes will to
chese wham he will, to do pat here es sayde, Or els a nother
thyng on a nother maner, als he gifes men grace til haue
paire hele. For sere men takes seer grace ofoure lorde
Ihesu Criste: and al sal be sett in pe ioy of heuen, pat end-
es in charite. Wha sa es in pis degre, wisdom he hase, &
discrencion, to luf at goddes will.

Pis degre es called contemplatif lyfe; pat lufes to be
anely, with-owten ryngyng or dyn, or syngyng or criyng. At
pe begynyng, when pou comes partil, pi gastly egh es taken
vp in til pe blysse of heuen, & par lyghtned with grace &
kyndelde with fyre of Cristes lufe . . . & pan for heghnesse
of pi hert pi prayers turns in til ioyful sange, and pi
thoghtes to melody.244

The possibility exists, of course, that sections of the

243Ibid., pp. 57-58.

244Ibid., p. 58.
Meditatio de passione Criste are not original: Carleton Brown, for example, includes several early fourteenth century lyrics that are quite similar in imagery and phraseology in his anthology, Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century. Nevertheless, the totality of the meditation bears the Rollean imprint. In the beginning, the Meditatio is a realistic description of the Passion, a description that chronologically enumerates the various features of Christ's suffering—the bloody sweat, the scourging at the pillar, the indignities, the crowning with thorns, and the actual crucifixion. Projected against these events are the grisly details of the Passion: the piercing by the thorns and nails; the livid face; the deep and wide wounds from which the crimson tide flows; and the pain impossible to mask.

However, all these gruesome events and details are but a prelude or, better yet, a conditioning for the kindling of love's fire—the subject of the Incendium Amoris. It is not death that conquered Christ but love for mankind. Recognition of this fact aids Rolle's mystical ascent, his progress to the unitive stage. The Meditatio terminates with a variety of the Hermit's special themes: the ransom of the soul and its subsequent love surrender to Christ, the wound of love, the disdain of the world, the intense seeking of Christ, the impatience with life, and the ulti-

mate mystical song.

The true import of the *Ego Dormio*, then, is compressed into this meditation; for, in orderly fashion, Richard Rolle presents by juxtaposition the relationship existing between contemplation of the Passion and the unitive step of mystical ascent. True, the epistle concludes with another lyric, the *Cantus Amoris*. However, this "Song of Love" is little more than a detailed amplification of the mystical longing for death and the all consuming desire for Christ. In addition, there are definite revelations in the *Ego Dormio* of basic tenets of Rolle's mysticism; but these are discerned elsewhere as well. Only in the *Meditatio de passione Criste* is there a positive indication of the importance of Passion meditation to the Hampole mystic's system. The implication is perceptible in the *Incendium Amoris* and other writings; but here, in the *Ego Dormio et Cor Meum Vigilat*, the dependence of Rollean mysticism on Passion-oriented meditation is inescapably evident.
The Commandment

True to the tradition of Rolle's English works established by the English Psalter and continued by the Ego Dormio, the explicit of the MS. Cambr. Dd. V. 64 reveals that the Commandment was written for a friend: "Explicit tractatus Ricardi Hampole scriptus cuidam sororì de Hampole." 246 Although Margaret Kirkeby had been a nun of Hampole before being enclosed as a recluse, Miss Allen doubts that she is the "sororì de Hampole." Since the Form of Living is addressed to Margaret Kirkeby by name and since each of the English epistles is a complete compendium of mystical piety, Hope Allen reasons that "it is natural to suppose that each was directed to a different person." 247

The emphasis of the Commandment on the purgative aspect of religious development seems to imply that the epistle was composed for a woman just initiating a religious vocation. Moreover, the nunnery at Hampole appears to have had a reputation as a house of lax discipline: it was cited in 1320 by Archbishop Melton for its "new-fashioned narrow-cut tunics and rochet." 248 The admonition against rich clothing in the Commandment suggests that the convent's reputation for worldliness had persevered until the last years of Rolle's life:

246 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 71.
247 H. E. Allen, Works Ascribed, p. 256.
248 R. Rolle, English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, p. 73.
Mystically, the Commandment briefly describes the three stages of love introduced in the Ego Dormio and labels them as "insuperable," "inseparable," and "singular." The discussion of the second degree of love terminates with an implied devotion to the name of Jesus, a devotional implication that permeates a number of Rolle's works, but more particularly the English Psalter and the Form of Living:

Pi lufe es Inseparable: when al bi thoghte & bi willes er gederd to-geder & festend haly in Thesu Criste, swa pat pou may na tyme forgete hym, bot ay pou thynkes on hym. And for-pi it es called Inseparable; for it may noght be departed fra pe thoght of Thesu Criste.

Miss Allen observes that by the time of the Reformation, "the cult of the Holy Name was one of the outstanding features of English religion." She attributes this cult to the interest generated by Richard Rolle in the contemplation of the name.

The value of the Passion to Rolle's mystical system is ad-

250 Ibid., pp. 62-63.
251 Ibid., p. 63.
252 R. Rolle, English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, p. xi.
advanced further in the Commandment. First, in urging the sister of Hampole not to surrender to idleness, the late fourteenth century MS Cambr. Dd. V. 64 encourages her—and mankind in general—"to do som gode þat myght be lykand til god, as in praying, or in wirkyng profitabel thynges, or in spekyng of Cristes passyon."\(^{253}\) For some inexplicable reason, the fifteenth century MS. Rawl. A. 389 reads simply "as in praying, or in worchynge profitable thinge, or in spekyng of Ihesu Crist."\(^{254}\) As a result, the earlier blood import is lost in Geraldine E. Hodgson's modernization, Some Minor Works of Richard Rolle, which uses the later manuscript.

A second indication of the mystical significance of Passion thought occurs in a passage that elicits delight and sweetness as its dual effects:

Als-sa festen in þi hert þe mynd of his passyon & of woundes: grete delyte and swetnes sal þou fele, if þou halde þi thought in mynde of þe pyne þat Cryst sufferd for þe. If þou trau­eyle right in hys lufe, & desyre hym brennandly: all tempta­cyons & dredes of ill þou sall ouercom.\(^{255}\)

This "swetnes" might well be the experience that accompanies the heat stage and precedes the song stage of the Hermit's unitive step. Also, the conquest of temptation is reminiscent of the Office's narration of Rolle's personal victory over temptation

\(^{253}\) R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 67.

\(^{254}\) Ibid.

\(^{255}\) Ibid., p. 69.
early in his own religious career. 256

The Hampole mystic returns to the contemplation of Christ's wounds almost immediately as if in a redoubled effort to dispel once and for all any question as to the true importance of this meditation:

I wate no thyng bat swa inwardly sal take pi hert to couayte goddes lufe and to desyre pe ioy of heuen & to despyse pe vanitees of pis worlde, as stedfast thynkyng of pe myscheues [\&] greuous woundes & of pe dede of Ihesu Criste. It wil rayse pi thoght abouen erthly lykyng, & make pi hert brennand in Cristes lufe, & pur[ch]es in pi sawle delitabelle and sau­oure of heuen. 257

This quotation is an echo of one appearing in the Ego Dormio:

And I wil bat pou haue it[ thynkyng of his passyon] mykel in mynde, for it wyll kyndel pi hert to sett at noght al pe gudes of pis worlde, & pe ioy parof, & to desyre byrnandly [ardently] pe lyght of heuen, with aungels & halowes. 258

Both indicate the elevation of thought, the disdain of materialism and the heart's kindling or burning that attend the meditation of the Passion or more specifically the wounds.

The Commandment ends with a notable exhortation to love and honor the name of Jesus:

A thyng I rede pe: pat pou forgete noght pis name IHESU, bot thynk it in pi hert, nyght & day, as pi speciall, & pi dere tresowre. Lufe it mare pan pi lyfe, rute it in pi mynde. Lufe Ihesu, for he made pe, and boght pe ful dere. Gyf pi hert till hym: for it es his dette. For-pi set pi lufe on

256 See p. 76.
258 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
This dictation again discloses the basicity of the Blood Motifs to Rolle's entire theology. The Reddendo clause of the Charter emerges anew. Man, as a consequence of the debt accruing from his ransom by Christ, owes a love-laden heart to his Redeemer; it is His claim for destroying Satan's claim.

In this brief terminating counsel, Richard Rolle vividly demonstrates once more the inexorable bond that cements his fundamental tenets to a Passion-impregnated foundation. There is no more eloquent summation to this analysis of the Commandment than this illustration of Rolle's continued reliance on the concepts of blood theology. For, whether the Hampole hermit is defining the grades of divine love or their corresponding steps of mystical ascent; is advising a young religious novice in the modes of combating the world, the flesh, and the devil; or is extolling a devotion to the name of his Savior, Richard Rolle inevitably resorts to Passion-punctuated diction.
Emendatio Vitae

While the titling of the three grades of love dates the Emendatio Vitae later than the Ego Dormio, the stylistic maturity of the Form of Living implies an earlier composition of the Emendatio Vitae. Hence, the Latin explication of the ordered scale of love is chronologically placed with the Commandment between the Ego Dormio and the Form of Living.

However, of all Rolle's manuals of love-oriented mysticism, the Emendatio Vitae was probably the most celebrated. Under such diverse titles as the Emendatio peccatoris, Regula vivendi, xxiv capitula, and Duodecim capitula Ricardi hampole heremite, the Emendatio Vitae has survived in over eighty complete or fragmentary Latin manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In addition, at least fifteen English manuscripts of fifteenth century translations are extant. The testimony of these copies of the Emendatio Vitae has prompted Dundas Harford to state, "In the fifteenth century he was probably the most popular and widely-read of all English religious writers."261

In addition to sharing the delineation of the three degrees of love262 with the English epistles, the Emendatio Vitae

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262 Misyn Translation, p. 123.
appears to partake of Rolle's English practice of inscribing the work to a friend. The "William" referred to in the conclusions of two manuscripts has been tentatively identified as William Stopes, an educated companion to whom the original copy of the Emendatio Vitae was apparently sent. Miss Allen speculates, "The fact that he was learned would account for this manual being written in Latin."²⁶³

By providing an introductory statement of the work's content, Richard Rolle displays in the Emendatio an orderliness not usually revealed in his other works, which evidence more spontaneity than systematization:

*His boke is of mendyne of lyfe, or ellis of be rewl of lyf-ynge, destinct in-to xij chapters: The fyrst, of conversyon or holy turnynge. be secunde, of be despisyng of pis warlde pe birde, of pouerte. be fowrte, of be settyng of mans lyfe be fyft, of tribulacioun. be sext, of paciens. be sevnyt, of prayer. be aght, of meditacioun. be ix, of redynge. pe x of clerenes of mynde. be xj, of pe lufe of god. be xij, of godis contemplacioun. Of pis, als god wil graunt, we salle pursw.*²⁶⁴

The treatise divides conveniently into four sections of three chapters each. The initial division, Chapters I-III, concerns the conversion and purgation aspects of the Hermit's mystical progress--actually, the negativeness of renouncing the world. Chapters IV-VI develop the illuminative phase of a positive ordering of the convert's life with an emphasis upon patience and ortho-


²⁶⁴ Misyn Translation, p. 105.
doxy. The next three chapters, devoted to prayer, meditation, and reading, are characteristically Rollean in their conditioning for the unitive step which follows as the clear contemplation of God and His love, the material of Chapters X-XII.

Verification of the importance of Passion meditation is again offered by Richard Rolle, who in Chapter VIII, "Of Meditacion," writes

It is gude meditacion of cristis passion & his deed, & oft to recorde qwhatt payns & wrecchidnes frely he toke for our hele in goynge & prechynge, hongyr, pirst, cold, heet, repreuys & cursyngs, suffryryngis, so pat it be not greuus to an [vn] profetabyl servand to felo his lorde & empour. He truly pat says he dwels in criste aw to go als he dyd. Criste truly says be Jeremey: 'ha mynde of my pouerte & of my pas­sage, of wormwod & gall, pat it is say of sorow & bitternes, be pe qwhilk fro pe warld to pe fadyr I went.' Pis mynde truly & meditacion pe fend ouercoms & his gwnnys [traps], ffleschly temptacions it slokyns & pe sawle to cristis lure kyndillis, pe mynde it raisys and clenis & also purgis. I trow pis poght of all oper is moste profetabyl to pame pat nwly ar turnyd to criste. Perfore truly is schewyd pe man­hede of Ihesu criste, in pe qwhilk emong man suld be glad, in qwhilk he has mater of Ioy & also mournynge. Ioy for sikyrnes of owr gaynbiyng, heuynes for filth of owr synyng, for pe qwhilk it is to heuy pat so worpi a offirynge is offyrd.265

The recurrent benefits afforded by meditation on the Passion are stated: aid in overcoming the devil, in subduing temptations, in kindling the fire of love in man's soul, in elevating the mind, and in purging the mind. Interspersed are the allusions to the sufferings of Christ, His "gaynbiyng," and the priceless Victim of the crucifixion's blood sacrifice—allusions that acquire a

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265 Ibid., p. 119.
formulaic significance with the Hermit's considerations of Passion meditation. Lastly, Rolle's testimony that "I trow his pogh of all oper is moste profetabyll to pame pat nwly ar turnyd to creste" recalls the anecdote in the Office concerning the Hampole mystic's use of meditation in face of Satan's challenges.

Frequently, it is difficult to definitely ascertain what distinction, if any, Rolle makes between contemplation and meditation. In an effort to synthesize what might be termed Rolle's contemplative vicissitude, Dundas Harford, in his edition of the Mending of Life, summarizes the three principal concepts of contemplation that he has discerned in Rolle's writings:

(1) It covers the whole life of those who have reached a stage in which the eyes are opened to see God, and the heart is attuned to walk with Him. (2) It may be narrowed down to definite seasons of devotion, and divided into reading, prayer, and meditation. (3) It consists specifically in those moments or times in such seasons of meditation when the soul is filled with enthusiastic songs of joy in the Lord, and lifted up into immediate consciousness of God in Jesus Christ.266

Later, editor Harford simply equates the contemplative life to the unitive life.267

In the last chapter of the Emendatio Vitae, Rolle divulges a contemplative attitude that obviously induced Rev. Harford's second observation:

Contemplatyfe lyfe or contemplacion has thre partys: Redyng, Prayer, & Meditacion. In redynge, god spekis to vs; In prayer, we spoke to god; In meditacion, awngels to vs cum

267 Ibid., p. xxxviii.
down & techis vs, pat we erre nott. In prayer pā go vp & offyrs owr prayers to god, Ioyand of owr profett, pat ar mes­syangers be-twix god & vs. Prayer certan is a meyk desire of mynde dressyd in god, of pe whilk he is plesyd wwhen it cums to hym. Meditacion in god & godly pingis, aftyr prayer and redynge is to be takyn, qwen is pe halsynge [embrace] of rachell. To redynge, longis reson & inquisicion of treuyth, pat is a gudely lightte markyd apon vs. To prayer, longis louynge sange, passynge in beheldynge and meruayll: and so in prayer standis contemplatyfe lyfe or contemplacion. To medi­tacione, longis inspiracion of godd, vndirstandyng, wysdome & syghynge.263

As is revealed by this quotation, Rolle's statement is extensively more complex than the portion of the Harford synthesis in question denotes. Clearly, meditation is, at least in the Emendatio Vitae, the climax of contemplation; for it is to be taken after prayer and reading, the two other components of "contemplatyfe lyfe or contemplacion." Moreover, meditation is the teaching vehicle of the angels, the inspiration of god, understanding, wisdom, and my­stical sighing. In contrast to the conventional view of mysticism, the Hermit's system accentuates intellectuality. The cornerstone of this intellectualism is manifestly meditation of the Passion, for it is this specific reflection that is consistently signified by Rolle.

In addition to its orderly didacticism and explication of the degrees of love, the Emendatio Vitae contains several of the Blood Motifs, none of which can be said to prevail since they gen­erally appear singularly. Chapter XI, "Of pe lufe of god," pro­vides another example of the mystical wound motif:

268 Misyn Translation, p. 127.
O euer-lastynge swetnes & fayrnes, my hart pou has woundyd, & now ouercomyn & woundyd I fall, vnnepis [scarcely] for Ioy I life & nehand [nearly] I dy, for I may nott suffyr swetnes of so grete a maieste in flesch pat wyll royte.269

Earlier in the chapter, Rolle petitions his Creator to "Byrn my renys with pi fyre, & my hart pat in pin awter [altar] sal byrn endlesly."270 In both instances, the heart has been the recipient of the mystic's bittersweet ascetical desires. The heart's metaphorical identity has evolved from primitive times when it shared the life equation with the blood. Theologically, Christ's heart wound is the most significant—if such a superlative is valid—because from it flowed the most symbolic blood. It was "shed mixed with water, a sign of the two more directly regenerative sacraments, Baptism and Eucharist. It [the heart] is the Fountain par excellence from which flow the four rivers of Paradise."271

Closely associated with the fountain figure just alluded to is the mystic bath motif. In the following quotation, Rolle appears to imply the bath metaphor as he evokes Christ: "Moyst my mynde with hote wyne of pi sweet lufe, pat all yllis & all scornfull visions & ymaginacions forgetill &, pe onely hauand, I may be glad, & Ioy in Ihesu my god."272 The bath figure is en-

269 Ibid., pp. 124-125.
270 Ibid., p. 123.
272 Misyn Translation, p. 123.
grossing in that it combines the blood tradition of primitive man with that of the Christian. In the latter frame of reference, the bath is an extension of the fountain of life motif since the fountain provides a perpetual source of Christ's blood, which cleanses, refreshes, and heals the faithful. The mystic bath theme quite obviously has its origin in the Apocalyptic theme of "Those who wash their robes in the blood of the lamb." Father Siebeneck, in an article "The Precious Blood and Saint John," states the Church's teaching in regard to the bath concept:

The Precious Blood, then, in which the Christian habitually bathes, purifies the soul, cleanses it from sin. The washing in the Blood not only brings supernatural life to the soul for the first time, but it also restores that life if lost and removes all those obstacles which stand in the way of the growth of that life. Once more we see how the Precious Blood is a means to life insofar as the soul is completely purified through it at every turn. It confers life not only on the individual, but it is likewise the source of that community of life between Christ and His members. The passages which contain the imagery of washing and cleansing in blood announce a "fellowship with one another" (I Jn 1,7) and "the kingdom and priests to God" (Ap 1,6) through the Blood of Christ.273

The spiritual restoration which Father Siebeneck cites parallels the regenerative powers attributed to blood or its equivalent by both primitive and classical cultures.

The recuperative power of Christ's blood--just discussed in the bath analysis but already examined in regard to the physician and leech figure--is probably the basis for an early plea for

healing in Chapter I, "ffirst, of conuersion":

Lorde, perfore turne vs & we sall be turnyd; heyl vs & we sall be helyd. Many truly ar not helyd, bot rotis & per wondys festyr, for today to god turnyd to-morne fro hym, [pai ar turnand], today doand penance, to-morne, to per ill turnand. [Of slike it is seid]: we haue curyd babilon & it is not helyd, for to criste it is not truly turnyd.²⁷⁴

Later, in Chapter XI, Rolle begs, "Perfore, o goyd Ihesu, haue mercy of a wrecch, schew pe to me pat longis, gyfe medcyne to me hurt."²⁷⁵

The rope figure is used in the initial chapter of the Emendatio Vitae to represent mankind's continued affinity for worldliness even though the actual bond of man's servitude to the Prince of Materialism has been severed by Christ's blood sacrifice:

And pat owre eyn of hart be not fixyd in god, ar many lettyngis, of whilk put we sum. Abundance of Riches, flaternge of wymmen, ffayrnes or bewte of 3outhe: pis is pe threfoold rope pat vnnethis [with difficulty] may be brokyn, & zit it bus be brokynne & despisyd, pat criste may be louyd.²⁷⁶

Ever-present is the shadow of the Charter's requirement of love. For to be truly liberated, man must love God to the exclusion of everything else; to do so, he must renounce all visages of his former slavery to the devil, visages represented by attraction to the things of the world. As previously indicated, if man is successful in turning to God, he becomes bound in love to his Creator;

²⁷⁴Misyn Translation, p. 106.
²⁷⁵Ibid., p. 125.
²⁷⁶Ibid., p. 107.
whereas, formerly, he was tied to Satan and transitory material objects. In describing the second degree of inseparable love, Rolle relies again on the love bond motif:

Luf truly is indepartyd qwhen with grete lufe be mynde is kyndylde and to criste with boght vndepartyd draws, forsoth a minwt it suffyrs hym not pas fro mynde, bot als he were bun in hart hym it pinkis, to hym it syghis, it cryes with his lufe to be haldyn, to lawes [loosen] be fettyr of dedelynes & to hym pat he onely to se desires may leed. 277

Later, charity partially assumes the identity of blood. Among other effects, "O haly charite . . . makis [hole] pat was brokyn, fale pou restoris, bond pou delyuers . . . ." 278 As a result of these ransom and rejuvenation appositenesses, it becomes increasingly evident that charity or mercy or any other synonym for divine love acquires, within the Rollean perspective, the various metaphorical identities of the Blood Motifs. Again, God's love, expressed in the blood of His Son, is defined in terms given denotation by man's heritage of blood import.

Finally, Chapter VI, "Of Paciens," begins with a probable allusion to the Eucharist. In speaking of those who despise all lusts and solace of the world for Christ's love, Rolle states: "He truly pat with be brede is fed pat come fro heuyn, his desire enclines not to po pat of be deuyll ar meuyd [stirred]." 279 True, within the context of the chapter and the format of the entire

277 Ibid., p. 123.
278 Ibid., p. 125.
279 Ibid., p. 116.
work, it is somewhat difficult to determine whether the Hermit intends the Eucharist identification or the wisdom symbol discerned as the alternate meaning of angel's bread. However, at this stage of the Emendatio Vitae, its author is concluding the section devoted to the positive ordering of the faithful Christian's life—an ordering that has catalogued, in Chapter IV, the sins of mankind and has stressed, throughout Chapters IV-VI, the necessity of contrition, confession, and satisfaction for transgressions. Consequently, presumption should favor the Eucharist symbol.

If the assumption of an educated audience is correct, the Emendatio Vitae evidences Rolle's universal espousal of Passion meditation for both the bilingual scholar and the simple recluse or nun who was probably limited to her native tongue. But, regardless of the education of his reader, Richard Rolle provides in the Emendatio Vitae continued substantiation of his reliance on blood-documentation for his mysticism.
Form of Living

Presumably written late in Rolle's career—possibly in the last year of his life—the Form of Living, second in medieval popularity to the Emendatio Vitae, is addressed to his favorite disciple Margaret Kirkeby. It is generally conceded to be the most mature of the Hermit's English works and certainly the best of the mystical manuals. Miss Mackinnon justly observes: "Far more comprehensive and on a far higher level than either the Ego Dormio or The Commandment we feel that this is written con amore." The explanation for the work's superiority is evident to any student of the Hampole mystic. As a recluse, Margaret Kirkeby more than the anonymous nun of Yedingham, the unknown sister of Hampole, or the learned William Stopes shared with Rolle his love for the solitary existence in the service of God, an existence perpetually bordering on mystical experience. As Rolle tells Margaret, "Pe state pat bou ert in, pat es solitude, es maste abyll of all othyr til revelacion of pe haly gaste." Undoubtedly, the Form of Living was written con amore, the dual love of a mystic and a spiritual advisor.

To a considerable extent, the Form of Living resembles the Emendatio Vitae. In addition to the obvious similarity of delineating the three grades of love, the MS. Cambr. Dd. V. 64 version

280 E. Mackinnon, p. 183.

of the Form—written in Rolle's Northern dialect—is divided into twelve chapters, as is the Emendatio Vitae, with the first half being devoted to general admonition and the last half to the love of God and divine contemplation. Moreover, the catalogue of sins; the need for contrition, confession, and satisfaction; and the discussion of the contemplative life are quite alike in both works. However, the Form of Living tends to be more personal than the carefully composed Emendatio Vitae. Rolle's characteristic moderation is revealed in several protestations against extreme asceticism or excessive indulgence. Furthermore, the Hermit draws from his own experience to warn Margaret of the temptations of the solitary and the meaning of dreams. In his exemplum, Rolle does make one change—the ejaculatory "Ave maria" is recommended instead of the formula "O Jesu, how precious is Thy blood!" which Rolle used to combat nocturnal temptation. Miss Mackinnon speculates that Rolle's original exclamation was the result of intense personal involvement. In warning his disciple, she believes, "Rolle is now sufficiently removed from the temptation to speak of it dispassionately and to realize that it was an experience not peculiar to himself."

282 Ibid., pp. 6, 24, 25.
283 Ibid., p. 11.
284 Office, p. 305.
285 E. Mackinnon, p. 186.
A less ingenious explanation might be that Rolle was simply adapting the situation to feminine psychology: as a woman, Margaret Kirkeby would probably have a deeper devotion to the Blessed Virgin than to the blood of Christ. At this point in the dissertation, one can state with reasonable confidence that Richard Rolle was quite sensitive to various devotional currents of his age. Repeatedly, his writings evidence his own deep rooted consecration to the name of Jesus and the complete nomenclature of the Passion. If any real question exists regarding the Hermit's attitude toward the entire subject of devotions, it is, at least, partially answered in the Form of Living. In "Capitulum sextum," Rolle begins:


Then, in cataloguing "Pe synnes of pe hert," as part of the explanation of "what thyng fyles a man," Rolle starts with "Ill thoght. ill. delyte. assent till synne. desyre of ill. wikked will. Ill suspesion. vndevocion." Comparison with the other sins of the heart discloses the great importance that Rolle must have placed on devotion to include lack of devotion in the same list as

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287 Ibid.
"assent till synne" and such other transgressions appearing later in the catalogue as "Ioy in any mans ill-fare," 288 "ypocrisy," 289 and "joy of ill dede." 290

Later, in the seventh chapter, Rolle prescribes a meditation before meals which includes the ransom theme:

Loved be pou keyng, & thanked be pou keyng, & blyssed be pou keyng, Ihesu all my ioying, of all pi giftes gude: pat for me spylt pi blude, & died on pe rude; pou gyl me grace to syng, be sang of pi louyng. 291

In the instruction that follows this prayer, the Hermit illustrates again the importance of devotion; for, he suggests to his reader that any other meditation "pat pou has mare swetnes in & devocion, pan in pase pat I lere pe" 292 should be utilized. In this substitution of meditation, there is some support for this writer's contention that Rolle was merely adapting to the situation in his advocacy of the "Aue maria" supplication for Margaret's use in time of temptation.

The convergence of Richard Rolle's own major devotions to the name and Passion of Jesus is exemplified in the short "Capitulum nonum" of the Form of Living:

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288 Ibid.
289 Ibid., p. 22.
290 Ibid.
291 Ibid., p. 30.
292 Ibid.
If you will be well with God, & have grace to rule your life, & come to the love of the Lord: His name, Iesus, shall be fast in your heart, that it never come out of your thought. And when you speak with your hymn & say Iesus through custom, it shall be in your ears. In your mouth honey, & in your heart melody: For shall think joy to hear His name be renewed, sweetness to speak it, mirth & song to think it. If you think Iesus continually, & hold it steadily, it purges your sin, & kindles your heart; it clarifies your soul; it removes anger, & drives away slaveries. It wounds love, & fulfills of charity. It chases the devil, & puts out dread. It opens heaven & makes a contemplative man. Have in your mind Iesus: for all vices & fantasies it puts out from your lover. And hail holy Mary day and night. Much love & joy shall you feel, if you will do after His will. The there is nothing that cannot greatly many books: hold love in your heart, & in works, and you have all that we may say or write: for fulness of law is charity; in that hinges all.293

The entire chapter is evidence of Rolle's mystical devotion to the name of "Ihesu"; for, as Rolle states, the name will be melody in the speaker's heart. Nevertheless, many of the attributes that had previously been assigned to meditations on the various facets of the Passion are discerned in this chapter as being applicable to meditation on Jesus' name: the purging of sin, the kindling of the heart, the mystical wounding of the soul, and the chasing of the devil and temptation. Is the speculation that Rolle's devotion to the name of Jesus is actually an outgrowth of his fundamental devotion to the Passion too untenable? This writer thinks not: after all, Rolle's devotion to the name of Jesus is a devotion to the name of his Redeemer.

The notability of devotion in Rolle's Form of Living is presented once again in the tenth chapter's protracted exploration

293 Ibid., p. 35.
of the nature of love. After an examination of the questions, "What es lufe, An [d] whar es lufe," Rolle poses as an answer to the inquiry, "How sal I verryali lufe god," the reply: "to lufe hym in al bi myght, stalworthly; In al bi hert, wysely; In al bi sawle, deuowtely & swetely." Then, the Hermit elaborates upon each point. Of devout love, he says:

Deuowte lufe es: when pou offers bi prayers & bi thoghtes til god with gastyly ioy, & byrnand hert in be hete of be haly gaste, swa pat be thynk pat bi saule es als it war drunken for delyte & solace of be swetnes of Ihesu, and bi hert conceyues sa mykel of goddes helpe, pat be thynk pat bow may neuer be fra hym departyd; and pan bow comes in til swilk rest & pees in sawle, & quiete, with-owten thoghtes of vani­tесь [or] of vices, als bow war in sylence & slepe, & sette in Noe schyppe, pat na thyng may lette be of deuocion & byrn­ng of sete lufe. Fra bow haue getyn pis lufe: all bi lyf, til dede come, es ioy & comforth, and verryli Cristes lufel, and he restes in be, whas stede es maked in pees.

The devout life as Rolle defines it has the distinct imprint of the illuminative and unitive ways of mystical progress.

Also, throughout the tenth chapter are indicia of blood theology. For example, as a segment of his answer to "What es lufe?" Rolle replies:

Verry luf clenses be saule, & deleyuers it fra be pyne of hell, & of be foule seruys of syn, & of be vgly felyschip of be deuels; and of be fende son makes god son, & parcener of be heritage of heuen.

294 Ibid., pp. 35-39.
295 Ibid., p. 39.
296 Ibid., p. 42.
297 Ibid., p. 37.
In partial response to "Whare es lufe?" the Hampole mystic states that although love is in the heart and will of man, it has external manifestations, one of which is "al be gude dedes pat he may do, he dose pam in entent forto pay Ihesu Criste . . . ." 298 In analyzing "stalworth," Rolle mirrors the mystic's desire for reciprocal pain by explicating the term as the quality that permits the tormented man to delight "pat he war worthy forto suffer torment & payne for Crystes lufe." 299 Even the reference to Noah's ark in the definition of devout love is of some blood import. In being mocked by Ham, Noah is a figure of Christ Who was mocked by the Jews. 300 As already indicated, the wine drunk by Noah is a symbol of Christ's blood. And, finally, Noah's ark is a medieval symbol of the Church, the sacraments, and safety from the devil. 301

The principal contribution of the Form of Living to a comprehension of Richard Rolle's mysticism is perceived in the weight that he assigns to the devotional aspect. There can be little doubt that the Hampole mystic fully intends devotionalism to function as a tributary for his mystical current. Of secondary importance is the ninth chapter's disclosure that Richard Rolle's salient devotional interests in the name and Passion of Christ might well be convergent.

298 Ibid., p. 38.
299 Ibid., p. 40.
300 F. R. Webber, p. 249.
301 Ibid., p. 236; G. Ferguson, pp. 75-76.
Short Prose Pieces

Owing to the brevity and nature of Richard Rolle’s remaining authenticated prose, it is expedient to discuss the works as a unit. Later, it will be equally feasible to analyze the English lyrics in a similar fashion. Four of the short prose pieces——The Bee and the Stork, Desyre and Delit, Gastyly Gladnes, and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit——are comparatively insignificant from the point of view of this dissertation. Generally, they are appended to or incorporated in manuscripts of Rolle’s more important works. With rare exception, they are not of a mystical nature and are almost impossible to date.

The Bee and the Stork utilizes the popular medieval imagery of the bestiaries to expound the virtues of contemplative men. The "wondyrfull, pure, haly, and faste"302 delight of Christ is the subject of Desyre and Delit. Gastyly Gladnes——termed a prose lyric by Miss Allen because of its alliteration303 contains a sentence that appears to relate it to Rolle’s 1343 vision of an additional period of life: "It war na wonder if dede war dere, pat I myght se hym pat I seke. Bot now it es lenthed fra me, & me behoues lyf here, til he wil me lese."304 As Miss Mackinnon ob-

302 R. Rolle, English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, p. 58.
303 Ibid., p. 51.
304 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 81.
serves, "It seems likely that the piece was written soon after the revelation, for the 'now' would indicate that the date appointed for his death had been recently revealed." 305 Finally, The Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, incorporated in the MS. Cambr. Dd. V. 64, as the eleventh chapter of the Form of Living, consists of little more than an annotated catalogue of "Wysdom, Vnderstandyng, Counsayle, Strengh, Connyng, Pyte, & pe Drede of god." 306

A notabill Tretys off the Comandementys: Drawene by Ri- cherd the hermyte off Hampull—shortened simply to On the Ten Commandments—exists in both a short and long version, the Thornton MS. and Hatton MS. respectively. Since some question remains regarding the Hatton version, the short Thornton version will be analyzed.

Mystically, On the Ten Commandments contains, in the discussion of the third commandment, an echo of Rolle's three grades of love:

This commandement may be takyne in thre maneres: Firste generally pat we sesse of all vyces. [Sithen speciali, pat we cesse of alle bodili werkis] pat lettys deuocyone to god in prayenge and thynkynge. The thyrde es specyall, als in con­ templatyfe mene pat departis payme fra all werldly thynges swa pat pey hally gyfe payme till god. The fyrste manere es nedfull vs to do. The tothire we awe to do. The thirde es perfecceyone. 307

305 E. Mackinnon, p. 61.
307 Ibid., p. 195.
One notes again a clear statement to devotion of God in "prayenge and thynkynge."

However, more significantly, this piece provides two interesting comments related to the topic of this dissertation. One, a pronouncement that crosses as images of Christ should be worshipped, occurs in the explication of the first commandment: "Haly crosses mene sall lowte [worship] ffor thay are in syngne of Cryste crucyfiede: To ymages es pe louynge pat es till theyme of whaym pai are pe ymagez, ffor pat Entent anely pai are for to lowte."308 The second appears in the analysis of the second commandment:

In thre maners mane may syne in swerynge: That es, if he swere agayne his concyence, Or if he swere be Cryste wondes or blude—That es euermare gret syne pofe it be sothe pat he sweris, ffor it sounes in irreu[er]ence of Ihesu Cryste; Also if he come agaynes his athe noght fulfilland pat he has sworne.309

This condemnation of swearing by Christ's wounds or His blood is a good indication of the extent to which the terminology and nomenclature of Christ's sacrifice of blood had infiltrated the everyday, casual conversation of the medieval Englishman.310

If Richard Rolle had not written meditations on the Passion, one would be greatly surprised. As his writings frequently

308 Ibid.
309 Ibid.
310 See the Pardoner's denunciation of such oaths in the Canterbury Tales, p. 183 of the Robinson edition.
illustrate, such reflection is often the necessary impetus to the steps of mystical ascent. Of the various Passion meditations periodically ascribed to the Hampole hermit, Miss Allen accepts two as genuine: the I and II versions of *Meditation on the Passion*.\(^{311}\)

It is doubtful that the two texts are descended from a common original. True, at times both forms follow a regular structure: gratitude is expressed to man’s Redeemer for some facet of the Passion; a few words of prayer, generally penitential, follow, after which some Latin prayers are prescribed. However, Richard Rolle frequently reiterated himself—as is evidenced by his repetitive treatment of the three levels of love—or completely rewrote a previous work—as in the case of the English versions of the *Super Magnificat* and the *Psalter*. Consequently, *Meditation I* and *Meditation II* might well be two separate and distinct meditations.

Despite this possibility, the meditations do evidence some mutual motifs. Both contain the Charter figure. *Meditation I* illustrates the incorporation of some vivid details of Christ’s suffering with the motif:

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\begin{align*}
A, \text{ lord, be pyte I now se: } & \text{ pi woundys in } \text{pi streynynge reche so wyde, } \text{pi lymes and } \text{pi nayles are so tendre. Pou lyst rowyd and reed streyned on } \text{pe cros, } \text{be kene crowne on pin hed pat syyteth } \text{pe so sore, } \text{pi face is so bolnyd pat fyrst was so faire; } \text{pi synwes } & \text{pi bonys styrten owt so starke, } \text{pat pi bonys may be nowmbryd; } \text{pe stremys of } \text{pi reede blood renny} \\
\end{align*}
\]

as be flood, pi woundys are for-bled and grysly on to se. 312

Meditation II contains basically the same material but also refers specifically to Christ's skin "streyned as a parchemynskyn upon be harowe." 313

In contrast to references in these aforementioned quotations to "be stremys of pi reede blood renyn as be flood" and wounds that are "for-bled," as well as other allusions in the meditations to baths of precious blood, 314 both versions present the opposite extreme in blood letting: the desire for "a drope of hys reed blod to make blody my soule, a drope of pat watur to waschyn it with." 315 The theological implications of the copiousness of Christ's blood shedding and the shedding of blood and water have already been cited. Theologically, these references to a single drop of blood and water reflect the contention that the slightest blood sacrifice by Christ would have been sufficient for everlasting atonement and cleansing.

Singularly, the meditations embody a number of motifs discovered in Rolle's other works. Meditation I includes references to the sweat of blood, 316 the ransom theme of Christ's allowing

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312 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 87.
313 Ibid., p. 100.
314 Ibid., pp. 90, 97, 102, and 103. Miss Allen sees in these references a likeness to "the ancient motif of folk-lore, the 'bath of blood,'" English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, p. 134.
316 Ibid., p. 83.
Himself to be bound in order that man be unbound from Satan,\(^{317}\) the blood vengeance motif involving the Jews and their children,\(^{318}\) the desire for the mystical wound,\(^{319}\) and the "heuenelyche leche"\(^{320}\) figure. Allusions to Christ's "souereyn medicyn"\(^{321}\) and the innocent victim motif\(^{322}\) are contained in Meditation II.

As the Charter quotations illustrated, both of the meditations elicit the grim details of the crucifixion. These reflections share the specific detail that "pei grauyd pine handys & pi feet al with pe blont. nayles, for pe more peyne."\(^{323}\) Meditation I concludes with Rolle's imaginative presence at Christ's moment of sacrifice:

I se pi blood laue owt of handys and of feet, pi sydes thyrled with be spere, pi woundes dryed and al to-ran, pi body al be-bled, pi chyn hangyddoun, & pi teth bare; be whyte of pi eyen is cast vp-ward, pi skyn pat was so louely is become al pale, be crowne in pin hed grysyth in my syx, be heer is clemyd with be blod and blowith al a-bowte.\(^{324}\)

The Hermit continues as an "eye-witness" to all of the subsequent events following Christ's death: the casting of lots for His robe.

\(^{317}\) Ibid.
\(^{318}\) Ibid., p. 85.
\(^{319}\) Ibid., p. 86.
\(^{320}\) Ibid., p. 90.
\(^{321}\) Ibid., p. 93.
\(^{322}\) Ibid., p. 98.
\(^{323}\) Ibid., pp. 86 and 100.
\(^{324}\) Ibid., p. 91.
the descent from the cross, the preparation of the body, and the
burial. The corresponding passage in Meditation II is curtailed-
hence, less detailed—and omits the events following the death on
the cross. However, while Meditation I makes a passing reference
to the Blessed Virgin's sorrow as she stands at the foot of the
cross, Meditation II gives greater emphasis to the sorrow by mak-
ing it the terminal and climactic experience in Rolle's "vision"
of the crucifixion.325

In several other respects, the meditations differ. Medi-
tation I contains a possible reference to the Eucharistic motif
of the mystic winepress. Theologians have interpreted the wine-
press allusion in Isaias LXIII,2 to mean Christ's Passion. For
example, in Sermo de Exodi lectione secundus, Gaudentius of Bres-
cia speaks of the wine of the blood of Christ being pressed out
in the winepress of the cross.326 Father Banet's study of "The
Precious Blood in Art" analyzes the theme, as it is reflected in
religious art, in some detail:

The theme is surely derived from the Fountain of Life. The
Man of Sorrows is placed under a press, and His Blood, re-
presented as pressed from the grapes, flows into a tub and
fills it to overflowing. It shows that the Savior poured
out His Blood even to the last drop that our redemption might
be complete. The metaphor of the winepress was suggested
since earliest times in the commentators on the Bible.327

325 Ibid., p. 103.
326 J. H. Rohling, p. 27.
327 C. Banet, p. 124.
Later in this article, variations of the motif are presented:

The position of Jesus offers some variation: sometimes He is on His knees or standing or bent under the press that crushes Him. The formula of Christ standing comes closest to that of the Fountain of Life. The cross becomes the press and serves to crush the body of Christ, whose Blood flows from every part into a basin. Sometimes God the Father works the press . . . . The theme of the Winepress . . . held some vogue until the 17th century.328

While representations of the mystic winepress are fairly common in religious art from the early twelfth century—when it appears in a miniature of the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Landsberg—until, as Father Banet notes, into the seventeenth century, literature does not afford the ample opportunity that art does for the development of so pictorial a theme.

Nevertheless, Richard Rolle's reference to "pe prees of pe peple was wonderly strong; pei hurled pe and haryed pe so schamefully"329 in his description of Christ's journey to Calvary might be one of the motif's rare literary manifestations. Certainly, the image of Christ's being "hurled" and "haryed" is not too remote from that of grapes' being dashed about in a winepress. Moreover, the Hermit continues his meditation with a blood-splattered description that seems to further the winepress figure: "pi body is so blody, so rowed and so bledderyd . . . pi heere meuyth with pe wynde clemyd with pe blood . . . pe blood ran pere-with, pat

328 Ibid., p. 127.
grysyth in my syt." 330 Later, Rolle refers to Mary following Jesus "among be gret prees." 331 "Prees" is an unusual word with the Hampole mystic: he simply does not use it as a synonym for "throng" or "crowd." Yet, here, it appears twice within a relatively short space. In addition, rarely does Rolle deviate from concrete phraseology unless he intends some definite metaphorical implication. It is difficult to believe that the frequently didactic and orthodox Hermit would have employed "preas" if he meant merely "throng" or "crowd."

Meditation II has several motifs not found in Meditation I. In one of his apostrophes to Christ, Rolle presents two modifications of the rope symbol not previously discerned in his writings. The Hampole mystic speaks of Christ's being bound "to a peef"; 332 then he asks his Savior to bind him in "bileeue, hope, & charite." 333 In explicating the "hope" binding, Rolle writes, "bine me to bee in hope: so pat al myn hope & trist be oonli in bee; late neuere myn hope be to streite: lest I tall in wanhope [despair]." 334 Possibly, the Hermit was thinking of another person who was actually bound in "wanhope"—Judas.

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330 Ibid.
331 Ibid.
332 Ibid., p. 94.
333 Ibid.
334 Ibid.
Another passage in Meditation II refers to the most sacred and symbolic of Christ's blood: "O, swete Ihesu, þei ʒauen þee poisoun to kele þi prist wip: & þou ʒauem þem þin herte blood to quench her synnes, & to hele her soulis."\(^{335}\) As already implied in the discussion of the importance of the side wound, the blood from Christ's heart is the most sacred because this blood, mingled with water, flowed from the side when it was opened by the lance; in so doing, the "herte blood" instituted the two principal sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist.

But, foremost in imagination is the catalogue of similes that appear in *Meditation II* for Christ's wound-punctured body:

Panne [after the scourging] was þi bodi lījk to heuene: for as heuene is ful of sterris, so is þi bodi ful of woundis. But, lord, þi woundis ben betere þan sterris: for sterris schinen not but bi nyȝtis, & þi woundis ben ful of vertu nyȝt & day; alle þe sterris bi nyȝtet ne liȝten but a litil, & o cloude may hide hem alle: but oon of þi woundis, swete Ihesu, was & is Inouȝ to do awey cloudis of synne, & to clere þe conscience of alle sinful men . . . . þe sterris ben cause in erpe of ech þing þat is grene, or growiȝb, or beriȝ fruyȝt: now, swete Ihesu, make me grene in my bileeue, growiȝb in grace, & beringe fruyȝt of gode werkis. Also sterris ben cause of mynes of metals & of precious stonyȝs: now, swete lord Ihesu, make me touȝ as metal aȝens temptaciouns, & precious as perre in to þe hiȝ degré of charite . . . .

And ȝit, lord swete Ihesu, þi bodi is lījk a nett: for as a nett is ful of holis, so is þi bodi ful of woundis. Here, swete lord Ihesu, I biseche þee, catche me in þe nett of þi scourginge, þat al myn herte & lōue be to þee; & drawe me euere to þee & wip þee as a net drawiȝ fisch, til I come to þe bank of deep: þat neuere temptacioun, tribulacioun ne prosperite pulle me fro þee; and as a net drawiȝ fisch to londe, so, swete Ihesu, brynge me to þi blis. Catche me, lord, in

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pe net of holie chirche; & kepe me, lord, pat I neuer breke out of pe bondis of charite . . .

3it, swete Ihesu, bi bodi is lijk a dufhous: for as a dufhous is ful of dowue holis, so is pi bodi ful of woundis: & as a dowue pursued of an hauke, if sche mai a-reche to an hole of hir hous, sche is sikir 1-now3: so, swete Ihesu, in temptacioun pi woundis ben best repute. Now, swete Ihesu, I bi-seche bee in ech temptacioun graunte me grace of sum hole of pi woundis, & likinge to abide in mynde of pi passioun.

Also, swete Ihesu, bi bodi is lijk an honv-comb: for pat is ech weies ful of cellis, & ech celle ful of hony, so pat it may not be touchid wipouten 3eldinge of swetnes: so, swete Ihesu, bi bodi is ful of cellis of deuocioun, pat it may not be touchid of a clene soule wipoute swetnes & likinge . . .

More 3it, swete Ihesu, bi bodi is lijk a book writen wip reed enke: so is pi bodi al writen wip rede woundis. Now, swete Ihesu, graunte me grace often to rede upon pis book, & sum-what to vndirstonde pe swetnes of pat writinge . . . graunte me pat stodie in ech tide of pe day, & graunte me grace pat I may haue upon pis book matyns, pryme houris, euesong & complin, my meditacioun, my speche, & my daliaunce . . .

Swete Ihesu, 3it pi bodi is lijk to a made ful of swete flouris & holsum herbis: so is pi bodi ful of woundis, swete saueringe to a deuout soule, & holsum as eerbis to ech sinful man.

Consistent with his instructive penchant, which was revealed initially in the English Psalter, Richard Rolle concisely explains the appropriateness of his heaven, net, dove-cot, honeycomb, book, and meadow similes for Christ's body. As guiding stars, places of refuge, centers of sweetness, the alphabet of spiritual communication, sweet flowers, and healing herbs, the wound figures are no less fitting nor important. The extent to which Richard Rolle's life is Passion-oriented is best illustrated in the requests ap-

336 Ibid., pp. 96-97.
pended to the explication of the book simile; the Hampole mystic clearly states that Christ's blood sacrifice is the focal point of his entire existence—prayer, meditation, speech, and recreation.

Of Rolle's short prose pieces, these meditations are beyond question of the greatest consequence owing to the fact that such meditation is fundamental to the Hermit's mystical method. To fully appreciate the range of the Blood Motifs in the two forms of Meditation on the Passion is really impossible without an unabridged insertion of Meditation I and Meditation II, an insertion obviously precluded by practicality. Nevertheless, the quotations and citations that have been presented from these reflections should illustrate the degree of blood permeation in these meditations, permeation either by reference to a litany-like recitation of Passion events and instruments or by explanations of these items in the context of divine love.
English Lyrics

Although Miss Comper’s study, The Life and Lyrics of Richard Rolle, claims that no less than three Northern and five Southern manuscripts must be examined to determine Rolle’s authorship of lyrics,337 Hope Allen’s later study narrows the consideration to the only two manuscripts which actually attribute English lyrics to the Hampole mystic: MS. Dd. V. 64 and the Longleat MS. 29.338 The latter text, apparently not known to Miss Comper, is a fifteenth century miscellaneous collection of Latin and English theology which includes all of Richard Rolle’s English works with the exception of the English Psalter.339 Some of the lyrics in this miscellany are dedicated to Margaret Kirkeby.340

Without much explanation, Miss Allen contends, "The question of the authenticity of the English lyrics ascribed to the hermit of Hampole is one of the most complicated and interesting involved in the study of his canon."341 To guard against unwarranted ascription of lyrics, Hope Allen initiates her study of this phase of Rolle’s production by considering those lyrics whose authenticity may be taken for granted—the four lyrics appearing


339 Ibid., p. 34.

340 Ibid., p. 294.

341 Ibid., p. 287.
in Rolle's English epistles. Two poems each are incorporated in the Ego Dormio and the Form of Living. The formlessness of these interspersed lyrics, Miss Allen believes, may almost be termed indicative of his authorship. 342

Both lyrics of the Ego Dormio have already been discussed. The first, "My keyng bat water grette," has been inserted and analyzed as the Meditatio de passione Criste. 343 The second lyric, "My sange es in syhtyng," was briefly mentioned as the Cantus Amoris. 344

"Loued be pou keyng" occurs in Chapter VII of the Form of Living. Again, owing to its pertinence as a meditation, the text has been reproduced in the analysis of the epistle. 345 This lyric, containing Rollean devotion to Jesus and His blood as well as a concluding reference to canor or mystical song, also appears in the Lay Folks Mass-Book, a work which Horstman ascribes to Rolle but Allen rejects "since no other signs appear of his authorship." 346 The second lyric of the Form of Living is found in the eighth chapter's explication of the third and highest degree of love. Aside from calling attention to the mystic's longing for

342 Ibid., 288.
343 See pp. 149-151.
344 See p. 152.
345 See p. 171.
death, "When will pow com to comforth me" is of little importance to this dissertation.

On the basis of a verse analysis of these works and a knowledge of Rolle's prose subject matter, criteria can be established by which to evaluate the other lyrics credited to the Hermit. Rolle's characteristic themes are so apparent at this stage of the dissertation that no need exists to review them. Metrically, Rolle's lyrics evidence frequent alliteration, quatrains based on a single rhyme, the greatest ornamentation of rhyme and rhythm possible, and some irregular verse structure including the aforementioned formlessness. Applying these characteristics as a standard, Miss Allen judges Rolle to be the author of the last eight lyrics of the fourteen included in the MS. Cambr. Dd. V. 64;\textsuperscript{347} some of the eight are also found in the Longleat MS. 29. One of these lyrics is the prose lyric \textit{Gastly Gladnes}, which has been briefly alluded to in the previous section devoted to the short prose pieces.\textsuperscript{348}

"All synnes sal pou hate thorow castyng of skylle"\textsuperscript{349} is the only lyric of the seven remaining poems authenticated by Miss Allen that does not evidence some motif of blood import. Primarily, this verse exhortation concerns the proximity of Doomsday and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{347} Ibid., pp. 297-301.
\item \textsuperscript{348} See pp. 175-176.
\item \textsuperscript{349} R. Rolle, \textit{Richard Rolle of Hampole}, I. 74.
\end{itemize}
the assignment of celestial seats on the basis of the degrees of love.

In the lyric "Mercy es maste in my mynde," Rolle equates mercy to love, a point strangely missed by Miss Allen, who finds Rolle merely extolling mercy instead of love. Substantiation of this equation is seen in mercy's becoming the agent of man's ransom; in Rolle's works, love is the conventional vehicle of man's redemption:

Mercy as syght of al my hele,
perfore I haue it mast in thoght;
Mercy likes me sa wele,
for thorogh mercy was I boght.
Ine wate what I may do or say til mercy,
bat es ay sa gode;
Pou graunte mercy pat mercy may,
bat es my solace & my fode.

Mercy as the poet's health or salvation, the predominance of mercy in his mind, and mercy as solace and food all support the mercy-love equation. Finally, based on what Miss Comper sees as a greater mastery of rhyme, the lyric might be placed toward the end of Rolle's career.

The next lyric to appear in the MS. Cambr. Dd. V. 64 is "Ihesu god son, lord of mageste," a poem containing several of

350 Ibid., pp. 74-75.
352 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 74.
354 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 75-76.
the Blood Motifs. First, there are two definite references to Christ’s purchase of mankind: “Ihesu pe mayden son, pat wyth pi blode me boght,” and “On hym pat pe boght, hafe al pi thoght, & lede pe in his lare.” Early in the lyric, Rolle asks for the mystical wound: "Thyrl my sawule wyth pi spere, pat mykel luf in men hase wroght." The "spere" might well be the lance of the Passion. A later reference to the mystical wound is viewed by Miss Comper as revealing the Charter motif: "Wounde my hert within, & welde it at pi wille." Probably, Miss Comper is interpreting "welde it at pi wille" as the Reddendo requirement of the "wille" or charter. The Eucharist theme is conceivable in the designation of Christ as "pe faire aungels fode." Lastly, the grim details of the Passion of "aungels brede" are present:

His bak was in betyng, 
& spylt hys blissed blode.
Pe thorn corond pe keyng, 
bat nayled was on pe rode.
Whyte was his naked breste, 
& rede his blody syde,
Wan was his faire face, 
his woundes depe & wyde;
Pe iewpis wald not wande [hesitate] 
to pyne hym in pat tyde:
Als streme dose of pe strande,

355 Ibid., p. 75.
356 Ibid., p. 76.
357 Ibid., p. 75.
358 Ibid.
359 Ibid., p. 76.
his blode gan downe glyde.
Blynded was his faire ene,
his flesch blody for-bette;
His lufsum lyf was layde ful low,
& saryful vmbesette.
Dede & lyf began to stryf
wheper myght maystre mare,
When aungels brede was damned
to dede to safe ouseauls sare.\textsuperscript{360}

Generally, this passage relates lyrics such as this one to the entire medieval tradition of pulpit declamation heavily documented with grisly specifications of Christ's blood sacrifice; specifically, this portion of the lyric is akin to the corresponding prose segments that conclude the two authenticated versions of Rolle's \textit{Meditation on the Passion}.

The first sixty lines of "Luf es lyf pat lastes ay"\textsuperscript{361} are, as Miss Allen states, "a close translation of scattered sentences from chapters 40-1 of the Incendium."\textsuperscript{362} In fact, the entire poem of ninety-six lines is a verse paraphrase of the \textit{Incendium Amoris}.\textsuperscript{363} Line six, "Lufe I lyken til a fyre pat sloken m\textsuperscript{a} na thyng,"\textsuperscript{364} demonstrates the proximity of themes. Similarity of Blood Motifs in the two works is graphically illustrated by the wine inebriation theme: "Lufe es a gastly wynne, pat makes men

\textsuperscript{360}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{361}Ibid., pp. 76-78.
\textsuperscript{362}H. E. Allen, \textit{Works Ascribed}, p. 299.
\textsuperscript{363}See F. M. Comper's \textit{The Life and Lyrics of Richard Rolle} pp. 248-257, for a complete analysis of corresponding passages and concepts.
\textsuperscript{364}R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 76.
The definitive phraseology is identical with that of the *Incendium Amoris*. Again, the ransom motif is the focal point of Christ's love. The poet exhorts man to give his Savior his "sawle pat it boght, pat he pe dwell with-in." Moreover, the price of the purchase elicited in this lyric is Christ's bloody hands and feet: "Ful dere me thynk he hase me boght, with blodi hende & fete." Before the terminating proclamation of divine love, the Hermit appeals to man's compassion via the image of a tormented Christ:

Na wonder gyf I syghand be & sithen in sorow be sette: Ihesu was nayled apon be tre, & al blody for-bette; To thynk on hym es grete pyte, how tenderly he grette-- Pis hase he sufferde, man, for be, if pat pou syn wyll lette.

The last quatrain of "Luf es lyf pat lastes ay" is a suitable transition to the next lyric. Every line of the concluding quatrain begins with "Ihesu" just as every line of the introductory quatrain of "Heyle Ihesu, my creatowre" starts with "Heyle Ihesu." After the first quatrain, each initial line of subsequent

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366 See p. 144.
quatrails begins with either "Heyle Ihesu" or simply "Ihesu."

Following the pattern of "Luf es lyf pat lastes ay," this lyrical devotion to Jesus' name develops eight lines on the ransom motif prior to its final expounding of divine love:

Ihesu to lufe ay be me lefe,
   pat es my gastly gode.
Allas, my god es als a thefe
   nayled til pe rode;
Hys tender vayns begyns to brest,
   al rennes of blode,
Handes & fete with nayles er fest:
   pat chawnges mi mode.
Ihesu mi keyng es me ful dere,
   pat with his blode me boght,
Of spittynge spred es al pat clere,
   to dede with betyng broght.
For me he tholed pies payns sere,
   be whilk wreche he wroght:
For-pi pai sitt my hert ful nere,
   pat I forgete pam noght.371

The twelfth lyric of the MS. Cambr. Dd. V. 64 is "All vanitese forsake,"372 another of the exhortations to ecstatic love of Jesus. While lacking the realistic Passion details of the last two lyrics, this poem does contain a typically Rollean request for the mystical wound, a request coupled with a metonymic allusion to Christ's blood sacrifice:

Wyth lufe wounde me within,
   and til pi lyght me lede.
Pou make me clene of synne,
   pat I be ded noght drede.
Als pou to save mankyn
   sufferd pi sydes blede,
Gyf me wytt to wyn

371 Ibid., p. 79.
372 Ibid., pp. 79-81.
The aptness of the metonymy is apparent when the significance of the side wound is remembered. Mystically, this quatrain discloses the Hermit's desire for the unitive "syght." Later in the lyric, the permanent unitive experience of the beatific vision is fused with the mystic's concepts of imminent death and assigned celestial seats:

Ful sone he wil be call,--
bi setell es made for pe,--
And haue pe in his hall
euuer his face to se.374

The last lyric, "Thy ioy be ilk a dele to serue bi god to pay,"375 bears the scribe's attribution: "Item secundum eundem Ricardum."376 Just prior to this inscription, another appears in the manuscript appended to the thirteenth lyric, the Gasty Glad­nes: "Expliciunt cantica diuini amoris secundum Ricardum Ham­pole."377 Again, the verse reveals the definite ecstatic nature of the previous lyrics. Again, as is the case with most of Rolle's verse, the ransom motif is evident; in this instance, it is disclosed in an exhortation to meditate on the wounds:

373Ibid., p. 80.
374Ibid.
375Ibid., pp. 81-82.
376Ibid., p. 81.
377Ibid.
In Cryst pou cast pi thoght,  
pou hate all wreth and pryde,  
And thynk how he pe boght  
with woundes depe and wyde.378

In recommending another meditation--one on Christ's meekness--Rolle strives to motivate man with the image of Christ's "blody flesch . . . prikked wit thorne."379 Finally, there are two possible Eucharist references, both to Christ's love feeding of mankind: "Pou dwel ay with pi kyng, & in hys lufe be fede,"380 and the lyric's final line, "Pi sawle pan has he fedde in swete lufe brennand."381

The English lyrics provide an appropriate culmination to this examination of Rolle's fully authenticated works. As components of the English epistles, a verse paraphrase of a Latin mystical treatise, or songs of love longing, the lyrics complete the spectrum of Rolle's dependence on the tenets of blood theology and the Blood Motifs, a spectrum ranging from the Scriptural magnitude of the English Psalter to the terseness of the most Lilliputian of the lyrics. Regardless of length or genre, the mystical message of divine love is almost without exception inscribed in the blood of Christ's sacrifice by instruments of the Passion manipulated in the devout hands of Richard Rolle of Hampole.

378 Ibid.
379 Ibid., p. 82.
380 Ibid.
381 Ibid.
Probable Works

There exists, of course, a strong temptation at this point in the dissertation to pyramid questionable works upon fully authenticated writings in order to substantiate further Richard Rolle's employment of the Blood Motifs. Almost any additional prose work selected at random from Carl Horstman's canon of Rolle's works would further the case for the Hermit's unrelenting dependence upon the tenets of blood theology. Furthermore, a number of additional lyrics rich in the Blood Motifs and ascribed to Rolle by Horstman are also printed by Carleton Brown, who at least assigns them to the "School of Richard Rolle." Generally, the list of fourteenth century works periodically thought to be Rolle's is practically inexhaustible. However, since the purpose of this dissertation does not involve becoming actively concerned with problems of mystical authorship, the Rolle chapter will conclude with only a brief treatment of the works enumerated by Geraldine Hodgson as the four writings "which Rolle's lovers will decline to give up save on incontrovertible evidence that he cannot have written them." These works are Our Daily Work, Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows on Doomsday, On Grace, and On

382 C. Brown, pp. 93-96.


384 This is the title of the shorter version which appears in the Thornton MS. The title found in the Arund. MS. 507 is On Daily Work.
Miss Hope Allen dismisses these works, which appear together in the *Holy Book Gratia Dei*, without any valid reason that modern scholarship would support. She merely ascertains that the *Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows on Doomsday* "is more colourless than the *Meditations* which bear his name" and objects to one passage in *Our Daily Work* which she admits is lacking in the Northern Thornton MS. To confuse the issue, Miss Allen concedes that *On Grace*, *On Prayer*, and *Our Daily Work* suggest Rolle and that there is nothing in the *Meditation* "that makes his authorship impossible." Consequently, this nebulous rejection countered by the authority of Miss G. Hodgson’s study "The Authorship" and C. Horstman’s conviction that the works "can safely be ascribed to Richard Rolle" seems sufficient to warrant acceptance of the four writings as probable works of the Hampole mystic. In addition, there is a rather curious comment in Miss Allen’s own anthology, *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*. To support her contention that Rolle seems to have

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386 Ibid.
387 Ibid., p. 287.
388 Ibid.
been "stiffer in his insistence on early rising than on any other form of physical asceticism,"391 Miss Allen alludes to a cock reference in Our Daily Work. Possibly at this later date, 1931, the Rolle scholar had partially recanted and was willing to accept at least this work.

Devoted to those active in mundane pursuits, Our Daily Work prescribes a theology of labor predicated on a constant awareness of Christ's blood sacrifice. Early in the treatise, the author elicits four reasons for man's toil; the first two involve the Passion. Primarily, God provides man with the foremost example of work by the illustration of the Passion:

Firste, ensample god sett hym-selfe pat we sulde lufe to wyrke als pe apostille by hyme sayse . . . 
"[He], this es goddes sone of heuene, with trauelle hase wastede hym-selfe, he tuk pe body of thralles, made to lyknes of mane, in clethyng fonde as mane; he mekid hym-selfe [&] boxome by-come to be dede, pare to dy on pe croyse; for-thi god hase heghede hym & gyffene hym name pat es abowne al pat name beres, so pat in pe name of Ihesu all spyrites sall knele of helle, of heuene & erthe, & all sall witnesse bere pat oure lorde Ihesu Cryst dwelles with his fadir in loye."392

The second reason for mankind's worldly employment is to pay the debt of the Passion:

The tober skyll es why we sulde wyrke now in pis tyme of grace: for we are goddes boghte thralles, with pe pryce of his dere-worthy blode, noghte to sytt ydill, bot for to wyrke in his vyne-3arde, and 3itt he hyghtess vs mede if we do with gud wyll pat we thurgh dett awe for to do.393

Charter and ransom motifs are obviously the source of this motive for work. Also, this secondary reason is adapted by the author to explain the nature of prayer: "For prayeres es a sacrafyce pat makill payes gode if it [be] made one pe maner pat it awe to be;

393 Ibid., p. 315.
for-thi god askes it of vs als dette pat we it to hym paye ... ... 394

Our Daily Work continues with various prayers, meditations, and suggestions for man's conscious hours. Upon awaking, man is to praiforpe saulis pat are in pyne of purgatorie ... ... After; pou grete oure leuedi with Salue regina; on pi knees. Wend ben to pe kirk; & bid pi vayn thoghtis & bisynes of pe werld: hald baim per outhe ... fal doune biforn pe croice, & anoure him pat for pe was done on pe croice ... ... And haf ben, or pou vp rise, in mynde how hate luf him brente: pat deied for pe on pe crosse. After; bigyn pi matyns ... ... After cast pin lee on sum-what: & hald it per-on til pou makis pi praiers: for pis helpis mikil til stabelyng of pe hert; & paynt pare pi lord: as he was on pe croice; think on his fete & handes pat ware nailid to pe tree, & on pe wide wounde in his side, thorugh pe whilk: wai is made to pe til wyn til his herte; thank pi lorde perof: & luf him perfore; for pare pai fynde tresour of lufe: pat pider mai wyn. Think pou sees his woundes stremand of blode: & falland downe on pe erth, & fal pou downe & lik vp pat blode sweteli with teres kissand pe erth; with mynde of pat riche tresour pat for pi synnes was sched: & sai pus with hert: "Whi liggis pis blode here as lost & I perisch for thirst? Whi drink I nogh' of pis riche pyment pat mi lorde to me birlis, & cole mi tongue ... ... 395

The vividness of this last meditation with its primitive blood consumption echo attests to the degree to which the author of Our Daily Work is attuned to man's blood heritage.

At meal time, man is to make biforn pe a crosse on pe borde with .v. cromes, to stere pe to think on him: pat for pe deied on crosse; & think,

394 Ibid., p. 320. These first three citations from Our Daily Work have been from the shorter but more detailed Thornton MS. With the exception of the Cain reference, subsequent quotations are from the longer Arund. MS. 507 text.

395 Ibid., p. 146.
This practice and meditation stress the medieval period’s devotion to the five wounds of Christ by the unique fashion of converting common dinner table items—in this case bread crumbs—into symbols of those wounds. Theologically, the implication of the blood and water as spiritual healing agents is quite clear in this passage.

At rest, the author recommends that his reader:

biteche pe & al pi frendes in til goddes handes pat for vs ware nailid to be tree, & biseke him for his merci: he 3eme be fra all perils of bodi & saule, & arme be with be takenyng of pe crosse: for whare pe fend sees pis merke: sone he flees.397

Later in Our Daily Work, a meditation on the Passion is suggested as a remedy for lustful temptations in bed:

If fandyng of licheri stere pe in bed: think pat pi gode lord for pe hyngis on rode; think on his .v. wondes pat stremid downe of blode; think pat his bed: was pe hard knotti tree,398 & in stede of a cod: he had a crowne of thornis. And sai pen with sighing sare: til cole pi lust: "Mi dere-worthi lord for me hinged on rode & I lig in pis soft bed & weltris me in syn: as a foule swyne pat loues bot filth". Rise pen tide: & halde with praiers & loue-sighings teris.399

396 Ibid., p. 151.
397 Ibid., p. 152.
398 According to Roger Loomis, the concept of Christ’s cross as a bed figures substantially in the evolution of the Grail legend. The Grail, p. 187.
399 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 152.
The similarity of this advice to counsel found in Rolle's fully accepted writings is apparent; as a result, the case for the Hermit's authorship appears somewhat strengthened.

To complete his suggestions for daily Christian activity, the author of Our Daily Work advocates reliance upon the name of Jesus, the Redeemer of mankind: "Perfore when pou nedis to ga forthe: croice pe with pe hali name of IESU Mari son pat deied on pe rode, for pen art pou mare siker."400 Again the Rollean imprint is evident, this time in the obvious indication of the author's devotion to the holy name of Jesus in time of travel.

Throughout these aforementioned passages, the ransom figure is plainly discerned. Two additional references to the motif are observed in the treatise. One is to man as a thrall who, in an effort to avoid unjust judgment of others, should pray for himself "& all oper til Ithesu Crist Mari son pat for vs was nailid on rode, pat wha-so is bonden in dedli syn: he louse paim . . . ."401 This admonition is the third "of .iii. poyntis be warre."402 The other two involve a proper attitude toward devotions. The second example delineates the ransom as one of the spirit only, effected by God's blood: "Pof oure bodi be in pis werld as a clote of erth: it nedis oure spirit pat is boght with pe dere-worthi blode of god

400 Ibid., p. 155.
401 Ibid., p. 153.
402 Ibid.
almighti . . . ." 403

With the rural environment so conducive to a mystic’s existence, one would expect to discern an occasional allusion to such a locale. Therefore, the cock reference, seen by Miss Allen as indicative of Rolle’s ascetical attitude, at first glance is not unusual. However, as any devotee of medievalism is aware, the cock is sometimes included in the series of Passion symbols, recalling the words of Christ to St. Peter: " . . . this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice." 404 In medieval lore, cocks surmounting church steeples are representative of faithful preachers, watchful and ever-turning to meet the rebellious with rebuke and refutation. The Venerable Bede observed that the cock is similar to the souls of the just, who await the dawn after the darkness of a worldly night. 405 Evidence that an intellect as astute as Richard Rolle’s would not be remiss in this knowledge is, this writer believes, apparent in the cock reference of Our Daily Work:

When pou has gederid hame bi hert with his wittis, & has for-done pas thinges pat might let pe to prai, & won til deuocion pat god to pe sendis thorugh his dereworthi grace: quykli rise of pi bed at pe bel ryngynge. & if na bel be bare: cok be pi bel; if bare be noiper cok na bel: goddis luf wakyn pe,

403 Ibid., p. 156.
404 Matthew 26,34.
The allusion to God's love recalls, within the frame of Rolle's canon, the blood sacrifice of Christ; for the Hermit repeatedly expresses this love in the context of the crucifixion. The cock appears to be the transitional device by which the literal bell of physical wakefulness is linked to a cognizance of divine love. Therefore, the cock can be viewed as a dual symbol for both the physical vigilance and moral fortitude found momentarily wanting in St. Peter that fateful night. Additionally, man's being won to devotion can be considered as an emergence from a worldly night. Symbolically, the cock reference seems to have greater significance than even Miss Allen is willing to attribute to it on the literal plane.

Finally, Our Daily Work contains two allusions to personages who figure rather prominently in Old Testament previews of Christ's blood sacrifice. Abraham's care in keeping his sacrifice undefiled is praised as exemplifying the correct treatment of thoughts improper to prayerful meditation:

Abraham when he made sacrifice to god: foulis lightid ðer-on & wold haf filde it, & he chasid ðe foules awai, ðat nane durst it negh: to al ðe tyme ware passid & ðe sacrifice made. Do we swa with pis fleand thoughtis: ðat filis ðe sacrifice of our e praier. ðis sacrifice is ful queme to ðod: when it comes of a clene & a louand hert.407

On the other hand, Cain's sacrifice, an example of "wykkednes of

406 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 144.
407 Ibid., p. 143.
pe wyrkande,"408 is rejected by God because Cain's "handes are full of blode, that by-takyns syne."409

Since Our Daily Work is a treatise for the practical man rather than for the contemplative man and since mystical ascent in its simplest terms is equated to contemplation, opportunity for mystical theory is greatly suppressed. There are a number of references to mystical love sighs and love tears as well as an infrequent allusion to the mystical wound, but the work avoids the systematized mystical experience—especially the illuminative and unitive stages of ascent. Because it is possible for the active man to be partially purified by the various meditations prescribed by Our Daily Work, a case could be advanced for the treatise's delineation of the initial stage of ascent—the purgative way.

However, Our Daily Work primarily emphasizes the devotional aspect of active life. In fact, it is this quality of devotionalism that leads Miss Geraldine Hodgson to observe the great importance of this work.410 If, then, the writing is Rolle's, further evidence is provided for the Hermit's consistent and almost ubiquitous use of the Blood Motifs and blood theology dogma to give substance to his enlightenment of both the active and contemplative personalities.

408Ibid., p. 318.
409Ibid., p. 319.
Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows of Doomsday\textsuperscript{411}

Carl Horstman notes that the Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows of Doomsday—extant in two manuscripts, the MS. Rawl. and MS. Arund. 507—is certainly a work of Rich. Rolle.\textsuperscript{412} In the MS. Arund. 507, the Meditation is in the midst of Rolle's works. According to Miss G. Hodgson, this work "is undoubtedly Rolle's, is one of his most characteristic writings, a great example of his rhythmical prose."\textsuperscript{413} Whether it is or not will continue to plague the Rolle scholar. However, a reading of the work should convince anyone that the Meditation is not "colourless" as Miss Allen claims.

This reflection continues the tradition of vivid imagery that is so pronounced in the crucifixion descriptions found in Rolle's Meditation I and II:

Now open bi hert wyde to thynke on pase paynes pat Cryst for be thoolede, and thynke paim in bi hert rygth als he paim thoolede, How pai his lufly face all with spyttyng fyeled, How pai buffetted pe fayrest face of al mankynde. How pai his swete hend with coordis band so fast, pat of all pe fyngers pe blod oute brast. How pai bette hym with knotty skourges, pat neeuer did amisse with worde ne with deid ... Yhete thynke how he was streekede opon pe croyce pat layd was on pe erthe, and draghene out with rapis, to mak fote and hande accord to pe boores pat mad war In pe tree. So fer he was draghen on pe croyce pat he on lay, pat all his baanes men myght telle, als haly wrytte tellis. And to pe tree he

\textsuperscript{411}A work by the same title, appearing in Southern manuscripts, has been ascribed to Wyclif.

\textsuperscript{412}R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 112.

\textsuperscript{413}R. Rolle, Some Minor Works of Richard Rolle, p. 16ln.
on lay, pai fest hym with Irene nayles. Thynk after how his body was lift vp with pe croyce and smyten in pe erth, als men duse with a staake of tree to make it fast in pe erth to stande; with pat swee body pat hanged was pare-on. At pis smytyng in to pe erthe all his vaynes brast, pat of all his lyms pe blod out stremede . . . Thynke on pat scharpe coroun of thorne pai [had] corouned hym with, pat made his lufly face streeme all on blod. And of pat bitter aysel menged with galle, pai gaf hym to drynke whene he pleyned hym of threst, als he pat mykel had blede.414

The Charter motif is apparent in the stretching of the body on the cross. The detail, "fyngers pe blod oute brast," is quite similar to Chaucer's line, "his blood brast,"415 which occurs logically enough in the Parson's tale.

The two manuscripts in which this Meditation appears have some content variances. The MS. Arund. 507 contains a detail consistent with the general optimistic tone of Rolle's mysticism, a detail, however, absent in the MS. Rawl. In the harrowing of hell, Christ "bande Sathan so pat he might neauer harme ne fande pe folke after as bifore."416 This reversal of fortune recalls the theological consequence of Satan's abuse of power.

The second disparity involves the conclusions of the two texts. The MS. Rawl. ends with the reward of the ransom theme:

But goddis childir, pat here haf done his wille, with aun-gells sal be lede tile heeuene, In loy and blysse to dwelle euer withoutene ende. To pe whilk Ioy he btynge vs pat

414 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 112-113. Unless specified the MS. Rawl. is used since it contains more of Rolle's characteristic rhyme.


On the other hand, the MS. Arund. 507 terminates with a positive appeal to man's compassion via Christ's numerous wounds:

Psus mani wounes suffird god for man kynde: fftyue thousand & foure hundreth & sexti & fiftene. And if pou sai ilk dai of pe 3ere fiftene: pou sal sai als many pater nostres in be hale 3ere. 418

This conceit of numbering the wounds of Christ has been elicited as one of the Charter's characteristics.

The testimony of the wounds occurs earlier in the Meditation with the explication of the second arrow revelation: "Pan sal pe domes-man schew his woundes til al man folke, pat pai may sou-thely se what he vngilty for paire synnes tholede . . . ." 419

Addressing humanity on Doomsday, Christ calls attention to Judas' betrayal of blood and to His own shedding of heart's blood; then, the Savior presents His wounds as mute witnesses of His love for mankind:

Now vndirstand pou vnkynd man, lift vp pi heeued & loke to me, bihald my syd, fote & hand, how I am digth for pe. Psus am I digth nogth for my gylt bot to heele pi wondis pat war so sare, and pi gilt on me I toke pat pou suld luf me pe mare. 420

This passage bears a close resemblance to a lyric, "Vnkynde man,

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417 Ibid., p. 121.
418 Ibid.
419 Ibid., p. 118.
420 Ibid., p. 119.
gif kepe til me,"\textsuperscript{421} appearing in MS. Cambr. Dd. V. 64. Dr. Horstman accepts it as Rolle’s, but Miss Allen rejects it.

The innocent victim reference occurs twice in the quotations of the previous paragraph. Near the beginning of this Meditation, its author documents the theme with the authority of St. Bernard, one of Richard Rolle’s favorite sources:

Thynke pan on be wordes pat Bernard to lhesu sayd: "A, god, my loouerd, swete lhesu, whate haf's pou don pat pou so blodye hanges on be rode, pat neeuer dide amysse bot eeuer dide be gude? Sackles pai do be to be dede, woo es me so: ffor I am gylty of bi dede, for-[bi] pai suld me sla and late hym passe with-outen harme, pat no cheesoun[ occasion] es of dede. For-

If any objection is raised to Rolle’s authorship on the basis of this meditation’s incorporation of Blood Motifs not discerned in the fully authenticated reflections, note must be taken of the variances existing in Meditation I and II. Actually, there is nothing in the Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows of Doomsday to preclude the Hermit’s authorship. To the contrary, this Meditation follows the pattern established by the first two: it shares some of the Blood Motifs and details of blood theology with Meditation I and II; and, in a consistent manner, it provides fresh ones as well. Finally, in the mystical system of the Hampole hermit, this third Meditation would function, as do the other two,

\textsuperscript{421} Ibid., p. 71.
\textsuperscript{422} Ibid., p. 114.
in the capacity of an implementing factor of heavenly ascent.
On Prayer and On Grace

Little more than extended definitions, the remaining two treatises salvaged by Miss Geraldine Hodgson from those rejected by Miss Hope Allen appear capable of being better analyzed as a unit rather than as individual entities. In the MS. Thornton, On Prayer immediately precedes On Grace; this order seems to be more than simply a textual accident since prayer, "a graciously gift of owre lorde godd,"423 permits man "to gett goddes grace."424

Basically, On Prayer is void of the Blood Motifs. True, in this treatise, certain qualities are attributed to prayer that have been ascribed to the Passion in Rolle's writings. For example,

Prayere puttes at pe fende and haldes hyme obake and makes hyme to faile and flee . . . . Prayere slakes and slaas and stiffly brynges vndir pe luste and pe lykyng of pe freele flesche . . . . Prayere wesches of vs all wykkid werkes and all sare synns; apone all wyse it dystruyes syne and puttes it vndire, and brynnes insundir pe bannde of all bale with a ferly fyre festened in lufe . . . .425

Aside from apparent equations, nowhere in the work is there a positive exemplification of any of the motifs or tenets of blood theology.

However, On Grace, appearing in both the MS. Thornton and

423 Ibid., p. 295.
424 Ibid.
425 Ibid., p. 299.
MS. Arund. 507, defines its subject in the legalistic language of the Charter genre. Grace is the "harls [earnest-money] of pat lastand Ioye pat is to come." 426 Furthermore, God "settis grace by-fore as waye pat ledis to pe lastande lyfe & Ioye, & als a wedde [pledge], if we it wele jeme, to make in it sekirnes of End-les Ioy to wedde . . . ." 427 Grace, then, is a surety of God's good will and a guaranty of His bequest to mankind that was sealed in the charter of His Son's crucified body.

One other manifestation of man's blood heritage, observed in On Grace, is a facet of the ransom motif. Being bound to Satan by sin, man "may thurgh na myghte of hym-selfe wyne owte of his bandes." 428 Only God's grace permits an extrication from the doom of eternal damnation: "bot gyffe hym grace to ryse owte of his synne, he sall be lefte in syne till his lyfes end; and efter he sall be loste bathe lyfe & saule, and damned till endles pynne." 429

As presented in this work, grace is clearly an abstract equation for the more concrete and vivid blood of Christ. For it is the blood of the Savior that is the theological and perpetual source of God's grace, just as it is His blood that the Father

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426 Ibid., p. 310. The Northern MS. Thornton text is used in this analysis.
427 Ibid.
428 Ibid., p. 307.
429 Ibid.
gives in the Charter as a pledge of man's supernatural heritage. Fused with its companion piece, On Grace continues the blood heritage strain that has been discerned running through Our Daily Work and the Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows of Doomsday. Supplementing and complementing Rolle's fully authenticated works, these additional writings fit naturally into the mosaic of the Hermit's canon. And even if later scholarship should definitely ascribe them to some other writer, these four works will remain significant within the perspective of this dissertation in that they illustrate conformance to the Christocentric pattern of one segment of medieval religious literature, a pattern steeped in the tradition of man's blood heritage.
CHAPTER III

CLOUD OF UNKNOWING

"After nearly six centuries the authorship of *The Cloud of Unknowing* is still an outstanding problem."¹ So begins one of the more recent considerations of the vexing problem of who wrote the *Cloud of Unknowing*. As its authoress, Miss Phyllis Hodgson, points out, "the problem of origin has been repeatedly discussed since 1924 when Dom Noetinger argued against and Dom McCann in favour of the single authorship of the *Cloud* and the *Scale*."² Following these initial articles, Walter Hilton has figured most prominently in the controversy of authorship.

In addition to some minor considerations such as the one of the author's priesthood, Dom Noetinger's argument centers around three fundamental points. First, in the *Epistle of Privy Counsel*—a work attributed to the author of the *Cloud*—reference is made to some of the writer's other compositions: the *Epistle of Prayer*, the *Cloud*, and *Denis Hid*. No allusion occurs to any work which has been ascribed to Walter Hilton. Dom Noetinger discounts the possibility that all of the works credited to Hilton could have been written subsequent to the *Epistle of Privy Counsel* since this


²Ibid.
work is presumably by a man advanced in age as well as in wisdom. Secondly, Hilton's subjective involvement in the denunciation of heresy is absent in the Cloud. This absence suggests, according to Noetinger, that the Cloud comes between the work of Rolle and that of Hilton when the consideration of current heresy was gradually being transformed from an academic question to an acknowledgment of its serious reality. Finally, "the style of the two works is different, and the Scale shows a less philosophical mind than does the Cloud." 3

Arguing in favor of Hilton's authorship, Dom Justin McCann cites several facts. The most significant appears to be the annotation of the fifteenth century MS. Douce 262 by either the scribe-editor James Greenhalgh of Sheen Charterhouse 4 or William Tregoose, the scribe of the manuscript. 5 This annotation consistently alludes to parallel passages in Hilton's Scale of Perfection and assumes the single authorship. As further evidence Dom McCann points to the similarities of scholarship and dialect. 6 Speculating as to the addressing of the Cloud to a special friend and its stated restrictive audience, Dom McCann suggests that Hilton may


4E. Colledge, p. 64.


6The dialect of the Scale and the Cloud is Midland with some Northern characteristics.
have varied his teaching in these works—the Scale is intended for a wide audience—in order to describe and propagate a type of mysticism not suitable for all men.7

"No more able than her predecessors to solve the mystery," Miss Dorothy Jones, nevertheless, entered the lists in 1929 with several supplementary points to support Walter Hilton's candidacy. Recalling Dom Noetinger's observation that the author of the Epistle of Privy Counsel did not mention works ascribed to Hilton, Miss Jones proposes that since the Epistle is addressed to an individual disciple, it might be argued that the author is listing only those works addressed to the same person.9 Next, she elicits source similarities of the Cloud and the Scale—the works of St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great, Richard of St. Victor, St. Bonaventura, and Dionysius the Areopagite—and cites parallel passages.10 Lastly, Miss Jones mentions the reference in the 1498 MS. Marseilles 729 to Hilton as a doctor of the University of Paris to answer one of Dom Noetinger's minor contentions that the crown description given in the Epistle of Discretion, another of the works ascribed to the Cloud author, is not applicable to the Eng-


9Ibid., p. 1.

10Ibid., p. 11.
lish crown of the fourteenth century. According to Noetinger, the passage is descriptive of the crown of France or Scotland; consequently, the Cloud author appears to have lived in one of these countries. Noetinger reasons a Scotland residence is probable since it is not likely that a man living in France would have written in English.11 The reference in the MS. Marseilles 729, Miss Jones believes, establishes a possible explanation for the crown description and advances Walter Hilton as the author of the Cloud of Unknowing.12

In her 1933 article, "Walter Hilton and the Authorship of the Cloud of Unknowing," Miss Helen L. Gardner, erecting on the studies of Noetinger, McCann, and Jones, provides additional support in the preclusion of Walter Hilton as the Cloud author. Miss Gardner emphasizes that the external evidence for Hilton's authorship is predicated on the notations of only one manuscript—MS. Douce 262—notations which demonstrate only that somewhere around 1500 an anonymous monk of the London Charterhouse thought Hilton to be the author of both works. Continuing, Miss Gardner shows that the value of this ascription is at best questionable because the London Charterhouse at the beginning of the sixteenth century was the source of several erroneous traditions regarding Hilton.13

11 Dom Noetinger, p. 1457.
Moreover, Miss Gardner calls attention to the fact that in no ex­tant manuscript are the works of Walter Hilton juxtaposed with the Cloud.\textsuperscript{14} In answer to the argument that the background scholar­ship of the \textit{Scale} and the \textit{Cloud} is similar, Miss Gardner, after an­alyzing several so-called parallel passages, arrives at the con­clusion that Hilton is merely utilizing scholasticism as a frame­work for his own teaching, whereas the author of the \textit{Cloud} is pur­suing the scholastic system for its own sake.\textsuperscript{15} Finally, in reply to Dom McCann's suggestion that since the \textit{Cloud} was written for a special disciple Hilton may have adapted the work to his friend, Helen Gardner argues that such a supposition is improbable. An examination of the known works of Hilton demonstrates that they are not confined to any one type of reader and that in none of the ascribed works does Hilton attempt any adjustment to his reading audience.\textsuperscript{16}

Based on a conviction that Miss Gardner's 1947 \textit{Medium Aevum} review of the \textit{Cloud} indicates that she "has partly recant­ed,"\textsuperscript{17} Phyllis Hodgson initiates her reexamination of the problem of authorship. After a somewhat repetitious examination of

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 135.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 136.
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 143.
\textsuperscript{17}Phyllis Hodgson, p. 395.
Homogeneity has already been claimed for the treatises in the Cloud group; it still remains, however, to analyse and describe an obvious but a different homogeneity among the works attributed to Walter Hilton. Once the two groups have been thus established, the difficulty of fitting both groups into the canon of a single writer's works might well prove insuperable. It is always to be hoped that some reliable evidence will be discovered to point convincingly to the identity of the author of the Cloud. Meanwhile it is far easier to demonstrate fundamental differences between him and Walter Hilton, than it is to prove single authorship.

And so, after some forty years of academic controversy, the question of the authorship of the Cloud of Unknowing remains a challenge to a few dedicated students of fourteenth century English mysticism.

Actually, while Walter Hilton is the mystic most frequently suggested as the creator of the Cloud—even by those who seriously doubt his authorship—he is not the only one to whom the honor has periodically been extended. Dom McCann recalls that the Cloud had been credited "with plain error, to the sixteenth-century Carthusians, Blessed William Exmew and Maurice Chauncey." Also,

The Rev. D. M. M'Intyre (Expositor, October, 1907) argued for the authorship of a certain Lewis, monk of Fountains; but his argument is no more than a weak conjecture based on the men-

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tion of this "Maister Lowis de Fontibus" in Lambeth MS. 472 as the author of a Latin treatise on perfection which was "turned into English by Maister Walter Hilton"; and the conjecture is supported by a serious error. The writer misread the date (1436), attached to his version of Dionysius by the Camaldolese Ambrosius Traversari, as 1346, and interpreted the place indication "in monasterio Fontis boni" as referring to Fountains, thus obtaining a fourteenth-century translator of Dionysius at the same monastery as "Master Lewis."  

The possibility that the Cloud author was a Carthusian is generally discounted today. Miss Evelyn Underhill claims that he could not have been because

the rule of that austere order, whose members live in hermit-like seclusion and scarcely meet except for the purpose of divine worship, can hardly have afforded him opportunity of observing and enduring all those tiresome tricks and absurd mannerisms of which he gives so amusing and realistic a description in the lighter passages of the Cloud.

Supporting this contention, Miss Jones cites an unpublished work by a Parkminster monk which opines that since the Cloud appeared originally in the vernacular, it is highly unlikely that the author was a Carthusian. The Parkminster monk states that

Latin was then, and is still, the official language of the Carthusian Order; that up to the end of the fifteenth century there is no trace in the Order of any writing in the vernacular; that, with the exception of the Kalender, books are forbidden to the lay-brothers by the Rule; and that a Carthusian would have rather translated a book from the vernacular into Latin than from Latin into the vernacular.

Both Dom Noetinger and Dom McCann go so far as to doubt that

\[20\text{Ibid., pp. vi-vii.}\]
\[22\text{W. Hilton, Minor Works of Walter Hilton, p. xliii.}\]
\[23\text{Dom Noetinger, p. 1461.}\]
\[24\text{Dom McCann (ed.), The Cloud of Unknowing, p. vii.}\]
he was even a religious.

From time to time, commentators on the medieval English mystics have conjectured as to the type of person the Cloud author must have been. These suppositions are quite diversified and in at least one case flagrantly in error. Father Augustine Baker, the author of a 1629 commentary on the Cloud entitled Secretum Sive Mysticum, knew the Cloud of Unknowing only in the sixteenth recension; consequently, he envisions the author as an early Renaissance writer whose "humility would not permit him to put his name to it."25 If Hilton is not the author, Dom McCann speculates that he was

a University man—Cambridge is perhaps more likely than Oxford—who became incumbent of a parish in East Anglia, and there pursued the study and practice of the contemplative life . . . his writings reveal the background of the normal learned clerk of his day.26

Eric Colledge sees him as

a quizzical and humorous observer of his fellowmen, vivacious to the point of eccentricity, deeply engrossed with the psychological processes involved in speculation and the attainment of mystical illumination: and this man is as different as well can be from Walter Hilton, as we know him in his works.27

Possibly remembering Dom Noetingher's observation that the author of the Cloud was probably a priest—-at the end of the Cloud he

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25 Ibid., p. 151.
26 Ibid., pp. viii-ix.
27 E. Colledge, p. 65.
gives the reader his blessing—Father Conrad Pepler envisions the author as a fourteenth century cleric who knows nothing of the later analytical precisions of mystical writers who would divide and subdivide to the nth degree to discover exactly when the soul ceases to be active and when God takes over full control. He knows nothing of the discussion about acquired and infused contemplation which is largely due to too great a speculative precision.28

Father Gerard Sitwell conceives him to have been "a successful and popular lecturer at a high academic level, one who was capable of handling abstruse and difficult matter without sinking into mere abstractions, and who never loses touch with the world of real men and women."29 Lastly, Miss Underhill argues that from his writing he appears to have been "a cloistered monk devoted to the contemplative life."30 Yes, in the frustrated words of Miss Mackinnon, "The upshot of the matter is that we really know practically nothing about the author of the Cloud of Unknowing."31

Although the Cloud is generally conceded to be a product of the first half of the fourteenth century, Dom McCann, on the basis of the following passage found in the fifty-sixth chapter of the Cloud, speculates as to a later date of composition:

Somme per ben pat, pof al pei be not disceyued wip his errour


31 E. Mackinnon, p. 213.
as it is sette here, 3it for pride & coriouse of kyndely witte & letterly kunnyng leuip be comoun doctrine & be coun­sel of Holy Chirche. & þeß, with alle here fautours, lenyn ouer moche to þeire owne knowyng. & for þei were never grounded in þis meek blynde felyng & vertuous leuyng, þerfore þei deseure to have a fals felyng, feynid & wrou̇t by þe goostly enmye; in so moche þat at þe last þei brastyn up & blasphemyn alle þe seyntes, sacramentes, statutes & ordenaunces of Holy Chirche. Fleschly leuyng men of þe woreld, þe whiche þinkyn þe statutes of Holy Chirche ouer harde to be amendid by, þei lenen to þeß heretikes ful sone & ful lẏȝtly, & stalworply meynteyne hem, & al is for hem pink þei lede hem a softer wey þen is ordeyned of Holy Chirche.32

The Cloud modernizer notes that the Lollard movement was characterized by an alliance of its preachers with the anti-clerical nobility. However, Lollardry appears to belong, at least in its open manifestations, to the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. The supposition is, then, that either the Cloud was written later than is generally thought, or that the writer knew the movement before it achieved notoriety.33 It is worthwhile noting that in McCann’s earlier advocacy of Hilton as the Cloud author, he ventured an opinion regarding this precise point of a possible later composition date:

The generally accepted view puts the author of the Cloud be­tween these two writers[ Rolle and Hilton], as (in some sense a disciple of Rolle and the master of Hilton. After Rolle he certainly is, but we may question whether there is any good reason for putting him definitely before Hilton. It is true that the latter’s Scale contains “reminiscences” of the Cloud; but we dare the opinion that the relationship of the Cloud and Scale might easily be reversed, and the Cloud con­sidered as the successor of the Scale. There is nothing,


33 Dom J. McCann (ed.), The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 72n.
that is, which definitely rules this supposition out of court.  

Dom McCann's study of the **Cloud** manuscripts—in part the foundation for Miss Hodgson's Early English Text Society edition of the **Cloud**—reveals that they are "abundant and good." \(^{35}\) However, with the exception of the MS. Cambr. II. vi. 39 which is a late fourteenth century text, they date from the fifteenth century and later. One manuscript, the MS. Bodleian 856, is a late fifteenth century Latin version probably made by Richard Methley, a Carthusian of Mount Grace in Yorkshire. This text and the MS. Ampleforth 42, which Father Baker traces to the exiled Carthusians of the Low Countries,\(^ {36}\) were undoubtedly instrumental in perpetuating the tradition of Carthusian authorship.

The **Cloud of Unknowing**, addressed to a young man of twenty-four,\(^ {38}\) is a treatise of seventy-five comparatively brief chapters whose subject matter consists of a special work or spiritual exercise conducive to the cultivation of complete contemplation. Its source, according to chapter 70, is Dionysius the Areopagite:\(^ {39}\)

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\(^{35}\) Dom J. McCann (ed.), *The Cloud of Unknowing*, p. x.  

\(^{36}\) On May 4, 1535, three Carthusian Priors were hanged at Tyburn. Some of their brethren fled abroad and founded an English Charterhouse at Bruges and Nieuport.  

\(^{37}\) Dom J. McCann (ed.), *The Cloud of Unknowing*, p. 152.  

\(^{38}\) P. Hodgson (ed.), *The Cloud of Unknowing*, p. 20.  

\(^{39}\) E. Underhill indicates in the Cambridge Mediaeval History, VII, 806, her belief that the **Cloud** introduced Dionysian writings into English literature.
"& tewly, who-so wil loke Denis bookes, he schal fynde pat his
wordes wil en cleerly aferme al pat I haue seyde or schal sey, fro
pe biginnyng of pis tretis to pe ende."40 The unique contempla-
tive nature of the Cloud prompts its author to caution in his pro-
logue that the work should not be read, written, or spoken "of any
or to any, bot 3it it be of soche one or to soche one pat hap (bi
pi supposing) in a trewe wille & by an hole entent, purposed him
to be a parfite folower of Criste."41 This warning is repeated in
the seventy-fourth chapter with greater definition:

& I prey pee for Godes loue pat pou late none see pis book,
bot if it be soche one pat pee pink is liche to be book ..
Fleschly iangelers, glosers & blamers, roukers & rouners, &
alle maner of pynchers, kept I neuer pat pei sawe pis book;
for myn entent was neuer to write soche ping to hem. & per-
fore I wolde not pat pei herde it, neiper pei ne none of pees
corious lettrid ne lewid men, 3e! albof pei be ful good men
in actyue leuyng; for it acordetrnot to hem.42

Mystically, the Cloud of Unknowing stands in sharp anti-
thesis to the works of Richard Rolle. Miss Mackinnon observes,
"When one recalls that Rolle and the author of the Cloud of Un-
knowing lived in the same century and presumably were sharers in
the same literary inheritance, the difference in their writing is
amazing."43 In explanation of this disparity, Eric Colledge sug-
gests that the Cloud author "found Rolle immature and his influen

40P. Hodgson (ed.), The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 125.
41Ibid., pp. 1-2.
42Ibid., p. 130.
43E. Mackinnon, p. 216.
This observation is especially cogent in regard to one of the salient features of the Hermit's mystical system—the physical phenomena of heat generated by the fire of love. Warning against the sensation of unnatural heat in the breast generated by an unwise straining in the pursuit of contemplation, the mystery author of the Cloud writes:

& 3it, parauenture, bei wene it be pe fiir of loue, getyn & kynded of pe Holy Goost. Treuly of pis disceite, & of pe braunches ber-of, sprynyn many mescheues: moche ypocrisie, moche heresy, & moche errour. For as fast after soche a fals felyng comep a fals knowyng in be feenches scole, riȝt as after a trewe feling comep a trewe knowing in Gods scole. For I telle bee trewly pat pe deuil hap his contemplatyues, as God hap his.45

A second point of contrast does not involve any "harmful" feature of Rolle's mysticism; nevertheless, it illustrates a fundamental variance in the two systems. The Hermit's mysticism is Christocentric. The Cloud of Unknowing and Denis Hid Divinity, an English translation of Dionysius the Areopagite presumably by the Cloud author, are the two English pieces that Dr. J. E. Collins considers excellent illustrations of "the sole use of the Theocentric type of contemplation, i.e., without detailed meditation upon Christ."46 This quality of the Cloud is exemplified in an early discussion of the core of the treatise's mystical order.

44E. Colledge, p. 60.
45P. Hodgson (ed.), The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 86.
46J. B. Collins, p. 55.
Fundamental to the work is the distinction between the cloud of unknowing and the cloud of forgetting. The former masks God from man and is defined as a lack of knowledge:

as alle pat ping pat bou knowest not, or elles pat bou hast for etyn, it is dark to pee, for pou seest it not wip pi goostly i3e. & for pis skile it is not clepid a cloude of pe eire, bot a cloude of vnknowyng, pat is bitwix pee & pi God.47

The latter is the cloud that must be put between man and the world if man is to achieve any mystical progression. Since the Cloud's mystical theology requires that "alle schuld be hid vnder pe cloude of forgetyng"48 even thought of God's kindness or worthiness the Blessed Virgin, the saints or angels in heaven or the joys of heaven--man must "pink apon pe nakid beyng of him[God], & loue him & preise him for him-self."49 Later, the Cloud author speaks of a naked intent directed unto God for Himself. In explanation of "naked intent," he states:

A nakid entente I clepe it, for whi in pis werke a parfite prentis askip neiwer releising of payne, ne encreasing of mede, ne (schortly to sey) nou3t bot himself; in-so-moche pat nou-ber he recip ne lokiip after wheber pat he be in payne or in blisse, elles pat his wille be fulflyld pat he loueip. & pus it semip pat in pis werke God is perfitylly loued for hym-self, & pat abouen alle creatures. For in pis werke a par-ffite worcher may not suffre pe mynde of pe holiest creature pat euer God maad comoun wip hym.50

47 P. Hodgson (ed.), The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 23.
48 Ibid., p. 24.
49 Ibid., p. 25.
50 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
This uncompromising, deliberate reduction of intellectual activity to almost a state of suspended mental animation in the contemplation of God is the essence of the Cloud's Theocentric ascent.

As a consequence of this intellectual inactivity, the Cloud of Unknowing develops a philosophy of meditation irreconcilably opposed to that of the Hampole mystic. Whereas Passion meditation is practically the quintessence of Rollean mysticism, such reflection is specifically to be eschewed by the spiritual apprentice for whom the Cloud was written. In the seventh chapter, the author cautions his reader to guard against any thought that intervenes between him and the darkness of the cloud of unknowing, even if the thoughts assume the status of holy inquiries:

For parauneture he wil bryng to bi minde diuerse ful feire & wonderful pointes of his kyndnes, & sey pat he is ful swete & ful louyng, ful gracious & ful mercyful. & 3if pou wilt here him, he couetepe no beter; for at pe last he wil pus jangle ever more & more til he bring pe lower to pe mynde of his Passion.51

Such reflection, the Cloud author indicates, is in itself good and necessary for the initial approach to contemplation:

3e, & so holy, pat what man or womman pat wenib to come to contemplacion wip-outyn many soche swete meditacions of heire owne wrechidnes, be Passion, be kyndenes & be grete goodnes & be worpines of God comyng before, sekirly he schal erre & faile of his purpos.52

Nevertheless, if the cloud of unknowing which exists between man and God is to be penetrated, the inherent distraction of such med-

51 Ibid., p. 27.
52 Ibid.
itation must now be avoided:

& 3it, neuerpeles, it behoweþ a man or a womman, þat hap longe tyme ben usid in þeese meditacions, algates leue hem, & put hem & holde hem fer doun vnder þe cloude of forȝætyng, 3if euere schal he peerse þe cloude of vnknowyng bitwix him & his God.53

The explanation for this attitude is the subject of the eighth chapter. By permitting his disciple's "wel mound ques‐
tyon"54 as to the piety of Passion meditation, the Cloud author acknowledges "þat it behoweþ algates be good in his kynde, for whi it is a beme of þe licnes of God."55 However, the use of such thought may be both good and evil:

Good, when it is openid bi grace for to see þi wrechidnes, þe Passion, þe kyndnes, & þe wonderful werkes of God in his creatures bodily & goostly; & þan it is no wonder þof it encres þi deuociþn so mochel as þou seist. Bot þen is þe vse iuel, when it is swollen wip pride & wip coriousté of moche clergie & letterly conning as in clerkes, & makeþ hem pres for to be holden not meek scolers & maystres of deuinite or of deuociþn, bot proude scolers of þe deuuel & maysters of vanite & of fals heed. & in oþer men or wommen, what-so þei be, religious or seculers, þe vse & þe worching of þis kyndelþ witte is þan iuel, when it is swollen wip proude & coriousté skyles of wordely þinges & fleschely conceites, in couetyng of wordly worschipes & hauyn of richesses & veyne plesaunce & flateringes of oþer.56

Continuing his elucidation, the author answers the question why man should suppress or put meditation under the cloud of forget‐
ting if its nature is always good and its use good whenever it in-

53 Ibid., pp. 27-28.
54 Ibid., p. 29.
55 Ibid., p. 30.
56 Ibid.
creases devotion. He explains that there are two types of life in
the Church: the active and the contemplative. "Actyue is be low-
er, & contemplatiue is be hier. Actiue liif hap two degrees, a
hier & a lower; & also contemplatiue liif hap two degrees, a low-
er & a higer." In addition, there is a certain overlapping of
the two modes of existence: the part that is the higher form of
the active life is also the lower part of the contemplative life.
Passion meditation, as well as other reflections, is proper, if
not essential, to the realm of the higher part of active life and
the lower segment of the contemplative; but it becomes a hindrance
to man's approach of the higher level of contemplation. The
eighth chapter concludes:

& for þis skile it is þat I bid þee put doun soche a scharp
sotil þouȝt, & keuer him wip a picke cloude of forȝetyng, be
he neuer so holy, ne hote he þee neuer so weel for to help
þee in þi purpus. For whi loue may reche to God in þis liif,
bot not knowing. & al þe whiles þat þe soule wonip in þis
deedly body, euermore is þe scharpnes of oure vnderstanding
in beholding of alle goostly pinges, bot most specialy of
God, medelid wip sum maner of fantasie; for þe whiche oure
werk schuld be vnclene, & bot if more wonder were, it schuld
lede us into moche errour.

The negation of meditation and devotions at the summit of
contemplation is repeated in various ways throughout the Cloud.
In explicated the Biblical story of the two sisters Martha and
Mary, the Cloud author interprets Martha as representing the

57 Ibid., p. 31.
58 Ibid., p. 33.
active mode of life and Mary the contemplative. Their lives have three parts: the lower active, the higher active-lower contemplative, and the higher contemplative. "Pe secound partye of pees two lyues liggep in good goostly meditacions of a mans owne wrechidnes, pe Passion of Criste, & of pe ioyes of heuen." These meditations and the works of mercy and charity which the author indicates are proper to the lower level of the active life do not concern the higher contemplative plane. The Cloud author explains:

"Pe first partye & pe secounde, bof al bi ben bope good & holy, jit pei eende wip pis liif. For in pe tober liif, as now, schal be no nede to use pe werkes of mercy, ne to wepe for oure wrechidnes, ne for pe Passion of Criste."

The use of Mary Magdalen in this section of the Cloud is given by J. B. Collins as an excellent illustration of the medieval mystics' custom of giving prominence to her conversion and tears whenever they "treated in detail the life of Christ, particularly the passion and resurrection." Furthermore, it should be noted that Mary Magdalen is frequently in the dramatis personae of the crucifixion mysteries of cycle drama.

In chapter 35, lesson, meditation, and orison are established as proper for the contemplative prentice. However, as in the explanation of the Martha and Mary episode, these spiritual

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60 P. Hodgson (ed.), *The Cloud of Unknowing*, p. 53.
61 Ibid., p. 54.
62 J. B. Collins, p. 150.
exercises are not suited to those who aspire beyond the initial stage to the level of perfect contemplation. 63

Elsewhere, the Cloud writer states that while devotion certainly is not an evil, "it lettep more ben it profitep"64 the true mystic. Also, weeping for the Passion results in "moche good, moche helpe, moche profite, & moche grace"; 65 but it is nothing compared with the "blinde steryng of loue"66 of the perfect contemplative.

A third distinction between the mysticism of Rolle and that of the Cloud of Unknowing is discerned in the latter's avowal of indiscretion in the pursuit of the higher form of contemplation. In all other activities—eating, sleeping, praying, speaking—the author of the Cloud urges discretion. "Bot in pis werk schalt pou holde no nesure; for I wolde pat pou schuldest neuer seese of pis werk pe whiles pou leuyst."67 In contradistinction, the hallmark of Richard Rolle's mysticism is moderation in all facets of existence.

Another dissimilarity is seen in the degrees of Christian life expounded by each. Whereas Rolle writes repeatedly of three

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64 Ibid., p. 35.
65 Ibid., p. 39.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid., p. 80.
grades of love, the Cloud author speaks of four degrees of Christian men's living: common, special, singular, and perfect. Unfortunately, the first chapter of the Cloud which introduces the levels is not too specific as to the limits of each level. About all that can be determined from the actual text is that the common level constitutes those living in the company of worldly friends, that the special degree is a more spiritual existence in the service of the special servants of God, that the singular form involves a more solitary life, and that the perfect stage is naturally the best and last state. The attaining of this perfect level is, of course, the subject of the Cloud.

Significantly, it is the love of God expressed in terms of His ransom of mankind with the price of Christ's precious blood that kindles man's desire and leads him to the special state. 68 Father Baker interprets this second level as "the form or degree of them who, forsaking the state of the world, do betake themselves to a religious state . . . ." 69

As already previewed by the blackness of the two clouds of forgetting and unknowing, the dominant motifs of the Cloud are those of darkness and lightness. For example, the unitive stage of mystical ascent is depicted as "a beme of goostly li3t, peer-syng pis cloude of vnknowing pat is bitwix pee & hym." 70 This

69 Dom McCann (ed.), The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 182.
70 P. Hodgson (ed.), The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 62.
beam reveals "sum of his priuete, pe whiche man may not, ne kan not, speke." In his analysis of the Dionysian influence in the formation of Patristic mysticism, J. B. Collins cites the Cloud as continuing the popular mystical concept found in Dante of a divine existence "either in super-essential Light or in a luminous cloud-like darkness." 

This emphasis on the "divine darkness" of the Pseudo-Dionysius and the basic Theocentric orientation of the Cloud appreciably reduces the opportunity for the Blood Motifs, which appear to be alien to a mystical system that is not Christocentric. Nevertheless, there are some isolated instances of the motifs.

Reference has been made to the ransom theme's influencing man to ascend to the special level of Christian life. In this early "meek steryng of loue" to God, the Cloud author suggests that man define God in terms of the ransom: "& mene God pat maad pee, & bou3t pee, & pat graciously hap clepid pee to pis werk: & res-sellue none oper pou3t of God." Earlier in the seventh chapter, the same answer is proposed to the direct question "What is pat God?"

71 Ibid.
72 J. B. Collins, p. 31.
73 The Divine Names, VII.3, II.
74 P. Hodgson (ed.), The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 28.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid., p. 26.
Several citations of the knit modification of the rope symbol are also discovered in the Cloud: man is knit to God by love or in spirit; or he is helped by the Cloud's teaching "to knit pe goostly knot of brennyng loue" between himself and God. Finally, in regard to the Blood Motifs, the Cloud fuses instruction of the universality of the Passion's effects with the will concept of the Charter genre:

alle men weren lost in Adam, & alle men, pat wip werke wil witnes peire wille of saluacion, ben sauid, & scholen be, by vertewe of pe Passion of only Criste ... . oure Lorde did his body on pe cros ... not for his freendes & his sib & his homely louers, bot generaly for alle man-kynde, wip-outer any special beholdyng more to one pen to anoper. For alle pat wylen leue sinne & axe mercy scholen be sauid porow pe vertewe of his Passion.

The pagination of these motifs indicates that with a single exception they occur relatively early in the Cloud. This fact coincides with the Cloud's mystical pattern. For the higher active-lower contemplative stage, meditation on the Passion is sanctioned; but a prohibition against such meditation exists for anyone seeking to ascend to the perfect level of life. This proximate ambivalence is mirrored in the instance of the Blood Motifs.

77 Ibid., p. 15.
78 Ibid., p. 21.
79 Ibid., p. 32.
80 Ibid., p. 88.
81 Ibid., pp. 66-71.
Rare though they may be, they are evident early in the Cloud; later the cloud of forgetting has literally descended leaving the reader to await God's gift—the infrequent and mementary piercing of the "divine darkness."

Another explanation for the relatively few Blood Motifs is discerned in the psychological character of the Cloud. In pre-Romantic fashion, the anonymous writer analyzes the principal powers of the soul—mind, reason, will—as well as its secondary powers—imagination and sensuality. The imagination is defined as "a might porow be whiche we portray alle ymages of absent & present binges. & bope it, & be ping pat it worcep in, ben contented in pe mynde." Prior to man's fall, the imagination was obedient to reason. Now various distracting "pouztes, fantasies & ymages" originate as a result of the disobedience of the imagination, which is a consequence of original sin. Certainly, if the cloud of forgetting tolerates no legitimate meditation or devotion, it could hardly be compatible with any profusion of figures or symbols that through the curiosity of a fallen imagination might effect digressions into such considerations as their bases or their aptness.

However, the fundamental fact remains that there really is

82 Ibid., pp. 114-118.
83 Ibid., p. 117.
84 Ibid., p. 118.
no firm foundation in a Theocentric mystical system for the images, symbols, figures, and themes of a Christocentric system.

How does one express the inexpressible aside from the convenient Dionysian equations of obscuring brilliance or darkness? The Cloud author acknowledges in the sixth chapter that he does not know what God is: "But now you askest me & seiest: 'How schal I pink on him-self, & what is hee?" & to bis I cannot answere bee bot bus: 'I wote neuer.'" Intellectualism simply cannot delineate God for the Cloud author: "By loue may he be getyn & holden; bot bi pouzt neiper." Therefore, the bases for prefigures, for symbolic representations, for primitive and classical associations, and for vivid imagery are simply nonexistent on this non-intellectual plane. Christ's humanity affords ample opportunity for the Blood Motifs; but the unintelligibility of the Cloud's object of mystical ascent precludes the figurative, symbolic, and descriptive advantages of Richard Rolle's Christocentric ascent.

Being an expositor of the via negativa--the mystical ascent to God predicated on an acknowledgment that man with his finite limitations cannot know the Infinite--the Cloud of Unknowing is beyond the finite relationships of the Blood Motifs.

85 Ibid., p. 25.
Despite indications in medieval wills of a vernacular popularity second only to that of Richard Rolle, only one date of Walter Hilton’s life is known with any certainty. General manuscript evidence reveals that Walter Hilton, an Augustinian canon of Thurgarton, Nottinghamshire, died on the vigil of the Annunciation, 1395-96, or March 24, 1396 by modern calculation. However, John Greenhalgh, in a colophon dated 1499 in the MS. Cambr. 354, gives the vigil of the Assumption, 1395-96 as the date of his death. “But it looks as though Assumption here was an error for Annunciation.” The date of Hilton’s birth is unknown.

A tradition exists that he may have been in some way associated with Richard Rolle. The known dates of their respective lives would not preclude such a possibility if Walter Hilton had lived to be relatively old. Moreover, Southwell, the location of the Thurgarton Priory, is only thirty miles from Hampole. Finally, Miss Hope Allen’s study of medieval and Renaissance cata-

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logue references to Richard Rolle reveals a citation that seems to link the two mystics. MS. 206 of Henry Savile's library, which contained many volumes from the Yorkshire monastic houses, is described in a seventeenth century catalogue as

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

Miss Allen observes:

The heading seems to say that it was an exposition sent by Hilton of a rule of life which had been translated by Hampole from Latin into English: the lady to whom Hilton sent the exposition was the same for whom Hampole made the translation. Thus it is implied that one of Richard's disciples lived to become a disciple of Hilton's. There is nothing impossible in such a supposition. Though Rolle died in 1349 and Hilton in 1395-6, as many manuscripts state, we shall see that Rolle must have died in middle life. Hilton may have lived to a good old age, and in early years known Margaret Kirkeby and other friends of Richard, as well as Richard himself.\footnote{Ibid.}

Unfortunately, there is no current clue to the identity of this "mystery" exposition. Indeed, if it is ever discovered, it might well conclusively link the two most popular of the medieval English mystics.

Although Walter Hilton died an Augustinian canon, he probably spent his earlier years as a free-lance hermit, much in the Rollean tradition. Miss Helen Gardner, in an illuminating arti-
contends that Hilton was a hermit who found his personality unsuited to the solitary existence. Her hypothesis is predicated on evidence from Hilton's Latin epistles, De Imagine Peccati and Epistola Aurea, written to a friend, Adam Horsley. Horsley, Controller of the Great Roll in 1375, became a Carthusian at Beauplme shortly after his high appointment in the service of the King's Exchequer. Hilton, in De Imagine Peccati, encourages his friend to adopt his new vocation. In the Epistola Aurea, the Augustinian answers Horsley's question as to why he, Hilton, does not enter the religious life by indicating his feeling of unworthiness and his belief that he is following God's will in his present solitary life. If Miss Gardner's conjecture is correct, Walter Hilton spent only the last twenty years of his existence in community life. This surmise receives some corroboration from the MS. Digby 115 version of De Imagine Peccati which refers to its author as a hermit, as does the MS. Harley 2397 text of the Scale of Perfection. Eric Colledge points out that canon law would have prevented one vowed to the harder, stricter life of a hermit from joining the less demanding Augustinian canons regular. However, Prof. Colledge notes:

we have an exact parallel in the case of Ruysbroek and his companions, who abandoned their secular benefices in Brus-


6Ibid., pp. 111-112.
sels, retired to a "desert" outside the city, but finally also became Austin canons, and, like them, Hilton was probably never professed as a solitary but merely tried, unsuccessfully, his vocation.7

Regardless of the question regarding Hilton's earlier station in life, there can be little doubt as to his formal education. Although Effie Mackinnon claims "Hilton obviously had only the equipment of the average medieval clerk,"8 it is generally accepted that he was a Magister, "which at this time was reserved for doctors of theology."9 The MS. Marseilles 729 refers to him as Parisius, implying that he had studied at the University of Paris. He appears particularly well-read in the Scriptures, the Fathers, St. Augustine, the pseudo-Dionysius, and the Victorines. Testimony to his theological soundness is expressed by Father Pepler, who believes, "it is as a guide from the first steps to the final goal of the way of perfection that we can rely upon him without fail."10

Lastly, it might be noticed that as an Augustinian canon, Walter Hilton would have led a life more conventional than Richard Rolle or Julian of Norwich, a life effecting a golden mean between the life of the contemplative and that of the active. Further-

7E. Colledge, p. 63.
8E. Mackinnon, p. 256.
more, "duties as canon would tie Hilton to many more exacting demands than would restrict the life of Rolle or Julian, hermit and anchorite." This biographic fact, coupled with the turmoil generated by intensified Lollard activity, might help to explain Hilton's somewhat limited range of literary endeavors, limited at least by comparison with the works of Richard Rolle.

11 E. Mackinnon, p. 245.
Although not as prolific as Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton has figured periodically in several authorship controversies. The question of Hilton's being the Cloud author has already been analyzed in some detail, and further germane observations will be made in the course of this chapter. In addition, the Augustinian was for a time credited with being the author of Thomas a Kempis' De Imitatione Christi. A Middle English paraphrase of Richard of St. Victor's Benjamin Minor has been tentatively ascribed to Hilton. With greater probability, a Middle English translation of the religious classic Stimulus Amoris has also been attributed to him. Two other translations are frequently listed as Hilton's: "tretes necessarye for men pat 3euen hem unto perfection, whiche was foundyn in maister Lowys de Fontibus boke at Cambrigge, and torned into Englisshe be maister Water Hilton, chanon of Thorgortone" and "A devoute matier be pe drawyng of M. Waltere hilton."

Carl Horstman identifies two English treatises--Of Angels' Song and the Epistle on Mixed Life as works of the Augustinian mystic. Although Dorothy Jones' volume, Minor Works of Walter

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13 Ibid., p. 343.
14 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 175.
15 Ibid., p. 264.
Bilton, adds Qui Habitat, a commentary on Psalm XC; Bonum Est, a commentary on Psalm XCI; and Benedictus to the aforementioned "tretes necessarye . . ." and Epistle on Mixed Life, Miss Jones contributes much supposition and little fact in her effort to extend Hilton's canon. Even Bjorn Wallner, building on Miss Jones' study with his An Exposition of Qui Habitat and Bonum Est in English, succeeds only in demonstrating that the two works share with Hilton the common medieval English mystical tradition. "The external evidence for attributing these treatises to Hilton is slight,"16 concedes Dr. Wallner. Significantly, external evidence is usually abundant even in erroneous ascriptions of medieval English mystical treatises.

Consequently, only three original English works can be safely credited to Walter Hilton: Of Angels' Song, Epistle on Mixed Life, and, of course, the Middle English classic, the Scale of Perfection.17 Unfortunately, there is at present little hope of dating these works with any certainty. The somewhat tranquil didacticism of the treatises implies late composition, at least composition later than Hilton's supposed period of hermitic discontent. Dom Sitwell agrees with Helen Gardner that the Scale of


Perfection might have been written after the 1382 condemnation of Wyclif. This inference is predicated on remarks concerning pride and the heretic found in Book I, chapters 20 and 58; and Book II, chapter 3. ¹⁸

Father Conrad Pepler observes that Walter Hilton was content to utilize his intellect not so much in the combatting of the Lollards but rather in the correction of misunderstanding stemming from Richard Rolle's teaching. The truth of this observation is graphically illustrated in Hilton's Of Angels' Song, a brief treatise devoted almost exclusively to an analysis of the heavenly sound or music of which the Hampole mystic repeatedly wrote.

The Augustinian canon speaks first of mystical union or, as he phrases it, "a verray anehede of godde and of manes saule by perfyte charyte." Consistent with doctrine of the Scale of Perfection, this condition is approximated only after the "saule er refourmed by grace." The term "approximated" must be used because this union in its pure state cannot be fully achieved in this world:

Bot pis wondirfull anehede may noghte be fulfillede perfyte­ly, contenually, ne hally in pis lyfe for corrupcyone of pe flesche, bot anely in pe blysse of heuene. Neuer­be­lattere be merre pat a saule in pis presente lyfe may come to pis anehede, be mare perfite it es, ffor pat it es refourmede by grace till pe ymage and pe lyknes of his creatoure here, one pis manere­wyse pe more ioy and blysse sall it hafe in heu­ene.

20R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 175. The MS. Thornton text is used for this analysis.
21Ibid.
22Ibid., p. 176.
As a result of this relative perfection of the soul, it may be comforted by angels' song. However, Hilton is quick to note the nebulous nature of this phenomenon:

But what pat sange es it may noghte [be] dyscryuede be no bodyly lyknes, for it es gastely and abowne all manere of ymagynacyone and mans resone. It may be perceyuede and felide in a saule, bot it may noghte be spokene.  

Then, in contradistinction to Rolle, who equates canor to the highest joy of the unitive stage, Hilton is explicit in relegating angels' song to a position of secondary import: "For pe souerayne and pe Escencyalle ioy es in pe lufe of godde by hyme-selte and for hyme-selte, and pe secundarye es in comonynge and byhaldyng of aungells and gastely creaturs."  

The remainder of this treatise concerns the possibility of man's being deceived into believing that he has experienced the song of angels. Various reasons are proposed for such error. Some men are duped by "paire awenne ymagyncyone, or by illucyone of pe Enemy in pis matere." Others who have "lange trauelde bodyly and gastely in dystroynge of synnes and getyng of vertus" confuse a peaceful conscience with angels' song. The "febilnes of pe brayne" causes still more to believe that they are recipients

23 Ibid., p. 177.
24 Ibid., p. 178.
25 Ibid., p. 179.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
of heavenly sound. Those devoted as Rolle was to the name of Jesus often mistake the sweetness of the name with the mystical music. Finally, men who concentrate on the "nakede mynde of godde"\(^\text{28}\) are capable of being deceived if this "nakede mynde" exists void of love or reason.

This last point, for this writer at least, seems to preclude Hilton's authorship of the *Cloud of Unknowing*. For just as the Augustinian canon is undoubtedly correcting "errors" in Rolle's mystical dogma, he is also apparently criticizing the *Cloud's* unqualified emphasis on the naked intent of God. It does not seem likely that Hilton would juxtapose criticism of the Hampole mystic with self-criticism when all he would have to have done—if he were the *Cloud* author—would have been to insert whatever qualification he deemed essential into the *Cloud* manuscript. Moreover, the slight alteration of terms—"nakede mynde" for "nakid entente"—seems to verify Miss Mackinnon's contention that on occasion Hilton probably "quoted from memory or used one of the many defective manuscripts in circulation at that time."\(^\text{29}\)

The Blood Motifs are decidedly absent in *Of Angels' Song*. This void is, in part, the result of a rather scientific appraisal of contemplation's by-product as well as the consequence of a repeatedly indicated distrust of the imagination that is so essen-

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\(^{28}\) Ibid., p. 181.

\(^{29}\) E. Mackinnon, p. 255.
tial to the figures and symbols of blood theology. In fact, the entire work contains only one pertinent reference—an allusion to the "medytacions of be passione of Cryste"³⁰ that are abandoned by those confusing "a someele ryste and a clerete in concyence"³¹ with the song of angels. Lastly, the nature of this treatise—an explication of a mystical component rather than a system—probably reduces the possibility of the Blood Motifs and the tenets of blood theology.

³⁰R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 179.
³¹Ibid.
Epistle on Mixed Life

Probably as a result of a format conformance of the Epistle on Mixed Life to that of the English epistles of Richard Rolle, Rev. G. G. Perry included the work in his 1866 Early English Text Society edition, English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle of Hampole. However, as early as the 1494 Wynkyn de Worde edition of the Scale of Perfection, the Epistle on Mixed Life has circulated with Hilton's most extensive and well-known treatise and, in fact, is described in Lord Aldenham's copy of the edition as "the thyrde booke of Water hylton named Vita mixta or scala perfectionis." Strangely, in a majority of extant copies of the 1494 de Worde edition, the epistle is not to be found. This oddity has led to Miss Jones' speculation:

it is probable that Mixed Life was originally printed as a separate pamphlet, which may have been bound up with certain copies only of the Scala Perfectionis: this would account for the inclusion of Mixed Life in so few of the extant copies of the 1494 Scala Perfectionis.

With the exception of the Perry attribution to Rolle, the Epistle on Mixed Life has, since the de Worde edition, been repeatedly identified as the work of the Augustinian canon.

The early printed de Worde and Notary editions of the epistle address the work to "Dere brother in Cryst," a man who

33 Ibid., p. xxiii.
34 R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 264.
aspired to the contemplative life. However, this unknown indi­
dual could not devote himself to the more rewarding "gostli occu­
pacion" because he had family and social obligations:

"Pou schalt not volwe pi desyre for to leue ocupaciones & bisynes of pe world which are nedeful to vse in rulyng of pi-self & of al opur pat are vnder pi kep­ing, & seue be holi to gostly occupacion in prayes & meditacions as hit were a Monk or a frere or eny opur mon pat were not bounde to pe world be children & seruauns as pou art: for hit fallep not to pe; 3if pou do so, pou kepest not pe orde of charite."36

Charity, an all important consideration for Hilton,37 requires that the man suppress his desire for the contemplative existence. Later in the text, Hilton explains that the way of contemplation is "best & most medeful, most feir & most spadeful, & most wor­pi" for those "pat are fre & not bounde to temporal ministracion ne to spiritual."39

To compensate his acquaintance for his apparent disap­
pointment, Hilton delineates his concept of the mixed life. The man must learn to live both the life of Martha and that of Mary Magdalen:

35Ibid., p. 267. Owing to the defective condition of the MS. Thornton, the MS. Vernon is cited.

36Ibid.

37Charity is essential to Hilton's doctrine of conforming to the image of Christ which is discerned in the Scale of Perfec­tion, Book I, chapters 61, 68, and 92.

38R. Rolle, Richard Rolle of Hampole, I, 270.

39Ibid.
For thou shalt o tyme wip Martha be bisy ffors to ruile &
gouverne þin houshold, þi children, þi seruauns, þi neiþebors,
and þi teneantes;—jif þei do wel, cumforte hem berin & help
hem; jif þei don vuel, tech hem to amende hem, & chastise
hem. And thou shalt also loke & knowe þat þi þinges &
worldy godes be riȝtly kept be þi seruauntes, gouerned &
trewely dispended: þat þou miȝt be more plenteousli wip hem
fulfille þe dedes of merci to þin euencristen. A nophur tyme
þou shalt wip Marie leue þe bisynes of þe world & sitt dow
at þe feet of vr lord be mekenes in preyers & holy pouȝtes &
in contemplacion of him as he þeue þe grace.40

Later, Hilton uses the example of Jacob's taking both Lia and Ra-
chel as representative of the mixed life.41 In this dual exist-
ence, man actually follows the example of Christ, Who "comuned &
medled wip men"42 but also "went alone in to þe desert vpon þe
hulles, & contynued al þe niȝt in preyers."43

Worldly responsibility for the person in the "medled lyf"
is so basic that should he turn to Passion meditation and devotion
and, in so doing, neglect his children and servants, Hilton warns,
"þou pleuest him [God] nouȝt, þou dost no worshipe to him."44
Work is always to be completed before meditation: "ffurst do þi
werkes and go þen al-[one] to þi preyers & þi meditacions, and
lifte vp þin herte to god and prei him of his godnes þat he wole

40 Ibid., p. 267.
41 Ibid., pp. 274–275.
42 Ibid., p. 269.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid., p. 272.
accepte pi werkes pat pou dost to his plesaunce."\textsuperscript{45}

Despite mundane obligations, however, man should cultivate his desire for God, which "is not propurli loue, but hit is a be-gynnyng & a tastyng of loue."\textsuperscript{46} This desire is enhanced by various prayers and thoughts, including meditation on the Passion. Man is advised: "fede pi pou3t wip gostly ymaginacion of hit, for to sture pin affeccion to more loue of him."\textsuperscript{47} However, should devotion fail to accompany this meditation, man is cautioned, "striu not ouer-muche per-aftur; tac esyli pat wol come, & go forp to sum opur pou3t."\textsuperscript{48} Apparently, devotion is more important in Hilton's mind than meditation.

The Augustinian concludes his epistle with several warnings in regard to Passion meditation. One is not to force a meditation that is passing, "for penne hit schal turne pe to pyne & to bitternesse."\textsuperscript{49} Another is the caution to cease Passion meditation if it prevents sleep or good deeds or harms the body. However, should "a mynde of pe passion of vr lord"\textsuperscript{50} be a rare experience, loss of several nights' sleep should be endured. Finally,

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., p. 277.
\textsuperscript{46}Ibid., p. 280.
\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., p. 285.
\textsuperscript{48}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{49}Ibid., p. 290.
\textsuperscript{50}Ibid.
if God does not "sende vs of his gostly li3t [& open] vre gostli e3en for to seo & knowe more of him pen we haue had bifoire be com­on trauayle," we should, nevertheless, be content "wip pe disyre pat we haue to him, & wip vre comon pou3tes pat may li3tli falle vnder vre ymaginacions, as . . . of Cristes passion . . . ." Any other attitude Hilton considers presumptuous.

As was the case with Of Angels' Song, the Epistle on Mixed Life is a didactic treatise. Once again the Blood Motifs are sup­pressed. Nevertheless, references to meditation on the Passion-- or Hilton's equivalent, meditation on Christ's "monhede" permeate the entire doctrine of the mixed life. Contrary to Rollean dogma, however, such meditation and devotion are expendable whenever mo­deration or worldly responsibility dictates. This practical atti­tude appears to further eliminate the Augustinian canon as the Cloud author; for, it will be remembered, the Cloud of Unknowing teaches indiscretion in the pursuit of the contemplative life.

51 Ibid., p. 291.
52 Ibid., pp. 291-292.
53 Ibid., p. 290.
Scale of Perfection

Extant in about fifty manuscripts, the two books of Walter Hilton's Scale of Perfection were first printed in 1494 by Wynkyn de Worde. This famous edition was reprinted four times prior to 1533; furthermore, it has been the basis for nine subsequent editions. But not until the appearance of Evelyn Underhill's 1923 edition has there been any suggestion that the two books were originally written as separate works. Now, consensus supports the Underhill observation.

Contributing to the contemporary appraisal of the Scale, Miss Helen Gardner indicates that the present title is actually inappropriate to the unit formed by Book I and II. Joy Russell-Smith shows that in two manuscripts the complete work is titled De Nobilitate Animae. Actually, nowhere in the Scale is the traditional designation directly stated; at best a title implication occurs in Book II:

For refourmyng in fayth is the lowest state of all chosen soules / for byneth that myghte they not well be / But refourmyng in felynge is the hiest state in this lyfe that the soule

may come to / But fro the lowest to the hyest maye not a soule
sodenly stynte. nomore than a man that woll clymbe vpon a
ladder hye & setteth his fote vpon the lowest stele may at
the nexte flee vp to the hyeste / But hym behoueth goo by
processe one after a nother tyll he maye come to the ouerest
/ Right soo it is ghostly. no ma is made sodely souereyn in
grace; but thrugh long exerçye and alye werkyng of a soule
maye therto / namly whan he helpyth & techyth a wretchyd
soule in whom al grace lyeth / For wythout specyall helpe &
Inwardly techynge of hym maye noo soule come therto.58

This allusion to a ladder of spiritual levels is the only passage
to establish any justification for the title Scale of Perfection.

Book I is addressed to "Ghosti suster in Ihesu,"59 a woman
further identified as one that "arte encloos."60 The purpose
of the treatise is to provide direction in enabling the recluse to
turn "thy hert with thy body pryncipally to god / & shape the with-
in to his lycknes by mekenes & charyte."61 Aside from the initial
fourteen chapters which primarily concern the three degrees of
contemplation, Book I is devoted completely to the preparation of
the individual for the end of mankind—union with God in contempla-
tion.

Walter Hilton's dissatisfaction with Richard Rolle's mys-
tical teachings continues to punctuate the Augustinian's prose.
Early in the Scale, visions and physical mystical sensations are

58 Walter Hilton, Scala Perfectionis, ed. Wynkyn de Worde
(London: no publisher given, 1494), [p. 78]. Subsequent refer-
ences are documented as the "Wynkyn de Worde edition."

59 Ibid., [p. 4].

60 Ibid., [p. 52 verso].

61 Ibid., [p. 4].
somewhat depreciated:

By this that I have sayd may yu somewhat understode that visyôs or revelations of any manner of spiryte in bodely asperying, or in ymaginyng slepyng or wakyng / or els ony other feyling in ye bodely wytt made as it were ghostly. other in sowmyng of ere: or sauryng in the mouth: or smellyng at ye nose: or els ony sesible hete as it were fyre glowyng & warmyng ye brest or ony other parte of ye body / or ony other thyng ye may be feyling by bodely wytte though it be neuer soo confortable & lykyng / they ben not very contëplacon.62

In fact, "wyte yu wel that the deuyll may wha he hath leue feyne in bodely feyling the lykenes of the same thynges the whiche a good angel may werke."63 Later, Hilton observes, "All men ye speke of the fire of loue knowe not wel what it is."64 Continuing his explication, Hilton stresses that the fire of love "is neyther bodily. ne bodily feyled . . . ye fyre of loue is not bodily. for it is onyly in ye ghostly desire of ye soule."65 In Book II, the Augustinian writes, "Our lorde is fyre wastynge / That is for to saye: God is not fyre elementare that heteth a body and breneth it / but god is loue & charyte."66

Not content to restrict his "correction" of possible misunderstandings arising from Rollean doctrine to the visionary and

62 [Ibid., [p. 7 verso].
63 [Ibid., [p. 8].
64 [Ibid., [p. 16 verso].
65 [Ibid.]
66 [Ibid., [p. 106].
the impressionable, Hilton also indirectly attacks the Hermit's devotion to the name of Jesus. Rolle implies in his writings that a devotion to the holy name is essential to eternal reward. Hilton devotes the forty-fourth chapter of Book I to his contention that while the name Jesus means "heler or hele" and betokens salvation, nevertheless man is saved only "through the mercy of our lorde Ihū & by the merites of his passōn." Man, therefore, can be saved without a devotion to the name of Jesus. However, Hilton does concede, "he that can not loue this blessid name Ihū wyth ghostly myrth ne encrease in it with heuenly melodie here / he shall neuer haue ne fele in heuen yt fulhede of souereyne Ioye."69

The Scale of Perfection embodies the stock Passion attributes. The Passion is an aid for those afflicted by temptations of the devil: "Remedie to suche men & eymmen that am thus trau­eyled. or ony other wyse. may be this / Fyrst that they wyll put all her trust in our lorde Ihū cryst / and bryng to mynde often his passiō: and the peynes that he suffred for vs."70 Man is re­minded of the importance of the Passion to redemption and restora­tion:

And wyte thou wel thou3 thou had neuer done syñe wyth thy

67Ibid., [p. 28 verso].
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid., [p. 29].
70 Ibid., [p. 23].
body dedely ne venyal but oonly this that is called origynall
for it is the fyrst syne / and that is not elles but lesyng
of thy rightfulnes whiche yd was made in shold thou neuer
haue ben saued yf our lord Ihū cryste by his precious passion
had not deluyerde the and restored the ayen.71

Also, man is didactically informed of the universality of the Pas-
sion's effects:

And fro this origynal syne & al other thou shalt be saaf. ye
and thou shalbe saaf as an anker incluse / And not oonly thou,
but all crysten soules whiche trusten vpon this passion: and
meden hemself / knowlegynge her wretchidnes: asking mercy &
foyeuenes and the fruyt of this precyous passon oonly.
lowenge hemself to the sacramentes of holy chyrche. though
it be so that thei haue ben encombred wyth synne all her lyf
tyme / and neuer had felyng of ghostly sauour or swehtnes / or
ghostly knowynge of god. they shalben in this faythe & in
her good wyll by vertue of this precyous passyon of our lorde
Ihū cryst be saaf & come to the blysse of heuen.72

In addition to these foregoing qualities of the Passion, Book I of
the Scale includes an expression of hope in being restored "by the
passion of our lord to the dignyte & the blysse whiche we had lost
by adams syne."73

However, one of Hilton's attributes of the Passion is
quite disputable. In discussing pride--"loue of thyn owne excel-
ence"74 the Augustinian states:

I saye thus that the felyng of thyse stirynges of pryde or of
ony other the whiche spryngen out eyther of the corrupcon of
this fowle ymage [sin] or by incastyng of the enmye. it is
noo synne in as moche as thou felyst hem / and that is a

71Ibid., [p. 27 verso].
72Ibid., [pp. 27 verso-28].
73Ibid., [p. 29 verso].
74Ibid., [p. 35].
grace & a pryuylege by vertue of the passion of Ihesu cryste graited to all cryste men baptised in water & in the holy ghost / For sothly to Iewes & sarra3yns whiche trowe not in Ihesu cryst. all suche stirynges are dedely synnes.75

Dom Sitwell notes:

Hilton could have found this opinion in St. Anselm (Tract. de conc. praesc. Del cum lib. arb., q. III, chap. 7; P.L., CLVIII, col. 530), and perhaps in St. Augustine (De Nuptiis et concupiscencia, Bk. I, chaps. 25-6; P.L., XLIV, col. 429-30, and Contra duas Epistolas Pelag., Bk. I, chap. 13, n. 27; P.L., XLIV, col. 563). St. Thomas formally rejected it (Summa, Ia IIae, q. LXXXIX, art. 5), and it is not admitted by theologians today. In any case the acts of the unbaptized ex hypothesi without grace, cannot be meritorious of heaven.6

However, Hilton seems to mitigate his pronouncement by declaring, "The ne the stirynge of pryde is receyued & tournd in to lykyng soomoche that the herte cheseth it for a full rest & a full delyte, and secheth none other ende but oonly likyng therin / the ne is this pryde dedely syne."77

Passion meditation is quite important in the Augustinian's mystical scheme. As already indicated, the unitive stage is, for Hilton, simply the contemplation of God. To effect this contemplation, man has three means which he may employ: "redyng of holy writte & of holy teching: ghostly meditacio: & besie prayer wyth deuocon.78

75Ibid.
77Wynkyn de Worde edition, [p. 35 verso].
78Ibid., [p. 10].
Meditation, according to Walter Hilton, has a purgative effect:

Bi meditacion shall thou see as I sayd thy wretchidnes / thy symes. & thy wyckidnes / As pryde: couetise: glutony: slouth: & lecherye wickyd stirynges of enuye / yre: hatred. & malecolye: angrines: bitterness: and vnskilfull heynes / Thou shalte also see thy herte full of vayneshames and dredes of thy flesshe and of the worlde / Alle thyse stirynges wyllen all waye Boyle out of thi hert a water will rene out of ye spring of a stinkIng well. & let ye st1ste of thy soule that yU maist neuer see ne fele clerely yU loue of Ihū cryst. For wite yU wel tyll thi hert be moche clesid throu3 stable trouth & besie beholdig of cryst ma6ede fro suche synes. yU may not have ghostly knowyng of god.79

Despite its edification, meditation is not to be pursued too early in mystical conversion, for those who embrace meditation too soon imagine that they have spiritual experiences for which they have not in fact received the necessary grace. Then they may "fall into fantasies & syngler coceytes or in opyn erroors."80 However, once man is conditioned by purgative introspection, God comforts him with "grete deuocon of his passion or of some other as he wylle yeue it."81 Then and only then "our lorde yeuith a meditacion of his mandede / as of his birth or his passon. and of the compassyon of our lady saynt mary."82 This gift which may be withdrawn at any time for any reason—pride, sin, temptation—allows man to see Jesus in his heart as He appeared on earth. This internal vision is sketched with the details of Christ's suffer-

79 Ibid., [pp. 10-10 verso].
80 Ibid., [p. 17 verso].
81 Ibid., [p. 21].
82 Ibid., [p. 21 verso].
ings:

thou seest in thy soule thy lorde Ihū in a bodily lyknes as he was in erthe / and how he was taken of the Iewes and bou­den as a theyf / beten & dispysed. scourgèd & demid to deth / How lowely he bare the crosse vpon his backe and how cru­elly he was neyled therupon / Also of the crowne of thornes vpon his hede / and of the sharpe spere that stykked hym to the hert.83

The result of this vision is twofold: to instill great confidence in the Passion's ability to effect mankind's salvation and to open "the ghostly eye in to crystis manhede."84

This latter point is most basic to Hilton's mystical sys­tem. He explains, "a man shall not come to ghostly lyghte in con­templacyon of crystis godhede / but yf he come fyrst in ymagynacon bi bitternes and bi compassion and by stedfast thynkyng of his manhede."85 To substantiate this statement, Hilton quotes the Scriptures--I Cor. ii. 2; Gal. vi. 14; and I Cor. i. 23, 24. These passages illustrate that all man really knows of Christ is rooted in His blood sacrifice. In fact, the first book of the Scale of Perfection culminates at the door of contemplation with a remembrance of the humanity and Passion of Christ; and "Who so weneth for to come to the werching & to the full vse of contempla­con and not by this waye[ meditation of the Lord's manhood and sufferings] . . . he comyth not by the doore and therfore as a

83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid., [p. 22].
theyf he shall be caste oute."\textsuperscript{86}

Actually, the Scale’s first concentration on the humanity of Christ is transitional to Book I’s emphasis on the need for man to be conformed to the image of Jesus if he hopes to attain contemplative union with God. Initially, this conformance requires an all-consuming desire for and seeking of mankind’s Redeemer. And although meditation on the Passion is ordinarily specified by Hilton, he does qualify the usual recommendation in the Jesus quest: "Thenne by what maner prayer or meditacon or occupacon that thou maye haue grettest and cleynnest desyre to hym. and haue moost felynge of hym / by that ocupacyon thou sechest hym best and beste fyndest hym."\textsuperscript{87} This desire for Christ is superior to "all bodily penaunce of all men liuynge / all vysions or reuelacons of angels apperyng / songes and sownynges. sauours and smelles. breñynges. and ony likynges or bodily felynges,"\textsuperscript{88} if these mor­tifications or experiences occur without a true and pure desire for Jesus. In climactic order, Hilton establishes Jesus as man’s lost fortune as well as the legacy of the Charter motif: "he is peny. he is thyne heritacg."\textsuperscript{89} To elevate his thought in the search for his Lord, man must ultimately "Thynke styfly on the pas-

\begin{footnotes}
\item[86] Ibid., [p. 56 verso].
\item[87] Ibid., [p. 30 verso].
\item[88] Ibid., [p. 31].
\item[89] Ibid., [p. 32].
\end{footnotes}
In the mystical equating of man's image and that of Jesus, the image of sin must be crucified as was Christ's physical nature; man is ordered, "Take thou this body of synne & doo hym on yᵉ crosse / That is for to saye / Breke down this ymage & slee the false loue of synne in thyself / as cristis body was slayne for our synne & our trespaas." This decree has overtones of the vendetta code. The blood sacrifice of Christ, Who theologically was slain by sin, now necessitates the death of sin's image--actually, blood for blood!

So far in this analysis of Book I of the Scale of Perfection, the Blood Motifs have been eclipsed by the elements of blood theology. Despite the didactic nature of the Augustinian's writing--a quality that tends to restrict the Blood Motifs--several of the figures discerned in the more imaginative work of Richard Rolle are evident. Two prominent blood personages appear in Book I. In warning against Rollean sensible impressions, Hilton concedes the possibility that Mary Magdalene may have experienced such a phenomenon:

I wote not whether there be ony suche man liuyng in erth / This preuylege had mary mawdeleyne as it semith to my sight in ye tyme wha she was alone in ye caue xxx wynter / & every

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90 Ibid., [pp. 33 verso-34].
91 Ibid., [p. 53 verso].
day was borne vp wyth angels & was fed both bodi & soule by ye presence of hem. 92

Hilton's reference is to an event that supposedly occurred in a cave near Marseilles. 93 Later, Hilton utilizes Magdalene as the traditional mystical symbol for the contemplative life. 94

Judas also appears twice in the first book of the Scale. Indirectly, he is involved in an illustration of the detachment of contemplation:

our lorde in his last sowper wyth his discyplles at the preuy stirynge of saynt peter to sait Iohn tolde saynt Iohn how Judas sholde bitraye hym / saynt Iohn tolde it not to saynt peter as he askid / but he turned hym & layed his hege vpon cristis brest. and was rauysshid by loue in to conteplacon of goddis priuitees. And soo madefully to him / that he forgat both Iudas & sainte peter. 95

Directly, the lost apostle is presented as an example of love for one's enemy:

Loke & bethynke the how cryst loued Iudas whiche was bothe his dedely enmye and a synfull caytyf how goodly cryst was to hym. How benygne. how curteyes & how lowly to hym that he knewe damnable / and neuertheles he chase hym to his apostle: & sent hym for to preche wyth other apostles / He yaa£ hym power for to werche myracles. he shewed the same to him gode chere in worde & in dede as he dyde to other apostles / He wysshe his fete & fedde hym wyth his precyous body / and prechid to hym as he dyde to other appostles / he wryed

92 Ibid., [p. 9].
94 Wynkyn de Worde edition, [p. 30].
95 Ibid., [p. 12].
[turned away] not openly for it was preuy / ne myssaid hym not. ne dispysed hym not. ne spake neuer euyll of hym / & yet though he had done all thise. he had sayd but soth / And ouermore when Judas toke hym. he kyssed hym & called hym his frende / All this charyte shewed cryst vnto Judas the whyche he knewe for dampnable.96

The remarkableness of this exemplification of Christ's love is evident only within the perspective of blood vengeance. What better example can be advanced for Christian charity than one involving the betrayal of the Redeemer's innocent blood? Blood for blood is replaced by love for blood!

There are two other secluded instances of Blood Motifs. One is the knit figure which is included in Hilton's exploration of God-inspired physical impressions and visions:

Neuertheles yf a spiryte or a felyng or a reuelacon make this desire [of Jesus] more. knytte the knottes of loue & deuocon to ihu faster: & open the eye of y® soule in to gostly know­ynge more cleryly: & makith it more make in it self this spiryte is of god.97

The other is discerned in Hilton's advice to those who are distracted in their prayers: "For wite thou wel that thou art excusel of thy dette: & thou shalte haue mede for it as for an other good dede y® thou doost in charite though thyn hert were not therupon in the doyng."98 Apparent in this consolation is a clear indication of the debt which accrues to man from Christ's ransom of

96 Ibid., [pp. 43 verso-44].
97 Ibid., [p. 9].
98 Ibid., [p. 20].
Dominant in Book I of the *Scale of Perfection*, then, is the dogma of blood theology rather than the Blood Motifs themselves. The mystical system expounded is Christocentric, but it is a Christocentric mysticism that is preached rather than demonstrated by flights of the artistic imagination. Once again evidence is presented to illustrate that didacticism tends to blunt imaginative sharpness.

In two respects, Book II is probably the most typically mystical of the works discussed in this dissertation. First, Hilton explicitly defines the mediatorship of Christ concept, a concept basic to medieval Christian mysticism: "For cryste god and man is bothe waye and ende / And he is medyatour betwyx god & man / And wythoute hym maye noo soule be reconsyled / ne come to the blyss of heuen."99

Secondly, Book II contains the famous Parable of the Pilgrim, which Eric Colledge considers superior "to most of the heavy-handed uses of that device found in *Piers Plowman.*"100 This comparison of the spiritual life with a pilgrimage is previewed in the forty-seventh chapter of Book I—the desire for Jesus. In the allegory, Hilton stresses two major points: the necessity for absolute determination in achieving the goal of the pilgrimage,
Jesus, and the need to acquire the characteristics of humility and charity to effect the successful quest. In warning the pilgrim that although he will be robbed and beaten he must, nevertheless, persevere to his goal, the Augustinian mystic is actually instructing his anchoress in the contemplative way. She must in her search for an unitive experience with Jesus beware the false day which appears to terminate the nocturnal pilgrimage. Furthermore, she must sustain herself until the legitimate day or light dawns; for "The fals lyghte is the loue of this worlde that a man hath in hymself of corrupcon of hys flesshe / The true light is the per­fyte loue of Ihesu felyd thorugh grace in a manes soule."\(^101\) As Dom Sitwell explains:

For Hilton the night is the whole spiritual life of a man after he has turned seriously from the love of the world and set his heart on the love of God. Sometimes the night will be distressing, for the world will still exercise an attraction, but gradually the soul will come to rest in it, for the grace of God is drawing it, and from time to time it will see glints and gleams of the true day.\(^102\)

The darkness of the night is a "deyenge to the worlde"\(^103\) and "the gate of contemplacon"\(^104\) while the "glints and gleams of the true day," of which Dom Sitwell writes, are the momentary unitive insights for which every mystic strives.

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\(^{101}\)Wynkyn de Worde edition, [p. 87 verso].


\(^{103}\)Wynkyn de Worde edition, [p. 94 verso].

\(^{104}\)Ibid.
Book II of the *Scale* begins with a discussion of the disfigurement and transformation of the soul by Adam's sin. This consideration naturally necessitates an exposition of redemptive theory. Predicating his explication on St. Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, Hilton develops an argument to illustrate the impossibility of any mere descendant of Adam making satisfaction, "for the trespasse and vnworshyppe was endles grete / and therefore it passyl mannys myghte for to make amendes for it." Therefore, it was necessary that Christ "became man / and thorugh his precyous deth that he suffred made amendes to the fader of heuen for mannys gylte." As a result of this sacrifice, the "passion of our lorde and this precyous deth is the grounde of all the refourm-ynge of mannys soule." This reformation of man's soul is not completed until the Last Day. At this point, Hilton demonstrates a metaphoric nature unrevealed to any great extent in his other works: "Now is it soo that thorugh the vertue of his precyous passion the brennyng swarde of Cherubyn that droue adam oute of paradye is now put awaye, and the endles gates of heuen arn open to euery man that wylle entre in therto."

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105 *Book II*, chapter 2 of the *Scale* parallels *Cur Deus Homo*, Book I, chapter 20; and Book II, chapters 8 and 11.
106 *Wynkyn de Worde* edition, [p. 60 verso].
Continuing his explanation of redemption and reformation, Hilton elicits two groups not transformed by virtue of the Passion:

Iewes and paynems haue not the benefyce of this passygon / for they trowe it not / Iewes trow not that Ihu the sone of the virgyn mary is goddis sone of heuen / Also the paynems trowe not that the souereyne wisdom of god wold become the sone of man. and in mahanede wolde suffre the paynes of deth / And therfore the Iewes helde the prechynge of the crosse and of the passyon of cryste noughte but sclaunder and blasphemye / and the paynems helde it noughte but fantome and folye.110

But to true Christians, the Passion is "the souereyne wysdom of god and his grete myghte."111 However, even Christians can be denied the benefits of the Passion:

thise men arne fals crysten men the whiche arne oute of char­
ytee / and lyuen and deyen in dedely synne / Thyse men trowen well as it semyth that Ihesu is goddis sone / And that his passyon suffysyth to saluacon of mannes soule / And they trowe also all the other artycles of the fayth / But it is an vnshaply trouthe and a dede: for they loue hym not. ne they chese not the frute of his passyon / but they lyen stylle in her synne and in the false loue of this worlde vnto her laste ende / And soo they ben not refourmed to the lyckenesse of god. but goon to the paynes of helle endelesly. as Iewes and sarrasyns done.112

As a result of their voluntary exclusion, these Christians suffer infinitely more than the Jews and pagans "In as moche as they had the trouthe and kepte it not."113

Although Passion dogma appears concentrated in the initial three chapters of Book II, further espousals of it are discerned.

110 Ibid., [p. 62].
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid., [pp. 62 verso-63].
113 Ibid., [p. 63].
throughout the text. The merits of the Passion extend a privilege of immediate entry into heaven of all those who die immediately following baptism. 114 The greatest sinner if he "torn his will thorugh grace fro dedely synne wyth sothfaate repentaunce to the seruyse of god . . . shall be saf." 115 The Church "geteth hem [her spiritual children] hele of soule thorugh vertue of his pas­syon." 116 Christ's willingness to offer "himselte to the fader of heuen vpon the awter of the crosse" 117 is defined as the "mooste token of loue shewed to vs." 118 Finally, the universality of advantages accruing from Christ's blood sacrifice is expressed late in Book II:

Also the byenge is comen to vs and to all resonable soules / as to Iewes & sarracyns and to fals crysten men / For he deyed for al soules ylyke / and bought hem. yf thei woll haue the perfyte loue of it / And also it suffyceth for the bience of all though it be soo that all haue it not / And this werke was moost of wysdome not moost of loue. 119

In one respect, Book II is less Christocentric than Book I. While there are a number of references to meditation as being outside the province of those who are merely reformed in faith, 120

118 *Ibid*.
as being conducive to virtue,\textsuperscript{121} as being an impetus to love of Jesus,\textsuperscript{122} as fluctuating with man's disposition,\textsuperscript{123} as being an aid in following the teachings of Christ,\textsuperscript{124} as being excluded from supernaturalism,\textsuperscript{125} as being a shield against the arrow of pride,\textsuperscript{126} and as being a source of pleasure,\textsuperscript{127} the emphasis on Passion meditation is noticeably absent. A clue to this deviation is discerned in Hilton's equating grace, love, Jesus, and God: "Ihu is loue: Ihu is grace: Ihu is god / And for he worcheth all in vs by his grace for loue as god. therfore maye I vse what worde of thise iii. yt me lyst after my stirynge in this wrl- yng."\textsuperscript{128} This equalization minimizes the Christocentric focus established in Book I. It should be noted, however, that Miss Underhill considers some of the Christocentric passages of Book I to be interpolations by the author. She suggests that Hilton had been originally influenced by the Theocentric mysticism found in

\textsuperscript{121}Ibid., [p. 79 verso].
\textsuperscript{122}Ibid., [p. 83 verso].
\textsuperscript{123}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{124}Ibid., [p. 91 verso].
\textsuperscript{125}Ibid., [p. 110].
\textsuperscript{126}Ibid., [p. 114].
\textsuperscript{127}Ibid., [p. 118].
\textsuperscript{128}Ibid., [p. 126].
the Cloud of Unknowing and in the doctrines of Dionysius the Areopagite. Later, Miss Underhill speculates, Hilton was converted to Christocentric mysticism; at which time he interpolated Book I of the Scale. On the other hand, Miss Helen Gardner discounts the significance of any textual additions since she considers the entire Scale as essentially Christocentric. Moreover, it must be observed that Book II devotes itself more to the nature of contemplation and its results than to the individual transformation of soul that must be effected prior to any union with God in contemplation; hence, Book II logically concentrates more on the inexpressible divinity of Christ than the expressible humanity of the Savior.

Like Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton writes of three degrees of love:

The fyrste comyth only thruh fayth wythout gracyous ymagynacon or ghostly knowynge of god / This loue is in the leest soule that is refourmed in faith in the lowest degree of charyte / And it is good: for it sufficeth to saluacion / The seconde loue is that a soule felidh thruh fayth & ymagynacon of Thu in his manhede. This loue is better than the fyrste whan the ymaginacyon is styred by grace: for why the ghostly eye is opened in beholdinge of our lorde manhede / The thyrde loue that the soule felidh thruh ghostly syght of the godhede in the manhede as it maye be seen here / that is beste and mooste worthy / and that is perfyte loue. this loue a soule felyth not vnto it be refourmed in felynge.


131 Wynkyn de Worde edition, [pp. 100-100 verso].
The Passion, however, does not figure as prominently in Hilton's stages as it did in Rolle's hierarchy of love. Only "soules begynynge"\textsuperscript{132} in the love ascent reverence God in Christ's Passion. At this initial stage, God is loved "as a man, not yet as god in man . . . and in that beholdynge they [the beginners] fele her hertes moche stired to y\textsuperscript{e} loue of god."\textsuperscript{133} Nevertheless, as Hilton's delineation of the three degrees of love states, Christ must be loved in His humanity before He can be loved in His divinity. This latter love "is the ende & the full blysse of the soule."\textsuperscript{134}

To illustrate his point, the Augustinian utilizes an example involving Mary Magdalene:

Thus taughte our lorde mary mawdeleyne that sholde be contem· platyfe. when he sayd thus / Noli me tangere non d\textsuperscript{u} enim ascendi ad patrem meu / Towche me not I am not yet styed vp to my fader / That is to saye: Mary magdalene loued well our lorde Ih\textsuperscript{u} before the tyme of his passyon / but her loue was moche bodily & lityl ghostly / She trowed well that he was god but she loued hym lityll as god / for she kouth not thene / & therfore she suffred al her affecon & al her thought falle in hym as he was in fourme of man / And our lorde blamed her not thene but prayed it moche / But after whan he was rysen fro dethe and appere to her she wolde haue wor· shyped hym wyth suche maner loue as she dyde before / and thene our lorde forbode her & sayd thus / Towche me not: That is. Sette not thy reste ne the loue of thyn herte in that fourme of ma that thou seest wyth thy flesshly eye only for to reste therin. For in that fourme I am not styed vp to my fader. That is I am not even to the fader: for in that fourme

\textsuperscript{132}Ibid., [p. 100 verso].

\textsuperscript{133}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{134}Ibid., [p. 101 verso].
of man I am lesse than he: Towche me not soo. but sette thy thoughte & thy loue in that fourme in whiche I am even to the fader / that is the fourme of the godhede / and loue me: 
knowe me. & worship me as god & man godly / not as a man maly.135

Once again the blood figure of Mary Magdalene has demonstrated its importance to the explication of medieval English mysticism. Just as man is capable of three levels of love, so is God. First, there is the love of creation: "He loued vs moche whan he made vs to his liknes";136 secondly, the love of the ransom: "but he loued vs more whan he bouȝte with his precyous blode throught wylful takinge of dethe in his mahanede fro the power of the fende & fro the payne of hell";137 finally, the love of spiritual wisdom: "but he loued vs moost whan he yeueth vs the yeft of the holy goost that is loue by the whiche we knowe hym & loue hym. & are made syker that we are his sones chosen to saluacion."138 Mystically, it is clear that the unitive insight is the superlative level of love, superior to both the love manifested in the creation and that demonstrated in the redemption:

For this loue are we more to hym boude than any other loue that euer shewed he for vs. eyther in our makynge or in our ayebyenge / For though he had made vs and boughte vs: but yf he saue vs wyth all what profyteth it elles to vs our makynge or our byenge / Sothly ryght noughte / Therfore the mooste token of loue shewed to vs as me thynketh is this / That he

135Ibid.
136Ibid., [p. 107 verso].
137Ibid.
138Ibid.
yeueth hymselfe in his godhede to our soules.139

The bound figure of this quotation is one of the few instances of the Blood Motifs in Book II. There is a second reference involving this figure: the soul is considered as "bounden wyth loue of the worlde."140

Three allusions are also made to the heritage theme. The soul, after its disfigurement by the sin of Adam, became an exile and an outcast from the heritage of heaven that would have belonged to it if it had remained firm:

This ymage made to the ymage of god in the fyrst shapyn was wonderly fayr and bryghte full of brennyng loue and ghostly lyghte. but thorugh synne of yª fyrst man adam it was disfygured and forshapen in to a nother lyknes as I haue before sayd. For it fell fro yª ghostly ly3te & that heuenly fode in to paynfull derknes and lust of this wretchyd lyfe / exyled and flemyd [put to flight] oute fro the herytage of heuen that it sholde haue had yf it had stonde styl e in to wretyhydnes of this erthe: and afterwarde in to the prison of helle there to haue be wythoute ende.141

However, God's love saves the soul "fro dampnacon: & makyth it goddis sone perceuyuer of heuenly herytage."142 Finally, the mystical union "conceyueth a full grete boldnes of saluacyon by this accorde makyng / For it heryth a preuy wytnessynge in conscyence of the holy ghost that he is a chosen sone to heuenly heritag."143

139Ibid.
140Ibid., [p. 119].
141Ibid., [p. 60].
142Ibid., [p. 109 verso].
143Ibid., [p. 119].
Walter Hilton expounds a doctrine of penance punctuated with one of the Blood Motifs. He defines the sacrament in terms of the Charter figure: penance is man’s "charter & his token of foryeuesse." 144 Theologically, Hilton’s concept of penance at this point might be unorthodox; for, according to the Augustinian, this document of penance is man’s "warraunte" 145 that "bothe the syne and the payne maye be done away or he passe hens." 146 Dom Sitwell sees in this passage an implication that Hilton believed that penance makes complete satisfaction for sin. As Sitwell notes, this belief has never been the teaching of the Church, which holds that the debt of temporal punishment may remain. 147 However, this writer feels that nowhere in his explication of penance does Hilton venture beyond simply indicating that it is possible to effect full satisfaction for sin on earth.

Fundamental to the entire Scale of Perfection is the distinction between reforming man’s woul in faith and reforming it in both faith and feeling. Dom Sitwell succinctly summarizes Hilton’s basic theory as follows:

Reform . . . means the re-formation of the soul in the image of God, and this is achieved essentially by the infusion of

144Ibid., [p. 66].
145Ibid., [p. 65 verso].
146Ibid.
sanctifying grace at baptism. When this process takes place (as it generally does) with no further knowledge of God than that which is to be had through faith, Hilton calls it *reform in faith*. But when the restoration of the image of God in us has advanced so far as to be accompanied by some sort of experimental knowledge of God beyond that of faith, he calls it *reform in feeling*, or in faith and feeling. . . . This is, of course, a purely mystical state in which the soul achieves the highest degree of contemplation.148

Reform in faith is, according to Hilton, "lyghtly . . . had."149

However, reform in faith and feeling implies a state of spiritual perfection. In illustrating this more exalted stage, Walter Hilton develops an extended metaphor:

For soth it is. right as a man yt is brouȝt nye to deth thurgh bodily siknes though he receyve a medycyne by the whiche he is restored & siker of his lyfe / he maye not therfore anone rise vp & goo to werke as an hole maye for the feblenes of his body holdeth hym downe that he muste abyde a good whyle & kepe hym well wyth medicyues & dyete hym by mesure after ye techynge of a leche tyll he maye fully recoverye bodily hele. Righte soo ghostly he that is broughte to ghostly dethe thurgh dedely syne though he thurgh medicyne of the sacrament of penauce be restored to lyfe that he shall not be dapned / neuertheles he is not anone hole of all his passions & of all his flesshly desyres. ne able to contem- placon / but hym behoueth abyde a grete whyle. & take good kepe of hymself / and rule hym so that he myghte recoverye full hele of soule. for he shall langern a grete whyle or that he be fully hole / Neuertheles he shall moche the sooner be restorad to hyss ghostly strength. & come to refourmynge in felynge.150

This medicine figure revives the primitive concept of blood's re-

149 Wynkyn de Worde edition, [pp. 77 verso-78].
150 Ibid., [p. 78].
cupervative quality, a concept adapted to the tenets of Christian theology and mysticism. To evidence complete association with the motif, the Augustinian later identifies Christ as the "specyall leche of ghostly syknes,"\textsuperscript{151} who "y eueth to dyuers soules sere . . dyuers medycynes after the felynge of her syknes."\textsuperscript{152}

The situation discerned in Hilton's *Of Angels' Song*, the *Epistle on Mixed Life*, and Book I of the *Scale* is sustained in the *Scale* 's second book. While there is a definite permeation by the tenets of blood theology, the Blood Motifs are quite restricted in range and instance. The restraining influence of the dominant didactic element cannot, this writer believes, be over-estimated. More of a teacher than a creative artist, Walter Hilton, nevertheless, demonstrates the obvious importance of Christ's blood sacrifice to a mystical system that is basically Christ-oriented even though it occasionally appears unstable on its Christocentric foundations. But, regardless of any wavering in its Christocentricity, the *Scale of Perfection* never approaches the imaginative ineptitude inherent in a Theocentric mystical system.

\textsuperscript{151}Ibid., [p. 81].

\textsuperscript{152}Ibid.
CHAPTER V
JULIAN OF NORWICH
Life

"This revelation was made to a Symple creature vnlettyrde leving in deadly flesh the yer of our lord a thousaunde and thre hundered and lxxiiij the xiiij Daie of may."¹ In such a fashion, Julian of Norwich, early in the long version of her Revelations of Divine Love, introduces herself to readers of medieval English mysticism. Aside from a few facts of biography revealed in her one work and several external references, little is known of this "Symple creature vnlettyrde." Since she was "xxxth yere old and a halfe"² when God sent the illness that was to serve as a prelude to the Revelations, her birth year is set as 1342. About 1410, Julian, then a recluse in the anchorhold adjoining St. Julian's Church, Norwich, was visited by Margery Kempe, who gave her the title of Dame, "which then as now was usual for Benedictine nuns."³ The Church of St. Julian belonged to the Benedictine nunnery of Carrow.⁴ Naturally, these facts have led to the assumption that

¹Library of Congress MLA microfilm 315, Paris MS, Anglais 40, fol. 3a. The reasons for the selection of this manuscript are explained later in the chapter.

²Ibid., fol. 5a.


Julian was a Benedictine. A copyist of the short form of her book identifies the authoress as "a devout woman, and her name is Julian, that is recluse at Norwich, and yet is on life, anno domini mccccxiiij." The last known date for Julian is established by a notation in Archbishop Chichele's register for 1416 of a twenty shilling legacy to "Julian, recluse, at Norwich." 

The remainder of Dame Julian's biography is drawn entirely from her Revelations of Divine Love. This faithful daughter of the Church—first "enformyd and groundyd" in "the comyn techyng of holy chyrch"—tells her readers that prior to her visions she desired "thre gyftes by the grace of god. The first was mynd of the passion. The secund was bodilie sicknes. The thurde was to haue of godes gyfte thre woundys." Explaining her aspirations, Julian indicates that she craved bodily sight of the Passion such as Magdalen and others that were Christ's lovers experienced. True to Christocentric mystical tradition, Julian wanted this "eye-witness" knowledge of the bodily sufferings of Christ so that she might

7 Library of Congress MLA microfilm 315, Paris MS, Anglais 40, fol. 84a.
8 Ibid., fol. 3a.
suffer as those did who were actually present. The second of her desires is defined as a requesting of "all maner of paynes bodily and ghostly that I should haue if I should haue died. all the dredys and temptations of fiendes and all maner of other paynes, saue the outpassing of the sowle." This physical illness, Julian believes, will serve as her real, bodily purgation and purification. The third gift of three wounds the Norwich mystic delineates as "the wound of verie contricion, the wound of kynd compassion, and the wound of willfull longing to god." In the short version of the Revelations, the three wounds are specifically related to St. Cecilia's three neck wounds.

As already cited, the bodily sickness was sent in Julian's thirty-first year. On the fourth night of her illness, she "toke all rightes of holie church and went not to have leued tyll Day." Three days later, paralysis from the waist down contributes to Julian's pain. At this time, her curate, who had been summoned to be with her at the moment of death, brings a crucifix to her bedside. As her sight begins to fail, darkness fills the chamber with the exception of the area adjacent to the cross.

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9 Ibid., fol. 4a.
10 Ibid., fol. 4b.
12 Library of Congress MLA microfilm 315, Paris MS, Anglais 40, fol. 5a.
Julian describes her experience prior to the actual revelations:

After this the over part of my bodie began to die, so farth that vnneth I had anie feeling. my most payne was shortnes of breth and falelyng of life. Then went I verily to haue passed. And in this sodenly all my paine was taken fro me, and I was as hole and namely in ye over parte of my bodie as ever I was befor. I mervielled of this Sodeyn change, for my thought that it was a previe werkynge of god. and not of kynd. and yet by feeling of this ease I trusted never the more to haue liued. ne the feeling of this ease was no full ease to me. for me thought I had leuer haue ben deliured of this world for my hart was wilfully set ther to. Then cam sodenly to my mynd that I should deser the second wound of our lordes gifte and his grace that my bodie might be ful­filled wt mynd and feeling of his blessed passion as I had before praied. ffor I would that his paynes were my paynes wt compassion and afterward langyng to god. This thought me that I might wt his grace haue the wounds that I had before Desyred. But in this I desyred never no bodily sight, ne no maner schewing of god. but compassion as me thought that a kynd sowle might haue wt our lord Iesu. that for loue would become a deadly man. with him I Desyred to suffer liuyng in my deadly bodie, as god would giue me grace.13

At this point begins Julian's narration of the revelations, "of whych xv shewyng ye fyrst beganne erly in ye mornynge aboute the oure of iiiij."14 The visions continued until late afternoon. The sixteenth revelation--the "conclusyon and confirmation to all the xv"15--occured the following night.

Prior to this concluding vision, the Norwich mystic experiences a nocturnal visitation from the devil. The face of a young man, "longe and wonder leen,"16 appears close to that of the re-

13 Ibid., fol. 6b-7a.
14 Ibid., fol. 140b-141a.
15 Ibid., fol. 141a.
16 Ibid., fol. 142b.
the coloure was reed lyke yᵉ tylle stone when it is new bren wt blacke spottes there in lyke frakylles fouler than yᵉ tyle stone. his here was rede as rust not scoryd afore. wt syde lockes hangyng on yᵉ thonwonges[ cheeks]. he grynnyd vpon me wt a shrewde loke shewde me whyt teth. And so mekylle me thought it the more vgly. Body ne handes had he none shaply but wt hys pawes he helde me in the throte and woulde a stoppyd my breth and kylde me. but he myght not.17

"Smoke . . . greete heet and a foule stynch"18 accompany this "ugly shewing."19 When Julian realizes that those at her bedside are unaware of the man's presence, she recognizes her experience as the devil's temptation. An ejaculatory "blessyd be god"20 dispels the satanic specter and brings "grete reste and peas wt out sycknesse of body or drede of conscience."21

This tranquillity is accompanied by the sixteenth revelation by which Julian is instructed "wt out voyce and wt out opening of lyppes":22

Wytt it now wele it was no ravyng that thou saw to day. but take it and beleve it. and kepe thee there in and comfort thee ther wt and trust ther to and thou shalt not be ovyrcome.23

17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., fol. 143a.
19 Ibid., fol. 142b.
20 Ibid., fol. 143a.
21 Ibid., fol. 143b.
22 Ibid., fol. 145b.
23 Ibid.
A second appearance of Satan then occurs—this time a long temptation to despair. Fixing her eyes on the crucifix, the Norwich recluse, in a fashion reminiscent of Richard Rolle’s combating of nocturnal temptation, meditates on the Passion. Throughout the night until nine the next morning, the devil “occupyed” Julian. Then, with only a stench remaining, the specter departs, leaving the mystic to muse: “I scorned him and thus was I delivered of him by ye vertu of crystes passion.”

Years of introspection and gradual enlightenment follow as Julian seeks an understanding of her strange experience. Finally, “xv yere after and more,” she is given a meaning to her revelations:

I was answered in costly understanding saying thus. What woldest thou wyt thy lorde menying. in this thyng wyt it wele. loue was his menying. who shewyth it the. loue. wherfore shewyth he it the. for loue. holde the therin. thou shalt wyt more in the same. But thou schalt nevyr wyt therin other w outyn ende.

So concludes one of the more intriguing works of the medieval English period, a work that is both an autobiography and a mystical treatise; for, as Father Pepler points out, Mother Julian is placed firmly in the unitive way because her “knowledge and sight

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24 Ibid., fol. 147b.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., fol. 173a.
27 Ibid., fol. 173a-173b.
come, as her own title informs us, from the touch of love, from affinity with divine things . . . she has been led to see things in their highest causes."

Germane to the topic of this dissertation is the degree of intellectuality of the individual mystic; for, frequently, the conscious utilization of the tenets of blood theology and the Blood Motifs is dependent on the mystic's educational background and intellectual capacity. Hence, Julian's self-characterization as a "Symple creature vnlettyrde" requires some analysis. With the exception of Evelyn Underhill who includes Julian with the illiterate St. Catherine of Siena as "some of the least lettered" of mystics and Effie Mackinnon who judges the Norwich recluse to be primarily emotional, the weight of critical commentary tends to discount Julian's subjective designation. For example, D. S. H., the anonymous Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey, observes:

Neither her thought nor its expression is that of an uneducated person. Perhaps she knew neither French nor Latin and no more theology than any other woman of her day. This would be in no way surprising, nor would it necessarily imply illiteracy. The knowledge of Latin seems not to have been common even among nuns, and although some acquaintance with French was more usual, fourteenth-century Norfolk notoriously set no great store by that language. It had its own vigorous vernacular culture and was briskly leading a nation-wide return to the official use of English in civil affairs. Certainly Julian was not ignorant of her native language, which she handled with remarkable ease and ability; nor, apparent-

ly, was she unable to read an English Bible, for her book is studded with biblical quotations and allusions. It may originally have been dictated, but the method of its revision rather suggests careful personal application.30

Humility is the impetus for Julian's self-evaluation according to Father Pepler, who envisions her as a "well-instructed woman and of some culture."31 But it is Eric Colledge who provides the most coherent comments regarding Julian's literacy. He first explains that medieval art stressed the realistic—often grisly—details of the Passion "for the benefit of those to whom most of our aids to devotion were denied, since, whether laity or religious, they could read neither in Latin nor the vernacular."32 As Colledge notes, bloodshed and violent death were then commonplace. Moreover, vivid details of the Revelations of Divine Love are in the tradition of the sacred art of Norwich, whose "many churches were crowded with art objects such as the pieta which produced such transports of grief in Margery Kempe."33 A possible conjecture is, of course, that Julian consciously or subconsciously might have amassed her imagery, symbolism, Scriptural knowledge, and theological familiarity from her environment; then, she could have dictated her material as apparently did St. Catherine of Siena and Margery Kempe.

32 E. Colledge, p. 35.
33 Ibid., p. 85.
However, Professor Colledge also explains that "unlettered" was "commonly used by medieval writers to mean 'knowing no Latin' . . . ."\textsuperscript{34} Finally, this writer must, in face of this controversy, agree with Colledge's concluding statement that "we shall never be sure what she meant by her statement that at the time of her revelations she 'knew no letter,'"\textsuperscript{35} although--as the following analysis of the \textit{Revelations of Divine Love} indicates--her writing suggests that Julian was more than a "Symple creature vnlettyrde."

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., p. 84.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid.
Revelations of Divine Love

The Revelations of Divine Love exists in both an early short version and a later amplified version which is approximately triple the length of the shorter form. The short text is extant in one manuscript—the MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 37790, dated 1413 and called the "Amherst Manuscript" since it was purchased from Lord Amherst's library in 1909. The expanded version survives in four manuscripts of much later date: the sixteenth-century Paris MS. Anglais 40, the seventeenth-century MS. Brit. Mus. Sloane 2499, the eighteenth-century MS. Brit. Mus. Sloane 3705, and the fifteenth-century MS. Westminster Cathedral Library. This last text is an anthology containing extracts from the Revelations as well as from other mystical works such as the Scale of Perfection.

In face of Julian's positive declaration in the longer version that "twenty yere after yᵉ tyme of the shewyng saue thre monthys I had techyng inwardly," the supposition that the short text is an abbreviation of the long text has been discarded in favor of the theory that the long form represents a process of development highlighted by the gradual enlightenment of its authoress as she contemplated the meaning of her visions. Furthermore, the heading of the last chapter in the Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 3705 reveals Julian's displeasure with what appears to have been her earlier effort: "The good Lord shewed yᵉ yᵉ Book should be other-

36Library of Congress MLA microfilm 315, Paris MS, Anglais 40, fol. 96b.
Consequently, the amplified version is analyzed in this dissertation. Superior manuscript condition and greatest proximity to Julian's Middle English dictate the selection of the Paris MS. for analysis.

Father Pepler calls attention to the fact that the original text of the Revelations seems to have been written in a combination of the East Anglian and Northern dialects, which he believes suggests a definite Yorkshire connection. Moreover, this dialect fusion, according to Father Pepler, "lends colour to the hypothesis that this stream of mysticism was carried back and forth in the traffic of merchants." Yorkshire wool was apparently shipped with regularity to Norwich, "then the second city in the kingdom."

Some disagreement exists among the manuscripts as to the exact date of Julian's revelations: the Paris MS. gives a May 13, 1373 date; whereas, the other texts establish a May 8, 1373 date. Generally, the latter date is accepted owing to the predominance of manuscript citation. In addition, May 7 was the medieval feast of St. John Beverley, a popular saint whose intercession, according to Henry V, was responsible for the English victory at Agin-


Julian includes the saint with "magdaleyne. Peter and paule. thomas and Jude" as examples of those whose sins were "no shame but wurshype to man." The Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey speculates that the May 3 feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross might have been Providence's immediate preparation for the visions. Therefore, logic seems to presume the early date in order to make the revelations as proximate as possible to these significant feasts. Moreover, this writer suggests the possibility that a misreading of a poorly written "viii" could have resulted in the "xiii" variance. This conjecture should be especially plausible to anyone acquainted with the inferior script of the Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 2499 which makes deciphering the date almost impossible.

Actually, any date appearing in a work that contains so little positive biographical or environmental information seems paradoxical. Julian, in an apparent effort to remain anonymous, repeatedly designates herself only as "creature." She omits any reference whatsoever to convent life. This void leads the Bene-

40 Ibid., p. 54.
42 Ibid., fol. 67b.
44 Library of Congress MLA microfilm 312, British Museum, Sloane MS, 2499, fol. 2.
dictine of Stanbrook Abbey to question whether Julian was a religious at the time of her revelations. Father Walsh attempts a resolution of the paradox by considering the date a reflection of Julian's desire to establish historicity for her work.

The first chapter of the long version of the Revelations provides an excellent preview of Julian's visions and their integration with Church dogma:

This is a revelacion of louse that Ihu Christ our endles blisse made in .xvi. shewynges. of which, The first is of his precious crownyng of thornes. And ther in was contained & specified the blessed trinitie wt the incarnacion. and the vnithing betweene god and mans sowle wt manie fayer schew­ynges and techynges of endlesse wisdom and louse, in which all the shewynges that foloweth be groundide and joyned. The secunde is of y8 Discoloring of his fayer face, in tokenyng of his Deerworthie passion. The third is that our lord god almightye all wisdom and all louse. right also verily as he hath made all things that is. right also verilie he Doeth and worketh all things that is Done. The iiij th is skorng of his tender bodie with plenteuous sheding of his precious bloud. The v th is that the feende is overcome by the precius passion of Christ. The vi th is the worschippfull thankg of our lord god in which he rewardyth all his blessed servuanntes in heauen. The vij th is often tymes feeling of wele and of wooe. feeling of wele is gracious touching and lightnyng wt true Sekernes of endlesse ioy the feeling of woo is of temptation by heauenes and werines of our fleshely liuyng wt ghostely understanding yt we be kept also verily in louse in woo as in wele by the goodnes of god. The viij is


the last paynes of Christ and his cruel Drying. The ixth is of ye lykyng which is in the blessed trinitie of ye hard passion of Christ after his ruwfull Dying, in which joy and lykyng he will yt we be in solace and myrth wt hym tylle that we come to the glorie in heauen. The x is our lord Ihu shewyth by loue his blessed hart evyn clouen on two. The xi is an high ghostly shewing of his dear worthy mother. The xii is that our lord god is all souereyn being. The xiiij is that our lord god is grownd of our beseking. heer in was seen two fayer properties. that one is rightfull preaier. that other is veria trust. which he will both be one lyke large. and thus our praire liketh him. and he of his goodnes fullfillyth it. The xv is that we shuld sodeynly be takyn from all our payne. and from all our woo. and of his goodnes we shall come vppe aboue wher we shall haue our lord Iesu to our meed and for to be fulfilled wt joy and blisse in heauen. The xvi is that the blessed trinitie our maker in Christ Iesu our sauiour endlesly Dwel-leth in our sowle worchipfully rewlyng and comannding all thing & vs mightly and wisely sauyng and kepyng for loue. and we shall not be overcome of our enemy.

As this passage clearly indicates, the Revelations of Divine Love are dominated by various facets of blood theology. In fact, Jul-

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47 For some unexplained reason, Father Walsh and Dom Hudleston translate "drying" as "dying." As is demonstrated later in this analysis, the scribe obviously meant what he wrote. In partial defence of these two editors, it should be noted that in the Paris MS., the basis for Father Walsh's edition and a collateral text for Dom Hudleston's edition, the "r" is inserted between the "d" and the "y."

ian's work might well be judged the most nearly complete manual of blood redemption produced by the Yorkshire mystics if not by the entire medieval period.

The work runs the gamut of the numerous attributes of the Passion. Foremost is the ability of the Passion to effect victory over Satan. In addition to the aforementioned reference to Julian's use of Passion meditation to overcome her temptation by the devil, three other allusions to this quality are discerned in the Revelations. It is revealed to Julian that the Passion has "strenght inough" so that "all creatures liuyng . . . sould be saued against all the fiendes of hell and against all ghostely enemies." She is also instructed that "here wt is the feende ovyrcome. This worde sayde our lorde menyng his blessyd passyon as he shewed before." Again, "oure good lorde shewde menyng his blessyd passyon here wt is the fende ovr come."

Furthermore, the Passion "restored vs . . . and euer kep­eth vs in his blessed loue"; it is an aid against temptation

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49 Ibid., fol. 8a.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid., fol. 27a.
52 Ibid., fol. 146a.
53 Ibid., fol. 10b.
54 Ibid., fol. 75b.
as well as a comfort against the pain of sin.\textsuperscript{55} Lastly, the Passion is responsible for mankind's knowledge and love of Christ's blissful Godhead:

\begin{quote}
he kyndelyth oure vnderstondyng. he prepareth oure weyes he esyth oure consciens. he confortyth oure soule. he lyghteth oure harte. and gevyth vs in party knowyng and louyng in his blessydfull godhede w\textsuperscript{t} gracyous mynde in his swete manhode and his blessed passygon w\textsuperscript{t} curtesse mervelingly in his hye ovyr passyng goodnesse.\textsuperscript{56}
\end{quote}

Of the Blood Motifs discerned in Julian's vivid imagery, one of the more frequently and clearly defined motifs is that of the abundant bloodshedding. In the first revelation, the Norwich mystic sees "reed bloud rynnyng Downe from vnder the garlende [crown of thorns] hote and freyshely plentuously and liuely."\textsuperscript{57} Later in the narration of the initial vision, Julian resumes her description of the blood:

\begin{quote}
I saw the bodely syght lastyng of the plenous bledyng of the hede. the grett Droppes of blode felle Downe fro vnder the garlondes lyke pelottes semyng as it had comyn ou\textsuperscript{t}e of the veynes. And in the comyng ou\textsuperscript{t}e they were brorme rede. for the blode was full thycke. And in the spredyng abrode they were bryght rede. And whan it came at the browes. ther they vanysschyd.\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

But the most imaginative expression of the bleeding which continues throughout the first vision is observed in the following sim-
The plentuoushede is lyke to the droppes of water that falle of the evesyng [eaves] of an howse after a grete shower of reyne that falle so thycke that no man may nomber them w't no bodely wyt." 59

The fourth revelation also stresses the copiousness of Christ's bloodletting. After the scourging, Dame Julian "sees":

all about the sweete body the hote blode ranne out so plentuously that ther was neyther seen skyn ne wounde but as it were all blode. And when it cam wher it shulde haue falle Downe ther it vanysschyd. not w't standyng the bledyng con- tynued a whyle tyll it myght be seen w't avysemement. And this was so plentuous to my syght that me thought if it had ben so in kynde and in substance for that tyme it shulde haue made the bedde all on bloude and haue passyde over all about. 60

The Norwich recluse, then, explains the vision:

Than cam to my mynde that god hath made waters plentuous in erth to our servys. And to our bodely eese for tendyr loue that he hath to vs. But yet lykyth hym better that we take fullholsomly hys blessyd blode to wassch vs of synne. ffor ther is no lycour that is made that lykyth hym so wele to yeue vs. ffor it is most plentuous as it is most precious. And that by the vertu of the blessyd godhead. And it is our owne kynde. and blessyd fully ovyr flowyth vs by the vertu of his precious loue. The dere worthy bloude of our lorde Ihu crist. also verely as it is most precious. as verely it is most plentuous. Beholde and see the vertu of this pre- cious plenty of hys dere worthy blode. it Descendyd Downe in to helle and brak her bondes and deluyerd them all that were there which belongth to the courte of hevyyn. The precious plenty of his dere worthy blode ovyr flowyth all erth and is redy to wash all creatures of synne. which be of good wyll. haue ben. and shall be. The precious plenty of his dere wor- thy blode. ascendyth vp in to hevyyn in the blessed body of our lorde Iesu crist. And ther is in hym bledyng. preyeng for vs to the father and is. and shalbe. as long as vs ned-

59 Ibid., fol. 14b.

60 Ibid., fol. 25a-25b.
yth. And ovyr more it flowyth in all heauen en Joying the saluacion of all mankynd that be ther. and shall be fulfyll-yng the nuber that faylyth. 61

Interestingly, this explication demonstrates an interdependence and fusion of motifs; for, in addition to the plenteous blood motif, two other motifs are apparent. The theme of the blood ransom is revealed in the personification of the blood's flowing into hell to deliver the imprisoned by breaking their bonds. Secondly, the perpetual mystical bath figure is evident in the readiness of the blood "to wash all creatures of synne. which be of good wyll. haue ben. and shall be."

In a rather grisly manner, the sixteenth chapter describes Julian's eighth revelation which most graphically delineates Christ's consummate bloodshedding:

After thys crist shewde a parte of hys passyon nere his dyeng. I saw the swete face. as it were drye and blodeles wt pale dyeng. and deede pale langhuryng and than turned more deede in to blew. And after in browne blew. as the flessch turned more depe depe. ffor his passion shewde to me most proprly in his blessyd face. And namely in hys lyppes. ther in saw I these iiij colours. tho yt were be fore fressch and rody lyuely and lykyng to my syght. This was a petutfulle chaungyng to se this depe dyeng. And also hys nose clocggeran to geder and dryed to my syght. And the swete body waxid browne and blacke alle chaungyd and turned ou3te of y思维 fressch and lyuely coloure of hy selfe. in to drye dyeng. ffor that same tyme that oure blessyd sauyour dyed vppon the rode. it was a dry sharp wynd. wonder cold. as to my syght. And what tyme that y思维 precyous blode was bled out of the "swete body that myght passe ther fro yet ther was a moyster in the swete flessch of crist as it was shewde. Blodlessched and Payne dried wt in. and blowyng of the wynde and colde comyng from wt out. And thesse iiij dryed the

61 Ibid., fol. 25b-26b.
The significance of "drying" in the catalogue of Julian's revelations becomes evident in this passage. The Norwich mystic views the drying of Christ's flesh as the most severe pain of the Passion. This surmise is only appropriate, for the complete expulsion of moisture is the biological culmination of Christ's absolute blood sacrifice.

In the seventeenth chapter, Julian considers Christ's cross comment "I thirst" as a double ramification of this total drying: a bodily and ghostly thirst. The chapter then concentrates on the physical aspect of Christ's exhaustive blood surrender:

And I understood by the bodily thirst. that the body had feylyng of moyster, for the blessyde flessch and bonys was lefte alle alone wout blode and moyster. the blessyd body dryed alle a loon long tyme wryngyng of the nayles and weight of the body. ffor I understood that for tendyrnes of the swete handes and the swete feet by the grete hardnes and grevous of the naylys the woundys waxid wyde and the body satylde for weight by long tyme hangyng and persyng and rausyng of heed and byndyng of the crowne alle bakyn drye blode the swet here clyngyng the drye flessch to the thornys. and the thornys to the flessch dryeng. And in the begynnyng while the flessch was fressch and bledyng the contynualle syttyng of the thornes made the woundes wyde. And furthermore I saw that the swet skyne and the tendyr flessch the here and the blode was alle rasyd and losyde abone the thornes and brokyn in many pecis. And were hangyng as they wolde hastely haue fallen downe while it had kynde moyster. how it was doone I saw not. But I understood that it was the sharpe thornes. And the boys-touris grevous syttyng on. of the garlonde not sparyng and

62 Ibid., fol. 32a-32b.
63 Ibid., fol. 33b.
...that alle tho brake the swet skynne wt the flessch. and yª here losyd it from the boone wher thorow it was brokyn on pecys as a cloth and saggyng downwarde as it wolde hastely haue fallen for heuynes and for lowsenes. And that was grete sorow and drede to me. ffor me thought that I wolde nott for my life haue seene it fall. This contynued a whyle. And after it began to chaunge. And I behelde and marveylyd how it myght be. And than I saw it was. for it beganne to dry. and stynt a parte of the weyght. that was rownd about the garland and so it was enuyroned all about as it were garland vpon garland. the garlonde of thornes was deyde wt the blode. and that other garlond and the hede all was one colowre as cloteryd blode when it was dryed. the skynne and the flesshe that emyd of the face and of the body. was smalle rympylde wt a tawny coloure lyke a drye bord whan it is agyd. And the face more browne than the body.64

The spiritual thirst of Christ is not adequately defined until the thirty-first chapter:

ffor thys is the gostly thyrst of cryst the loue longynge yt lastyth and evyr shall tylle we se that syght at domys day . . . therfore this is hys thurste and loue longyng of vs all to geder here in hym to oure endlessse blysse.65

This unitive concept is repeated toward the end of the Revelations:

I saw that god may do alle that vs nedyth. and theyse thre yt I shall say. nede. loue. longyng. Pytte and loue kep·ytv vs in the tyme of oure nede. And longyng in yª same loue drawyth vs in to hevyn for yª thurst of god is to haue the generalle man in to hym. in whych thurst he hath drawn his holy soules yt be nOlfl in blysse. and so gettyng his lyvely mebris. evyr he drawyth and dryngkyth. and yett hym thurstyth and longyth.66

A final instance of the plenteous blood motif is discerned

64 Ibid., fol. 33b-34b.
65 Ibid., fol. 55a-55b.
66 Ibid., fol. 157a.
late in the *Revelations*. The sixty-first chapter contains a hyperbolic reference to the mixture of blood and water that flowed from Christ's side: "for the flode of mercy that is his deerworthy blode and precious water is plentuous to make vs feyer and clene." 67 Again, the mystic bath figure is evident as an integral component of the copious blood theme.

Closely correlated to the plenteous blood motif is a haven image of the tenth vision that is quite remindful of Richard Rolle's dove-cot figure of *Meditation II*. The side wound from which flows the "flode of mercy" of the previous paragraph is viewed by Julian as "a feyer and delectable place. and large Inow for alle mankynde that shalle be savyd and rest in pees and in loue." 68 This vision recalls for Julian "hys dere worthy blode and hys precious water whych he lett poure out for loue." 69 Theologically, the great expanse of the side wound corresponds to the infinite source of grace which is represented by the abundant blood sacrifice.

One section of the *Revelations of Divine Love* causing some critical controversy involves Julian's attitude toward sin. In chapter thirty-seven, the Norwich recluse reveals an inward revelation that she would sin; nevertheless, God with great love and


assurance consoles Julian by informing her, "I kepe the fulle suerly." The next chapter begins with Julian's problematical interpretation of this phase of her experience: "And god shewed that synne shall be no shame. but wurshype to man ffor ryght as to every synne is asweryng a Payne by truth. Ryght so for every synne to the same soule is gevyn a blysse by loue." Julian documents her opinion that "the soule that shalle come to hevyn. is so precyous to god. and the place so wurshympfulle that the goodnes of god sufferyth nevyr that soule to synne fynally" by recalling such personages of the Old and New Testament such as Mary Magdalen, Peter, Paul, Thomas, and Jude who "be knowen in the chyrch on erth. wt ther synes and it is to them no shame. but alle is turned them to worshyppe." In the fortieth chapter, God reveals to Julian that the mystical love union--being "onyd in blysse"--is responsible for the forgiveness of sins by the grace and mercy effected by the "werkyng of the holy gost. and the ver-tu of cristes passion." 

To illustrate the nature of His judgment regarding man and

70 Ibid., fol. 67a.
71 Ibid., fol. 67b.
72 Ibid., fol. 68a.
73 Ibid., fol. 68b.
74 Ibid., fol. 71b.
75 Ibid.
his transgressions, God presents to Julian "a marvelous example of a lorde and of a seruannt."\textsuperscript{76} At first, the parable teaches that there is "no manner of wrath in god. neyther for shorte tyme nor for long."\textsuperscript{77} Then, the narrative centers around a servant who anxious to perform the will of his lord, nevertheless, falls into a ravine while on a mission for his lord. Consequently, he suffers seven great pains:

\begin{quote}
The furst was the soore brosyng that he toke in his fallyng whych was to hym moch payne. The seconde was ye hevynesse of his body. The thyrde was fybylnesse that folowyth of theyse two. The iij was that he was blyndyd in his reson. and stonyd in his mynde so ferforth that all most he had forgeten his owne loue. The v was ye he myght nott ryse. The vi was payne most mervelous to me. And that was that he leye aloone. I lokyd alle about and behelde and terr. ne nare. ne bye ne lowe. I saw to hym no helpe. The vijth was that the place whych he ley in. was alang harde and grevous.\textsuperscript{78}
\end{quote}

Julian marvels that "this seruannt myght mekely suffer all this woo."\textsuperscript{79} Furthermore, no fault or blame is attributed to the servant, "ffor oonly hys good wyll and his grett desyer was cause of his fallyng."\textsuperscript{80} The servant's unquestioning endurance of his fallen state prompts the lord to grant him everlasting reward. At this point the vision of the parable terminates. "Twenty yere af-

\textsuperscript{76}Ibid., fol. 82b.
\textsuperscript{77}Ibid., fol. 89b-90a.
\textsuperscript{78}Ibid., fol. 94a.
\textsuperscript{79}Ibid., fol. 94b.
\textsuperscript{80}Ibid.
After ye tyme of the shewyng saue thre monthys," the parable is explained in detail to Julian by inward teaching: "The lorde that satt solemly in rest and in peas. I understonde that he is god. The seruannt that stode before hym. I understode that he was shewed for Adam." Further enlightenment establishes: "In the servant is comprehendyd the seconde person of yᵉ trynyte. And in the servant is comprehendyd Adam that is to sey all men." Man's power and goodness are his legacy from Christ; his feebleness and blindness come from Adam. This oneness of dual natures results in Christ's assuming all of mankind's responsibility for sin; hence, Julian establishes validity for her predominantly optimistic tone—"alle shalle be wele."  

Although Miss Mackinnon, a non-Catholic, attributes what she believes to be teaching contrary to the Church to the recluse's fundamental optimism, most Catholic commentators on the Revelations consider Julian's attitude toward sin to be compatible with Catholic dogma. Eric Colledge discerns in the controversy an inherent difficulty in reconciling immeasurable divine love with the concept of eternal damnation; nevertheless, he finds no real

81 Ibid., fol. 96b.
82 Ibid., fol. 97a.
83 Ibid., fol. 101b.
84 Ibid., fol. 62b. Similar statements appear on fol. 59b and fol. 136b.
85 E. Mackinnon, p. 297.
deviation from Church theology in Julian's attitude. 86 Dom Roger Hudleston sees Julian's concept of sin as a combining of two theological truths: the immutability of God's love and Scripture's revelation that the elect of God are those "Blessed . . . to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin (Rom. iv.8)." 87 The Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey finds the view of the Norwich mystic to be completely orthodox 88 as do Father Pepler 89 and Father Molinari, 90 who have, in considerable detail, synthesized the Revelations to exhibit the profundity and indefectible orthodoxy of Julian's entire mystical theology.

Julian's use of the Adam figure, one of the more significant entities of blood theology, merits some investigation. As a type of Christ, Adam enjoys several parallels with mankind's Redeemer. For example, Julian explains, "Adam fell fro lyfe to deth in to the slade[ depths] of this wrechyd worlde. And after that in to hell. Goddys son fell wt Adam in to the slade of the mey-

86 E. Colledge, p. 87.


dens wombe. 91 Moreover, both were created humanly perfect; and both were tempted—Adam in Eden and Christ in the desert. Adam's side was the source of Eve, man's physical helpmate, just as Christ's side wound is the source of the regenerative sacraments that are man's spiritual helpmates. In addition, there are legendary connections. After Adam's death, the Archangel Michael is supposed to have instructed Eve to plant a branch from the Tree of Knowledge on Adam's grave. When the branch had matured into a tree, legend records that Solomon moved it into the temple garden. Later, it was discarded and thrown into the pool of Bethesda, where it remained until timber was needed to fashion Christ's cross. 92 At the crucifixion, a skull—presumably Adam's—was unearthed as the supporting hole for the cross was dug. Cast aside, it rested near the foot of the cross to be "washed" as Christ's blood flowed down the cross's upright. 93 Finally, the sacrifice of Adam's son Abel is traditionally viewed as a foretelling of the crucifixion. 94

The incorporation of Adam into Julian's probable adapta-

92 G. Ferguson, p. 50.
93 F. Webber, p. 28.
94 G. Ferguson, p. 74.
tion of the suffering servant allegory of Isaias\(^{95}\) is symptomatic of Julian's blood emphasis. For at every turn, the Norwich recluse delineates her revelations in graphic terms of blood theology. Even as the servant stands before his lord, he is clad in Adam's kirtle, a kirtle stained with the "swete of Adams trav-eyle"\(^{96}\) and tattered. However, as Julian interprets the scene, the kirtle becomes representative of Christ's crucified body:

"by that his kertyll was at the poynt to be ragged and rent. is underston the roddys and scorgys. the thornes and the naylyys. the drawyng and the draggyng his tendyrr flessch rentyng as I saw in some party the flessch was rent fro the head panne fallyng on pecys vnto the tyme y\(^{e}\) bledyng feylyd. And than it beganne to dry agayne clevyng to the bone.\(^{97}\)"

Clearly, the designation of the *Revelations* as a "prolonged meditation upon the Passion of Christ"\(^{98}\) is appreciably advanced by Julian's Adam-Christ characterization.

The degree to which the Norwich mystic is imbued with man's blood heritage is disclosed in the deductive reasoning of her retrospective glance at the Passion dominated revelations:

*I had syght of y\(^{e}\) passion of cris in dyuerse shewyng. In the furst. In the secunde. In y\(^{e}\) iiiijt. in y\(^{e}\) viijth. as it is before seyde wher in I had in part felyng of y\(^{e}\) sorow*

\(^{95}\) *Isaias 52.13; 53.4-7.*

\(^{96}\) *Library of Congress MLA microfilm 315, Paris MS, Anglais 40, fol. 103a.*

\(^{97}\) *Ibid., fol. 104b-105a.*

\(^{98}\) *A Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey, "Dame Julian of Norwich," p. 58.*
of oure lady. And of hys tru frendys that saw hys paynes. but I saw nott so properly specyfied the Jewes that dyd hym to deth. but nott w' stondynge I knew in my feyth that they ware a cursyd and dampnyd w' out ende. savynge who y' were convertyd by grace. 99

The blood vengeance concept is apparently so pronounced in Julian's concept of the Passion that she assumes the vendetta code even though in four distinct visions this facet of Christ's blood sacrifice is consistently and conspicuously omitted.

Various of the Blood Motifs that have become rather commonplace since the Richard Rolle analysis dot the Revelations of Divine Love. The purchase "from endlesse paynes of helle," 100 effected by the "same loue y' ... made vs and ... bou3te vs" 101 and coupled with the Savior's making "vs the eyers w' hym in hys blysse," 102 recalls the devil's rights and Charter themes. Furthermore, the Reddendo clause is implied in the debt that our soul owes God for His mercy and forgiveness: "Two poyntes longyng to our soule by dett. One is that we reverently marveyle. That othyr is that we meekly suffer evyr enloyeng in god." 103

The unbinding from slavery motif occurs 104 as well as se-

99 Library of Congress MLA microfilm 315, Paris MS, Anglais 40, fol. 60a-60b.
100 Ibid., fol. 46a.
101 Ibid., fol. 119a.
102 Ibid., fol. 41b.
103 Ibid., fol. 85a.
104 Ibid., fol. 38a.
veral instances of the knit figure. In the unitive way, "all his [God's] membris be knytt"\textsuperscript{105} in the body of Christ. Also, the unitive life is indicated as a creation consequence by which man's soul is "knyte to god";\textsuperscript{106} and God "in oure makyng he knytt vs and onyd vs to hym selfe."\textsuperscript{107} In another passage, "god knytt hym to oure body in the meydens wombe."\textsuperscript{108} In another and concluding variation, the mystical marriage theme is fused with the knit motif: "And in the knyttynge and in the onyng he [God] isoure very tru spouse. And we his lovyd syfe. and his feyer meydyn."\textsuperscript{109}

The medicine motif appears several times. Christ, the glorious Asseeth[ remedy]\textsuperscript{110} to Adam's sin, teaches: "Sythen that I haue made welle the most harm, than it is my wylle that thou know ther by. that I shalle make wele. alle that is lesse."\textsuperscript{111} Contrition, compassion, and true longing for God--effects of Christ's Passion--are the "medycins"\textsuperscript{112} by which "every synnfulle

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., fol. 56a.  
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., fol. 112b.  
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., fol. 123a.  
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., fol. 122a.  
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., fol. 123a.  
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., fol. 53b.  
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., fol. 70a.
soule be helyd." Elsewhere in the Revelations, reference is made to the wounds as healing agents: "the blessed woundes of our sauiour be opyn and enjoye to hele vs." In the tradition of ancient blood purification, God also "shall all besprynkyl vs in his precious blode and make oure soule full softe and full mylde and heele vs fulle feyer by processe of tyme." Finally, Christ is simply defined as "oure medycyne."

Miscellaneous elements of blood dogma permeate the Revelations. The first vision of Christ's bleeding head is "a ghostly sight of his homely louyng." In the sixth chapter, which is devoted to prayer, man is entreated to pray "to god for his holie flesh. and for his precious bloud. his holie passion. his dere worthy Death and worshipfull woundes . . . his sweete mothers loue . . . his holie crosse that he died on." Later in the Revelations, man is informed that "the sufferaunce of oure lorde god is wurschypfull." "A fygur and a lyknes of our fowle blacke

113 Ibid., fol. 70a-70b.
114 Ibid., fol. 133a.
115 Ibid., fol. 135b.
116 Ibid., fol. 169a.
117 Ibid., fol. 9a.
118 Ibid., fol. 11a-11b.
119 Ibid., fol. 63a.
The generosity of the victim of the blood sacrifice of the cross is matter for several passages. In one, Christ is characterized as one "that wyllyngfully . . . chose it [the Passion] w t grett Desyer. And myldely . . . sufferyd it w t grett Ioy."122 In the ninth vision, Christ "settyth at naught hys traveyle and his passion and his cruelle and shamfulle deth."123 With the words "if I myght suffer more, I wolde Suffer more,"124 the Redeemer demonstrates to Julian "y t as often as he myght dye. as often he wolde. and loue shulde nevyr lett hym haue rest, tille he hath done it."125 Lastly, Christ is the "gladde geauer"126 who "takyth but lytyle hede at the thyng that he geayth. but alle hys de­ syr. and alle hys intent is to plese hym. and solace hym to

120 Ibid., fol. 21a.
121 Ibid., fol. 37b.
122 Ibid., fol. 40b.
123 Ibid., fol. 42b.
124 Ibid., fol. 42b-43a.
125 Ibid., fol. 43a.
126 Ibid., fol. 45b.
whome he geavyth it."127

The most unusual figure in the *Revelations of Divine Love* is that of Jesus as mankind's mother. This identification is missing in the short version of the work. Although primarily an Eucharist motif in that "moder Ihu he may fede vs w† hym selfe and doth full curtesly and full tendyrly w† the blessed sacrament, that is precyous fode of very lyfe,"128 the motherhood of Christ is also linked to various features of the Passion. For example, Christ's side wound figures in Julian's analogous delineation:

the moder may ley hyr chylde tenderly to hyr brest. But our tender mother Ihu he may homely lede vs in to his blessyd brest. by his swet opyn syde and shewe vs there in pert of the godhed and y° Ioyes of hevyn w† gostely suernesse of end-lesse blysse.129

Secondly, juxtaposition establishes a correspondence between the medicine motif and the Christ-Mother figure: "the blessed woundes of oure sauiour be opyn and enIoye to hele vs. The swet gracious handes of oure moder be redy and diligent a bout vs."130 And, thirdly, Christ's sacrifice upon the cross is compared with the birth process: "and in the takyng of oure kynd he quyckyd vs. And in his blessyd dyeng vppon the crosse he bare vs to endlesse

127 Ibid.
128 Ibid., fol. 129a-129b.
129 Ibid., fol. 129b.
130 Ibid., fol. 133a.
The suitability of the motherhood of Christ theme has been matter for some evaluation. Again, Miss Mackinnon's Protestantism prevents her being cognizant of the Catholic implication of the symbolism—in this case, both the Eucharistic and Mystical Body significance. Miss Mackinnon attempts to develop a case, predicated on erotic symbolism and the regression of child-mysticism, for her contention that the maternal identification is the result of Julian's latent sexual instincts: "Julian obtains a sublimated relationship very natural in her situation and altogether necessary for her emotional needs. Christ is Man and Mother; consequently he is the object of her love and the protector of her weakness." In an effort to illustrate that the identification of Christ as mankind's mother was well-known and actually a familiar theme in medieval devotions, the Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey observes:

This idea, said to be derived from St. Anselm, is actually to be found, at least in germ, in St. Augustine and St. Ambrose; indeed it goes back to the prophet Isaias. It appears no fewer than three times under different guises in the Ancrene Riwle and is met with again in the fifteenth-century Quia Amore Languoe; in other words it is a familiar theme in medieval devotion.

131 Ibid., fol. 136a.
132 E. Mackinnon, p. 294.
The propriety of the figure within the contexts of the Eucharist, the Passion, and the mystical union is indicated by Father Pepler:

This motherhood is appropriated to the Second person of the blessed Trinity because he is the Word in which all things are made; he is thus the womb constantly bearing us, constantly nourishing us. The Word gives us our substance as a mother gives substance to her child; and therefore merely in the order of Nature the Word bears us as our mother. In the order of Mercy and Grace far more so because he took our nature, died for us in mercy and restored us to the life of grace. Again all grace is his grace, the grace of the God-man, so that we are enclosed in the gracious womb of the Word made flesh by grace. This is the work of the Trinity begetting each individual in being and in grace, but the Son is the Mother in whom we are given life. Without going into the doctrine more deeply we may see from this how God's eternal decree can be seen as a maternal conceiving, nurturing, rearing of each individual, for it is the Mother who has that individual, concrete, possessive interest in the child where the father is more objective and abstract in his attitude.

Later in his analysis of the mother metaphor, the author of The English Religious Heritage states:

In all this Julian's concentration on the motherhood of Christ and the unitive oneness we are reminded of the fundamental teaching of St. Thomas on the Mystical Body and the Eucharistic Body of Christ. Having explained that the Eucharist is the sacrament of unity, that its effect is the union of the mystical body, he goes on to show that this is identical with the union of actual love of God in the soul. "When the sacrament itself is received, grace is increased, and the spiritual life perfected . . . so that man may stand perfect in himself by union with God" (III, 79, 1 ad I). The perfect union of the soul with God in Christ is the reality of the sacrament—this is the Real Presence and this is the Church. No wonder, then, that St. Thomas turns to some of the great mystical writers to declare the truths herein contained. St. Augustine, he reminds us, heard Christ speaking to him "Nor shalt thou change me into thyself, as food of thy flesh, but thou shalt be changed into me" (Confessions

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7: III, 73, 2 ad 2). And again it is Dionysius who said that the Eucharist was the end and consummation of all the sacraments (Eccl. Hier., 3, III, 63, 6). The Eucharist is necessary for the consummation of the spiritual life (III, 73, 2) and that indeed is the goal.\textsuperscript{135}

Obviously, there is no need to be as ingenious as Miss Mackinnon chose to be in her explication of the mother figure; for the motherhood of Christ is completely congruous with fundamental Catholic doctrine.

The \textit{Revelations of Divine Love} follows the pattern discerned in Richard Rolle's mystical writings: a direct ratio appears between Christocentric mysticism and the incident of the Blood Motifs. Julian speaks of five manners of the Passion being revealed to her:

\begin{quote}
for our curteyse lorde. Shewyd his passyon to me in fyue manners. Of whych the furst is. y^2 bledyng of the hede.
The seconde Dyscolowryng of his blessyd face. The thyrde is. the plentuous bledyng of the body in semyng of scorgyng. The iiiij^th is. the depe drying. theyse iiiij as it is before seyde. for the paynes of the passion. And the fyfte is. thys that was shewyth for the Ioy and the blysse of the passion. for it is goddes wylle that we haue true lykyng wt hym in oure saluacion and ther in he wylle that we be myghtly comfortyd and strengthyd and thus wylle he meryly wt hys grace that oure soule be occupyd. for we be his blysses. for in vs he lykyth w^t out end. And so schall we in hym wt hys grace Alle that he doyth for vs. and hath Done. and evyr shalle was nevr cost ne charge to hym ne myght be. but only that he dyed in our manhede. begynnyng at the swete incarnation and lastyng to the blessyd vpryfyng on ester morow. so long duryd the cost and the charge. abowt our redempcion in deed. of whych dede. he evyr Ioyeth endlesly as it is befor seyd.\textsuperscript{136}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{135}Ibid., pp. 365-366.

\textsuperscript{136}Library of Congress MLA microfilm 315, Paris MS, Anglais 40, fol. 44b-45a.
However, as evidenced in this chapter, the threefold teaching modes of the revelations—"by bodely syght. and by worde formyd in myne vnderstodyng. and by gostely syghte"—are clearly more extensive in their theology of blood foundation than these five manners would imply. Constantly, the Norwich mystic resorts to the vivid appeal of Christ's blood sacrifice to give voice to the unqualified and unbounded love extended to man by his Creator. Again the Christocentric mystical system is rooted in an unitive experience effected by the sacrificial drama of Calvary. Finally, it must be noted that the unitive insight attained by Dame Julian's long reflection on her May 8, 1373 experience is completely consistent with Catholic dogma and not as Effie Mackinnon implies the consequence of theological recalcitrance or subliminal sexual desires.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this dissertation has been to analyze a segment of English mystical literature—the English writings of the fourteenth century Yorkshire mystics—in an effort to determine whether the mysticism of this school evidences a so-called spiritual purity void of any then current theological or devotional strains. Moreover, the scope of the analysis has been restricted to the specific theology of blood: its dogma as elicited by this writer from primitive, classical and Christian elements; and its Blood Motifs—those multiple figures, images, and symbols associated with man's blood heritage. Selection of the blood theology and Blood Motif theme was prompted by the obvious importance of Christ's Passion to the fundamental religious nature of medieval English literature.

Most important of the deductions that can be made from this study is the positive reliance of Yorkshire mysticism on the tenets and motifs of blood theology revealed in the works of Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, Julian of Norwich and in the anonymous Cloud of Unknowing. Each of the writers studied illustrates some degree of dependence on the dogma of blood import and sacrifice. Moreover, the qualities consistently attributed to the Passion by the Yorkshire mystics substantiate Father Clark's contention that the body of Passion and Eucharistic doctrine during the medieval
epoch "presented a united front." Nowhere is there any significant deviation from the orthodox view of the Passion and the Eucharist discerned in the Yorkshire mystical writings. Several points enumerated in the Jesuit's summary of the sacrificial theology inherited from the medieval period are repeatedly indicated in the works of the Yorkshire group. For example, the redemption by blood is cited by all as is the universality of Christ's blood ransom. Also, various of the Blood Motifs attest to the superabundant blood shedding of the crucifixion, which in itself metaphorically establishes that Christ's blood sacrifice is "all-sufficient to atone for all the sins of all men."²

However, the blood theology reliance is tempered by the focus of the mystical system advocated by each author. The mysticism expounded by Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and Julian of Norwich is Christocentric while that of the Cloud of Unknowing is Theocentric. Christ-oriented mysticism obviously affords greater opportunity for the Blood Motifs of blood theology since its nucleus is the humanity of the Savior—the humanity that was effected for the ultimate sacrifice of blood on Calvary. This type of heavenly ascent is steeped in the prefigures, symbols, images, figures, and details of Christ's Passion. Furthermore, as the Richard Rolle and Dame Julian analyses indicate, vividness of ex-

¹F. Clark, S.J., p. 95.
²Ibid., p. 93.
pression is often the hallmark of Christocentric mysticism. With the master's touch, Richard Rolle can, within the compass of several pages, graphically delineate Christ's wound-pierced body as a heaven full of stars, a net, a dove-cot, a honeycomb, a book, and a meadow; at the same time, he defines the wounds as guiding stars, as places of refuge, as centers of sweetness, as the alphabet of spiritual communication, as sweet flowers, and as healing herbs. Whether the Hermit is penning a lyric, a meditation, or an extended mystical treatise, his genius—spurred by the potential of Christocentric mysticism—creates radiant images as well as apt metaphors and similes. To a lesser degree, Julian of Norwich shares this hallmark with Richard Rolle. Julian—although having written only the Revelations of Divine Love—nevertheless, by keen compassion and feminine sensitivity establishes her position as a noted and graphic expounder of the Christ-oriented ascen. The gushing rain falling from the eaves as a simile for the Savior's copious blood sacrifice is testimony to Julian's vividness of expression.

Theocentric mysticism, on the other hand, centers its attention on the inexpressible Godhead. Nonetheless, within the Christian perspective, it also relies on the human concreteness of Christ and His sacrifice. The humanity and Passion of the Redeemer

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are an impetus to achieving the highest object of mystical ascent even though at the summit of Theocentric ascent the cloud of unknowing masks all except the naked intent or mind of God, just as earlier in the mystical experience the cloud of forgetting isolates man from his worldly connections.

The best illustration that can be elicited to demonstrate the fundamental difference between Christocentric and Theocentric Yorkshire focus involves the place accorded Passion meditation and devotion by each writer. For Richard Rolle, meditation on Christ's sufferings is essential in effecting the highest level of love and its corresponding unitive experience. This dissertation has repeatedly exhibited the Hermit's dependence on such reflections. His various meditations—lyrical and prose—are irrefutable indications of the import that Rolle attaches to these detailed—often-times protracted—prayerful considerations of Christ's sacrificial act. The ever-present crucifix that served as Dame Julian's link with the physical world as well as a spiritual catalyst certifies to her reliance on Passion-centered thought. Throughout her visionary experience Julian's cross bridged her two worlds. Also, her subsequent years of enlightenment were in truth what the Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey termed them—"a prolonged meditation upon the Passion of Christ."5 Never is the Revelations of Divine Love far removed from the fact of Christ's love for man—

kind--His Passion and death. On the other hand, Walter Hilton, in prescribing Passion meditation primarily for mystical novices, appears to lessen its importance. Whether the Augustinian was at the time of his writing Book II of the Scale under the influence of Theocentric mysticism--as Miss Underhill believes--or whether he was simply reacting further to the writings of Richard Rolle is matter for conjecture. However, for a proper perspective of Hilton's mysticism and the importance of Passion meditation to it, cognizance must be taken of the necessity ascribed by Hilton to the loving of Christ in His humanity prior to the loving of Him in His divinity. Also, it must be remembered that in Book I of the Scale of Perfection, Hilton explains that Passion meditation and devotion are gifts of God to those who have conditioned themselves by purgative introspection. Moreover, Hilton states that meditation of Christ's humanity and Passion constitutes the door of contemplation; he that "comyth not by the doore ... shall be caste oute." Therefore, Walter Hilton's mysticism, which is basically Christocentric, really conforms to rather than deviates from the pattern ascertained by a study of the relationship existing between Passion meditation and the mysticism of Richard Rolle and Julian of Norwich. Only the Cloud of Unknowing breaks the mold; only this work places a definite prohibition against Passion medi-


7 Wynkyn de Worde edition, [p. 56 verso].

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tation. Although the Cloud author concedes that such reflection has some initial usefulness—to bring man to the fringe of contemplation—he considers it an encumbrance to further mystical experience; for it both disperses the cloud of forgetting and distracts man from his concentration on the cloud of unknowing by centering attention on the details and circumstances of Christ's blood sacrifice rather than on the inexplicable Godhead. Clearly, the Theocentric mystical system of the Cloud of Unknowing limits, with its preclusion of Passion meditation, the numerous figurative, symbolic, and descriptive advantages of Christocentric mysticism. In addition, by being beyond the finite relationships of the Passion-induced Blood Motifs, Theocentric mysticism restricts greatly the variety and occasion of these themes.

A second impediment to the Blood Motifs—although not to the doctrine of blood theology—is the degree of didacticism evidenced by the various Yorkshire authors. For example, the fundamental instructional nature of Richard Rolle's Emendatio Vitae, in general, reduces its Blood Motifs to single appearances. The various blood figures, symbols, and images are scarce in the expository Cloud of Unknowing. Didacticism is certainly a significant, if not the dominant, characteristic of Walter Hilton's Scale of Perfection; in addition, it figures prominently in the Augustinian's Of Angels' Song and the Epistle on Mixed Life. And, again, as in the case of Rolle's Emendatio Vitae and the Cloud of Unknowing, there is limited employment of the Blood Motifs. Conversely, whenever the writer is uninhibited by an intent that is
primarily tutorial, the result is a literary presentation of a mystical experience rich in the Blood Motifs. This inversion is clearly demonstrated by the majority of Richard Rolle's works and Julian's highly personal *Revelations of Divine Love* in which the Blood Motifs are appreciably more varied and numerous than they are in the *Cloud of Unknowing* or in the works of Walter Hilton.

A number of secondary observations emerge as a consequence of this dissertation. For instance, this writer believes that several objections raised in regard to Miss Effie Mackinnon's unpublished dissertation "Studies in Fourteenth Century Mysticism"—her refusal to consider any work not included in Miss Hope Allen's canon of Richard Rolle as well as her inadvertent misinterpretation of some of Dame Julian's comments—have been sustained by this study. This writer has also focused attention on Richard Rolle's utilization of the Eucharist motif, partially within the perspective of the dissertation's purpose and partially to refute the belief advanced by Miss Evelyn Underhill and Miss Hope Allen that the Hermit remained aloof from Eucharistic devotion and references. Furthermore, this writer has suggested the possibility that Richard Rolle's fundamental devotions to the Passion and to the name of Jesus converge. Finally, not properly within the compass of this dissertation, some parenthetical statements have been made regarding Walter Hilton and the authorship of the *Cloud of Unknowing*.

Despite the definite relevancy of these secondary considerations, the primary finding of this dissertation is, naturally,
most significant. Yorkshire mysticism has been found to exemplify an universal reliance on the dogma of blood theology and its Blood Motifs, a reliance that is tempered only by mystical focus or didactic degree. The favorable Yorkshire location made Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, Dame Julian, and the author of the Cloud of Unknowing heirs to the cultural current of the fourteenth century. Inexorably fused by this current were the medieval artistic, folk, literary, and theological elements that proved to be so conducive to the establishment of an ordered theology of blood, a theology of blood generally consistent with Catholic orthodoxy.

The Yorkshire mystics reveal in their writings an intimate and uniform familiarity with man's blood heritage: their mystical endeavors are delineated in terms of blood theology and forcibly illustrated by the Blood Motifs.
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The dissertation submitted by Louis C. Gatto has been read and approved by the members of the Department of English.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Aug. 5, 1965
Date

Signature of Adviser