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Visions and Voice-Hearing in Medieval and Early Modern Contexts

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Praise for *Visions and Voice-Hearing in Medieval and Early Modern Contexts*

"This invaluable collection brings readings of medieval and early modern textual sources to enrich, even transform, cultural and medical understanding of being human. It opens up the long history of voice-hearing as a range of multisensory experiences, juxtaposing trauma and hallucination with imagination, psychic energy, and religious vision, and challenging boundaries between spiritual and medical, natural and supernatural, inner and outer, waking and dreaming."

—David Lawton, *Professor of English, Washington University in St. Louis, USA*

"This ambitious essay-collection challenges current biomedical perspectives whilst benefiting from them. Encompassing pre-modern religious revelations, dream-vision poems, and plays, it engages with contemporary research into auditory verbal hallucinations. Now a phenomenon often seen narrowly as a psychopathological disorder, then voice-hearing could be revered as divine annunciation or powerfully dramatized within fictions of inner experience. *Visions and Voice-Hearing* offers an impressive interdisciplinary and trans-historical model for understanding the many meanings of 'hearing things'."

—Alastair Minnis, *Professor Emeritus, Yale University, USA; University of York, UK*

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CHAPTER 2

Behold! The Voices of Angels: Narrative, Audience and Affect in Eadmer of Canterbury's *Breviloquium Vita Sancti Wilfridi*

Hilary Powell

At the end of his second account of St Wilfrid, Eadmer of Canterbury (d. after 1128) appended two miracle stories. The first featured an invisible choir of angels singing Wilfrid's praises, and the second comprised a vision of two monks who prostrated themselves before the saint's relics as a golden light flooded the choir of Canterbury cathedral. Although voice-hearing miracles are rare within Anglo-Latin hagiographical literature, visions are far less so. But these two stories are particularly intriguing because they are significant additions to what is, in all other regards, a carefully truncated *Vita*. Their inclusion is perplexing, turning our attention away from what such stories say about voice-hearing to consider what

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stories about voice-hearing bring to the experience of hagiography. The crafted account of angelic voices and the following vision were deemed so essential to the text that all efforts at concision were abandoned. This essay focuses on voice-hearing as a cultural form, as a concept or motif rather than lived experience. Foregrounding questions about the purpose and reception of hagiography, it explores the aesthetic and affective experience afforded by these two miracle narratives.

The Case for Saints

The *Breviloquium Vita Sancti Wilfridi* survives in a single witness, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 371, where it follows a longer life of St Wilfrid.[1] Containing all of Eadmer's known works, it is thought to have been his personal manuscript, written in Eadmer's own hand.[2] It is addressed to his 'beloved brothers' [*fratres karissimi* (para. 129, p. 162)] at the cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, where Wilfrid's remains had resided since the mid-tenth century.[3] Eadmer apparently intended the sermon for use on Wilfrid's feast day, although, without any other extant witnesses, we cannot be sure whether the text was ever so used.[4] In the short prologue which precedes the two additional miracles, Eadmer repeats his address to his 'most beloved brothers' and directs the curious reader to his longer *Vita*. He also gives his reason for including these miracles: 'since I wish to enkindle you for the veneration of his feast' [*quoniam uos ad uenerationem festiuitatis eius accendere cupio* (para. 148, p. 178)]. In his *coda* which followed the second of the additional stories, Eadmer's desire becomes plangent adjuration: 'I beseech and pray you my Lords and most beloved brothers, again I say I pray you, think over how much veneration this day deserves of you' [*Exortantes itaque precamur uos, domini et fratres dilectissimi, precamur, considerate quantam ueneratione debeatis huis dei* (para. 151, p. 182)]. Just what are we to make of Eadmer's impassioned entreaty? Was this merely rhetoric or was he genuinely trying to persuade his Canterbury brethren of Wilfrid's sanctity?

This was Jay Rubenstein's argument in his reassessment of the historiographical debate concerning Archbishop Lanfranc's (d. 1089) treatment of English saints after the Conquest.[5] Laying aside questions of ethnic identity and national prejudice, Rubenstein reframed the debate as a difference of opinion over the value of the cult of saints. Lanfranc purged the cathedral of minor saints because he preferred a less cluttered,

more Christological liturgy. Eadmer's hagiographical works, written after Lanfranc's death, were an attempt to restore his beloved Anglo-Saxon saints to their proper places at the physical and liturgical heart of the church. He aimed his works, Rubenstein claimed, 'not at a national audience of hostile Norman churchmen and magnates, but rather at an often skeptical Christ Church community'.[6] Rubenstein credits the inclusion of Wilfrid's and Oda's feast days in a calendar written in the 1120s to Eadmer's *Vitae* which 'would have effectively raised the saints' spectral presence in the monks' collective imaginings'.[7] We should not, however, overstate Eadmer's agency in effecting liturgical change. His exhortation may sound like an impassioned cry to inaugurate a cult but Eadmer's *Vitae* probably postdate the official sanction of Wilfrid's cult, causing us to rethink his aims and objectives.[8]

Actually, it is our historicist reading of hagiography, which overemphasises the moment of inscription, that requires rethinking. Such readings seek to locate authorship and reception—and thus meaning—in a specific historical context. Yet we can become so caught up in establishing the social logic of the text that we fail to remember that hagiography is a cultural art form, written to be read, treasured and remembered by audiences year upon year.[9] Hagiographers were undoubtedly attuned to the specific concerns of their immediate audiences but they also imagined themselves writing for future generations. Eadmer's 'beloved brethren' were not only his supposedly sceptical *confrères* but also the monks who would succeed them, whom he hoped would read and use the additional stories about Wilfrid as a means to 'enkindle' [*accendere*] themselves for the feast.

Viewing hagiography not as a historical *act* but a cultural *artefact* encourages us to foreground questions about utility and aesthetic experience. Saints' lives were written to endure and, most importantly, be used. In his *Breviloquium Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, Eadmer was not simply making a case for the veneration of Wilfrid but a far more important claim for hagiography in mediating that veneration. Significantly, he articulated his case through the two additional miracles at the end of the work. Thus, the invisible choir of angels and the vision of the prostrated monks cease to be mere afterthoughts but are critical episodes in Eadmer's conceptualisation and elucidation of the hagiographical enterprise. The voice-hearing miracle is particularly significant because its form and content point towards a centuries-old doctrinal tradition outlining the centrality of saints in the Christian spiritual life.

Hearing *Dulce Carmen*

The bewitching effect of hearing sweet melodies which draw the hearer towards the source of the sound has a well-known precedent in Augustine's spiritual interpretation of Psalm 41 ('As the deer longs for the water fountains').[10] This homily is widely construed as a commentary on the human soul thirsting for God. Yet within it Augustine also articulated his deep-seated conviction that the church and its members—most especially the saints—were indispensable in helping the soul achieve greater proximity to God.

The key chapters are those expounding the second half of Ps. 41.5 ('for I will cross into the place of the wonderful tabernacle, all the way to the house of God, with a voice of exultation and confession, the sound of feasting' [*quoniam transibo in locum tabernaculi admirabilis, usque ad domum Dei: In voce exultationis, et confessionis: sonus epulantis*]). Augustine explained that God cannot be found in any visible or corporeal thing, nor, indeed, within oneself. Instead the house of God lies 'above my soul' [*super animam meam*]. Access is via the earthly tabernacle, the Church: 'His tabernacle on earth is his church […and] in his tabernacle is found the way that leads to his house' [*tabernaculum eius in terra, ecclesia eius* […] *in tabernaculo inuenitur uia, per quam uenitur ad domum* (9.2–3)].

The tabernacle contains many wonders to which Augustine draws our attention: 'Behold how great are the wonders that I admire in the tabernacle!' [*Ecce quanta admiror in tabernaculo* (9.11)]. Yet our gaze is directed not towards objects but images of people, the 'faithful [who] are God's tabernacle on earth' [*tabernaculum enim dei in terra, homines sunt fideles* (9.12)]. Looking at them through Augustine's eyes, we admire their chastity, obedience, restraint, sagacity, exertion and love (9.13–20). Moreover, in beholding and admiring their deeds we find the way that leads to the house of God.

> It was thus that while admiring the members of the tabernacle he [a sudden shift to the psalmist's experience] was led to the house of God, by following a certain sweetness, an unknown interior and hidden delight, as if some instrument sounded sweetly from the house of God; while he was walking in the tabernacle, he heard this inward sound; he was led on by its sweetness and following the guidance of the sound and removing himself from all noise of flesh and blood, he made his way up to the house of God.

> [*Tamen dum miratur membra tabernaculi, ita perductus est ad domum dei, quamdam dulcedinem sequendo, interiorem nescio quam et occultam uoluptatem, tamquam de domo dei sonaret suauiter aliquod organum; et cum ille ambularet in tabernaculo, audito quodam interiore sono, ductus dulcedine, sequens quod sonabat, abstrahens se ab omni strepitu carnis et sanguinis, peruenit usque ad domum dei* (9.36–41).]

Admiring God's saints, His faithful living on earth, brought one to the house of God.

Augustine underscores this message by introducing an interrogative voice: 'it was as though we had said to him "You are admiring the tabernacle here on earth; how did you come to the sanctuary of the house of God?"' [*quasi diceremus ei: miraris tabernaculum in hace terra; quomodo peruenisti ad secretum domus dei* (9.42)]. The psalmist responds with Psalm 41.5: 'In the voice of joy and praise, the sound of feasting' (9.45). Augustine adds that it is a feast day without beginning or end: 'the choir of angels make it an eternal feast' [*festum sempiternum chorus angelorum* (9.55)]. Moreover, it is possible for this joyous feast to be perceived by the human soul: 'from that everlasting and perpetual feast there sounds I know not what melody so sweet to the ears of my heart; if only the world were not so noisy' [*de illa aeterna et perpetua festiuitate sonat nescio quid canorum et dulce auribus cordis; sed si non perstrepat mundus* (9.57)]. The tabernacle provides a place of quiet for the soul, space to wander and gaze, pause and reflect and perhaps catch the soothing sound of the heavenly festivities.

The correspondences are sufficiently striking to suggest that Eadmer may well have had this homily in mind when he wrote his voice-hearing miracle for the *Breviloquium* (para. 149, pp. 178–80). Not only do both texts feature sweetly sounding melodies which draw their protagonists to a place where pleasure and admiration give way to astonishment and awe, but they also start from the same point. The miracle begins with Godwin, the recipient of this angelic audition, keeping vigil before Wilfrid's relics, thus demonstrating his admiration for the saint, a member of God's tabernacle. Godwin is drawn to the cathedral choir, the site of the sweet harmonies and like the psalmist, he is pleasantly delighted and soothed by the melodies. Yet on his arrival at the source of the sound, he is left dumbfounded.[11] Like the Psalmist, astonishment gives way to understanding. Augustine explains that in the *domus Dei* lies the 'fountain of understanding' [*fons intellectus*], conflating it with the 'sanctuary of

God' found in Psalm 72.16–17 where the Psalmist gained understanding of the last things (9.28–29). From his position in the choir, Godwin could see (*conspiciens*) everything clearly and yet sees (*videns*) that no one was there. The surprising absence of the anticipated sensory phenomena results in Godwin's mental apprehension and wonder. Both of these passages feature the experience of hearing heavenly voices, but what is perhaps of greater interest is their mutual emphasis on the tabernacle—or rather the admiration of its members—which initiates this experience.

Picturing the Tabernacle

The Tabernacle for the Ark built according to the measurements given on the mountain by God to Moses (Ex. 25–31) was a well-known monastic trope used for meditational composition.[12] Inventive meditation and prayer was a learned craft for which the monk required certain cognitive instruments: 'machines which can lift the mind and channel its movements'.[13] Ancient rhetoricians used elaborate architectural mnemonics as *aide-memoires* to shape and modulate their oratory.[14] The early medieval monastic tradition inherited these mnemotechniques but re-purposed them as tools for cognitive invention. Mental *picturae* were assembled from materials retrieved from the memory in an intentional act of will. Architectural schemes, comprising paths and routeways, provided the monk with a 'map' through which he might imagine himself walking during meditational composition.[15] Occasionally these *picturae* received material expression as representational drawings, which has invited a loose comparison with Buddhist mandalas as schematic frameworks for prayer.[16] More common, however, were verbal ekphrases based on buildings or structures found in the Bible.[17]

Ekphrasis is a verbal presentation which works an immediate impact on the mind of the listener through an appeal to the imagination.[18] Ekphrasis operates through its defining quality of *enargeia*, a quality of language which makes absent things seem present due to the vividness of its expression. Yet *enargeia* is more than a linguistic phenomenon or rhetorical trope: it is a psychological process.[19] It works by summoning memory images or *phantasmata* which, in the Peripatetic tradition, were understood to be sense-impressions imprinted on the soul.[20] Assemblages of these internal images of absent things retrieved and reconfigured under authorial instruction were called *phantasia*, or alternatively *visiones* in

Latin.[21] Compiled from images generated from genuine sense perceptions, *phantasiai* appear to bring the subject 'before the eyes' (*pro ommaton*).[22] The listener thus becomes a spectator, an eyewitness to events and, most significantly, is made to feel the emotions he or she would as if present.[23] Making the audience share the experience and the emotions of the speaker was fundamental to the persuasive success of judicial orators in the ancient world.[24] It was equally important in the storytelling context of hagiographical discourse.

Book Three of Goscelin of Saint-Bertin's *Liber confortatorius* begins with an ekphrasis of the tabernacle built at God's command and to his specifications. Considerably shorter than the account in Exodus (Bks 25–31 and 35–40), it nevertheless conjures a vivid image in the mind's eye:

> This tent was like a very large temple with purple walls, stretched widely over golden columns and posts. The world had seen nothing more beautiful, nothing more painstakingly made, nothing more artful until that time […]. As the sky is decorated with stars, the ground with flowers, the world with various kinds of ornaments, thus this mobile palace shone with every splendor. The entire structure consisted of the whitest linen, and was adorned with twice-tinted purple cloth and golden fabric. Superb painting of every colour and every shape added to the decoration […]. And the golden cheer of the sun would shine its rays through this most translucent structure, like a temple of solid glass in every colour, and with its light would beautify the abundant gold and the most plentiful painted figures […].
> [*Tentorium erat instar amplissimi templi parietibus purpureis, columnis ac postibus late intensum aureis. Nil speciosius, nil operosius, nil artificiosius terrarum gloria eotenus nouerat* […]. *Ut celum sideribus, terra floribus, mundus uariis rerum decoratur ornatibus, sic illud mobile palatium omnium radiabat splendoribus. Universa machina ex bisso candidissimo constabat et purpura coccoque bis tincto aurosaque textura florebat. Ut omnium colorum, it a et omnium formarum pictura artificiosa decorum addiderat* […]. *Tum aurea solis iocunditas perspicacissimum castrum quasi solidum ex omni colore uitreo templum suis radiis perlustrabat, aurumque copiosissimum cunctarumque figuarum insignia suo lumine decorabat* […].][25]

The *Liber confortatorius* (written *ca.* 1080) is an extended letter addressed to Eve, a young nun who had recently left her nunnery at Wilton for an anchorage in Angers. Its length, however, belies its personal dedication and intimate tone and it was no doubt typical of medieval epistolaries

in having been intended for a far wider audience than the immediate addressee.[26] This passage is a textbook example of a tabernacle ekphrasis to be 'painted' and placed 'before the eyes' as a mental *pictura* for meditational composition. Receiving detailed guidance regarding the structure (colour: purple/gold; form: cloth/columns; condition: stretched) the listener's imagination pieces together a vivid *phantasia*. The mental effort and expertise in weaving together this *pictura* is underscored by the comparative forms of the adjectives *operosus* ('painstaking') and *artificiosus* ('artful'). More interesting perhaps, are the terms associated with concepts in medieval aesthetics and, by extension, the mnemotechnical language of rhetorical invention: *uarius*, *color*, *ornatus*, *decor*. Mary Carruthers drew on the concept of rhetorical *ductus* to convey how the mind moves through a mental *pictura*:

> we can think of the ornaments in a composition as causing varieties of movement: steady, slow, fast, turn, back up. They not only signal how something is to be "taken" (like a pathway)—whether straight on (literally) or obliquely (metaphorically or ironically)—but can also give an indication of temporal movement, like time signatures in written musical composition. Compositional *ductus*, moving in colors and modes, varies both in direction and in pace […]. If a thinking human mind can be said to require "machines" made out of memory by imagination, then the ornament and decoration, the "clothing," of a piece will indicate the ways in which these mental instruments are to be played.[27]

Selecting the ornaments to decorate the mental tabernacle was a matter of personal choice; they needed only to be plentiful, varied and many-coloured. Yet while the details were left unspecified, the subject matter was not. Goscelin instructed his reader to paint the tabernacle with the 'manifold decorations of the examples of the saints' [*cum sanctorum exemplorum multimodo decore* (27)]. The stories of saints were the ornaments which modulated one's movement through the tabernacle; places where one paused, looked and admired. The purpose of hagiography was to provide monks and nuns with rich and vivid ekphrases for fashioning into cognitively useful *ornamenta*. The flexible and panoptic powers of the human imagination enkindled by *enargeia* crafted these stories into spectacles played out in the mind. These splendid and irradiant scenes staged in the tabernacle were 'wayfinders'. Not only did they guide the religious mind as it traversed the routes of meditational composition but

in attending to and admiring these scenes, the mind might even find 'the way that leads to the house of God'.

Active, affective participation was key. The tabernacle *pictura* was not only a 'machine' for cognitive invention, but also it offered emotional 'practice'. Goscelin recommended it to Eve as a measure *contra taedium* ('against weariness'):

> if you sometimes forget the homeland that you are seeking and are wearied by your solitude, your imprisonment and your enclosure; build yourself a column of faith and a tent of hope, and as a tabernacle painted in every colour with the manifold decorations of the examples of the saints, take pleasure in the law of the Lord, exercising and meditating on it day and night.
> [*si oblitam petite patrie tedeat aliquando solitudinis, captiuitatis et clausule, erige tibi columnam fidei, tentorium spei, et quasi inde picto omni colore tabernaculo in lege Domini oblectare, exercitando et meditando in ea die ac nocte, cum sanctorum exemplorum multimodo decore* (24–28).]

In the Christian monastic tradition *taedium* bore decidedly negative overtones. It was a spiritual condition born of the solitary state and particularly perilous for the dangers it posed.[28] The devil, it was imagined, watched for the drooping eyelids and fired an arrow of evil thoughts or *phantasmata* into the 'weary soul'.[29] *Taedium* was thus a gateway vice to greater sin.[30] It was a spiritual hardship which had to be battled, not a bad mood to be relieved by light entertainment.

Eve was to 'take pleasure' (*oblectare*) in re-collecting the *phantasiai* she had crafted through her reading of hagiographical writings about saints who had lived—and had struggled to live—in obedience to God's law. Moreover, she was required to *exercitando et meditando* on these images. 'To practise or exercise diligently' is one meaning of *exercitare*, but a less common meaning is 'to disquiet or agitate'.[31] These two meanings are not necessarily incompatible. In a letter addressed to the monks at Canterbury, Anselm explained that through the experience of having been 'exercised' by tribulations one advanced towards greater things.[32] Practising provoking and, particularly, resolving feelings of disquiet led to spiritual growth.

Enargeia is a trope of persuasion which not only makes listeners see the events as though 'before their own eyes' but makes them feel the emotions appropriate to the events described.[33] *Phantasiai* were sites of affective production. As these scenes played out before the mind's inner

eye, a sequence of emotions was called forth. As Augustine 'gazed again' (*respicio*) at the sight of faithful souls obeying God in the tabernacle, he 'admired' (*admiror*) their restraint, tenacity and capacity for love. In this state of admiration or pleasurable contemplation a sweet, soothing delight was experienced which drew the soul from the tabernacle 'unto the house of God'. There, in the sanctuary of God, admiration and pleasure gave way to astonishment and stupefaction. Eve's mental *pictura* of the tabernacle, furnished and wreathed with *phantasiai* crafted from the lives of saints, promised similar emotional transports, through which she could walk whenever wearied or disquieted. As she paused to admire the examples of the saints, she would feel soothed and refreshed by the pleasure this brought. Enjoyment is an engine which lifts the beholder to wonder and, as the psalmist learned, wondering leads to astonishment, the sense of being dumbstruck (*stupeo*) and uncoupled from the world.[34] In this place, the location of the angelic choir is found the face of God [*uultus praesens dei* (9.55)].

Stories about the saints play a crucial role in preparing the soul as it reaches out in search of God. Re-collected *phantasiai* based on saints' lives and miracles cultivate affective responses conducive to prayer and meditative composition. The more varied and vivid—and hence pleasurable and admirable—the mental sights, the better. While the reader's mental agility is undoubtedly pivotal to the successful creation of *phantasiai*, the reader can only respond to the instructions supplied by the author. 'Good' or well-written hagiography has to possess *enargeia*; it has to direct the audience to paint the scene in such a way that it can both see and feel the events described.

Eadmer: a Master in *Enargeia*

Foregrounding the cognitive and affective utility of hagiography has significant implications for its interpretation. It forces us to look beyond the immediate social or political contexts which gave rise to its production and instead consider the ongoing use of hagiographical texts as cultural art forms. Rather than concentrating on *what* the texts say, we need to pay greater attention to *how* they say it and to consider the rhetorical techniques the hagiographers used to help their audiences conjure the scenes as though before their eyes.

Eadmer was not particularly feted as a stylist by the medieval authors who succeeded him. William of Malmesbury singled out Osbern,

Eadmer's older *confrère*, for his 'Roman elegance' [*Romana elegantia*] and heaped praise on Goscelin of Saint-Bertin for his elegant rewriting of the lives of English saints.[35] William particularly commended Goscelin for his account of the 1091 translations at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, which he 'polished so vividly that he seemed to point the finger at every detail for his contemporaries and make future ages see it with their own eyes' [*expoluit ut eam presentibus monstrasse digito futurorumque uidetur subiecisse oculo* (1. 592)]. Eadmer was less impressed than William with Osbern's style which he felt 'exceeded the balanced style of everyday narrative' [*modum usitatae narrationis excessisse*].[36] He clearly felt he could do better. Apologies for his own 'simple style' [*paruitati meae*], 'limited ability' [*ingenioli*] and 'uncultivated and plain language' [*inculto plano* […] *sermone*] were probably false modesty and to modern eyes, his simple style is highly commendable.[37] Sir Richard Southern praised Eadmer's 'clear and straightforward Latin which is easy to understand', further acknowledging that '[t]o be simple and to be vivid were achievements greater than might appear at first sight […]. To write naturally came only from discipline and a fine balance of mind […]'.[38] Eadmer certainly expended great effort in perfecting his natural style. He concerned himself, claims Southern, with 'trifling details of phraseology and the order of words'.[39] Andrew Turner and Bernard Muir, in their survey of the various manuscript copies of Eadmer's hagiographical works, conclude with the opinion that he showed a meticulous, almost pedantic approach, making 'constantly fussy alterations'.[40] Word order, however, is not a trifling matter and dismissing Eadmer's attention to detail as fussiness obscures the significant changes that can accrue from the slightest verbal adjustments.[41] Turner and Muir draw attention to Eadmer's interest in extended and convoluted linguistic games and his heavy use of rhetorical figures in his *Vita S. Wilfridi* to adapt and rewrite his literary sources.[42] They conclude that 'Eadmer was certainly familiar with many of the grammatical structures associated with the high literary style of the classical period and uses them throughout his works'.[43] With a thorough training in rhetorical theory, Eadmer would have been acutely aware of just how important it was to use the right word in the right way.[44]

Eadmer uses many of the rhetorical tropes beloved of medieval authors and particularly hagiographers. Too often these are overlooked *because* they are tropes, their ubiquity appearing to preclude the possibility of intentional use. The humility topos, used by Eadmer to self-deprecating

effect, was a particular favourite. A trope of irony, this cued the audience to anticipate and prepare to appreciate the eloquence and sophistication of the text that followed. Claims to *brevitas* similarly instruct the audience to expect the opposite. The prologue to the two miracles appended to the *Breviloquium* plays on themes of abbreviation and expansion. In fact, the very inclusion of these narratives, at some length and with no economy of language, belies the expectations set up through the title. Yet the appeal to brevity also primes the audience for their own role with respect to the text. With brevity came the expectation that the audience would 'open up' and 'expand' the text at their leisure, and, moreover, that they would take pleasure in so doing.[45] Eadmer's intention 'to recount briefly, if it pleases' [*breui, si placet, referre uobis* (para. 148, p. 178)] is another rhetorical commonplace—a *capitatio benevolentiae*—intended to 'capture' the 'goodwill' of the listener.[46] The audience's pleasure, however, is not relief that the recitation will be of short duration but the anticipation of the delight of 'unpacking' and savouring a complicated and compressed text.

Indeed, pleasing the audience lay at the heart of hagiographical composition and rhetorical style was crucial in generating pleasure. Eadmer, however, declared another reason for writing. In the prologue to the two miracles he expressed a desire to enkindle the feelings of his audience [*uos ad uenerationem festiuitatis eius accendere cupio* (para. 148, p. 178)]. This was also standard rhetorical practice. Bene of Florence (*fl.* 1218) spoke of 'warming' the feelings of the audience as a means of persuasion.[47] Aesthetic pleasure warms the soul, motivating desire. Pleasure is a sensation which unfolds over time through one's ongoing engagement with an art form. Pleasure builds as one proceeds or rather is led (*ductus*) through the compositional pathways and movements achieved through its stylistic choices.[48] Pleasure is also culturally constructed. As Jan Ziolkowski writes: '[I]n spite of the pronouncements in favour of stylistic clarity and humility [the medieval aesthetic] was often an aesthetic that favoured difficulty, complicated ornament, artificiality, amplification and periphrasis'.[49] Pleasure was found in mixture, in multiplicity, variation and complexity combined 'in due proportion':

> For if many sensations are perceived as a rational mixture, they are made pleasurable; just so in tastes, when a thing is according to due proportion either sharp or sweet or salty; then indeed things are entirely pleasing, and all that is mixed is more pleasing than what is single […].

[*Sed si plura sensibilia deducuntur ad proportionatam mistionem, efficiuntur delectabilia: sicut in saporibus, quando aliquid secundum debitam proportionem est aut acutum, aut dulce, aut salsum; tunc enim sunt omnino delectabilia. Et omne, quod est mistum, est magis delectabile, quam quod est simplex* […].][50]

These two principles of pleasure, first being a process and second a complexion of sensations, are squarely in evidence in Eadmer's account of Godwin's experience of angelic voice-hearing. To demonstrate how pleasure builds through the course of the narrative—and how the audience is thus enkindled or warmed—it is helpful to explore the text one stage at a time.

The opening scene is very simple. The audience are directed to picture their *confrère* Godwin, the former sacristan and a man of great simplicity and innocence, in the oratory on the eve of Wilfrid's feast. The Canterbury brethren would have had no trouble in summoning sensory memories of the oratory, brother Godwin, and the sound of Matins starting. With very little prompting, they would have swiftly knitted together a vivid, personal and multisensory *pictura*.

The next sentence, however, makes greater cognitive demands of its audience.

> And when the psalm 'Why, O Lord are they multiplied' had been uttered, which comes after the verse 'Lord, you will open my lips' and 'God make speed to save me,' which are usually said at the start of Matins by the monks, behold! two choristers were reciting the invitatory before the altar; and [when] the choir, as is the custom, repeated the same phrase, these two sang 'Come let us praise the Lord' following the melody of the first tone.
> [*Et dicto Psalmo, 'Domine quid multiplicati sint,' qui post uersum, 'Domine labia mea aperies,' et, 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende,' a monachis in principio uigiliarum dici solet, ecce duo cantores coram altari inuitatorium pronunciabant; et choro, uti mos est, hoc ipsum repetente, ipsi 'Uenite,' secundum cantum primi toni, decantabant* (para. 149, p. 178).][51]

Initially, the audience's experience seems not dissimilar to Godwin's: we hear the versicles almost in their entirety, without any visual content. The monk reading this text aloud may well have sung these verses out of habit. Crossing between different modes of performance demands greater attention and readerly involvement, slowing and moderating our *ductus*

through the narrative.[52] Yet the audience's experience is significantly different because the psalms are not listed in the correct order.[53] *Anastrophe*, the inversion of the usual order of words or clauses, is used to great effect here. The inverted psalms are laborious to process, necessitating a high degree of engagement from the monastic listener.

Our perspective shifts in the second half of the sentence. The *asterismos* 'behold!' [*ecce*] invites the audience to exercise their visual imagination. We are instructed to paint in our mind's eye two choristers. Eadmer's brethren would once again have been able to furnish their *picturae* using their own experience. The number of cantors and the place they sang from was significant for the status of the feast and rank of the day. Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* record that feasts of the third rank at Christ Church featured two monks dressed in copes for the invitatory.[54] Eadmer then instructs the audience to place these monks 'before the altar'. Placing a background behind our figures instantly adds depth to our mental *pictura*. With our mind's eye trained on these two monks, the choir, which takes up the refrain, must be placed behind or in our peripheral vision. Immediately our *pictura* bursts into stereophony.

Located centrally in this vivid scene, the reader then receives a sign that everything is not as it seems: 'However the invitatory was this: "Let us faithfully worship on God in the Trinity, through faith in whom the holy Bishop Wilfrid lives in God"' [*Inuitatorium autem hoc erat: Unum Deum in Trinitate fideliter adoremus, cuius fide Deo uiuit sanctus presul Wilfridus* (para. 149, p. 178)]. But before we have time to process this information, we are snatched out of our *pictura* of Matins proper to watch Godwin's response: 'Upon hearing this, the brother rose immediately' [*Quod ille frater audiens, ilico surrexit* (para. 149, p. 178)]. The emphatic 'this' has turned the audience's attention but the significance of the invitatory has been lost on Godwin. From observing him rise, we suddenly find ourselves privy to his internal thought processes: 'and [after] a stringent self-examination found himself guilty of sloth, which he calculated had detained him and caused him to rise later' [*segnitiem qua se detentum tardius surrexisse estimabat, districta in se examinatione redarguens* (para. 149, p. 178)]. Impersonation (*ethopoeia*) which involves putting oneself into the character of another helps convey the person's thoughts and feelings more vividly. It makes the character more plausible and authentic and thus available for psychological guesswork and empathy.[55]

The text forces the audience to switch back and forth between multiple perspectives, to create and juggle several different *picturae*. Yet instead of

leaving us dazed, this multiperspectival experience works seamlessly; our mind tracks between vantage points with ease. We enjoy watching the multiple, varied and complex sights to which we have omniscient access.

We depart from Godwin's mind to see him arrive at the entrance to the choir, where we observe him pause and, on hearing Psalm 94.8, 'Today if you shall hear his voice', look inside the choir. Immediately, we return to impersonating Godwin, reproducing in our mind the contents of his perception: 'When he saw no one within and yet the sweetness of their singing and charm of their voices remained wondrously soothing, he thought this was because of the cloudiness of his vision, which normally occurs after just awakening from recent sleep' [*Qui cum neminem intus uideret, et tamen suauitas concentuum, necnon dulcedo uocum eum mirifice demulceret, ratus est hoc sibi contigisse ex oculorum obscuratione que fieri solet ex recenti dormitione* (para. 149, p. 178)]. The *tamen* draws our attention to the second part of the clause, so the most salient element of this sentence is not the visual lack of singers but the sweet and soothing quality of the music. Like Godwin, we are 'soothed' into not really noticing. Everything about this clause seeks to give pleasure. The noun *suauitas* and its near-synonym *dulcedo* ('sweetness' or 'charm') refer back to a sensory phenomenon which works to reproduce those effects in the mind and, hence, body of the perceiver.[56] *Demulceo* similarly recruits and mimetically reproduces tactile sensations of being stroked and physically soothed. A *punctus elevatus* in the manuscript after *demulceret* indicates a suspended sentence requiring an emphatic climax and a rise in pitch, an arrangement that is pleasing to the ears.[57]

The sentence turns from Godwin's sensory perception to his deductive reasoning. Soothed by the sweet music, he explains his experience as a common ocular condition, a cloudiness that comes from sleeping. We instinctively find our mental *pictura* darkening and becoming blurred. Our vision clears as the choir sings the *Gloria Patri* and Godwin takes his space in the stalls: 'standing there, and feeling pleasantly delighted by the melody of those singing, and observing everything clearly, and seeing nobody [there], he was filled with wonder' [*ubi stans, et melodia cantantium suauiter iocundabatur, et clare omnia conspiciens, et neminem uidens, mirabatur* (para. 149, pp. 178–80)]. Unlike earlier, when the audience had direct access to Godwin's perception and thought processes, here we remain on the outside. We do not join Godwin in 'seeing nobody'; instead we are instructed to see Godwin standing by himself. Mental *picturae*

painted under authorial instruction, that is, with *enargeia*, are surprisingly robust. 'Forgetting' requires a conscious act of erasure or redaction. As we join Godwin in rubbing the eyes (of our minds) we are erasing our original *pictura* of the two choristers singing before the altar. But the erasing is not effective until the image is replaced by the solitary figure of Godwin *ubi stans*. Even then, it is impossible to delete this image entirely; Godwin stands solid amid the faint, ghostly forms of our earlier *phantasia*. Overlayering in this way produces an interesting mental effect. Although assembled from sensory memories, the spectral effect exceeds sensory perception. Nor is it an intentional act of imaginative creation.[58] It is an unexpected outcome produced by the rhetorical *ductus* which surprises and delights the audience.

Our earlier *phantasia* lingers in our mind because of the sweet melody which not only continues but grows in volume, complexity and beauty: 'And as he was thus standing astounded, listening (or rather not listening) to the singers […] the hymn *Confessor* was begun by one of them, and taken up and sung by a multitude of harmonious voices' [*Cum itaque sic stupens staret, necne canentes auscultaret* […] *ymnus iste, Confessor, ab uno incipitur, atque a multitudine susceptus canoris uocibus decantatur* (para. 149, p. 180)].[59] The sound grows stronger, but the ghostly figures begin to recede from our sight. Switching back to Godwin's perspective: '[I]t seemed to him that he was not hearing those singing psalms next to him but from above, in the rafters of the church' [*non iam iuxta se, sed desuper quasi in laquearibus ecclesie psallentes sibi uidebatur audire* (para. 149, p. 180)]. We automatically reorient our gaze upwards, duly conjuring wooden rafters but no more. The polyphony, however, persists, but we track its upwards trajectory: 'and so, ascending as they sang and escaping as they ascended out of the hearing of the brother listening, these holy angels […] returned to the heavens' [*sicque canendo ascendentes, et ascendendo auditum fratris intendentis fugientes ipsi sancti angeli* […] *celestia repetebant* (para. 149, p. 180)]. Punning on a word by varying the cases or tenses (*traductio*) was one of Eadmer's favourite tropes of repetition.[60] Here 'ascendentes'/'ascendendo' helps the sentence build to a climax, in effect, to mimic the angels' ascent. It also builds our desire; as the voices move out of earshot, we strain more to hear them.

As the singing leaves Godwin feeling 'sweetly delighted' [*suauiter iocundabatur*], the audience is left similarly pleased. Pleasure is conjured not only in the choice of words which reproduce those sensations in the listener, but in their deliberate ordering and the creation of

pleasing cadences. The multiperspectival presentation offers variation and complexity which gives the audience time to pause and truly inhabit the scenes they have fashioned. The greatest delight, however, derives from the overlayering of the *phantasiai* which surprises, pleases and allows the meaning of the miracle to be fully realised: these are angelic voices. This is a truly ekphrastic miracle story in which, through figures of speech and use of *enargeia*, events are brought 'before the eyes' of the audience, working a profound impact on the mind of the listener. Pleasure enkindles desire as we yearn for the sweet song; the angels' escape is a bittersweet loss. We emerge from the experience full of admiration for God and his saint.

This analysis has led to a second important realisation with significant implications for this volume. Stories about hearing voices rely on visual tropes to make them 'work'. 'Seeing nobody there', the defining feature of the experience of voice-hearing, requires an impossible feat of imagination. It involves not bringing but banishing something from 'before the eyes'. This can only be achieved through prior visualisation and an equally visual act of creative 'erasing'. Efforts to categorise miracles by type, for example into visions and auditions, fail to recognise that aesthetic experience in the Middle Ages was both multisensory and whole.[61] They also lose sight of the cognitive purposes undergirding hagiographical composition. The more colourful, varied, complicated, and multisensory the stories, the more powerfully they performed in the mind as sites of affective production and meditational invention.

The second miracle shows considerable overlap with the first, recruiting sensory memories pertaining to the layout of Christ Church, a senior member of the community and the festal form of Matins. It differs, however, in casting the recipient, the sacristan Ælfwine, as the storyteller, who 'vows that this was seen by him' [*sibi uisum esse testatur* (para. 150, p. 180)]. The conceit continues: 'He says that on the very night of the feast he was resting outside the choir in a certain elevated place in this church' [*Ait enim quia dum ipsa nocte festiuitatis extra chorum in quodam edito ipsius ecclesie loco* (para. 150, p. 180)]. His words take us back to our *pictura* of Godwin in the oratory.[62] They also transport us into a particular disposition or frame of mind. The *ipsa* is emphatic and reminiscent of the opening lines of a folk or fairy tale.[63] It is a verbal formula which invites us to suspend disbelief, to lay aside doubt for the sake of enjoyment.

Our entry into this world that is betwixt and between is further signalled by the use of familiar linguistic forms: Ælfwine 'lay neither fully awake nor fully asleep' [*et nec plene uigilans nec plene dormiens iaceret* (para. 150, p. 180)]. The singsong cadence is again evocative of genres that straddle reality and fiction. While Ælfwine hovers on the threshold of consciousness, we have taken up space in the land of the uncanny, awaiting further instruction. It continues: 'looking up he saw the whole church shining with a wonderful and indescribable brightness' [*aspiciens uidit totam ecclesiam miro et ineffabili fulgore splendere* (para. 150, p. 180)]. Shrugging off all sense of drowsiness, the audience sets to work assembling a *pictura* of a shining church. Declaring sights to be 'ineffable', beyond capacity for description, is a common form of *aporia*, but it is also an effective trope for amplifying readerly involvement. With the author lost for words, the reader has to take greater pains to fill the gap, not only recruiting but creatively enhancing sensory memories of a brightly lit church. Again, it is a device which slows and modulates the pace at which the reader moves through the text.

Instructions for decorating our shining church swiftly follow:

> Moreover, the altar itself seemed to be entirely made of gold and to be gleaming in an abundant array of precious stones. Meanwhile, in the choir he heard a great multitude of people pressed together singing the nightly vigils for Saint Wilfrid with festal music.
> [*Altare autem ipsum quasi totum aureum eximio preciosorum lapidum nitens ornatu uidebatur. Preterea in choro quendam magne multitudinis cuneum audiuit nocturnas uigilias de sancto Wilfrido festiuis concentibus decantantem* (para. 150, p. 180).]

The *autem* and *preterea* draw our attention in two directions in quick succession, forcing our mind to simultaneously process and produce a *phantasia* of a sparkling altar and another of jubilant singing. This produces a polyfocal *pictura* and a somewhat dazzled sensation. As we saw with the previous story, aural images often possess a strong visual component. A large crowd might be inferred from the volume and complexity of the sound but the word *cuneus* ('wedge') is primarily visual. Ælfwine (and the audience) enjoy a panoptic vision of the whole church.

It is the first of these two images, the far more enargeic gleaming altar, which demands our attention. The combination of *uidebatur* and the present participle *nitens* conjure both quality and mode: we mentally

reproduce the perceptual process through which precious stones seem to gleam. Elaine Scarry has termed this effect 'radiant ignition'; it makes the image more real.[64] We might say it brings the altar 'before the eyes'. This impression is intensified by the figures passing before it: 'And when it came to the lections and responses, he noticed that those whose duty it was to read or sing were mounting up the spiral staircase and bending down in front of the altar and before the blessed man's body as if to receive a blessing' [*Cumque ad lectiones et responsoria uentum esset, eos qui uel legere uel cantare debebant, per cocleam ascendere, ac coram altari et corpore beati uiri quasi pro benedictione supplicare contemplatus est* (para. 150, p. 180)]. With our panoptic vision, the stone staircase recedes and we observe the monks' every step. We continue to watch as they cross in front of the altar. In his discussion of metaphor, Aristotle claims that subjects perceived in action (with *energeia*) are more vivid and that *energeia* was strongly correlated with *enargeia*.[65] Scarry argues that it is actually the perception of movement, often fleeting, *in front of* another surface or object that brings it 'before the eyes'.[66] Imagining the movement of the monks obscuring our view of the gleaming altar lends greater solidity to both the altar and the monastic figures.

The story concludes somewhat perfunctorily: 'With this done, they turned around and came down, [where] they carried out in a most fitting manner the ritual of reading and singing where it is usually done in this church' [*Quo facto, mox redeundo descendebant, et officium legendi atque cantandi, ubi mos est in ecclesia ipsa decentissime persoluebant* (para. 150, p. 180)]. We barely register the monks' departure because our eyes remain fixed on the altar, taking delight in our now uninterrupted view. The altar was one of three distinct images, together with the shining church and joyful singing, that the audience was required simultaneously to conjure. Yet this was the image to which we were directed to return and flesh out under authorial instruction. The gleaming altar is the miracle's takeaway image which remains long after the miracle has been read.

These miracles appended to the *Breviloquium* are far from brief. They are stories to which readers must return in their minds, recreating and re-enacting their *phantasiai*, to provoke pleasure, produce delight and enkindle a love for Wilfrid and desire for God. Wonderfully enargeic, they represent significant additions to the 'manifold decorations of the examples of the saints' with which we adorn our personal *pictura* of the tabernacle.

Eadmer's use of auditory and visionary motifs speaks not only of the interest and acceptance of such experiences within monastic circles but also of the aesthetic and affective opportunities they afforded. Writing literary hagiography was an exercise in persuasion. Readers had to be instructed to visualise the scene in such a way that they could both see and, more importantly, feel the events described. Through the right stories, skilfully told, the hagiographer could cultivate in his readers affective responses conducive to prayer and meditational composition. The prevalence of visionary motifs within hagiography suggests this was a device particularly apposite for this task. A fine-grained reading of two such narratives has shown this to be the case. The skilful conjuration of mental imagery gives pleasure, incites admiration and arouses wonder. In short, it reproduces in the reader the preparatory affective transports required for the soul to stretch out towards God.

The comparable outcome, however, should not deflect from the subtle, yet significant differences in the cognitive effort required in apprehending auditory or voice-hearing miracle narratives in contrast to visions. Visions are far more prevalent in saints' lives or miracle collections than auditions.[67] Yet the label 'vision' is usually a misnomer, since most involve a blend of sensory elements. Ælfwine's 'vision', for example, directed the audience to fashion a polyfocal *pictura*, comprised of *phantasiai* recruited from both visual and aural *phantasmata*. The more complex and varied the ornamentation, the more vivid the visualisation and the stronger the sense of something being 'brought before the eyes'. Each of the *phantasiai* in Ælfwine's 'vision'—the shining church, the joyful singing, the gleaming altar—combines to make the overall *pictura* strikingly enargeic. The cognitive process is one of simple addition. Significantly, the reality of these sights (or lack thereof) is never put under pressure.

Voice-hearing miracles, wherein voices are heard in the absence of a speaker, rest on the principle of negation. In Godwin's case, the miracle pivots on the fact he 'sees nobody there'. In order for readers to perform this *apophasis*, they first need to conjure the sight of somebody in their minds. Not only does this underscore the important visual element in the successful staging of a voice-hearing miracle but also it requires readers to tear down the images they had been encouraged to create. Mental erasure is far harder to achieve than mental embellishment and its success is heavily contingent on the skill of the author in supplying appropriate instruction. The portrayal of voice-hearing not only makes greater cognitive demands on the reader but it also takes great dexterity on the part of

the author. The paucity of voice-hearing miracles is perhaps less surprising when we consider the challenges of bringing voice-hearing 'before the eyes'.

Notes

1. The *Breviloquium* is at fols. 39^{v}–44^{r}; the *Vita* at fols. 12^{r}-39^{v}. For the *Breviloquium* see *Vita Sancti Wilfridi Auctore Edmero: The Life of Saint Wilfrid by Edmer*, ed. and trans. by Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J. Turner (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), para. 129–51, pp. 163–83. The *Vita* precedes it (para. 1–128, pp. 8–161). Subsequent citations will be by paragraph and page number. My translation, being more literal, occasionally departs from that of Turner and Muir.
2. See R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 367.
3. Wilfrid was a seventh-century Bishop of York whose long and controversial career is known to us primarily through Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. After his death in 709/10, he was buried in Ripon where he remained until Archbishop Oda (941–58) translated his relics to Canterbury because of the devastation following the Viking occupation. See *Vita*, paras 115–17, pp. 142–46.
4. The prologue addresses the monks 'coming here together as one today for this feast' [*hodierna die in unum conuenientes exultatis* (para. 129, p. 162)].
5. Jay Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum* 74, no. 2 (April, 1999): 279–309. For a summary of the early historiographical debate see Susan Ridyard, '*Condigna veneratio*: Post-conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1987): 179–206.
6. Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History', 301.
7. Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History', 306.
8. The *Breviloquium* postdates the *Vita* wherein Wilfrid's final resting place is noted as 'on the northern side of the altar' [*in aquilonali parte altaris* (para. 117, p. 146)]. This honourable location is surely indicative of his venerable status. Sir Richard Southern speculated that the *Vita*, which refers to Lanfranc retrospectively but not his successor Anselm, may date to the interregnum (1089–93), when a 'relic hunt' revealing the bones of St Ouen on a bier in an upstairs gallery suggests there was renewed interest in the community's relics: see R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 408. A date after 1104, however, seems far more plausible. The resting place given in the *Vita* corresponds with the site of Wilfrid's tomb in

Anselm's church, not begun until after 1096: see Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works, the Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. by W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 73, 2 vols (London, 1879–80), 1. 14. There is also evidence for a fresh wave of interest in the cathedral's relics in this first decade of the twelfth century: see Eadmer, *De reliquiis S. Audoeni*, ed. by André Wilmart, 'Edmeri Cantuariensis cantoris nova opuscula de sanctorum veneration et obsecratione', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 15 (1935): 184–219 and 354–79, at 369 and Felix Liebermann, *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1879), 1–8, at 5. The omission of Anselm from the *Vita* need not establish a date within the interregnum; it could merely point to a date during Anselm's years of exile. A letter from Anselm to Prior Ernulf in August 1104 cedes full authority to the prior to make changes to the community's liturgical observances: see *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. by F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1946–1961), 4. ep. 331, p. 41. The translation of saints into the Cathedral's newly completed east end would have necessitated new liturgical materials and hagiography, thus providing a context for the composition of Eadmer's Lives of Wilfrid and Oda.

9. The phrase belongs to Gabriella M. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (January, 1990): 59–86.
10. *Sancti Aurelii Augustini. Enarrationes in Psalmos i-l*, ed. by D.E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, Corpus Christianorum series latina (CCSL) 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956) XLI. Subsequent references are to this edition and psalm, cited by part and line number.
11. Both use the adjective *suauitas* and its synonym *dulcedo* ('sweetness') and the verbs *de/mulceo* ('soothe') and *stupeo* ('be astounded') to describe the melody and its effects. The experience is a 'pleasure' (*voluptas*) for Augustine, while Eadmer uses the verb *iocundo*.
12. This section draws on the work of Mary Carruthers in *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), in particular ch. 5, 221–76.
13. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 221.
14. For a discussion of architectural mnemonics see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 2nd edn (London: Pimlico, 1992), particularly ch. 1, 17–41. This technique is also discussed by Mary Carruthers in *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 10, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 89–98.
15. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 228–31.

16. The plan of St Gall, discussed by Carruthers, is the most well-known example of a rhetorical artefact for mental composition. For parallels with eastern meditational practices see Grover A. Zinn Jr. 'Mandala Symbolism and Use in the Mysticism of Hugh of St. Victor', *History of Religions* 12 (1972): 317–41.
17. Besides the Exodus tabernacle medieval commentators used the temple-citadel of Ezekiel's vision (Ez. 40–42), Noah's Ark (Gen. 6–9), and John's vision of the Heavenly City (Rev. 21) to frame their meditational compositions. See, for example, Gregory the Great's sermons on the first 47 verses of Ezekiel 40 in book two of his *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, ed. by M. Adriaen, CCSL 143–143B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979–1985) and Hugh of St Victor's mystical treatise based on Noah's ark, *De arca Noe mystica (De pictura Arche)*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 176 (1854): 681–702.
18. Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009; London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 193.
19. Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 94.
20. Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 111; Richard Sorabji, *Aristotle on Memory* (London: Duckworth, 1972), 11.
21. Quintilian, the first-century Roman educator and orator, saw the capacity to assemble vivid *phantasiai* at will as a distinct advantage in forensic oratory and praised the person who has properly formed 'what the Greeks call *phantasiai* (let us call them "visions"), by which the images of absent things are presented to the mind in such a way that we seem actually to see them with our eyes and have them physically present to us' [*Quas φαυτασιας Graeci uocant (nos sane uisiones appellemus), per quas imagines rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere uideamur*], *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell, Loeb Classical Library [LCL] 126 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001) 6.2.
22. For Aristotle's use of the term see *The Art of Rhetoric*, ed. and trans. by J. H. Freese, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991): esp. 3.11.1. On the importance of being able to bring scenes 'before the eyes' in ancient rhetorical and poetic arts, see Kathy Eden, *Poetic and Legal Fiction in the Aristotelian Tradition* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), esp. ch. 3, 62–111.
23. Quintilian explained how this works in a legal context: 'Suppose I am complaining that someone has been murdered. Am I not to have before my eyes all the circumstances which one can believe to have happened during the event? […] will not the blood, the pallor, the groans […] be imprinted on my mind? The result will be *enargeia*, which Cicero calls *illustratio* and *evidentia*, by which we seem to show what happened

rather than to tell it and this gives rise to the same emotions as if we were present at the event itself' [*Occisum queror: non omnia quae in re praesenti accidisse credibile est in oculis habebo?* [...] *Non animo sanguis et pallor et gemitus* [...] *insidet? Insequitur εναργεια, quae a Cicerone inlustratio et evidentia nominatur, quae non tam dicere uidetur quam ostendere, et adfectus non aliter quam si rebus ipsis intersimus sequentur*], *The Orator's Education*, 6.2, trans. Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 94: see also more generally ch. 4, 87–106.

24. See Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 131–65.
25. Goscelin, *Liber confortatorius*, ed. by C. H. Talbot, 'The *Liber confortatorius* of Goscelin of Saint Bertin', *Analecta monastica*, series 3, Studia Anselmiana, 37, ed. by M. M. Lebreton, J. Leclercq, and C. H. Talbot (Rome: Pontifical Institute of St Anselm, 1955), 1–117, at 69, lines 5–16. Subsequent references are to this edition and page, cited by line number. Trans. by M. Otter, *Goscelin of St Bertin: The Book of Encouragement and Consolation (Liber Confortatorius)* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 80.
26. For the background to the *Liber confortatorius* and its possible readership see Stephanie Hollis, ed., *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and* Liber confortatorius (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004) and Otter, *Goscelin of St Bertin*, 1–16.
27. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 116–17. See also Mary Carruthers, 'The Concept of *Ductus*, or, Journeying through a Work of Art', in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 190–213.
28. For a comphrensive discussion of this subject, see Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967).
29. See the advice of Peter Damian to his fellow monks in Kurt Reindel, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, 4 vols (München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1983–1993), 2. letter 50.58.
30. *Taedium* was the Latin gloss for the Greek term 'acedia', the sixth of the eight principal vices listed by John Cassian in his fifth *Conference*: '*sextum acedia, id est, anxietas, sive taedium cordis*' (5.2), *Collationes patrum in scythica eremo*, PL 49 (1850): 477–1328, at 0611A.
31. '*exercito',* in Charlton T. Lewis, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879; reprint 1998).
32. '*per hanc* [*tribulationem*] *exercitati ad maiora proficitis*', *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis,* ed. by Schmitt, 5. ep. 332, p. 268.
33. Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 90.

34. Crossing to the house of God, Augustine's psalmist separates himself from all earthly clamour: '*abstrahens se ab omni strepitu carnis et sanguinis*' (9.39).
35. For Osbern, see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1.241. He revised his opinion, however, when he came to write his own life of Dunstan.
36. Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. by Andrew J. Turner and Bernard J. Muir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 44–45.
37. Eadmer, *Lives*, 48–49, 216–17 and Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 1.
38. Eadmer, *Life of Anselm*, xxvi–ii.
39. Eadmer, *Life of Anselm*, xi.
40. Eadmer, *Lives*, xxxi.
41. For the significant impact that Eadmer's slight changes brought to his *Vita S. Dunstani*, see Hilary Powell, 'Demonic Daydreams: Mind-Wandering and Mental Imagery in the Medieval Hagiography of St Dunstan', in *New Medieval Literatures* 18, ed. by Laura Ashe, Philip Knox, David Lawton, and Wendy Scase (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2018), 44–74.
42. See Eadmer, *Lives*, xxxii and *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, xxxvii–xliii.
43. Eadmer, *Lives*, xxx. Eadmer was familiar with works by Cicero, even quoting from *De inventione* (i.2) in his prologue to the *Vita S. Wilfridi* (para. 2, 8).
44. In his *Historia novorum*, Eadmer quotes from a letter of recommendation written on his behalf by Archbishop Ralph to King Alexander stating that Eadmer had been educated from his childhood in both 'divine and where necessary secular literature' [*litteris divinis et, si opus fuerit saecularibus*], *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. by M. Rule, Rolls Series 81 (London, 1884), 282.
45. For 'games of obscurity', see Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 61–70.
46. Moving the audience towards a disposition favourable to the orator was a fundamental aspect of classical oratory: see Cicero, *De inventione*, ed. and trans. by H. M. Hubbell, LCL 386 (London, Heinemann, 1976), 1.22, pp. 44–45. See also Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*, 54.
47. '[*U*]*t concilietur auditor et ad fidem persuasione ducatur, ut animorum motibus incalescat*'; for Bene of Florence see Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*, 85.
48. Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*, 79.

49. Jan Ziolkowski, 'Theories of Obscurity in the Latin Tradition', *Mediaevalia* 19 (1996): 101–70, at 138.
50. Thomas Aquinas, *Sentencia de anima*, 3, lectio 2, n. 15, in *Opera omnia*, Corpus Thomisticum database, accessed 19 August, 2019, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/can3.html. On sensory and stylistic complexion, see Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*, 45–79.
51. Ps. 3.1, Ps. 50.17, and Ps. 69.2 (in the order they appear in the *Breviloquium*).
52. This technique in the modern field of cognitive aesthetics is known for adding 'texture' to a literary work: for details see Peter Stockwell, *Texture: A Cognitive Aesthetics of Reading* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), in particular ch. 4, 106–33: for textual 'crossings' see 107.
53. Monastic Matins typically began with Ps. 69.2 (versicle and response), followed by *Gloria Patri*, *Alleluia*, and Ps. 50.17 (versicle and response, sung three times). Ps. 3 (sung without antiphon) would then follow, succeeded by the Invitatory and Ps. 94: for details see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy. From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 93.
54. *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. by Dom David Knowles and Christopher N. L. Brooke (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2002), 99.
55. See Stockwell, *Texture*, 115–23.
56. For a discussion of the medieval concepts of *suauis* and *dulcis* and the sensory basis of human persuasion, see Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*, 80–107.
57. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 371, fol. 43^{v}. Online database, accessed 19 August, 2019, https://parker.stanford.edu.
58. This is phenomenologically quite different from intentioned acts of imagining the impossible (or unknown). Consider Augustine's willed and deliberate *phantasia* of the black swan he discusses in book 11 of *De trinitate*, ed. by W. J. Mountain, CCSL 50–50A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), 11.10.17.
59. *Stupeo* suggests a loss of sensory awareness; he is incapable of hearing. He regains his senses when the hymn begins.
60. Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, xxxviii.
61. Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*, 47.
62. The upstairs location recalls the location of St Ouen's relics, see above note 8.
63. For medieval fairy tales see Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Fairy Tales from Before Fairy Tales: The Medieval Latin Past of Wonderful Lies* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2007).
64. Elaine Scarry, *Dreaming by the Book* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 77–78.

65. Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, 3.11.1, see Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 85–86.
66. Scarry terms this 'kinetic occlusion'; see *Dreaming*, 12–13.
67. See Christine Cooper-Rompato's essay in this volume.

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