'Bere in thy mynde': Phantasms, Parchment and Late Medieval Visual Culture

Volume 1

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I, Lauren Rozenberg, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis considers the visual and material culture of medieval phantasms (*phantasmata*), sensory perceptions impressed on the mind in the form of mental images. Although medieval scholars asserted that 'thinking' necessitates phantasms, a form of images, in modern scholarship they have been widely eschewed by art historians and historians of medieval visual culture. The thesis provides a detailed analysis of the vernacular perception of phantasms as well as how this informed viewers' attitudes towards objects, specifically illuminated manuscripts. Traditionally, scholars have approached phantasms from a philosophical and scholastic point of view. The thesis argues that scholars need to go beyond these post-Aristotelian considerations of phantasms and take visual and material culture into account.

Phantasms frame the thesis: their defining characteristics offer interpretative perspectives grounded in the bodily incorporation of images into phantasms. Focusing on notions of (in)visibility, the project considers the representational strategies used to convey mental images. In focusing on the similarities between parchment and skin in fifteenth-century English prayer rolls and the fourteenth-century French treatise *Livre de vie*, the dissertation further explores questions of likeness and potentiality. Finally, phantasms are impressed on the mind. Examining devotional rolls containing the *O Vernicle* prayer, the thesis draws on medical and devotional conceptions of skin and flesh to conceptualise the 'imprint' function of corporeal yet invisible phantasms and to apprehend them as membrane-like images.

Considering devotional, lay, anatomical, theological and philosophical illuminated manuscripts, this thesis argues that visible images and mental phantasms form a single entity, existing through the different levels of the visuality spectrum. As well as opening up a series of theoretical considerations on phantasms, it produces an object-based methodology to critically apprehend phantasms as a worthy object of study for historians of visual culture.

Impact Statement

The primary concern of this research is phantasms or mental images, a medieval concept generally eschewed by modern scholarship despite medieval theoreticians describing it as a necessary object to understand the material world. This research then contributes a much needed detailed and critical insight into medieval discourses and discusses little-studied primary materials. A significant part of this project involved archival research and the critical inquiry of scarcely discussed materials such as brain diagrams or late medieval prayer rolls, opening up new avenues of thinking about these materials in their own right. This thesis also expands beyond the field of history of art, with interdisciplinary concerns that resonate with medieval studies at large.

The research conducted for this thesis was presented at several conferences throughout the United Kingdom, including the summer conference of the Association for Art History and the *International Medieval Congress*. It led to the organisation of the international conference *Permeable Bodies in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture* at the Institute of Advanced Studies (UCL) and the publication of a public engagement review for *The Polyphony*. Parts of this research have been published in the peer-reviewed journal *Object*, issued by UCL press.

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The London Arts & Humanities Partnership (LAHP) and the Department of History of Art at UCL funded this research project. LAHP also supported research and conference travel that allowed me to research and present my work. UCL's Doctoral School sponsored a three-month student exchange programme at Yale University to research and consult most of the primary materials I discuss in chapter 2 and 4.

Archivists at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Bibliothèque et Archives du Château de Chantilly, John Rylands Library, The Morgan Library & Museum, The Bodleian Library and the University of Aberdeen Special Collections accommodated my research and permitted me to consult restricted materials. The Redemptorists of the

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To Emcee and Eidy

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Introduction

How can scholars understand the visual culture of the late Middle Ages without turning to the concept of phantasms? In the influential *Summa Theologica*, Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274) writes that 'it is impossible for our intellect to understand anything, except by turning to the phantasms.'[1] Phantasms, or *phantasmata*, are mental images resulting from sensory perception. The five external senses relay information to the internal senses, or faculties of the soul, which sit in the mind. This sensory information is impressed upon the internal senses as phantasms, which enable cognition. *Phantasmata* are a medieval development of the classical, and mostly Aristotelian, concept of φάντασμα. They are composed of a likeness [*similitudo* or *simulacrum*] and the emotional response they provoke [*intentio*].[2] They move the intellect, which abstracts intelligible information from them.[3] However, there is no agreed-upon definition of the term. The meaning of *phantasmata* has evolved over time. There was controversy, in the Middle Ages, as to what they were and even if they existed. Although they were primarily the concern of learned discussions, a lay understanding of the concept

[1] *Respondeo dicendum quod impossibile est intellectum nostrum, secundum praesentis vitae statum, quo passibili corpori coniungitur, aliquid intelligere in actu, nisi convertendo se ad phantasmata.* Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benziger Bros. edition, 1947), 1.84.7.co.

[2] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 211.

[3] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.84.7. Information are abstracted from 'potentiality' to first and second 'actuality'. On this, see Anthony Kenny, *Aquinas on Mind* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 89-99.

infused visual culture from the twelfth century onwards, with the rise of contemplative practices. Therefore, to paraphrase Aquinas, it is impossible to understand anything, except by turning to mental images.

The concept remains largely misunderstood due to a shift in meaning and what might be called a 'lost in translation' effect. The Ancient Greek *φάντασμα* (pl.: *φάντασμαι*) was translated in Latin as *phantasma* (*phantasma, -atis*, n.; pl.: *phantasmata*). Lewis and Short's dictionary of medieval Latin defines *phantasma*, first, as '[a]n apparition, spectre, phantom' and, second, as an image, appearance, phantasm of an object (late Lat. for *visum*, *imago*, *species*). The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (DMLBS) provides a similar distinction, placing 'mental image, idea, notion, fancy; product of imagination' as third and last meaning of the word. As these definitions exemplify, 'image' is often used as a synonym for phantasms and a majority of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century editions of medieval texts have translated phantasms in this way. Yet, for a twenty-first-century audience, the modern English 'image' has a panoply of connotations absent from the word 'phantasm', as found in theological writings, and the reverse is also true. Phantasm exists today in modern English (as derived from the Old French *fantasme*, which itself derived from *phantasma*), and is defined as 'something seen but having no physical reality; a phantom or an apparition', although the term is rarely used. This modern definition does not account for the medieval synonyms or lay description of the term. As such, to understand phantasms, one must first reconstruct its semantic field.

This thesis explores phantasms first and foremost through objects and material culture. This has the advantage of avoiding grasping phantasms solely through abstract, text-based theoretical considerations. Rather, I explore the theoretical and philosophical principles that underpinned the way objects, especially illuminated manuscripts, were used and consumed. Building on contemporaneous theories of vision and bringing together

medical, philosophical, lay and devotional objects, texts and theories, this thesis asks: were viewers and readers aware of phantasms? If yes, how would they engage with images accordingly? By asking these questions, this work builds on but shifts away from the previous scholarly debates, highlighting the encounter of theory and practice. Phantasms erupt when bodies sensually experience the material world. In this thesis, I want to understand this moment when phantasms are created. Phantasms offer a new angle through which to consider medieval vision and visuality: how does one experience images when they conceptualise the act of thinking in terms of images? This thesis offers a new exploration of medieval image theory, centred on phantasms and visibility. It argues for a reconsideration of the ontology of medieval images. Drawing on medical, devotional and literary materials, it aims to provide a new consideration of visuality to medievalists in general.

Literature review

Phantasms lie at the intersection of many arbitrary categories. As a type of species, they relate to concerns about vision, visuality and optics (a discipline called perspectivism). Inherent to brain physiology, they also pertain to medical and psychological discourses. Discussed by writers such as Thomas Aquinas, they are inherently the object of both theology and philosophy. Of course, such categories were highly permeable and not strictly distinct. Literary scholar Joyce Coleman, in a volume of *Nottingham Medieval Studies* in honour of Mary Carruthers, examines the memorial aspect of the early version of Jean Corbechon's fourteenth-century French translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's thirteenth-century *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, the most popular medieval encyclopaedia.[4] Amid a broader argumentation, Coleman discusses a specific type of image, wherein a magister is instructing

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[4] Joyce Coleman, 'Memory and the Illuminated Pedagogy of the *Propriétés des choses*,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 56 (2012): 121–142.

a crowd of students, pointing at a materialisation of what they are explaining. Coleman names these images 'magisterial *phantasmata*', which translate the mental concept into a material illumination. She describes these images as working within a 'phantasmal imagery' or 'phantasmal iconography'.[5] The images activate a sense of memory and mnemonic principles. Continuing this line of questioning, Coleman clarifies that the art of memory endeavours to generate phantasms to retrieve them later. She argues that the role of this 'phantasmal iconography', or mental pictures, is presented, within the Corbechon illumination, as a scholar or *magister*, projecting his own memory in front of the group, so that not only his painted students but also viewers can join him.

This thesis is concerned with phantasmal imagery, albeit defined differently to Coleman. I resist the idea of a general 'phantasmal iconography' and lean toward the idea of a 'phantasmal imagery', as I contend that phantasms manifest physically in various ways. Indeed, the word 'imagery' also allows a bridging of mental and material processes (which is the concern of this thesis's first chapter). My research is not concerned with how phantasms are scarcely represented but how they perform through all types of images. Coleman's discussion of phantasms in her inquiry on the memorial transmission of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* demonstrates the necessity for an interdisciplinary discussion on phantasms. However, due to the modern differentiation between scholarly disciplines such as art history or philosophy, a large-scale inquiry on phantasms and art has yet to be conducted.

Although phantasms remain a scarce and marginal object of study for art historians,[6] a number of important studies have explored medieval modes of vision, visuality and optics,

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[5] Coleman points out that in earlier copies of the *Propriétés des choses*, many images that do not draw upon an earlier source present a scene of teaching where a university teacher explicitly points to something. She argues that these images are inherent to the translation's shift in purpose. Indeed, Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was part of the curriculum at the University of Paris, but under the input of Charles V, Corbechon translated the text not solely for the king, but for a non-academic audience as well.

[6] For example: Theresa Flanigan, 'Art, Memory, and the Cultivation of Virtue: The Ethical Function of Images in Antoninus's *Opera a ben vivere*,' *Gesta* 53, no. 2 (2014): 175-195. Flanigan discusses the Florentine treatise *Opera a ben vivre* and demonstrates how, in a devotional context, Florentine women were enticed to meditate on and

which feed into a broader pictorial turn.[7] Suzanne Lewis, in her study of an illuminated

Apocalypse, draws on theories of vision not only in relation to visuality, but also textuality.[8]

Indeed, the exploration of optics, especially the writings of Roger Bacon (ca. 1219/20 –

ca. 1292), has given rise to a prolific field of research.[9] Katherine Tachau writes extensively

on the intersection between perspectivist theories and art history, and her study of William

of Ockham's (ca. 1287 – 1347) theories engage closely with the theory of the multiplication

of species.[10] Suzannah Biernoff argues for an understanding of vision as a physical, embodied

act.[11] She approaches vision as both physical and social, covering a multitude of domains

such as communion, theology and optics, centring on perception. My approach to materials

builds on such discussion of an embodied sense of sight and the importance of flesh. Michael

Camille specifically explores the connection between Gothic art, Aristotelian theories of

intromission and the internal senses, aiming to foreground the connection between

theoretical considerations of cognition and image making.[12] The importance of theology in

artistic discourses and praxis has also been explored in the edited volume *The Mind's Eye: Art*

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mentally behold different body parts and objects of Christ's body and other participants in the Passion. Flanigan explores, in a devotional context, how memory, images and imagination function together, mentioning phantasms in this context. Aden Kumler, 'The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages,' *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59/60 (2011): 179-191.

[7] On the pictorial turn, see W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). Suzannah Biernoff, in her introduction 'Medieval Vision in Perspective,' provides a thorough review of the field and places it in relation to broader concerns in visual studies and art history: Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 1-13.

[8] Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[9] A. Mark Smith, 'Getting the Big Picture in Perspectivist Optics,' *Isis* 72, no. 4 (1981): 568-589.

[10] Katherine H. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham: Optics, Epistemology and the Foundation of Semantics, 1250-1345* (Leiden: Brill, 1988); 'Words for Color: Naming, Signifying, and Identifying Color in the Theologies of Roger Bacon and His Contemporaries,' in *The Word in Medieval Logic, Theology and Psychology: Acts of the XIIIth International Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, Kyoto, 27 September-1 October 2005*, ed. Tetsuro Shimizu and Charles Burnett (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 49-64; 'Seeing as Action and Passion in the 13th-14th Centuries,' in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Medieval West*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 336-359.

[11] Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*; 'Carnal Relations: Embodied Sight in Roger Bacon, Merleau-Ponty and St Francis,' *Journal of Visual Culture* 4, no. 1 (2005): 39-52.

[12] Michael Camille, 'Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing,' in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2000), 197-223.

and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages and in the work of Jeffrey Hamburger in general.[13]

Such macrocosmic contributions about vision laid the necessary basis to study phantasms as a micro phenomenon. However, these are generally concerned with the primary organ of vision, the eyes. Valuable as these are, phantasms themselves remain either as a minor or eluded element in the analysis. This study aims to further the relationship between theory and material culture, but through the prism of the image itself.

Historians of philosophy and theology, on the other hand, have engaged more actively with phantasms. For example, Anthony Kenny writes extensively on Thomas Aquinas's theories of cognition and species; John Wippel discusses Godfrey of Fontaines's (d. ca. 1309) views on intelligible species; and Richard Cross studies Duns Scotus's (ca. 1266 – 1308) cognitive theories and writings on species.[14] Furthermore, Alfred Leo White, in a 2005 article, questions Aquinas's 'picture theory of the phantasms'.[15] White's article, ultimately, argues that such a theory does not work and sets out to showcase how, without a theory of perception, phantasms undermine Aquinas's theories of abstraction. There is a trend to analyse the ad hoc variations of a general theory of cognition in the writings of a specific author. Robert Pasnau, however, has made an extensive contribution to studies of late medieval cognition with a 1997 monograph.[16] Another strand of research highlights the inconsistencies in a thinker's discourse. Jean-Baptiste Brenet has conducted the most

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[13] see Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, eds, *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Medieval West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[14] Kenny, *Aquinas on Mind*; John F. Wippel, 'The Role of the Phantasm in Godfrey of Fontaines' Theory of Intellection,' in *L'homme et Son Univers Au Moyen Âge (Actes Du Septième Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale 30 Août - 4 Septembre 1982*, ed. Christian Wenin (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut supérieur de philosophie, 1986), 2:573–82; 'Godfrey of Fontaines on Intelligible Species,' in *Intellect et Imagination dans la philosophie médiévale, II. Intellect and Imagination in Medieval Philosophy / Intelecto e imaginação na Filosofia Medieval: Actes Du XIe Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale de la Société Internationale pour l'Etude de la Philosophie Médiévale (S.I.E.P.M.), Porto, du 26 au 31 Août 2002*, ed. Maria Cândida Pacheco and José F. Meirinhos (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), II:1131–41; Richard Cross, 'Duns Scotus on the Semantic Content of Cognitive Acts and Species,' *Quaestio: Annuario Di Storia Della Metafisica/ Annuaire d'histoire de La Métaphysique / Jahrbuch Für Die Geschichte Der Metaphysik / Yearbook of the History of Metaphysics* 10 (2010): 135–154; *Duns Scotus's theory of cognition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[15] Alfred Leo White, 'The Picture Theory of the Phantasm,' *Tópicos, Revista de Filosofía* 29 (2005): 131–155.

[16] Robert Pasnau, *Theories of Cognition in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

comprehensive studies on phantasms to date.[17] His work centres on Averroes (1126 – 1198) and his followers.[18] Averroes is, for Brenet, the philosopher of cogitation and phantasm. Brenet challenges Rene Descartes's traditional *Cogito ergum sum*, arguing that, in its medieval sense, *cogito* implies not an action of thinking, but that of cogitation and, therefore, phantasms. Brenet further argues that, through his ideas about phantasms and intellection, Averroes theorised ahead of time the potential space developed by Donald Winnicott in 1945. In her 2011 monograph, Michelle Karnes engages with high and late medieval theories of imagination, through the writings of Saint Bonaventure (1221 – 1274). Karnes highlights the importance of the imaginative contemplation and the imagination as a connector, a bridging power between the senses and intellection. Bonaventure, she explains, conceptualises Christ as the agent intellect, drawing from phantasms. As such, every act of cognition has theological implications.[19] Moreover, literary historian Carolyn P. Collette demonstrates that Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1340s – 1400), in the *Canterbury Tales*, drew on these complex philosophical debates on sensory perception. Exploring the notion of *fantasye* in Chaucer's writings, Collette contends that lay, learned audiences were familiar with the concepts of species and phantasms.[20]

This thesis builds on these vast and minute intellectual histories of phantasms but distances itself from their methodologies. Although recognising how invaluable these

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[17] Jean-Baptiste Brenet, *Je fantasme. Averroès et l'espace potentiel* (Paris: Verdier, 2017).

[18] On this topic, see Jean-Baptiste Brenet, *Transferts du sujet: la noétique d'Averroès selon Jean de Jandun* (Paris: Vrin, 2003); 'Du phantasme à l'espèce intelligible: la ruine d'Averroès par «l'averroïste» Jean de Jandun,' in *Intellect et imagination dans la philosophie médiévale / Intellect and Imagination in Medieval Philosophy / Intelecto e imaginação na Filosofia Medieval: Actes du XIe Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (S.I.E.P.M.). Porto, du 26 au 31 août 2002*, ed. Maria Cândida Pacheco and José F. Meirinhos (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 1179-1190.

[19] Michelle Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 76.

[20] Carolyn P. Collette, *Species, Phantasms, and Images: Vision and Medieval Psychology in the Canterbury Tales* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001). Collette describes a 'Faculty Psychology', which she uses as an umbrella term, a category regrouping several theories about the sensory perception and mind processes. For a thoughtful review of the book, see Sarah Stanbury, '*Species, Phantasms, and Images: Vision and Medieval Psychology in The Canterbury Tales* by Carolyn P. Collette (review)' *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 24 (2002): 393-397.

contributions are, I contend that one cannot fully understand phantasms without turning to actual contemporaneous images. Nonetheless, I still must leave some relevant matters aside. For example, historian William MacLehose, in his work on sleep-related issues, engages with phantasms and the faculties of the soul (imagination and fantasy), which is something this thesis purposefully avoids.[21] Due to space restrictions, I only engage with phantasms inasmuch as they are produced by conscious bodies. Indeed, this thesis does not seek to be an exhaustive exploration of a theory or explaining shortcomings or inaccuracies. It aims to foreground a general cultural understanding of the concept and its relationship to images.

Phantasms rely on the outer senses, yet vision was considered the chief sense and scholarship has favoured it until a recent shift, which emphasised the importance of touch. As argued by Biernoff, sight is embodied and she further theorises vision as a carnal entity, exploring the association between flesh and eyes.[22] Theoreticians such as Aquinas contend that phantasms are a likeness of the object they emanated from, but they remain corporeal once inside the brain. Recently, Tanja Klemm explored image physiology in relation to a 'phenomenology of embodiment', grounded in medieval and Renaissance medicine, theology and natural philosophy.[23] In the interest of foregrounding the inherent nature of phantasms in the very makeup of the present thesis, the last three chapters centre on parchment and skin. Skin has been a fertile site of scholarly exploration in critical studies on the body. At the end of the 1990s and beginning of the 2000s, Claudia Benthien and Steven Connor initiated a new theoretical interest in skin as a key component in the formation of self.[24] These publications gave rise to skin studies in a variety of fields and disciplines. In medieval

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[21] William MacLehose, 'Fear, Fantasy and Sleep in Medieval Medicine,' in *Emotions and Health, 1200-1700*, ed. Elena Carrera (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 67–94.

[22] Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 41-59. The first part of *Sight and Embodiment* is titled 'Carnal Vision' with the subchapters 'Flesh' and 'The Eye of the Flesh'. Biernoff argues for a 'carnal vision' which transcends individual bodies. Sight moves a certain carnality beyond the body.

[23] Tanja Klemm, *Bildphysiologie. Wahrnehmung und Körper in Mittelalter und Renaissanc*e (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

[24] Claudia Benthien, *Skin: On the Cultural Border between Self and the World*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Steven Connor, *The Book of Skin* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2004).

studies specifically, the work of Sarah Kay, Peggy McCracken, Bruce Holsinger and the book *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture*, edited by Katie L. Walter, have pioneered fruitful conversations on medieval theories of skin.[25] The present work positions itself in the wake of these contributions. My engagement with skin delves into medical theories and initiates a critical encounter between anatomical and devotional images, two categories of materials rarely looked at in conjunction, to provide a better understanding of the devotional role of the body.[26]

Art historians or scholars of visual culture generally eschew phantasms as methodological tools or main objects of study. As such, this thesis is not so much an exploration of the intellectual discourses on phantasms and their nature as a questioning of how they were performed and perceived. This research stands at the crossroads of material culture studies, intellectual history, art history and medical history. The present work limits its scope to Western European manuscripts, codices and rolls, from the late Middle Ages.[27] I discuss images and texts from medical, devotional, philosophical and scientific texts to define a holistic, theory of phantasms that is yet uncomprehensive. As such, the thesis aims to provide a mirror of late medieval conceptions of images. I propose a new understanding

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[25] Bruce Holsinger, 'Of Pigs and Parchment: Medieval Studies and the Coming of the Animal Turn,' *PMLA* 124, no. 2 (2009): 616-623; Sarah Kay, 'Original Skin: Flaying, Reading, and Thinking in the Legend of Saint Bartholomew and Other Works,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36, no. 1 (2006): 35-73; Kay, 'Legible Skins: Animals and the Ethics of Medieval Reading,' *Postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 2, no. 1 (2011): 13-32; Kay, 'Surface and Symptom on a Bestiary Page: Orifices on Folios 61v– 62r of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 20,' *Exemplaria* 26, no. 2-3 (2014): 127-147; Kay, *Animal Skin and the Reading Self in Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017); Peggy McCracken, 'Skin and Sovereignty in Guillaume de Palerne,' *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 24 (2012): 361-375; McCracken, *In the Skin of a Beast: Sovereignty and Animality in Medieval France* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017); Katie L. Walter, ed., *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Cultur*e (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[26] One such recent contribution is Jack Hartnell, 'The Body Inside-Out: Anatomical Memory at Maubuisson Abbey,' *Art History* 42, no. 2 (2019): 242-273.

[27] This thesis is limited chronologically to the Middle Ages, but phantasms continued to be a part of Renaissance theories of vision and cognition. See for example Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. Margaret Cook (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 1987) or Guido Giglioni, 'Phantasms of Reason and Shadows of Matter: Averroes's Notion of the Imagination and Its Renaissance Interpreters,' in *Renaissance Averroism and Its Aftermath: Arabic Philosophy in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anna Akasoy and Guido Giglioni (Dordrecht, Springer, 2013), 173-193.

of medieval image theory, one that places phantasms and mental picturing at its core. Although firmly anchored in the discipline of art history or visual culture studies, this thesis goes beyond the traditional boundaries of the discipline and aims to provide a methodology for medieval studies in general, to apprehend visual and material entities.

Phantasms: definitions and terminology

Theoretical conceptions of phantasms in the Middle Ages were opaque and did not always elicit unanimity. In the following section, I use a 1497 medical manuscript to chart an overview of popular theoretical considerations of phantasms. In this short, illustrated manuscript written on paper, now catalogued as John Rylands MS Latin 500, phantasms are discussed in the main body of text, marginal notes and two illustrations of the brain [figs 1 and 2].[28] Phantasms are not commonly dealt with outside discussions surrounding the soul, such as the work of Avicenna (ca. 980 – 1037). This book, thus, incorporates a learned theory of phantasms and provides a rare image of their essence and working. Not only is John Rylands MS Latin 500 revealing due to its unusual emphasis on phantasms, but also, it is written and illustrated at the very end of the Middle Ages. As such, it represents a summation of the theories of intellection and vision that existed through the medieval period and on which I will be drawing throughout this thesis. I engage with the different parts of the text, textual and visual, in sequential order, starting with a full-page illustration of a man's bust, on folio 13 recto, displaying different organs and their positions [fig, 1].[29]

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[28] At the time of redaction, Joanne Edge is preparing an article on John Rylands Latin 500. The manuscript has been discussed in the medmed-I mailing list pertaining to medieval medical history. Taylor McCall's forthcoming book on anatomical imagery should contain a discussion of the manuscript. Jack Hartnell also discusses it in a forthcoming book chapter on medical imagery. In the mailing list exchange, Hartnell pointed out the similarity between the MS and the Johannes Peyligk's printed *Compendium*, published in 1499.

[29] Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Latin MS 500.

This full-page illumination illustrates the preceding individual descriptions of the organs such as the heart, stomach or liver. In the cranial area stand four roundels, the chambers of the brain where the thought process takes place. On the lower left, the first roundel is the organ of the common sense [*organum sensus communis*]. [30] It receives external sensory stimuli, called *species*, and processes them into *phantasmata*. An underlined annotation next to the figure's face, under the eyes captioned with the sense of vision [*visus*], explains that the sensory species [*species sensate*] are called phantasms once they are inside the body.[31] Earlier in the treatise, on folio 10 verso, a discussion of the anatomy of the brain [*De Anathomia Cerebri*] states that the common sense and phantasms are specifically located in the anterior ventricle of the brain.[32]

As illustrated and explained on folio 13 recto, the brain contains three ventricles (anterior, middle and posterior) within which are three to five internal senses, depending on the theory. Here, they are the powers or faculties of the soul, namely common sense, imagination, cogitation, estimation and memory. On each side of the face are roundels connected by an overarching line: on the left, will [*voluntas*] and on the right the agent intellect [*intellectus agens*] and potential agent [*intellectus possibilis*]. They represent the process of 'abstraction', the action that leads to intellection and understanding. The twelfth-century anonymous author of the *Liber de spiritu et anima* summarised the process as follows: '[w]hen the mind wants to rise up from lower to higher things, we first meet with the sense, then imagination, then reason, intellection and understanding, and at the top is wisdom'.[33] A visual entity, a phantasm, lays at the core of this process: they are acquired through the external senses, pass through the internal senses and enable abstraction.

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[30] Transcriptions from John Rylands Library Latin MS 500 are mine, with the help of Jack Ford and Marina Rovelli.
[31] *Species sensuum interiorum dicuntur phantasmata.*
[32] *Ita quod sensus communis et fantasmata situantur in anteriori ventriculo.*
[33] Quoted in Karnes, *Imagination*, 26.

I open this thesis with a quotation from Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*. Throughout the manuscript, the scribe repeatedly references the *Summa Theologica*. For example, after the full-page illustration on folio 13 recto, a section entiled *De Modo Intelligendi Anime*, on folios 14 verso and 15 recto, provides an in-depth discussion on phantasms. In the left margin, the scribe makes an explicit reference to 'Saint Thomas, part one, question 89, article 1' [*Beatus thomas parte prima q. 89 articulo primo*], an article of the *Summa Theologica* in which the scholastic theologian Thomas Aquinas discusses whether the separated soul can understand.[34] In question 89, Aquinas argues that the soul needs to be united to the body in order to understand through phantasms. Further, the scribe includes in the main body of text a passage from the *Summa Theologica*, part 1, question 84.7.[35]

Another note further discusses the materiality of phantasms, stating that phantasms are material entities, similar to the things from which they emanate.[36] The scribe relies heavily on Aquinas as the authority on phantasms and quotes him explicitly several times. This attitude is indicative of the importance of Aristotelian and Thomists theories in the development of theories of cognition. C.M. Woolgar explains that around 1350, scholars in northern European universities and schools – such as the one where John Ryland MS Latin 500 comes from – intensely debated Aristotelian sensory theories, trying to soothe its incoherencies with Christian theological doctrines. At the heart of these debates are the internal senses and the transmission of sensual information, especially the common sense.[37] Although phantasms are not the main object of the debates Woolgar describes, as the vehicle

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[34] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.89.art.1.
[35] On Thomas Aquinas' theories, including phantasms, see Pasnau, *Theories of Cognition*. On the inconsistencies in Aquinas' discourse on the soul, see B. Carlos Bazán, 'The Creation of the Soul according to Thomas Aquinas,' in *Philosophy and Theology in the Long Middle Ages: A Tribute to Stephen F. Brown*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr., Russell L. Friedman and Andreas Speer (Leiden and Boston: Brill 2011), 515–569.
[36] *Phantasma est materialis similitudo rei.*
[37] W.C. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 18-22. Woolgar provides a good overview of the various theories around the internal senses and the tripartite scheme, with an emphasis on the theories of the archbishop of Canterbury Robert Kilwardby (ca. 1215 – 1279).

and material of this sensual transmission they indirectly resonate with and relate to these concerns. Phantasms are the one element that binds the faculties together. Because phantasms are invisible to human eyes and only perceived by the mind's eye, they are representations that cannot be pictured. Images of the cognitive process such as folio 13 recto unintentionally picture the essence of phantasms.

The relationship between the thought process and its parts is further depicted in a full-page diagram on folio 20 verso [fig. 2]. This unusual diagram consists of six double roundels, which are connected by blurred wavy lines. In the bottom left-hand corner, five one-line roundels represent the five external senses, or wits. All five roundels orbit around a bigger, double-lined one representing the common sense, which receives external sense-objects from the external wits. At this point, they are called sensory species [*species sensate*]. As such, the diagram connects the five external wits to the internal senses, the powers of the soul.[38] The common sense, on folio 20 verso, is connected to two other roundels. On its right is the power of imagination, at the bottom right of the page, described as a repository space for sensory species received from the common sense, which, the text explicates, are also called phantasms.[39] This is exemplified on folio 18 recto, next to the section on imagination. The scribe added a diagram in the left margin to differentiate three different types of species: *species sensibilis*, *species sensata* and *intentio elicita*. The same diagram format is used to connect the external and internal senses together.[40] As a further marginal annotation reiterates '[...] species sensibilis que fantasmata dicuntur', what are called phantasms are a type of sensible species, perceived by the senses. This demonstrates that there was no

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[38] Woolgar argued that similar intellectual conceptualisations of external and internal senses blended with late medieval English popular views. Found in encyclopedias or medical compendia, these conceptions were then further distilled through sermons and confessional practices.

[39] *Ymaginativa thesaurus specierum sensatarum Species sensate vel fantasmata.*

[40] *Sensii exteriori, Sensu communii vel ymaginativa, Cogitativa vel memorativa.*

unanimous definition of phantasms. In fact, there were different types and denominations, where the word species could be substituted.

In its modern meaning, phantasms involve daydreaming and are strongly associated with imagination and creation. Imagination, in its medieval sense, is sensibly different as it is a faculty of the soul. However, it is conceived as a power of representation, which has a special connection with phantasms. On folio 13 recto, the power of imagination also sits atop an eye, with the word *visus* passing through the brain and ocular cavities.[41] Imagination, and therefore phantasms, as demonstrated by Karnes, played a crucial mediating role between the internal senses and intellection.[42] In John Rylands MS Latin 500 folio 20 verso [fig. 2], the agent intellect is connected to the last internal senses, memory, and therefore the chain of senses. Nonetheless, it possesses a different, direct connection to the roundel of imagination, which glosses clearly that abstraction is based on phantasms.

In a fourteenth-century copy of Ramon Llull's (ca. 1232 – 1315) *Breviculum ex artibus*, his follower Thomas Le Myésier (d. 1336) depicted the events of Llull's life in twelve full-page illuminations as a gift to the queen of France.[43] The sixth page [fig. 3] represents Aristotle, on his horse named Reasoning [*ratiocinatio*], pulling a chariot (in which are the five predicables and the ten categories). The Philosopher is leading an army to attack the tower of Falsehood [*turris falsitatis*]. Beyond the chariot rides 'averrois', presented as Aristotle's ultimate commentator, on a horse labelled Imagination [*ymaginatio*] pulling a chariot of his own. The Commentator, Ibn Rushd, the Muslim Andalusian philosopher whose name has been Latinised to Averroes, holds a lance flanked by three inscriptions, the last of which reads 'Intelligentem oportet, fantasmata speculari'. This is a paraphrase of a sentence usually attributed to Aristotle by medieval commentators: 'oportet quemcumque intelligentem

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[41] *Organum virtute ymaginativae.*
[42] Karnes, *Imagination*, 4.
[43] Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St.Peter perg. 92.

fantasmata speculari', implying that those who think must watch, or look at, phantasms.[44] In the chariot, a cardinal holds the reins of the Commentator's horse, pronouncing a sentence directed at the Muslim philosopher, written in the right margin. This inscription implies that corporeal phantasms cannot account for intellectual thoughts.[45] Phantasms are, therefore, presented as deriving from Aristotelian theories and commentaries, and being representative of Averroes's theories.

One would be wrong to think that Le Myésier is positioning his master in Aristotle's and Averroes's footsteps. Indeed, Llull was a fervent anti-Averroist and the adjacent full-page miniature [fig. 4] depicts him attacking the very same tower in order to deliver Truth from Falsehood, his chariot armed with the principles of his own theory.[46] This manuscript, made around 1325, speaks of the intense debate surrounding Averroes's Aristotelian theory at the University of Paris. Averroes and his followers theorised among other things a *copulatio*, a union between phantasms and the intellect. This process results from the action of the faculty of imagination [*per phantasmata*].[47] Some Averroist philosophers conjectured that the intellect is moved by phantasms and needs them as its object.[48] For example, John of Jandun (ca. 1285 – 1328), a teacher in the University of Paris whose views were radically opposed to those of Aquinas, posits that the intellective soul joins, as *copulatio*, the body through phantasms.[49] As such, sensory and bodily phantasms unite with the intellect instead of the intellect extracting information from phantasms. This raised an intense dispute on the essence of phantasms: members of the University of Paris insisted that phantasms cannot be

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[44] For example, see Nicholas of Amsterdam's discussion of phantasms, in which he quotes Thomas Aquinas. Olaf Pluta, 'How Matter Becomes Mind: Late-Medieval Theories of Emergence,' in *Forming the Mind: Essays on the Internal Senses and the Mind/Body Problem from Avicenna to the Medical Enlightenment*, ed. Henrik Lagerlund (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 162, n. 35.

[45] *Quia fantasmata naturam corpoream transcedere non possunt, ideo in pure intelligibilibus est tuus intellectus offuscatus, O Averrois*

[46] On the anti-Averoist campaign Llull led between 1298 and the Council of Vienna (1311-1312), see Mark D. Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1987).

[47] Giglioni, 'Phantasms of Reason and Shadows of Matter,' 177.

[48] Giglioni, 'Phantasms of Reason and Shadows of Matter,' 178.

[49] See Brenet, *Transferts du sujet*; 'Du phantasme à l'espèce intelligible'.

understanding things [*intellegentes res*], they cannot be a thing that participates in the action of understanding as Averroist theories imply. Aquinas explained that this Averroist theory should be rejected because it implies that Man is never the thinking and active subject that phantasms are. Phantasms, maintain the anti-Averroists, should remain a passive enabler, a simple tool. The bishop of Paris condemned Averroes's unifying theories of the intellect in 1270 and 1277 – theories that in the *Breviculum ex artibus* illuminations are represented by phantasms. For Llull, Averroism limits knowledge to the realm of the sensible and of the world, and therefore there can be no knowledge of intellectual things or God. The illuminations, therefore, visually antagonise Llull's school of thought from scholasticism, inspired by Aristotle and, to a certain extent, by Averroes with phantasms at its core. Imagination is inherently a visual sensual power and possesses a special relationship with phantasms.[50]

Coming back to folio 20 verso of John Rylands MS Latin 500 [fig. 2], imagination is not the only power connected to the common sense. The latter joins the sorting powers of cogitation and estimation, conflated into one roundel. In this drawing, they are not different powers. Carruthers explains that since, etymologically, *cogito* means to move, this power should be conceived as a coming together of phantasms, forming a composition, ready to be judged.[51] Brenet opens his book on phantasms with a discussion of Andrea di Bonaiuto's depiction of Averroes [fig. 5]. The figure is part of a fresco on the triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas, in a chapel of the Florentine church Santa Maria Novella.[52] Averroes sits under Aquinas, represented as a heretic defeated by Thomist theories. Similarly to Llull and Le

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[50] Another power of the soul usually defined as concerned with representation is the faculty of fantasy, which the John Rylands drawing omits. This power can either stand on its own, or, like the way that this manuscript conflates estimation and cogitation, many other diagrams assimilate fantasy with the common sense or the imagination.

[51] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 39.

[52] Bonaiuto's fresco is inspired by an earlier panel painting in Santa Caterina's church, Pisa, painted by Lippo Memmi and his workshop, around the time of Aquinas's canonisation. See Joseph Polzer, 'Andrea di Bonaiuto's Via Veritatis and Dominican Thought in Late Medieval Italy,' *The Art Bulletin*, 77, no. 2 (1995): 286.

Myésier, Bonaiuto places Averroes's theories as adversarial theories. Brenet posits that the philosopher's contemplative position, with his elbow resting on a book and his right hand on his cheek, is one of cogitation. Medieval cogitation, he argues, is not thinking, as intellection is different from the powers of the soul. Cogitation is a power resting on phantasms, and therefore, cogitating is the action of phantasms.[53] As such, one can start to see how, despite being invisible and only mentioned in some annotations, phantasms cement such representations and conceptions.

The power of cogitation and estimation is connected, on the right of folio 20 verso [fig. 2], to the roundel of memory, the last power of the soul. Memory is described in the roundel as an interior repository [*thesaurus*].[54] It is depicted with wavy blue lines, probably the visualisation of its storage function. These blue lines, as well as the black ones connecting the powers together, materialise in ink the trajectory and movements of phantasms, depicting how they move the soul and highlighting their corporeal aspect. Memory requires sensory phantasms for its action as part of the powers of the sensitive soul and it is a storage power for phantasms.[55] On folio 20 verso, the organ of memory joins the roundel in the upper right

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[53] Brenet, *Je fantasme*, 9-10. In the original French, Brenet says '*Je cogite* veut dire: je *fantasme*.' He uses the verb *fantasmer* which imply an active action on the part of the subject, lacking in the English counterpart.

[54] *Memorativa thesaurus Intentionem*. On the metaphor of *thesaurus* as memory, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 37.

[55] In 1966, the historian Frances Yates published the book *The Art of Memory* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), which shaped the field of pre-modern and modern memory studies. Focused on mnemonics systems from Antiquity to Enlightenment, Yates not only retraces the history of how memory was conceived throughout the centuries, but also touches upon its imagery. In Yates' wake, memory has become the more prominent internal sense. In the last three decades, Mary Carruthers has written profusely on medieval memory, contributing to the creation of a veritable sub-field in medieval studies that culminated in the 2018 International Medieval Congress on the theme of memory, at which Carruthers delivered the keynote. Although phantasms are not her primary focus, her work presents the most in-depth inquiry into the medieval understanding of the concept. In 1990, she published *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, concerned with the art of memory and mnemonics. In 2018, a second edition was published, with updated content. This edition has at its core an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on anthropology, devotional practices and neuropsychological approaches to medieval memory, and deals with a variety of medieval artefacts such as manuscripts or literary and musical compositions, to name only a few. In *The Book of Memory*, she carefully reconstructs the physiological operations creating phantasms with the aim of providing a very detailed reconstruction of medieval cognition and, therefore, phantasms, acknowledging that this can never be fully defined due to the nature of the medieval uncertainty that surrounds it. In 1998, Carruthers published *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1998), in which she focuses on image production in the early and high Middle Ages. She argues that mental images with connections to physical images are inherent to monastic meditation, and the understanding of such cognitive

corner, the power which houses the agent intellect. The latter also appears on folio 13 recto [fig. 1] as the roundel on the far right, amid the three roundels standing outside the body. It branches on the left to the passive intellect, in which are the ungovernable species [*species inregibilis*].[56] From the agent intellect, a line travels above the head, passing through a zone of the page now cut, to join a roundel on the left, the power of will [*voluntas*]. On folio 20 verso [fig. 2], the agent intellect is illustrated with a blue and brown star, described in the roundel as a light for the passive intellect.[57] The roundel of this passive intellect stands in the top left corner of the page, defined as a repository [*thesaurus*] of intelligible species.[58]

On folio 19 recto, the section *De intellectus agente officio nomine et obiecto* deals again heavily with phantasms and species, both in the main body of text and in the margins. It explains that the role of the intellect agent is to illuminate phantasms (which probably explains the star on folio 20 verso), and abstract intelligible species from them. This section is directly followed by one titled *De modo abtrahendi species intelligibiles a fantasmatibus.* For Duns Scotus, this 'a fantasmatibus', or 'from phantasms' can be twofold and imply either a virtual or a material abstraction.[59] Alongside the waving lines joining the imagination to the agent intellect, the role of the agent intellect is described as one of abstraction, which consists in extracting, or abstracting, intelligible species from phantasms, which are then stored in the

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images stems from Jewish spirituality and Roman rhetoric. This need to visualise mentally, she contends, is a defining feature of monastic rhetoric. In 2002, she co-edited an anthology of primary texts on medieval memory: Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 2002). This volume includes John Burchill, trans., 'Thomas Aquinas's *Commentary* on Aristotle's *On Memory and Recollection*,' 153-188. This lesson is perhaps the most comprehensive source on phantasms, as it condenses into one text the Aristotelian vision of phantasms that will infuse scholastic writings. See also Carruthers, 'Intention, sensation et mémoire dans l'esthétique médiévale,' *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 55, no. 220 (2012): 367-378 in which she describes *phantasma* as an 'objet-pensée' or a thought-object which is poly-sensorial and multimodal. See also 'Moving Images in the Mind's Eye,' in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Medieval West*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 287-305.

[56] Upper left corner: *Voluntas sine libertium arbitrium.* Second roundel in the top right corner: *Intellectus agens que est homine* [error crossed out] *intellectus* [error crossed out] *possibilis.* Connected roundel: *Intellectus possibilis Species in regibilis.*

[57] *Intellectus agens lümen intellectus possibilis.*

[58] *Intellectus possibilis thesaurus specierum intelligi/ bilium Species intelligibiles.*

[59] Scotus, *Ord*, 1.3.3.1, n. 360 (Vatican, iii. 218) discussed in Cross, *Duns Scotus*, 67.

passive intellect, the last roundel.[60] Its storage function is signified by the addition of blue lines, similar to the power of memory. This blue also connects the roundels to the star of the agent intellect, visually demonstrating that matter is extracted by the star of abstraction from memory to then go to the passive intellect. It is the same content, transformed.

The drawing of the star on folio 20 verso visually separates the internal senses from the powers of the intellect. An inscription at the top of the page, between the top roundels, explains that this illustration represents immaterial mirrors [*specula immaterialia*], that is, that do not require an organ to function.[61] However, under the blurry lines is the opposite inscription 'material and instrumental mirrors'.[62] The DMLBS actually defines *organica* as relating to physical bodily organs and moreover as 'seated in or assigned to a (sense) organ, that needs an organ to function.'[63] As such, these inscriptions enforce the separation marked by the star drawing. The two top roundels are immaterial mirrors which do not require their own organ to function as opposed to the internal and external senses, which are material and reliant on their respective organs. On folio 13 recto [fig. 1], this difference is enacted in the nomenclature used: the five internal senses are each named *organum*. This distinction made between the thought process and abstractive process is further explained in the *Summa Theologica*. Answering the question 'Whether our intellect understands by abstracting the species from the phantasms?', Aquinas concludes that 'we must needs say that our intellect understands material things by abstracting from the phantasms'.[64] Later in the question, Aquinas pursues the idea that phantasms, 'since they are images of individuals, and exist in corporeal organs, have not the same mode of existence as the human intellect, and therefore

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[60] *Intellectus agens abstrahit species intelligibilis a fantasmatibus.* On this, see Kenny, *Aquinas on Mind*, 89-99.
[61] *Specula Immaterialia id est inorganica.*
[62] *Specula materialia et organica.*
[63] https://logeion.uchicago.edu/organicus Accessed 11.11.2019
[64] 'Et ideo necesse est dicere quod intellectus noster intelligit materialia abstrahendo a phantasmatibus.' Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.85.1 and 1.85.1co.

have not the power of themselves to make an impression on the passive intellect.'[65] Phantasms alone cannot lead to intellection because they rely upon organs, as opposed to the intellection. The action of the agent intellect, abstraction, is required. Abstraction serves to render what is potentially intelligible into something that *is* intelligible through the extraction of intelligible species from the phantasms or sensory mental representations that have been processed by the faculties of the sensible soul.[66] As such, phantasms are instruments.

As demonstrated by Raymond Llull's manuscript, the Aristotelian cognitive theories present in John Rylands MS Latin 500 were not universal. Henry of Ghent (ca. 1217 – 1293) is one of the scholastic scholars that most challenged the existence of intelligible species.[67] Henry does not negate the existence of phantasms or mental representations. Rather, he posits that after abstraction, particular phantasms become a universal immaterial imprint and belong to the possible intellect. For Henry of Ghent, phantasms becomes more than a vehicle, they also produce: 'we must posit that something remains in the soul from the act of understanding from phantasms, whether this is called a habitual disposition [*habitus*] or a form [*species*].'[68] Richard Cross, in his exploration of Duns Scotus's cognitive theory explains

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[65] 'cum sint similitudines individuorum, et existant in organis corporeis, non habent eundem modum existendi quem habet intellectus humanus, ut ex dictis patet; et ideo non possunt sua virtute imprimere in intellectum possibilem.' Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.85.1.ad3. See also Pasnau, *Theories of cognition*, 128, for a discussion of the same idea in Aquinas, *Quodlibeta quinque*, 8.2.1C.

[66] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1. 89. a. 3.

[67] See for example Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet IV*, ed. Gordon A. Wilson and Girard J. Etzkorn (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011) q. 7. On Henry of Ghent's theory of phantasms or intelligible species, see Jerome V. Brown, 'Henry of Ghent on Internal Sensation,' *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 10, no. 1 (1972): 15-28; 'Abstraction and the Object of the Human Intellect According to Henry of Ghent,' *Vivarium: An International Journal for the Philosophy and Intellectual Life of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 11, no. 1 (1973): 80-104; Michael E. Rombeiro, 'Intelligible Species in the Mature Thought of Henry of Ghent,' *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 49, no. 2 (2011): 181-220. On his cognitive theories in general, see Bernd Goehring, 'Henry of Ghent's Use of Aristotle's *De anima* in Developing his Theory of Cognition,' in *Medieval Perspectives on Aristotle's De Anima*, ed. Russell L. Friedman and Jean-Michel Counet (Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 2013), 63-99.

[68] Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet VI*, ed. Gordon A. Wilson (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1987), 80, ll. 70–71: 'Oportet igitur ponere quod remaneat aliquid in anima ex actu intelligendi a phantasmatibus, sive illud dicatur habitus sive species' translated in Bernd Goehring, 'Henry of Ghent on Knowledge, Remembrance, and the Order of Cognitive Acts: The Problematic Legacy of Thomas Aquinas,' in *Contemplation and Philosophy: Scholastic and Mystical Modes of Medieval Philosophical Thought A Tribute to Kent Emery, Jr.*, ed. Roberto Hofmeister Pich and

that Godfrey of Fontaines, Master of the University of Paris from 1285, describes how abstraction functions, claiming that the knowledge we seek is already present in phantasms. Abstraction is, therefore, not a productive or generative action, but one of collecting. Cross pursues this idea as follows: 'According to Godfrey, phantasms represent particulars, and they do so by including a representation of a quiddity and of a collection of particularizing accidents. Abstraction just consists in mentally stripping away the accidents: what is left is the representation of the quiddity – the universal'. It is this processed quiddity that turns out to be intelligible.[69] Scotus, however, disagrees and contends that another agent is required, aiming to show that Godfrey's arguments about phantasms imply that abstraction is a futile action.[70] These challenges, however, do not persist in the long run and are excluded of the university curriculum in favour of a Thomist approach. Indeed, in 1277, alongside Averroes's theories of intellection, the university of Paris will condemn some of Godfrey of Fontaines and Henry of Ghent's theories on the multiplication of species.[71] As such, John Rylands MS Latin 500 and its illuminations encompass a theory of phantasms as it was understood by the end of the fifteenth century after decades of debates, disagreements and commentaries. Phantasms derive from Artistotelian and Arabic writings and were transformed by scholastics thinkers. Despite the lack of a unifed theory of phantasms, in this thesis I use a variety of sources that share a common definition of phantasms, as represented in John Rylands MS Latin 500.

Andreas Speer (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 285. Goehring sometimes translate *phantasmata* as sensory representation.

[69] Cross, *Duns Scotus*, 66.

[70] Cross, *Duns Scotus*, 67.

[71] On this condemnation, see Stephen F. Brown, 'Godfrey of Fontaines and Henry of Ghent: Individuation and the Condemnation of 1277,' in *Société et Église: Textes et discussions dans les universités d'Europe Centrale pendant le moyen Âge tardif. Actes du Colloque de Cracovie, 14-16 juin 1993, organisé par la Société internationale pour l'étude de la philosophie médiévale*, ed. Sophie Wlodek (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 193-207.

Structure

The essence of phantasms informs the very structure of this thesis. They are invisible entities composed of a likeness, an emotion and impressed on the faculties. The chapters mimic this definition and respond to these qualities. This structure resists a linear, chronological approach to the evolution and changes in theoretical debates that involve phantasms. Rather, the thesis is organised in a way that draws out the theoretical, material and social permeability of phantasms.

Phantasms are invisible and mental: they exist within the powers of the soul, in the brain, and move through empty cavities. Chapter 1 explores how to depict and visualise something that is simultaneously a representation and an invisible entity. It focuses on the space of phantasms: images of brain functions. Through a series of late medieval brain diagrams, ranging from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, the chapter questions how these images portray the making of mental images and are received as such by viewers. Exploring the representational strategies deployed in these diagrams, I ask: how can seeing an image of the brain, in which phantasms evolve as mental images produced from stimuli, ultimately be about absent phantasms? Anchored in medieval semiotics and optics, the chapter interprets physical images of the thought process as producers of representations about their own making. Indeed, although phantasms do not visually appear and they are not often mentioned in these images, they are the results of the thought process depicted. As such, they are reflexive and signify their own making process. The chapter, drawing on Richard de Fournival's discussion of representation [*painture*] in his *Bestiaire d'amour* (ca. 1245), theorises these brain images as 'meta*painture*', a term that responds to and distances itself from W.J.T. Mitchell's 'metapictures'.[72] The meta*painture*, I argue, is an image that refers to

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[72] Mitchell distinguishes three types of metapictures. I draw here on the first type: a picture that refers to itself. Mitchell. *Picture Theory*, 35-82.

its own essence as image and, importantly, bridges the visible and the invisible. As such, an image, the chapter contends, is never only what the human eye perceives. It is only half of an image. An image must be conceived as one entity bridging the realm of the visible and the invisible.

In the twelfth century, an incarnational anthropology emerges out of learned conception of seeing and experiencing material objects as epitomised in the late thirteenth-century *Moral Treatise on the Eye* by Peter of Limoges (ca. 1240 – 1306).[73] This new conceptualisation reshapes the experience of religious objects, placing the senses and mental representation at the centre of the devotional experience. Images are, therefore, intrinsic to salvation and chapter 2 explores the position of phantasms in this dynamic. The chapter focuses on a set of illustrated late medieval English prayer rolls, most of which are indulgences. Some directly entice viewers to mentally behold, daily, the illustrations: one poem titled *O man unkynde*, invites readers to 'bere in thy mynde' these accompanying images – a phrase which lends itself to the title of this thesis.[74] The chapter complicates the definition of phantasms as it centres on a lay understanding and usage. Phantasms are never named per se, yet the workings of these rolls rely on a dynamic that has everything to do with phantasms. One aspect is the rolls' reliance on similitude or likeness. Specifically, the chapter explores the parallel explicitly or implicitly made between the pieces of parchment and human skin.[75] How is the parchment, or animal skin, processed by the mind's eye due to its similitude to human skin?

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[73] The *Moral Treatise on the Eye* (*Tractatus moralis de oculo*) was a very popular work originally written at the University of Paris around 1275/6-89. It blends optical theories (the discipline of perspectivism), natural philosophy and Christian moralisation to foreground sensory perception. Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*, translated by Richard Newhauser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Herbert L. Kessler and Richard G. Newhauser, eds, *Optics, Ethics, and Art in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Looking into Peter of Limoges's* Moral treatise on the eye (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2018).

[74] New Haven, The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 410.

[75] For example, in the roll New Haven, The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Takamiya 70, a mention of Christ's pains, or *doloris¸* is juxtaposed to a hole in the animal skin.

Chapter 3 revolves around two main devotional texts: the *O man unkynde* poem and more significantly the fourteenth-century anonymous French treatise *Livre de vie et aiguillon d'amour et dévotion*. This chapter furthers the similitude between skin and parchment by engaging more in detail with the tradition of Christ as a book, a popular metaphor. Using the concept of prick [*aiguillon*] it also questions the emotional response triggered by phantasms: they involve an internal change and motion. Biernoff discusses how sensible species, also called phantasms, the 'foundation of neo-Aristotelian physics', are at this point of fluid intersection between science and spirituality. She explains how the *imitatio Christi* has similarities with optical theories inasmuch as both involve a physical metamorphosis.[76] Therefore, this chapter initiates an inquiry into the intersection between medical/philosophical theories and devotional practices, and how phantasms were performed in devotional life. The chapter argues that phantasms are neither visible nor invisible but challenge such a dichotomy. The chapter further calls for a reconsideration of images as involving phantasms, which are neither visible nor invisible but present a challenge to such a dichotomy, a meta-representation that is visuality. I question the idea of a skin of the image, or rather, the flesh of the in-visible.[77] I think about images as the skin/flesh of *phantasmata*.

Chapter 4 engages directly with the imprint function of phantasms, combining medical theories of cognition and bodily membranes with a set of English prayer rolls containing a poem to the *Arma Christi*, which opens with a stanza and image of the Veronica, the imprint of Christ's face on a cloth, also called membrane in Latin. Traditional prayers to

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[76] Biernoff, 'Carnal Relations,' 42.
[77] I have explored the relationship between visibility and flesh in a medical context in Lauren Rozenberg, 'Image of Flesh/Flesh of the Image: The Flayed Figure in Henri de Mondeville's *Chirurgia*,' *Object. Graduate research and reviews in the History of Art and Visual Culture* 20 (2019): 82-100. My thinking is informed here by film theory and especially Laura U. Marks, *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000).

the Veronica contain words such as *species*, *impressam* or *signum*, a vocabulary it shares with mental representations. The chapter looks at the similarities or differences between image making and creation of phantasms. I argue that, just as Christ's face is imprinted on a thin membrane of cloth, phantasms are imprinted on the faculties. Pursuing the discussions initiated in the previous chapters, I engage with the parchment's materiality, as an object made of skin, to see the illumination on skin as a point of intersection between visible and invisible worlds, a prick of visuality. The Veronica is impressed on a cloth, called *panniculus*, which also translates to membrane, an interior skin, in a medical context. The physiological make up of phantasms is quasi-physical, as scholastics like Aquinas strongly state that they are corporeal entities. Using the highly illustrated anatomical treatise of Guido da Vigevano (1345), this chapter argues that phantasms can be understood as highly material entities, membrane-like images that are skin-like, in the likeness of the material that support their physical images. The chapter finally concludes that images, physical images and mental phantasms alike, are a permeable membrane of the meta*painture*.

Preceding the thesis conclusion is a coda, a sort of reminiscence wherein phantasms are called back to discuss something past. This section takes the form of a discussion of philosopher Giorgio Agamben's second book *Stanze*, published in 1977 and translated in English as *Stanzas*.[78] In the third chapter, 'The Word and the Phantasm: The Theory of the Phantasm in the Love Poetry of the Duecento', Agamben reconstructs a 'medieval phantasmology' and argues that phantasms define love poetry. Although his discussion revolves around literary examples that eschew material culture, Agamben's work foregrounds one of the most important aspect of phantasms, their potentiality. In the coda, I discuss the figure of Pygmalion in the popular *Roman de la Rose*, ultimate figure of the potential of

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[78] Giorgio Agamben, *Stanzas: Word and Phantasm in Western Culture,* trans. Ronald L. Martinez (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

representations, as his sculpture became alive. Combining Agamben's theories on potentiality and the *Roman de la Rose*, this section foregrounds how phantasms are always in the background, ready to be used and discussed by scholars.

1

Brains and Meta*painture*

Phantasms exist inside organs or cavities within the head, where the soul lies. In John Rylands MS Latin 500, phantasms are made visible because their essence and actions are inscribed, as words, on the brain diagrams [figs 1 and 2]. From folio 9 verso to folio 11 verso of this manuscript, the 1497 treatise provides an anatomical description of the head [*de capite*]. *Caput*, as explained by the DMLBS, is not only the head, but also the head as the seat of intelligence. The description of the skull is illustrated, on folio 10 recto [fig. 6], with a view of the top of the parietal and frontal bones. Different shades of light brown in the illustration create shadows and emphasise the roundness of the brain case. At the bottom of folio 10 verso [fig. 7], the brain is painted brown and cream, surrounded by a red line, probably representing the fleshy membranes that encase it such as the dura or pia mater. The organ is pictured in a section view, from the side. In its centre is a tripartite structure representing the anterior, medium and posterior ventricles. The accompanying text explains that they are the ventricles, but without the cells that are the sense organs [*ventriculi sine cellule*]. Whereas folio 13 recto [fig. 1] showcased the faculties of the soul, this drawing [fig. 7] pictures the ventricles that contain the four faculties. Textually, however, the treatise locates the faculties within the

ventricles and states that phantasms, alongside the common sense, are initially situated in the first ventricles.[1] Phantasms, invisible and mental entities are represented by their place and the written gloss.

In John Rylands MS Latin 500, phantasms are visualised several times through the coupling of text and images. The text contends that phantasms lie in the place that the images depict. While the roundels in folio 20 verso [fig. 2] are connected by wavy lines, representing the movement of phantasms throughout the different powers of the mind, an inscription on the right explains the connection between the agent intellect and the imagination, the process of abstraction. The purpose of phantasms is, then, displayed through textual and visual signs. On folio 13 recto [fig. 1], they are made present through a gloss, while on folio 10 verso [fig. 7] they are part of the image because they are represented by the place in which they exist. However, the pattern of naming and inscribing phantasms that appears in John Rylands MS Latin 500 is a rare case. If phantasms are explicitly named in some brain diagrams, these are usually very late fifteenth-century bust diagrams. For example, in another German bust-diagram on paper [fig. 8], now a flyleaf in Leipzig, phantasms are inscribed in the centre of the man's brain, within the triangular shape formed by the relationships between the cavities.[2] This inscription explains that the sensory species, once inside the body, are called phantasms.[3] Phantasms exist within this delimited space of actions. In the earlier illustrations I will discuss below, however, phantasms are only present inasmuch as the images represent the spaces where they exist. They are not mentioned in texts and such earlier brain diagrams only label the faculties. This chapter explores how such images nonetheless convey a notion

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[1] So that the common sense and phantasms are situated in the anterior ventricle. [*Ita quod sensus communis et fantasmata situatur in anteriori ventriculo.*]

[2] Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Fragm. lat. 242. Like the John Rylands drawing, the agent and possible intellects are immaterial entities, symbolised by roundels outside the body. Yet, funnel-shape lines leave the agent intellect on the right to go to the middle roundel, the possible intellect. This represents the process of abstraction and the role of intelligible species.

[3] Interior sensory species called phantasms [*Species sensuum interiorium dicitur fantasmata*]

of phantasms, through visual signs. It focuses on illuminations of the thought process, ranging in date from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, mainly from France and England. The chapter focuses as much on metaphors of the faculties as on images of brains representing the full cognitive progression.

If there has been a lot of interest regarding medieval memory and, by extension, its representations, images of the internal faculties have been the focus of a very selective range of scholarship since a 1913 article by Walter Sudhoff, in which he argues that images of the brain must be associated with the localisation of ventricles, its main physiological features.[4] Scholars such as Walter Pagel, Edwin Clarke, K. E. Dewhurst and Annemieke Verboon asserted that the ventricular system was canonical and ubiquitous, after Sudhoff, and were more inclined to analyse the images' accuracy as illustrations or simply to add them to the corpus.[5] However, in the 1990s, Ynez Violé O'Neill challenged the ventricular system as the sole and dominant medieval theory of brain functions.[6] She convincingly argued that, as early as the end of the twelfth century, a theory of meningeal localisation was also enduring and dispersed in the works of physicians, philosophers or encyclopedists. This other theory placed the brain's functions either within the meninges or the cortex. Her argument opened new perspectives on the diagrams of brain functions first published by Sudhoff. Recently, William MacLehose has challenged the ideal views of brain functions to foreground a

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[4] Walther Sudhoff, 'Die Lehre von den Hirnventrikeln in textlicher und graphischer Tradition des Altertums und Mittelalters,' *Archiv Für Geschichte Der Medizin* 7 (1913): 149–205.

[5] Walter Pagel, 'Medieval and Renaissance Contributions to Knowledge of the Brain and Its Functions,' in *The History and Philosophy of Knowledge of the Brain and Its Functions: An Anglo-American Symposium [Held in] London, July 15th-17th 1957* (Amsterdam: Israël, 1973), 95–114; Edwin Clarke and Kenneth Dewhurst, *An Illustrated History of Brain Function. Imaging the Brain from Antiquity to the Present*, 2nd ed. (San Fransisco: Norman Publishing, 1996); Annemieke R. Verboon, 'Brain Ventricle Diagrams: A Century after Walther Sudhoff New Manuscript Sources from the XVth Century,' *Sudhoffs Archiv* 98, no. 2 (2014): 212–233.

[6] Ynez Violé O'Neill, 'Diagrams of the Medieval Brain: A Study in Cerebral Localization,' in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23-24 March 1990*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1993), 91–105; 'Meningeal Localization: A New Key to Some Medical Texts, Diagrams and Practices of the Middle Ages,' *Mediaevistik* 6 (1993): 211–238.

discussion on the diseases and dysfunctions of the faculties.[7] Also, Mary Carruthers has studied two late fifteenth-century diagrams that, she contends, differ from the typical Thomist views.[8] As such, in recent years, some scholars have started to apprehend these images differently. This chapter must be positioned within this effort. Indeed, I am not concerned with the localisation of the ventricular system, nor am I interested in widening its corpus. Rather, this chapter will be concerned with the working of such images in a broader culture of embodied visuality.[9]

This chapter is divided into three main sections. Firstly, it briefly explores the semiotic definition of phantasms and images as signs. It positions phantasms within contemporary discourses such as Roger Bacon's theory of signs. This lays the ground to approach phantasms as a type of sign in the second section, which coins the concept of the meta*painture*. This section draws on Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour*, in which he explains that speech [*parole*] and image [*painture*] are the pathways to the power of memory. Using Fournival's discourse and illuminations as well other contemporary images of the cognitive powers, I theorise that a meta*painture* is an image that visually showcases that it is an image and that it will be incorporated by the viewers, and subsequently transformed into phantasms. The third section then looks at brain diagrams. It questions how images can visually represent invisible processes such as phantasms. Ultimately, the chapter argues that an image is always twofold and composed of two branches: one lies in the visible world, the image that viewers perceive, while the other is the phantasm that exists in the realm of the

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[7] William MacLehose, 'The Pathological and the Normal: Mapping the Brain in Medieval Medicine,' *Progress in Brain Research* 243 (2018): 23-53.

[8] Mary Carruthers, 'Two Unusual Mind Diagrams in a Late Fifteenth-Century Manuscript (UPenn Schoenberg Collection, LJS 429),' *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 4, no. 2 (2019): 389-400.

[9] I use visuality here, rather than vision, because it refers at the same time to the state of being visual and the process of internal representation that are essential aspects of phantasms.

mental and the invisible. The meta*painture* foregrounds that connection and the incorporation

of one into the other.

Signs

Because phantasms are mental and invisible, images of brains and faculties provide a good

surrogate to interrogate the relationship between phantasms and images. As Carruthers

explains: '[r]epresentation […] was understood not in an objective or reproductive sense as

often as in a temporal one; signs make something present to the mind by acting on

memory.'[10] She characterises images as signs because they evoke something in the memory.

Images are memorial signs for what they represent, but they are also part of a more complex

network of memorial representation and signs, carriers of a likeness. According to semiotic

terminology, phantasms should be defined as mental concepts which are non-verbal textual

images. In Augustinian semiotics, a sign has a communicative function in as much as it

conveys something to the senses and the intellect.[11] This definition of signs will shift during

the thirteenth century to include mental concepts, and not only as the likeness of a sign.[12]

Although early semioticians, especially Augustine in the *De Doctrina*, approach signs within a

biblical hermeneutics framework, the scholastics expanded beyond it. For example, Aristotle

and Bonaventure tried to reconcile the 'mental word' [*verbum mentis*] with the notion of

intelligible species, namely phantasms.[13] As such, if medieval semiotics, a mixture of

Augustinian views on the *verbum mentis* and Aristotelian theories on mental concepts and

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[10] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 275.

[11] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, I 1, in *Sancti Augustini Opera*, ed. W. M. Green (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1963), 9 quoted in Stephan Meier-Oeser, 'Medieval Semiotics,' *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2011). https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/semiotics-medieval/ Accessed 27 October 2017.

[12] Claude Panaccio summarises the consequences of this shift and because this entails that the thought process is an *oratio mentalis*, the concept of representation was increasingly used in epistemological contexts by the end of the Middle Ages. Claude Panaccio, 'From Mental Word to Mental Language,' *Philosophical Topics* 20, no. 2 (1992): 125-147.

[13] Panaccio, 'From Mental Word to Mental Language,' 127.

images, is anchored within language and mental words, this does not exclude images.

Thomas Aquinas further associated language and images with the functioning of the cognitive process, something that is also found in the earlier writings of Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033 – 1109), who revived theories of signs in the late eleventh century. In the scholastic age, the visible and natural world were believed to be composed of signs of the invisible world.[14] In *De Signis* (ca. 1267), Bacon built upon this definition of a sign to affirm its triadic component and emphasise its relational aspect. A sign is a sign of something, to someone. Bacon defined a sign as 'that which upon being offered to the sense or intellect designates something to the intellect itself.'[15] He divided signs into two general categories (natural signs and signs given and directed by the soul). Within the first category is a type of sign that signifies by configuration and likeness, as with images, pictures or species. Fundamentally, phantasms are signs: they create a triadic exchange between an object, the brain and the phantasms themselves, and are mental concepts that therefore signify to the intellect by way of likeness. Accordingly, this chapter of the thesis posits that images of the brain can potentially become reflexive and act as signifiers of the phantasmal process.

It may seem evident to say that a representation of a brain is a sign of said brain. Nonetheless, I will demonstrate that medieval images of the cognitive process go further in the sense that they are signs of their own working, of the working of species and phantasms, and of the process made by a human soul to know the image. They signify in the sense of the French theologian Pierre d'Ailly (1351 – 1420), who writes that

> …a thing can be called a sign in two senses. In the first sense, because it leads
> to an act of knowing the thing of which it is a sign. In a second sense, because
> it is itself the act of knowing the thing. In the second sense we may say that a
> concept is a sign of a thing of which such a concept is a natural likeness — not
> that it leads to an act of knowing that thing, but because it is the very act itself

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[14] https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/semiotics-medieval/ Accessed 27 October 2017.
[15] K. M. Fredborg, Lauge Nielsen, and Jan Pinborg, eds, 'An Unedited Part of Roger Bacon's "Opus Maius": "De Signis",' *Traditio* 34 (1978): 81.

of knowing the thing, [an act that] naturally and properly represents that thing.[16] This implies that, for example, John Rylands MS Latin 500 folio 13 recto [fig. 1] is a sign, inasmuch as this picture of the cognitive process showcases to viewers how their own viewing and assimilation of the image functions, once the image has reached the brain. Brain imagery, in these terms, is key to understanding the syntactic role played by phantasms in knowledge transmission and needs to be placed, as visual commentary, within a larger tradition of scholastic epistemological discourses, particularly the various theories of knowledge and signification.

To summarise, phantasms are invisible and mental concepts, non-verbal textual images. They signify. Phantasms take part in a triadic exchange, a relation wherein they communicate information between something (animate or inanimate) and a human receiver. This chapter relies on this semiotic understanding of phantasms to look at representations of one end of this triadic process: the faculties of the soul that receive phantasms from sensory information. How do such images visualise the invisible working of phantasms? These representations go beyond being simple representations as they picture their own working and reception. An image such as the bust-diagram on the Leipzig flyleaf [fig. 8] pictures the thought process for viewers to see; it is one end of the triadic exchange. Yet, by inscribing phantasms in the space of the faculties, it highlights what the drawing is going to become, once the viewer is penetrated by the drawing's species. As such, it contains the potentiality for phantasms, the third link in the triadic exchange, and makes it evident. This is what this chapter sets out to explore: such images go beyond representing the thought process, as they equally picture their own working and reception. They are, I contend, the visual response and materialisation of invisible phantasms.

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16 Peter of Ailly, *Concepts and Insolubles. An Annotated Translation*, trans. P. V. Spade, (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1980), 17.

Meta*painture*

Trouvère, cleric, physician, astronomer, astrologist and alchemist, the Frenchman Richard de Fournival (ca. 1201 – 1260), was an accomplished polymath.[17] His work ranges from a *Speculum astronomiae*, to love poetry, as exemplified by *Li Bestiaire d'amour*, and an astrological autobiography titled *Nativitas*, demonstrating Fournival's high level of education and interest. As well as being a versatile author, he also occupied the functions of canon, chancellor and chaplain in Amiens and Rouen. In his flourishing library, opened to the public of Amiens and described in the famous *Biblionomia* (ca. 1240s), Richard kept many manuscripts on natural sciences and medicine, among other prominent subjects, that informed his literary practice.[18] These influences are highly palpable in the *Bestiaire d'amour*, devised around 1245 – 1250. Drawing upon the popular genre of the bestiary, Richard re-appropriates its characteristics to transcend its religious moralisation. In this treatise dedicated to a lady, animals mimic a love quest and urge women to love. Not long after its composition, the text became highly popular. It was imitated and copied in many manuscripts until the fifteenth century.

The *Bestiaire d'amour*'s first words, '[t]outes gens desirent par nature a savoir', paraphrase Aristotle's opening phrase of the *Metaphysics*: '[a]ll men naturally desire knowledge.'[19] Thus, Richard de Fournival signals from the start the Aristotelian and epistemological scope of the *Bestiaire*. He addresses the lady with the following reasoning for

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[17] A trouvère is a poet-composer from Northern France speaking in a langue d'oïl, as opposed to a troubadour, from Southern France, speaking in langue d'oc.

[18] Elizabeth Sears, 'Sensory Perception and Its Metaphors in the Time of Richard of Fournival,' in *Medicine and the Five Senses*, ed. W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 21. Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie imperiale, 1868-81), II, 518-535.

[19] Cesare Segre, ed., *Li Bestiaires d'Amours di Maistre Richart de Fornival e li Response du Bestiaire* (Milan and Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1957), 3; Aristotle, *Metaphysics, Volume I: Books 1-9*, trans. Hugh Tredennick (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 2014), 3.

the treatise: 'I send you in this writing both *painture* and *parole*, so that when I am not present this writing by its *painture* and by its *parole* will make me present to your memory'.[20] Fournival uses several specific elements of language to talk about memory: memory is a treasure [*tresors*] in the body, which itself is a house [*meson*], with doors as windows for the senses.[21] Indeed, memory has two doors: seeing [*veïr*] and hearing [*oïr*]. This terminology relates to popular contemporary theories of memory and embodiment. It also resonates with the ways the art of memory was taught. Mary Carruthers stipulates that it was done 'in spatial and locational terms like a kind of map, with its places and routes plainly marked.'[22] Fournival thus locates himself within a tradition that understands memory as a house, holding this treasure, the past memories, the digest of a reader's life.[23]

The ways to reach the doors of *veïr* and *oïr* are, respectively, image [*painture*] and speech [*parole*].[24] *Painture* and *parole* have a strong impact on memory: they assimilate sense information and change the viewer, in the same way that Fournival's contemporary, Roger Bacon, described sensory perception as an altering assimilation process. The species emitted by the objects transform something within the viewer, which results in 'a *mutual* assimilation

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[20] Translated in Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 278.

[21] The 'treasure house' is a very common metaphor, found for example in Peire Vidal's and Jehan de Froissart's works or Bartholomeus Anglicus's description of the brain and the faculty of the soul, to cite only a few. For more on this metaphor see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 33-43.

[22] Mary Carruthers, 'Mechanisms for the Transmission of Culture: The Role of "Place" in the Arts of Memory,' in *Translatio or the Transmission of Culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Modes and Messages*, ed. Laura Holden Hollengreen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 3.

[23] On Fournival, his use of Aristotelian theories and the internal senses, see Sarah Kay, 'Medieval Bêtise: Internal Senses and Second Skins in Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'Amours*,' in *Uncertain Knowledge: Scepticism, Relativism, and Doubt in the Middle Ages*, ed. Dallas G. Denery II, Kantik Ghosh and Nicolette Zeeman (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 305-322. See especially 313-322 for a discussion on the common sense and imagination, as well as the relationship between the *Bestiaire* and other manuscripts in Fournival's library, such as Avicenna's *De Anima*.

[24] *Et pour chu Diex, ki tant aime l'omme qu'il le velt porveoir de quant ke mestiers lui est, a donné a homme une vertu de force d'ame ki a non memoire. Ceste memoire si a .ij. portes, veïr et oïr, et a cascune de ces .ij. portes si a un cemin par ou on i peut aller, che sont painture et parole. Painture sert a l'oel et parole a l'oreille. Et comment on puist repairier a le maison de memoire et par painture et par parole, si est apparant par chu ke memoire, ki est la garde des tresors ke sens d'omme conquiert par bonté d'engien, fait chu ki est trespassé ausi comme present. Et a che meïsme vient on per painture et per parole.* Segre, *Li Bestiaires d'Amours*, 4-5.

of subject and object'.[25] Fournival explicates clearly that the intended impact of his text is to reach his lady's memory, a power given to humans by God. This happens through the combined actions of painting and speech, which reach sight and hearing, the memory's doors. Fournival's understanding of the cognitive process is, therefore, Aristotelian in essence and informed by contemporary discourses.

Painture, moreover, does not merely reference a graphic representation, or painting, as it would today. Fournival himself articulates that *painture* refers more to an idea of form, which inevitably involves letters and sounds: there is no *painture* without physically making an image and a letter is a type of *painture*.[26] William of Ockham and Thomas Aquinas's theories of the mind are useful to problematise Fournival's understanding of speech and sound. Ockham explains that before an action, especially an action related to language such as speech, the subject performs an *oratio mentalis*, a mental discourse or speech. The *oratio mentalis* is structured by inner natural signs, concepts and a syntax shared by all.[27] Or, as Claude Panaccio points out, if for Aquinas the cognitive process also involves a mental word [*verbum mentis*] in order to cognise, a second distinct 'intellectual image' is also required: the species.[28] Alexander of Hales (ca. 1185 – 1245) and Bonaventure further associate the Augustinian *verbum mentis* with the Aristotelian species.[29] Consequently, speech or *parole*

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[25] See David C. Lindberg, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature: A Critical Edition (with English Translation, Introduction and Notes, of De Multiplicatione Specierum and De Speculis Comburentibus)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983). Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 87.

[26] *Et je vous monsterai comment cis escris a painture et parolle. Car il est bien apert k'il a parole, par che ke toute escripture si est faite pour parole monstrer et pour che ke on le lise; et quant on le list, si revient elle a nature de parole. Et d'autre part, k'il ait painture si est en apert par chu ke lettre n'est mie, s'on ne le paint*. Segre, *Li Bestiaires d'Amours*, 6-7. 'And I shall show you how this text has both painting and speech. It obviously has speech, since all writing is made to show speech and is meant to be read, and when one reads it, it returns to the nature of speech. On the other hand, the fact that it has painting is evident in this: there is no letter if one does not paint it.' Translated in Mary Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 43.

[27] Panaccio, 'From Mental Word to Mental Language,' 125–147.

[28] In Panaccio, 'From Mental Word to Mental Language,' 141, n.14, Panaccio discusses the problem of using the term 'representation' in a Thomist context. He points out the reluctance of scholars such as Edouard Wéber, but he argues that based on Aquinas' vocabulary, 'representation' is more than adequate. Regarding the theory of phantasms and species, I tend to concur with Panaccio.

[29] Panaccio, 'From Mental Word to Mental Language,' 127.

requires a mental action involving this 'intellectual image' or intellectual *painture*, the species or phantasms. It is in those terms that Fournival's coupling of *parole* and *painture* must be understood: *painture* is a mental image reaching the doors of memory, a phantasm born in the matter, the pigments of the parchment page that compose images and letters. This is the exemplification of phantasms as mental concepts that are non-verbal textual images.

In a 1285 copy of the *Bestiaire*, the visual, *painture*, joins the literary metaphors, *parole* [fig. 9].[30] 'Manuscript decoration' writes Carruthers, 'is part of the *painture* of language, one of the gates to memory, and the form it takes often has to do with what is useful not only to understand a text but to retain and recall it too'.[31] The powers of the faculty of memory were indeed not foreign to artists: Theophilus, the twelfth-century writer of *On Divers Arts*, the only medieval treatise on art and artistic techniques to survive in its entirety, mentions retentive memory repeatedly in his addresses to the reader.[32] The opening historiated initial T, on folio 228 recto of the *Bestiaire* [fig. 9], is a tower that goes outside its round frame. The vertical body of the T is a brick tower with two doors.[33] On the left door is an eye, looking toward the right door, adorned with an ear. The sense organs are positioned as if they were the doors' handles. As argued by Elizabeth Sears, this is the embodiment of thirteenth-century popular theories on the body, its parts and inner working.[34] Sarah Kay, in her discussion of didactic French poetry in 'the long fourteenth century', argued that in a time very much interested in didacticism, there was a very strong desire to place thought through metaphors and that this process is contingent on views of the body.[35]

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[30] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 412, fol. 228r.
[31] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 281.
[32] Heidi C. Gearhart, *Theophilus and the Theory and Practice of Medieval Art* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), 15, 89.
[33] In the *Response*, however, the tower stands within an initial C.
[34] Sears, 'Sensory Perception and Its Metaphors.'
[35] Sarah Kay, *The Place of Thought: The Complexity of One in Late Medieval French Didactic Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 3. Kay defines this 'long fourteenth-century' as starting with Jean de Meung's addition to the Roman de la Rose around 1275-1280, and ending with Christine de Pizan's death in

In that manuscript, after the *Bestiaire* comes *La response de la dame contre mestre Richart de furnival*, the lady's response to the *Bestiaire*. The *Response* opens with a similar illuminated initial [fig. 10], enacting the key memorial practice of repetition and resemblance.[36] In keeping with these observations, the first image of this copy of the *Bestiaire* [fig. 9] makes the viewer, supposedly a woman, aware of the analogy taking place. Before reading, she knows that she must desire to know, to let her eyes and ears, the doors to her body, open and allow the message of the manuscript to reach her inner senses, lodged inside the tower that is her body. This message is once again repeated when comes the response [fig. 10], anchoring repetition and awareness in the process.

The analogy between *painture* and *parole* within the miniature [fig. 9] is pushed even further when one considers the use of vocabulary and of the letter as a form itself. A tower, in Middle French, is a *tour*. In its strictest sense, the feminine *tour* is defined by the *Dictionnaire du moyen français* (DMF) as a defensive building but also as a metaphor for solidity and protection. The masculine *tour*, however, refers to an idea of circumference, of encircling.[37] The form of the blue dotted circle works to enclose the tower of memory as it would be enclosed within the human head. But it works in reverse as well: the tower of *veïr* and *oïr* pierces this circle to be crowned by the horizontal bar of the T that originates in the hand of a hybrid monster. The figure's horns recall that of a bull, then called a *taur* or *tor*, a name that resonates with the *tour* it dominates. *Painture* and *parole* visually inform each other in this illumination. As such, the illuminator made the connection between the opening *painture* and that of other animals to come. This illumination, therefore, combines the *painture* and the *parole* on the same level. The analogy between the two is compressed into a tower that not

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1430. Although Fournival's *Bestiaire* predates this 'periodisation', I find her point more than relevant regarding Fournival's uses of such metaphor and his intellectual interests.

[36] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 412 fol. 237v. The *Bestiaire* is on ff. 228r-236r and the *Response* on ff. 236v-245r.

[37] http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/tour1 and http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/tour3. Accessed on 15 November 2017.

only stands for the human body, but also for the mind, which will process the information. It associates Fournival's description of memory with the working of his own treatise. Readers are invited to combine images of animals and descriptive texts together, so that the meaning can reach their memories in the form of another type of speaking *painture*, namely phantasms.

Despite the lack of representation of the complete cognitive process in Fournival's *Bestiaire*, I have chosen to start this chapter with the *Bestiaire* because it describes and illustrates the very essence of what phantasms are. Carruthers points out that Fournival's use of *painture* does not exclusively refer to painted entities but expands to mental images as well.[38] Indeed, Richard de Fournival describes the very working of sense information, whereby visible images are transformed into invisible phantasms. He also draws on the concept of reminiscence as described by Thomas Aquinas in his *Commentary on Aristotle's De memoria et reminiscentia*.[39] Nonetheless, as I have shown, this dynamic is not restricted to the text. The tower illuminations [figs 9 and 10] shows how these images epitomise what ties visible *painture* (as always composed of *parole*) and invisible phantasms together, as one type of image divided into these two realms. The *Bestiaire d'amour*'s images tentatively answer the complex question of how to signify an immaterial cognitive process.

I want to draw on Fournival's theory of memory to look at images of the cognitive process, of the production of phantasms, in terms of what I call 'meta*painture*'. The term recalls W.J.T. Mitchell's famous concept of 'metapictures', coined in his book *Picture Theory*.[40] Mitchell starts with a clear and straightforward definition of the concept: '[t]his is an essay

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[38] *Car quant on voit painte une estoire, ou de Troies ou d'autre, on voit les fais des preudommes ki cha en ariere furent, ausi com s'il fussent present. Et tout ensi est il de parole. Car quant on ot .i. romans lire, on entent les aventures, ausi com on les veïst en present. Et puis c'on fait present de chu ki est trespassé par ces .ij. choses, c'est par painture et par parole, don't pert il bien ke par ces .ij. coses poet on a memoire venir.* Segre, *Li Bestiaires d'Amours*, 5. In *The Book of Memory* Carruthers provides her own English translation on page 277 and a transcription on page 444 note 11.

[39] Burchill, 'Thomas Aquinas's *Commentary*,' 153–188.

[40] The term also echoes Victor Stoichita's English title *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, trans. Victor Ieronim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Stoichita is concerned with the pictorial strategies for mise en abîme.

on pictures about pictures – that is, pictures that refer to themselves or to other pictures, pictures that are used to show what a picture is.'[41] Therefore, in this modernist iconology, Mitchell studies self-referentiality, pictures that are about pictures insofar as they develop their own 'metalanguage'. What I call a meta*painture* essentially works accordingly to Mitchell's definition but also complicates it, drawing on Fournival's use of *painture*. A meta*painture* involves an internal visual discourse about its image-ness. However, a meta*painture* is not a metapicture. The ways in which I use *painture* do not entail the same parameters as Mitchell's pictures. As opposed to the metapicture, a meta*painture* necessitates and involves language/*parole* for the simple reason that a *painture* can simply be the form of a letter, as stated by Fournival. A meta*painture* is, therefore, a sensual object composed of *parole* and *painture* that refers to the mental activities, the *verbum mentis* and *oratio mentalis*.

I posit in this thesis that a medieval image is made of two strands. An illumination, for example, is the visible component that exists in the material world. That type of image is what I will refer to as an *imago* (plural *imagines*). The second strand is the invisible component of the *imagines*: the *phantasmata*, or phantasms, the mental images. An image is therefore made of two strands that are combined in the viewing process. Species emanate from images and penetrate the body, then are transformed into phantasms and evolve through the mind. Looking is a memorial process that involves passage. In these terms, a meta*painture* does not refer to its making as *imago* but to its absorption and storage as a *phantasma*. The meta*painture* is part of a process of incorporation, of passage and assimilation. This concept of meta*painture* will prove very useful to articulate the ways in which images of the cognitive process construct themselves as signifiers and images of knowledge.

[41] Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 35.

Before I move on to brain diagrams, I look at another metaphorical illumination, to foreground the importance of incorporation in the working of the meta*painture*. 'Here' points a man in a fifteenth-century illumination in Jean Corbechon's *Livre des propriétés des choses* [fig. 11], the French translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (ca. 1240) presented to the King of France in 1372.[42] The image illustrates the description of the common sense, so the figure signals where this power sits in the forehead.[43] The common sense is described as the first inner sense of the brain [*sens de dedens*] but it is not the first chamber of the brain. In Corbechon's text, it is the general cognitive process that is furthermore divided into three ventricles (imagination, estimation, memory).[44]

This emphasis on the common sense appears in a mid-fifteenth-century astrological and medical manuscript, now in Durham [fig. 12].[45] What looks like a decapitated head, looking at the viewers, is painted in the middle of a page. Underlined with red lines, the figure is labelled with the internal and external senses, connected by the optic chiasm. The neck seems sectioned, probably to emphasise, through that hole, the connection between the faculties and the rest of the body, through the brain stem. The image is accompanied by a Latin inscription:

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[42] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 22532. On Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, see Elizabeth Keen, *The Journey of a Book: Bartholomew the Englishman and the Properties of Things* (Canberra: Australian National University E Press, 2007).

[43] The inner wits are not part of the book on human anatomy (book 5) but are included in the book on the soul (book 3); the image illustrates chapter 10 in this book.

[44] *Le xe chapitre du sens de dedens qui est appelle sens commun. Le sens ded dedens qui est appel se le sens commun est divise en trois parties selon les trois regions du cervel car il ya trois chambretes ou (…) la premiere si est en la partie de devant dessus le front et la est la vertu ymaginative en compensant et ordonnant ce que les sens dehors comprennent. La seconde chambrete est au milieu du cervel et la est raison sensible qui autrement est appellee la vertu estimative. La tierce chambre du cervel est en la partie de derriere sur le (…) et la est la vertu memorative la quele qui sont comprises par la vertu ymagynative et par la very estimative et memorative.* John Trevisa, in his Middle English translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*, perfectly rendered a simplified explanation of the brain: *The innere witte is departid aþre by þre regiouns of þe brayn, for in þe brayn beþ þre smale celles. þe formest hatte ymaginatiua, þerin þingis þat þe vttir witte apprehendiþ withoute beþ i-ordeyned and iput togedres withinne, ut dicitur Iohannicio 1. þe middil chambre hatte logica þerin þe vertu estimatiue is maister. þe þridde and þe laste is memoratiua, þe vertu of mynde. þat vertu holdiþ and kepiþ in þe tresour of mynde þingis þat beþ apprehendid and iknowe bi þe ymaginatif and racio.* M.C. Seymour, *On the properties of things: John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De proprietatibus rerum. A critical text*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 1:98, 27-34.

[45] Durham, University Library, MS Cosin. V.iv.7, fol. 47r. The drawing is only discussed in Kathleen L. Scott, 'Mnemonic Aspects of Illustration in Later English Manuscripts,' *Manuscripta* 54, no. 1 (2010): 56.

Note that the *sensus communis* is a certain power from which are derived all the other particular powers and in which they terminate. It is like the centre of a circle because just as there are many lines that end in it so all the particular senses end in the *senus communis*.[46]

The brain stem picture in the neck, then, echoes the annotation linking the common sense to a centre which connects different entities. The drawing sections the faculties in the top of the head and even internally differentiates the cells with semi-circular shapes. Nonetheless, the note draws attention back to the drawing, because the common sense is a global power; it sits at the centre of the process, initiated by the viewing of the image.

After a discussion on the common sense, Corbechon's *Livre des propriétés des choses* [fig. 11] further expands on the faculties of the soul and on the physiology of the brain across several entries and images. Most of the space occupied by the small illumination is taken by the battlement of a bricked castle. The upper part of its frame has two crenellations to accommodate the descenders of the words 'is' [*est*] and sense [*sens*], paralleling the inside structure of the image, where two crenellations frame the figure. No space has been made for the descenders of 'called' [*appellee*], insinuating that being [*est*] and the common sense permeate the boundaries of the image. The letters must make their way through the barriers of the frame to reach the common sense, in the same way sense information penetrates the body. In the pictorial structure, the *parole* and *painture* of the letters join the embodied *painture* of the common sense. Inside the image, in the middle of the wall, there is an open space from which a human figure, pointing to the common sense, emerges. The body, which is implied by the presence of the head, is obstructed by the bricked wall. This inner space functions as an image within an image. The composition indexes the traditional images of the brain that abstract the body in the same way that the figure refers to the common sense. Metaphors found in natural history books inspired by Aristotle's writings often connect the

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[46] Translated in Clarke and Dewhurst, *An Illustrated History of Brain Function*, 23.

head to a castle, like in Fournival's *Bestiaire*, while the common sense is more often defined as a threshold.[47] In Corbechon's illumination the castle emphasises the role of the common sense as a threshold. The crenelated castle acts as a protector of the virtues and works as the skull.

The figure may simply be pointing to the common sense, but by pointing to it in this way, the figure further visually explains to viewers how, as an image, it is going to be assimilated by them. The pointing figure, as an *imago*, is going to penetrate the readers' eyes and arrive in their common sense. The figure communicates directly with the viewers by showing the assimilation process it is undergoing. The image makes the mental process visible, representing how images construct perception and memory as symbolised by the penetration of the *est*, *sens*, and the power of the soul. As a meta*painture*, it represents the exchange between illumination and phantasm and the fluidity of the bodily process, as well as the absorption of perception that is involved. Entry into the mind is not signified by the body, as in the illuminated initial opening Fournival's *Bestiaire* [fig. 9], but by the whole image. It does not index the common sense, but its likeness, its phantasmatic counterpart, and shows where it is happening within the viewers' own bodies. However, both Fournival [fig. 9] and Corbechon's [fig. 11] illustrations function to invoke both visible and mental images. They operate within an Aristotelian articulation of knowledge and demonstrate how a cognitive meta*painture* works to highlight the embodied incorporation of images.

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[47] Christiania Whitehead describes the motif of the castle as standing for the body and various systems of knowledge. She demonstrates how visualisations of castles are an important part memory training. Christiania Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind: A Study of Medieval Architectural Allegory* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003).

Brain imagery

Having established what I call a meta*painture* in relation to phantasms, in this section I look more closely at images of the thought process. Specifically, these usually follow a similar iconographic model: images of heads, or busts, where the forehead is seen in cross-section, creating a blurred bodily boundary, a dual space that allows viewers to see the cognitive process. This framing, relying on a partial view through – focusing only the heads, dividing them into parts that are seen differently, transforming them into a synecdoche – is an integral part of their working as meta*painture*. The cut, the differentiation, as I will discuss, is not only a formal but also a structural visual strategy: it points toward a totality just as the *imago* points toward its hidden counterpart, the phantasm. The lack of the body and the transparency of the forehead are pointing toward the idea that something must penetrate them. This lack is emphasised to show that the image is divided into two: the synecdoche that you can see and what it stands for. This section of the chapter also emphasises how these images are meta*painture* in the sense that they not only point toward the divided aspect of an image, but they are also images of image-making, in the sense that they show the process of production of a phantasm.

Among almost fifty small texts in a Trilingual Compendium, ranging from literary, to devotional, scientific and grammatical works, is a single-folio Latin treatise on the human head (folio 490), the illustrated *Qualiter caput hominis situatur* [fig. 13]. This manuscript, compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century, is now held in the Cambridge University Library. Michael Camille, who republished the treatise's only illumination a number of times, defines it as the illustration of 'a prevailing model of visuality as it was understood during the latter Middle Ages'.[48] The image on folio 490 verso presents a figure [fig. 14], whose head

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[48] Camille, 'Before the Gaze,' 197.

and neck are placed above very small shoulders, provoking an uncanny feeling and focusing the viewers' attention on the upper part of the body. The viewers' gaze moves from the figure as a body toward what is inside the head, also lingering on different aspects of the illumination, such as the framing or the background. This image is representative of contemporary representations of the cognitive faculty and has been reproduced and discussed by numerous scholars. For example, it illustrates the cover of Carruthers' *Book of Memory*. Despite its familiarity, however, I will be approaching this emblematic image from a different angle, discussing the features that, I argue, exemplify meta*painture*.

Around the illumination, breaking the space of the text, is a blue rectangular frame, delimitated by black lines. It is ornated by an undulating white line and white circles, placed at regular intervals in the concave space of the line. In addition, several other layers of framing take place within the illumination. The blue frame is superseded by the inscribed white shape that crowns the top of the head. The black line on viewers' right-hand side of the depicted body, to which I will return more in detail later, also frames the body. Finally, the black circles delimit cavities within the brain, while the red circles delimit what is seen in cross-section or not, what is outside or contained within. Even more interesting, perhaps, is the internal framing of the image within the page. The illumination sits at the bottom centre of the page, extricating itself from the text zone to impinge on the bottom margin. Nonetheless, the chin is placed on the same horizontal line as the text. The head within the illumination is therefore fully contained by the text and not by the external frame. This dynamic is reinforced by eyes that look to the text, not downward or outward, acting out the visual connection between Fournival's *painture* and *parole* in an embodied way.

When these levels of external and internal framing are put in relation to the background, they create a sense of motion. The inscribing of the faculties has to go over the boundaries of the frame, explicating the fluidity of a cognitive process that is always in

movement, of the species that penetrate the barriers of the body, the skin, the eyes, the ears, the nose, and the mouth to pass again inside the brain and be transformed. It encloses the body and blurs the distinction between the figure and the red pattern surrounding him. The face is unpainted, creating a game of back and forth when the red recedes in front of the unpainted colour of the face. At the same time, the face seems to be drawn in red, questioning whether the background is actually what it seems to be. It is as if the background and the frame are two different moving fluids contained within the body. 'Blood served to confirm a view of the body as bounded entity that was useful and necessary in medieval culture, but not self-evident' argues Bettina Bildhauer.[49] Alongside Caroline Walker Bynum, Bildhauer uses the concept of blood to complicate the problematic and often simplistic understanding of the medieval body and demonstrate, among many things, that the body can be open and vulnerable at the same time as it can be bounded and enclosed.[50] Similarly, the image in the Cambridge manuscript seems to unbound the body and represent the inside in the background. The circles are like species floating in blood, inside the illumination as if they already penetrated the depicted body. Bildhauer's argument is valuable to think about the permeability of the image and what it stands for. Indeed, the cavities of the brain contain and bind phantasms. As such, they are permeable to allow the fluidity of the thought process. They contain and let go out at the same time, a dynamic that is at the core of the meta*painture* and the workings of which we can apprehend in the *Qualiter caput* illumination.

However, 'while place is an apt way of circumscribing thought,' Kay writes, 'thought nevertheless does not belong in place and strains our attempts to imagine the *loci* in which it is placed'.[51] In the *Qualiter caput*, the roundels circumbscribe thought within the

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[49] Bettina Bildhauer, *Medieval Blood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 1.
[50] Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Blood of Christ,' *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 71, no. 4 (2002): 685–714. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood. Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).
[51] Kay, *The Place of Thought*, 75.

representation in an attempt to imagine the space of thought inside the human body. As such, since the faculties are contained and located within roundels, the circles here are more than simply binding and mapping the thought process. In an analysis of the circle as a conceptual device, Naomi Reed Kline argues that the circle, as exemplified by the motif of the rota, was a simple geometric form used to convey and synthetise abstract ideas about the relationship between the natural world and human beings, as well as an important learning device in the art of memory.[52] Kline also lays out how, by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the circle has become a polyvalent memorial and learning device, used to visually synthesise knowledge within an image and distilled in a large diversity of texts. Although Kline's primary objects of focus are maps and geometrical diagrams such as a wheel, her discussion of the circle is helpful to look at the *Qualiter Caput* image [figs 13 and 14]. This diagram has sometimes been described as a mapping of the mind, wherein the circles and inscriptions are used to visualise abstract concepts about human nature and memory inherited from Arabic and Greek writing but adapted to fit a Christian theory of cognition.

Circles, as mentioned, are commonly used in diagrams.[53] In a late fourteenth-century medical miscellany, a book on the eye is illustrated with a figure of the *capite humano* [fig. 15], a human head which consists of various circles, all emanating from the eye at the centre. The circles represent the different parts of the eye, such as its humour and tunics [*tunica*]. The half-circles represent – from exterior to interior – the skull [*cranium*], the dura mater, the pia mater and the brain [*cerebrum*].[54] The geometric shape is used to simplify the internal structure

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[52] Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 10.
[53] On the didactic use of diagrams in the Middle Ages, see Michael Evans, 'The Geometry of the Mind,' *Architectural Association Quarterly* 12 (1980): 32-55; John B. Friedman, 'Les Images mnémotechniques dans les manuscrits de l'époque gothique,' in *Jeux de mémoire. Aspects de la mnémotechnie médiévale*, ed. Bruno Roy and Paul Zumthor (Paris/Montréal: Vrin, 1985), 169-184; Adelaide Bennett, 'A Book Designed for a Noblewoman: An Illustrated *Manuel des Péchés* of the Thirteenth Century,' in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, *Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, July 1988*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson Lovelace Pub, 1990), 163-181.
[54] The dura and pia mater are thick membranes that surround and support the brain.

of the head at the same time as it locates and creates a hierarchy of the parts. It directs the reading onto a path. In the Durham diagram [fig. 12], the common sense is assimilated to a circle, a centre through which all information converges. Clarity, didacticism, embodiment and roundel are then interconnected. The shape is associated with a consciousness of the principle of generation and fluidity. In the Cambridge diagram [figs 13 and 14], the circles in the background as well as those in the frame theorise a systematic microcosm of the mind associated with its functioning. They are didactic but also convey an idea of creation, creation of knowledge, the world and memory.

Another way to look at those circles could then be through the prism of the question of singulars and universals. According to Aristotelian doctrine, a thing can only be known through the abstraction of its universal category – represented here by the circles – while singulars cannot go through this process. This question sparked one of the most intense scholastic debates.[55] Moreover, one might not be able to remember one particular experience, but medieval theoreticians assumed that by remembering something, one has to remember oneself first experiencing it sensually.[56] This is what Aquinas postulates when he states that the mind could be aware of its production of phantasms by meditating on one's own acts of cognition.[57] The image, as a meta*painture*, functions through this very dynamic: viewers contemplate the process of remembering they will go through with this very same image and what it abstracts.

The circles constitute the abstraction of a concept, its sense of movement, of depth and of visual repetition that expands the pictorial zone into another mental place, in order to invite the viewers to meditate on the image and what happens within their heads when

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[55] Alain de Libera, *La querelle des universeaux: De Platon à la fin du Moyen Age* (Éditions du Seuil: Paris, 1996); https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/universals-medieval/, Accessed 23 October 2017.
[56] Kay, *The Place of Thought*, 136.
[57] John Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150-1350): An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1991), 128-129.

they see. The coupling of three concentric circles in the background recalls the illuminations in Fournival's *Bestiaire* in BnF MS fr 412 [fig. 9]. Even if this motif is common in contemporary manuscripts, as part of the working of the meta*painture*, these roundels act as a materialisation of *painture* and *parole*, in their journey toward memory. Those circles in the background of the Cambridge diagram [fig. 14] seem to dance in the air as species ready to be grasped, moving through pictorial space. In MS G.g. 1.1., the roundels materialise the mental reception of the image and bridge *imago* and *phantasmata* together.

As already mentioned, the back of the head is painted in a thicker black line. This thickness attracts the gaze and emphasises the drawing of the body. The line connects the idea to the action, the contemplation to the creation. Augustine separates inner and outer man in these terms:

> Well now! Let us see where the boundary line, as it were, between the outer and inner man is to be placed … Since by the outer man we mean not the body only, but also its own peculiar kind of life, whence the structure of the body and all the senses derive their vigor, and by which he is equipped to perceive external things.[58]

The line acts exactly in Augustine's terms. It differentiates the inner part of the body, housing the *pars cerebri* (the line, after all, starts thickening at the end of the labeling of the *partes*), and the outer man. The line materialises the need for perception of external stimuli. The circles, therefore, are a response to the external things that the man is equipped to perceive. It reveals that *imagines* and the visible world are not so much seen as they are absorbed, incorporated and inscribe their meaning on us, like the writing on the illumination. This effect brings attention to the making of the image, to the fluidity of the matter applied to the page for the process of transformation that is image-making, be it physical or mental. It reminds the viewer of the process behind the image, inviting the viewer to reflect on the making process

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[58] Augustine, *On the Trinity. De Trinitate Libri XV*, ed. W.J. Mountain, trans. Stephen Mckenna (Washington, D.C.: Fathers of the Church, 1970), XII, i, I. Quoted in Kay, *The Place of Thought*, 80.

itself. The line is here the thin connector between the viewer and the cognitive process that is represented. The thicker line acts as the materialisation of the multiplication of species, the white circles floating amid the red, visualising the invisible penetration. The line helps the viewer move from the realm of the corporeal and visible to the realm of the invisible, where there is not a body. The crossing of this line, of this threshold, is a necessary condition for the cognitive process and image-making to happen, defining the limits of visibility.

Conception and realisation merge within this black line, within the round lines that create the circles in the background, within the red canals in the brain, within the circle creating the cavities, inscribing therefore the image, the phantasm in the viewer's memory. It enacts the meta*painture*. This *imago* contains a theory of image-making that calls attention to its own incorporation in the cavities. The frame acts as the cavity of the page, the figure appears within this space as a phantasm would in the cavities displayed. It is an attempt at materialising the confined and invisible, by hinting at it, evoking it, providing a sense of its scope and effects. It helps viewers understand how they can grasp what is beyond the visible by making its actions and workings perceptible. The containment and transparency at work in the image mimics the working of what it is picturing. The transparency of the forehead hints at the necessary penetration of the body and transformation of matter.

In a 1428 copy of Bacon's *Perspectiva*, a fragment of parchment has been slipped between the manuscript's pages [fig. 16].[59] The size of a hand, this fragment is illustrated with a roughly pen-sketched human head [fig. 17]. The schematic aspect of the drawing makes it difficult to determine if the head faces the viewer or if it is seen in profile. Four sense organs

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[59] London, British Library MS Sloane 2156, folio 11 recto. The manuscript contains several other scientific treatises, including Bacon's *De Multiplicatione Specierum*. The volume is made of both paper and parchment sheets which alternate. It seems folio 11 recto has been placed in its current position after the manuscript was once bound and foliated, as the foliation has been corrected at a later stage to include this fragment. The paper seems similar to that of the treatise, suggesting the addition may have been part of the manuscript's original design or drawn on some of the blank pages by a reader.

are represented: nose mouth, ears and finally, eyes. The humoral theory is here visually associated with the cognitive process, as each sense is labeled not by its name, but by its purgative function: the nose relates to phlegm [*fleumatica purgatur*], the mouth to blood [*sanguinea purgatur*], the ear to yellow bile [*colerica purgatur*] and the eye to black bile [*melancolica purgatur*]. From each sense organ originate thin lines that either connect the senses together or meet the circles placed on the forehead of the figure. This section of the head, right above the eyebrows, is differentiated from the rest of the face by a semi-circular shape, marked as the cerebrum, containing the five internal senses. The senses are placed one after the other, along the line of the cranial cap. The five powers of the soul or outward wits are inscribed with their functions: common sense [*sensus communis*], imagination [*ymaginatiua*], fantasy [*fantasia*], cogitation [*cogitatiua*] and memory [*memoria*]. They overlap with the semi-circular opening onto the cerebrum where they join small circles. Through these circles passes a line connecting the external and internal senses all together, mapping the functioning of the brain. This creates, for viewers, the impression of being faced with a composite figure that neither contains nor excludes their inner physiology.

In the miscellany's table of contents, in a different ink, are added the words 'cum figuris', with figures. The addition of doodles, optical and geometrical diagrams is being signposted, in so doing, as an integral feature of the text. Some of these diagrams picture the optic chiasm, the crossing of the optic nerves, coming out of the eyes and into the brain. The chiasm is a connection between external stimuli, the organ of vision and the internal senses. It symbolises the joining of the external *imago*, the eyes and the brain. On folio 38 recto [fig. 18] are seven diagrams depicting how things [*res*] and images [*ymago*] are incorporated into the eye [*oculo*]. The Benedictine Vincent de Beauvais (ca. 1184/1194 – 1264) wrote:

> The brain is the most important and noble of all organs, because it is the material
> foundation in man, as it uses the rational powers of the soul in order to proceed
> to actual reality. It is also excellently well positioned because of the eyes, so that

a man who is distant from something will be able to see far and progress to other places, for vision gives him a wide perspective.[60]

Sight is the most important sense and Vincent de Beauvais explains that, as such, it is directly connected to the faculties. The diagrams added to the 1428 copy of Bacon's *Perspectiva* are thus inherent to the meaning of the optical text. The 'late medieval world', for lack of a better term, intellectually and socially constructed itself around a system of images as one cannot understand without phantasms. This mode of understanding was so intertwined with systems of representation and images that the material history of this loose leaf slipped in Bacon's *Perspectiva* [fig. 17], and the emphasis put on diagrams about vision, opens up a range of questions. It queries the correlation between optics and brain physiology, visible and invisible, and the Aristotelian reflection on and theorisation of what is perceived by the senses and how it would be intellectually known.

Bacons opens the *Perspectiva* with the words '[a]nd not without it, can the other sciences be known.'[61] Optical theory and sight, in the *Pespectiva*, are discussed as the basis of knowledge, both empirical and intellectual. Bacon anchors optical theory within the brain:

> and since many other things to be treated below presuppose sure knowledge of the faculties of the sensitive soul; therefore, in order to discover what is required for vision, we must begin with the parts of the brain and the powers of the soul. And authors on *perspectiva* lead the way, showing us how the optic nerves descend from the coats of the brain and the lining of the skull.[62]

The brain was indeed understood at the time as a primordial organ.[63] In Bacon's *Pespectiva*,

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[60] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale* in *Bibliotheca mundi Vincentii Burgundi, ex ordine Praedicatorum venerabilis episcopi Bellovacensis, Speculum quadruplex, naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale* (Douai: Baltazar Bellerus, 1642) book 28, chapter 40, translated in Esther Cohen, 'The Meaning of the Head in High Medieval Culture,' in *Disembodied Heads in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Catrien Santing, Barbara Baert and Anita Traninger (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 68.

[61] Roger Bacon, *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, trans. Robert Belle Burke, 2 vols. (New York: Russell, 1962), 2: 420.

[62] *multaque alia inferius tractanda supponunt certificationem virtutum anime sensitive; ideo oportet a partibus cerebri et virtutibus anime inchoare, ut inveniamus ea que ad visum sunt necessaria. Et auctores perspective dant nobis viam ad hoc, ostendentes quomodo a pelliculis cerebri et cute cranei descendunt nervi visuales.* David C. Lindberg, *Roger Bacon and the Origins of* Perspectiva *in the Middle Ages. A Critical Edition and English Translation of Bacon's Perspectiva with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 6-7.

[63] As such, the second chapter of Bacon's Perspectiva directly deals with the first two interior sensitive faculties of the soul [*De virtutibus anime sensitivis intrioribus*], namely imagination and common sense. The third one deals with the 'sensibles perceived by the special senses, the common sense, and the imagination' while the fourth

the role of phantasy is more preeminent. The accent is, therefore, placed on the visual. Bacon, when working on theories of vision, discussed the notion of species at length. As demonstrated in this thesis's introduction, the distinction between species and phantasms is thin and the concepts are sometimes used interchangeably. Indeed, Bacon does not use *phantasma* or *phantasmata* in his discussion of the brain, but resorts to *species*. Species are the likeness of an object (called an agent) propagated through a phenomenon of multiplication to a recipient. The species, according to the theory of intromission, are received by the eye, where they go through the uvea, retina, veins, arteries and humours to finally pass through the two optic nerves located at the bottom of the first anterior ventricle of the brain, as partially pictured in this copy of the *Perspectiva* [figs 16 and 17]. According to medieval theories of vision, an object, animate or inanimate, had the power to create *species* or images of itself, a phenomenon termed the generation and multiplication of species. After this creative process, the species will enter the eyes, pass the optic nerves and chiasm to arrive in the first chamber of the brain, where they will be received as phantasms. The species akin to phantasms are the likeness of an object. Species, however, in Baconian optical theory, make this mental image material (hence my own terminology of visible and invisible in addition to physical and mental). Because the soul is an embodied phenomenon, the images it receives are made of matter.[64]

The numerous graphics in this copy of the *Perspectiva* [fig. 18], including the drawing of the head discussed so far [fig. 17], must be seen in light of Suzannah Biernoff's description of optics:

> [it] was to be the key that would unlock the natural world. As well as being an object or field of study, *perspectiva* was a way of seeing, a discipline in both senses of the word: the verb *perspicere* means to survey or scrutinize, to investigate

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then moves on to discuss cogitation and memory. Finally, the fifth chapter discusses the contradictions found in literature on the faculties.

[64] Biernoff, 'Carnal Relations,' 42. Aristotle, *On the Soul* in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 1.1.403a25.

thoroughly, to 'see through'. Geometrical abstraction functioned something like an X-ray, enabling the 'perspectivist' to discern the underlying structure of the natural world.[65]

A close reading of the text suggests that the gaze posed upon the fragment of the brain scrutinises in accordance with Biernoff's summary. Engagement with the drawing would be highly influenced by this specific embodied gaze that optics calls for. Consequently, it seems at first that the image [fig. 17] functions on two levels: firstly, the figure in itself, and secondly, the space of the brain. The latter is cut in the forehead in cross-section and brought back to the plane of the figure. In each instance writing, situating various parts and shaping the space, is heavily used to organise the figure. A face is written upon or glossed, compiling and classifying together the different levels of the cognitive process within a single image. The image, both visible and invisible, ordains as such the knowledge of its working and acts, therefore, as a meta*painture.*

However, the notion of the figure, often used to refer to this type of drawing, must be refined. Indeed, according to the definition in Lewis and Short's Latin dictionary, a *figura* is a form, a shape, a figure, but it is also a synonym of *species.* Georges Didi-Huberman, in his book *The Power of the Figure,* argues that Christian art and exegetic medieval art are based on a new kind of configuration: figurative powers, much like the modern Freudian theories of the unconscious, dreams and imagination. Dreams and phantasms are thus required by the figure. But because what escapes us cannot be apprehended, it can only be figurative. Didi-Huberman summarises:

> What does this mean? Briefly, the Christian "science" of pictures has called for something like an unconscious of the visible: not invisible as such, but rather a region of the figure which would have the persistent power of phantasms, or the fatality of symptoms, or the pleasant value of *mots d'esprit*, or at least the hallucinatory value of dream pictures. In short, the capacity, the power to constitute every figure in a dialectic of desire and a real treasure trove of psychic

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[65] Biernoff, 'Carnal Relations,' 41.

and cultural overdetermination.[66]

My use of the word figure is informed by analyses of this kind, which defines the concept as a form, a key to apprehension of the invisible. I therefore talk here about figure in two ways: literally, it is a form defining an object, animate or inanimate, but as a figure it is also connected to the substance of the meaning. Furthermore, in 1425, the prestigious Franciscan orator San Bernardino da Siena (1380 – 1444), the 'apostle of Italy', formulated a semiotic paradox when he discussed the Incarnation. He posits that this is a phenomenon where, in Bernardino's own terms, something that cannot be pictured appears in a figure, the invisible is found in vision and the inaudible in sound.[67] As Daniel Arasse has argued, Bernardino's paradoxes point toward the fact that the Incarnation cannot truly be representable.[68] Thus, the image [fig. 17], and similar brain diagrams, does indeed function on two levels, but not the face and brain as such; this is implied by the visible *imago* and invisible species/*phantasma* of this meta*painture*, which merge in the figure.

The lines of text that label the sense organs and the faculties of the soul in these brain diagrams, just as *parole* and *painture* are part of the same dynamic, should not be understood as simply being added to the drawing. Indeed, Bacon follows an Aristotelian understanding of cognition whereby sensations enter the body and are received internally by dedicated sense organs. As such, he attributes to language a very important role in the representation of reality and in the *imago* of the brain, and the broader corpus of these *imagines*, where the lines are the image. In *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books*, Martha Rust describes 'the semantics of the text itself as an image – as a picture of writing – and examines the ways in which the meanings of a text-as-image may interact with or impinge upon (as opposed to merely subtending) the

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[66] Georges Didi-Huberman, *The Power of the Figure: Exegesis and Visuality in Christian Art* (Umeå: Department of History and Theory of Art, Umeå University, 2003), 10.

[67] Bernardino da Siena, *Pagine Scelte*, ed. Dionisio Pacetti O.F.M. (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1950), 54.

[68] Daniel Arasse, *L'Annonciation Italienne: Une Histoire de Perspective* (Paris: Hazan, 1999), 11-12.

meanings of text-as-linguistic artifact'.[69] With this understanding of text as an image, just as Fournival described *painture* as the letters of a manuscript, the sense organs and roundels that receive mental images become polysemous *loci* of knowledge and knowledge propagation crucial to the working of the image. The text is, therefore, inherent to the diagrams. When, in John Rylands MS Latin 500 [figs 1 and 2] or in the Leipzig flyleaf [fig. 8], a note mentions phantasms, it is part of the *painture* of the diagram.

Such illustrations of the head as these brain diagrams are not the representation of a self, but an assemblage of the cognitive function that together defines the soul, working within what Biernoff called 'the underlying structure of the natural world' observed by the perspectivist gaze.[70] In this context of optics, of understanding the working of light that you can see but not grasp, the figure in Bacon's *Perspectiva* [fig. 17] and the accompanying diagrams [fig. 18] are not about representing the material world as it is, but representing how to perceive, cognise and understand it. It is a vision of humankind's ability to think, a representation of the articulation of thinking. What matters in such illuminations is the process of knowing, not so much the product of cognition. The brain, as a collation of functions, is exposed by transparency. Viewers are shown how to construct knowledge, and because one can remember that one has remembered, this cycle happens repeatedly. The exposure to this assemblage is infinite. Indeed, these images and the scopic culture they represent are made to be anchored within the viewers' bodies, deep inside it, and digested by their organs of thought. The heads are disembodied because they are not bodies but images. An image like the Bacon diagram [fig. 17], which functions as a synecdoche, acts as a relay between the physical world and abstract concepts, between concepts in the mind's eye's and visible figures.

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[69] Martha Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 19.
[70] Biernoff, 'Carnal Relations,' 41.

These faces work on the same level as the roundels and geometrical shapes: they contain and place signification. Aristotle himself, in the *Physics*, glossed the containing aspect of place. Place is the boundary, the outline, of the body. It is, therefore, defined as the boundaries of a body as well as being differentiated within the said bodies. For Aristotle, as explicated by Benjamin Morison, containment is the most important way of being within a place.[71] Aristotle also defined containment in the *Categories*, albeit in a different way, whereas place is a receptive containment. Nonetheless, the most important distinction that Aristotle makes is between circumscriptive and receptive modes of containment.[72] Circumscriptive places can either contain proximately, when they are in contact with what they contain, or they can contain remotely. The different spaces of an illumination of the cognitive faculties, such as the Cambridge diagram [fig. 14] or the Bacon drawing [fig. 17], then work as these two categories of containment. The face is circumscriptive and the faculties receptive.

With regard to the cognitive process, this Aristotelian containment is best illustrated in a mid-fifteenth-century English pseudo-Galenic *Anatomia*.[73] This manuscript is divided into two major parts: the first, containing the different anatomical treatises after Galen (ff. 1r-48v) and the second which consists of eight fully illustrated pages (49v-53v). The text discusses the *brane* or *brayn* and the head for seventeen folios, including the ventricles (*ymagination* etc.), the pia mater, the dura mater and other issues summarised at the end of the chapter on folio 16 verso. The first two illustrations (folios 49 verso and 50 recto) feature nudes figures showcasing the body's different parts [fig. 19]. The different body parts of this naked figure are numbered and labelled directly onto the part, such as '*frontis*' or '*spatule*'. On both folios, the head is flanked by two roundels. In the front view, the left roundel is a red brick round circled by a thick black line and a second thinner line a little bit further, creating

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[71] Benjamin Morison, *On Location: Aristotle's Concept of Place* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).
[72] Morison, *On Location*, 4.
[73] London, Wellcome Library, MS 290. On the manuscript, see Jack Hartnell, 'Wording the Wound Man,' *British Art Studies* 6 (2017).

this parchment zone between the two. Golden letters adorn the inner red roundel, reading common sense [*sensus comunis*]. The right one is purple, with the same surrounding black line. Dark blue letters inscribe the cell of imagination [*cellula ymaginativa*]. On the back view, the roundels follow the same structure. The turquoise left shape is inscribed with damaged golden letters. Although the last two lines are illegible, the first two read estimative cell [*cellula estimative*]. The right round is a dark blue with black letters. The colours are heavily smudged and only a part of the cell [*cellula*] is still legible today, but it must be the cell of memory.

The question that naturally arises is why the faculties of the *brayn* have been represented outside the body? Indeed, the following images in the treatise are representations of the skeleton, a flayed figure showing the systems of veins and flesh, a cross-section pregnant woman and finally a wound-man. These images show the inside of the body at the same time as the outside, emphasising that representing the brain cells in such a specific way is deliberate. As in the *Qualiter Caput* [fig. 14], the notion of containment associated with the circle entails an idea of generation. This connection with the idea of creation and generation relates closely to the Aristotelian problem of place and provides an answer to the question of how to materialise thought. Indeed, as Kay explicates, thoughts are not places, but places are the things in which thought is. 'Place is what orders, disposes, bounds, a body in the physical world', she concludes, 'while thought is what renders it intelligible in the mental one'.[74] Aristotelian circumscriptive and receptive containments, with internal and external circles, are then the ways in which the illuminations of the cognitive faculties, such as the Bacon diagrams [fig. 17] or the pseudo-Galenic anatomy [fig. 19], found a way to represent something that is not a place.

The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (ca. 80s BC), a treatise on rhetoric that gained popularity in

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[74] Kay, *The Place of Thought*, 7.

the thirteenth century, associates place and images. In the third book, readers are enticed to set up *loci* in architectural spaces that will work as mnemonics for the art of recollection. Such *loci* should be mentally adorned with images [*imagines agentes*]. Elina Gertsman parallels this memorial process to art making, a link already acknowledged in late medieval treatises.[75] Gertsman quotes as example the work of Peter of Prague (ca. 1400), which describes how images and places are separate entities.[76] Peter of Prague illustrates this difference by equating places to matter, such as a sheet of paper, and images to form, such as a drawing done on the sheet of paper. Places and images, therefore, go hand in hand in the medieval mind. With regards to phantasms, the place of mental images resides both in the material world and in the realm of mental processes, a bridge between the sheet of parchment bearing such imagery as representation of the faculties, and the brain wherein they are processed.

A fifteenth-century diagram, now in Ghent, takes a similar yet slightly different approach to the internal senses. It appears in a copy of the work of Jan Yperman, a Flemish surgeon (ca. 1260 – 1331) whose *Cyrurgie* is the first recorded medical text written in Dutch.[77] The *Cyrurgie*'s first book is entirely dedicated to the head and in its introductory section (*On the Structure of the Head*), Yperman describes a threefold morphology. To start with, the anterior part of the brain deals with sight, taste and smell, as well as dealing with consciousness and differentiation of the information transmitted by the senses. The median area is the section of the brain presiding over intelligence and hearing. Yperman insists that this is where all ideas, judgments and understanding are formed. Finally, memory is in the posterior part of the brain. Yperman clearly abides by a classic threefold division of the

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[75] Elina Gertsman, *Worlds Within. Opening the Medieval Shrine Madonna* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), 153.

[76] Gertsman uses Paolo Rossi's translation from the manuscript Florence, Bibliotheca nazionale, Magiab, MS Cl. VI, 5, fol. 67v. Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language*, trans. Stephen Clucas (London: Athlone Press, 2000), 14.

[77] Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, MS 1273, fol. 3v.

brain's faculty into imagination, cogitation and memory.[78]

In the Ghent manuscript, Yperman's description is encapsulated in a diagram [fig. 20]. The brain is a geometrical form: three external circles represent the cranium, dura mater and pia mater. At the centre is another circle, divided in three parts that are the ventricles, respectively in the anterior, middle and exterior parts. Surrounding the brain are four men, Lanfranc of Milan (ca. 1250 – 1306), Meester Bruun, Avicenna and Galen, each one holding a scroll with their names. The drawing is not placed in the margin but has a dedicated space within the text. This concentric diagram recalls those of the universe made of several concentric circles, especially those where figures or angels stand in the corner of the illumination. After all, in addition to housing the soul, brain and mind are in themselves a point of origin for some defining aspects of life: motion, sensation and thoughts. The forefathers of the brain medical doctrines look upon their theories just as Jesus holds up the cosmos. Moreover, the figures look at the brain from the top as their theories unfold both before their eyes and those of the viewers. The drawing in Yperman's *Cyrurgie* visualises the thought-process, which of course includes the faculty of memory. The brain is the repository of memory, but by adding the four figures of Yperman's predecessors, the illuminator calls attention to the status of the representation as a memorial repository. The figures are the resting place of memory, of the past revived.

The clear-cut fragmentation of the different aspect of thinking and brain physiology hits at an idea of totality, of wholeness, that these images, because of the inherent decapitation of the figure, cannot fully render. It points to a necessity to connect the visible part to what has not been pictured, reminding the viewers that their own intangible *phantasmata* are digested *imagines*. One does not go without the other. Questioning the

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[78] A. de Mets, *La chirurgie de Maître Jehan Yperman (1260?-1310?) livres I et II traduits du vieux flamand d'après les manuscrits de Cambridge et de Bruxelles et précédés d'une introduction* (Paris: Éditions Hippocrate, 1936), 26-27.

uncanny collage of geometrical forms and sketched body parts as well as the formal aspect of the meta*painture* as such induces a reflection on its status as signifier, metaphor of the general visuality and contingent on another type of image, that is intangible but ought to have formal qualities as well. These are, ultimately, images of image-making of another kind that ought to be understood as an attempt to deal with the problem of representation. Figuration, discourse, speech, circumscription, vision, sound and tangibility are all aspects found in the imagines of the soul's faculties. The invisible *phantasma* can only be truly found in the visible *imago* and one always works as a fragmented part of the other. Therefore, these meta*paintures* of the cognitive process are inherently visual synecdoches that point to the divided nature of the image.

Conclusion

In lieu of a conclusion, I want to come back to John Rylands MS Latin 500 [figs 1 and 2]. In folio 13 recto, the act of representation creates this liminal space in the figure's forehead, where the thought process is both external and see-through, both inside the brain and outside the body. These transparent zones in images of the thought process point to the necessity of incorporation: species must enter the body and be transported to this alternative space. The gaze functions as a means of incorporation: the image is consumed by the viewers' gaze and the visual product of this ingestion, phantasms, will be digested by the soul's faculties to be memorised. By representing the cognitive process in these disembodied heads, the signified object of knowledge is opened to be transported and incorporated into another head, that of viewers. By mapping the cognitive process within this picture and signifying the picture as the thing to be incorporated, viewers are conceived as the ultimate containers of images. Images exist, as in MS Latin 500, both in the material world, like on the pages of manuscripts, and in the transparent zone of the brain. In the former case, they are *imagines*, but in the latter,

they exist in the realm of the invisible, as phantasms. The heads' gazes make the pictorial space expand beyond the image, extending within the viewer's body.

Such images as MS Latin 500 folio 13 recto emphasise this dual nature of images, as concomitantly visible and invisible, physical and mental. They are what I termed meta*paintures*. The term combines the medieval theory of memory designed by Richard de Fournival and the metapicture of art historian Mitchell. A meta*painture* is an image that calls attention to its ontological status of *imago*, ready to be incorporated into a phantasm. Some brain diagrams occasionally make this process explicit either by inscribing the change, like in Leipzig flyleaf [fig. 8], or using visual strategies, as in the Cambridge diagrams, where circles move in the background just as species surround bodies [fig. 14]. Brain diagrams and metaphors of the internal senses materialise invisible phantasms by foregrounding their process and space. Phantasms are visualised through their containment. In this chapter, I have discussed a very specific type of material, not widely accessible to medieval viewers. Nonetheless, these theoretical concerns about mentally viewing images, the move between visible and invisible, had an impact on devotional popular culture. Phantasms transcended, in a way, theoretical considerations to permeate visual culture.

2

Bere in thy mynde:

likeness, between parchment and skin

O man vnkynde

Bere in thy mynde

My paynes smerte [piercing pains]

An þu shall fynde

Me treu and kynde

Lo here my herte

The pardon for . v . pater noster . v .

aves and a credo ; Whyth pytuusly [piteously]

beholdynge the armes of cristis

passyon is . xxxii . M . and lv . yeres

This six-line Middle English poem, followed by a four-line rubric, opens an indulgence roll made in England in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, now in the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library under the shelf mark MS 410 [fig. 21].[1] The short poem *O man unkynde*,

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[1] New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS 410.

uttered by Christ to an *vnkynde* beholder, is a divine invitation to meditate upon, behold and contemplate his wounds and holy heart.[2] The short poem sets out the roll's memorial and embodied programme. The first thing that Christ asked of the *man vnkynde* is to *bere in thy mynde* something the beholder has seen and is seeing. For if the poem is the opening text, the first of the roll's three membranes is entirely composed of images except for these ten lines, tucked in between representations of the instruments of the Passion. Christ stands directly above the first verse, gazing at the viewers and addressing the *man vnkynde* while pointing to his side wound. The pigments of his face are partially erased, as though an avid viewer has brushed it off, intensely or over time [fig. 22].[3] Four figures frame and look at him, inviting beholders to join them. Under the prayer, other instruments of the Passion visually reiterate the instructions of the indulgence: behold.

The Middle English *biholding* has three definitions. First, it refers, as in modern English, to the act of seeing, of looking. Yet it also means, and I quote the Middle English Dictionary (MED), 'the act of applying one's mind: inspection, observation, consideration; thought, contemplation, meditation, empathy; inward'.[4] Finally, it involves a state of connection. Therefore, Beinecke MS 410 [fig. 21] invites a connection between viewers and object, a mental beholding of images to obtain the indulgence.[5] The message is visually repeated at the bottom of the membrane where a Dominican monk kneels exactly where the membranes join, holding a scroll from which emanates the blue background of the second image [fig. 23]. This entire first membrane visually explicates the working of the indulgence: hold the scroll, involve your body, recite prayers, but most importantly mentally behold, look

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[2] Digital Index of Middle English Verse (DIMEV) 3984-3. The poem was first transcribed in Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The "Arma Christi" Rolls,' *Modern Language Review* 34, no. 3 (1939): 415–421, especially 417, 419-420.
[3] On such physical interactions with images, see Kathryn M. Rudy, 'Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Badges and Carrying Talismans: Considering Some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals they Reveal,' *eBJL* 5 (2011).
[4] Middle English Dictionary (MED), Accessed 17 February 2018.
[5] For a recent study on indulgences and images, see Kathryn Rudy, *Rubrics, Images and Indulgences in Late Medieval Netherlandish Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

at images with your mind's eye.[6] The mind's eye implies a conception of visibility that bridges the external and internal, where species entering the body are received and impressed in the mind as phantasms, based on an emotional reaction and likeness. The image-formed signs processed by the common sense and the imagination are, therefore, likenesses of objects and not objects themselves.

This chapter explores how illustrated prayer rolls act as mediating vessels between images and the mind's eye, between perception and cognition, through the prism of likeness. In the previous chapter, I theorised the concept of meta*painture*, a representation that highlights the cognitive phenomenon and registers the incorporation of the *imago* into *phantasmata*, contending that an image can only be apprehended if one considers both the *imago* and the *phantasmata*. I posited that, in this context, a medieval image is one phenomenon composed of two branches, one in the visible realm and the other in the invisible. In this chapter, I discuss how mental beholding, in a devotional context, feeds into a different aspect of the meta*painture*. Medieval theologians, physicians and perspectivists reasoned that phantasms operate based on a *similitudo*, a likeness, to create an emotional response [*intentio*]. Rolls such Beinecke MS 410 [fig. 21], exemplify that physical vision is only a step toward seeing with the mind's eye because they rely on a lay audience's understanding of phantasms. I approach the parchment of the rolls as a surface where *imago* and *phantasmata* meet, joined by embodied physical connection. To this end, the chapter examines the intrinsic likeness that parchment and skin share in the working of late medieval prayer rolls.

My approach to skin is deeply informed by the volume *Thinking Through the Skin*, edited by Sara Ahmed and Jackie Stacey, in which they 'seek to think *about the skin*, but also to think *with* or *through* the skin.'[7] Skin, in their analysis, is conceived as a becoming, a

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[6] On the mind's eye, see Hamburger and Bouché, eds, *The Mind's Eye.*

[7] Sara Ahmed and Jackie Stacey, 'Introduction: Dermographies,' in *Thinking Through the Skin*, ed. Sara Ahmed and Jackie Stacey (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 2. Several contributions to the volume approach

boundary-object that is an act of inter-embodiment. Particularly, my own thinking about skin and the cognitive process is influenced by Jay Prosser's contribution to the volume. Discussing autobiographical narrative around skin, Prosser argues that '[w]e become aware of skin as a visible surface through memory.'[8] Skin is a surface that remembers trauma and it is through memory that we become aware of skin as a surface.[9] As such, I approach prayer rolls as skin surfaces bearing witness to divine sufferings. Moreover, I explore how, as a surface, rolls and their illustrations become a point of connection for *imagines* and *phantasmata*, where one emerges from the other through inter-embodiment and likeness.

In keeping with this investigation, the chapter is designed to unfold as a roll would do. Each section builds on the previous one, as if the content and the argument can only move in one direction and information is revealed one step at a time, what is to come always being veiled. The short opening segment first questions the theoretical and vernacular understandings of likeness that cement the rest of the chapter, mirroring an opening image or rubrication, teasingly setting out what the object is about. Building on these views about likeness, I then dive into the heart of the roll's membranes, discussing the very material of the rolls, namely skin. This section explores aspects of materiality such as parchment or stitching. Focusing on the physical experience of rolls, I underline how parchment participates in the cognitive dynamic invoked by the texts and images. From wounds, to pricking and unrolling, this section foregrounds the haptic handling of the objects. Finally, the chapter ends with a conceptual questioning of the space of images that adorn these rolls

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bodies and skin as 'phantasmatic'. I do not discuss this in this chapter as such interpretations pertain to Freudian's theories of imagination, which differ from the medieval concept.

[8] Jay Prosser, 'Skin Memories,' in *Thinking Through the Skin*, ed. Sara Ahmed and Jackie Stacey (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 52.

[9] Sarah Kay has discussed the relationship between surface and symptomatic reading regarding parchment in bestiaries: Kay, 'Surface and Symptom'. See also Sarah Kay, 'Surface Reading and The Symptom That Is Only Skin-deep,' *Paragraph* 35, no. 3 (2012): 451-459.

and how they relate to the concerns raised previously, rolling back and forth through my own content.

Likeness

When users of Beinecke MS 410 [fig. 21] read that they must bear in their minds and behold, they are exposed to the fact that physical vision is directly connected to seeing with the mind's eye. In the early fourteenth century, thirteenth-century scientific and metaphysical theories of vision and optics started permeating secular theories of knowledge and theology. Roger Bacon and Peter of Limoges combined biblical and scientific texts to propose a theological epistemology. Vision starts with the species of an object, reaching the viewer's eyes to finish in what Peter calls 'the common nerve', situated in the brain. Optics, therefore, is a conduit to divine knowledge.[10] Part of this process relies on the power of imagination, which, Aquinas explains, functions as a movement inducing a change in the soul, based on a sensory activity.[11] The result is phantasms, the likeness of the physical object provoked by an emotional stimulus. This theoretical change is concomitant to the rise of a new devotion, focused heavily on Christ's body and the torments he incurred, such as scourging. How, therefore, is this devotion to Christ's sufferings enacted in prayer rolls that put so much emphasis on the mind's eye? I contend that it is conveyed through likeness.

Likeness is not an easy concept to apprehend. Stephen Perkinson pointed out that in art historical studies, it usually connotes portraiture as well as a reference to bodily or facial features. Perkinson also indicates that the Oxford English Dictionary (OED)'s definition of

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[10] Richard G. Newhauser, 'Peter of Limoges, Optics, and the Science of the Senses,' *The Senses and Society* 5, no. 1 (2010): 28-44, especially 32-35.
[11] Lesson 2, sections 311 and 312. Burchill, 'Thomas Aquinas's *Commentary*,' 160.

'likeness' implies a relationship to intangible concepts.[12] He set out to demonstrate that, in medieval theories, likeness conveyed a strong connection to representation and images. Perkinson mainly discusses notions of facial appearances and images, which differs strongly from my purpose here.[13] Hans Belting, in *Likeness and Presence*, explores how icons as images, through a physical likeness to their prototype, became a miraculous tangible presence for believers.[14] Art history has, for a long time, equated or at least discussed likeness and mimesis in an interchangeable way.

In Latin scientific discourses, however, the concept of likeness was more layered. Bonaventure's work presents a very complex theory of resemblance, which Philip L. Reynolds calls 'homeology', that implies different taxonomies of likeness and similarities.[15] The theologian uses a variety of words such as like [*similis*], likeness [*similitudo*] or image [*imago*]. Reynolds explains that 'according to the ordinary sense of the term "likeness," an image (such as the depiction of a sovereign on a coin or in a painting) is a likeness of a special sort. On this view, imago is a species of similitudo.'[16] Interestingly, Reynolds connects likeness as portraiture to theories of vision and species. By positing that *imago* is a species made of *similitudo*, of a likeness, Bonaventure's theories resonate with that of Aquinas.

Anthony J. Lisska has explained that, in Aquinas's writings, *similitudo* can be classified into three categories, one of them being phantasms.[17] Aquinas describes, for example, how

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[12] Stephen Perkinson, 'Likeness,' *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 15-16. See also Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago and London: The University Press of Chicago, 2009), especially 62-66.

[13] Most of the scholarship around likeness focuses either on Byzantine art, portraiture or the face in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. See also Georgia Sommers Wright, 'The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth Century,' *Gesta* 39, no. 2 (2000): 117-134.

[14] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[15] Philip L. Reynolds, 'Bonaventure's Theory of Resemblance,' *Tradition* 58 (2003): 219-255.

[16] Reynolds, 'Bonaventure,' 222.

[17] Anthony J. Lisska, *Aquinas's Theory of Perception: An Analytic Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 273-298.

'the likeness through which we understand is the species of the known in the knower.'[18] Sight perceives a likeness of something visible and, once the intellect has apprehended and abstracted it, the likeness is called intelligible species.[19] Similar to the slippage between phantasms and species, theoreticians used *similitudo*/likeness either as a synonym or as a description for species and phantasms. The similitude transfers to its own terminology. Images, phantasms, species and likeness are therefore several parts of a bigger process, involving each other. Michael Camille explains that the Latin *species* evolves from the Greek root *spec* denoting what a thing looks like, connecting objects and senses.[20] He further argues that with the rise of the intromission theory, likeness and similitude became more prominent than in the theory of extramission. Indeed, in the case of intromission, the object acts upon the gaze through its likeness rather than being its product.[21] Camille develops this point by linking it to the power held by images, which now stare back at viewers while they impress them. In intromission theory, images, just like nature, have an impact on bodies. Phantasms are not images in the sense of a picture as we would understand it, but in the sense of a reflection, a similitude or likeness of something seen that is corporeal and in the body.[22] The likeness is not itself the object of knowledge, but a means of knowing.

In the vernacular context concomitant to the production of Beinecke MS 410 [fig. 21], likeness has similar implications. The MED lists six main definitions of *liknes*, each with

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[18] 'quod *similitudo* per quam intelligimus, est *species* cogniti in cognoscente.' Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.85.a.8.ad.3. My emphasis.

[19] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.85.a.2.co.

[20] Camille, 'Before the Gaze,' 210.

[21] Camille, 'Before the Gaze,' 207. In his discussion of the *Qualitet Caput*, Camille explains that sight is described as perceiving 'the image of the forms of colored bodies imprinted on the vitrous humor.' (202) Or, as he points out in his translation by glossing the word 'image', the original Latin for image in the text is *simulacrum*. Mary Carruthers explains that '[a] properly made phantasm is both a likeness (*simulacrum*) and one's gut-level response to it (*intentio*), and it is an emotional process that causes change in the body.' Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 211. I do not engage here with notions of simulacrum as they often pertain to earlier theories of vision. On a theoretical engagement with simulacrum, see Michael Camille, 'Simulacrum,' in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff, 2nd ed. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 35-48.

[22] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.85.a.1.ad.3. Chapter 4 explores in greater details this notion of corporeality.

additional denotations. In general, the word relates to questions of appearance, shape and resemblance. *Liknes*, however, also heavily implies the idea of image (as representation) and analogy. These two aspects of *liknes*, one physical and one conceptual, inform the following discussion. The first part of the chapter explores the medical understanding of *liknes*, defined as 'med. correspondence of quality or substance' (MED). The substance I focus on is that of the rolls themselves: parchment. How is the devotional information recorded on the material surface of the skin perceived through the mind's eye due to the likeness between skin and parchment? Secondly, my analysis moves toward a conceptual understanding of likeness, informed by the definition: '(a) The visible appearance of something, esp. in transmission from object to eye; a visual image; also, the sense impression produced by an odor; (b) a mental image retained in the 'Imaginatio'' (MED). To do so, I explore the moment when a beholder holds a prayer roll and the surface of the parchment acts as a connector between the message confined in the roll and the beholder's internal senses.

Likeness of the skin

Beinecke MS 410 [fig. 21] belongs to a larger material tradition. Although very few prayer rolls survive from this date, they were an important part of late medieval English culture. One appears in the famous fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting, the *Merode Altarpiece* by Robert Campin and his workshop, painted around 1427 – 1432.[23] The central panel portrays the Annunciation, while the Virgin is reading in a domestic setting [fig. 24]. On the table, another book is opened on a green pouch, probably a protection. Against this pouch lies a roll of partially unfurled parchment, hanging upside down from the table [fig. 25].[24] Although

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[23] It has been argued that a painting like the *Merode Altarpiece* prompts a spiritual pilgrimage due to its fragmentary disposition: Matthew Botvinick, 'The Painting as Pilgrimage: Traces of a Subtext in the Work of Campin and His Contemporaries,' *Art History* 15, no. 1 (1992): 1-18.
[24] I am not aware of an in-depth discussion on that roll in recent scholarship. An earlier panel dated 1415-1425, now in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium (Inv. 3937), depicts the same scene but the roll is absent.

no text can be deciphered, the roll presents all the characteristics of contemporaneous surviving prayer rolls, such as size or layout. The term 'prayer roll' itself tends to be used loosely, since Curt F. Bühler first used it in 1937, as an umbrella term without a clear definition.[25] Taken in its most literal sense, 'prayer roll' could refer to any devotional text written on a roll. I use 'prayer roll' as a category that responds only to certain criteria, therefore excluding several types of rolls such as genealogical, obituary, Exultet, chronicle or estate rolls. Instead, I refer specifically to rolls made of parchment in Western Europe, particularly England and its zone of commercial influence, such as Flanders, in the period ca. 1380 – 1500. They are inscribed with prayers, either in Latin or in a vernacular language. Although their content varies, they often contain Passion motifs, indulgences and charms.[26]

On the panels and Campin, see Stephan Kemperdick and Jochen Sander, eds, *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden* (Frankfurt: Städel Museum, 2009). A good digital reproduction of the Brussels panel can be found on Google's Arts & Culture Project: https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-annunciation/qQFSi4Q3kb6IsQ. Accessed 24 February 2020.

[25] The first scholarly explorations of late English prayer rolls are Curt F. Bühler, 'A Middle English Prayer Roll,' *Modern Language Notes* 52, no. 8 (1937): 555–562 and Robbins, 'The "Arma Christi" Rolls.' Subsequent studies include Curt F. Bühler, 'Prayers and Charms in Certain Middle English Scrolls,' *Speculum* 39, no. 2 (1964): 270–278; Hellmut Rosenfeld, 'Die Münchner Gebetsrolle Clm 28 961: Zur Buch- Und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte Des 15. Jahrhunderts,' *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 51 (1976): 48–56; Jeanne Krochalis, 'God and Mammon: Prayers and Rents in Princeton MS. 126,' *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 44, no. 3 (1983): 209–221, whose analysis shows that this corpus of rolls is much more fluid than it appears and that the relationship between text and image is not as clear-cut and straightforward as it seems. Krochalis also argues that the Princeton roll, despite the prayers, does not serve a devotional role. W.C.M. Wüstefeld, 'A Remarkable Prayer Roll, Attributed to the Master of Sir John Fastolf (Rouen, c. 1440, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, MS ABM H4a),' *Quaerendo* 33, no. 1 (2003): 233–246; Hugo van der Velden, 'A Prayer Roll of Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick,' in *Tributes in Honor of James Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne Korteweg (London: Harvey Miller, 2006), 521–549; Sonja Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter: A Prayer Roll for Queen Margaret of Anjou,' *Gesta* 53, no. 1 (2014): 95–120, which established a list of 25 prayer rolls and considered the performative aspect and materiality of Margaret of Anjou's roll. Drimmer posited that it is not a devotional roll, but instead, served a political function as part of the Queen's public and political discourse about her own role. Mary Agnes Edsall, 'Arma Christi Rolls or Textual Amulets?: The Narrow Roll Format Manuscripts of "O Vernicle",' *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 9, no. 2 (2014): 178–209; Shannon Gayk, '"By Provocative Means": Power, Protection, and Reproduction in Prince Henry's Prayer Roll,' *Exemplaria* 29, no, 4 (2017): 296-313; Katherine Storm Hindley, 'The Power of not Reading: Amulet Rolls in Medieval England,' in *The Roll in England and France in the Late Middle Ages: Form and Content*, ed. Stefan G. Holz, Jörg Peltzer, Maree Shirota (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 289-306; the broad, somewhat colloquial and sometimes vague Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Role of the Scroll: An Illustrated Introduction to Scrolls in the Middle Ages* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2019), especially 125-141.

[26] Using these parameters, I have assembled a corpus of over forty prayer rolls. Ten of them are what has been called 'Arma Christi Rolls'. I discuss these ten rolls in Chapter 4, therefore excluding them from the present discussion. Furthermore, I cannot deal productively with all the remaining rolls. As a result, my argument is centred on a selection that I have either handled myself or for which a good digital reproduction exists.

Importantly, my use of the term implies a personal devotion, a physical context, such as pictured in the *Merode Altarpiece* [fig. 24]. On the basis that unrolling is a painful and laborious process, Rossell Hope Robbins first argued in 1939 that such rolls had a congregational function rather than a private one.[27] This argument has since been criticised by scholars such as Sonja Drimmer, for the good reason that if small rolls were unrolled on the pulpit by a priest, no member of the congregation would be able to see the images or read the text.[28] Building on such critics, this chapter also foregrounds that the highly embodied aspects of these rolls feed into this argument for private devotion. Indeed, the domestic setting of the *Merode Altarpiece* underlines the importance of devotional materials such as prayer rolls as connectors between beholders and God's words. In the central panel, Gabriel's hand enters the space of the table, opposite the prayer roll, as if the words of the Angel emerged out of the table, toward the Virgin, through the roll [figs 24 and 25]. How does the Virgin, as the ultimate embodiment of beholders, physically experience this roll? She holds her book through its protective pouch, but does she manipulate the prayer roll differently, directly touching the parchment?

Takamiya MS 70, in the Beinecke Library, is a similar, though illustrated, English Latin prayer roll, measuring 2350 x 160 mm [fig. 26].[29] Composed of three membranes, it contains several prevailing prayers such as the Seven Penitential Psalms or the *Fifteen Oes*, attributed at the time to Saint Bridget of Sweden (ca. 1303 – 1373). When Takamiya MS 70 is unrolled, the first thing to appear, after having been teased by the transparency of the parchment, is an illumination of the Crucifixion [fig. 27]. From the bodies of the thieves emerge rolls that twist before joining the head of Christ. On the roll emanating from the repentant thief – the one looking at Christ – is written 'remember me when you come into

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[27] Robbins, 'The "Arma Christi" Rolls,' 419-420.
[28] Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter.'
[29] New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 70.

your kingdom', while the impenitent thief mocks 'if you are the son of God, save yourself and us!', both of which are lines from the Gospels.[30] The illumination visually hints at this difference of 'kingdoms': the terrestrial space is a flat uniform green hill at the bottom, while the 'kingdom' of Christ develops around the cross in the form of a luxurious and floriated world. These two simple but striking lines of text summarise the aim, not only of the prayers that follow, but also of the material itself: to propogate remembering and salvation through pain. The parchment of this roll becomes a witness of the trauma Christ endured, prompting a memorial response.

The act of unrolling becomes an inter-embodied experience that places the viewer in a mode of remembering, initiated by the text on rolls linked to the thieves. When the illumination is almost fully unrolled, the viewer can see the pricking that appears right under this shattered and mutilated holy body [fig. 28]. Meanwhile, in the image, Christ closes his fists around the nails, manifesting the tactility of this penetration. The tone of the roll is already set. Just as the flowers surrounding the frame of the illumination penetrate it to populate the background, the suffering of Christ permeates to the very skin of the material, taking a new hold upon its surface. Another prayer roll, made between 1485 and 1509, presents a juxtaposition between the body of Christ and actual rolls [fig. 29]. On Henry VIII's prayer roll [BL Add MS 88929], Christ hangs heavily on the cross, with an angel on each of his sides, unfurling rolls.[31] The cross is adorned with wood-like details, but is ultimately unpainted, its colour that of parchment. On Christ's right, a rubricated text coincides with his side wound while on his left, touching his body, are *orationes*. The cross and the rolls join up with an illumination of a floating side wound. Earlier in the roll, Christ is depicted as

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[30] Transcription and translation from the Online Exhibits of the Takamiya collection. http://exhibits.library.yale.edu/exhibits/show/making-the-english-ms/religious-and-devotional-mss/prayer-rolls Accessed 13 March 2018.
[31] On this roll, see Andrea Clarke and Sonja Drimmer, 'Prayer Roll of Henry VIII,' in *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*, ed. Scot McKendrick, John Lowden and Kathleen Doyle; with Joanna Fronska and Deirdre Jackson (London: British Library, 2011), 186-187; Gayk, "'By Provocative Means'".

crucified between the two thieves [fig. 30]. The thieves' crosses are brown while Christ's is unpainted. The cross even exceeds the space of the illumination, into the roll. The visual assimilation between the body of Christ, wounds and prayer-rolls is visually explicit.

Shannon Gayk has argued that Henry VIII's prayer roll is an interactive medium of provocation. By provocation, she implies a bodily change which, she contends, is achieved through likeness and repetition. She writes: '[e]mphasizing the provocative potency of likeness, the efficacy of multiplication and reproduction – of both words and images – prayer rolls, like Henry's, rely on a logic of affiliation, suggesting the extent to which a copy (be it an object or a living being) can share in the power of its prototype.'[32] Gayk's approach to likeness is thus grounded in imitation and reproduction, in analogy. Her article offers a new perspective and approach to prayer rolls, although Henry VIII's roll is slightly different from other examples of the format. My consideration of rolls and likeness both joins and differs from Gayk's approach. Like Gayk, I approach the material through a similitude between materials and bodies, but my conceptualisation of likeness is firmly grounded in theories of vision. Interaction with the rolls implies an inter-embodiment that relies on visual penetration, anchored in the medium of the roll and in carnality.

In Takamiya MS 70, Christ is not the only wounded entity. The skin of the roll, its membranes, are also marked. Pricking points appear all around the image, indicating that a piece of leather or cloth was once stitched to the parchment as a protection [fig. 28]. As they unrolled it, beholders would have felt and seen Christ's wounds and the suture simultaneously, revealed by their own movement. People were aware of the long process that animal skin undergoes to become parchment. Human skin was conceptualised as the body's envelope and medieval surgeons distinguished two types of skins. The French surgeon Guy

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[32] Gayk, 'By Provocative Means,' 300.

de Chauliac (ca. 1300 – 1368) described an 'outer skin' and an inner skin called the 'panicle'.[33] The outer skin was assigned two main functions: it was said to provide feeling and protect the inside of the body.[34] It was a polysemous surface upon which one's identity was written and offered to external scrutiny. For example, confessors would read their confessants' complexions to determine their sins.[35] In the same vein, the iconography of skin was first and foremost dedicated to highlighting moral qualities.[36] In late medieval vernacular literature, it was a surface that bore important affective meanings and needed to be marked.[37] Flaying imagery, especially that of Bartholomew, patron saint of bookmakers, makes this particularly visible.[38]

The three membranes of Takamiya MS 70 are sewn together with a thick red thread [fig. 31]. The collation is made in such a way there is no disruption to the text, as a space for the thread has been left between the blocks. No other holes appear, suggesting it has not been resewn later. However, it is possible that from inception, the membranes were glued and only sewn posteriorly. Whether the stitches were part of the original design of the roll or later additions, they shape the embodied experience of the object. Anne Grondeux, through her analysis of the Latin words *cutis* and *pellis*, argued that there is no fundamental difference between perceptions of human and animal skin during the Middle Ages.[39] Sarah Kay, in her work on French bestiaries, questions what is the visual aspect of a manuscript

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[33] Margaret S. Ogden, ed., *The Cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac*, Early English Text Society original series 265 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 32.

[34] For an overview of medieval conceptions of skin, see Jack Hartnell, *Medieval Bodies: Life, Death and Art in the Middle Ages* (London: Profile Books and Wellcome Collection, 2018), 81-108.

[35] Virginia Langum, 'Discerning Skin: Complexion, Surgery, and Language in Medieval Confession,' in *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture*, ed. Katie L. Walter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 141–160.

[36] Jean Wirth, 'La Représentation de La Peau Dans L'art Médiéval,' *Micrologus: Natura, Scienze E Società Medievali. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies* 13 (2005): 131-153.

[37] Danielle Régnier-Bohler, 'Secrets et discours de la peau dans la littérature médiévale en langue vernaculaire,' *Micrologus: Natura, Scienze E Società Medievali. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies* 13 (2005): 156-157.

[38] Kay, 'Original Skin,'; Robert Mills, *Suspended Animation. Pain, Pleasure and Punishment in Medieval Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 59-82.

[39] Anne Grondeux, 'Cutis Ou Pellis: Les Dénominations Médiolatines de La Peau Humaine,' *Micrologus: Natura, Scienze e Società Medievali. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies* 13 (2005): 113.

leaf and proposes a different holistic approach to the manuscript page, a 'short circuit between representation, page, and the reader's own containing surface' and a 'manuscript matrix', which ultimately anchors the visual in a way that many other disciplines fail to do.[40] From Žižek's writings on cinema, she borrows the concept of suture, a temporary suspension of distinction between content and medium during reading. Kay argues that the bestiary page sutures, fleetingly or even unconsciously, humans and animals, complicating each other as a category. As such, the book demonstrates the importance of the reader in transforming the parchment page into a skin one can identify with (i.e. by oiling the page). Kay's use of the suture exemplifies that there is not one reading of a phenomenon, but several that can either work together, disrupt or contradict each other, as well as being fleeting or unconscious. Such an ambivalence is always at the core of visual and bodily experiences. In the most literal way, then, the suture in Takamiya MS 70 [fig. 31] functions as the suture theorised by Kay. The thread emphasises the coming together of two pieces of skin, acting as a new vein, a connector. Christian theology is anchored in the sacrifice of a body as a point of no return, except through divine incarnation. Sacrifice emerges from Love and devotion materialises it, here through the interweaving of puncture and skin. This is an act of immersion in the material.

A similar stitching pattern is found throughout the nine membranes of the six metres-long MS G.39, produced in Yorkshire and now in the Morgan Library, which are joined by

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[40] Kay, *Animal Skin*, 7. The Manuscript Matrix is developed in Chapter 6. Kay draws on the work of theorists Didier Anzieu, Slavoj Žižek and Giorgio Agamben to forge her 'speculative phenomenology' of the page. Didier Anzieu's *Moi-Peau* (Skin-Ego) theorises the first separation of the child with the mother as a defining moment in the construction of the ego. Kay considers Anzieu's theory to study the human-animal boundary and more precisely the resulting blurring. Kay furthers situates her inquiry of bestiaries in post-humanist studies, drawing, among others, on Giorgio Agamben's 'anthropological machine' which results in a caesura. Their combination in reading bestiaries leads to a possible identification or misidentification between humans and nonhuman animals, therefore breaking the caesura and animalising the Skin-Ego, when the skin of the page becomes the reader's skin. Didier Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, trans. Chris Turner (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal*, trans. Kevin Attell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

a white thread forming zigzag stitches [fig. 32].[41] Some overlap with the horizontal floriated margins and some frame images of the saints, creating an inner architecture. On another roll from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, made in Northwest England and now housed in the Morgan Library as MS M.486, the three membranes are connected by the same type of stitches interwoven in a geometrical pattern that frames the text [fig 33].[42] Holes along the suture suggest the stitching is not contemporaneous to the roll [fig. 34].[43] Unfortunately, most rolls have lost their original binding or were glued together, which makes it impossible to identify a broader pattern.

In Takamiya MS 70, the first line of text under the second suture reads 'Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us', a variation on the first line of the invocation to the Lamb usually recited during the fragmentation of the host [fig. 35].[44] This hymn is derived from a passage of John's Gospel, in which the Baptist entices followers to behold the Lamb of God (John 1:29). The line written directly beneath the joining of two animal skins not only mentions an animal often used for parchment but also betrays an association with the fragmentation of the body of Christ and its further beholding. Therefore, the mystical Lamb is made whole again in this re-assemblage. Those are two body parts coming together, just as the skin of readers touches this very animal skin when they hold the roll. Only the memory of the skin and this embodied interaction can help them move forward toward their divine goal.

Later in the roll, under the Invocation to the Lamb and a series of *Orationes*, there is a differentiation in the texts [fig. 36]: the popular *Fifteen Oes* are written in a lighter ink and a

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[41] New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS G.39.
[42] New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.486.
[43] Throughout my handling of Morgan MS M.486, I found that the stitching follows the same patterns as the adjacent empty holes. The thread seems like the one in Morgan MS G.39, which I was not able to handle in the flesh. As such, I can only speculate if the latter is original or if they were both part of a conservation effort (a similar pattern and colour indeed appears on other documents in their collections).
[44] *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, per nobis domine.*

smaller font. The *Fifteen Oes*, originally composed in Latin and then translated in several vernacular languages, had a longstanding association with indulgences. They were meant, among other instructions, to be recited in front of a crucifix. Although Takamiya MS 70 does not have an indulgenced rubric, the association with the opening illumination is made clear by the tradition it carries, and by the text itself that constantly refers to the Passion. Near the beginning of the text, under the initial O, is a tear in the parchment which finishes right before the line 'Remember, blessed Jesus, all the sorrows you suffered in your humanity when the time of your blessed Passion drew near' [fig. 37].[45] This line further encourages beholders to remember the pain inflicted on Christ's human body. A similar parallel between skin and text is made on the other side of the roll, where next to the tear, readers are invited to remember Christ's bitter pains, the tear materially emerging from the word pain [*doloris*] [fig. 38].[46] Indeed, the text of the *Fifteen Oes* continues on the dorse, or back [fig. 39], which is not common. Once the roll is reversed, the bottom of the front, called face, becomes the top of the dorse and the text simply continues. The tear is then seen, touched, penetrated, from both sides. Instead of just seeing it on the face, readers turn the roll, with the tear. Thus, the roll really exploits the full potential not only of the skin, but of the skin as a surface. The makers could have added more, with some rolls proving that length is not a problem, but instead they choose to exploit the full potential of the surface.

The tradition holds that the *Fifteen Oes* appeared to their author in a dream vision, connecting the text to the cognitive faculties of imagination and fantasy, and thereby placing emphasis on the process of assimilation and mental picturing. The text is considered a memorialisation of Christ's Passion and a prime example of the ever more popular

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[45] Rebecca Krug, trans., 'The Fifteen Oes,' in *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation*, ed. Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 113.
[46] *Recordari amarissum doloris.* In Beinecke MS 410, there is a tear at the beginning of the second membrane, which goes from the left border through the words *principall woundes*. From the digital reproduction it seems, however, that the tear is a later damage.

meditations on the Passion. The text prompts cognitive assimilation of its contents firstly by its layout on the page, the repetition encouraging memorisation, and secondly, in its vocabulary, when the words remember (or *haue mynd* in Middle English), are constantly repeated. The fifth 'O' even starts with asking Christ to remember his Passion, referred to as a memorial record.[47] The text is very graphic and embodied in its description of Christ's suffering. In the first 'O' – accompanying the tear in Takamiya MS 70 at the bottom of the face and top of the dorse – the text describes how Christ was, amongst others, scorned, scourged, smitten and crushed [figs 37 and 38]. On the dorse, still alongside the tear, the same dialectic is repeated when the text discusses the 'bitter wounds' inflicted on Christ body, which have pierced and stretched his skin.[48] While medieval treatises on the art of memory instructed readers to map mnemonics on the various parts of a cherub, mapping the part to memorise onto a heavenly body, the tear in Takamiya MS 70 maps out the pains of Christ, ripe for meditation, onto a skin.[49] The tear is a memorial device mapped onto a physical body. The roll becomes a place [*loci*] for devotional picturing. The prayer, then, finishes with a reminder that the reader is mindful of Christ's Passion, emphasising the importance of the wound as part of the experience and performance of the roll: it materialises the wounding of Christ body to be physically experienced and mentally recalled.[50]

Morgan MS M.486 also presents a variation on the *Oes* [fig. 40], a Middle English adaptation of the form which still conveys the memorial dimension. A woman opens the roll, possibly from the Lancaster-Fleming family of Westmoreland, represented holding a roll longer than herself, amid a background of ink-drawn spirals or twirling lines, reminiscent of

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[47] Krug, 'The Fifteen Oes,' 114.
[48] Krug, 'The Fifteen Oes,' 113. 'They added sorrow upon sorrow to your bitter wounds by piercing your blessed, tender, and sweet feet. They stretched your blessed body … with such cruelty that all the joints of your limbs were dislocated and broken apart.'
[49] On such treatises, see Carruthers, '*Ars oblivionalis, ars inveniendi*' and Gertsman, *Worlds Within*, 155-156.
[50] Krug, 'The Fifteen Oes,' 113. 'Mindful of the blessed Passion, I beseech you, kind Jesus, grant me absolute contrition, true confession, satisfaction, and full remission of sin before my death'.

prayer rolls seen from of the side [fig. 41]. This pattern frames the *Oes* throughout the roll, calling for an immersion in the material. At the junction between the membranes, under the stitching, a red inscription in capitals reads 'Remember man who is ashes' [fig. 42].[51] This Latin inscription is followed by a Christological monogram in which words become pattern and pattern becomes prayer. The geometric decorations place viewers in a state of meditation; they abound, letting the gaze meander from one pattern to the other. At the bottom of the roll, the geometric pattern encircles the text, with Christ's monogram superimposed on it, as if it was hanging from it like a seal [fig. 43]. This setting recalls the design of an indulgence: the prayers on this roll are an indulgence sanctified by Christ himself and the text is separated from the rest of the parchment. There are two types of parchment, physical and conceptual, which are shaped by the design and the apposition of the seal. Everything contained in the geometrical pattern is God's word. One is a holy support, the other a more material one. The material bears a likeness to another material.

The word might have been flesh, as written in John's Gospel, but in Takamiya MS 70 the flesh also makes the words. The juxtaposition of the tear and the graphic description of Christ's Passion respond to each other in this manner. Nancy Vine Durling and Sarah Kay have demonstrated how such imperfections within the parchment were often integrated into the systems of meaning conveyed by the written work.[52] Such a phenomenon is therefore not rare and could very well be conscious.[53] When users roll or unroll the dorse, the tear lets them see the rest of the scroll under it: they can touch it by going through the wound, which

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[51] *Memento homo quos cinis est.*

[52] Nancy Vine Durling, 'Birthmarks and Bookmarks: The Example of a Thirteenth-Century French Anthology,' *Exemplaria* 16, no. 1 (2004): 73–94; 'British Library MS Harley 2253: A New Reading of the Passion Lyrics in Their Manuscript Context,' *Viator* 40, no. 1 (2009): 271–307. Kay, 'Animal Skins'.

[53] Another fifteenth-century prayer roll that only contains the *Fifteen Oes* is now conserved at Columbia University: New York, Columbia University, MS Plimpton Additional 04. The roll is not illustrated except for a few floriated margins. The pricking is still visible on each side. The *Oes* finish before the end of the second membrane, but instead of cutting away the excess parchment, the makers have left the ruling visible and empty. Extending from the right bottom corner of the ruling is a tear. As beautiful as this coincidence is, however, it seems to me that pushing the comparison between the two rolls further would not be fruitful. Nonetheless, this prompts a deeper questioning on the semiotics of wounds in copies of the *Oes* and other meditative texts.

emphasises the very graphic description of the Passion written alongside [fig. 44]. Readers temporarily assume the role of Thomas, who, when doubting the Resurrection of Christ, was enticed to reach through the side wound with his finger. When the poem refers to the Crucifixion and the thieves, it recalls the opening illumination [fig. 27], further associating the pricking marks with the tear in their common emphasis on the piercing of skin. They are visual reminders of the side wound that both Christ and the animal endured. The pricking marks stand on the borders of the roll, marking the separation between the space of the roll and the external world, enhancing the medical function of skin as a protective, yet permeable barrier. The roll, thus, operates on several layers of similarity.

An important aspect of the *Oes* is the constant repetition of 'Mindful of … I …'. What they read, say or see penetrates the devotees' minds, making them mindful. This echoes another very popular text, the *Privity of the Passion*, which encouraged meditation and sensory responses to Christ's Passion. For example, the opening of the *Privity* clearly invokes mental picturing, calling readers to open their soul's inner eye and behold.[54] This instruction to behold with the mind's eye is repeated several times throughout the text, and similarly to the *Fifteen Oes*, the *Privity* provides very graphic description of the pains inflicted upon Christ's body. There is, then, a general understanding that a mental image of Christ's Passion would reach the beholder's mind's eye. In the long list of things readers are enticed to behold is the skin of Christ:

> and with your inner eye see how some [...] rudely ripped off the clothes that had dried and crusted all about his blessed body in his blessed blood; and so they pulled off the flesh and the skin without any pity. Surely this was a great and insufferable pain, for there they renewed all his old bruises and his dry wounds; and the skin that was left on him before was then altogether rent off and split by his clothes. … And when he was thus stretched out on the cross tighter than any parchment skin is spread on a frame, so that men might count all the blessed

54 Denise N. Baker, trans., 'The Privity of the Passion,' in *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation*, ed. Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 90.

bones of his body, then streams of blood from his blessed wounds ran out from him on every side.[55]

The *Privity* exhorts readers to mentally behold the reopening of Christ's wounds, his skin compared to parchment. In a copy of the *Privity* held in Trinity College Cambridge, this passage is positioned right above an illumination and a sutured tear [fig. 45].[56] The image pictures the moment when Christ is stripped of his tunic which, when pulled, reopens his wounds while a tear faces the viewer, closed. The ruling of the page is visible through the illumination, bringing the parchment to the foreground. The parchment imperfections are inherent to a devotional culture focused on meditating on Christ's sufferings.

Morgan MS G.39 presents a similar dynamic. At the bottom of the second membrane, next to the framed holy wounds, there is a small six-line poem in Latin and a two-line instruction in Middle English [fig. 46]. The hymn, *Agios O Theos* or Trisagion, is mostly associated in Latin liturgy with Good Friday and the Adoration of the Cross. Its recitation had to be done three times and could grant an indulgence of a hundred days. Accordingly, the Middle English rubric states the hymn should be devoutly say three times.[57] The ruling has been used to delimit the space of the wounds. All four wounds, on the hands and feet, touch a ruling line that further frames the tear in the parchment, so that the space of the painted and physical wounds roughly correspond. The display of this section has thus been made to integrate the tear.

The fifteenth-century canon of Windsor, John Drury, wrote 'What is a comparison? A liknes of diuerse thyngis in a certeyn accidens'.[58] The makers left a two-line void to encourage such a comparison, to be made between a physical tear in the skin and the wounds

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[55] Baker, 'The Privity of the Passion,' 93-94.

[56] Cambridge, Trinity College Cambridge, MS B.10.12, ff. 22v-23r.

[57] *and þow moste say this same thre tymes with gude deuocione.*

[58] Marjorie Curry Woods and Rita Copeland, 'Classroom and Confession,' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 406.

inflicted upon Christ's body. Elina Gertsman has argued that emptiness is generative.[59] It opens a space ready to be filled by the mind's eye, which, she contends, is a *mise en abîme* of the cognitive power of fantasy.[60] Frames around empty spaces, she furthers, become cognitive frames, anchored in potentiality.[61] Gertsman's argument emphasises parchment as a semiotic, symbolic surface, a generative material in essence.[62] In Morgan MS G.39, the blank parchment around the wounded heart as well as the tear correspond to two different layers of emptiness. The tear visually shatters the space surrounding the illumination, as if the generative space of imagination theorised by Gertsman remains safe inside the frame.

The tear is further integrated into the dynamic of the text, becoming the *painture* to this *parole*. The wound cuts through the word *nobis* in an invocation to Christ to have mercy upon us [*Sancte et immortalis miserere nobis*]. *Nobis* echoes the word *immortalis*, the current state of Christ's body after his Passion and Ascension, while the faithful are torn apart on earth. The separation of the *no* and *bis* around the wound brings forward the importance of this devotion. If *nobis* want to become a 'we', united with the divine in the afterlife, they must go through the symbol of Christ's human corporeality. Many prayer rolls call for a specific devotion to the wounds of the Christ. Some, like Beinecke MS 410 [fig. 21], British Library Harley Roll T 11 [fig. 47] and Takamiya MS 56 [fig. 48] present explicit illustrations of these wounds.[63] The wound, liminal space per excellence, both breaks and sutures the readers'

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[59] Elina Gertsman, 'Phantoms of Emptiness: The Space of the Imaginary in Late Medieval Art,' *Art History* 41, no. 5 (2018): 800-837.
[60] Gertsman, 'Phantoms of Emptiness,' 824.
[61] Gertsman, 'Phantoms of Emptiness,' 813.
[62] Gertsman, 'Phantoms of Emptiness,' 804.
[63] London, British Llibrary, Harley Roll T 11; New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56. On the wounds of Christ as erotic devices, see Martha Easton, 'The Wound of Christ, the Mouth of Hell: Appropriations and Inversions of Female Anatomy in the Later Middle Ages,' in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, ed. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2006), 395-414. On the wounds of Christ, parchment and gendered blood devotion, see Nancy Thebaut, 'Bleeding Pages, Bleeding Bodies: A Gendered Reading of British Library MS Egerton 1821,' *Medieval Feminist Forum*, 45, no. 2 (2009): 175-200. On the side wound as a performative space, see Vibeke Olson, 'Penetrating the Void: Picturing the Wound in Christ's Side as a Performative Space,' in *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture*, ed. Larissa Tracy and Kelly DeVries (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 313-339.

experiences of the roll. By breaking the fabric of the roll, it shatters the connection established between the text and the readers. However, by breaking apart the skin of the roll, the tear brings readers back to the surface of the material, brings them back to the material. Morgan MS G.39 is 185 mm in width, approximately the length of a hand. The fingers, holding the borders of the roll, would therefore be tantalisingly close to the wound. If this were not enough to entice the viewer, the following image of Saint Sebastian might [fig. 49]. He appears to be staring straight at the viewer, pierced by nine arrows under the sewn suture. The tear becomes a point that channels incorporation, a focal point of the imagination and nexus of penetration.

I have considered these rolls insofar as they are made of the very stuff that constitutes a body, insofar as they are bodies. How is this materiality further conveyed through the process of likeness and species? Aquinas defines matter as twofold. Matter is either common or individual. He takes the example of flesh to explain this idea: 'flesh' is the common aspect of matter and 'this flesh' is the individual.[64] Through the cognitive process, the intellect abstracts species of individual sensible matter. These qualities do not belong to species themselves, but to the object of thought. Therefore, in these rolls, it can never be the skin of Christ that is incorporated by the viewer. They can come as close as they wish, but it will forever remain a likeness, a similitude, rather than the divine body. Parchment, as opposed

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[64] Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, 1.85.a.1.ad.2. Aquinas said that species could only be abstracted from individual sensible matter and not from common sensible matter. There is, however, one type of species that can be abstracted from common matter: mathematical species, relating to dimensions, figures, numbers or everything relating to quantity (the substance relating to the quantity must be considered as well). Numbers are indeed important in mnemonic devices. Measurements are an important component of prayer rolls. For example, a fifteenth-century roll, now in the British Library (Harley Roll T 11), contains protective prayers and incantations in Latin and Middle English (against illness, death, pregnancy-related incidents amongst others). The roll measures 1220mm in length and 85mm in width, with talismanic illustrations. It claims to be the exact length of Christ: 'This crose Imete xv...ys the ...gh of our Lord.' (transcription from the BL catalogue). On the first membrane, three Middle English incantations and images further refer to measurements of the Passion. They are accompanied by a list of benefits for the beholder who either wears or beholds them. Such measurement poems can be found on other rolls such as New York, Morgan Library, MS G.39 that I discussed earlier, as well as Wellcome Library, MS 632 and London, British Library, Harley Roll 43 A 14. On BL Harley Roll T 11, see Bühler 'Prayers and Charms,' 277; Rudy, 'Kissing Images,' 42-56. On metric relics, see Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011).

to consecrated bread, can only exist as Christ's skin in the realm of potentiality. It will always be a common skin and not an individual. Readers, however, can enact that potentiality through their bodily performance with the roll.

During Lent in 1354, the highest-ranking aristocrat in England, Henry of Grosmont duke of Lancaster, devised an allegorical treatise about his sins, their causes and remedies. In a series of self-analytical confessions and meditations on the life of Christ and the Virgin, the *Livre de seyntz medicines* describes Henry as wounded by repeated sins and ultimately cured by a *Christus medicus*. Henry's association between medicine and religion reflects the aristocracy's interest in medical practice in late medieval England. He claims: 'I still need one thing to heal my foul, stinking sores [...]: namely, fair white cloths to bind and wrap the sores', to avoid losing his limb to gangrene.[65] It is in Christ and Mary that Henry looks for those salving bandages and this metaphorical cloth is placed on the sores through meditation. It is the surface of the bandage that covers and maintains the blood, tears and bile against the sores. From this emerges the idea of the divine being wrapped around the body through physical materials and layering. This figurative bandage creates a liminal point of contact between the human body and the divine.

The word *binding*, according to the Middle English dictionary, is at the same time the act of bandaging and that of binding a book, clearly implying an idea of connecting, of joining. *Rolling*, is also synonymous with the action of wrapping, of bandaging. *Rolle* is both a scroll and a bandage. In Wellcome MS 632 [fig. 50], an inscription entices the user to 'gyrdes thys mesure abowte hyr wombe'.[66] *Girden* implies encircling, wrapping, but also restraining

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[65] M. Teresa Tavormina, trans., 'Henry of Lancaster, The Book of Holy Medicines (Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines,' in *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation*, ed. Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 33.

[66] Mary Morse, '"Thys Moche More Ys Oure Lady Mary Longe": Takamiya MS 56 and the English Birth Girdle Tradition,' in *Middle English Texts in Transition: A Festschrift Dedicated to Toshiyuki Takamiya on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Simon Horobin and Linne Mooney (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2014), 203 and Hindley, 'The Power of not Reading,' 296. It is important to note that the other inscriptions in the so-called birth girdles discussed by Morse do not present the same vocabulary. As she transcribes, Morgan MS G.39 and in BL, Harley Roll 43

the body. The surface of the roll can then, when unrolled, be used to bandage, to physically bind someone's body, in addition to representing the metaphorical bandaging of Henry of Lancaster. Through touch, a body can then absorb the images on the surface because they are joined with them. The topic of bandaging parchment has gained some traction over the years. In 1964, discussing four highly illustrated examples, Bühler affirms that prayer rolls could be wrapped around a woman's womb during delivery, as birth girdles.[67] Don C. Skemer and Mary Morse have pursued this avenue of thinking, studying 'birth-girdles' and the talismanic aspect of prayer rolls in relation to pregnancies.[68] Nonetheless, as Sonja Drimmer and Katherine Hindley have pointed out,[69] such contributions present a methodological problem: because the rolls contain charms for protection during childbirth, there has been a tendency to argue that they belonged to women. However, the rolls also comprise a vast array of gender-neutral prayers, a sort of stock from which someone might take what suit their needs. Although the analysis is convincing only for a few rolls (such as Wellcome MS 632), equating a mention of childbirth to a female ownership, as well as automatically assuming it is a birth girdle, is flawed. In Beinecke MS 410, for example, a rubric surrounding the image of the cross in the middle of the roll mentions that a parturient can place this cross on her womb, as protection [fig. 51]. Yet, Beinecke MS 410 is, first and foremost, an

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A 14. London, British Library, Add. MS 88929 and another prayer in Wellcome MS 632 instructs to lay the object on the womb or body. Beinecke 410 mentions that the woman should simply have the roll on her, with no further guidance as to what this entails. For Takamiya MS 56, unfortunately, Morse explains that '[a] crease in the roll makes it difficult to determine whether the word in Takamiya MS 56 is 'girde' rather than 'garde', but if the former, the instruction to 'girde hyr wythe thys mesure' implies that a woman not only could wrap the roll around her waist during labour but also could wear it during pregnancy with the ends folded or pinned beneath or even over her outer garments.' Wellcome MS 632, as well as Takamiya MS 56 have writings running lengthwise. On these two rolls, see Hindley, 'The Power of not Reading,' 298-297.

[67] Bühler, 'Prayers and Charms,' 274.

[68] Don C. Skemer, 'Amulet Rolls and Female Devotion in the Late Middle Ages,' *Scriptorium* 55, no. 2 (2001): 197–227; *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); Mary Morse, 'Two Unpublished English Elevation Prayers in Takamiya MS 56,' *Journal of the Early Book Society* 16 (January 2013): 269–277; '"Thys Moche More Ys Oure Lady Mary Longe,"' 199–219.

[69] For example, Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter,' 100. Katherine Hindley argues that, out of the eight manuscripts traditionally considered as birth girdles, only two could be categorised as such (Wellcome MS 632, as well as Takamiya MS 56). At the time of redaction, her chapter '"Yf a woman travell wyth chylde gyrdes thys mesure abowte hyr wombe": Reconsidering the English Birth Girdle Tradition' is forthcoming in *Continuous Page: Scrolls and Scrolling from Papyrus to Hypertext*, edited by Jack Hartnell, and will published by Courtauld Books Online.

indulgence meant to be used daily. I do not mean to negate the possible gendered ownership of such rolls and the rich histories they relate to, but I contend that these so-called 'birth girdles' need to be apprehended through a more gender fluid lens that acknowledges that multitude of experiences. Prayer rolls certainly involved physical contact, even only through proximity to the body, but we need to be cautious about categorising these rolls and reducing them to a single function.

On the dorse of a mid-fifteenth-century prayer-roll from Gloucestershire, now designated as Takamiya MS 56 [fig. 52], a woman about to give birth is instructed to girdle herself with the roll, for protection.[70] The inscription mentions that the roll is the measure of the Virgin, who delivered Christ safely. The roll, because its height is that of the virgin, will protect the parturient.[71] Brown lines, with white metal-like roundels, which give the roll a belt-like, or girdle-like, aesthetic [fig. 53], frame the inscription. Red crosses are interleaved between holy names. Morse argues that the crosses render the reading of the inscription easier during childbirth, because the roll would be placed face up with the images of the other side on the mother's belly while the attendant could better read the different names on the dorse. As such, in this instance, the skin of the roll, which went through life, death and many transformations, touches the viewer in return. This juxtaposition, or incorporation, functions because there is a likeness between skin and parchment.

Contact and layering also happens in Takamiya MS 70, when the tear coincides with the second 'O' [fig. 38] which addresses 'Ihesu fabricator', the maker of the universe. The tear is, therefore, positioned to coincide with an idea of creation as well as pain [*doloris*]. In the next lines that run along the tear, the meditation on Christ's suffering focuses on

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[70] Rudy, 'Kissing Images,' 42 discusses the example of a Southern Netherlandish Book of Hours (London, British Library, Add. MS 39638, fol. 15r-15v) which contains a similar charm. The piece of inscribed parchment should be wrapped around the neck or sewn into linens. Rudy underlines the importance of handmade pieces and physical rituals in such practices.

[71] New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56.

remembering what pierced his hands and the perforation of his feet. This tear in the parchment mimics Henry of Lancaster's wounds: it is the materialisation, on the surface of this skin by substitution, of the beholder's sins that they hope to expunge through their devotion. Considering this, Takamiya MS 70's pricking, stitching and wound of the *Fifteen Oes* shatters the parchment, creating a point of contact between life and death in which both meet and exchange via the hole. It is a permanent memory of Christ's suffering. As I have discussed earlier, Gertsman has argued that empty framed spaces are generative because they showcase the parchment, yet in the case of Takamiya MS 70 it is the absence of parchment that becomes generative.[72] It is this void, this lack of matter, that is significant. The void created by going through the skin is a memory of the pain, a point of connection to the surface of the material. It is a point of anchor for the mind's eye, where the memories of the skin can be released to the senses and incorporated into phantasms.

The *Arma Christi*, or instruments of the Passion, on the face of Takamiya MS 56 [figs 54, 55, 56] provide a narrative of physical images to mentally behold. They all work to reinforce the notion of 'piercing' and 'passing through' bodies, especially as expressed on the dorse. The first image, as big as a hand, presents the three nails intertwined in the crown of thorns and piercing the holy heart [fig. 54]. When one unrolls it, the tip of the nails aligns perfectly with the framed inscription on the dorse, as if the nails were connecting the frame and the inscription [figs 57 and 58]. The green crown also pierces through the parchment, by virtue of its transparency. The second image displays the cross where Christ was pierced through with nails from the previous image [fig. 55]. Other *Arma Christi* surround the cross, such as the nails, the crown of thorns or the holy lance. The third image represents the side wound [fig. 48], placed vertically and inscribed with text and Christ's monogram in its centre. The wound is surrounded by four disembodied body parts, the two hands and feet,

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[72] Gertsman, 'Phantoms of Emptiness,' 813.

presenting their wounds and when in the process of being unrolled, the images also align with the inscription on the dorse.

There is a game of visual penetration and response between the two sides, the two surfaces of the roll. The working of the roll is not so much entering as piercing, not so much about space as surface. The iconography and handling experience of the roll strengthen the instruction about enclosing on the dorse. The object is a bandage which is, with respect to the prayers, both metaphorical and physical. Takamiya MS 56 acts as such a metaphorical bandage, channelling the divine power through images, prayers and embodied contact. Bringing back the wounds to the surface of the parchment works within a dynamic of memorialisation. The depictions of the *Arma Christi* in Takamiya MS 56 define the roll as a boundary-object between beholders and the divine, an object that works fully when the skin of readers is in contact with the parchment and images.[73] The images will be placed directly onto the body, skin-to-skin, binding it. There is an interconnection between the original function of the roll as text, and the working as part of this culture of medical and devotional beholding and enclosing, through likeness.

Likeness of the images on the skin

So far, I have adopted a material approach, concentrating on the analogy between Christ's body and the rolls. I have drawn upon texts, images, visual strategies of display and the characteristic of parchment itself. I have purposefully avoided heavily using the word 'likeness' in this section. Rather, I have highlighted the mechanism at play that participated in the associative process of 'likeness': the 'Similarity, resemblance, analogy' part of the MED

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[73] I borrow the term 'boundary-object' from Sara Ahmed and Jackie Stacey who defined skin as 'a boundary-object, and as the site of exposure or connectedness, invite the reader to consider how the borders between bodies are unstable'. Ahmed and Stacey, 'Introduction,' 2.

second definition. Divine skin and parchment share a common nature made obvious to the reader by analogy, resemblance, likeness. Still, a likeness [*similitudo*] is fundamentally part of the process of visuality. More than that, likeness is one element that bridges physical and mental images, images and phantasms.

Chauliac defines the cognitive incorporation in these terms: 'Þe liknesse off þingis þat is visibel mowen ben presented to comune witte'.[74] In Trevisa's translation of the *Proprietatibus Rerum* discussed in the previous chapter, likeness is equated with the *species* coming out of objects, reaching the eyes to be received in the common sense and then transformed into phantasms.[75] The prelate Reginald Pecock (ca. 1395 – 1461), in his pedagogical work *The Donet*, equates likeness to image: 'Þe office of þe ymaginacioun […] is […] for to kepe in store alle þe same now seid knowingis wiþ her fundamentis, whiche ben callid "similitudis", "liknessis", or "ymagis" of þingis'.[76] Some of these definitions might slightly contradict one another: is likeness a synonym of species as Trevisa suggests, or is it another way of calling the image present in the imagination, as according to Pecock? There is no strict answer to this question. However, these various definitions converge to describe likeness as a crucial aspect of the visual process. Likeness operates simultaneously, therefore, as much on a conceptual as a physical level. The likeness upon which phantasms function cannot only be either an analogy based on similarities or operating in the mind. Rather, it is the very thing upon which the mind's eye works, a dynamic crucial to the working of the prayer rolls. Beholding by the mind's eye, because of the assimilation of likeness, does not only happen in relation to parchment, but on the level of the image as well.

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[74] Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian 95 (T.4.12), 49a/b quoted in MED.

[75] 'In on maner, by straite lynes vpon þe whiche þe liknes [L species] of þe þing þat is I-seyne comeþ to þe siȝt'. London, British Library, Add MS 27944, 24a/a quoted in MED.

[76] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 916, 10/19 quoted in MED.

The cognitive process starts with the perception of objects by the senses, but it is pursued in the mind and the intellect. Aquinas, who equated intellectual likeness to intelligible species, explains that 'a thing is cognized in the manner of intellectual vision whose likeness exists in the intellect just as the likeness of a thing corporeally seen is in the sense of the one seeing it'.[77] Knowledge then arises from two strands. First, it originates from intellectual vision (from an experiential perspective). For example, a roll is experienced and as a result, the roll's likeness is present in the eye. Secondly, it arises from the indirect way of reasoning in the absence of the object. Aquinas describes this method as a mirroring.[78]

Phantasms and, more importantly, the faculty of fantasy are very often associated with dream visions or with sleep in general.[79] In copies of the Cistercian Guillaume de Deguileville's (ca. 1295 – before 1358) *Le Pèlerinage de l'âme*, the first illumination often represents the writer dreaming, receiving a vision of the celestial Jerusalem. In a copy from the first decade of the fifteenth-century, his vision is represented by a giant mirror on the right of the illumination [fig. 59].[80] In it, readers can perceive Jerusalem, the object literally mirroring what is happening in Guillaume's mind as he speaks. In between the dreamer and the mirror, a book stands, suggesting that the object serves as a vehicle between reader and vision, prompting the manuscript reader to read the text with that end goal. The text, with words such as '*memoire*', '*sens*', '*pense*' or '*Pense auoyt moult apparu*', reinforces the image.[81] This is repeated on the verso of the folio where a monk, representing Guillaume, writes down his vision. The same tall mirror stands on the right of the image, furthering the relationship

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[77] Quoted in Therese Scarpelli Cory, 'Is Anything in the Intellect that Was Not First in Sense? Empiricism and Knowledge of the Incorporeal in Aquinas,' *Oxford Studies in Medieval Philosophy* 6 (2018): 107.
[78] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.56.3.
[79] On this, see MacLehose, 'Fear, Fantasy and Sleep.'
[80] Paris, BnF, MS Français 829, fol. 1r.
[81] This specific manuscript belongs to the revised and expanded tradition of Deguileville's work. As such, it emphasises the relationship between sight and hearing, placing the latter over the former, as demonstrated on fol. 27v. I do not have the space to engage with this in detail, but hearing, as discussed in Fournival's work as well, works here hand in hand with seeing.

between vision and books [fig. 60]. Colours are focused in three zones: the mirror itself, the bed and the background, which presents a geometric pattern encouraging meditation. The grisaille reinforces an idea of abstraction, of species and of vision happening in the imagination.

As I just mentioned, Aquinas describes mirroring as one of the two ways of assimilating likeness. David C. Lindberg and Katherine H. Tachau point out that Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1175 – 1253) uses *species* to convey 'what is visible', relating to the Latin for mirror, *speculum*.[82] Avicenna interprets imagination as a mirror-like faculty.[83] It implies, in relation to likeness, that the idea of looking at something somewhere else, where an image is being conjured up and identified as such, is much like the process of recollection of phantasms happening in the faculty of memory. The emphasis in these illuminations is, then, on the cognitive process. In the same vein, prayer rolls play on an idea of likeness and images, concentrated not only on the parchment, but on the image itself. The mirroring is in the devotional and mental process, in the visual performance of the roll. Likeness reflects and mirrors the material in the mind's eye.

'Look and say' [*Regardes […] et dites*], exhorts repeatedly a prayer roll made in Rouen around 1440 for Henry of Beauchamp [fig. 61].[84] In between the Latin meditations on the wounds of Christ, French rubrications entice viewers to recite invocations while beholding different body parts of Christ's body during the Crucifixion. The structure of the roll creates a game of back and forth between the text and the illumination of the Passion at the top, merging the literal *painture* and *parole* described by Fournival in his *Bestiaire d'amour*. Viewers are indeed prodded not only to read, but to say [*dites*] the prayer out loud. Beauchamp would

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[82] David C. Lindberg and Katherine H. Tachau, 'The Science of Light and Color, Seeing and Knowing,' in *The Cambridge History of Science*, volume 2: *Medieval Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Michael H. Shank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 498.
[83] Camille, 'Before the Gaze,' 210.
[84] Utrecht, Catharijneconvent, ABM h4a. Transcribed in Wüstefeld, 'A Remarkable Prayer Roll,' 235.

have been visually helped by a representation of a man in the first initial 'O', kneeling, looking up to the Crucifixion and praying in front of a prie-dieu [fig. 62]. The initial is painted over the joining of membranes, suturing (or in this case, gluing) the experience of the reader to the materiality of the object. The Dominican Antonino Pierozzi, or Antoninus, wrote a chapter of his *Opera a ben vivere* (ca. 1454) on how to practise a daily, image-focused and participatory meditation of Christ's Passion, which combines external and internal senses.[85] For Antoninus, the repeated process of going from physical vision of an object to intellectual contemplation serves to uplift the viewer's emotional capacity and ultimately helps them lead a better Christian life.[86] Enclosed within a letter, the image tucked in between the text and looking up to the main illumination is a visual conduit for Beauchamp, acting on an idea of mimesis, like the dynamic described by Gayk with regard to Henry VIII's roll.[87] The initial materialises the working of the roll and highlights that it is through the meditative coupling of text and image that one can mentally reach the space where Christ stands. It is on the surface of the illumination that the beholding happens, transmitting the species of Christ's image into abstracted phantasms.[88]

The enticement to behold is thus a predominant feature of these prayer rolls. A Flemish roll in the Beinecke Library opens with an illumination of a haloed man of sorrows, presenting his wounds to the viewers [fig. 63].[89] Christ emerges out of a tomb in front of a matt and uniform blue background, surrounded by the instruments of his Passion [fig. 64]. Two dice rest on the edge of the tomb while the cross aligns with his spine behind him.[90]

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[85] See Flanigan, 'Art, Memory, and the Cultivation of Virtue,' 175-195.
[86] Antoninus's treatise is for the use of upper-class Florentine women. Nonetheless, the theories of vision he draws n are broader reaching.
[87] Gayk, 'By Provocative Means.'
[88] In Chapter 3, I delve more in details into the Augustinian theory developed by Bonaventure, where Christ is the mean to knowledge and the utmost place to reach him is within the images present in the mind's eye.
[89] New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS 1187.
[90] Such a disposition of the *Arma Christi* prompts viewers to recall the Passion and in which order the instruments were used. Gertsman, *Worlds Within*, 159.

The bottom part of the cross is lost behind the figure's body, leaving viewers to behold truncated horizontal and upper vertical parts while body and cross merge. The rope, sponge, holy lance, torch, pincer and three nails either float around or rest on the cross. The holy lance is anchored in the sepulchre, but its tip arrives exactly at the internal border of the illumination's golden frame. The lance is visually transformed into a holy pen, from which images are divinely framed. The lance hints at the importance of picturing, of visualising and re-creating images. The figure of Christ conveys this emphasis on the visual, whilst coupling it with the very material of the roll. Christ's eyes are squinting: his right eye looks directly toward the viewer while his left eye looks down upon his own hands, displaying the wounds, drawing attention to the tactility of the roll and the materiality of the image. When viewers gaze on the image, they can see that they hold the roll with their two hands. The dice, curious objects to single out, are there to reinforce such an emphasis on tactility. The opening initial O under the illumination [fig. 65], as tall and large as the body of Christ, causes viewers to zoom in on the stigmata, on the idea of opening, mimicking the wounds on the hands and wound-like pattern of the cross. Yet, the centre of the initial is full and opaque.

The figure of Christ not only highlights the tactility of the roll, but also delimits its space. The hands are offering their wounds to the viewers' gazes, but also stop them from entering the space of the image. The blue background and the position of Christ push back the space of the illumination to its surface. The visual is stretched toward the parchment surface, compressing the image. Christ stops the viewer from entering the space, simply because there is no space. You can only go through the surface and pierce it, just as the sponge pierces the cross, rather than pass from outside to inside. They are two distinct worlds and the *imago* of Christ needs to be assimilated into a *phantasmata* to be mentally beheld, for an image to be similarly created in the mind by a mental holy lance. The image creates itself, materialises itself out of holy objects, guiding viewers. Christ, therefore, signals to viewers

where they can find meaning: on the surface of the *imago*. Medieval Latin and vernacular languages referred to illuminations in manuscripts as *illuminatio*, the same word that was used by perspectivists such as Roger Bacon or John Peckham (ca. 1230 – 1292).[91] The likeness in this image does not lie within the illumination itself as an object, but within the thought process of creating and receiving it. The image calls attention to the physical reality of seeing, of receiving species out of objects. It invites imitation and replication. Bonaventure explained that expression and imitation are inherent to images in as much as they are a type of likeness, as stated earlier. He therefore concludes that 'he who sees an image of Peter consequently sees Peter too.'[92] Christ's depiction in Beinecke MS 1187 highlights the roll as a boundary-object between beholder and divine, an object of connectedness between the different branches of visuality.

Beinecke MS 1187 makes evident that replication is part of the cognitive process. The viewer is invited to imitate, as in reproducing and replicating the creative procedure as a bodily form of cognition. Multiplication is indeed a core component of visuality. Robert Grosseteste, based on the work of the Islamic scholar Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn Ishaq Al-Kindi (ca. 801 – 873), described what he termed and will come to be universally known as the multiplication of species, described in *De multiplicatione specierum*.[93] Practically, Grosseteste explains, the colours and formal aspects of an object are defined as its species and emanate as rays from the object's surface. They blend with rays of light and then reproduce or multiply in every possible direction. Some of these rays, in the theory of intromission, are received by the eye. They penetrate the eye, its crystalline and vitreous humours and continue toward the

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[91] Camille, 'Before the Gaze,' 203.
[92] Translated in Reynolds, 'Bonaventure,' 223.
[93] Lindberg and Tachau, 'The Science of Light and Color,' 498. On the relationship between optical theories, such as the multiplication of species, and devotion and literary works, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing Through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University Press of Toronto, 2004), 21-44.

optic nerve that will bring them to the first cavity of the brain, where they are processed as intangible images or phantasms.[94]

The multiplication of species is further discussed in detail by Roger Bacon, in *On the Multiplication of Species*, who follows Grosseteste in his definition of species as likeness necessary for any process of visuality. Bacon uses synonyms to describe species, including 'similitude' or 'image,' when he talks about what it imitates. However, he uses species while discussing the intellectual thinking and senses.[95] The likeness passes through the air which moves it through light toward the eye and its coats.[96] Camille explains that once this point is reached, the species or likeness has been deprived of its original material in the process and is now a sort of translation or impression like a wax seal, a metaphor taken from Aristotle. Bacon specifies that once the species join after passing the common nerves, they create an image that will then continue this process of multiplication through the chambers of the brain. Multiplication of what is seen is therefore part of the working of an image, and an illumination like Beinecke MS 1187 [fig. 65] is working as an invitation to engage with it on this level of cogent interaction.

Conclusion: Rolling Back

Takamiya MS 112 [fig. 66], with its opening image of the enclosed Virgin with child, draws attention to the surface of the roll and its role as a connector.[97] The upper part of the illumination's frame is triangular, like the protective piece of leather sewn to the parchment

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[94] For Grosseteste, there are four internal senses located in three cavities. In the first cavity are the receptive common sense and preservative imagination while in the middle cavity sits the estimation followed by the memory in the final cavity.

[95] Camille, 'Before the Gaze,' 208. Camille also writes, 'it is called "phantasm" and "simulacrum" in the apparition of dreams.' I do not deal here with dream theory; however this sentence illustrates the lack of clear definition of phantasms in both medieval and contemporary literature.

[96] Lindberg, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature*, 5.

[97] New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 112.

[fig. 67]. Immediately, a parallel is established between the image and the roll, a dynamic pursued at the level of the figure. Mary stands, holding the infant on her right arm, bringing her left arm to the level of the child's feet. Her right arm is covered by her cloak and the tip of her left hand raises her mantel as she approaches it. Her touch is therefore conveyed only through the proxy of her blue cloth, the same colour as the piece of cloth sewed to the adjacent triangular piece of leather. Christ, however, does touch. He is shown introducing his left hand under Mary's cloak and joining it with his right hand. There is an inside and outside of the cloak, but it does not matter as each side collides on the tangible surface where Christ connects them. Touch, says the image, is conveyed by the surface of the roll. The orange background of the illumination has oblique lines of text running from the upper left to bottom right, bringing to the same level the text, the skin surface and haptic experiences of the figures. The image marks the experience of the roll as belonging to the realm of perception. When a beholder holds Takamiya MS 112, the surface of the parchment acts as a connector between the messages confined in the roll and the beholder's internal senses.

I conclude with Takamiya MS 112 because, like the other prayer rolls discussed in this chapter, it actively entices viewers to behold. Although remote from learned scholastic Aristotelian theories of vision, this process involves the mind's eye and, therefore, showcases a lay understanding of mental picturing. Using the definition of the Middle English *liknes*, I have first argued that prayer rolls call upon the mind's eye through fostering an awareness of similitude between parchment and skin. Rolls were experienced through an encounter of skins. I further demonstrated how this likeness also operates on a more conceptual level, in relation to species and image creation. It seems obvious, though, that both strains of the definition are neither mutually exclusive, nor do they have to always be concomitant. Likeness, and by extension phantasms, is intrinsically both imitation and being at the same

time. The parchment of the rolls is both like Christ's skin and as close as one can get to his skin.

Takamiya MS 70 [fig. 67] offers pricking, suture and tear to viewers. It is a skin marked in the same way that Christ was. Text, marks and images converge on the surface of the roll, enacting their full impact through physical handling. Rolls could invite viewers to penetrate their tears, behold them, put them against their own bodies. It was highly material and physical, yet it invited an incorporation that relied on mental picturing, through likeness. Likeness is the potential for image formation and the very performance of phantasm creation, composition and re-creation itself. Through mental mirroring, the mind's eye makes the absent image present. The skin of the roll is a memorial surface, marked by the past to be assimilated as a memory. Rolls adorned with images of the wounds or the Passion feed actively into a wider devotion that relied heavily on mental picturing. What prayer rolls ultimately tell us is that even though *phantasmata* is a difficult concept discussed by theoreticians, lay persons were no strangers to ideas of mental picturing in their daily devotion. Although never called phantasms as such, these ideas permeated material devotional culture.

3

Encorporant en parchemin:
between visible and invisible

Brown words, written in Anglicana, form a column, the edge of which is almost lost in the

binding of folio 20 verso of a fifteenth-century Carthusian miscellany [fig. 68].[1] The poem is

divided in two parts of equal length, the *Querella divina* and the *Responsio humana*, each signalled

by a title framed with thin red lines and a two-line initial O. Floating on their own patch of

green grass, two figures occupy two thirds of the page. In the bottom, a man with bright red

lips kneels, his hands in prayer, pointing toward the figure on his right. Christ, twice the size

of the figure, stands covered in blood splatters. He brings his left hand to his side wound,

delimiting its length with his fingers. The two figures do not share the same space but

nonetheless interact by looking at each other and illustrate the textual discussion between

the divine [*divina*] and the human [*humana*]. Between them, a heart bearing the wounds of

Christ, as large as the devotee, mediates between the figures. Framing the side wound in this

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[1] London, British Library, Additional MS 37049. On the Carthusian miscellany, see Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2007). Brantley questions the relationship between texts and images in the miscellany, using W. J. T. Mitchell's 'imagetext' to argue that the manuscript constructs a devotional performance. Brantley also argues that readers are given prime place in the miscellany's imagery, contending that readers are pictured throughout the manuscript, such as in fol. 20v. On the *O man unkynde* poem and beholding, see 217-220.

heart, bands of text inform readers that the image is the true length of Christ's wound. Finally, parchment emanates from Christ's face, encouraging viewers to 'Þies woundes smert bere [bear these painful wounds] in þi hert & luf god awe · Yf yow do þis þu sal hafe blys with outen delay'.[2] The poem signalled as the *Querella divina* is a longer version of the *O man unkynde* poem discussed in the previous chapter.[3] The devotee beholds Christ's wounds, or, as this version of the poem phrases it, *hase in mynde*. He looks at him through the open wound of the heart, as if it were a threshold to the divine figure. The image completes the text, Fournival's *parole* and *painture* coming together.

This contemplative method is further developed on folio 37 recto [fig. 69] of the miscellany, alongside a prose Passion meditation. On the left, amid the vegetation, a monk reads a book inscribed with the word 'ego' and brings his hand to his torso, where Christ's monogram is inscribed.[4] This monogram mirrors the one at the bottom right of the page, which acts as a seal for the poem.[5] The letters of that bottom monogram look like twirling rolls, combining textual and visual elements. Within the image, the monogram, as text, connects the monk with the visualisation of Christ's body, which appears crucified and emerging out of a heart in the opposite corner of the page. An inscribed roll pierces that heart, standing for the monk's manuscript: this visualisation emerges out of contemplation on a text. The roll touches a music sheet, invoking sounds. The background behind the monk is red, separated from the upper part of the image by a green streamer. Above the demarcating black line, on a blue background, three red angels unfold the roll that pierces Christ's heart. From the top of the heart, a bleeding and crucified Christ emerges onto the

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[2] NIMEV 3560.5.

[3] The version of the poem is catalogued as DIMEV 3984.2. Other manuscript variations also referenced as 3984 include Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 330 (SC 819), fol. 74v and Beinecke MS 410. The Carthusian miscellany contains another form of the poem, on fol. 24r, catalogued as DIMEV 3987.

[4] Brantley suggests that this figure (and others in the manuscript) might depict Richard Rolle. On this, the word ego and the relationship between the figure and the reader, see Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, 143-145.

[5] On performing the Holy Name and stamps, see Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, 178-195.

unpainted part of the page, as if it were another type of image. The illustration exemplifies the working of mental images in devotional meditation. It materialises on the page the division between the visible world, in which one meditates, and the invisible realm, where this meditation is processed, imagined and extended. The result is the vision of Christ crucified extending beyond the borders created by the coloured background, still part of the image but signalling a different type of space. This division prompts the question of the relationship between visible and invisible coming together as part of this system of visuality. Moreover, it pictures the space that mental beholding occupies, the space of phantasms.

Such dynamics, as pictured in the pages of the Carthusian miscellany, lie at the heart of this chapter. Visibility is obviously considered as a distinguishing characteristic of images. The two terms, visibility and images, are almost viewed as synonymous. Vision, as it was theorised in the Middle Ages, is a physical process. Objects are imprinted on the mind's eye. They are transformed into phantasms, mental images only 'visible' or perceptible to the mind's eye and the agent intellect. As such, phantasms seem to threaten this connection between images and visibility. Dreams or mystical visions are visible only to one person and invisible to the rest. In the Carthusian miscellany, this has translated into the form of an illumination. As I have previously argued, *imagines* and *phantasmata* are connected by a process of incorporation and transformation. Yet, this incorporation raises broader questions. Does it imply that, in this context, visibility is larger than vision? Do phantasms exist in the realm of invisibility? In this chapter, I posit that phantasms break down this dichotomy. I argue that they are meta-representations that are both visible and invisible rather than simply being one or the other.

The chapter is divided into three sections. First, I further my engagement with the Carthusian miscellany to raise some theoretical considerations about visibility and phantasms, questioning their very own ontology. Then I turn to an anonymous fourteenth-

century French treatise called the *Livre de vie et aiguillon d'amour et de dévotion*. This treatise survives in three similar manuscripts called the *Legiloque*. More precisely, I offer a close reading of the three versions of the only illumination in the treatise, which depicts a crucified Christ hanging in the spine of a life-size book, open in front of a praying devotee. Scholars have already dealt with tropes such as the body as a book, Christ as a book or the book of memory. Here, I am more interested in visuality and the inherent visible aspects of images and image-formed signs. I discuss in depth the various components of the image, drawing on its visual aspect. Finally, the chapter discusses the second part of the treatise's title, the *aiguillon d'amour et dévotion*, as the concept of *aiguillon* involves a movement, or steering. Drawing on French literature contemporary with the *Livre de vie*, I contend that this steering is inherent to the working of phantasms.

Visibility

Other images in the Carthusian miscellany, besides those discussed at the outset of this chapter, place devotees and the object of their mental beholding in the same or different spaces, with the divine figure either bigger or in the upper part of the image. On folio 24 recto [fig. 70], Christ delimits another occurrence of the *O man unkynde* poem, holding a wounded heart that similarly divides the page between the monk and the divine figure. On folio 67 verso [fig. 71], Christ hangs, bloody and scourged, on the tree of life. A tiny monk kneels, his hands obscured by the base of the tree. Four hands emerge from different places around Christ's body, holding the instruments of his Passion and wounding him. As in *O man unkynde*, the text, in the voice of Christ, entices the reader to behold his injured body. Mental beholding occurs through the human physical body as well as the conceptual divine one. The page combines various types of image: the representation of a monk's devotion, of

mental beholding and of fragmented body parts reperforming an action in the beholder's mind, all inked into one plane of visibility, on the parchment page.

Indeed, images participate in an ontology of visibility; they are part of a system of representation that is closely tied to notions of embodiment. Hans Belting writes that 'the human being is the natural *locus of images*, a living organ for images, as it were.'[6] It is inside the body that images are felt and processed. He also suggests that image and medium are contingent and that a '*picture is the image with a medium*'.[7] Building on Belting's argument, I consider the locus or medium, in this chapter, as parchment, a different type of body. Also, this medium and image can be considered as coming together to form a visible sign rather than a picture, an argument more in keeping with medieval theories of visibility. The theologian Hugh of Saint Victor (ca. 1096 – 1141) defines visibility as a divine phenomenon:

> For this whole visible world is a book written by the finger of God, that is, created by divine power; and individual creatures are as figures therein not devised by human will but instituted by divine authority to show forth the wisdom of the invisible things of God.[8]

Human figures are therefore the visible sign of God's invisible power within the book of nature, the visible world. This passage from Hugh's *De tribus diebus* summarising the conception of the world as a book of nature was re-used throughout the following centuries. Nature was seen as an open book from which knowledge, especially divine knowledge, could be gained. Understanding could be obtained through everything that was visible. Visuality was conceptualised as always being in a relationship with the invisible, putting the visible and the invisible into dialogue.[9]

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[6] Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 37. Italics are part of the original quotation and are not my own emphasis. My thanks to Sarah Salih for the reading suggestion. She explores some of these issues in Sarah Salih, 'Affect Machines,' in *Medieval Affect, Feeling and Emotion*, ed. Glenn Burger and Holly Crocker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 139-157.

[7] Belting, *An Anthropology of Images*, 10. Italics are Belting's.

[8] Gabriel Josipovici, *The World and the Book: A Study of Modern Fiction*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1979), 29.

[9] I have explored these issues further in Rozenberg, 'Flesh of the Image.'

Phantasms, therefore, make tangible in their own materiality the sensibilities of information. They make images out of information extracted from the visible. In Richard of Saint Victor's (d. 1173) *Benjamin Minor*, it is the faculty of imagination that provides this link between visible and invisible in the mind during prayer and contemplation. Imagination not only transmits sensory information and images but also creates its own.[10] Michelle Karnes has argued that the imaginative faculty carries an affective component but, in bringing the human soul closer to the deity, it also plays a crucial cognitive role.[11] As she explains, knowledge acquisition has been comprehended as a passage from visibility to invisibility, informed by Neoplatonism.[12]

Just as the crucified Christ, product of a meditation, emerges out of the coloured borders of the image in the Carthusian miscellany [fig. 69], phantasms exist in a liminal space between *imagines* and memories, as products of abstraction.[13] Although still material, they are constituted from a different materiality than the first ones. Conversely, they cannot share the space of the *imago*. Phantasms are intrinsically liminal: they stand, conceptually, between object, sensation and intellect. Carruthers explains that phantasms operate according to a locational model.[14] Their space is not only mental but also physical, referred to as *topica* or *loci*. From there, the process of recollection can extract the image-formed signs required and re-arrange them. More tangibly, the book was developed as a space of memory in texts on memory-training and mnemonics. Scholars aimed to create a library of their own memories, a human library.[15] A parallel or likeness is created between the object that contains knowledge

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[10] Karnes, *Imagination*, 28. Richard's theory, in which imagination generates from the invisible, is slightly different to the scholastic understanding of imagination.

[11] Karnes, *Imagination*, 24.

[12] Karnes, *Imagination*, 25.

[13] In the first chapter, I have dealt in detail with notions of space and 'the place of thought' as defined by Kay, who argues that locating thought is a key feature of fourteenth-century French didactic literature. The *Livre de vie* is a product of such literature. Interestingly, Kay translates *phantasmata* into 'sense images.' See also Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 182.

[14] Carruthers, 'Mechanisms for the Transmission of Culture,' 7.

[15] Carruthers, 'Mechanisms for the Transmission of Culture,' 2.

and the organ that processes the image-formed signs extracted from this object, which will be stored in the faculty of memory. On folio 37 recto, the monk meditates upon a book while Christ emerges out of a heart pierced by a roll, emphasising the importance of the book that the readers are holding themselves. The heart, a symbol of the meditative practice, renders phantasms possible.[16] As such, phantasms also occupy the space of the material, its *locus*, in addition to the physiological space of the cognitive process. Yet phantasms remain dynamic, changing and unstable. They are incorporated, species penetrating the body. They move through the chambers of the brain, from common sense to memory, constantly transformed. Phantasms are different and their location constantly changes; they are constantly space-deprived until they have settled in the faculty of memory, waiting to be recalled. Their space is contingent upon their temporalities.

Species are the invisible contained in the realm of the visible, while phantasms represent the transformation of the visible in the realm of the mental. The latter's existence further marks the limits of the visible and the working of visuality. Their process of incorporation fractures the fabric of visuality, by relying on a multitude of different forms: visible *imagines*, invisible species and an invisible variety of phantasms (from the sensory input in the common sense to the intelligible species after abstraction). However, it is important, when discussing visuality and phantasms, not to equate seeing with knowing, as if experiencing systematically produces phantasms and knowledge – as if, when something visible appears, it is immediately perceived for what it is. The reality is more complex. Phantasms and the faculty of fantasy operate during dreams, sometimes with a negative connotation. Perception itself can be dangerous. Something can be wrongly understood, or the senses tricked. This led to a great deal of apprehension on the part of medieval

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[16] The heart has strong associations with the faculty of memory and the book of the heart is a common metaphor. Popular literature often replaces the brain with the heart as the seat of sensation. It is a place of emotion that was given cognitive powers. See Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 2000).

theologians, especially regarding women's perception, which was deemed to be more at risk.[17] Furthermore, from a theoretical point of view, knowledge only happens after intellection and abstraction. Looking and perceiving, therefore, do not mean knowing. Phantasms are transient image-formed signs that are constantly evolving.

Phantasms are, moreover, fleeting. Meister Eckhart (ca. 1260 – 1328) writes: '[s]o also image is without image; for it is not seen in another image. The eternal Word is the medium and the image itself that is without medium and without image, so that the soul may grasp and know God in the eternal Word without a medium and without an image.'[18] Phantasms only exist in the self-containment of the mind, invisible yet material, always a reflection of the medium that originated them. They are the result of perception and not the object itself and yet need to be abstracted by the agent intellect. Phantasms are immanent vehicles. Only the mind knows and sees them. A phantasm is an image that constantly negates what we understood as an image. Phantasms reach beyond representation, they are always an incomplete representation, implying their own unfolding and transformation from *imagines* to ideas processed by the agent intellect. Images such as the ones in the Carthusian miscellany always surpass the intent of simple representation because they imply the full length of the cognitive process, of self-reflexivity on such an image that leads to transcending the physical and material image present in the realm of the visible, to enter the realm of the invisible, inside the body.

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[17] Elizabeth Robertson explored the sense of touch and skin in art and literature for and about women. She argues that touch is a site for mental processes as women were warned against the danger of touching, while enticed to imagine and meditate upon Christ's skin. Elizabeth Robertson, '*Noli Me Tangere*: The Enigma of Touch in Middle English Religious Literature and Art for and about Women,' in *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture*, ed. Katie L. Water (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 29-55.

[18] Bernard McGinn, ed., *Meister Eckhart, Teacher and Preacher*, with the collaboration of Frank Tobin and Elvira Borgstadt, preface by Kenneth Northcott (New York: Paulist Press, 1986), 312-313.

The *Livre de vie*

Another manuscript composed in a Carthusian context pursues this visual discourse of mental beholding. In the opening and sole illumination of an anonymous treatise, a female devotee, dressed in orange and purple, kneels in prayer in front of a tall open book, from which hangs a crucified Christ [fig. 72].[19] Blood spurts from Christ's hands and feet. The cross splits the pages and replaces the spine. The golden inscription 'Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Judæorum' (John 19:19) surrounds the dying body. While the devotee stands on a chequered blue, red and burnished gold background, the parchment of this hybrid body/book is left unpainted and the manuscript ruling is apparent. The seven seals of the Apocalypse hang from the bottom edge of the green cover, merging with the coloured background. A golden frame encloses the illumination, superimposed with white, orange and blue patterns mirroring the devotee's clothes. Golden ivy leaves spurt from the frame, into the left and right margins. Immediately underneath the illumination, a four-line initial E signals the start of the second part of John 19:19, in Latin, bridging the opening illumination and the anonymous Middle French treatise that follows, *Le livre de vie et aiguillon d'amour et de dévotion*, to which I will refer henceforth as the *Livre de vie*.[20]

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[19] Aden Kumler has argued that the *Legiloque* performs a translation, inasmuch as it moves and affects a change in the female reader from an earthly state to a greater spiritual plan. She suggests that the three ambiguous representations of the devotee, including the *Livre de vie*, are not conventional donor portraits. Rather, they incorporate the figure, to implicate the potential viewer. The donor figures act, in the copies, as a 'matrilineal ideal of female spiritual excellence'. Aden Kumler, 'Translating ma dame de Saint-Pol: The Privilege and Predicament of the Devotee in the Legiloque Manuscript,' in *Translating the Middle Ages*, ed. Karen L. Fresco and Charles D. Wright (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 35-53.

[20] Literature on the *Livre de vie* includes: Sylvia Huot, 'The Writer's Mirror: Watriquet de Couvin and the Development of the Author-Centered Book,' in *Across Boundaries, the Book in Culture and Commerce*, ed. Bill Bell, Philip Bennett and Jonquil Bevan (Winchester: Saint Paul's Bibliographies, 2000), 29–46; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'Body vs. Book: The Trope of Visibility in Images of Christian-Jewish Polemic,' in *Ästhetik Des Unsichtbaren: Bildtheorie Und Bildgebrauch in Der Vormoderne*, ed. David Ganz, Thomas Lentes and Georg Henkel (Berlin: Reimer, 2004), 113–146; Anne-Marie Legaré, 'L'image du livre comme adjuvant mémoriel dans le Conte des trois chevaliers et des trois livres,' in *Medieval Memory: Image and Text*, ed. Frank Willaert, Herman Braet, Thom Mertens and Theo Venckeleer (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 129-143; Sylvia Huot, 'Polytextual Reading: The Meditative Reading of Real and Metaphorical Books,' in *Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages: Essays on a Conjunction and Its Consequences in Honour of D.H. Green*, ed. Mark Chinca and Christopher Young (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 203–222; Kumler, 'Translating ma dame de Saint-Pol'.

The *Livre de vie* is included in a larger compendium commonly designated as the *Legiloque* which survives in three manuscripts, two of which are copies of the first one.[21] The earliest manuscript, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouvelles acquisitions françaises 4338, was made around 1330-1340 in Paris for the Countess of Saint-Pol Marie of Brittany (d. 1339), wife of Gui II of Châtillon (d. 1317).[22] BnF MS français 1136 and Chantilly, Bibliothèque et archives du musée Condé, MS 137 [figs 73 and 74] were supposedly copied from BnF MS nouv. acq. fr. 4338 a decade later, between 1340 and 1350.[23] The Saint-Pols were a family of very powerful aristocrats who had ruled a small but important fief in Northern France since the tenth century.[24] Distinguished members of the French court, they possessed military, political, diplomatic and cultural influence. Both male and female members of the family were eminent literary patrons. The three manuscripts were illuminated by an artist known as Mahiet (also referred to as Matthieu le Vavasseur or the Saint Louis Master) and present a similar iconographical programme and layout, so that despite a few differences in the illuminations, they are referred to in general as the *Legiloque*.[25]

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[21] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. fr. 4338; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1136; Chantilly, Bibliothèque et archives du Musée Condé, MS 137. Unless specified otherwise, when I refer to the visual aspect of the *Livre de vie* illumination, I mean the three illuminations as a shared type. The *Livre de vie* illuminations are sensibly similar, despite a few differences. In BnF nouv. acq. fr. 4338 fol. 143v, the devotee is more richly dressed. BnF fr. 1136 fol. 100r frames the image slightly differently and cuts the book on the right side, making it stand out more. In Chantilly 137 fol. 152r the figure of Christ looks older, although his body has the same general shape.

[22] The Saint-Pol family is mentioned in *Un petit trectié de Nostre Dame*, *Les nouvelletez dou monde* and the *Trectié dou saint esperit*. The attribution to Marie of Brittany has been made by Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, 'French Literature and the Counts of Saint-Pol ca. 1178-1377,' *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 41, no. 1 (2010): 122-124. They convincingly refuted the former attribution to Mahaut de Châtillon (d. 1378) and her husband Gui de Luxembourg (d. 1371) made by Léopold Delisle, 'Notice Sur Un Recueil de Traités de Dévotion Ayant Appartenu À Charles V,' *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Des Chartres* 5 (1869): 532–542. Delisle's dating has also been refuted by François Avril, who argues that the miniatures date from 1330-1340 in François Avril and Jean Lafaurie, La *Librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Tournon, 1968), 73-74, 139.

[23] The literature on MS nouv. acq. fr., 4338 commonly refers to the manuscript as Marie's original because it is stylistically anterior to the two other surviving copies. Although the argument is convincing, I believe we should never discard the possibility that it also was a copy of an earlier manuscript owned by someone else.

[24] On Saint-Pol family, see G. E. Sauvage, 'Histoire de Saint-Pol (Arras 1834),' in *Dictionnaire historique et archéologique du Pas-de-Calais*, 15 vols. (Arras: Sueur-Charruey, 1873–1883), vols. 13–15.

[25] Mahiet was a pupil of Jean Pucelle, working in Paris in the first half of the fourteenth century. See Richard H. Rouse, 'Mahiet, the Illuminator of Cambridge UL Dd. 5.5.,' in *The Cambridge Illuminations: Conference Papers*, ed. Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller, 2007), 173–186; Mie Kuroiwa, 'Working with Jean Pucelle and His Successors: The Case of the Saint Louis Master (Mahiet?),' in *Jean Pucelle: Innovation and Collaboration in Manuscript Painting*, ed. Kyunghee Pyun and Anna D. Russakoff (London: Harvey Miller, 2013), 111–129.

An anonymous compendium on moral and spiritual instruction, the *Legiloque* comprises nineteen unique devotional treatises probably composed in a Carthusian context.[26] The *Livre de vie* is an example of enumerative literature, which gives a didactic and memorial dimension to the work, after the *divisio* system introduced by Albertus Magnus.[27] Mary Carruthers defines the process of recollection as 'a "gathering together" (*compositio*) into one "place" (*locus*) of materials previously stored in memory as images (*imagines*)'.[28] This is similar to the idea of a compendium: gathering, for knowledge (and in this precise case devotion) into one manuscript. The compendium becomes a source for future recollection.

The *Livre de vie* teaches that Christ is associated with various books and emphasises reading as a means to raise one's self to a divine level.[29] In four lines, the rubricated incipit sets out the same association between Christ and book that is painted in the illumination:

> Hereby begins a small treatise which is rightly called Book of Life and the Prick of Love and of Devotion, the writing and letters of which are taken from the Cross of Jesus Christ and his holy Passion.[30]

The *Livre de vie* depicted in the illumination is not a single book. Rather, it stands for a variety and diversity of books. Thus, book and Christ visually form a single body, a common medium materialised as an image. Their skins merge, creating a new and unique object of devotion which, as I will demonstrate, underlines a realm of mental picturing that is at the core of devotees' visual religious experiences and aspirations. The image transforms Christ

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[26] The religious order is mentioned in two treatises, the *Nouveletez dou monde* and the *Trectié dou Saint esperit*, which describe its history verbatim. Moreover, the Châtillon Saint-Pol lived nearby the Charterhouse of Vauvert, which was financially supported by Jeanne of Châtillon countess of Blois. Rouse and Rouse, 'French Literature,' 126.

[27] Legaré, L'image du livre,' 130.

[28] Carruthers, 'Mechanisms or the Transmission of Culture,' 10.

[29] The *Livre de vie* probably also refers to the commemorative monastic tradition of the *liber vitae* (book of life). Names of dead monks are written in books and passed on to new generations who are tasked to pray in remembrance of these named dead monks. The addition of a name also serves as a token that God will remember the deceased and help them to Salvation. Friedrich Ohly, *Sensus Spiritualis: Studies in Medieval Significs and The Philology of Culture*, ed. Samuel P. Jaffe, trans. Kenneth J. Northcott (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 313.

[30] *Ci commence un petit trectie . Qui a bon droit est apele . Liure de vie 7 aiguillon . Damour et de deuocion Dont lescripture et les lettres Sont de la croiz ihesucrist trestes et sa sainte passion.* BnF MS fr. 1136 fol. 100r. Unless stated otherwise, transcriptions are from BnF, MS fr. 1136.

into a book as the materialisation of how phantasms operate. This iconography mobilises

discourses on book metaphors and skin to stress the self-reflexive and emotional aspects of

phantasms. The devotee prays to the ultimate source of wisdom and knowledge. She wants

to be enlightened by Christ's presence that she finds in a book. In the words of Froissart,

'[p]icturing these things in my mind, I drew something of a comparison between [them and]

my life and interests'.[31] The function of the *Livre de vie*'s images is not only theological but

also cognitive.

It is obvious that the word became flesh (John 1:14), but more importantly, the word

also became a fleshy vessel for phantasms. Discussing the figure of the Man of Sorrows in

her book *Sight and Embodiment*, Suzannah Biernoff argues that after the Fourth Lateran

Council in 1215 devotional practices aligned with thirteenth-century ocular theories and the

discipline of optics or *perspectiva*. It entailed carnal vision, an 'ocular communion' involving a

mutual gaze, a sense of reciprocity between viewers and viewed.[32] Throughout the centuries,

from Saint Augustine to the scholastics and especially Bonaventure, Christ was recognised

as the perfect cognitive image of God.[33] For Bonaventure, the best place to find God was in

one's mind and mental images, where Christ was present to help the mind process the

sensory data. In the popular *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, the anonymous writer Pseudo-

Bonaventure advises his readers to constantly picture religious episodes, contemplate them

and focus attention towards Christ.[34] In the *Collationes in Hexaemeron* (1273), Bonaventure

discusses the role of Christ as the ultimate phantasm. Christ became incorporeal, using his

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[31] Quoted and translated in Kay, *The Place of Thought*, 147.
[32] Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 149.
[33] Karnes, *Imagination*, 18.
[34] The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* is a fourteenth-century devotional treatise long attributed to Bonaventure. This attribution has since been refuted. The work was popular and translation into Middle English, around 1400, by the Carthusian prior Nicholas Love (d. 1424). The translation is known as *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Such exhortations to mentally picture, therefore, are part of a broader culture that also produced the Carthusian miscellany.

own species to illuminate the dark human species and phantasms.[35] Bonaventure combines the Augustinian theory of illumination with Aristotelian abstraction to define images (or image-formed signs) as the uniting component of the cognitive process, with Christ as the ultimate, most perfect of these cognitive images.[36]

Bonaventure's idea of images as a route to divine experience is typical of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[37] For example, John of Morigny, a fourteenth-century Benedictine monk, wrote a prayer asking God to allow him to see fully:

> Open Lord, my heart, my mind, and the cerebrum perfected in it three cells, so that in the first and anterior part I may be able very swiftly to form images of everything seen and heard, in the second I may be able to interpret everything thus imagined and in the last, memory may perpetually conserve the things thus interpreted.[38]

In other words, you had to meditate and ask God to help you understand the world you live in, and hopefully, learn spiritual truths on his divine nature. Images cannot be comprehended without theology, and a new image theory centred on phantasms cannot be proposed without theological considerations of phantasms. Therefore, the *Livre de vie*'s figure is not simply that of Christ, but an elaborate sign that has been embodied and fleshed out, so it can reveal a state of mind. Just as the book acts as a receptacle for the crucified body, the body itself captures the devotional knowledge contained inside the book. It does not oppose interior and exterior so much as putting them into a dialogue from which thoughts will emerge. This mystical body is incarnated so it can transcend the realm of the page to enter the realm of

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[35] José De Vinck, trans., *The Works of Bonaventure, Cardinal, Seraphic Doctor and Saint*, vol. 5 (Paterson, N.J.: St Anthony Guild Press, 1970), 174-175.

[36] Karnes, *Imagination*, 77.

[37] Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 24.

[38] *Aperi, Domine, cor meum, mentem meam, et cerebrum perfectum tribus cellulis, ut in prima et in anteriori parte omnia visa et audita velocissime queam imaginari, in secunda omnia imaginata racionari possim, et que racionata sunt ultima perpetue conservet memoria.* John of Morigny, *The Flowers of Heavenly Teaching*, ed. and trans. Nicholas Watson and Claire Fanger (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2015), II. ii, 23, 5.

the mind as a phantasm. In this context of moral instruction, the illuminations transform themselves from physical images to potential phantasms, ready to be grasped by the senses.

Under the illuminations, the *Livre de vie* makes clear that it is concerned with knowledge.[39] On the first page of the treatise, in BnF MS fr. 1136, are the words recollect [*recoillies*] and remember [*remembrees*]. From the begining, the *Livre de vie* involves reminiscence and recollection of memories. Christ is referred throughout the treatise as 'this blessed book' [*beneoit livre*], furthering the assimilation present in the illumination. This blessed book has been sent by God, so that humanity could see and hear [*ueoir et entendre*] his words by a process of likeness [*samblable*]. Christ is described as a book that needs to be heard and learnt, upon which one must take example.[40] This vocabulary not only recalls Fournival's *painture* and *parole* but also foregrounds the importance of likeness in this cognitive assimilation and remembering of the blessed book. When talking about Christ's incarnation, the treatise explains that it was done like it is pictured at the beginning of the treatise. The text uses the words *touchier brieuement la matiere*, briefly touching the matter of the book, as in mentioning the content in passing. *Touchier*, according to the DMF, is both a physical contact and discussing something. Christ is simultaneously the content and its matter, the ultimate medium. The word touch is used several times throughout the treatise to describe its own content, the blessed book of Christ.[41] For example, the emphasis on touching matter/content is reiterated a few lines later to talk about the Titulus, illustrated as part of the book on BnF MS nouv. acq. fr. 4338 [fig. 72]. As such, the *Livre de vie* refers to itself as a content to be read and as a matter to be touched.

The three opening illuminations can also be recalled when readers, on folio 102 recto are told that Christ is a new law. The written law, or the scriptures, is a likeness [*figure et*

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[39] *pour aprendre science par quoy il puissent auoir cognoissance . et entendement.* BnF MS fr. 1136, fol. 100r.
[40] BnF MS fr. 1136, fol. 107v.
[41] BnF MS fr. 1136, fol. 107r.

pourtraiture] of the new law. When one wants to make an image, the *Livre de vie* explains, one makes a *portreture* with all the members and parts. However, this remains a representation, a figure, until colours are applied. Then, it ceases to be a *portreture* and becomes a perfect image.[42] As such, by comparison, the text explains that before Christ was incorporated, there was no perfect image of God, only a likeness. In a contemporary manuscript, also an example of enumerative literature, the seven articles of faith regarding the divine [*tuchantz*] are represented in a series of eight illuminations.[43] An unframed figure occupies the upper half of the page, holding up an open scroll for the readers to read. The scrolls are inscribed with the seven articles of their respective faith. Among the figures are the Angel Gabriel, the Virgin and God. To represent the articles of God's humanity, Christ is pictured crucified, the roll opening over his body [fig. 75]. The crucifixion is the moment where Christ's humanity was incorporated into text, for mankind to read. The *Livre de vie* illuminations, therefore, showcase the making of this image: Christ becomes the new law by being incorporated into this book, which is now painted on the pages of the *Legiloque* manuscripts. Later in the treatise, Christ is described as a sign, his side wound a symbol of his humanity to be beheld in the devotees' hearts.[44] The soul, an image of God, is enticed to behold that sign and penetrate it, as none can know without perceiving.[45] The connection with the illuminations and the manuscripts is evident when the text reminds readers, once more, that they can see an example of Christ in this blessed book.[46] Christ is positioned as a visual sign for humanity to penetrate and see through.

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[42] BnF MS fr. 1136, fol. 102r.
[43] Paris, BnF MS fr. 400, ff. 49r-52v.
[44] BnF MS fr. 1136, fol. 108r.
[45] BnF MS fr. 1136, fol. 108r.
[46] For example, *nous pouons ueoir dou beneoit ihesucrist sa beneoite char ou liure … Et qui estudie et pense en cest liure de la croiz et de la passion.* BnF MS fr. 1136, fol. 108v. … *en recoillant nostre matiere que en cest beneoit liuvre … len puet penser et dire et cognoissance de toute uerite est ou liure de uie.* BnF MS fr. 1136, fol. 110v.

This description of representation and incorporation, in relation to the illuminations, helps explaining a key aspect of the way phantasms work. You cannot know incorporeal things. As Aquinas explains: '[i]ncorporeal things, of which there are no phantasms, are known to us by comparison with empirical bodies of which there are phantasms […] to understand anything of things of this kind we have to turn to phantasms of empirical bodies, even though there are no phantasms of them.'[47] Christ is incorporeal, but he is brought into matter and made empirical by the Eucharist and images. Christ himself told the German Cistercian Gertrude of Helfta (ca. 1256 – 1302) that 'as invisible and spiritual things cannot be understood by the human intellect except in visible and corporeal images, it is necessary to clothe them in human and bodily form'.[48] Or, the writer of the *Livre de vie* writes that God questions 'What if I embodied my thought by writing and incorporating it in parchment.'[49] Indeed, the divine cannot be perceived by mankind, explains the *Livre de vie*, until Christ took human shape, until he could be seen and read.[50] In the illuminations, the space of the book is left unpainted, the parchment of the *Livre de vie* being that of the *Legiloque*. However, the text from the other side of the folio appears in transparency, giving the *Livre de vie* a faint trace of writing [figs 76 and 77]. This is the process of incorporation: the Word is being translated into the parchment as Christ is being incarnated. The transparency embodies the incorporation. It is a generative and performative empty space, in the words of Elina Gertsman.[51] The text, early on, spells out the dynamic depicted in the opening illuminations: Christ is parchment, he is corporeal. In the *Livre de vie*, the invisible is clothed and embodied in the skin of the book.

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[47] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.84.7.ad 3. Quoted in Kenny, *Aquinas on Mind*, 98.

[48] Gertrude of Helfta, *The Herald of Love*, ed. and trans. Margaret Winkworth (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 54-55.

[49] *Mes se je donnoie a ma pensee cors . en la escriuant et encorporant en parchemin*. BNF, MS fr. 1136, ff. 100v-101r.

[50] *Mes quant il ot pris le cors de nostre humanite … son beneoist fil enuoier et encorporer en nostre humanite*. BNF, MS fr. 1136, fol. 101r.

[51] Gertsman, 'Phantoms of Emptiness.'

Aden Kumler explains that the *Livre de vie* is the book of the Apocalypse, but conflates the book of life, the book with seven seals and Christ's cross to offer the devotee an exegesis of Christ.[52] She describes the treatise as a proliferation of 'Christ-books'.[53] The metaphor of Christ as a book, although rarely depicted, is more common in mystical literature. When the beguine and mystic Mechthild of Magdeburg (ca. 1207 – 1282/94) wanted to record her visions, she was warned of the danger. Unsure of what to do, she threw herself into prayer, asking God for advice. He appeared to her, holding a book in his right hand, and said:

> The book is threefold
>
> And portrays me alone.
>
> The parchment that encloses it indicates my pure, white, just humanity
>
> That for your sake suffered death.
>
> The words symbolize my marvelous Godhead.
>
> It flows continuously
>
> Into your soul from my divine mouth.
>
> The sound of a word is a sign of my living spirit
>
> And through it achieves genuine truth.[54]

The metaphor of parchment symbolising Christ was a very popular trope. Mechthild of Magdeburg, Pierre Bersuire (ca. 1290 – 1362), Pseudo-Bonaventure, Richard Rolle (ca. 1300 – 1349) and many others wrote about the 'Christ-book' figure of speech that infuses the very core of the *Livre de vie*.[55] Christ is described at first as a blessed book, the only locus where his father's divinity can be recognised. Different metaphorical books proceed from it, some of which are also cited in the previous treatise, the *Tale of the Three Knights and the Three Books*

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[52] Kumler, 'Translating ma dame de Saint-Pol,' 45.

[53] Kumler, 'Translating ma dame de Saint-Pol,' 46.

[54] Mechthild of Magdeburg, *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, II. 26, trans. Frank Tobin (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 96-97.

[55] On these Christ-book metaphors see, among others, Jesse M. Gellrich, *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology, and Fiction* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985); Huot, 'The Writer's Mirror'; Elisabeth Dutton, 'Christ the Codex: Compilation as Literary Device in Book to a Mother,' *Leeds Studies in English* 35 (2004): 81–100; Elina Gertsman, 'Image as Word: Visual Openings, Verbal Imaginings,' *Studies in Iconography* 32 (2011): 51–80.

[*Conte des trois chevaliers et des trois livres*].[56] These are the black book of consciousness which

gives knowledge of all sins, the white book of science which gives knowledge of all truth,

and the golden book of wisdom which gives knowledge of all happiness. Like phantasms,

the book of consciousness is said to be imprinted by God directly onto beholders' hearts.[57]

Anne-Marie Legaré argues that the *Livre de vie* illumination [fig. 72] acts as a hiatus between

the *Livre vie* and the *Conte des trois chevaliers*, visualising a book.[58]

The theme of the three books was used by many writers. Among them is the visionary

Marguerite of Oingt (ca. 1240 – 1310), a Carthusian prioress from the French Charterhouse

of Poleteins.[59] Although there is no known connection between her work and the Saint-Pol

family, Marguerite's writings draw on a cognitive theory of reflexive reading articulated

around a book vocabulary, which, I argue, also happens in the *Livre de vie*.[60] In her *Speculum*,

written in Franco-Provençal, Marguerite narrates a vision wherein a series of Christ-books

are about to be opened onto one another, culminating in the opening of her own book of

consciousness. She asserts the epistemological facet of reading and acutely conveys the idea

that it is by properly understanding the meaning of a word that you can fully grasp what it

signifies.[61] Such an achievement can be replicated by anyone if they practice prayerful

readings and picture images and words in their minds. In the *Pagina Meditationum*, she explores

how, when reading a Psalm, it recalls something in her mind and triggers the love she feels

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[56] The *Conte des trois chevaliers* is BnF nouv. acq. fr. 4338 ff. 137r-143r; BnF fr. 1136 ff. 95r-99r; Chantilly MS 137 ff. 144r-151v. In the BnF fr. 1136 *Livre de vie*, the three books are first mentioned on fol. 110v. The book of consciousness [*liure de la conscience*] is discussed in ff. 111r-113v, the book of divine science [*diuine cognoissance*] in ff. 113v-116r and the book of knowledge [*diuine sapience*] in ff. 116r-117r.

[57] *Et de ceste escripture . et droiture de la loy de nature qui diex a emprainte en la conscience de resonnable creature.* BnF fr. 1136, fol. 111r. … *que diex a empreinte naturement en leurs cuers et en leurs consciences.* BnF fr. 1136, fol. 111v.

[58] Legaré, 'L'image du livre,' 130. Anne-Marie Legaré characterises the *Conte des trois chevaliers et des trois livres* as an 'adjuvant mémoriel' and discusses the *Livre de vie* as a comparative point.

[59] Huot, 'The Writer's Mirror,' first made the connection between Marguerite of Oingt and the *Legiloque* series based on the tale of the three books. Yet, she does not elaborate on the cognitive potential of Marguerite's visions in relation to the *Livre de vie*.

[60] It is beyond the scope of this chapter to sketch out a broader Carthusian framework, but a connection between the order and the cognitive power of Christ as parchment/book seems evident.

[61] Jessica Barr, 'The Meaning of the Word: Language and Divine Understanding in Marguerite d'Oingt,' *Mystics Quarterly* 33, no. 1/2 (2007): 39.

for the divine.[62] These two steps are a cognitive cue and an emotional response.[63] Without directly referring to it, Marguerite constructs her visions around the theory of phantasms: the replicable achievement of a higher mental state is reached by meditative prayer and mental picturing. Sylvia Huot examines the *Livre de vie*, the *Conte des trois chevaliers* and the writings of Marguerite d'Oingt in an article on polytextual reading, a practice of lay devotional teaching fostered, among other things, by meditative reading.[64] This process, she explains, leads to the transformation of one text into several others, by a process of association and intellectual and imaginative memory. It operates based on recollection that is a lay substitute for mystical visions. Such texts were, then, inherently made to be transformed.

A very important and prevalent metaphor in this fourteenth-century discourse of self-definition and subjectivity is that of the book of consciousness, which appears already in the *Conte des trois chevaliers* before the *Livre de vie*. As I have mentioned previously, there are three books in this tale. The *livre de conscience* gives knowledge of all the defaults and sins; the *livre de science* provides knowledge of all truth while the *livre de sagesse* gives knowledge of all happiness. In the *Conte des trois chevaliers*, the *livre de science* is described as made of white parchment, symbolising Christ's purity, adorned with red letters recalling his Passion. The *Livre de vie* then advises its readers to beware of the devil's edits. Huot explains that lay people of the early fourteenth century were educated to imagine themselves as books in progress, a book of consciousness that needs to be written, edited and read through meditation.[65] Huot emphasises that the trope of Christ as a book is more bodily than psychic. She describes this image as combining the real and imaginary, the material and the metaphoric together. It corresponds to the text that describes the Incarnation as an act of writing, reinforced by the

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[62] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, trans., *The Writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic* (Newburyport, MA: Focus Information Group, 1990), 25.
[63] Barr, 'The Meaning of Word,' 36. She states that Marguerite's visions 'are in accords with contemporary theories of the mental faculties' and mentions phantasms but does not go further.
[64] Huot, 'Polytextual Reading,' 203-222.
[65] Huot, 'The Writer's Mirror,' 29-46.

mention of the writing of the tables of the law.[66] Before describing the sentences carried in

purgatory and hell, the *Livre de vie* explains that at the end of time, there will be the book of

consciousness of all mankind, and each will be able to read and know the sins of others.[67]

There is no better illustration of the book of consciousness than the fifteenth-century

fresco of the Last Judgment in Albi Cathedral. On the left pillar [fig. 78], the chosen are

walking, naked, with their hands in prayer toward the judging Christ. On the right pillar, the

damned curl up on each other. On each of their chests is their open book of life and

consciousness upon which they will be judged [fig. 79]. The Albi fresco blurs the boundary

between interiority and exteriority: it exteriorises the very essence of interiority. Similarly, the

Livre de vie's book encloses Christ to present itself as a perfect example of the book of

consciousness. It makes the interior self visible to the exterior self. It is a material record of

one of the most incorporeal devotional experiences.

Images are associated with letters, and by extension, with the act of writing and with

books. Carruthers explains that in memory-training, images act as a 'non-verbal textual

form'.[68] She explains that, for example, in Pope Gregory the Great's (ca. 540 – 604) theory,

picturae are textual and also the likeness of the written words: looking is similar to reading and

the text is processed in the form of mental images.[69] She furthers her analysis by looking at

the work of Fournival, which I already discussed in the first chapter.[70] Therefore, the *Livre de*

vie already creates a correlation between image-formed signs and the text by picturing a book.

However, if the text uses book metaphors, the three *Livre de vie* illuminations summon a

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[66] Huot brings in two other fourteenth-century French manuscripts describing Christ as a book: BnF fr. 22921
(*Les Lamentations St. Bernart*) and BnF fr. 19271.
[67] *Que chascun sera iugie selonc ses propres euures escripte ou liure de sa propre conscience . Et la seront les liures des consciences*
de touz ceus et celes de la lignee adam ; ouuers et apers touz . Ainsi que chascun y lira et cognoistra et ses pechiez . et les autrui.
BnF fr. 1136, fol. 114r.
[68] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 275.
[69] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 276
[70] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 277.

codicological vocabulary, inducing a focused reflection on Christ's own body and skin.[71] The pages of the book are the only part of an image that is left unpainted in each of the three manuscripts. As a result, the text on the other side of the folio is visible, surrounding Christ and making him emerge from it [figs 72, 73 and 74]. This adds a sense of dimension and depth. In BNF MS nouv. acq. fr. 4338 [fig. 72] and Chantilly MS 137 [fig. 74], the underlying ruling is apparent. It refers to the *punctus*, the puncturing and prickling of the edge of the parchment to draw lines. The puncturing becomes a rhetorical process aimed at mirroring the page and the memory.[72] Legaré states that if the *Legiloque*'s treatises are didactic, the iconography bears no mnemonic function since it is deprived of diagrams or tables.[73] However, if it is true that the only illumination in the *Livre de vie* has no such devices, I argue that the image itself bears the potentiality of memory. The book, the metaphors, the seals and so forth all participate in a broader culture centred on memorialising Christ's Passion. But if the text calls for remembering, the illuminations do not only picture the working of the faculty of memory, since this is not a past memory. Rather, they embody the working of imagination, of fantasy, which combines mental images together. The *Livre de vie* comes into being with the addition, the sewing of the dead divine body into its pages, envisioning the end of time.

Carruthers describes the wax tablet, alongside the parchment page, as the master trope of memory. Just as one would write in the wax with a stylus, memory is likewise inscribed.[74] Some wax tablets were decorated with courtly scenes or episodes from the life of Christ. A rare example is the ivory writing tablet now in the Beinecke Rare Book &

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[71] For the codicological aspect of the text, see Kumler, 'Translating ma dame de Saint-Pol,' 47-50.
[72] Mary Carruthers, 'Reading with Attitude, Remembering the Book,' in *The Book and the Body*, ed. Dolores Warwick Frese and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Notre Dame, IN, and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 2.
[73] Legaré, 'L'image du livre,' 132.
[74] Carruthers, 'Mechanisms for the Transmission of Culture,' 7.

Manuscript Library [figs 80 and 81].[75] Small enough as to fit in the palm of a hand, one side presents a zone designed to receive the wax [fig. 82]. Vertical streaks might indicate the process of rubbing and replacing the wax. The other face is incised with a Crucifixion [fig. 81]. The bodies are roughly sketched, the surface polished overtime, defacing the holy bodies and erasing details. Indeed, despite this flattening, the composition maintains a sense of depth: when looked at from the side, the faces are deep and incised with details [fig. 83]. Time and use have rubbed them away, just as the wax was regularly brushed anew. However, if the artist has paid attention to the architecture and the face then each figure has also been represented with hands as big as their heads. Christ's hands, in particular, command attention. They frame the composition, the fingers are differentiated, but most of all, the palms are hollow. Viewers can place their fingertips into Christ's palm. The composition is haptic. Another example is the much more elaborate writing tablet now in the Metropolitan Museum [fig. 84]. In the form of a booklet, the gilded and painted ivory alternates covers and pages, carving and painting representing scenes from the life of Christ. The external covers are incised with scenes of the Passion and the internal leaves are carved and painted with scenes from the life of the Virgin. Two double faces, in the centre, are wax tablets, ready to receive writings or prayers. These tablets present a clear juxtaposition between the Passion and writing, between piercing Christ's body and incising the page while implying a sense of materiality in relation to memory.

Phantasms are indeed material in their own way, as scholastics and theologians stress. I believe that this complicates the general understanding of phantasms as mental images. They are images processed in the mind, but this could imply a dematerialisation of the image in order to be processed by the brain, since the 'mental' is generally compared to 'physical'

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75 New Haven, The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 817. On Gothic ivories, see Catherine Yvard, ed., *Gothic Ivory Sculpture: Content and Context* (London: Research Forum, The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2017).

images. As such, many writers specify that phantasms or mental images are still material in their own way. The ontological materiality of phantasms brings out a fundamental difference between *imagines* and *phantasmata*. According to Aristotelian hylomorphism, everything is composed of form and matter. Yet, if *imagines* and *phantasmata* are material, their forms vary corresponding to their visibility. For Boethius, the forms that compose human matters are images.[76] Boethius explains this principle using the following example: a sculpture is not called as such because of the bronze – or matter – that constitutes it, but because of its form that imprints on the work the semblance of a human. Michel Lemoine argues that Thierry de Chartres (d. ca. 1150) extended Boethius's theories to explain that imagination deals with forms and images corrupted by matter.[77] Medieval commentators on Aristotle, Boethius and Plato all warn against the danger of images. Nonetheless, images relate to corporeal forms and entities, which, according to Clarembaud d'Arras (ca. 1110 – 1187), should be referred to as images of forms.[78] As such, it is forms that change in the incorporation process of *imagines* into *phantasmata* and make the latter exist in the realm of invisibility for the human eye. The forms of phantasms reach beyond. I think it is more fitting, therefore, to use a terminology involving visible and invisible images in addition to using the terms 'physical' and 'mental'. Invisible simply implies that human eyes cannot see the phantasms anymore, but the mind still can. They are still material images, just perceived by a different organ. The parallel with the parchment page, therefore, points to the viewer's mind as a kind of page, visible to the mind's eyes. The association between memory and the material that beholders are holding in their own hands anchors phantasms as a different form of images, but one that still shares similarities with the original object.

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[76] Boethius, 'La Trinité,' in *Courts traités de théologie*, trans. and ed. H. Merle (Paris: Cerf, 1991), 131-132.
[77] Michel Lemoine, 'Théologie et philosophie de l'image,' in *L'image dans la pensée et l'art au Moyen Âge, colloque organisé à l'Institut de France le vendredi 2 décembre 2005*, ed. Michel Lemoine (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 30.
[78] Lemoine, 'Théologie et philosophie,' 31.

Not only is Christ's cognitive aspect in the *Livre de vie*'s image the source of phantasms, but it is also the original parchment used in a mental representation. His merging with the book creates an inscribing surface that works as the basis for the common sense. God's original pre-verbal writing is embodied in Christ, making him the Word, written on animal skin. Christ's self is here fixed to the skin, to the surface from which will originate phantasms received by the common sense. A second meaningful object, perhaps more important than the text, is created by the transfer of his original skin to the parchment of the book. Because Christ is the ultimate phantasm, his skin acts visually as the link between the outside earthly world of the devotee, ready to be transformed into a mental content, and the inner self, capable of mental activities symbolised by the book as a metaphor of the interior self. Christ is represented as the embodiment of thought, of mental picturing based on an experience of the surface of the body. On the cross in BnF MS nouv. acq. fr. 4338 [fig. 72], Mahiet painted the titulus on the pages of the manuscript. This anchors the divine word within the particular book of life. Moreover, this transforms the titulus into a cognitive place or *locus*. Kay opens her book *The Place of Thought* with the Sybil's words in Christine de Pizan's *Livre du chemin de long estude*: 'but if you will follow my banner/pen, I believe I can lead you indeed into another and more perfect world where you will truly be able to learn far more that you could comprehend in this one…'[79] The *Livre de vie*, made approximatively 60 years earlier, uses the titulus for similar purposes. The words of the titulus, a label, are transformed into pen-written words on a page, aiming to transform, uplift and teach devotees.

A closer engagement with the illuminations highlights these dynamics even more. For example, the merging of Christ's body and parchment is reinforced by the presence of nails in BnF MS fr. 1136, the only illumination to represent them [figs 73 and 76]. This manuscript's surrounding marginalia even goes one step further, illustrating the

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[79] Kay, *The Place of Thought*, 1.

interpenetration of book and body, corporeality and codicology, that Michael Camille argued was an act of thought-creation in fourteenth-century culture.[80] Two figures, echoing the colours of the main illumination, are engaged in a fight [fig. 85]. They use pickaxes and heart-shaped shields. The pickaxes recall the three nails piercing Christ's hands and feet as well as the pricking. Because the figures fight with objects that recall the piercing of the very skin on which they are represented, the act emphasises the interpenetration of bodies. Moreover, it is the only floriated margin in the series to enclose image and text fully, reinforcing this idea of having to penetrate a space. Violent acts have been shown to be a very important part of medieval memorial culture and the heart is the ultimate popular metaphor for memory.[81] These enclosing marginalia thus seem to be in the process of creating thoughts and phantasms. Together, the nails, ruling and transparency wound the surface on which the *Livre de vie*'s images appear, reminding us of the materiality and the creative process that lie behind these pages. At issue here is the representation of a body on the verge of a violent death, inscribed within the unfolding of a sheet of parchment that feels and smells like animal skin. This is the fundamental multi-sensory act that would originate and encourage the mental picturing of a meditative devotion. Christ is literally being incarnated into the ultimate compendium, ready to nourish its viewers' thoughts. He is turning into skin and body, visually consummated by the mind's desire for the Eucharist.

The marginalia in BnF MS nouv. acq. fr. 4338 [fig. 72] do not seem, at first, to convey such meanings. However, at the crossing of the left vertical and bottom horizontal bar, a face emerges, constrained between tracery, enclosing the face just as the book encloses the holy body. The fragmented human at the top of the vertical bar points with his left finger, while twisting his body backward and raising his right hand to mouth, as if calling someone's

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[80] Michael Camille, 'The Book as Flesh and Fetish in Richard de Bury's *Philoblon*,' in *The Book and the Body*, ed. Dolores Warwick Frese and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 34–72.
[81] Jager, *The Book of the Heart*.

attention to what he is pointing at. This is of course a visual cue that draws the viewer's attention back toward the centre of the page. It also creates a further connection between the opening illumination of the *Livre de vie* on folio 141 verso and the previous illumination on folio 138 recto [fig. 86], in the *Conte des trois chevaliers,* depicting the three brothers in monastic habits. The tale, as mentioned previously, deals with three books of different colours and meaning. The marginalia, following the same composition as the one on folio 141 verso, answer each other. While in the *Livre de vie* the figure speaks and points, on folio 138 recto the figure raises the left hand, brandishing a finger, as if attracting someone's attention. The figure is answered in the next image by another, calling back at them but pointing toward the illumination, as if the issues raised in the *Conte* are answered in the *Livre de vie*. In Chantilly MS 137, only five pages have human figures in the marginalia. The *Livre de vie* page, folio 152 recto [fig. 74], is the only one with two figures. Interestingly, most of the figures convey sound. Three are in the *Conte des trois chevaliers*. On folio 147 verso [fig. 87], which is a copy of BnF nouv. acq. fr. 4338, folio 138 recto [fig. 86], the figure calls out as well. Yet, on the *Livre de vie* page, the figure on the left does not look back but rings two bells, one in each hand. Facing it is another figure playing a string instrument. The figures convey a multi-sensory experience, combining the *painture* and *parole* described by Fournival.

Horizontally, the cross in the *Livre de vie* does not reach the edges of the pages in the three illuminations [figs 72, 73 and 74]. Rather, it runs alongside the ruling or text line (in the case of BnF MS fr. 1136), inscribing the cross in this dynamic of reading. Vertically, however, the cross becomes the binding. On the three illuminations, the cross is shaded. On the vertical axis, the shade covers the right-hand side of the three crosses, making them three dimensional. As such, the shading reinforces the illusion that the cross is the binding of the book. None of the extant copies of the *Livre de vie* maintain their original binding. Therefore, we can only speculate on the association readers would have made between the illumination

and the actual object they hold. The original leather would have probably been sewn or nailed to the wooden boards, as demonstrated by a manuscript now in the Huntington collection [fig. 88].[82] The boards themselves would have presented small windows showcasing the wooden pegging leather thongs that reinforce the sewing of the quires. Metal clasps would hold the book shut in place. Often, two layers of leather cover the wooden boards. A manuscript from around 1400, now in the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, which contains the *Speculum humane salvationis* and the *Meditationes de passione Christi*, is bound with several skins [figs 89 and 90].[83] The inner cover is a tawed, pink skin covering what is called a chemise, another layer of white tawed skin which is stitched to yet another outer tawed pigskin.[84] Traces of pins remain where the lower cover would have been attached. The manuscript, a meditation on Christ's Passion, contains several instances of parchment sutures that parallel the text.[85] For example, on folio 1 verso [fig. 91], the suture cuts through a reference to Jonah and the whale while on folio 37 recto [fig. 92] a suture accompanies a representation of the lamb pierced. The illumination then transcends its designated space on the page and involves the book as a whole object. Readers of the *Legiloque* would have, therefore, have had no problems assimilating the figure of Christ to the binding they physically hold.

Several other crucifixions within the *Legiloque* manuscripts are also noticeably similar to the ones painted in the *Livre de vie* pages. In BnF MS nouv. acq. fr. 4338, for example, the body of Christ on folios 130 verso [fig. 93] and 176 recto [fig. 94] has the same curves, shapes and folding as folio 141 verso [fig. 72]. The same goes for the crucifixions depicted in BnF MS fr. 1136 (folios 100 recto [fig. 73], 124 recto [fig. 95]) and Chantilly MS

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[82] San Marino, The Huntington Library, MS HM 19079.
[83] New Haven, The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 27.
[84] Tawing is an alternative to traditional tanning methods, where animal skin is processed with alum and salt to render the skin white rather than brown.
[85] On the importance of suture in a manuscript's conception, see Chapter 2. See also Kay, *Animal Skin* and Vine Durling, 'Birthmarks and Bookmarks.'

137 (folios 139 recto [fig. 96], 152 recto [fig. 74], 192 recto [fig. 97]).[86] The repetition of patterns involve a process of recollection. The shape in the second and third images recalls to the reader's mind the first one. This connection emphasises the cognitive process and the role of the illuminations in their mental beholding.

In the illuminations, spurts of blood spill out of Jesus's hands, side wound and feet [figs 72, 76 and 77]. In contemporary writings on the Passion, blood is equated with grapes, as in the last 'O' of the poem the fifteen Oes, already discussed in the previous chapter. This appears in the *Livre de vie* as well, where Christ is referred to as the blessed grapes and the cross is compared to a wine press.[87] Or, in the metaphor of Christ as a book, his blood is often conflated with divine ink. The blood that is therefore pressed out of Christ during his Passion is paralleled with organic and liquid matter, as well as with manuscript inks. Grape vines were used in the making of pigments, after all. Furthermore, while *le pressoir de la croiz* metaphor is discussed, the text mentions the nails that made this blood spurt out of Christ. The *Livre de vie* makes explicit that, according to Bernard of Clairvaux and the prophet Jeremiah, this scene is meant to be mentally beheld and meditated upon.[88] The text, therefore, brings a new layer to the metaphor already present in the image. The blood comes to write the treatise but also to paint the image.

Hanging from the edge of the books [figs 72, 73 and 74], red seals transgress the framed space of the image and pass into the frame. Each is drawn with an oval central zone, acting as focus and entry point for the viewers' gazes. Their shapes recall blood drops, falling from the wounded body and the inked page onto the space of the devotee. More simply and as the text discusses, they represent the seven seals of the Apocalypse. Coupled with the

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[86] BnF fr. 1136 only has two crucifixions left because the first one has been cut out at some point.
[87] *Aussi di ie que le beneoit ihesucrist fu le reisin qui fu ou pressoir de la croiz mis selonc ce que il dist par ieremie le prophete.* BnF, MS fr. 1136, fol. 105r.
[88] BnF, MS fr. 1136, fol. 105v.

sturdiness of parchment and the dying body of Christ, this reference to the end of time raises

questions of temporality. Carruthers explains that representation was comprehended

temporally rather than in a reproductive manner. Representation, she goes on, derives from

the Latin *praesens*, or 'present in time'.[89] Moreover, phantasms are inherently temporal, as

demonstrated by Aquinas in his Commentaries on Aristotle's *On Memory and Recollection*.

Remembering cannot happen without time perception. Aquinas lays it out explicitly in

section 314 of his Commentaries: '[f]or it is necessary that a phantasm exist with dimensions

of extension and temporality, from the very fact that it is a likeness of a single thing which is

"here and now", and this cannot be comprehended without a phantasm'.[90] He adds that

motion and time can both only be comprehended insofar as they are phantasms. More

importantly, seals are made of wax which is, following Aristotle, the ultimate metaphor for

the working of phantasms.[91] As I will discuss more in detail in the next chapter, sensations

imprint an image-formed sign upon the internal senses, just as a wax seal impress a positive

image of its carving upon a page.[92] The cognitive aspect of the Christ-book is physically

materialised on its edge, hanging from the object and penetrating both the space of the

devotee and the viewers.

The *Livre de vie* may be a unique treatise, but the dynamic it explores was surely not.

Another fourteenth-century poem, contemporary to the *Livre de vie*, also emphasises the

Passion as a process akin to the fabrication of parchment: Christ's beatings are associated

with the pumice of the page, his executioners are the craftsmen stretching the skin and so

forth.[93] The poem likewise opens with a call to the reader to remember [*recorder*] Christ's pains

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[89] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 275.
[90] Lesson 1, section 314. Burchill, 'Thomas Aquinas's *Commentary*,' 161.
[91] Gertsman connects Aristotle's metaphor about phantasms (as well as Aquinas's commentaries on it) to the Shrine Madonna. Gertsman, *Worlds Within*, 151-152.
[92] Lesson 3, section 328. Burchill, 'Thomas Aquinas's *Commentary*,' 165-166.
[93] The poem is commonly referred to as *La Passion Nostre Seigneur*. Grace Frank, ed., *Le livre de la passion: poème narratif du XIVe siècle* (Paris: É. Champion: 1930).

and to bear it in mind [*auoir en memoire*]. The meditative aspect of Christ's body as a book is also depicted in the Carthusian miscellany, as the Middle English poem the *Charter of Christ* [fig. 98]. The poem was originally composed by a Franciscan monk in the early fourteenth century and modified a century later, into a version known as *The Short Charter of Christ*.[94] These verses describe how Christ addresses the audience from the Cross and likens himself and his skin to a piece of parchment. In the image, Christ's skin becomes the legal charter binding his death to the redemption of mankind. He visually offers viewers his new skin, to which his wounds translate as the rubrication and his wounded heart serves as the certifying seal. As in the *Livre de vie* [figs 72, 73 and 74], the *Charter of Christ* image blends a sealed parchment with cognitive resonance and the skin of the divinity. Seals, the *Livre de vie* explains, are the exterior [*dehors*] of Saint John's Apocalypse, which is the blessed Christ. The seals stand for his humanity outside the book, so that he can be read and seen by devotees.[95]

In a lavish Tuscan manuscript painted by Pacino di Buonaguida, dedicated to Robert of Anjou and contemporary to the making of the *Legiloque* manuscripts, the figures are as big as the pages.[96] On folio 4 verso [fig. 99] a Christ in majesty has several unpainted patches on his body, filled with text. Around him shine golden rays also loaded with lines of text. Like the *Livre de vie*, the image virtually assimilates Christ's body with writing and its support. But further in the manuscript, on folio 19 verso [fig. 100], the figure of Faith is represented kneeling, holding a Crusader's shield in her left hand and brandishing a giant book in her right. The book has beautiful clasps and illuminated initials, and its text is readable so that Robert of Anjou could read the book of Faith. An association had previously been made between Christ's body and the support of writing, but now its materialisation is represented within the hand of Faith and takes it a step further. Because the text can be read, it emphasises

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[94] George Shuffelton, ed., *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), chapter 29. See also Carruthers, 'Reading with Attitude,' 4-5.
[95] BnF, MS fr. 1136, fol. 105r.
[96] London, British Library, MS Royal 6 E IX.

the importance of devotional memory. What matters to Faith is recorded on parchment, the ultimate material upon which one writes one's memories. Therefore, this emphasis on parchment draws attention not only to the importance of books in the development of faith but also invites readers to read the book of their own memory in tandem with none other than the book of Christ. Carruthers explains that brains were conceived in terms of books that populate them as a mental library; and if you wished to access the books of your memory, you needed to meditate.[97] Individuals were disciplined to think of themselves as a book upon which they will write their accomplishments and sins, an action which will edit their internal book. The fourteenth century was a time of lay piety, of a greater self-scrutiny and interiority.[98] In the *Livre de vie*'s images, the open book placed in front of a devotee reflects the private aspect of such a meditative cognitive process.

Few illuminations are as explicit as the *Livre de vie* in their likening of Christ and book. One parallel can be found in a thirteenth-century *Bible moralisée* now in Vienna. In the Genesis section of this manuscript several medallions moralise Moses's infancy.[99] Moses is a figure that also bears association with writing as he given the table of the law. As explicated in the *Livre de vie*, Christ is embodied as the new law, to shine light on the old one. When Moses is put inside a basket and into the sea, the infant Christ is wrapped in the blankets of a peculiar cradle: the pages of a book [fig. 101]. He is given by God to Jews. In the next folio, Pharaoh's daughter discovers Moses [fig. 102].[100] The book, once again, comes to replace the cradle. Christ is, this time, given to a woman in white, probably the Virgin. In the right medallion, this person hands over Christ to Ecclesia. The infant is positioned about an open book, which pages are bright white, echoing the discourse of the *Legiloque*. In a fourteenth-century

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[97] Carruthers, 'Reading with Attitude,' 6.
[98] Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 4.
[99] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2554, fol. 16r.
[100] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2554, fol. 16v.

Neapolitan *Bible moralisée*, the same iconography is repeated [fig. 103].[101] In the left part of the image, a baby is held within a closed book. In the middle section, Christ has become an adult. He is helped out of the book by two men and the figure of Ecclesia. In the final section, Christ is reunited with Ecclesia and the book is opened, revealing what it had to show. Because God is incorporeal, he is materialised in the figure of the book, his pre-verbal writing given to humanity. By placing the baby inside pages made of parchment, the image evokes how Christ is made flesh in relation to the skin of God, the ultimate perfection. By interacting with its book-cradle, the baby has had his skin marked by the divinity of his father which allowed him, with the help of the figure of Church, to emerge as an adult. Therefore, as a representation of Christ's identity, the iconography of the *Bible moralisée* informs us that Christ's skin has been made in the conception, disposition and image of his father. Likewise, in the *Livre de vie* [figs 72, 73 and 74], God is the pre-verbal writer of the book. He translated his divinity into the form of his son, that is turned inward to make one with the book. Only the cognitive aspect of skin can allow this process. Christ's body is turning into a mental image not only by itself but by merging with the skin of the book, with its surface. The *Livre de vie* represents its skin as an enveloping, common, outer skin. It has a component that defines, at least temporarily, a new connection for the reader, through the fantasy of fleetingly sharing a common skin with the book and then Christ. The open and enclosing book brings forward the corporeality of Christ, giving it depth and scale. This book, however, lies beyond the body of Christ, connecting visible and invisible worlds. It signifies that it is a representation, not the real body of Christ.

Aiguillon

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[101] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9561, fol. 47r.

Scholarship on the *Livre de vie* focuses on the metaphors surrounding Christ as a book or the book of life. The second part of the title, *aiguillon d'amour et de dévotion*, which I have myself truncated throughout this chapter, is seldom mentioned. However, the concept of *aiguillon* involves an idea of movement which, I contend, defines phantasms. It relates to the incorporation without which phantasms cannot operate and is part of the understanding a beholder would have of their devotional experience gazing at images. Literally, an *aiguillon*, or prick, is a sharp object.[102] Figuratively, it has different, sometimes contradictory meanings. The DMF lists five. Firstly, the *aiguillon* is what pushes or directs someone toward something. Secondly, in a religious context, accompanied with words such as world, sin or devil [*monde*, *peché*, *diable*], it relates to temptation as a source of pain. However, in courtly literature, *aiguillon* is also desire. Fourthly, is refers to the torments, to the suffering inflicted upon someone or something. Finally, *aiguillon* can be a moral lesson or a warning. I believe the *Livre de vie* uses *aiguillon* is its first figurative definition, of pushing someone toward *amour et dévotion*, but informed by the last figurative definition of a moral lesson, which is the general aim of the compendium. I contend that *aiguillon* is a concept that facilitates a better understanding of the incorporation of *imagines* into *phantasmata*: they are effectively steered, directed into this incorporation.

Phantasms are constituted by movement. Jean-Baptiste Brenet explains that Averroes defines images, and by extension phantasms, as *subiectum movens*, moving subjects.[103] By subject, Brenet means substrate, a support that bears something, in which something resides. Phantasms are qualified as *subiectum* because they contain what will be abstracted by the agent intellect. He explains that phantasms are moving because, depending on the

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[102] MED for prik: 2) (a) A goad; also, a goad as an instrument of torture; also fig.; ~ of conscience, a goad to the conscience; ~ of love, the Stimulus Amoris attributed to St. Bonaventura; (b) kiken (striven) ayenes the ~, werken (winsen) ayen the ~, of oxen: to balk, be recalcitrant; also fig. of people: be rebellious; (c) incitement.
[103] Averroes, *L'Intelligence et la Pensée. Grand Commentaire du « De anima ». Livre III (429 a 10 – 435 b 25)*, trans. A. de Libera (Paris: GF-Flammarion, 1998), 71 quoted in Brenet, *Je fantasme*, 96, n.17.

experience, they vary and are not static. Phantasms move the intellect, which in turn is also a subject according to Averroes. Intellection has two subjects: psychosomatic images and the intellect detached from the body.[104] Brenet concludes that for Averroes, the intellect is a receptive subject while phantasms are moving subjects, which merge. *Cogitare* is, therefore, the act of creating phantasms between these two subjects.[105] If Brenet develops Averroes's use of *subiectum*, he brushes quickly over *movens*. It seems to be taken for granted that phantasms are moveable (they are incorporated from object to body and cavities) and moving (they vary depending on the experience). Nonetheless, I believe movement to be as crucial as subjectivity. Movement governs the known world. Medieval theoreticians heavily commented on Aristotle's theories of motion. For example, the heavenly bodies are steered by motion. Vision, as a physiological process, also moves the viewer. Baconian optical theory, for example, theorises that the reader is physiologically changed and incorporated this into their writings, which transpired in lay interpretations of visions. Even more, this alteration is referred to as 'Passion'. Coincidentally, meditative devotion, enticing beholders to use their mind's eye, relied heavily on Christ's sufferings and Passion. As such, the depiction of the crucifixion in the *Livre de vie* is meant to steer devotees, move them emotionally while they penetrated by species.

Although only this version of the *Livre de vie* is known, the concept of *aiguillon*, of prick, or *stimulus* in Latin, is not unique. For example, the Middle English poem *The Prick of Conscience*, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, is roughly contemporary with the *Livre de vie*. *The Prick of Conscience* is an adaptation of the late thirteenth-century Latin *Stimulus Amoris*, long misattributed to Bonaventure, which was translated into English under the title *The Prickynge of Love* and into French by Simon de Courcy (chaplain of a Mary,

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[104] Brenet, *Je fantasme*, 17. This will be one of the key aspects of Averroes's philosophy that scholastics will challenge.
[105] Brenet, *Je fantasme*, 18.

daughter of the duke of Berry), as *L'aiguillon d'amour divine*. One such translation, slightly later than the *Livre de vie* (ca. 1461), is now in the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library [fig. 104]. This copy seems to have also been made for a woman.[106] One of the four parts of this translation is fully dedicated to contemplation. In the description of the chapters, the text sets out quite clearly the memorial aspect of the reading:

> In the second chapter, you will contemplate how the devout soul is inflamed with divine love by remembering God's blessings [...]
>
> In the fifth chapter, you will contemplate how the devout soul in all its thoughts considers God visibly present
>
> In the sixth chapter, you will contemplate how the devout soul assembles in its memory all of God's blessings.[107]

The text carries on in this vein, mentioning among other things the importance of thoughts and speech. The third section of the text focuses on Christ's Passion and places a heavy accent on his body. As such, the *aiguillon d'amour divine* directs the beholder's love towards God by accentuating the relationship between contemplating and remembering [*remembrer*] with Christ's body.[108] In the fifth chapter, the index mentions that the devotees will make God visible in their minds. The *aiguillon d'amour divine* is expressing how to behold mentally, making visible in the mind and assembling memories. In sum, Simon de Courcy's translation of the *Stimulus* refers implicitly to the cognitive treatment of image-formed signs involving

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[106] A female devotee, dressed in black, appears in three of the five half-page miniatures, although in one, she is mirrored by a male devotee. Moreover, Simon de Courcy translated the text for his patron, Mary of Bourbon, and the opening of this copy is clearly target toward a female audience: 'Espouse pure damour diuine prestement obeyssant aux commandemens de dieu.' Finally, the earliest known owners of the manuscript were the nuns of the Hôtel-Dieu in Rheims.

[107] *Ou second chapitre tu contempleras comment ame deuote est damour diuine enflamee . par remembrer les benefices de dieu . xli [...] Ou quint chapitre tu contempleras comment ame deuote en toutes ses pensees . considere dieu visiblement present . lii Ou . vi^e . chapitre tu contempleras comment ame deuote assemble en sa memoire . tous les benefices de dieu . liii.* New Haven, Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 1166, ff. 4v-5r. Many thanks to Jane Gilbert for her help with transcribing and translating passages from Beinecke MS 1166.

[108] Based on my handling of the manuscript, however, it is obvious that the third part starting on fol. 101r, under the illumination of the Crucifixion, was used more heavily.

notions of visibility. The treatise acts as an *aiguillon*, steering the reader towards visualising and mental beholding.

A series of very short texts are bound after the Beinecke copy of the *aiguillon d'amour divine*. One is an octosyllabic variant of the fifteenth-century poem *La voie de Paradis* [fig. 105]. In this poem, the true faith can be illuminated [*Et vraie foy enluminee*], when one thinks about Christ's suffering [*Penser de Ieshus la souffrance*] and remember his benedictions [*Recorder ses grans benefices*]. Yet right under *la voie de paradis*, only separated by an initial Q and accompanied by two marginal additions, as if interrupted, there is another text which is only nine lines long [fig. 106]. The text reads:

> Whoever feels in themselves the puncture/prick of Jesus Christ's nails.
>
> On their head the crown, which was rough and hard to him
>
> And with his sweet tears anoints their heart.
>
> And with his hard bonds binds and girds themselves.
>
> And with his crimson blood dyes their face.
>
> And gazes into the opening of his sweet side.
>
> And sees him naked on the cross without a covering.
>
> The heart that thinks well must not stay whole there
>
> Without breaking wholly, this is love's right and due.
>
> May God give us grace to do so. Amen.[109]

The entire poem is about the cognitive and meditative process of seeing Christ inside you and extracting parts from that mental image. The first line, in particular, refers to the internalisation of Christ's puncture [*pointure*], stimulated by this meditative process. Furthermore, the devotee is said to gird themselves. In the poem, liquids flow from that

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[109] *Qui des clos Ihesucrist sent en soy la pointure . En son chief la couronne qui lui fut aspre et dure Et de ses douces larmes fait a son cuer ointure . Et de ses durs loyens se loie et fait sainture . Et de son vermeil sang fait a son viaire tainture . Et de son doulz coste se mire en louuerture . Et le voit en la croix tout nu sans couuerture . Cuer qui bon pense la ne doit tenir couture Que tout ne se desrompe damour cest la droiture . Dieu nous doint grace de ce faire . Amen.* Beinecke MS 1166, fol. 197r.

mental image and reach diverse body parts to engorge them with the preciousness of their model after gazing at Christ's side. The scene described is similar to that of the *Livre de vie*, but the poem enhances the affective response. The subject is moved by the nails, the fluids and the binding.

Two tears accompany the poem, one in the bottom margin, the other shattering the text. The latter is two-lines tall, starting under the line that refers to gazing into the opening in Christ's side. It cuts through the line that contains the words think [*pense*] and suture [*couture*]. The lines it accompanies state that the devotee's heart may not remain whole; its suture will break when confronted by this experience of feeling the prick in themselves. The seam is broken by the act of beholding and the move it creates within.[110] The poem is perhaps squeezed in the bottom of this folio so that it can correspond with the tear. The tear textually and visually sutures the parchment to Christ's skin as defined by Sarah Kay. Hans Belting suggested that we consider image and medium as one entity, like the sides of a coin, equating image and medium.[111] In the case of the folio, the parchment, text and tears act as the fleshy medium of the mental image, the *painture* of the poem that exists as phantasm, steered into the mind by the medium. Following Baconian optical theory, images from the visible world impressed themselves on the senses, the eyes and the brain where, as material images, they reproduce and move or change the beholder.[112] The text running alongside the Cambridge diagram of the brain functions [fig. 13] explains that the imagination receives impressions.[113] Imagination and devotion are both processes that were thought to induce a change in the person. Therefore, the poem does not need to be illustrated. The image is invisible, an

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[110] Thanks to Jane Gilbert for pointing this out to me.
[111] Belting, *An Anthropology of Images*, 10.
[112] Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 97.
[113] Gertsman, *Worlds Within*, 151.

internalised *painture* even more valuable as such, because it is a close incorporation of Christ into oneself. The illumination of both poems is in the mind's eye, as a phantasm.

      This short poem contains a different type of movement relating to images. In her study of the severed head Julia Kristeva explains that for Saint Augustine, movement is developed even further. The links between the members of the Trinity, he explains, are the *imago* and *phantasma*.[114] Augustine foregrounds the theological importance of images, building upon Psalm 38:7, by claiming that a man walks into an image.[115] Kristeva explicates that this statement implicates both Christ as the image of God and man-made representations, or *imagines*, destined for human sight. Accordingly, the inherent movement of image-formed signs does not exist in the incorporation of species into sensation then into phantasms in the brain cavities, but there is an internal movement to images. Therefore, phantasms steer the divinity further within the human, uplifting them. Meanwhile, these phantasms undergo a process of internal movement, where they are fragmented and impact different body parts. I posit that this internalisation of Christ, and the internal movement of the image-formed sign toward new body parts, is what is depicted in the *Livre de vie* images [figs 72, 73 and 74]. The idea of *aiguillon*, of pushing toward something, is a core aspect of phantasms. The image pushes and steers the visible into invisible worlds. Movement is inherent to phantasms.

Conclusion

The *Livre de vie* resonates with other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts and illuminations. Literature and cultural metaphors contemporary with the books discussed in this chapter

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[114] Julia Kristeva, *The Severed Head: Capital Visions*, trans. Jody Gladding (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 50 discussing Augustine, *On the Trinity: books 8–15*, ed. G. Matthews, trans. S. McKenna (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), xi, 15-16.

[115] Augustine, *On the Trinity*, 157 quoted in Kristeva, *Severed Head*, 51.

relied heavily on this understanding of images and of devotion as involving the mind's eye. The treatise not only likens Christ to a book, it also parallels the divine body to parchment, which is made to be meditated upon and remembered. This new blessed book, rendered visible in the illuminations, acts as an image of Christ so that mankind can comprehend God. Images, therefore, liaise between the natural and divine worlds, between visible and invisible realms. As visualised in the Carthusian miscellany, beholding images acts as a connection, a meditation with the divine. When the *Livre de vie* questions 'What if I embodied my thought by writing and incorporating it in parchment', readers undergo a similar process of incorporation, as their own parchment, their own skin, is penetrated by Christ, the ultimate phantasm. Furthermore, the *Livre de vie* illuminations perfectly exemplify the complex and polysemous nature of phantasms. They, as image-formed signs, inhabit and move within a different space than *imagines*. They break the fabric of visibility: they are mental but still visible to the mind's eye. Phantasms share their materiality with *imagines*, but possess their very own form, which lies beyond the world visible to the human eye. Furthermore, Christ himself is a phantasm, a perfect occurrence of the phenomenon, adding yet another layer of intricacy to the phenomenon. Phantasms are meta-representations, invisible to the human eye but visible to the mind's eye. They are and involve movement. They are first incorporated from the object to the body, then move through the cavity. Moreover, they move the beholder emotionally. As such, phantasms are as important as *imagines* and the latter should not henceforth be comprehended without the former.

4

O Vernicle, imprint me!

In Petrus Christus's *Portrait of a Young Man* (1450 – 1460), the subject holds a clothed prayer book and looks straight ahead, away from the manuscript and the illustrated page that hangs above his head [fig. 107]. The figure in the suspended image, similarly, gazes in the same direction, beyond the frame [fig. 108]. The page sits within a wooden frame bordered with red leather. The device is attached to the wall, suspended from one long nail. A series of smaller nails pierce the red leather border, constricting the page within the frame. As the sitter is ready to turn the manuscript's page, the bottom right corner of the suspended page curls up, breaking loose from the red frame. The framed page accompanies the reader in his contemplation. At the top, within a painted golden frame echoing the shape of the page, is the disembodied figure of Christ. The image represents the Veronica, or *Sudarium*, a relic of the Passion kept at the time in Saint Peter's in Rome but now lost.[1] The relic gained in

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[1] The literature on the Veronica is vast. In addition to the publications referenced throughout this chapter, see André Chastel, 'La Veronique,' *Revue de l'art* 40-41 (1978): 71-82; Flora Lewis, 'The Veronica: Image, Legend and Viewer,' in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Grantham, Lincs: Harlaxton College, 1985), 100–106; Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism and the Structure of a 'True Image'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 215-224; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, '*Frequentant memoriam visionis faciei meae*: Vision and the Veronica in a Devotion Attributed to Gertrude of Helfta,' in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the*

popularity in the fourteenth century and is today discussed as an example of late medieval piety and the longing to behold Christ's face.[2] During the fifteenth century, images of the relic were reproduced and disseminated widely.[3] Below the image featured in Christus's painting begins a Latin prayer traditionally sung during the Office of the Holy Face.[4] The National Gallery online catalogue identifies the suspended page as 'an illuminated scroll'.[5] The object looks wider, however, than extant prayer rolls usually are. Two columns of text are also not a common feature of surviving rolls. Alexa Sand mentions that by the end of the fourteenth century, it was common for worshippers to own fly parchment leaves decorated with an image of the Holy Face to accompany recitation of the Office.[6] As such, it is probable that Christus depicts such a flyleaf, either sold individually for this purpose or removed from a manuscript.

The flyleaf is not Christus's first depiction of the relic. A few years earlier, in 1445, the Bruges-based artist painted a small *Head of Christ* on parchment, now in the collections

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Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998), 229-246.

[2] The relic's surge in popularity starts in 1208, when Pope Innocent III instituted a procession of the relic kept in Saint Paul. On the history of the relic, see Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 27-83 and Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 317-382. Hamburger argues that attributing the image's success to pilgrimage, popular piety and a newfound emphasis on visual experience, as it is commonly done, obscures the narrative of the image. He argues that female monastic communities played a vital role in the diffusion and popularity of the motif. He further contends that if the image served as an example for theological reflexions, female mystics Gertrude of Helfta, Mechthild of Hackeborn and Julian of Norwich used the Holy Face as a gateway into theoretical and theological considerations about representation, the nature of image, *imago* and *imitatio*. This fact, he explains, is usually eschewed in traditional scholarship although the three mystics were among the first to discuss these issues. Ultimately, he argues that the images of the Veronica were a point of reference for artistic imitation, enlightened by theological concerns.

[3] On the tradition of replicating the relic in various materials (e.g. wafers, seals or coins), see Aden Kumler, '*Signatis … vultus tui*: (Re)impressing the Holy Face before and after the European Cult of the Veronica,' in *Convivium Supplementum: The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages*, ed. Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy and Guido Milanese; with the collaboration of Veronika Tvrzníková (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 102-113.

[4] For stylistic dating and transcription of the prayer, see Martin Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd ed. (London: National Gallery, 1968), 33-34, no. 2593.

[5] Since the writing of this chapter, the National Gallery has updated its online catalogue entry and now refers to the page as 'a piece of parchment.' https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/petrus-christus-portrait-of-a-young-man Accessed 7 March 2020. A previous version, referring to the page as 'an illuminated scroll', can be accessed through the Internet Archive: https://web.archive.org/web/20180121215511/https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/petrus-christus-portrait-of-a-young-man. Accessed 7 March 2020.

[6] Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 46.

of the Metropolitan Museum in New York [fig. 109].[7] In addition to sharing a common medium, both images are painted on a blue background, Christ's eyes are slightly directed toward his left and golden ornamental details surround his head. The National Gallery points out that the Christ monogram on the flyleaf [fig. 108] could also double as Christus's signature.[8] The painter is therefore self-referencing his own work but also hinting at an economy of devotion focused on the reproduction and dissemination of the Veronica. The *Head of Christ* [fig. 109] at the Metropolitan Museum is painted on parchment and glued on wood. The sheet presents holes, now covered, around the side, suggesting it was once pinned to a frame in the fashion of the *Portrait of a Young Man*. John Oliver Hand writes that Christus's *Head of Christ* is not actually a representation of the Veronica, since it does not picture a cloth.[9] However, this image is on parchment and as I will discuss throughout this chapter, cloth and skin were strongly associated during the late Middle Ages, transforming the *Head of Christ* into a different type of representation. Christus painted a three-dimensional grey frame directly onto the parchment page, which, covered with pigments, is an extra layer added to the wood, deliberately drawing attention to the process of making an image.

On the flyleaf [fig. 108], below the image on the wall in *Portrait of a Young Man*, two columns of texts display the prayer *Salve sancta facies*, the first lines of which include an interesting vocabulary:

> Salue sancta facies
>
> Nostri Redemptoris
>
> In qua nitet *species*

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[7] Joel M. Upton, *Petrus Christus: His Place in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 56-59, fig. 58. The work is a response to a lost painting of the *Head of Christ* by Jan van Eyck.
See John Oliver Hand, '*Salve sancta facies*: Some Thoughts on the Iconography of the *Head of Christ* by Petrus Christus,' *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992): 7-18.

[8] This point has also been left out of the new catalogue entry and can be found in the archived version: https://web.archive.org/web/20180121215511/https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/petrus-christus-portrait-of-a-young-man.

[9] Hand, '*Salve sancta facies*,' 7.

Divini splendoris

Impressa panniculo

Nivei candoris

Dataque Veronicae

Signum ob amoris.[10]

These eight lines are tightly packed with a language that offers more than appears at first glance. The poem refers to a *vera icon*, a true image or *acheiropoietos*, not created by a human hand, God being the high artist. The words *species* [translated by Solange Corbin as 'beauty'], *impressam* [impressed], *panniculo* [cloth] and *signum* [sign] all present deeper theoretical considerations. *Species* obviously refers to the visual, both as a form or as the species that multiplies from the object. *Impressam* evokes the moment when Christ's face impressed itself onto the relic. Or, to put it differently, species impress themselves on the first faculty of the soul as phantasms. As previously mentioned, Aristotle parallels this phenomenon to the workings of a wax seal. *Panniculo* is the Latin word for cloth; however, it also translates to skin or membrane, transforming the parchment into a substitute for the cloth, a likeness. Finally, the poem refers to the image as a *signum*. I have explored in depth the sign-aspect of phantasms in chapter 1. The Holy Face, then, transforms into species and impresses the *panniculo* or cloth of the saint and becomes a non-verbal sign for the likeness of Christ, in the same manner as phantasms are impressed to create a mental image in the likeness of the object.

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[10] 'Hail holy face of our redeemer / In which the beauty of divine splendor shines / Impressed on the cloth of snowy whiteness / And given to Veronica as a sign of love . . .' translated in Solange Corbin, 'Les offices de la Sainte Face,' *Bulletin des Etudes Portugaises et de l'Institut Francais au Portugal* 11 (1947): 32. My emphasis. Innocent III authored an indulgence in connection to the Veronica in the aftermath of the first procession. Later, Innocent IV composed the prayer *Ave facies praeclara*, granting a forty-day indulgence. The later prayer *Salve sancta facies* is traditionally attributed to Pope John XXII and is thought to have been composed in the fourteenth century. Read in association with the image, it would provide the reader with at least ten thousand days off purgatory. The Holy Face is indeed commonly understood as the first indulgenced image. The indulgence was originally only granted in relation to the prayer and not images, but usage took over and the beholding image became a vital part of the working of the indulgence. See Hand, '*Salve sancta facies*,' 14. Additionally, the *Salve sancta facies* frequently appears in manuscripts alongside a representation of Christ following the same iconographical model as Christus's.

These words below the image in Christus's *Portrait* go to the heart of this chapter's theme. It is, indeed, far from my aim to enter the many debates surrounding the relic, its numerous representations and their context of production. Rather, I focus on representations of the Veronica and the theoretical considerations they raise. More specifically, I am concerned with the similarities that the relic shares with phantasms, which were conceived as inherent to the thought process. I argue that, through the prism of the Veronica, we can apprehend phantasms as a membrane-like image.

The chapter's first section takes Robert Campin's *Veronica* panel as point of departure. I use the Netherlandish painting to discuss the imprinting function of phantasms. I argue that, in this painting, Campin embodies a theory of visuality. This discussion leads me to consider the problematic materiality of phantasms. Focusing on the cloth and comparing physical image-making to mental imaging helps to understand how phantasms are corporeal albeit mental entities. I argue that, like the cloth imprinted by Christ's likeness, phantasms are imprinted on the cognitive faculties in the manner of a cloth that acts as the fresh surface for the newly created image. This discussion initiates a reflection on phantasms as cloth or membrane.

Although I contend that the wall painting in *Portrait of a Young Man* is not a scroll, the Veronica also appears on a type of roll that participates in this wider economy dedicated to the Holy Face, visible in Christus's work. Most specifically, the Veronica gives its name to a fifteenth-century Middle English poem: *O Vernicle*. Portable rolls featuring *O Vernicle*, destined for a lay audience, were designed to entice mental pilgrimage. Through close visual engagement with these rolls, in the chapter's second section I explore the relationship between the holy veil and the skin upon which it rests. How, in the *O Vernicle* rolls, can the surface of the parchment skin be used as a point of contact between visible and invisible images such as phantasms? By looking at illustrations of the Veronica in some of them, I

wish to shed light on the beholder's mental investment in the roll and how its materiality can become the phantasm, the memory of Christ's Passion.

In the third section, I take the word *panniculus* as a starting point for investigating the nature of images and phantasms. The Latin word simultaneously signifies cloth and membrane, an interior skin. Medieval writers were acutely aware of this slippage. Medical theories and images further support my contention that images are a type of membrane, making phantasms a membrane-like image. I particularly draw on the illustrated work of two surgeons, Henri de Mondeville and Guido da Vigevano, and their representation of membranes. Finally, I circle back to the *O Vernicle* roll, more precisely to the stanza dedicated to another Passion veil. I further discuss how the rolls' membranes are joined. Through the example of prayer rolls and the *O Vernicle*, I argue that if *imagines* call for the intervention of the mind's eye, and *phantasmata*, they furthermore are a membrane, the permeable surface of the meta*painture* from which phantasms emerge.

Impressa: Robert Campin's cloth

On one of Robert Campin's oak panels (ca. 1428 – 1430), previously part of a larger altarpiece, Saint Veronica stands in front of a lush textile adorned with flowers and birds [fig. 110].[11] She delicately holds a transparent cloth, reminiscent of the one that ties her headdress, visually connecting the two heads, namely her own and that of Christ. The knot of her headdress and the corner of the cloth she holds between two fingers are points of tension: from there, veins run through the cloth, providing depth and substance to the transparent material. In 1435, a few years after Campin painted this oak panel, Leon Battista Alberti was

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[11] The panel was originally part of a bigger altar which included another panel decorated with the Virgin breastfeeding and a panel depicting the Trinity in grisaille. A lot could be said on these panels regarding image theory, including the transformation of the grisaille Trinity into sculptural forms and the blending of the breastfed infant with the pictures in the background.

writing his influential *De Pictura* in which image-making is directly associated with veiling. The Italian writer suggests placing a veil on a frame arranged between the object and the painter's eyes. The threading in the textile will, he says, guide the artist in building the linear perspective, while the veil will remain unchanged during the visual process. The veil, he continues, ensures a likeness between the object and the painted image.[12] Although Alberti theorises a mode of painting that is predicated on linear perspectives and different qualities than the images I discuss in this thesis, this example is telling in that the veil is seen as the immutable support of visibility, used to transform what the eye sees into a physical image. The threads made visible by Veronica's grabbing of the corners turn the holy veil into an aid to create an image of the holy face, this time an invisible one. The veil is both an impression, like phantasms, and an intersection between object and representation, ready to be perceived to generate new species.

Phantasms, defined as a point of intersection between external and internal wits, do not result from a miracle but a physiological process: they are imprinted images produced without a human hand. However, the materiality of phantasms is a conundrum. You cannot imprint something onto nothing, implying that phantasms have a certain material quality. Aristotle likened phantasms and the reception of sensory information to wax when he explains that perception receives 'forms without the matter, as wax receives the seal of a signet ring without the iron or the gold'.[13] The metaphor of the wax seal is, as noted previously by other scholars, quite evident in relation to the Veronica, imprinted on the cloth

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[12] 'It is of this kind: a veil woven of very thin threads and loosely intertwined, dyed with any color, subdivided with thicker threads according to parallel partitions, in as many squares as you like, and held stretched by a frame; which [veil] I place, indeed, between the object to be represented and the eye, so that the visual pyramid penetrates through the thinness of the veil. This cut of the veil, in fact, certainly offers no few opportunities, first of all because it always presents the same surfaces unchanged. … And so, the veil will guarantee this not negligible advantage which I have spoken of: that the object always stays the same with respect to the view.' Leon Battista Alberti, *Leon Battista Alberti: On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition*, ed. and trans. Rocco Sinisgalli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 51.

[13] Aristotle, *De Anima*, trans. with an introduction and commentary by Christopher Shields (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2016), II, 424a, 20-21.

just as a seal is imprinted in wax. Jeffrey Hamburger also states that this metaphor was perpetuated with regards to the Veronica: flesh and wax are assimilated.[14] Psalm 4:7 states that 'the light of thy countenance O Lord, is signed upon us'. As discussed in the previous chapter, authors like Bonaventure even went further, describing Christ as the ultimate phantasm. The Veronica is thus conceived as a terrestrial phantasm of Christ, the ultimate memory of his holy body. Phantasms imprint themselves onto a material substance in a similar manner to the Veronica on the cloth.[15]

Suzannah Biernoff argues that for Roger Bacon, in the wake of Aristotle, mental images present in the brain are material entities.[16] Bacon describes sensory perception as an assimilation process whereas the species emitted by the objects transform something within the viewer. In the treatise *De multiplicatione specierum*, or *On the Multiplication of species*, written before 1267, the perspectivist describes species as being sent into the recipient's matter. Although Bacon never uses the word 'phantasms', he classifies several types of species, including the intelligible species that has been processed by the faculties, after information was abstracted from phantasms. Albertus Magnus theorises phantasms as a necessary link between the material world and the mind's ability to think.[17] Michelle Karnes demonstrates that, in order to counter Averroes' theory of intellection, Aquinas shifts the role of phantasms from object of knowledge to mechanism of knowledge.[18] For Aquinas, 'the human intellect

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[14] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 338.

[15] The connection between the relic, signing and sealing is common. See for example Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 40. She explains that it underlines the reproducibility of the image as well as validates the relic as a true image. Furthermore, the metaphor of seals appears many times in the Bible, rendering it both powerful and evident to a medieval audience. On seals and signs in general, see Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'Replica: Images of Identity and the Identity of Images in Prescholastic France,' in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 46-64; *When Ego Was Imago Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). Elina Gertsman has explored the relationship between imprints, memory, meditative practices and hybridity in her study on the *vierges ouvrantes* or shrine madonnas: Gertsman, *Worlds Within*, 149-180.

[16] Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 83.

[17] Collette, *Species,* 7-9.

[18] Karnes, *Imagination,* 61.

understands material things by abstracting from phantasms',[19] while at the same time, 'there are no phantasms of incorporeal [things]'[20] because 'nothing corporeal can have an effect on what is incorporeal'.[21] In this case, phantasms are corporeal and then material as in a tool. They are a medium that transfers the materiality of an object to the faculties of the soul. The object of cognition is, therefore, conveyed by and extracted from the phantasms. Phantasms are a medium, a transient vehicle or intersection. In that sense, they are the material of understanding, as in the tool, but not the material of understanding as in its object.

Campin's cloth acts as such a transient vehicle. It is, however, unique in that it is depicted as transparent. Images of the relic traditionally present the cloth as a thick fabric. Both techniques aim at anchoring the materiality of the object in different ways and Campin surely intends to display his technical prowess. Nonetheless, according to the different painting techniques used in the late Middle Ages, painters used binding materials to make the pigments stick to the support. Daniel V. Thompson explains that the addition of a binding medium, that he qualifies as having a function of vehicle, tempers the condition of pigments; it modifies it, thus modifying the pigments' visual qualities.[22] One of these specific modifications is transparency. This effect is the result of the painter's observation, knowledge and labour. It is a process. As such, we can see Campin and his workshop referring to their own practice as painters, as a creators of images, playing with the opacity and transparency of binding media, which stay on the painted surface as a vehicle zone, a *panniculus* or

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[19] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.85.1. In this question, Aquinas contends that when it comes to sensing with corporeal organs, one can only have knowledge of individuals, existing in a corporeal matter. Through the power of the soul, humans can know an individual form present in a corporeal matter but cannot know 'as existing in this individual matter'. Aquinas pursues and concludes that 'not to know what is individual matter, is to abstract the form from individual matter, is to abstract the form from phantasms'. As such, he concludes, the intellect understands the material work through abstraction from phantasms, and we can acquire knowledge of immaterial things through them. To his reply to object 1 in 1.85.a1, Aquinas defines abstraction as occurring in two ways: firstly, through composition and division and secondly, by way of consideration. The first implies that something does not exist identically in something else but works based on a likeness.
[20] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.84.7.3.
[21] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.84.6C.
[22] Daniel V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), 43.

membrane. The cloth invites reflection on the making of an image, both visible and invisible, physical and mental.

The transparency also brings out the tension between absence and presence, which defines the Veronica, as Hamburger argues. Although Christ is not present on earth anymore, the Passion happened in another moment in time and his Resurrection is far in the future. The Veronica makes this absence present.[23] Just as phantasms embody time, the Veronica is, as Hamburger defines it, a presence that transcends time, acting to foreground the intersection between recollection, past divine image creation and the future and end of time.[24] The cloth and its transparency encompass a constant flexibility and simultaneous tension. The Veronica exists forever, despite the apparent fragility of the cloth, because it transcends time. In discussions of transubstantiation, theologians asserted that the outer appearance of the bread, called accidents (*accidentia*), remained unchanged. What was modified was the inner substance (*substantia*). This distinction is heavily theoretical, and the laity probably saw the host as Christ, without distinction between substance and appearance. Nonetheless, Michael Camille has pointed out that although the laity may not have followed the theological nuances, the doctrine shaped perception of images since a visual object had the potential to go beyond signifying and to actually become.[25] As such, the Veronica exists because it is composed of Christ's very own matter. The pigments are effectively his bodily fluids. The Holy Image becomes him, to a certain extent, imprinted on this cloth, this fluid intersection. Phantasms, on the other hand, never really become something different. Like the Veronica, they are imbued from the start with the matter of the object that they convey to the memory.

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[23] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 323.
[24] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 354. He further explains that Gerturde of Helfta and Julian of Norwich defines the Veronica as the simultaneous 'midpoint and endpoint of history' (367).
[25] Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 217.

Thus, what changes is not their substance, as such, but their *accidentia*: they go from being visible to being invisible and mental; they become transparent.

The cloth, therefore, creates the space and the material potentiality of the image it receives and generates. Connected to my discussion in chapter 1 of the relationship between place and thought, images here are conceived as more than spaces: they are places. What is more, they are open places, in the sense that they are open to their own generative potential. I contend that Campin's representation of the divine impression encompasses a theory of visuality, where the veil represents the possible materialisation of the internal image-making process. The saint perceives; she not only touches but sees, hears and smells as indicated by the flowers and birds in the background. These perceptions are then imprinted on her mental cloth, namely her faculties, which, in turn, produce phantasms abstracted from this information. The cloth is intrinsically linked to image making. One can see the materiality of phantasms as a mental cloth, an intersection upon which abstractions are imprinted, such as the background behind the saint or the relic she holds, the original divine imprint. The blending of the Veronica with the background, seen in transparency through the cloth, exemplifies the recollection and combining of past phantasms into a new one to the point that the relic imprints the background. The membrane is imprinted with all that happened before, with Christ, ready to generate this matter for a new imprint.

Veronica: The O Vernicle rolls

When readers unfold a roll written around 1400 in the Southeast Midlands, today in the Scottish Catholic Archives (SCA) in Aberdeen, they are confronted with the image of a blue cloth which seems to move fluidly within a vertical frame that echoes the shape of the roll

[fig. 111].[26] In its middle, the imprint of Christ's face exceeds the boundaries of the frame. The face is neither contained within its space nor does it escape from it; rather it is situated in this liminal border. The image is positioned at the start of a Middle English poem titled *O Vernicle*, 'Vernicle' being another contemporary name for the Veronica.[27] By the time the *O Vernicle* rolls were made, the Veronica had a long-standing connection with British literary culture. The thirteenth-century St Albans monk Matthew Paris had included the Veronica twice in his manuscripts and devoted a prayer to it, later attributed to Innocent III (d. 1216).[28] The *O Vernicle* poem is composed of twenty-four stanzas, each dedicated to and illustrated with an instrument of Christ's Passion.[29] Twenty instances of the *O Vernicle* survive in extant manuscripts, ten of which are on narrow rolls.[30] The opening lines accompanying the Veronica read as follows:

[26] Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen, Scottish Catholic Archives, MS CB/57/9. The Scottish Catholic Archives (SCA) are divided between Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Parts of the archives were moved to the University of Aberdeen a few years ago. Hence, past scholarship refers to the roll as housed in Edinburgh (with the same shelf mark).

[27] Ten surviving rolls bear the *O Vernicle* poem and its numerous accompanying illustrations. Clitheroe, Stonyhurst College, MS 64; Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen, Scottish Catholic Archives, MS CB/57/9 (olim Blairs 9); London, British Library, Additional MS 22029; London, British Library, Additional MS 32006; New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn MS fa24 lot 28 and lot 29; New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS B.54; Oxford, University of Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Add. E. 4 (R); Oxford, University of Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Bodley Rolls 16; Philadelphia, Redemptorists Archives of the Baltimore Province, Esopus Roll; San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 26054. The Bodleian Library rolls are fragmented and have lost their illuminations of the Veronica. The Beinecke Osborn MS fa24, Huntington and Stonyhurst rolls are almost identical. They have probably been copied after one another. Although the Beinecke roll is archived as a fifteenth-century document, many have informally stated to me that based on the script, it is most probably a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century copy. For more information on the rolls, see Ann Eljenholm Nichols, 'O Vernicle A Critical Edition,' in *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: With a Critical Edition of "O Vernicle"*, ed. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 319-346, in which she classified and described each instance of the poem. This edition is part of a volume which is the most comprehensive research into the poem and related artefacts: Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, eds, *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: With a Critical Edition of "O Vernicle"* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

[28] Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 38. Sand provides a thorough history of the Veronica in England, as well the scholarship on the matter. For her discussion of Matthew Paris's Veronica, see pages 30-50.

[29] The *O Vernicle* rolls are first mentioned in academic scholarship in Rossell Hope Robbins's 1939 paper, in which he contends that prayer rolls are destined to congregational use and not a devotional one. See Robbins, 'The 'Arma Christi' Rolls,' 417, 419-420. For a refutation of this argument, see my discussion of prayer rolls in Chapter 2. Mary Agnes Edsall explains, in her literature review of the *Arma Christi* rolls, that scholars apprehend them nowadays as 'imagetext', in a holistic approach that encompasses images, text and support as coming together into a meditation and affective object. See Edsall, 'Arma Christi,' 181. For Edsall's comprehensive literature review, see pages 178-182.

[30] Flora Lewis has demonstrated that the rolls' width as well as the small size of their illuminations disproves Rossell Hope Robbins' assertion that these manuscripts served a congregational role. Nichols furthers this

O Vernicle, I honour hym and þe

þat þe made thorow his priuete [sacred mystery],

þe cloth he sete to his face,

þe prent [impression] laft þer thorow his grace,

His mouth, his nose, his eghen two,

His berde, his here dede al so,

Schilde me fro all þat in my life

I had synned with wittes fyfe,

Namelich with mouth of sclaunderynge,

Fals othes and bakbytyng

And made bost with tong also

Of synnes þat I haf i do

Lord of heuen, forgif it me

For þe figure þat I here se. (lines 1-14)[31]

Beholders, reading the poem, state that they have sinned through their five wits, the five

external senses. Discussing the *Sainte Face* of Laon, Sand notes that the Veronica is a

polyvalent image, the devotional role of which matters more than the thaumaturgic function

of the relic.[32] As such, readers hope that beholding the adjacent Veronica will enable the very

argument by proving that they exhibit no traces of hanging. See Flora Lewis, *Devotional Images and Their Dissemination in English Manuscripts, c. 1350–1470* (PhD diss., University of London, 1989). On the rolls, see also Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 157-162, 177-181; Pamela Robinson, 'The Format of Books-Books, Booklets, and Rolls,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. II: 1100–1400*, ed. Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2008), 44; Ann Eljenholm Nichols, '"O Vernicle": Illustrations of an *Arma Christi* Poem,' in *Tributes to Kathleen Scott: English Manuscripts: Readers, Makers and Illuminators*, ed. Marlene Villalobos Hennessy (London: Harvey Miller, 2009), 141; Sarah Noonan, 'Private Reading and the Rolls of the Symbols of the Passion,' *Journal of the Early Book Society* 15 (2012): 289-304.

[31] All further quotations of *O Vernicle* are from the critical edition: Nichols, 'O Vernicle: A Critical Edition,' 354–377. 'O Vernicle, I honor him and you / That made you through his privity. / He set the cloth to his face, / Left the print there through his grace; / His mouth, his nose, his two eyes, / His beard, his hair did [leave a print] also. / Shield me from all that I have sinned / With my five wits during my life— / Namely, with a slandering mouth, / False oaths, and backbiting, / And I also made boast with my tongue / Of sins that I have done. / O Lord of Heaven, forgive me for it, / Because of the image that I see here.' Translated in Edsall, 'Arma Christi Rolls,' 189-190. In the SCA roll, 'the' is used instead of a thorn in the first line. Throughout the roll, a mix of 'þ' and 'th' is used.

[32] Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 36, 72. The *Sainte Face* of Laon in an icon that is also a true likeness of Christ.

sins initiated by the five senses to be forgiven. In other words, they rely for forgiveness upon an image created by imprinting, by a phantasm.

The roll takes readers into a meandering visual journey through the Passion. Richard Newhauser and Arthur Russel argue that the SCA roll offers an opportunity for spiritual pilgrimage and sensory education. They further contend that this intersensory engagement prompts an emphatic reaction to the Passion, an affective and imaginative response to a moral reading.[33] The authors do not limit their argument to the textual and visual apparatus but expand to the embodied experience of the roll: unrolling transports you to the Holy Land, on a mental pilgrimage wherein the roll is a reliquary and images are transformed into contact relics for the remembrance of Christ's sufferings. They point out that mental pilgrimage is an important component of pilgrimage writing, as demonstrated by Theoderich's thirteenth-century guide to the *Holy Land* in which the German monk describes mentally beholding Christ.[34] Newhauser and Russell make evident that the Veronica is a different type of image compared to images of the other *Arma Christi*. It has its own agency due to its popularity and status as a prime indulgence. They explain that placing an image of the Veronica beside the opening stanza creates a familiar space for the readers, disclosing the benefit of such a mental pilgrimage through the roll: beholding the divine.[35] Newhauser's and Russell's inquiry into this roll is probably the most the detailed and comprehensive analysis to date on the use of an *Arma Christi* roll. Many of their arguments can be extrapolated to the other rolls.

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[33] Richard G. Newhauser and Arthur J. Russell, 'Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage in an Early Fifteenth-Century *Arma Christi* Roll,' in *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: With a Critical Edition of "O Vernicle"*, ed. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 98. Hans Belting contends that such pilgrimage led to the formation of mental images: Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 410-411.
[34] Newhauser and Russell, 'Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage,' 101-102.
[35] Newhauser and Russell, 'Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage,' 103-104.

The blending of narrative text, sensory use and inventory-like images in the *O Vernicle* rolls stimulates the imagination, in the modern sense, to foreground a mental pilgrimage through the Passion. The fourteen lines about the Veronica then accentuate the importance of sensory mediation produced by the numerous accompanying images in order to create this redemptory, holy, almost miraculous phantasm. The Veronica became popular following the real-life thaumaturgic procession inaugurated by Pope Innocent III in 1208.[36] The procession took place annually to commemorate the Wedding at Cana, installing the relic in a tradition of material transformation. Throughout Europe, its image was used as the sixth station of the Cross, a procession that recreates the Passion with images. Unrolling the *O Vernicle* likewise takes the reader on a meditative, yet haptic, visual procession through Christ's Passion. Beholders immerse themselves in the membrane. The unrolling, the movement reveals the Holy Face as readers make their way through the parchment and cloth that hold Christ's face, in the same way that the *Sudarium* held aloft by Veronica captured his bodily fluids.

In an early fifteenth-century miscellany, a horizontal illumination of angels raising up the holy cloth separates the *O Vernicle* poem from the previous Latin devotional text [fig. 112]. The angels and the cloth come out of the frame that occupies different lines of text.[37] The image covers every possible bit of parchment between the two. When the border is interrupted and descends, the blue wings of the angel frame the cloth. It is depicted as being full of tension and movement on its borders except on the face itself. Interestingly, parts of the image have been left purposefully unpainted. If the angels' wings are blue, the frame

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[36] The procession finished in the Ospedale Santo Spirito in Sassia. See Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 30-31; Anne L. Clark, 'Venerating the Veronica: Varieties of Passion Piety in the Later Middle Ages,' *Material Religion* 3, no. 2 (2007): 166-167. Innocent III describes the beholding of the relic as a divine joining of the human soul to God himself.

[37] On the association between mnemonics and angels' wings, see Mary Carruthers, "'Ars oblivionalis, ars inveniendi": The Cherub Figure and the Art of Memory,' *Gesta* 48, no. 2 (2009): 1-19. In *The Craft of Thought*, Carruthers explains that hybridity stimulates thinking as it pieces together, drawing on likenesses and contrasts, to function. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 164. See also Gertsman, *Worlds Within*, 155-156.

purple, the halo blue and orange, faces, hands and the cloth remain unpainted, only accentuated by some shaded zones. Similar to the *Livre de Vie* illumination discussed in the previous chapter, the ruling is therefore apparent and cuts through the Veronica. This device makes evident that the illumination is, in its turn, impressed on the parchment page and its apparatus. However, the image brings into focus the idiosyncratic movement of representations. *Imagines* are all, intrinsically, moving images since, as I have argued in the previous chapters, they must be comprehended as moving into the body, then transforming into phantasms, navigating various human body parts. Seeing moves the soul by acting on its faculties. As such, the medieval image is always transient. It always makes matter flow from the *imagines* to the differently material *phantasmata*. Since phantasms are impressed on the faculty, impression is therefore a process of making phantasms.

In British Library Additional MS 22029 [fig. 113], Saint Veronica stands on a hill, deploying the cloth to which she bequeathed her name, impressed with the Holy Face.[38] Hamburger states that by synecdoche, the Veronica stands for Christ's full body.[39] Similarly, in the British Library roll, the saint exceeds her frame and yet she has no body: the *vernicle* she holds, and more particularly the face of Christ, covers her entire body from the neck down. As Jean-Luc Nancy explains, the formula 'for this is my body' [*hoc est enim corpus meum*] testifies to a society obsessed simultaneously with the idea of having God's body 'there' and showing an intangible 'this'.[40] The face then becomes the body of the image, the very skin and reason for Veronica's holiness, that she is pulling out of her own body and presenting

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[38] In an article dedicated to this roll, Sarah Noonan contends that such object invites a selective, fragmented reading. Readers could jump from one *Arma* to the other. Noonan, 'Private Reading and the Rolls.' I personally side more with Newhauser's and Russell's readings, in which unrolling and following the poem throughout the roll takes readers on a mental pilgrimage.

[39] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 333.

[40] Jean-Luc Nancy, *Corpus*, translated by Richard A. Rand (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 3. See Paul J.J.M. Bakker, '*Hoc est corpus meum*. L'analyse de la formule de consecration chez des théologiens du XIVe et du XVe siècles,' in *Vestigia, Imagines, Verba: Semiotics and Logic in Medieval Theological Texts (XIIth-XIVth Century). Acts of the XIth Symposium on Medieval Logic and Semantics, San Marino, 24-28 May 1994*, ed. Constantino Marmo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 427-451.

us with. However, the body, still following Nancy, is an image: Christ's body is the visible aspect of the invisible, the divine.[41] Nancy further develops this idea by defining the body, in our case that of Christ, not simply as an image of something or someone. Rather, it is the '*coming to presence*' akin to that of a television image. Similarly, in this roll, the Veronica is a visible image, a *coming to presence* in the sense that it forms the species that will multiply and generate phantasms. *Imagines* always contain within them the *coming to presence* of phantasms.

Spatially, the illumination is contained within a frame that touches the stitches that bring together the parchment and the protective piece of leather. This suture is made of thick red, golden and green threads. Except for the side touching the stiches, the three other borders of the frame are made with the same colours. Ribbon-like objects, with red and green faces, twist around poles. They are rolling around the poles much like the scroll would roll onto itself, the image enacting the working of the material. Indeed, it is important to remember that when beholders uncover the image, they have only unrolled a fraction of the roll that they still hold in their hands. Moreover, these three borders connect the image to the suture, creating the impression of stitching the image to the parchment. They imprint and tie the Veronica to the roll, which is composed of membranes of parchment, of skin. When discussing some images of the Veronica pasted in late fourteenth-century missals, which served as osculatory or kissing targets during the consecration, Hamburger argued that because these fixed images could have been painted directly onto the manuscript page, their insertion undermines an idea of independent objectiveness.[42] The reproduction acts as a 'reincarnation' of the relic. Furthermore, Hamburger explains that since the Roman relic in Saint Peter's was inaccessible, the intense process of replication and diffusion offered a new development for its idiosyncrasies such as immediacy and facing the deity.[43] The picturing in

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[41] Nancy, *Corpus*, 63.
[42] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 331-332.
[43] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 317.

these rolls is, therefore, a new *coming to presence* of something that is hidden. Atop the velvety-looking geometrical pattern of three similar rolls, Christ also stares directly at the viewers. This time, however, Veronica is nowhere to be seen. In the Stonyhurst [fig. 114], Huntington [fig. 115] and Beinecke [fig. 116] rolls, the patterned cloth stands by itself, each of its lines directing the beholders' gazes back to the holy figure.[44] Christ's gaze involves a reciprocity, prompting an exchange between viewer and viewed.[45] As already stated above, the Veronica is, as Hamburger defines it, a presence that transcends time, acting as the interconnection between past, present and future.[46] The beholders look at an act of looking, look at a face fixed in a moment that never flinches nor moves. The Veronica represents the immanence of viewing, the process of seeing. The *vernicle* stands on the parchment page, embodying vision, ready to be visually incorporated and used in a mental pilgrimage as a phantasm.

Interestingly, the three rolls just cited are similar and probably copied after one another. What first appears peculiar makes sense when one considers that the Veronica and images of Christ's Passion were highly reproduced and disseminated throughout the fifteenth century. Since the relic in Saint Peter's in Rome was inaccessible behind a veil, the intense process of replication and diffusion offered a new development for its idiosyncrasies such as immediacy and facing the deity.[47] However, this replication has deeper theoretical connotations. The thirteenth-century mystic Gertrude of Helfta, in her *Legatus divinae pietatis* (1289), used the concepts of reproduction and simulation attached to the Veronica to discuss

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[44] On Huntington, HM 26054, see Andrea Denny-Brown, 'Mysterious Manuscript in a Silk Purse. An Intimate Glimpse at a Medieval Poem Put to a Surprising Use,' *Huntington Frontiers* (2015): 26-32. Denny-Brown follows Edsall in asserting that the *Arma Christi* rolls were used as birth girdles, contending that it explains the 'curiously long and narrow size and shape' of the roll, arguing that it must have belonged to a midwife. I personally disagree with this reading of the roll. Very few birth girdles actually survive and there is no tangible proof this roll, nor any of the *Arma Christi* were used in this way. For a rebuttal of this argument, see Hindley, 'The Power of not Reading.'

[45] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 320.

[46] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 354. He further explains that Gertrude of Helfta and Julian of Norwich defines the Veronica as the simultaneous 'midpoint and endpoint of history' (367).

[47] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 317.

deeper questions of redemption and access to the *imago dei*.[48] Theories of vision are anchored

in the idea of multiplication. Phantasms are created from invisible species, which multiply

from objects and reach the senses. Theoreticians such as Roger Bacon dedicated entire

treatises to this question of multiplication of species in relation to optics.[49] Memory and

recollection happen by combining a multitude of already existing phantasms into new ones.

Additionally, rolls in particular are associated with indulgences, which promise redemption

if readers not only look at images but do so daily. Hamburger stresses the relationship

between the Veronica and the system of indulgence: while the image brings a sense of

tangibility and presence to the devotee, the indulgence gives the image a clear function.[50]

Gervase of Tilbury (ca. 1150 – 1220) describes the veil that screens off the relic in a

ciborium inside Saint Peter's. In his *Ottia Imperialia* written around 1214 – 1218, the English

cleric describes the relic thus: '[t]his Veronica is a true physical picture of the Lord

represented as an effigy from the chest upwards.'[51] Interestingly, the Latin Gervase uses to

describe the relic is as follows: 'est ergo Veronica *pictura* domini vera secundum *carnem*

repraesentans effigiem a pectore superius'.[52] Indeed, Gervase refers to the relic as a *pictura*

and not an *imago*, implying a process of image-making, but more importantly, he uses the

word *carnem*, a skin.[53] In other words, the Veronica is a likeness, the impression left by Christ's

body and bodily fluids (blood and sweat) upon a piece of cloth. His presence is in these

fluids. The cloth that bears them, by transfer, becomes a skin. Although he does not dwell

on it, Hamburger notes that in addition to being painted on parchment, Veronicas could also

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[48] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 351.
[49] Lindberg, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature*.
[50] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 318. On the Veronica as indulgence, see Flora Lewis, 'Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images,' *Studies in Church History* 28 (1992): 179-194.
[51] Translated in Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 32.
[52] Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), book III, chapter 25, 1007. My emphasis.
[53] Gerald of Wales, who also describes his experience of the icon, uses *imaginem*. See Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London: Longman Green Longman and Roberts, 1861), distinctore IV, ch. 6, 279.

be painted on leather as either mass-produced pilgrimage badges or private devotional images.[54] If the relic is understood in these terms, it is conceivable that, for a fleeting moment, this transfer can be made to parchment in the mind of a beholder.

In the Esopus Roll now in the archives of the Redemptorists, in Baltimore, the *O Vernicle* is placed after other poems, disrupting the mental pilgrimage [fig. 117]. The saint appears in the left margin and if Veronica's body fits perfectly within the page, the veil itself does not. The border of the veil becomes the border of the roll, equating cloth and parchment. When the background of the Veronica in the Esopus roll is unpainted, its fabric is the fabric of the parchment. This shared border allows the *vernicle* to pass onto the surface of the roll, especially since the beholder could very well have touched the marginal image while holding the scroll, depositing their own bodily fluids on the rolls. The cloth, which obstructs the saint's body, becomes her second skin. As I discussed in chapter 2, skin has been understood in Western culture as a surface that remembers. Jay Prosser begins his essay in *Thinking Through the Skin* with the compelling statement that 'we become aware of skin as a visible surface through memory.' He continues, moreover, that 'it is a phenomenological function of our skin to record. Skin re-members, both literally in its material surface and metaphorically in resignifying on this surface, not only race, sex and age, but the quite detailed specificities of life histories.'[55] Or, if Christ's flesh is compared by theologians to a veil hiding the divinity of his body,[56] then the different skin membranes that make up the body of a roll create a different and new divine body, upon which the instruments of the Passion are reproduced, re-inscribed and re-marked just as the Veronica is imprinted on a piece of cloth,

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[54] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 323.
[55] Prosser, 'Skin Memories,' 52.
[56] Christ's flesh acts as a veil, masking his divinity in Hebrews 10:19-22. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 368, n. 124.

the second skin. They perpetuate forever a moment of the Passion that has been fixed in time, ready to be grasped by beholders.

Despite its small size, the Holy Face in the Esopus Roll incontestably stares at the viewers. The popularisation of the saint's iconography by the end of the thirteenth century corresponds to an increased desire to experience a face-to-face encounter with the divine.[57] Beholding the divine incarnation turned visible and tangible becomes more important in meditation and is connected to salvation. However, this increased interest also parallels the popularisation of scientific vision after the influx of Arabic writings in the West in preceding centuries. The Veronica is an image that sees, in a society obsessed with seeing and imaging the body of Christ. After the veil of Veronica, the next two stanzas are dedicated to the knife of the circumcision and the bloody pelican. Together, they combine the notions of support, scratching, skin, quill, liquid and blood. Parchment, writing materials and ink are parallels that are conjured from this association. The cloth, therefore, creates the space and material potentiality of the image. Devotion writes the words of this divine parchment.

What these examples reveal so far is that the *O Vernicle* rolls provide a visual, sensory and spiritual journey through the Passion. They rely on an intersensory engagement, where readers are immersed in the experience of the rolls' membranes, especially when unrolling and revealing images such as the Veronica. The illuminations echo contemporary discourses and devotional culture surrounding the relic. Hidden behind a veil, inaccessible in Rome, the Veronica was heavily reproduced. The multiplication is part of its working. The impressed veil, witness to Christ's humanity, in a synecdoche for the long-lost body. It is the *coming to presence* of the body, a different incarnation. The veil is a visible sign, impressed by a body,

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[57] Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 28. Sand argues that the new desire to behold Christ's face is inseparable from the popularisation of book owners, and the 'reflexive image' in devotional lay manuscripts which seeks to involve the depicted subject. The book explores how western lay patrons responded to and incorporated the holy image into their personal devotion. The work further contends that this moment redefined pictorial representation and its material, corporeal and spiritual potential for devotion.

while veiling is a technique used in image-making to reproduce the visible. The veil then stands impressed, ready, in turn, to imprint again. Discourses on the relic foreground the veil as embodied, Gervase of Tilbury describing it as a second skin. Such considerations ground the *coming to presence* of the visible in the experience of bodies and skins, opening up questions about the slippage of meaning that is contained in the very word used to describe the cloth: *panniculus*.

Panniculus: a medical detour

In the *Salve sancta facies*, as visible in Petrus Christus's *Portrait of a Young Man*, the divinity's beauty is said to be *impressa panniculo*, impressed upon a cloth. According to the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (DMLBS), the word *panniculus* translates both as 'cloth' and, in a medical context, as 'membrane'.[58] *Membrana* is a synonym of *panniculus*, which also englobes skin.[59] *Panniculus* can be used to refer to a piece of cloth, a membrane in the human body such as the one around the brain, or to designate parchment in several instances. Katie L. Walter opens her introduction to *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture* with a quotation from Julian of Norwich (ca. 1342 – 1416), wherein the mystic describes her vision of 'a figure and likenes of our foul dede [dead] hame that our faire, bright, blissid Lord bare for our sins.'[60] Walter points out that the Middle English *hame* signifies both skin and membrane and that, as such, the East Anglian anchorite implies that Christ wears the skin of humanity. Walter contends, however, that this connection rests more upon the association

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[58] https://logeion.uchicago.edu/panniculus Accessed 30 May 2019.

[59] https://logeion.uchicago.edu/membrana Accessed 30 May 2019. On a different association between textiles and parchment, see Christine Sciacca's discussion of textiles sewn between parchment folios to protect images: Christine Sciacca, 'Raising the Curtain on the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts,' in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 161-190.

[60] Julian of Norwich, *The Shewings of Julian of Norwich*, ed. Georgia Ronan Crampton (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1994), 51. Quoted and discussed in Walter, 'Introduction,' 1.

between cloth and skin as 'the holy vernacle of Rome' than upon the association with parchment (such as the example of the Charter of Christ). She further explains that the connection between skin and cloth was so pregnant in late medieval imagination that in a version the *Disciplina Clericalis*, adapted from the late eleventh- early twelfth-century Spanish Peter Alphonse, *vernacle* is mistranslated as 'blemish or birthmark'. Scholars such as Mechthild Fend, Ludmilla Jordanova and Rebecca Whiteley have further noted the association between veils, unveiling and skin in early modern anatomical images.[61] The Veronica, therefore, could be impressed on a bodily membrane.

The surgeon Henri de Mondeville (ca. 1260 – 1320) describes membrane [*panniculus*] and skin [*cutis*] separately: *panniculus* is a similar member, meaning it is part of something else. It is a nervous, flexible and strong member originally formed from sperm.[62] Marie-Christine Pouchelle notes that Édouard Nicaise's nineteenth-century translation of *panniculus* as 'membrane' loses the subtlety of the Latin which, intrinsically, implies cloth from *pannus*.[63] Mondeville utilises many metaphors to describe the human body, such as the one of the body as a fortress. Pouchelle emphasises that this metaphor implies that the body is constantly under external attack, transforming membranes into protective shields.[64] Karl Steel further highlights how the language used by Henri de Mondeville and Guy de Chauliac distinguishes between different types of membranes constituting the interior of the human body, so that

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[61] On skin as a veil and the metaphor's epistemological function in early modern medical imagery, see Mechthild Fend, *Fleshing out Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 6. On the presence of veils in frontispieces and the assumption that anatomy unveils the secrets of the human body, see Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine Between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Harvester/Wheatsheaf, 1989), 99. Rebecca Whiteley, 'The Limits of Seeing and Knowing,' *Object. Graduate research and reviews in the History of Art and Visual Culture* 19 (2017): 103.

[62] *Panniculus est membrum consimile vel officiale compositum, pure spermaticum, nervosum, forte, tenax, mediocre inter mollitiem et duritiem, frigidum et siccum complexione, flexibile, multum sensibile, tenue.* Julius Pagel, ed., *Die Chirurgie des Heinrich von Mondeville (Hermondaville) nach Berliner, Erfurter und Pariser Codices* (Berlin: Verlag von August Hirschwald, 1892), 22.

[63] Marie-Christine Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages*, trans. Rosemary Morris (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 99. Translated from *Corps et chirurgie à l'apogée du Moyen Âge: savoir et imaginaire du corps chez Henri de Mondeville, chirurgien de Philippe le Bel* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983). Pouchelle discusses E. Nicaise, trans., *Chirurgie de maitre Henri de Mondeville, chirurgien de Philippe le Bel, roi de France, composée de 1306 à 1320* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1893).

[64] Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery*, 132.

even if skin is removed, such as in the case of the martyr Saint Bartholomew, the second skin, a surface present inside the body, takes over as the new exterior one.[65] Membranes constitute the interior of the body and need to be removed, one by one, for the inside to be visible. It is in this context that I wish to consider the Veronica, as a *panniculus* that acts as a second skin.

In his 1345 anatomical treatise, the surgeon Guido da Vigevano includes eighteen full-page images, called *figura*, of dissection to illustrate his discussion of the various members of the human body.[66] The third [fig. 118], fourth [fig. 119] and fifth figures [fig. 120] illustrate, among other things, the different abdominal membranes: the *mirac*, *sifac* and *zirbus*, three terms derived from Arabic medicine. Vigevano uses the spelling *paniculus*, with only one 'n', while Middle English writers describe the *sifac* as *skyn* or *pannikel*.[67] In the three images in Vigevano's treatise, a grey decaying dead man lies in the middle of the blank page. On the second figure [fig. 121], the surgeon embraces the corpse, lying on a wooden table. Both surgeon and corpse seem to both be standing, positioned to mirror each other. Their eyes, shoulders and feet line up. The surgeon's body is in movement, advancing toward the corpse. The viewers' gazes move from a body that is alive to one that is dead. The surgeon cuts open the corpse's abdomen, the red cut looking similar to the surgeon's pocket. Their bodies are visually equated, inviting viewers to identify with the corpse: the inside of their bodies is

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[65] Karl Steel, 'Touching Back: Responding to Reading Skin,' in *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture*, ed. Katie L. Walter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 186-187.

[66] *Liber notabilium Philippi septimi*. Chantilly, Bibliothèque et archives du musée Condé, MS 334. Ernest Wickersheimer, ed., *Anatomies de Mondino dei Luzzi et de Guido de Vigevano* (Paris: E. Droz, 1926); Frank Fehrenbach, '*Homo nudus vivus*: Zur *Anothomia* (1345) des Guido da Vigevano,' in *Synergies in Visual Culture - Bildkulturen im Dialog: Festschrift für Gerhard Wolf*, ed. Manuela De Giorgi, Annette Hoffmann and Nicola Suthor (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), 301-314.

[67] https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED40505 Accessed 5 June 2019. The MED provides the following examples: 'Siphac is a skyn þat departiþ þe bowels fro þe gendringe membres.' Trev.Barth. (Add 27944) 96a/b. 'For to holde alle þese þingis, þe stomak & þe guttis is ordeyned a skyn þat is clepid þe siphac & is a syngle skyn.' Lanfranc (Ashm 1396) 169/6. 'Þe syfac is but one pannikel wiþ inne neiȝhynge to þe mirak, wher off it scheweþ þe difference atwixe þe mirak and þe syfac.' Chauliac(3) (Htrn 95) 60b/a.

likened to what they are about to see. In the next figures, the table and the surgeon disappear, condemned to the viewers' memories.

On the third figure on folio 261 recto [fig. 118], the man's abdomen is open through the middle, his skin folded open over his sides and arms. It illustrates the *mirac*, also spelled *mirach*, 'the anterior abdominal wall'.[68] The name is framed and placed, like a small parchment label, upon the membrane, depicted as a network of white, brown and red lines, almost like threads. Mondino di Luizi (ca. 1270 – 1326) describes the *mirach* as composed of skin, fat, flesh, muscles, cord and *siphac*.[69] The tension of the membrane is tangible. This intertwinement of matter produces a fibrous membrane, an enmeshed see-through framed by two half-flayed skin flaps. Camille argued that these open pieces of skin are reminiscent of an open book, suggesting that one can read the body like a book.[70] The folded lumps of skin are slightly coloured with a light pink, a tone in between that of the *mirach* and the page with added blue veins. Like a piece of parchment, the exterior and interior of the corpse's skin are clearly visible. A painted vein even exceeds the black line of the body, on the left fold, extending onto the space of the parchment page. Alternatively, the figure has been painted on the vein side of the parchment. The painted body, like the *mirach* it showcases, is surrounded by veins on flayed skin.

Little work has been done on the rare depictions of membranes in medieval and early modern visual culture. Whiteley discusses early modern prints which illustrate foetuses inside the uterine membrane.[71] She argues that representing uterine membranes allowed anatomists to 'think through the processes and the implications of anatomical knowledge-making, and

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[68] https://logeion.uchicago.edu/mirach Accessed 5 June 2019. The logeion only provides a definition from the DMLBS. The word does not appear in the Lewis and Short. See Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery*, 133 for a short discussion on Mondeville's description of *mirach* and *syphac*. Pouchelle calls them successive layers and muscles.
[69] Plinio Prioreschi, *A History of Medicine*. Volume 5: *Medieval medicine* (Omaha: Horatius Press, 2003), 395.
[70] Michael Camille, 'The Image and the Self: Unwriting Late Medieval Bodies,' in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 62.
[71] Whiteley, 'The Limits of Seeing and Knowing,' 95-119.

particularly the production of images'.[72] While discussing paper flaps that open onto a baby in a uterine membrane, Whiteley convincingly demonstrates that gazing through the penetrable and ephemeral membrane makes the viewers aware of the difference between the paper flaps and the depicted membrane, made of ink, as well as between the veiling membrane and revealed image.[73] In Vigevano's figures, however, the dynamic is reversed. The depiction of the flaps, with the painted veins, aims at extending the reach of the parchment page. Skin, in medieval anatomy, is composed of two layers: the outer and inner skin also called panicle. As such, when Vigevano refers to *paniculus*, he describes membranes that are internal skins, detached but part of the outer skin, opened as flaps. The image becomes the panicle that is attached to the skin, in this case the parchment. The representation of the *mirach*, with its thread-like makeup, is a membrane that veils the inside of the body.

In the fourth figure [fig. 119], the corpse lies in the same position, though the *mirac* has been removed to showcase one of its composites, the membrane called *sifac* (also spelled *siphac*). The *sifac* is the peritoneum, the delicate membrane that lines and encloses the abdominal cavity.[74] The *siphac* is crossed with veins which transmit black bile, one of the four humours.[75] The only notable difference between the third and fourth figures is the inside of the body. The name of the membrane still appears in its middle and the veined skin still spills onto the sides. The membrane, however, is now painted in a colour very similar to the parchment page, with faint traces of red pigments. Fend explains that Theophilus, in his treatise *De diversis artibus*, terms the colour used for skin and flesh tones *membrana*, obtained

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[72] Whiteley, 'The Limits of Seeing and Knowing,' 112.

[73] Whiteley, 'The Limits of Seeing and Knowing,' 109.

[74] https://logeion.uchicago.edu/siphac Accessed 5 June 2019. The medieval term can also refer to a part of the uterus. On Gilbert Anglicus' description of the *siphac*, see Faye Marie Getz, ed., *Healing and Society in Medieval England. A Middle English Translation of the Pharmaceutical Writings of Gilbertus Anglicus* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 266-271.

[75] Prioreschi, *A History of Medicine*, 216.

by layering. As such, Fend contends, 'Theophilus emphasised the relationship between the painterly process of layering colours to imitate skin and the quality of the organ as a layer.'[76] The painted image of the body becomes a *membrana*, linking image-making and layered membranes. Throughout Vigevano's eighteen figures, several flesh tones are used to depict different levels of decay. In the images of the abdomen, the corpse is greyish in tone, probably because the body depicted has been dead for several days. However, inside the body, organs are painted in vivid colours. The opened skin flaps, pulled apart to showcase inner membranes, are painted to mimic parchment, in the fashion of Theophilus's *membrana*. The images in Vigevano's treatise open the body one representation at a time, digging deeper into the body and removing each part one by one. As such, the *sifac*, a component of the *mirac*, is painted as a membrane in an image from which the previously depicted *mirac* has been removed. It even looks like the *mirac* has been literally had its paint scraped off. The body is unveiled one *paniculus* at the time.

Finally, the last and deepest *paniculus*, the *zirbus*, is depicted in the fifth figure [fig. 120].[77] The *zirbus* is the omentum, which is understood today as a fold of the peritoneum that encloses the bowels from the stomach. As a fold of the peritoneum, the *zirbus* is present in the fabric of the *siphac*, just as the *siphac* is a component of the *mirach*. They are distinct layers, but one membrane does not exist without the other. The *zirbus* is white, and in direct contact with some organs such as the spleen. It appears fatty and, when mixed with the *siphac*, recalls the appearance of a net.[78] This time, the skin flaps have been definitively peeled off and the twisted intestines are visible through a net-like crossing of lines, upon which the word *zirbus* is written in red. Whiteley explicates that if skin is a veil, it remains opaque, while

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[76] Fend, *Fleshing out Surfaces*, 21.

[77] https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED54075/track?counter=1&search_id=1191724 Accessed 5 June 2019. The MED provides additional Middle English quotations using the word *zirbus*.

[78] Prioreschi, *A History of Medicine*, 216.

membranes in the early modern prints she discusses are 'teasingly translucent', a see-through stand-in for the anatomist's gaze.[79] Similarly, the representation of the *zirbus* in Vigevano's fifth figure is a striking visual illustration of the slippage between cloth and membrane contained within the word *panniculus*. When readers turn the page, the viscera are finally fully disclosed on the sixth figure [fig. 122], as if turning the page has removed the net-like *zirbus*.

One feature that has remained unnoticed in previous discussions of the images in Vigevano's *Anotomia* is the use of blank folios between the full-page images. The first figure [fig. 123], a naked man alive and facing the viewer, stands on the recto of folio 259. However, when readers turn the parchment page, expecting to be confronted with the inside of this labelled body, they face nothing [fig. 124]. Instead, they see the verso of folio 259 and the recto of folio 260, both empty of images. As discussed in chapter 2, Elina Gertsman demonstrated that empty spaces can be generative, a locus for the imagination.[80] Figures and texts from previous and upcoming folios nonetheless appear in transparency. A first explanation for this insertion resides in the material history of the manuscript. Guido da Vigevano intended this book as a gift to King Philippe VI. It is indeed not a manuscript destined for a practitioner, but part of a lavish medical compendium. The parchment is of high quality and thus extremely thin, bestowing it with see-through qualities. The bookmakers could have potentially decided to include blank pages to avoid spoiling the images. However, with these additions, readers are kept in a liminal zone, between life and death, between the fleshy live body and the decaying and dissected corpse. These blank pages, zones of abjection, confront viewers with the action of dissection: the body will be slowly opened as beholders turn these pages themselves. The empty pages tease viewers about what is to come.

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[79] Whiteley, 'The Limits of Seeing and Knowing,' 100, 103.
[80] Gertsman, 'Phantoms of Emptiness.'

Once this first liminal zone has been overcome, readers enter the first dissection cycle. Vigevano, following Mondino di Luizzi's patterns for dissection, divides the images into three cycles and adds a miscellaneous one: the first figure depicts a man. Then comes the first cycle made of five illustrations dedicated to the dissection of the abdomen. It is followed by a cycle of four figures about the thorax and the third cycle composed of four images about the brain. Finally, two figures of auscultation stand alone. The blank pages do not indicate separate cycles. In fact, new cycles start on the recto of a folio, right next to the last image on the verso of the preceding one. Yet, six sets of blank pages are inserted between the full-page figures except in two occasions: once, during the first cycle and once between the last two cycles. The second time this phenomenon happens [fig. 125], it is between the representations of the *mirac* and *sifac*. As mentioned previously, the two images picture flaps of skin pulled over the sides and arms of the lying corpse, like a book. Directly after being confronted with the first incision into the dead body and the pulling apart of the skin to reveal a membrane, viewers will turn the page to face again an empty surface, haunted by the outlines of past and future bodies. Readers, then, face skin. They hold and behold, directly, an example of *membrana*, or *panniculus*. The veins of the parchment are still as visible as on the other side because the skin is so thin. Beholding that membrane, the viewers therefore remove it from the previous figure, in a procedure that parallels that of the anatomists. Images and membranes are intertwined for readers in their experience of the manuscript.

Membranes are present throughout the body, making up various organs such as the eye.[81] Pouchelle states that the seven 'tunics' of the eye (such as the retina, cornea and uvea) construct the eye in the same way the *mirach*, *siphac* and *zirbus* line up the abdomen. Vision is

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[81] A clear representation of the seven tunics of the eye can be found in London, British Library, Sloane MS 981, fol. 68.

the process of penetration of and refraction through the ocular membranes. The Latin author

Lucretius (ca. 99 BC – 55 BC) writes:

> I shall now begin to deal with what is closely relevant to this:
> that there are that which we call images of things, which are
> to be termed 'like membranes or bark', because the image
> bears a shape and form similar to those of whatever thing's
> body we say it has been shed from and travelled.[82] (4.49-53)

This anatomical metaphor involves the notion that images are 'detachable surface-layers of

bodies', as David Sedley explains. Images are thus skin. Lucretius will edit out this metaphor

in the final instance of the text and his work was barely used in the Middle Ages until the

very end of the fifteenth century. Nonetheless, coupled with the slippage between cloth,

image and membrane in the medical and devotional dialectic relating to the *vernicle*, the idea

of mental images as membrane-like is compelling as a means of understanding such concepts

as impressions of a likeness. I therefore want to borrow the medical and devotional term of

panniculus and the codicological term for a piece of parchment that makes up roll, *membrana,*

to think of phantasms as membrane-like mental images.

Surgeon Henri de Mondeville provides a clear definition of *panniculus* in his

Chirurgia.[83] It is part of the first chapter of Mondeville's treatise, the *Anatomia,* in a section on

the anatomy and functions of the body's members that are similar, composite and purely

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[82] *nunc agere incipiam tibi, quod vementer ad has res attinet, esse ea quae rerum simulacra vocamus, quae quasi membranae vel cartex norninatandast, quod speciem ac formam similem gerit eius imago cuiuscumque cluet de corpore fusa vagari.* Quoted and translated in David Sedley, 'Lucretius' Use and Avoidance of Greek,' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 93 (1999): 231-232.

[83] The full section reads *Figura (5) hominis fissi per medium a parte anteriori a summo vertice capitis usque ad anum, in quo apparebunt craneum et cerebrum divisa per medium et dura maler dependens a craneo et nervi optici venientes a cerebro ad oculos et panniculi pectoris et ventris cum dyafragmate et suspensoria testicidorum, quae vocantur didymi, quomodo a syphacis panniculo oriuntur. Panniculus est membrum consimile vel officiale compositum, pure spermaticum, nervosum, forte, tenax, mediocre inter mollitiem et duritiem, frigidum et siccum complexione, flexibile, multum sensibile, tenue. Utilitates ejus creationis in humano corpore 6 sunt: 1) ut plura conjungantur in eodem corpore sicut panniculus ossa ligans conjungit ossa capitis; 2) ut quaedam membra cum eo suspendantur, ut renes a dorso et similia; 3) ut quaedam membra, quae per se insensibilia sunt, per ipsum sensibilia sint effecta; 4) ut contineant aliqua fluida, sicut tunicae oculorum coniinent humores eorum; 5) ut praeservet aliqua membra ab extrinsecis nocumentis, ut ca(p)sula cordis cor; 6) ut separet inter res diversarum intentionum, ut dyafragma inter spiritualia et nutritiva. — Cutis est membrum consimile vel officiale compositum, pure spermaticum, nervosum, forte, tenax, mediocre in duritie et mollitie, flexibile, multum sensibile, tenue, temperatum in complexione, totum corpus in parte exteriori circumdans. Utilitas temperamenti cutis in suis qualitatibus est (fuit: 1487) ut temperate sentiat (1487: sentiret), quia si excellenter sentiret, ut nervus Simplex, homo non posset se exponere excellenti frigori vel calori. Utilitas sensibilitatis cutis est, ut corpus, quod totum cute circumdatur, inscienter et a sensibilibus nocumentis non ledatur.* Quoted in Pagel, *Die Chirurgie des Heinrich von Mondeville*, 22.

made of sperm, alongside skin and cord. In a Latin copy written in England between 1306 and 1325, based on a lecture Mondeville gave in Paris in 1306, the description is accompanied by an image [fig. 126]. Standing in the middle of the page, interrupting the text, a figure looks directly at the viewers. The abdomen is cut open, the lungs and brain exposed for us to see.[84] Within the skull, the cavities of the brain, connected to the eyes by the optic nerves, are offered to viewers' eyes. The figure's right index finger is raised in a teaching position, signalling its epistemological authority on the body. The figure holds a round object which encircles another head, harbouring similar visible brain cavities and optic nerves.[85] Early in the treatise, the text explicates clearly that the figures are *depinguntur* or painted, drawing attention to the underlying image-making process.[86] The surgeon writes that they demonstrate clearly the human anatomy, and that in all the possible ways they can be *humano conspectui praesentari*, presented to the human view or power of vision.[87] The word used is the dative *conspectui* from *conspectus*, defined as vision, the power of sight.[88] The fifth drawing of Mondeville's *Anatomia* enters into a dialogue with the viewer it stares at so insistently: it suggests that the inside of the viewer's body is similar to what they can see and that the viewer will process, as an image, what is being depicted.

However, the figure can only know how its own thought process functions via the abstraction of phantasms. In keeping with the argument developed earlier, phantasms are a

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[84] On Mondeville, skin and the illuminations in another fourteenth-century copy (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 2030) see Jack Hartnell, 'Tools of the Puncture. Skin, Knife, Bone, Hand,' in *Flaying in the Pre-Modern World: Practice and Representation*, ed. Larissa Tracy (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 20-50, especially page 22. On the role of images in copies of Mondeville's anatomy, see Loren C. MacKinney, 'The Beginnings of Western Scientific Anatomy: New Evidence and a Revision in Interpretation of Mondeville's Role,' *Medical History* 6, no. 3 (1962): 233–239.

[85] Cambridge, Trinity College Cambridge, MS O.2.44. I have discussed another figure of this manuscript and its relationship to visibility in Rozenberg, 'Image of Flesh.'

[86] On the concept of 'depingitur', see Peter Murray Jones, '"Sicut hic depingitur…": John of Arderne and English Medical Illustration in the 14th and 15th centuries,' in *Die Kunst und das Studium der Natur vom 14. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfram Prinz and Andreas Beyer (Cologne: Acta humaniora, 1987), 103-126.

[87] *Prima Figura de 13 figuris per quas solas tota anatomia et historia corporis humani tam viri quam mulieris tam integri quam fissi, tam a parte anteriori quam a parte posteriori et omnium et singulorum membrorum ipsius tam intrinsecorum quam extrinsecorum tam integrorum quam divisorum sive diversijicorum omnibus et singulis modis quibus possunt diversimode humano conspectui praesentari, potest clarissime demonstrari.* Quoted in Pagel, *Die Chirurgie des Heinrich von Mondeville*, 18-19.

[88] https://logeion.uchicago.edu/conspectus Accessed 27 June 2019.

transient and corporeal vehicle, navigating between the material world and the invisible realm of the mind. They are not the object of cognition but a necessary link, like a membrane that both separates, connects and facilitates the workings of organs. They are an impressed membrane-like image. This brings me to a question that I have purposefully avoided until now: what does the figure in this copy of Mondeville's *Chirurgia* hold exactly? After personally asking several scholars, they recognised either a mirror or a picture. Both are valid hypotheses and can work simultaneously. I would like, however, to offer a third possibility. The object, with its thicker external frame and upward suspension, also resembles a wax seal, an object strongly associated with mental processes. Phantasms are the likeness of a corporeal entity impressed on the mind and called up by memory. The wax seal object materialises, in the most literal possible way, the working and result of the thought process while also commenting on the materiality of invisible processes. The figure holds up a visualisation of the process of impressing phantasms.

As I have already said, in addition to the brain and optic nerves, the fifth figure explicitly depicts, cut through the middle, skin and various membranes (*panniculus*) such as the dura mater, abdominal membranes and the membrane that supports the testicles. The pen-drawn figure, therefore, holds up the product of its thought process, the very thing that the organ we get to see in the open skull can do. A parallel is drawn between the phantasm-making process it holds and the skin and membranes of the body. The pen-drawn figure in Mondeville's *Anatomia* constantly mediates its ontological status as an image. It is a human-made image, a figure that holds the representation of an image, which is also the result of phantasms, depicted on skin. By holding this ambivalent image, the representation negotiates constantly between image and phantasm, a liminal membrane. Phantasms may be invisible and mental, but they are equally a medium, a liaison between corporeal entities and the mind's faculties transformed into a material trace in memory of the sensory experience. Picturing

the brain and the faculties involves a constant transient negotiation between the material image and the working of the phantasms it implies.

This discussion of medical imagery helps apprehend the layered meaning of *panniculus* in the *Salve sancta facies* and the representation of the Veronica. The Latin used in the prayer operates on the basis of a slippage between cloth and membrane. *Panniculus* is also the medical name for the inner skin and the membranes that constitute the body. The Veronica, therefore, is not simply impressed on a second skin, as Gervase of Tilbury wrote, but becomes an embodied membrane. As Vigevano's illustrations demonstrate, *panniculus* and skin are joined again, by images and experience. In the anatomical figures, the membranes and the parchment are visually connected, transforming the image into the membrane that sits on the skin. In the case of Henry de Mondeville, a representation of phantasms, of mental image-making, sits in the section about membranes, illustrated alongside it. These anatomical representations of membranes bring attention to the very material they are made of. Images become the inner skin, the panicle, attached to the outer skin, the parchment. If the *vernicle* is imprinted on a membrane and pictured on parchment, it therefore transforms the image of the cloth into a different kind of membrane. As the Veronica shares the qualities of phantasms, I propose that we understand phantasms as a bodily membrane, a *panniculus* of visuality that is impressed, like the Veronica. In the case of the *O Vernicle*, the first skin bears the representation of the Veronica and the second receives its impression in the mind.

Rolling back to Veronica

So far, I have brushed aside a very important nuance in the story of Saint Veronica. The most popular hagiography of the saint appears in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, written

around 1260.[89] In this early version, the saint longs for the presence of Christ, who is about to leave to preach. Veronica decides to get an image of Christ painted to enable her to get through his absence. She sets out to a painter's workshop with a cloth. On her way, she encounters Jesus. When she explains to him what she is about to do, Christ takes the cloth and imprints his facial likeness on it, leaving an image of his presence. The cloth is later brought to Rome to heal an emperor. In this version, the action does not take place during the Passion but within a specific framework of image-making: the saint sets out to acquire a picture of Christ's likeness but is rather gifted a miraculous piece of cloth with a meta-image, the ultimate painting of Christ.[90] Anne L. Clark emphasises that Veronica's story is placed, within the *Legenda Aurea*, in a chapter titled 'the Passion of our Lord', a celebration of holy objects brought together to celebrate the Passion. It is only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the relic will come to be associated directly with the Passion, a variant in which Veronica obtains the holy cloth on the journey to Calvary, in a context where texts and images come together for an emotional devotion.[91]

Although, in the *Arma Christi* rolls, the emphasis is clearly on the instruments of the Passion, the cloth of Veronica is also intrinsically about image-making. Hamburger, in his 1998 book *The Visual and the Visionary*, demonstrates that in the theological writings of some enclosed women, the Veronica is not always a bridge for devotion focused on the Passion. Rather than being about seeing the material image, the Veronica is a vessel to divine revelation.[92] In sum, Hamburger's argument is that for some, the Veronica relates to the *imago dei*. Clark concludes from this that, for enclosed women, there was a spectrum of responses

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[89] Jacobus of Voragine drew on an apocryphal story. Jacobus of Voragine, 'The Passion of the Lord,' *in The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, with an introduction by Eamon Duffy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 203-215. See Clark, 'Venerating the Veronica,' 170.
[90] In an earlier version, Veronica is identified as a woman with haemorrhage cured by Christ. See Hand, '*Salve sancta facies*,' 10.
[91] Clark, 'Venerating the Veronica,' 170. As Clark points out, this shift is concomitant to the rise of Passion texts such as the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* and similar texts which exhorts readers to mentally behold.
[92] Clark, 'Venerating the Veronica,' 173.

to the idea and image of the relic.[93] However, in the case of the *Arma Christi* rolls, the *vernicle* is the ultimate choice of entry for a lay audience, preoccupied by a more personal and affective form of devotion. The *O Vernicle* rolls combine textual prayer, amulet, illuminations, embodied devotional practices, fear of purgatory, obsession with images and emulation of Christological objects. In this case, the rolls are almost solely about beholding material objects and creating a personal connection that will prompt a mental pilgrimage. The Vernicle stanza and the one that follow place a strong importance on the senses, which become this liminal zone, where phantasms are formed. The poem, on a membrane between their fingers, addresses Christ directly. This difference in audience and address radically changes the way the *vernicle* is apprehended.

Among the many *Arma Christi* which follow one another in the rolls, there is another veil, the *velamen ante oculos*, the veil placed before Christ's eyes prior to his torments. If the *vernicle* was revealing of Christ's image, this second veil conceals. Barbara Baert describes Christ as a revealed image, the visible counterpart to God's invisible, concealed image. She qualifies Christ as a veiled face. Baert contends that this dynamic of revealing and concealing forms the core of Christian visuality.[94] The poem describing the second veil reads as follows:

> Þe cloth before þin eghen two,
>
> To bobe [insult] þe þai knyt [fastened] hit so.
>
> Hit kepe me fro uengans [affliction]
>
> Of childhode and of ignorans
>
> And of all other synnes also
>
> Þat I haf with myn eghen dou [two eyes]
>
> And with nose smelled eke,
>
> Both hole and eke seke [sick]. (lines 53-60)

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[93] Clark, 'Venerating the Veronica,' 175.

[94] Barbara Baert, 'Veiling,' in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 159.

This second veil establishes a parallel for the viewers, a slippage of experience. Christ is denied vision while readers behold him intimately, reading a personal address speaking directly to the holy figure. The medieval Latin word used to describe this veil is *velamen*, which signifies, among others, both the religious veil used to cover a body part and the outer layer of the human body. The veil affixed on Christ's eyes thus becomes an outer coverage, a bodily extension that viewers perceive when they hold the membrane between their hands.

In the SCA *Arma Christi* roll already discussed, the joining of the first and second membrane cuts right through the first tier of the image and text relating to the *velamen* [fig. 127]. Within a pinkish frame, on a golden background, a cloth, blue on the outside and pink on the inside, floats.[95] The cloth hangs, its own weight creating folds in the fabric. In the image directly beneath, joined at the frames, Christ's white seamless tunic [*tunica inconsutilis*] also dangles from a bar, like a discarded flayed skin, an outer layer. The joining cuts through the third line of text, through the description of the veil that also doubles as outer cover for the body. However, the two membranes, the two pieces of outer skin, are sewn by white stitches which enclose the second line of text, before ending in a cluster on the right of the text [fig. 128]. As such, one of the words they enclose is *knyt*, 'to tie off stitches, to sew up an orifice' (MED).[96] In another roll, from the second half of the fifteenth century, now in the British Library catalogued as MS Additional 32006, the joining of the first two membranes occurs a few stanzas later, through the last line of the one dedicated to *columpna cum corda*, the pillar with the cord [fig.129].[97] The act of stitching membranes, therefore, appears in a section dedicated to the idea of bounding the holy body. Christ is represented tied to a pillar; his body bloodied. The rope does not encircle him but comes out of each of his sides. His skin, his Theophilian *membrana*, like every skin tone throughout the roll, is grey.

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[95] What now appears pink are faded pigments, which were much more saturated in the past.
[96] https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED24435/track?counter=2&search_id=1209250 Accessed 14 June 2019.
[97] The stanza in this roll contains more lines than the others, which are not reproduced in the critical edition.

This could be the result of the pigments' oxidation or arise from a constant rubbing of the paint. Whatever the reason, skin has been the recipient of a particular attention, either by the makers or users of the roll.

In an East Anglian roll from the second quarter of the fifteenth century in the British Library, the joining of the first and second membranes likewise occurs just before the rope stanza [fig. 130], reading:

> To þe piler, Lord, also
> With a rope me[n] bonde þe to
> Þe senous [sinews] fro þe bones to brast [break],
> So hard it was drawe and streyned fast.
> Þat bonde me a lese [delivered me] of bondes
> Of unkynd ded & of unkyndnes. (lines 73-78)

The stitches are thick and bright red, crossing right through the image. The threads are not original, since several punctured holes run underneath the joining. Nonetheless, even if the thread has been replaced, the binding of the two sheets of skin cuts through a representation of a pillar which is striking for the absence a tied body. Christ is indeed missing, the rope enclosing the golden pole, crossing over the joining to reach the punctures. The body becomes the scroll, rolled onto itself like the rope circles the pole; image and membrane join. In the Huntington roll [fig. 131], the joining happens two lines before the image of the pole, which has been turned horizontally. In the Stonyhurst roll, its images identical to the Huntington roll, the joining happens at the point immediately after images of a hand pulling out [*manus depillans*] Christ's hair and a hand slapping [*manus alapans*] him [fig. 132], which is misplaced between the *velamen* and the *tunica*, instead of before the *velamen*.[98] In a mid-fifteenth-century fragmented version now in Oxford [fig. 133], the lost first membrane was

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[98] In the Beinecke roll, the joining also happens between the *velamen* and the *tunica*, but since the roll is a later copy, I do not include it in this description.

attached to the rest of the roll through the pillar stanza as well. The membranes were glued together and not stitched.[99] The veins of the animal are particularly visible on this example. In the Redemptorist Archives roll, the stitching joins the membranes through the *virge et flagella*, the rod and the scourges, destined to pierce the skin of Christ [fig. 134]. These examples demonstrate that there is a conscious slippage between the impact of the *Arma Christ* on Christ's body and the coming together of the parchment membranes. The materiality of the rolls encourages viewers to perceive a likeness, stimulating them to further their reading in their minds.

The last image of the Stonyhurst roll represents the sepulchre [fig. 135]. However, in this example, the sepulchre mirrors the geometrical patterns of the *vernicle* that opened the roll. Red, green and brown triangles mirroring one another to either side of the vertically lying body. Christ lies naked, his face painted a dark brown while his body is fairer in tone. His hand cross over his crotch, atop a blue textile, the same colour as the enclosing triangles. Red shapes surround the body: horizontal lines, each with between two to six descending lines. This unpainted parchment area bleeds like the body it bears. The image, the membrane itself, bleeds. Further up in the roll [fig. 136], the *velamen* is transparent, barely painted, hiding Christ's face that appears small behind the stretched veil, as if the cloth were in the process of being imposed on the face. Its sides are painted in the same colours as the sepulchre. Images become a membrane on the parchment, a veil on a membrane, a point of connection for the image to transform into phantasms.

In sum, if the Veronica has deep ties to image-making and theories of visuality, it goes beyond the theoretical and expands to the materiality of the rolls. Moreover, the rolls perpetuate the dynamics set up by the *vernicle*: skin and image collide. These considerations

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[99] A few stitches on the bottom left corner of the roll suggest a protective cloth may have been attached.

on the *O Vernicle* must be connected to those I have raised in chapter 2, such as the joining of the membranes. Other instruments, such as the *velamen*, pursue the connection between the body and the image that was initiated by the *vernicle*. The rolls were materially constructed so that the stitching of skin correlates with visual and textual descriptions of binding and piercing bodies and skins. Such dynamics foreground the embodied discourse enclosed in the Veronica and expand it to the membranes of the rolls. These rolls were meant to take readers on a mental pilgrimage through the Passion. To induce such a cognitive journey, the illuminations and material makeup of the rolls bring the attention back to the surface of the skin, to the generative surface of the membrane that is the point of departure for the *coming to presence* of phantasms.

Conclusion

The rolls discussed in this chapter visually index each object of the Passion. The *vernicle* thus provides a discourse about representation while it is being perceived moments, even seconds before the other images. It is the simultaneity or, in reality, the short succession of these experiences that renders the Veronica's theoretical discourses on images tangible for the viewers. Not only is the experience of rolls highly haptic, but in this specific case, the Veronica and the *Arma Christi* are as well. They are vestiges of Christ's bodily suffering on skin. The Veronica makes visible the most desired body, and through the numerous reproductions of the image throughout the fifteenth century, it overexposes it. Nonetheless, it is my contention that despite its ontological status as a likeness of Christ's body, giving over the body to the viewers' sense of sight, the *O Vernicle* Veronicas built on the body and skin, to a certain extent, to foreground a discourse on representation. The relic shares phantasms' basic characteristics and offers, therefore, a way of inquiring into the concept. Veronicas shift from being testimony images, representing an experience, a past moment, to

being the embodiment and creation of the visual experience. They shift from representations as such to embodying the potential for representation. The *O Vernicle* Veronicas complicate discourses on the different modes of medieval representation by underpinning their visual generative potential. The *O Vernicle* Veronicas produce visibility, making images a self-producer of images, through the act of phantasms.

Phantasms, as Aquinas repeats numerous times, are corporeal. Or, to put it differently, membranes build up the human body's corporeality. Phantasms may be fragile and almost intangible, like the cloth upon which Christ imprinted his face, but they enable the body to function. Equally, phantasms, as membranes, enable the working of thinking, of cognition. They are imprinted with product of sensation, a material trace but not the thing in itself. Phantasms are the moment where *imagines* penetrate the body. They are blurrier than the original object. They can be damaged, rendering the memory broken. An imprinted membrane is image-like, but not fully an image. Phantasms are an entity that envelopes all of this. As such, to fully account for the corporeality of phantasms, I suggest we draw on the slippage of meaning encompassed in the impressed *panniculus* of the Veronica and apprehend phantasms as embodied membranes that exist in the faculties of the soul, impressed with a visual sign.

Coda

Phantasm, Pygmalion, Potentiality

In a fourteenth-century copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, Pygmalion is depicted leaning over a block of stone, cutting a sculpture of a woman [fig. 137] [*comme Pygmalion entailla son ymage*].[1] The Middle French for representation, and in this case sculpture, is *ymage* [also spelled *image*] (DMF). Pygmalion, therefore, creates something visual, a representation. The illuminator of this rendition of Pygmalion's story paralleled the making of the sculpture with that of the illumination. The block of rough stone is left unpainted, its matter that of the parchment. The shape of the *ymage*, or representation, is thus created out of the same matter as the illustration. The skin of the parchment transforms into the skin of the sculpture. Besides the black outline of the female body, blue lines run through this generative zone, like the veins that will give life to this new body. In a similar way, phantasms erupt from images just as life

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[1] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Français MS 19156, fol. 134r. On Pygmalion in the *Roman de la Rose*, see Sarah-Grace Heller, 'Fashioning a Woman: The Vernacular Pygmalion in the *Roman de la Rose*,' *Medievalia et humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* 27 (2000): 1-18; Marian Bleeke, 'Versions of Pygmalion in the Illuminated *Roman de la Rose* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce II 195): The Artist and the Work of Art,' *Art History* 33, no. 1 (2010): 28-53. On the *Rose*, see Jonathan Morton, *The 'Roman de la rose' in its Philosophical Context: Art, Nature, and Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

erupted from the body of Pygmalion's *ymage*. Pygmalion is not the only character in the *Roman de la Rose* to engage with a representation. Earlier, at a fountain, Narcissus sees his own reflection, a figure on the surface of the water. Taken with this reflection of himself, the man drowns in the fountain. Such myths became very popular in the later Middle Ages and foregrounded the importance of representation.

Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben draws heavily on the *Roman de la Rose* in his second book *Stanze: La parola e il fantasmo nella cultura occidentale* (referred to hereafter as *Stanzas*, the title of the English translation), published in 1977.[2] In the book's third chapter, 'The Word and the Phantasm: The Theory of the Phantasm in the Love Poetry of the Duecento',[3] Agamben uses the two fictional figures from the *Rose*, Pygmalion and Narcissus, as keystones to construct his medieval 'pneuma-phantasmology', which I discuss later.[4] Engaging closely with the verses of the *Rose*, Agamben reminds readers that, in the medieval poem, Narcissus did not fall in love with himself but with an *ymage*. He falls in love with an image reflected in water, described as a dangerous mirror [*miroër perilleux*], a theme to which Agamben returns regularly.[5] In fact, reflective surfaces such as fountains and mirrors are recurrent tropes in Agamben's work. The *miroër perilleux*, he argues, is an extension of *Amant*'s faculty of imagination. Narcissus, Agamben argues, is an allegory of Averroes's theories of phantasms.[6]

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[2] *Stanzas* was first written in 1977 and translated into English in 1993. Giorgio Agamben, *Stanze: La parola e il fantasmo nella cultura occidentale* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1977).

[3] *Stanzas*'s third section is dedicated to medieval phantasms and duocento poetry. The first subchapter is entitled 'Narcissus and Pygmalion', to set the tone of the section. Agamben, *Stanzas*, 63-72.

[4] The first half of the poem was written by Guillaume de Lorris. Jean de Meun added the second part around 1270. In the *Rose*, a man named *Amant* or the Lover, enters a beautiful garden in his dream. Ultimately, *Amant* will pluck the rose he is enamoured with. The poem digresses through such stories as Pygmalion or Narcissus's to discuss the torments generated by the art of love.

[5] On the dangerous mirror, see Pascal Antonietti, '*C'est li mireors perilleus*: images et miroirs dans *Le Roman de la Rose*,' in *Le Moyen Age dans la Modernité: Mélanges offerts à Roger Dragonetti*, ed. Jean R. Scheidegger, Sabine Girardet and Eric Hicks (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996), 33-47.

[6] Agamben describes it as a 'scene in which the protagonist of the *Roman de la Rose* experiences the first effects of love at the fountain of Eros-Narcissus, a fairly faithful allegory of the phantasmatic psychophysiology described by Averroës'. Agamben, *Stanzas*, 82.

Since Pygmalion himself refers to Narcissus, Agamben parallels it to the *fol amour* of courtly love. The presence of Pygmalion's story in the *Rose*, he explains, is not so much to delay readers' experiences and increase tension, but to lead to the final scene of the poem wherein Venus fires an arrow into a statue, into an *ymage*, which turns out to be *Amant*'s object of desire, with whom he will mate. Love for an *ymage*, Agamben argues, is thus the main point of the *Rose*.[7] Based on this claim, he questions what *ymage* really represents and why, in a poem centred around animated allegories, the erotic object is an inert *ymage*. Using the thirteenth-century poem *Lai de l'ombre*, Bertran de Born's *donna soisebunda* and Giacomo de Lentini's work, Agamben explains that love for an image, in various forms (reflection, painted in the lover's heart etc.), is actually a common trope of medieval literature that transcends the *Rose*. Nonetheless, if Agamben's study foregrounds the image as an object of the art of *Love*, I would contend that, except in the case of Narcissus, images are generally a means to love rather than its object, as we have seen in the previous chapters.

Agamben discusses the stories of Narcissus and Pygmalion because, he argues, a theory of medieval phantasmology needs to be reconstructed, which he sets out to achieve in *Stanzas*.[8] Phantasmology is a nineteenth-century term pertaining to the study of apparitions, ghosts and, of course, phantasms. Agamben draws on the Stilnovists, primarily Dante and Cavalcanti, and the scientific writings that informed their love poetry. In *Stanzas*, he engages extensively with Aristotle's psychology, as laid out in the *De Anima*, *De Memoria* and *De insomnis* and goes back as far as Plato's *Philebus* (39a, 40a).[9] Love, as an experience, is described in these works in terms of phantasms. As such, Agamben argues, love is the experience of an image, especially a memorial image. Going further, he defines love as more

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[7] Agamben, *Stanzas*, 67.

[8] 'It is necessary to reconstruct medieval phantasmology in all its complexity and to seek, insofar as it is possible, to trace its genealogy and follow its developments. This is what we shall attempt to do in the following chapters.' Agamben, *Stanzas*, 72.

[9] *De Anima*, 420b, 424a, 432a, 432b *De Memoria*, 428a, 450a *De Insomnis*, 459a.

than a visual experience. Indeed, if phantasms are both the origin and object of love, he explains, love is therefore a phantasmic process, an inherent part of the phantasmology he reconstructs. In *Stanzas*, Agamben goes as far as defining phantasms as the one of the most original creations and legacies of the Middle Ages.[10]

Like Richard de Fournival's *painture*, Agamben's *ymage* is more complex that it first appears. *Ymage*, in the *Rose*, is usually translated by the word 'sculpture'. The DMF indicates it relates to an idea of reflection or appearance. The second definition links *ymage* to representation, as previously mentioned. As such, Narcissus's *ymage* is an image insofar as it is a reflection. Pygmalion's sculpture is an image because it is the likeness of human appearance, a representation. *Ymage* and *painture* have different implications and are part of a different definition of visuality than a modern reader may anticipate. Although Agamben's theory of phantasms is centred on the sense of sight, I contend that it creates a theory of visuality which is not so much reliant on the senses as it *ymage*-centred, in that *ymage* also implies the subsequent formation of a mental image. In that sense, the stories of Narcissus and Pygmalion rely heavily on the defining characteristic of phantasms: they are a likeness – either in water or stone – cuing an emotional answer (in this case love). They also reflect on the materiality of images, mental or not. In the Narcissus story, the reflection appears on fleeting water, a borderline material whose integrity is constantly threatened. For Pygmalion, the *ymage* undergoes a transformation of both form (it is modelled through several steps) and then matter (from inanimate stone to fleshy body).

Stanzas may be about phantasms and the *Roman de la Rose*, discussing how Narcissus loved an image; but it is also a book about conjuration and absence, about language and the schism between philosophy and poetry. Agamben researched the book between 1974 – 1975

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[10] Agamben, *Stanzas*, 77.

at the Warburg Institute in London, at the invitation of the Institute's director Frances Yates.[11] The title, 'stanza', refers simultaneously to the poetic device and the Italian word for 'room'. Leland de la Durantaye argues that 'Agamben's book is indeed about poetry and its divisions, just as it is a book about rooms and the images that adorn them – but it is also a book about something entirely different.'[12] Indeed, the back cover of the 1993 English translation ambitiously claims that Agamben 'attempts to reconfigure the epistemological foundation of Western culture.' Art historian Jae Emerling further explains that *Stanzas* 'defines the entirety of Agamben's work: to reproach the myopia of contemporary critical thought through a philological and conceptual genealogy of the history of philosophy.'[13] Indeed, *Stanzas*'s short introduction is solely concerned with criticality, or lack thereof. Agamben argues that except for one of Walter Benjamin's books on drama, no recent work by European thinkers deserve to be called critical. This lack of criticality stems from the separation of philosophy and poetry, described in the much-quoted sentence: 'philosophy has failed to elaborate a proper language and poetry has developed neither a method nor self-consciousness.' Agamben alternatively suggests a new form of criticism, that employs the creativity of poetry, focused on potentiality.[14]

As such, *Stanzas* is ultimately about criticality, poetry and the place of phantasms in relation to the latter. Agamben's theories on poetry and philosophy laid out in *Stanzas* and *Language and Death* (1982) are enacted in *The Idea of Prose* (1985), which, similarly to *Stanzas*, is made of unrelated chapters, going even further as to having chapter headings unconnected

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[11] Frances Yates herself worked on the psychology of the Middle Ages in her seminal 1966 book *The Art of Memory*, a publication which will lead to an increased interest in memory. For her discussion of medieval memory, see Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 50-128.
[12] Agamben, *Stanzas*, 56.
[13] Jae Emerling, *Theory for Art History: Adapted from Theory for Religious Studies, by William E. Deal and Timothy K. Beal* (London: Routledge, 2005), 50.
14 Agamben, *Stanzas*, xvi.

to the content.[15] This blending opens up questions of potentiality. Indeed, as I have previously discussed, phantasms are strongly associated with an idea of potentiality. Jean-Baptiste Brenet, in his study of Averroes's theory of phantasms, argues that in the writings of the Andalusian thinker, phantasms are pure potentiality. Mental activities and the power of cogitation, he writes, create an open space, that of phantasms. Brenet borrows the term 'potential space' [*espace potential*] from D. W. Winnicott to define this phantasmic space.[16] Yet Agamben, in his re-construction of phantasmology and his discussion of Pygmalion's story, connects potentiality and phantasms in new ways.

In this concluding chapter, which acts as a coda to the thesis, I do not aim to review nor make a critical commentary of Agamben's book. Others have done this before me.[17] However, *Stanzas*, as one of Agamben's earliest works, is often quickly dismissed by his commentators in favour of some of his most well-known work on sovereignty. Moreover, in discussions of *Stanzas* itself, the third chapter concerning the Middle Ages is usually eschewed. For example, there is no 'phantasm' entry in the 2001 *Agamben Dictionary* and the word appears only three times in the main body of the text (including one mention of the book title).[18] In *Agamben: A Critical Introduction*, de la Durantaye dedicates one chapter to each of Agamben's books. The second chapter, 'A General Science of the Human', deals with *Stanzas* and is divided into several subheadings, roughly corresponding to the chapters in *Stanzas*. Following this logic, the section 'The Idea of Philology' is supposed to deal with 'The Word and the Phantasm' and how Agamben uses duecento poetry to approach potentiality and space.[19] But in fact, in 'The Idea of Philology', de la Durantaye drifts to other

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[15] Giorgio Agamben, *Language and death: the place of negativity*, trans. Karen E. Pinkus with Michael Hardt (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Giorgio Agamben, *The Idea of Prose*, trans. Michael Sullivan and Sam Whitsitt (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

[16] Brenet, *Je fantasme*, 12, 21-27.

[17] See particularly Leland de la Durantaye, *Giorgio Agamben: A Critical Introduction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 56-80.

[18] Alex Murray and Jessica Whyte, eds, *The Agamben Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).

[19] de la Durantaye, *Giorgio Agamben*, 65-70.

considerations, emulating the methodology of *The Idea of Prose*. He begins by pointing out that the first part of Agamben's dedication, the personal motto of Aby Warburg,[20] is one of the most complex throughout his work. This is followed by a discussion of Warburg's life work, method and attention to detail as well as his influence on Agamben's conception of interdisciplinarity. This section informs the reader on what methodology may have inspired Agamben and his vision of merging philosophy and poetry in a close reading – a procedure influenced by the fact that he researched *Stanzas* at the Warburg Institute. Thus, de la Durantaye does not engage at all with phantasms, solely the first line of the chapter's dedication.

Agamben gives a preeminent place to medieval phantasms in *Stanzas*, yet his commentators do not. This is symptomatic of the concept's treatment in discussions of medieval art theory: as absence and presence are inherently part of Agamben's work, phantasms are often absent from art theoretical considerations, yet they are always an invisible part of the equation. As I have mentioned previously, engagement with 'The Word and the Phantasm' is scarce. However, Agamben's phantasmology comes to life throughout the subchapters and his approach to medieval material is significant. Indeed, in his more recent study *The Signature of All Things* (2009), Agamben describes his approach to philosophical archaeology as 'a matter of conjuring up its phantasm, through meticulous genealogical inquiry, in order to work on it, deconstruct it, and detail it to the point where it gradually erodes, losing its originary status'.[21] In that sense, in *Stanzas*, Agamben extracts medieval phantasms from their historical context and transforms them into a different type of memorial tool, now methodological, to inquire about the past, to recollect. As such, Agamben's engagement with phantasms is both theoretical and methodological.

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[20] 'the dear God dwells in the detail' [*Der gute Gott steckt im Detail*].
[21] Giorgio Agamben, *The Signature of All Things: On Method*, trans. Luca D'Isanto with Kevin Attell (New York: Zone, 2009), 102. This passage is discussed in Murray and Whyte, eds, *The Agamben Dictionary*, 4-5.

As we have seen throughout this thesis, there is not one, but many definitions, understandings, explanations or interpretations of what phantasms are. Scholastic, theological and lay writings and practices are full of contradictions. In the 1970s, Agamben already argues that a large-scale study of medieval phantasms was necessary to comprehend love poetry. Drawing on Aristotle and Avicenna's legacies, as well as the writings of Italian poets, Agamben fleshed out a 'phantasmology'. Dana E Stewart points out that Agamben's phantasmology emphasises the role of phantasms in the art of love, at 'the expense of sight or the visual sensation'. She argues that late medieval love literature witnessed a turn toward the visual and imaginative process which is different than the 'shift away from sight in favour of the imagination'.[22] Agamben's phantasmology is intrinsically ocular-centric. Nonetheless, Agamben's phantasmology is anchored in language, to the detriment of material culture. In response, this thesis has drawn and built upon Agamben's attempt to establish a theory of phantasms, going beyond the limits of love poetry into theories of representation, devotional practices and conceptions of bodies. The thesis contended that phantasms are crucial to comprehending medieval attitudes toward images.

If this thesis relied and built on Agamben's phantasmology, there are aspects of it I have purposefully disregarded, such as pneumatology. Agamben goes as far as to claim that 'the synthesis that results is so characteristic that European culture in this period might justly be defined as a pneumophantasmology'.[23] Tracing pneumatology back to Aristotle and Galen, he explained that pneuma is a breath diffused through the body, enabling sensation. I have deliberately not dealt with pneumatology due to lack of space. Pneumatology is more dominant from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries in learned writings and as such, the pneuma is not automatically associated with phantasms, especially not in the later lay

[22] Dana E. Stewart, *The Arrow of Love: Optics, Gender, and Subjectivity in Medieval Love Poetry* (London: Associated University Presses, 2003), 22.
[23] Agamben, *Stanzas*, 94.

examples I deal with.[24] Indeed, as much as these conceptions of the body are crucial to understanding medieval societies, incorporating phantasms into pneumatology may run the methodological risk of eschewing phantasms once again. On the other hand, this also means that I have done the opposite by favouring and singling out phantasms over, among others, pneumatic or humoural theories.[25]

What arises from Agamben's engagement with phantasms is his approach to potentiality as an inherent aspect of phantasmology. This is a key concept in Agamben's work, best exemplified by the 1999 volume *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy*. In the eleventh chapter, simply titled 'On Potentiality', which is based on a lecture originally delivered in 1986 but published here for the first time, Agamben draws on Aristotle's distinction between potentiality and actuality in relation to sensation and the classification of sensibility as fully potentiality and not actuality, to ask the question 'what does it mean "to have a faculty"?.'[26] What we term faculties, such as vision, he submits, are always potential.[27] Aristotle further defines two types of potential: generic and existing. One involves an alteration, a becoming (i.e. learning something); the other relies on knowledge (i.e. an architect has the knowledge to potentially build something). This leads Agamben to conclude, regarding Aristotle's definition of potentiality, that it is 'not simply the potential to do this or that thing but potential to not-do, potentiality not to pass into actuality.'[28] If I

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[24] Agamben cites the writings of Constantine the African, Costa ben Luca, Alfred the Englishman, William of St. Thierry or Hugh of St. Victor, Isaac of Stella and Alcher of Clairvaux as examples of pneumatology. See *Stanzas*, 94-98.

[25] Albertus Magnus, among others, connects one's humoural tendencies to their memorial capacities. For example, those prone to melancholia are drier and, therefore, retain memories better. Such people are more reactive to mental images, phantasms. Jan M. Ziolkowski, trans., 'Albertus Magnus, *Commentary* on Aristotle, *On Memory and Recollection,*' in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 2002), 118-152.

[26] Giorgio Agamben, *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy*, ed. and trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Sanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 178. Agamben discusses Aristotle, *De Anima*, book 2, 417a 2-5.

[27] '*the existence of non-Being*, the presence of an absence; this is what we call "faculty" or "power." "To have a faculty" means to have a privation. And potentiality is not a logical hypostasis but the mode of existence of this privation.' Agamben, *Stanzas*, 179.

[28] Agamben, *Potentialities*, 179-180.

digress from *Stanzas* to *Potentialities*, it is not only, of course, because *Stanzas* is an early work and Agamben will come to further develop his theories, but also because Agamben's discussion of Aristotle in *Potentialities* relates more closely to phantasms. Agamben, as medieval theoreticians did, glosses Aristotle and connects the senses to potentiality. Potentiality is, in fact, what defines the very ontology of phantasms and mental images.

Phantasms are inherently potential: their existence is always on the verge of the incorporation of species. They exist, as potential, in the matter of the world. Nonetheless, they need to be incorporated in order to become. Sensory species need to be inside the body to become the phantasms they contain. Such phantasms contain the matter that the agent intellect can abstract from them, turning them into intelligible species. This material is contained in them from the very beginning, as a potential, ready to be transformed. In this thesis, however, I have only dealt with a certain side of phantasms' potentiality. I have solely focused on 'conscious' phantasms while, of course, phantasms can also be unconscious and appear in dreams. In *De insomnis*, for example, Aristotle defined one type of phantasms whose function is to enable dreams.[29] William MacLehose further explains that '[f]or medieval physicians and natural philosophers, the danger of the sleeping state lay in the ability of the imagination to continue to function, producing images and attempting to interpret phenomena without the use of reason.'[30] Phantasms can, therefore, be an unconscious dangerous nocturnal pollution. Nonetheless, the *Roman de la rose* is a prime example of a positive dream vision: the story appears in the main character's dream and provides him with knowledge he would not have acquired otherwise.

Amant, the lover and dreamer in the *Rose*, narrates that at the age of twenty, the age where young people meet *amors* (lines 21-22), he saw something in his sleep [*si vi un songe en*

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[29] *De Insomnis*, 459a.
[30] MacLehose, 'Fear, Fantasy and Sleep,' 83. MacLehose discusses at length the relationship between *phantasia* and *incubus* in medical theories.

mon dormant] (line 26), which he decides to write down for the readers' hearts (line 32).[31] Guillaume de Lorris uses here the word 'aguissier': *Amant* writes to *aguissier* the readers' hearts [*pour noz cuers faire aguissier*]. *Aguissier* means to sharpen into a point and as such, to excite (DMF). The word relates to *aiguillon*: as such, the *Rose* is conceived as playing a similar role to the *Livre de vie* for the readers' minds. Afterward, the story continues and *Amant* arrives in an orchard, with a castle adorned with portraits and sculptures [*portrait et dehors entaillié a maintes riches escritures*] that represent the vices of the world. *Amant* describes these representations [*ymages*] as something he admires and contemplates [*remiré*]. He points out that he writes from memory about these images that operate on a likeness [*et vous diré de ces ymages la semblance, si com moi vient a remembrance*] (lines 132-138). The *Rose* is therefore set up with a vocabulary that relies on phantasms and mental picturing.

In the copy of the *Rose* with which I started, the opening illumination presents *Amant* sleeping on the left and walking out of his dream on the right, coming to contemplate a row of sculptures on a wall [fig. 138]. The young man is in a mental world, a world of dreams. The *Rose*'s text mobilises a familiar imagery: image contemplation, a castle, similitude and the act of remembrance. Of course, in this case, the castle stands for the castle of love but, as we have seen in the first chapter, it is also a popular metaphor for the mind, which, as Agamben argues, is connected to the art of love. In the orchard, *Amant* is thus faced with a castle of the mind upon which stand images which likeness lead to contemplation and reminiscence. These lines specifically describe the familiar thought process powered by phantasms, here symbolised by the *ymages*.

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[31] All quotations are from Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose, édition d'après les manuscrits BN 12786 et BN 378, traduction, présentation et notes par Armand Strubel*, 7th edition (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2015).

The opening folio of another fourteenth-century copy [fig. 139] of the *Rose* is topped with two illuminations.[32] On the left is the traditional image of the young man falling asleep. On the right, however, a woman, *Oiseuse*, stands inside the top of a crenelated tower surrounded by flowers, the Garden of *Deduiz*. She is combing her hair and looking at a mirror. Although a classic iconographic motif, the inclusion of the two images next to each other within a larger frame informs viewers that the images are now picturing the realm of the dream. We are in the dreamer's mental castle, following his desire. The ten images of vices that follow are not depicted on the tower but as individual illuminations in the next pages. In the bottom right corner of the folio, a long unopened tear fractures the page and the ivy batons, making the veins of the parchment stand out. This fracture in the parchment serves as an entry point for the reader into the story. This same tear appears again on the next folio [fig. 140], in the same place, this time topped with hair follicles. The tear sits near the words 'saved image' [*ymage sauue*], as in the idea of a mentally recorded image. While *Amant* pursues pleasure in the garden, readers physically experience a body, skin, on the verge of opening to their touch, as a generative source of mental images. The tear is present in all the upcoming folios, until it fades away and leaves a faint trace, like phantasms in the viewers' minds.

Such an encounter with the skin of the manuscript resonates with Sarah Kay's argument in *Animal Skins and the Reading Self*. As I have discussed in chapter 2, Kay draws on Slavoj Žižek's concept of the suture and Agamben's *caesura* to theorise a fleeting moment of identification between the readers of a medieval bestiary and the parchment of the book. The separation, the *caesura*, between human and animal is suspended by this skin, prompting a (mis)identification and recognition.[33] The two are temporarily sutured together in this identification, in the potentiality of them being assimilated. Coupled with the language of the

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[32] Paris, Assemblée nationale MS 1230, fol. 3r.
[33] Kay, *Animal Skins*, 17.

Rose described above, this recognition acts here upon a likeness that transcends the space of the images. I do not aim here to provide a new reading of the *Rose*. Indeed, I have not even scratched the surface of the richness that the *Rose* and its scholarship present. Rather, I point out that the *Roman de la Rose* is a literary expression of what phantasms are, beyond Agamben's discussion of erotic phantasmology. The young man's dream is a phantasm, in its medieval sense. Agamben discusses Narcissus in love with an image and Pygmalion creating and image that becomes someone, but in the *Rose* they are brought up as comparative point to the *Amant* storyline, within his dream. They are part of a broader phantasm, which explicitly describes the mental image making process. Manuscripts can further this process and prompt recognition of a likeness between the object and readers.

Coming to the illumination of Pygmalion with which I opened [fig. 137], it depicts the potentiality of image-making. The statue is going to be transformed from image to something else. Its matter, nonetheless, remains the same. No matter if the sculpture becomes human, it started as an *ymage* with a potential for more. The story of Pygmalion embodies the potentiality of phantasms as best illustrated in this unpainted, generative zone of the illumination. For his part, Agamben attempts to reconstruct a medieval theory of phantasms, as part of his overall 'phantasmology'. Although eschewing material culture and mostly grounded in duecento love poetry, *Stanzas* raises questions regarding medieval image theory that medievalists have not yet picked up. Agamben posits that the *Roman de la Rose* is ultimately a story about images and even claims that phantasms are the Middle Ages' most creative legacy. While some of Agamben's point are purely anchored in the art of love, others can be extrapolated and explored with regards to other materials, as I have done throughout this thesis. *Stanzas* showcases the potential power of phantasms, the potentiality that lies inside an *ymage*, as in the story of Pygmalion. Agamben sees phantasms as a methodological tool to recollect the past. He also foregrounds that medieval phantasms are inherently always

potential: they contain in themselves the potential for intellection, but their own incorporation, and therefore existence, is always potential. The engagement with Agamben's theory of phantasms by his commentators is symptomatic of the legacy of the concept: it is always there, an unexplored potential waiting for its Pygmalion-like transformation.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have made the case for a new theoretical albeit experience-based approach to medieval image theory. Phantasms were culturally valued and integrated into popular experiences of visual and material culture. This study has foregrounded the inherent multiplicity of phantasms in the Middle Ages: created out of the multiplication of species, phantasms were understood in various ways. Indeed, fleshed out theories are only found in scientific treatises, yet no unanimous definition of the term is rendered in that context. Phantasms are thus polysemous and difficult to comprehend. Nevertheless, these niche objects of learned and heavily theoretical discussions made their way into popular culture. Stripped of their nomenclature, phantasms and species became nameless entities that nonetheless were part of the daily experience of, among others, late medieval devotional culture. This proliferation resulted in a conception of the visual that ultimately always mediated between the visible and the invisible, between beholding images with the eyes and the mind.

Phantasms must be comprehended as legitimate entities, not only in the writings of theoreticians, but also in the daily interactions between humans and visual culture. I have argued that visuality expands beyond the visible, to encompass phantasms. Therefore, the images perceived by human sight and phantasms, objects of the mind's eye, must be

understood as a single entity existing throughout the different levels of the visuality spectrum. Ultimately, if my work is primarily anchored in art history and the histories of visual culture, phantasms are not. They transcend boundaries and categories; they are simultaneously images, devotional tools, objects of scientific studies and literary devices. Phantasms demand an interdisciplinary approach.

As such, this study has approached phantasms from different angles. The structure of the thesis followed the essence of phantasms, the form mimicking its object of study. Running themes have been the relationship between visibility and invisibility in chapter 1; embodied likeness through the prism of skin in chapter 2 and 3, as well as the notion of the imprint and image theory in chapter 4. I have drawn on the history of medicine, devotional treatises and indulgences, popular literature and scientific treatises. I have theorised what I term a meta*painture*, an image that references its own ontological status as an image. The meta*painture* is a visual entity that showcases the connection between physical and mental images. In this work, I contend that what we traditionally call an 'image' must be apprehended through the prism of phantasms. The two are not distinct but, on the contrary, the same object. The meta*painture* is an image that makes this connection and process of incorporation explicit. The traditional 'image' is the part that exists in the visible world, while phantasms evolve in the realm of the mind. One is to be perceived by the eyes, the other by the mind's eye. According to theoreticians, such mental phantasms remain material, even corporeal. Like the Veronica, phantasms are imprints, but they can also be the veil, a mental membrane-like thing, an image-formed sign that is abstracted by the agent intellect, in order to think.

My analysis is here limited mostly to Latin Western Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the topic could, and should, be expanded in many directions. Phantasms are a medieval development of Aristotelian theories, ideas that flourished in

Arabic writings such as Avicenna's. As such, case studies centred on certain geographical areas as well as historical moments would cement an overarching phantasmology. Conversely, ahistorical and comparative examinations remain to be done. For example, after the Middle Ages, a new understanding of the concept was to be revived and its terminology shifted.[1] The medieval faculty of the soul and psychoanalytical concept are both written 'phantasy' and 'fantasy'. Freud used the German word *Phantasie* to theorise the creative force of imaginative power. Freud's *Phantasien* are daydreams where the subject composes a story based on fiction, scenes he has seen, persons etc.[2] Such theories have had a long-lasting impact on modern and contemporary art production. By the twentieth century, French psychoanalysts and philosophers used *fantasme* in a slightly different way. Instead of following the Freudian vision of a general imaginative activity, they used *fantasme* to refer to a specific imaginary formation. In English, it is generally translated by 'fantasy' or 'phantasy', which, inconveniently, also recalls the medieval soul's faculty. To complicate the situation even more, the spellings 'phantasm' in English, and *phantasme* in French, sometimes occur. In modern French psychoanalysis, a fantasy is basically an imaginary, illusory representation where the subject sees itself accomplishing a desire, conscious or not.[3] Still, fantasies do not imagine objects of desire but a scene where the subject participates in an interaction with the said object.[4]

Gilles Deleuze, influenced by Stoic philosophy, uses the French *phantasme* ('phantasm' in Lester's English translation). He does so in the light of Freudian and Kleinian theories of fantasy. For Gilles Deleuze, a phantasm 'represents neither an action nor a

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[1] The most comprehensive history of modern fantasy is by Jean Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, 'Fantasme,' in *Vocabulaire de la Psychanalyse*, ed. Jean Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, dir. Daniel Lagache, 10th ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1900), 152-157.

[2] For a deeper analysis of Freud's development of the concept see Jean Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, 'Fantasme Originaire, Fantasme des Origines, Origne du Phantasme,' *Les Temps Modernes* 215 (1964): 1861–1868.

[3] Laplanche and Pontalis, 'Fantasme,' 152.

[4] Laplanche and Pontalis, 'Fantasme Originaire,' 1868.

passion, but a result of action and passion, that is a pure event'.[5] It is a noematic effect produced by a surface. In *Logic of Sense*, he explicates that what he calls phantasms are neither internal nor external, imaginary nor real, or neither active nor passive: they are an event.[6] Likewise, they were neither internal nor external, but the means to mediate between the two. They were not imaginary, but neither were they tangible and, therefore, experienced outside the realm of physical reality. Moreover, Deleuze situates the origin of phantasms in the phallic ego of secondary narcissism. He claims that 'what appears in the phantasm is the movement by which the ego opens itself to the surface and liberates the a-cosmic, impersonal, and pre-individual singularities which it had imprisoned'.[7] Here, 'a-cosmic' and 'pre-individual singularities' refer to the objects that will further be used to construct a sense of subjectivity. Deleuzian phantasms are about constructing the self, based on a surface. It is, as Deleuze argued, the coming together of action and passion into a phantasm-event. Deleuze's theory resonates greatly with medieval conceptions. Medieval skin, much like Anzieu's skin-ego, anchors the fantasy of our self's wholeness.[8] The Deuleuzian phantasm is a movement that opens the ego to the surface at the same time as it liberates the pre-individual singularities. As such, phantasms have a rich, meaningful post-medieval existence that need to explore further and put in relation with its medieval ancestor. The study of phantasms could be expanded beyond the limits of periodisation.

I opened this thesis with a quotation from Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*: 'it is impossible for our intellect to understand anything, except by turning to the phantasms.'[9]. I paraphrased this quotation, claiming that it is impossible to understand except by turning to

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[5] Gilles Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense*, trans. Mark Lester with Charles Stivale, ed. Constantin V. Boundas (London: Bloomsbury academic, 2013), 241.
[6] Deleuze, 'Thirtieth Series of the Phantasm,' in *The Logic of Sense*, 241-249.
[7] Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense*, 244.
[8] Walter, 'Introduction,' 2.
[9] *Respondeo dicendum quod impossibile est intellectum nostrum, secundum praesentis vitae statum, quo passibili corpori coniungitur, aliquid intelligere in actu, nisi convertendo se ad phantasmata.* Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.84.7.co.

images, in this case, mental and invisible ones. This led me to ask, provocatively, how we, as medievalists or scholars of visual culture, are to understand late medieval visual culture if we keep eschewing phantasms. In these pages, I did not aim to offer an all-encompassing theory of phantasms if there can ever be one. Rather, by examining specific case studies, ranging from scientific to devotional, from Middle English to Middle French, I developed a paradigm of phantasms grounded in both theory and experience. But phantasms, objects of potentiality, still have so much more to offer. In the words of Aquinas, phantasms call for a collective turn.

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