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**The Form and Function of Friendship in *The Treytse of Loue***

**Abstract**

This essay examines the treatment of friendship in the late-fifteenth century *Tretyse of Loue*. It argues that the text employs the Hours of the Cross not only as a device to structure the devotional practices of lay readers, but also to foster the development of a spiritual friendship with Christ. It suggests that the Hours of the Cross meditation occupies a central place in the compilation and informs the way in which readers should respond to the texts that accompany it. It briefly situates *The* *Tretyse* in the broader context of vernacular devotion based on the Hours, with reference to works such as *The Mirror of St Edmund*,and then considers how friendship, figured through a series of textual models, in particular the Virgin Mary, was fostered through meditation on the Hours. Finally, it explores Mary’s role as a model of spiritual friendship, Judas’s role as an exemplar of betrayal, and how each of these models is governed by the framework of the Hours so that a close personal relationship with the divine becomes accessible to lay readers.

**Essay**

The late-fifteenth-century devotional compilation known as *The Tretyse of Loue* is little-studied, but it offers a significant insight to the devotional practices of medieval lay readers. In particular, *The* *Tretyse* contains a substantial section on the Hours of the Cross, a devotion to Christ’s Passion which structured the pious practices of the laity in the late Middle Ages. The material on the Hours is usually thought of as unconnected to the rest of *The* *Tretyse*, however, a comparison of the different sections of the text shows that the Hours contribute considerably to the internal logic of the text and to the organisation of the reader’s devotional life. Moreover, the Hours act not only as a structuring device to bring cohesion to a variety of source materials but they also appear to be designed as a means whereby the reader can foster and reflect on friendship with Christ. Indeed, *The* *Tretyse* presents the notion of a loving friendship with the divine as a meditative model for lay readers, similar to that witnessed elsewhere for monastics in works such as Aelred of Rievaulx’s *Spiritual Friendship*. The role of meditation on the Passion in fostering friendship is an element of late-medieval lay devotion that has gone unexplored, and *The Tretyse* offers an important example of this association. In *The* *Tretyse*, friendship is held up as the most important expression of love and the text uses its series of Passion meditations, structured on the Hours, to teach the powerful nature of spiritual companionship.

*The Tretyse of Loue* was written for an unidentified, female patron and circulated among a mixed lay and religious audience.[[1]](#endnote-1) It is a devotional compilation translated from French and published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1493-4.[[2]](#endnote-2) The source has not been successfully identified but it appears to have been a text that incorporated and expanded material from *Ancrene Wisse* in one of its French versions (here distinguished as *Ancrene Riwle*).[[3]](#endnote-3) Notably, the Passion material from *Ancrene Riwle* has various thematic correlations with *The* *Tretyse*’s treatment of the Hours of the Cross, which are presented in the meditative tradition of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran lives of Christ, and reflect a fundamental concern with interior reformation. *The* *Tretyse* itself consists of ten sections and is at pains to promote meditation on the Hours as a key practice of lay devotion.[[4]](#endnote-4) Through the thematic concerns established in part one, and the reworking of the *Ancrene Riwle* material to prioritise friendship over other forms of love, *The Tretyse* develops a number of models for reading and reflecting on the Passion of Christ, which readers are then encouraged to draw upon when later meditating on the Hours. The most significant model is that of spiritual friendship, which is understood as an expression of love and emphasised through the examples of Christ, his disciples, the Virgin Mary, and even the narrative voice assumed by the writer himself.

In fifteenth-century England, friendship already had a long history as a religious concept. Medieval formulations of friendship were much indebted to classical models which understood it as a social good. In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle perceived friendship as a transcendental force, capable of creating unity within societies.[[5]](#endnote-5) His understanding developed existing Stoic beliefs that in order to be a friend to others one must first be a friend to oneself, and was in turn developed by Cicero who asserted that friendship is a virtue which fosters shared morals and values.[[6]](#endnote-6) This idea that friendship demonstrates affiliation to a community, a concept clearly present in the Bible (Leviticus 19:18 and John 15:12-17), is taken up by Christian thinkers from Augustine to Thomas à Kempis who shape what is fundamentally a social vision of human relations into a religious ideal of ‘friendship with God’ in which, James McEvoy asserts, ‘friendship itself was considered to be a form of love’.[[7]](#endnote-7)

Friendship as an expression of love is further explored in Aelred of Rievaulx’s mid-twelfth century *Spiritual Friendship* in which ‘love is the beginning of friendship’ and Christ is ‘friendship’s principle and goal’.[[8]](#endnote-8) Indeed, in a profound statement drawing on I John 4:16, Aelred declares that ‘God is friendship’,[[9]](#endnote-9) which to Alan Bray suggests that Aelred’s vision of friendship ‘has its origins in the mind of God himself’.[[10]](#endnote-10) This is echoed in later medieval understandings of the term in which God both desires and fosters human friendship. Thomas à Kempis even presents the loving friendship of Jesus as superior to that of earthly friendships: ‘Withoute a frende þou maiste not welle lyffe, and but Ihesu be thi frende bifore alle oþer. Þou shalte be over-sory and over-desolate. . . . Onely Ihesu Criste is singulerly to be loved, þat onely is founden gode and trewe bifore alle oþer frendes’.[[11]](#endnote-11) Just such an ideal is central to *The Tretyse of Loue*, which is infused with the notion that love and friendship are concurrent states, perfected in friendship with Christ. Because God ‘desyryth your loue so faruently’ (6/21) he cultivates friendship through Christ: ‘I shall enforce men now so that my frendis for whom I am come hether wyll loue me’ (19/9-10). We witness the importance of friendship when the compiler directly echoes Christ’s words in his own interaction with the reader, for instance the disciple John is Christ’s ‘fayre swete frende’ (62/21) and the compiler addresses the reader similarly as ‘fair swete frend’ (75/9), evoking the previous image of direct friendship with Christ. Importantly, Christ remains friends even with those who betray him. Aelred asserts that ‘When friendship has made two people one, just as that which is one cannot be divided, so also friendship cannot be separated from itself’.[[12]](#endnote-12) *The Tretyse* offers a clear example of this true friendship in Christ's address to Judas as ‘Frende’ (45/10), in the full knowledge of his betrayal, and his reference to the disciples as friends, in spite of their failings (89/1 and 12). As such, *The Tretyse* is infused with the language of friendship and provides a textual environment in which the lay reader can cultivate friendship as a way of accessing the divine. In particular, its meditation on the Hours of the Cross is presented as a place to reflect on one’s friendship with Christ, and in this the text diverges from other popular vernacular works that employ Hours-based devotion.

**The Hours of the Cross**

Incorporating the liturgical Hours within vernacular devotional texts is one of several popular late-medieval strategies of reworking the structures of monastic life for lay readers.[[13]](#endnote-13) Nicole Rice and others have shown how monastic practices were often successfully adapted for lay audiences. For instance, *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (c. 1350) offers instructions on how to build a cloister within one’s heart;[[14]](#endnote-14) *Book to a Mother* (c. 1370-80) uses the monastic metaphors of the heart as a cloister and Christ as an abbot or prior;[[15]](#endnote-15) and *The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* (c. 1375-1425), is organised ‘to resemble a rule’.[[16]](#endnote-16) Among the monastic practices passed to mixed or lay audiences in many works, for instance *The Mirror of St Edmund* (c. 1390) and *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (c. 1400-1410), the Hours themselves function as structuring devices. In these texts and in *The* *Tretyse* directives such as ‘þou schalt þenken’ are employed to aid readers’ negotiation of their para-liturgical structures and to set their thoughts on very specific imaginative trajectories.[[17]](#endnote-17) Yet, whilst lay responses to monastic-style meditations were carefully directed, *The* *Tretyse of Loue* also acknowledges the need for a degree of flexibility in readers’ performance of devotion in the text, exemplified in its unusual treatment of the Hours of the Cross.

The Hours of the Cross is a devotion specifically constructed for laypeople which is ‘both monastic and extra-monastic’, reflecting a desire for access to the practices and principles of monastic spirituality on the part of the laity.[[18]](#endnote-18) Their observance became increasingly popular from the fourteenth century and typically preceded the Hours of the Virgin in the Little Office.[[19]](#endnote-19) The Hours of the Cross are normally structured as follows: Matins (Betrayal), Prime (Christ before Pilate), Terce (Flagellation), Sext (Carrying the Cross), None (Crucifixion), Vespers (Deposition), and Compline (Entombment).[[20]](#endnote-20) Significantly, *The Tretyse of Loue* amends this order. *The Tretyse* starts the Passion cycle with Compline and is structured as follows: Compline (Agony in the Garden and Betrayal), Matins (Arrest), Prime (Christ before Pilate), Terce (Flagellation), Sext (Crucifixion), None (Death), and Vespers (Deposition and entombment). It is important thatthe Agony in the Garden and the Betrayal are depicted at Compline because these events directly inform the text’s interest in friendship and the betrayal of friendship. Instead of focusing the reader’s final waking thoughts on Christ’s Entombment (in parallel with her own impending sleep state) they emphasise the act of betrayal which condemns Christ. This appears to be designed to arouse a sense of guilt in the reader for whom there is no narrative conclusion, as would otherwise typically be found in reflection on Christ’s burial. This restructuring is not unique to *The Tretyse* but it is unusual and where such reordering occurs elsewhere, such as in the earlier Insular French ‘Contemplacioun de la passioun Jesu Crist’, it is also specifically linked to Judas’s betrayal.[[21]](#endnote-21) In both the ‘Contemplacioun’ and *The Tretyse* the events on which readers meditate at Compline point towards those at Matins. This emphasises not only the cyclical nature of the Hours, but also establishes as a primary focus of the reader’s nightly meditation the topic of betrayal, which is central to *The Tretyse*’s discourse on friendship.

It is commonly accepted that there is no typical way to use the Hours of the Cross. They can be employed by themselves to structure a whole day’s devotional activity, they can be read after the equivalent hour in the Little Office of the Virgin Mary (as ‘mixed hours’),[[22]](#endnote-22) or they can be used as affective meditations where viewers visualise the events of the Passion rather than reading the associated psalms. *The* *Tretyse* readily embraces this flexibility and suggests three ways of observing Matins:

At matynes whan we ryse & thynke to say matynes, Or whan we here other say theym, or yf we lye in our beddes wakyng aboute mydnyght, we may thynke & take ensample of the grete passyon of Ihesu cryst, and how mekely he suffryd at that hour of the nyghte.[[23]](#endnote-23)

Flexibility appears to be key to proper observance of the Hours and the text acknowledges that some readers might rise to say the office themselves, while others might hear it spoken. A third type of reader might meditate privately in bed. This freedom of choice in the expression of para-liturgical devotions goes some way towards explaining their popularity.

The popularity of the Hours of the Cross can also be attributed in part to the fact that they exemplify ‘the practice of the devotional present’.[[24]](#endnote-24) That is, they enable readers to locate their present experience within the universal significance of historical events through processes of visualisation and meditation. A good example of this is the Middle English translation of *The Mirror of St Edmund*, the second half of which is structured around the Hours of the Cross so ‘þat non howr þe passe þat þou ne haue þin herte ocupyed’.[[25]](#endnote-25) *The* *Mirror* explicitly states that its material is provided for private devotion. Each meditation in the Latin text is to take place before the recitation of the Divine Office: ‘Ante matutinas . . . Ante primam . . . Ante terciam’ and so on.[[26]](#endnote-26) This is carried through to the vernacular where we find the instructions ‘before matyns . . . Be-fore pryme’ and so on.[[27]](#endnote-27) The images provided for meditation are designed to prepare readers for their subsequent participation in the Divine Office or for their private reading of the Hours. The compiler of *The* *Tretyse* engages in this tradition of Hours-based devotion by also using clear directives to focus the reader’s thoughts and inform her construction of mental images: for instance, at ‘compline, thynke full ententyfly howe at that our Iudas betrayed’ Christ (83/26-7). This echoes the type of directives employed in *The Mirror of St Edmund* where the reader’s meditation is ordered sequentially in response to a series of images: for example, ‘[t]his ought ye to thinke whan ye say or here complin’ (84/14). Marlene Villalobos Hennessy terms this ‘serial meditation’, a ‘methodical daily meditative devotion according to the canonical hours’ which reflects an increased desire for religious direction on the part of the laity.[[28]](#endnote-28) Observation of the Hours therefore situates the lay reader in a liturgical time frame, both in terms of the Church and in terms of universal Christian history.

Similarly, a number of texts produced for women, such as the early fifteenth-century *Mirror to Devout People*, are structured around the Hours. *The* *Mirror* is a compilation likely to have been written by a Carthusian monk of Sheen for a Bridgettine nun of Syon that presents its reader with a tightly organised framework for meditation in which one’s thought at every Hour is prescribed.[[29]](#endnote-29) Within the text, the reader’s day is envisioned as a cycle, beginning with meditation on the Betrayal in the Garden at Matins and concluding with the Burial at Compline. Its focus is firmly on locating Christ’s body imaginatively in the present moment through ‘the dylygent thynkynge of oure Lordys manhede’.[[30]](#endnote-30) Such instruction seeks both to exercise the reader’s imagination and to provide her with a detailed series of informative images. At Matins, for instance, the reader is instructed ‘[n]ow thanne beholdyth how he standyth bounde afore Pylat’, as the Roman prefect asks the crowd whether Christ should be saved. *The Mirror* explains this incident by stating ‘[a]s to the vndyrstondynge of þys ȝe schal vndyrstande that the Iewys hadde a custum . . . to delyuere one out of prysone att the hy feste of Estyre’.[[31]](#endnote-31) Thus this information is framed as both educational and as a rationale for the imagery on which the reader has been asked to meditate. It is a moment in which the reader’s knowledge of Christian history is simultaneously advanced and internalised. This dual function, of education and meditation, is also central to *The Tretyse of Loue*, a text which represents the culmination of Hours-based meditation at the end of the fifteenth century.[[32]](#endnote-32)

***The Tretyse of Loue***

*The Tretyse of Loue* consists of ten devotional tracts. The first, and by far the longest, is ‘The Tretyse of Loue’ proper. It is based on part seven of the French *Ancrene Riwle* (love) and contains a number of elaborations and interpolations from Scripture and the Church Fathers.[[33]](#endnote-33) The second section is the aforementioned Hours of the Cross. The third section, ‘The Remedies Against the Seven Deadly Sins’, is also based on *Ancrene Riwle* (part four, the temptations), and suggests that continuous meditation on Christ’s Incarnation and Passion is a demonstration of love (90/8-12). Unlike *Ancrene Riwle*, however, in which, Catherine Innes-Parker notes, ‘the line between contemplative readers and those engaged in the active life was not clearly drawn’, *The Tretyse* combines didactic and affective material for a lay audience.[[34]](#endnote-34)

The first three sections of *The* *Tretyse* form a self-contained whole insofar as they refer to an anonymous patroness and have a clear conclusion with a typical entreaty to pray for the compiler.[[35]](#endnote-35) The final seven sections are likely to have been added at a later date but do contain a number of thematic parallels with the first three sections (related to friendship, suffering, betrayal, and love) which suggests that they were carefully chosen to accompany the opening treatises.[[36]](#endnote-36) These are: ‘The Three Signs of True Love and Friendship’ (which most clearly echoes ‘The Tretyse’ and again refers to a female patron), ‘The Branches of the Appletree’, ‘The Seven Signs of Jesus’ Love’, ‘An Exhortation by Faith’, ‘Master Albert of Cologne’s Nine Articles’, ‘Diverse Sayings of Saint Paul and Others’, and ‘The Six Masters on Tribulation’. As a compilation of multiple sources, *The Tretyse of Loue* operates as something of an compendium of devotional practice, roughly following the structure outlined by Jill Havens for manuscripts that anthologise multiple texts and often begin with instructional material and culminate in more reflective works.[[37]](#endnote-37) Here, I will focus primarily on how the first self-contained section of *The* *Tretyse* operates in relation to the Hours of the Cross and specifically fosters the formation of spiritual friendship; but I will also note how this section establishes some important parallels with the later material, specifically related to spiritual friendship.[[38]](#endnote-38)

John Fisher states in his edition of *The* *Tretyse* that the Hours of the Cross ‘appears to have been inserted as a more or less independent unit. It . . . has no connection with the *Ancrene Riwle* in either plan or substance’.[[39]](#endnote-39) However, work on the idea of the ‘whole book’ by scholars like Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel suggests that we should not be so quick to accept the apparently miscellaneous nature of texts or manuscripts.[[40]](#endnote-40) This is especially true of compilations. Indeed, Elisabeth Dutton’s observation regarding the ‘culture of compilation’ that existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth points towards the desire to construct works with a degree of internal logic in which ‘extracts from a source or sources are woven together into a text which is presented as a single, distinct work’.[[41]](#endnote-41) That the compiler of the French source of *The Tretyse of Loue* had the aim of constructing a ‘single, distinct work’ seems clear from the thematic overlaps between its sources and sections, in particular the Passion of Christ, through which spiritual friendship is cultivated. Hope Emily Allen, who made the original link between *The* *Tretyse* and *Ancrene Riwle*, observes that despite the title, *The Tretyse of Loue* is primarily concerned with the Passion,[[42]](#endnote-42) and the translator’s introduction makes immediate reference to the fact that Christ’s love was demonstrated through the Passion. It opens with a clear statement of its rationale:

This tretyse is of loue and spekyth of iiij of the most specyall louys that ben in the worlde, and shewyth verily and perfitely bi gret resons and Causis how the meruelous & bounteuous loue that our lord Ihesu cryste had to mannys soule excedyth to ferre alle other loues, as apperith well by the paynfull passion and tormentis þat he suffryd for the redempcyon ther of, so that alle louis þat euyr were or euyr shalbe arne not to be lykenyd to the lest part of þe loue that was in hym. (1/1-10)

These lines demonstrate not only that the Passion is the central focus of the text but also that the Passion is specifically an act of love. Such love, we later discover, is born directly from friendship, for ‘the more peyne and harme that a man suffryth for hys frende the more hys he to be beloued’ (14/15-16; John 15:13). This has a clear precedent in material for monastics, not least of all in *Spiritual Friendship*, in which Aelred also cites John 15:13, declaring that ‘Christ himself set up a sure goal for friendship by saying, “Greater love has no man than this, than a man lay down his life for his friends.” Behold, how far love must be extended among friends – to the point that they are willing to die for one another!’[[43]](#endnote-43) Thus the crucifixion embodies the true love of one’s friends. *The Tretyse* tempers this interpretation for its audience: here the crucifixion was ‘to shewe vs how moche he loued vs and to gyf vs ensample to loue hym’ (14/11-13). Rather than sacrifice herself physically the reader is instead called upon to respond to Christ’s desire to be her spouse, to visualise his head inclined from the cross to kiss her, and his arms spread out to embrace her in a display of profound love. She is even invited to examine the body like an artefact: ‘wyth great affeccyoun of your holy loue turne it and returne it from syde to syde, fro the hede to the feet, and ye shall fynde that there was neuer sorou nor peyne lyke to that peyne that our lorde Ihesu cryste endureed for your loue’ (16/1-5).[[44]](#endnote-44) From the outset therefore, the reader’s experience of the crucifixion is coupled to God’s love, but later on we come to see that the spousal relationship between Christ and the reader is transfigured into one of friendship.

In order to consider *The* *Tretyse*’s treatment of the Passion and the transformation of the reader from spouse to friend, we might draw on Jill Havens’ argument that compilers of devotional anthologies create narrative coherence through the careful placement of texts in relation to each other.[[45]](#endnote-45) This is true both of manuscripts compiled of various texts, and of texts which are compilations in themselves. The compiler’s choice of what to include and omit from his sources and of the order in which items appear shapes meaning and the reader’s response, just as texts themselves ‘direct and control the reader’s comprehension and attitudes by positioning certain items before others’.[[46]](#endnote-46) Havens argues that ‘the compiler becomes the narrator who tells the story . . . it is that compiler’s experience which shapes and determines the narrative that unfolds within the manuscript’.[[47]](#endnote-47) In *The Tretyse of Loue* therefore, the positioning of an in-depth narrative of the Passion in part one, before the less detailed Hours of the Cross in part two, appears designed to teach readers how to use the Hours in their subsequent meditations.

Moreover, the position of the Hours of the Cross between two sections that draw on *Ancrene Riwle* is testament to a direct relationship between them.[[48]](#endnote-48) This relationship centres on two things from the original texts that have been changed in *The* *Tretyse*: firstly, the theme of friendship from *Ancrene Riwle* is prioritised, rather than the love between a man and a woman; and secondly, as previously noted, the Hours of the Cross have been rearranged to give added emphasis to the hour at which Christ was betrayed by his friends. To illustrate this properly, part seven of *Ancrene Riwle* outlines the following four types of love: love between good friends (treated in just a few lines); love between man and woman (treated in greatest detail of all); love between mother and child; and love between body and soul.[[49]](#endnote-49) *The Treytse of Loue* rearranges these types as follows: love between good friends (treated extensively); love between mother and child; love between body and soul; and love between husband and wife (16/28-17/3).

Fisher suggests that the compiler of *The Tretyse of Loue* amended the order so as to prioritise the Passion-centred love between friends, mother and child, and body and soul, and also because he had ‘no intention of discussing carnal love’. [[50]](#endnote-50) This fits the scheme of centralising the Passion and prefigures the rejection of ‘all carnall affeccions’ later in ‘The Branches of the Appletree’ (109/29). However, it is also clear from the extensive additions to the section on the love between friends that *The Tretyse* intends to promote this love. The compiler is perhaps not even trying to downplay sexual love as much as he is trying to emphasise the love between friends. Indeed, he refers to the reader as ‘dere beloued frende in god’ on numerous occasions, rhetorically presenting himself as something of a companion and confidant rather than an instructor (9/17).[[51]](#endnote-51) In comparison, *Ancrene Wisse* refers to ‘mine leoue sustren’, or in French versions ‘mes cheres soeres’, and while the change to friend could simply mean that the compiler envisions an audience of both genders it also situates him in a more personal, even intimate, position.[[52]](#endnote-52) This is especially clear when directing the reader through the Hours. He repeats the phrase ‘[a]t the hour of [x] yelde *we* thankynges to our lorde’ (85/12), the keyword being the inclusive ‘we’.[[53]](#endnote-53) The language he employs is inclusive and sees writer and reader as collaborators in devotion. Indeed, *The* *Tretyse* seeks to style the reader’s response by creating a textual environment of inclusion and friendship, which reminds readers of the friendship with Christ that they should cultivate. If we are to trust the translator, who claims to have ‘translatid’ the text ‘out of frenshe into englyshe’ (1/11-12) as a complete compilation, we can approach it through Jill Havens’ observation that the compiler is ‘the manipulator of the text, influenced by the overall theme that he has envisioned for his volume’.[[54]](#endnote-54) The compiler’s attitude to the reader is evidence of his interest in fostering friendship and, importantly, of understanding the betrayal of friendship, a treason that Aelred of Rievaulx suggests can only be restored through ‘humble confession’.[[55]](#endnote-55)

The betrayal of friendship is specifically foregrounded through the way in which *The Tretyse* presents its section on the Hours of the Cross. In particular, direct parallels can be drawn between the meditations on the Hours of the Cross and the preceding material in *The* *Tretyse* where the reader is effectively taught how to respond to the imagery of the Passion through the figure of the Virgin Mary, the perfect friend. The two sections have different structures but they are both essentially Passion meditations. The extracts from *Ancrene Riwle* and the Hours of the Cross appear to have been chosen to accompany one another specifically because the first shows the reader how to respond to the second. Hennessy argues that ‘[t]he spread of private, semi-liturgical devotions was stimulated by new developments in extra-monastic religious life’ and serial meditation was used ‘both inside and outside the monastery’.[[56]](#endnote-56) Therefore, the compiler’s choice to bring together para-liturgical material and the imagery of *Ancrene Riwle* in *The Tretyse* is a logical one. *Ancrene Riwle* provides the raw material that enables the compiler to develop his interest in betrayal, self-reform, and, above all, friendship. We can observe this strategy in action through the treatment of betrayal and friendship in three parts of the text: firstly, in the soul’s betrayal of Christ from *Ancrene Riwle* (which sets up the theme); secondly, the role of Mary in preparing the reader to understand the Passion and the importance of being a friend to Christ; and thirdly, Judas’ betrayal of Christ (at both Compline and Matins). Each of these is directed towards inspiring the reader to self-examination, the expression of loving friendship, and the reform of the soul.

***Ancrene Riwle* and the soul’s betrayal of Christ**

To introduce the theme of betrayal, the opening section of *The* *Tretyse* uses the chivalric material from part seven of *Ancrene Riwle* in which Christ is portrayed as a courtly lover, a king shunned by his beloved, the female soul, who ‘is the hard-hearted object, rather than the Passionate subject, of desire’.[[57]](#endnote-57) The king flatters the soul, tells her of his riches, and offers to make her a queen, ‘But thys was in veyne, for hyr loue wolde she not promise hym’ (11/1-2). Christ’s only recourse is to go into battle for her and destroy the enemies who have turned the soul against him; it is thus her rejection which leads to his death. Therefore, with the subsequent rhetorical question, ‘Was not thys lady ouyr vnnaturell and moche to be blamed if she loued not hym ouyr all other?’ the reader, like the soul, is held to account for her own rejection of Christ’s love (11/22-3). Indeed, the reader is later identified with the unfaithful soul in the revelation that Christ died for ‘loue of his loue, whiche is iour sowle’ (13/1). The material from *Ancrene Riwle* thus effectively establishes the theme of rejection which will become increasingly important as the text develops.

Betrayal features again in the depiction of Christ’s disciples who, at the onset of his Passion, ‘alle fledde & lefte hym all for fere of deth’ (13/10-11). Thus the reader, already an unfaithful soul, is made to feel an even greater traitor by association with the second betrayal, of Christ’s closest friends. The reader’s guilt in comparison to Christ’s unerring friendship is then reinforced with the assertion that ‘the more peyne and harme that a man suffryth for hys frende the more hys he to be beloued’ (14/15-16). Unlike Christ, the reader is guilty of instability in love, selfish desire for self-preservation, and failure as a friend. This emphasis on friendship and its failure in the first part of *The* *Tretyse* is later echoed in part four. In ‘The Three Signs of Love and Friendship’, keeping one’s friends in mind, directly modelled on keeping Christ in mind, is considered the truest sign of friendship: for while it is good to speak well of friends and enjoy hearing them spoken well of, the most ‘sure & true signe’ of friendship is ‘remembraunce’ of them (103/13-20).

The material from *Ancrene Riwle* leads the compiler directly into an elaborate and extended discussion of the first great love, that between friends, in which Christ himself speaks of his love for ‘my frendis’ and his suffering of ‘hard peynis to aquyte my frendes’ (19/9 and 25/10-11). Indeed, the first thing that we learn is that a friend will stop at nothing to pay another’s debt, just as Christ paid the reader’s (17/6-10), to whom he later refers as ‘Fayre frende’ (54/36). This in turn leads to a nativity scene, an apparent non sequitur. However, the Virgin Mary is central to *The* *Tretyse*’s conception of true friendship because it is through Mary the reader may finally begin to learn the full implications of the soul’s betrayal. *The* *Tretyse* is structured in such a way that readers may use the content of part one to understand the value of friendship, to realise their own betrayal, and to begin fostering a true friendship with Christ modelled on Mary. Readers then recall and apply the strategies they have learned from Mary in their later meditations on the Hours.

The opening of the Hours of the Cross meditation entreats readers to draw on their memories, with the apparent intention of recalling earlier material. Indeed, to be a Christian is itself presented as being continually engaged with the past: ‘to remembre of his sorrowful paynes that he suffyrd for our loue’ (82/24-5). Christ himself previously called upon the reader’s memory in *The Tretyse* (54/36-7), but the importance of memory is foregrounded by reference to Bernard of Clairvaux: ‘As longe as I shal be in this lif I shall remembre me full pyteously of the greuous labours that our lorde Ihesu criste suffryd. . . [and] J shall remembre also his sorowes . . . And if I doo it not there shall be cast on me to my confusion the Innocent blood that ihesu crist shed vpon the erthe for me’ (83/4-15).[[58]](#endnote-58) Such references to ‘remembraunce of the pascyon’ (83/22) directly frame the Hours of the Cross and present them as a series of meditative acts of memorialisation, in which the subject of each hour will be populated with the imagery drawn from the reader’s mental store. Such a stockpile of images and concepts allows the reader to expand upon the relatively straightforward instructions to ‘thynke full ententyfly’ on the subject of each Hour (83/26). This occurs explicitly in *The Tretyse* in relation to the Virgin Mary, where the reader is encouraged to develop the minimal material offered in the Hours meditation by drawing on her memory of earlier and much more vivid descriptions, in particular the way she responds to the Passion as a friend.

**Mary, the Passion and friendship with Christ**

The Virgin Mary is crucial to understanding the Passion and the Hours of the Cross in *The Treytse.* Indeed, she is established as central to the whole text by an incipit at the very beginning: ‘Canticum beate marie de dolore suo in passione filii sui’ (1/18). Furthermore, Naoe KukitaYoshikawa argues that ‘behind the emergence of the hours in the late fourteenth century lies the laity’s desire to experience an intimate and direct relationship with the Virgin’.[[59]](#endnote-59) While there are various accounts of Christ’s suffering throughout *The Treytse*, the real detail of the Crucifixion is mediated through Mary’s eyes. In particular, the narrative details in the Hours are minimal and lack overt description, rather it is through the description of Mary’s suffering that the details of the Passion are revealed:

A, blessed mary, full of pyte, of wepyne, of thought, & bittyr sorow she was vppon þe mounte of caluarey, wythowte comforte & wythoute helpe, bespraynte wyth the precious blood of hyr right petous swete sone, Ihesu, as þe blood than sprange owte of hys peynfull woundys, ther as he hange vpon þe crosse, hys fayr handys streined full sore, & wepte so sorowfully that she myght in no wyse hyr petous terys refreyne. (30/23-30)

The imagery here is stark and graphic in comparison to the content of the Hours, and Mary is wracked with emotion as she is splattered with the blood 'springing' out of Christ’s body. It is then through her own lament that Mary goes on to explain the existence of the crown of thorns, to say that Christ is pale, that he was beaten, that the Jews spat on him, that he is crying, that his arms have been stretched out in order to crucify him, and even that his hands and feet are nailed (30/30-32/11).

All the typically violent and emotive details of the Crucifixion are witnessed through Mary's eyes, and the reader sees with her as she describes: ‘I se your hede crowned wyth sharpe thornys . . . Thy swete face I see all bloody . . . I se thy pure hed suffyr so ryght greuous peynys . . . I see your fayr armys so rudely drawen on lengthe . . . I se the stremys of blood com fro youre fayre handys down on your shuldyrs & your sydys newly skorged’ (30/35-31/30). Every time she repeats ‘I see’, which she does ten times during her complaint, the reader is invited to see as well, to imagine Christ’s suffering in her mind’s eye. The imagery employed is highly emotive, but Mary’s response to it fulfils exactly what Christ demands of his friends in John 15:13, expounded, as we saw previously, in *The Tretyse* and in Aelred's *Spiritual Friendship*: ‘Alas, wherefore maye I not dye now & be pertner of your wofull paynys?’ (32/6-8). She further echoes the preparedness of friends to die for one another at length in the *Planctus Mariæ* (60/4-27), but here it is significant that Mary's lament is used to conclude the sub-section on friendship. This leaves the reader, who is again referred to as a ‘dere frende’ and told to ‘beholde’ internally all that Mary has just described (32/27), with a vision of her true friendship.

When we get to the depiction of the Crucifixion at Sext in the Hours of the Cross we encounter a much plainer narrative, detailing simply how Christ was laid on the cross, what type of wood it was made of, how Christ asked God to forgive those who will kill him, how his clothes were taken, how he asked John to care for Mary, and how the sky went dark. All this is covered succinctly with no overt emotion and no mention of blood, tears, or extreme suffering (87/19-37). It functions more as a simple list than as a description of a highly emotive and salvific event, in stark contrast to the earlier description in which Mary is drenched in her son’s blood. One way to account for the simplicity of the text’s treatment of the Passion is that the Hours are not where the reader learns the importance of the Crucifixion nor where she learns the appropriate emotional response to it. For that the reader must look back to Mary for guidance on how to respond. In an act of remembrance each time she observes the Hours, she must populate her imagination with the details Mary previously provided. The Hours of the Cross in *The Tretyse of Loue* serve to organise the reader's inner devotional life and provide a space for affective reflection, while the real significance of the events of the Passion is recounted through Mary. Indeed, it is Mary who tells us that through the Crucifixion Isaiah’s prophecy is fulfilled (59/22-4) and thus she who gives the events of the Passion their meaning, both emotionally and theologically. It she who provokes a response from the unmoved soul that Christ failed to woo in the *Ancrene Riwle* material, but who begins to return to God at the end of ‘The Tretyse’(77/18-22). It is Mary, whom Vincent Gillespie identifies as ‘so often an archetype of affective compassion’, who directs and then authorises the reader’s response to the central event of Christian history.[[60]](#endnote-60)

This also continues the text’s interest in friendship, because once readers have learned to feel compassion for Christ through Mary, they can start to act as true friends, also like Mary. The first account of the Passion in *The* *Tretyse* occurs in the extensive material on the love between two friends and Mary is central to interpreting these events.[[61]](#endnote-61) Later, however, Mary herself directly equates the roles of subject, mother, and friend in the following passage: ‘Fair lorde, what shall befalle on me? My dere chylde, where shall I fynde conforte? Mostspecyall frende and alle my loue, where shall I fynde helpe & counseyle?’ (61/11-14). Friendship is the most important love in *The* *Tretyse* and failure in friendship is portrayed as the ultimate betrayal. For instance, as Christ dies we learn how he was failed in four ways: 'The tre failed to hys head; the erthe failed to hys feete; clothyng fayled to hys body; [and most importantly] euery frende failed to hys conforte’ (50/32-5). Later in the text Christ himself speaks of the ‘grete vilanye’ (54/33) done by his disciples, his former friends, in a passage that is closely followed by an address to the reader as ‘fayr frende’ (55/25-6). This repetition of ‘friend’ not only warns the reader that their own friendship with Christ is at stake if they behave like the disciples, in particular the ‘felon Iudas’ (29/20), but also mirrors Mary’s address to Christ. Mary alone does not abandon him. She is not merely a model of true motherhood, but a model of true friendship. She enjoins her lay readers to respond to the responsibility of friendship, to become ‘doughters of Iherusalem, the blessid frendes of our lorde’ (56/25-6).[[62]](#endnote-62) Indeed, *The Tretyse* is at pains to emphasise Mary’s loyalty as a ‘friend of the lord’ in the face of Christ’s betrayal by his other friends: ‘But fayr frende [reader], ye wolde saye perauenture that allone wythoute comforte was he not, For he had his dere moder ful nere hym’ (56/9-11). Moreover, not only is Mary a model of friendship with Christ, she extends her friendship to the reader, effectively normalising the concept and preparing the reader for friendship with the divine. Throughout the *Planctus Mariæ* she repeatedly refers to the interlocutor as ‘fayre frende’ (57/34-5 and 58/17). Finally, the positioning of the *Planctus Mariæ* directly after the betrayal of Christ’s disciples further emphasises the distance between their treason and Mary’s loyal friendship.

This model of loyal friendship in part one of *The* *Tretyse* can be found again during the Hours of the Cross. During None we encounter another reference to Mary. At ‘that hour was saynt Johan & all his other disciples & frendes departed from hym, sauf þe tender virgyn mary, his sorowful moder, that abode there allone amonge the dede theues wyth the blessid body of hir sone’ (88/35-89/4). The language of friendship is significant here. Christ is abandoned by all who claim to love him, only Mary, on whom the reader has been encouraged to base her love and friendship for Christ, remains loyal. Just as the reader is encouraged to remember Mary’s response to the Crucifixion when she reads it at Sext so she is now prompted to remember the significance of Mary’s role as true friend at None and thus reflect on her own betrayal.

**Compline and Matins: friendship, betrayal, and the organisation of the Hours**

This brings us to the significance of the order of the Hours in relation to friendship and betrayal, a key way in which the text teaches the importance of spiritual friendship. Compline is, unusually, the first and by far the longest meditation in the Hours of the Cross section. The compiler of *The* *Tretyse* suggests that the hour itself is called Compline because Christ ‘wolde soone after passe from this paynful lyf’ (83/30-31), that is, his purpose would soon be completed as the Latin term *completorium*, from which Compline derives, suggests. This seems a little strange for in *The* *Tretyse* the events at Compline do not signify the end but rather the beginning of Christ’s Passion. Nevertheless, the organisation of the first part of *The* *Tretyse* goes some way to explaining the fact that Compline is the first hour in the series (when it is usually the last). The hour of Compline emphasises guilt, betrayal (echoing the soul’s rejection of Christ in part one), and the need for self-reform, and the length of the Compline section is directly related to the importance which the compiler ascribes to its events. Compline is the hour at which one examines one’s conscience at the end of the day (detailed at 84/19-32 in *The Tretyse*), thus the fact that *The* *Tretyse* begins its meditation at Compline is directly related to its emphasis on self-reform and renewal through admission of one’s guilty complicity in a number of betrayals: Adam’s, Judas’, and the disciples’.

Indeed, Judas’s betrayal of Jesus occurs twice in the Hours of the Cross: first at Compline and again at Matins. At Compline the reader is instructed to ‘thynke full ententyfly howe at that our Iudas betrayed hym & solde hym for xxx. pens’ (83/26-7), the pronoun ‘our’ identifying Judas as part of a collective that includes the reader. We are then told how at Matins Christ ‘was for vs taken wythin a gardyne by the treyson of Iudas his discyple’ (85/14-15). As the emphasis on Judas’ guilt occurs in direct comparison to the reader’s the first effect is to elicit an admission of complicity in Christ’s suffering, and the second is to frame the last hour before sleep and the first hour after waking in terms of betrayal. The depiction of Judas in the Hours links directly to part one of *The* *Tretyse* where Jesus specifically refers to him as ‘frende’ even as Judas betrays him (45/10). Not only is it unsettling for the reader, who has also been referred to as friend throughout *The* *Tretyse*,[[63]](#endnote-63) to be linguistically equated with Judas, but it reminds the reader of her continual failure to respond to Christ’s invitation of friendship, exemplified by the *Ancrene Riwle* material in part one. Friendship is the most important form of love for the compiler of *The* *Tretyse*, who asserts not simply that Christ was abandoned, but emphatically states that ‘euery frende [except Mary] failed to . . . conforte’ him (50/34-5).

Another important aspect of Judas’ betrayal in the Hours of the Cross is the way in which it is linked to Adam’s betrayal of God in the Garden of Eden, the disciples’ betrayal of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, and even Pilate’s relinquishing of responsibility for Christ’s death.[[64]](#endnote-64) The image of Adam stealing and eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge goes to the heart of *The* *Tretyse*’s aim to reform the treacherous soul. We are told that as a result of Adam’s act ‘Ihesu cryst was condempnyd . . . for an apple that was full bytter’, and Adam himself was cast out of the Church until ‘the tyme that our lorde Ihesus cryst shedde his precious blood on the holy crosse’ (84/2-13). The reader is then instructed how to respond to this information:

This ought ye to thinke whan ye say or here complin, & haue full grete fere of our lorde whom ye haue so often offended, whan he took so grete & greuous vengaunce of adam, that he had made wyth his owne hondes, for one apple that was of noo value, þat he took against his commaundemente. And therefore at that hour yelde we culpable to god within our hertes, and to the preste with our mouth. And if ye maye thenne haue in mynde al that ye haue doon that day ayenst the commaundement of god, of al that ye haue euyll spoken wyth your mouth, and wyth your eyen euyll beholden & ofte, & of all þat we can thynke that daye we haue doon against the wyll of our creator, and deuoutly require merci & pardon. (84/14-26)

This explication of Adam’s sin builds on what the reader has already learned through Mary, but specifically does so to emphasise that betrayal is humanity’s first and greatest offence, from which all other sin is descended. That this occurs at Compline is central too, for readers are thereby invited to contemplate and reflect on their own betrayal of Christ as their abiding memory of the day. Thus *The Tretyse* draws implicit comparisons between the reader’s own offences and Adam’s, as it previously did with Judas’. The link between original sin and the betrayal of friendship found in *The* *Tretyse* at Compline foreshadows part three which focuses on avoidance of the Seven Deadly Sins, but more importantly the image of the apple prefigures the treatise entitled ‘The Branches of the Appletree’ later in the compilation, and fits thematically with several apple references throughout *The* *Tretyse* all related to betrayal, such as Adam’s betrayal of God in the garden and the construction of the treacherous cross from applewood.[[65]](#endnote-65) *The Tretyse of Loue* thus exaggerates the reader's implied guilt through its structure. By beginning its cycle with Compline, the hour at which one recalls and reflects upon one’s thoughts and actions during the day, the issues of sin, failure to be a friend, and above all the need to reform oneself and follow Mary’s example of true friendship, are brought to the foreground.

*The Tretyse of Loue* acts as a comprehensive manual for devout living which makes the monastic concept of spiritual friendship accessible to lay readers. It holds up Mary as a model of this friendship to whom readers can turn when observing the Hours, and employs the Hours themselves as a space in which readers can develop deeply personal relationships with the divine. In this it recognises lay readers’ need for increasing flexibility in spiritual practices and personal piety. While *The* *Tretyse* is certainly, as Anne Clark Bartlett terms it, ‘a romance gospel’,[[66]](#endnote-66) in that it initially presents Christ as the knightly lover of the soul, the image of the heroic Christ is superseded by a primary interest in Christ as the reader’s friend. The text seeks above all to foster the renewal of that spiritual friendship, broken by the reader’s sins and reflected in the failed friendships of Adam, Judas, and the disciples. Moreover, the text’s reordering of the *Ancrene Riwle* material to emphasise friendship promotes an accessible model relationship with Christ available to readers of all genders and ages, both lay and monastic. *The Tretyse* thusillustrates how late-medieval lay readers were able to access spiritual guidance through the tradition of spiritual friendship and to use Passion meditation to develop personalised relationships with the divine that move beyond compassion for the human Christ and towards the kind of spiritual companionship that monastic writers such as Aelred viewed as eternal. It understands the increasing need for self-direction, the private organisation of one’s devotional time, and the formation of a personal relationship with the divine figured through the terms of human friendship.

1. John Fisher outlines the extant copies in *The Tretyse of Loue*, EETS OS 255 (London, 1951), pp. Xi-xii. Two Syon nuns, Edith Morepath and Katherine Palmer, owned a copy of the text in the early sixteenth century: Catherine Innes-Parker, ‘The “gender gap” reconsidered: manuscripts and readers in late-medieval England’, *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia: International Review of English Studies*,38 (2002), 239-70: 254. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. There are at least three French versions of *Ancrene Riwle*: see Catherine Innes-Parker, ‘The Legacy of *Ancrene Wisse*: Translations, Adaptations, Influences and Audience, with Special Attention to Women Readers’, in Yoko Wada (ed.), *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge, 2003), 145-73: 151-4. For the first translation see *The French Text of the Ancrene Riwle*, ed. J. A. Herbert, EETS OS 219 (London, 1944), for the second, see *The French Text of the Ancrene Riwle*, ed. W. H, Trethewey, EETS OS 240 (London, 1958), and for the third, see *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher,xiv-xviii. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. For a discussion of potential French sources, see *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher, xiv-xv, and John H. Fisher, ‘Continental Associations for the *Ancrene Riwle*’, *PMLA*, 64 (1949), 1180-89. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. For the Hours in lay devotion see Paul Saenger, ‘Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages’, in Roger Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, 1989), 141-73. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Klaus Oschema, ‘Sacred or Profane? Reflections on Love and Friendship in the Middle Ages’, in Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin (eds), *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300-1800* (New York, 2005), 43-65: 45-6. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Albrecht Classen, ‘Introduction: Friendship – The Quest for a Human Ideal and Value from Antiquity to the Early Modern Time’, in Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge (eds), *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse* (Berlin, 2010), 1-183: 6-7. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Oschema, ‘Sacred or Profane?’, 47; Classen, ‘Introduction’, 15; and James McEvoy, 'The Theory of Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages: Hermeneutics, Contextualization and the Transmission and Reception of Ancient Texts and Ideas, from *c.* AD 350 to *c.* 1500', in Julian Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud, 1999), 3-44: 30. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. *Aelred of Rievaulx’s Spiritual Friendship: A New Translation*, ed. Mark F. Williams (London and Toronto, 1994), 68/3:54 and 31/1:8. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. *Spiritual Friendship*, ed. Williams, 41/1:69. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. *The Friend* (Chicago and London, 2003), 257. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. J. H. Briggs (ed.), *The Imitation of Christ: The First Translation of the ‘Imitatio Christi’*, EETS OS 309 (Oxford, 1997), 49-50/2.8.20-25. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. *Spiritual Friendship*, ed. Williams, 67/3:48. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. See Nicole R. Rice, *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline in Middle English Literature* (Cambridge, 2008), 17; and Andrew Taylor ‘Into his secret chamber: reading and privacy in late-medieval England’, in James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmore (eds), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge, 1996), 41-61. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, in *Yorkshire Writers:* *Richard Rolle and His Followers*, ed. Carl Horstman, vol. 1 (London, 1895), 321. See also Leo Carruthers, ‘In Pursuit of Holiness Outside the Cloister: Religion of the Heart in *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*,’ in Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Edith Wilks Dolinkowski, Rosemary Drafe Hale, Darleen Pryds and Anne T. Thayer (eds), *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons* (Louvain-La-Neuve, 1996), 211-27: 212. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. *Book to a Mother: An Edition with Commentary*, ed. Adrian James McCarthy, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92 (Salzburg, 1981), 122/1-18. See also Nicholas Watson, ‘Fashioning the Puritan Gentry Woman: Devotion and Dissent’, in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Rosalynn Voaden, Arlyn Diamond, Ann Hutchinson, Carol Meale, and Lesley Johnson (eds), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain* (Turnhout, 2000), 169-184: 181. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Rice, *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline*, 32. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. *Mirror of St Edmund*, ed. Horstman, 257. See also, *Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Exeter, 2004), 159/23. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, ‘Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page: “The Hours of the Cross in London, British Library, Additional 37048’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 66 (2004), 213-57: 226. Unlike the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Passion contains the extra eighth hour, Lauds, on the Agony in the Garden: Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988), 89-90. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 225. Prominent laywomen such as Margaret Beaufort and Cecily Neville observed the Hours, Charity Scott-Strokes, *Women’s Books of Hours in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2006), 151. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Saenger, ‘Books of Hours’, 141. See also Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven and London, 2006)*.* [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. *The Complete Harley 2253 Manuscript*, Vol. 3, ed. and tr. Susanna Fein, with David Raybin and Jan Ziolkowski (Kalamazoo, 2015), art. 115, 3-6, <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/fein-harley2253-volume-3-article-115-introduction>, accessed 17 April 2017. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Wieck, 89. Sally Elizabeth Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office* (New York and London, 1993), 70, places the Psalter in the context of the monastic observance of the Office; Vincent Gillespie, ‘*Lukynge in haly bukes*: *Lectio* in some Late Medieval Spiritual Miscellanies’, in *Looking in Holy Books: Essays on Late Medieval Religious Writing in England* (Turnhout, 2011), 114-44, discusses lay observance of the Hours. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher, 85/24-28. All future references appear in parentheses. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. J. T. Rhodes, ‘Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1999), 11-25: 23. Poetic versions include John Audelay’s macronic Hours of the Cross, *Poems of John Audelay*, ed. Ella Keats Whiting, EETS OS 184 (London, 1931), 101-4, and a Latin hymn of the Hours of the Cross (*Horae de santa cruce*) in *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. T. F. Simmons, EETS OS 71 (London, 1879), 83, 85, 87, with Middle English liturgical hours on 82, 84 and 86, and commentary on 346-52. The poetic Hours of the Cross in London, British Library, MS Additional 37049 is structured around the senses, see Hennessy, ‘Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page’, 226-49. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. *Mirror of St Edmund*, ed. Horstman, 254. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Edmund of Abingdon, *Speculum Religiosorum and Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. Helen Forshaw (London, 1976), 83, 85 and 89. There was also an Insular French version, see Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1996), 42-3. Bestul locates Hours-based devotion in the broader context of lay reading, 26-68. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. *Mirror of St Edmund*, ed. Horstman, 235. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Hennessy, ‘Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page’, 218. See also, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 62. Other vernacular works that function as serial meditations include the mid-fourteenth-century *Holy Boke Gratia Dei*,Richard Rolle’s *Meditations on the Passion*, and the early-fifteenth-century *Privity of the Passion.* [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. *A Mirror to Devout People (Speculum Devotorum)*, ed. Paul J. Patterson, EETS OS 346 (Oxford, 2016), xiii. See also, Vincent Gillespie, ‘The Haunted Text: Reflections in *The Mirrour to Deuote Peple*', in Denis Renevey and Graham D. Caie (eds), Medieval Texts and Contexts (London and New York, 2008), 136-66. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. *Mirror to Devout People*, ed. Patterson, 5/72-3. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. *Mirror to Devout People*, ed. Patterson, 107/133 and 108/141-3. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Rice, *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline*, 13. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. McNamer, ‘The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*’, *Speculum*,84 (2009), 905-55: 911. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Innes-Parker, ‘The Legacy of *Ancrene Wisse*’, 169-70. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher, xiii and 103. Hope Emily Allen suggests that this woman might have been Margaret of York, ‘Wynkyn de Worde and a Second French Compilation from the *Ancrene Riwle* with a Description of the First’, in Percy W. Long (ed.), *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown* (London, 1940), 182-219: 188. See also, Innes-Parker, ‘The Legacy of *Ancrene Wisse*’, 154. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. They are also listed as part of the summary of contents, *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher, 130/1-17. See Fisher for details of the extant copies, xi-xii. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Havens, ‘A Narrative of Faith, Middle English Devotional Anthologies and Religious Practice’, *The Journal of the Early Book* Society, 7 (2004), 67-84: 75. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. For the use of the *Ancrene Riwle* in later texts and compilations see Innes-Parker, ‘The Legacy of *Ancrene Wisse*’*,* 145-73. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher, xxiv. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (eds), *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor, 1996). See also, Margaret Connolly and Raluca Radulescu (eds), *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain* (Oxford, 2015). For a sceptical dissent, see: Derek Pearsall, ‘The Whole Book: Late Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies and their Modern Interpreters’, in Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (eds), *Imagining the Book* (Turnhout, 2005). [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Dutton, *Julian of Norwich: The Influence of Late-Medieval Devotional* *Compilations* (Cambridge, 2008), 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Allen, ‘Wynkyn de Worde’, 185-6. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. *Spiritual Friendship*, ed. Williams, 49/2:33. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. The author attributes this trope of gazing at the body of Christ, and waiting for its embrace, to Bernard of Clairvaux. It was used widely in the Middle Ages and evidence for its earliest appearance in a non-monastic context comes from *Ancrene Riwle*: Sarah Lipton, ‘The Sweet Lean of His Head: Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages’, *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 1172-1208: 1194-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. Havens, ‘A Narrative of Faith’, 70. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*, 2nd edn (London, 2002), 120. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. Havens, ‘A Narrative of Faith’, 70. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. The first section of *Ancrene Riwle* takes its prayers and devotions directly from the Office of the Virgin Mary and advises anchoresses to structure their devotional lives around it, adding the Hours of the Holy Ghost if desired: Barbara Raw, ‘The Prayers and Devotions of *Ancrene Wisse*’, in Beryl Rowland (ed.), *Chaucer and Middle English Studies* (London, 1974), 260-71: 260. See also Bella Millett, ‘*Ancrene Wisse* and the Book of Hours’, in Denis Renevey and Christiania Whitehead (eds), *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England* (Toronto, 2000), 21-40. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 with Variants from Other Manuscripts*, ed. Bella Millett, EETS OS 325 (Oxford, 2005), 148/128-31; *The French Text of the Ancrene Riwle*, ed. Herbert, 287/18-26. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher, xxi. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. See also *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher: 19/14; 27/20; 32/27; 44/19; 56/9. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Millett, 145/30; *The French Text of the Ancrene Riwle*, ed., Herbert, 281/19. It is not possible to know whether the change existed in the unidentified French source of *The Tretyse* or if it was an amendment made by the English translator. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. My emphasis. See also, *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher: 32-3; 86/18; 87/19; 88/1; 89/5. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. Havens, ‘A Narrative of Faith’, 75. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. *Spiritual Friendship*, ed. Williams, 62/3:24. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Hennessy, ‘Passion Devotion’, 218-19. See also Bella Millet, ‘*Ancrene Wisse* and the Book of Hours’, 21-40. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2008), 122. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 43.3, in *On the Song of Songs II*, tr. Killian Walsh (Kalamazoo, 1983), 221-22. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. Yoshikawa, *Margery Kempe’s Meditations: The Context of Medieval Devotional Literatures, Liturgy and Iconography* (Cardiff, 2007), 41. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. Gillespie, ‘Strange Images of Death’, 225. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. The love between two friends is detailed in *The* *Tretyse*, ed. Fisher, 19-33. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. ‘Daughters of Jerusalem’ is a common Old Testament phrase (e.g. Song of Songs, 5:16) which Christ uses to address those who follow the process of his Passion in Luke 23:28, ‘Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not over me; but weep for yourselves, and for your children’. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. See note 51 above. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. This is prefigured in part one of the *Tretyse*:The disciples ‘refused him and byleued not in hym nor helde hym not for god . . . they fledde fro [him]’ (41/14-21). They act like the soul in the *Ancrene Riwle* material, denying Christ’s love. See 85-6 for Adam and Pilate’s betrayals. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. In most continental versions of ‘The Branches of the Apple Tree’ the tree is a palm. The fact that it is an apple in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 2292 (a likely source for the English text) shows that *The Tretyse of Loue* was translated from French not Latin: Fisher, ‘Continental Associations’, 1187. See also, *Tretyse*, ed., Fisher, 84/14-19 for the apple in relation to Compline. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. Bartlett, ‘“Delicious Matyr”: Feminine Courtesy in Middle English Devotional Literature for Women’, *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 9 (1992), 9-18: 12. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)