Notes

Introduction

1. Aleksandra Wolska, "Rabbits, Machines, and the Ontology of Performance," *Theatre Journal* 57, no. 1 (2005): 85, 88.
2. Ibid., 91.
3. See Kathleen Ashley, "Sponsorship, Reflexivity and Resistance: Cultural Readings of the York Cycle Plays," in *The Performance of Middle English Cultures: Essays on Chaucer and Drama in Honor of Martin Stevens*, eds. James J. Paxson, Lawrence M. Clopper, and Sylvia Tomasch, 9–24 (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998); Sarah Beckwith, *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in the York Corpus Christi Plays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); and Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).
4. There are certainly exceptions. Two recent publications that address this gap are: Theodore K. Lerud, *Memory, Images, and the English Corpus Christi Drama* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) and various essays in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).
5. David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 1.
6. The narrator in *Piers Plowman* recalls: "The ladies danced until the day dawned, / When the men rang bells to the resurrection—right then I woke, / And I called to Kytt my wife and Calote my daughter: / "Rise and go do honor to God's resurrection, / And creep to the cross on knees, and kiss it as if it were a jewel!" William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt, 2nd ed. (London: J. M. Dent, 1995), 325.
7. Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 49–50.
8. Leonard E. Boyle, O.P., "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*,

ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 31.

9. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 53.
10. *The Lay Folks' Catechism, or the English and Latin Versions of Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction for the People*, eds. Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Nolloth (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1901), 98. Original: "Our fadir the ercebisshop grauntes of his grace / Fourti daies of pardon til al that kunnes tham, / Or dos thair gode diligence for to kun tham."
11. Ibid., 96, 42.
12. Ibid., 70, 46, 52.
13. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. B. A. Windeatt (New York: Penguin, 1985), 104 (original: I. 28.1565–71; 28.1585–8). For the original language, see *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Lynn Staley, TEAMS Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996) available online at: http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/staley.htm.
14. Morgan, *Visual Piety*, 58. Morgan argues for an aesthetic of popular religious art viewing with characteristics that suggest an active encounter between believer and image.
15. Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Critical Edition Based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992). This text is an English translation of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, an early-fourteenth-century Latin text.
16. For a discussion of how crucifixion iconography was employed in late medieval England, see Beckwith, *Christ's Body*.
17. Sarah Stanbury argues, "One of the most striking and coercive features of both the *Meditationes* and of Love's *Mirror* is the use of the vocative, the voice of an invisible authority that not only orchestrates the story and commentary but also tells us how to see it, coaxing us to 'behold' landmark events in Christ's life." *The Visual Object of Desire in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 178. In chapter six, I discuss Love's *Mirror* and Margery Kempe's devotional activities in greater detail.
18. See particularly Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978) and *The Gothic Image* (New York: Harper, 1958); and, M. D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 87–104. Pamela Sheingorn offers an overview and critique of the methodology employed in such studies in "On Using Medieval Art in the Study of Medieval Drama: An Introduction to Methodology," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 22 (1979): 101–9.

19. *York Art: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1978), iii.
20. For a critique of EDAM's mission, see Martin Stevens, "The Intertextuality of Late Medieval Art and Drama," *New Literary History* 22, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 318, 333–4.
21. Sheingorn, "On Using Medieval Art," 101–9; "Medieval Drama Studies and the New Art History," *Mediaevalia* 18 (1995): 143–62; "The Visual Language of Drama: Principles of Composition," in *Contexts for Early English Drama*, eds. Marianne G. Briscoe and John C. Coldeway (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 173–91.
22. Sheingorn, "The Visual Language of Drama," 188.
23. As I will argue in chapter one, materiality is a particularly important element to consider with respect to medieval art. As Herbert L. Kessler writes, "Overt materiality is a distinguishing characteristic of medieval art . . . The materials do not vanish from sight through the mimicking of the perception of other things; to the contrary, their very physicality asserts the essential artifice of the image or object." *Seeing Medieval Art* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004), 19.
24. Robert Scribner describes piety as a "way of seeing" in "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late Medieval and Reformation Germany," *Journal of Religious History* 15 (1989): 456.
25. Here are just a few texts published on this subject in the last decade: Madeline H. Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds., *Gendering the Master Narrative* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003); A. B. Mulder-Bakker, ed., *Seeing and Knowing: Medieval Women and the Transmission of Knowledge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Pauline Stafford and Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, eds., *Gendering the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); and the *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality Series* published by Brepols.
26. Caroline Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991); *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
27. Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, 53.
28. Anna Dronzek, "Gendered Theories of Education in Fifteenth-Century Conduct Books," in *Medieval Conduct*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 142.

29. Ibid., 143. See also Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, 50–74; and Felicity Riddy, "Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text," *Speculum* 71, no. 1 (January 1996): 66–86.
30. Robert L. A. Clark, "Constructing the Female Subject in Devotion," in *Medieval Conduct*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 173–4.
31. See particularly *Performance and Cognition, eds.* Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart (New York: Routledge, 2006); *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy,* eds. David Krasner and David Z. Saltz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006); and the December 2007 issue of *Theatre Journal* dedicated to work on performance and cognition. Various medieval scholars are also using cognitive theory. See Anne L. Clark's essay "Why All the Fuss About the Mind? A Medievalist's Perspective on Cognitive Theory," in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, eds. Rachel Fulton and Bruce Holsinger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 170–81. The increasing number of conference sessions and the inception of the "Medieval Cognitive Literary and Scientific Studies" organization at the 2009 Medieval Congress at Western Michigan University reflect a growing interest in cognitive science among medievalists.
32. Bruce McConachie, "Metaphors We Act By: Kinesthetics, Cognitive Psychology, and Historical Structures," *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 8, no. 2 (1993): 23–45; "Approaching Performance History Through Cognitive Psychology," *Assaph* 10 (1994): 113–22; "Doing Things with Image Schemas: The Cognitive Turn in Theatre Studies and the Problem of Experience for Historians," *Theatre Journal* 53 (2001): 569–94; and *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
33. Bruce McConachie, "Preface," *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*, eds. Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart (New York: Routledge, 2006), ix.
34. Evan Thompson, *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of the Mind* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 14. For Mark Johnson's recent work in this area, see *The Meaning of the Body: Aesthetics of Human Understanding* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
35. Shaun Gallagher and Dan Zahavi, *The Phenomenological Mind: An Introduction to Philosophy of Mind and Cognitive Science* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 5, original emphasis. They also explain various changes that have motivated "a reconsideration of phenomenology as a philosophical-scientific approach," among these the notion of "embodied cognition," which took hold in the 1990s, and the progress in neuroscience (5).

36. McConachie, “Doing Things,” 583. This is why, according to McConachie, “certain kinds of plays fashion certain groups of spectators and vice versa” (ibid.).
37. Ibid., 571. McConachie tackles the issue of how cultural practices shape audience engagement in *Engaging Audiences* (121–83). He asserts, “Regarding culture, the mind/brain is neither ‘hard-wired’ for certain cultural responses nor is it a ‘blank slate’ or passive recorder that facilitates the direct transmission of individual and social experiences into memory. Rather . . . ‘the ecological brain’ both enables and constrains perceptions and practices, leading enculturated humans to a range of cultural-historical possibilities” (122).
38. Naomi Rokotnitz, “ ‘It is required/You do awake your faith’: Learning To Trust the Body Through Performing *The Winter’s Tale*,” in *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*, eds. Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart (New York: Routledge, 2006), 140.
39. In *Drama and Resistance*, Claire Sponsler also examines how medieval visual theory impacted lay devotional practices with images across genres. I see my work as building upon some of her conclusions. For example, Sponsler writes, “Like devotional images in books of hours, cycle plays asked from the spectator an imaginative projection into the representation such that the acts of spectatorship and participation were blurred” (151). As I will explain in chapters one and four, the theories of mirror neuron responses and conceptual blending reveal a cognitive basis for such blurring.
40. There has been a significant amount of research on the art and architecture of medieval York, including *York Art*, edited by Clifford Davidson, and the Royal Commission’s Inventories of Historical Monuments in York. I have used Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. Volume Three: Southwest of the Ouse* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1972) and *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. Volume Five: The Central Area* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1981).
41. E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1903).
42. Harold C. Gardiner, *Mysteries’ End* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946); V. A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966); Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).
43. Martin Stevens, *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles: Textual, Contextual, and Critical Interpretations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle: Essays and Documents* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1983); Peter W. Travis, *Dramatic Design in the Chester Cycle* (Chicago and London: University of

Chicago Press, 1982); Patrick J. Collins, *The N-Town Plays and Medieval Picture Cycles* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1979).

44. In *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles*, Martin Stevens identifies the York cycle as "more nearly a communal enterprise than any other extant English cycle" (17). Richard Beadle describes how York's cycle "contrasts variously with the eclectic approach to the cycle structure adopted by the compiler of the N-town manuscript, or Chester's self-conscious attempt to recreate the genre in a form appropriate to the changing times of the sixteenth century, or the radical experimentations with the individual components of the cycle found in the plays of the Wakefield Master." See "The York Cycle," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 89.
45. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), xix. My work relies heavily on the archival evidence compiled in these volumes. Although they represent the first volumes in the *REED* series and therefore maintain more restrictive criteria for dramatic evidence than later volumes, they offer an extraordinary collection of references to dramatic activity from public and ecclesiastical records. Unless specified, all English modernizations are my own and I use the Middle English transcriptions as they appear in these volumes. I use Johnston and Rogerson's English translations of Latin texts, but also include the page numbers of their transcriptions of the Latin originals in parentheses in the citation. Although there has been much thoughtful criticism of the *REED* series, this project's contribution is immense. For a constructive examination of *REED*, see Theresa Coletti's "Reading REED: History and the Records of Early English Drama," in *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain 1380–1530*, ed. Lee Patterson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 248–84, and Patricia Badir's response, "Playing Space: History, the Body, and Records of Early English Drama," *Exemplaria* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 255–79.
46. I am not suggesting that an exact reconstruction of the medieval performance could ever take place. However, York's topography still provides the pageant route, with many medieval buildings and churches along its path. As Eileen White admits, "it is still possible to walk the streets of York that contained the procession of wagons and by their shape and size dictated the style of performance, and sense a link between the old and the new tradition" (75). "Places to Hear the Play: The Performance of the Corpus Christi Play at York," *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 49–78.
47. The Guilds of York, "York Mystery Plays," http://www.yorkmysteryplays.co.uk/index.htm.

48. British Library Additional Manuscript 35290 contains the nearly complete text of the cycle, assembled sometime between 1463 and 1477. This manuscript, intended to be the official record of the text, was a public document and apparently compiled from guild prompt copies of the plays.
49. The other two manuscripts are the *B/Y Memorandum Book*, a later companion volume to the *A/Y* that is comprised in large part of guild ordinances, and the *E Memorandum Book*, which contains guild ordinances after 1573.
50. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, xix.
51. Ibid., 3. Revisiting the *A/Y* with a digital camera, Meg Twycross has identified previously unseen erasures and emendations that shed further light on the continually shifting life of the York cycle. In respect to this particular 1376 entry, she discovered that it "is written over an erasure in a different ink and different, later, hand, and that the accepted dating of the earliest record of the York cycle is therefore, to say the least, unsafe" (113). She suggests that, at this point, the hand looks like "one which appears later in the Memorandum Book, from the 1390s" (129). "The *Ordo paginarum* Revisited, with a Digital Camera," in "*Bring furth the pagants": Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*, eds. David Klausner and Karen Sawyer Marsalek (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 105–31.
52. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 701 (15). Source: *A/Y Memorandum*.
53. Alexandra F. Johnston argues that these plays were presented on wagons in the same processional format as the Corpus Christi cycle, and most scholars believe that both the Creed and Pater Noster plays were divided into smaller pageants that coincided with the petitions. See Johnston, "The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: The Creed Play and The Pater Noster Play," *Speculum* 50 (1975): 55–90. See also Sue Powell, "*Pastoralia* and the Lost York Plays of the Creed and Paternoster," *European Medieval Drama* 8 (2004): 35–50.
54. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 67.
55. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 693 (6). The guild was also responsible for maintaining "a certain drawing which hangs above a column in the cathedral church aforesaid, next to the above candelabrum and depicts the layout and usefulness of the Lord's Prayer", [864 (646)].
56. Ibid., 757 (80). The <…> surrounding words indicate that these are damaged or lost letters. The (…) surrounding letters or words indicate blank spaces in the original manuscript where writing might be expected.
57. Beckwith, *Signifying God*, xvi.
58. Ibid., 3.
59. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, "Becoming and Unbecoming," in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, eds. Cohen

and Wheeler (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1997), xviii.

One Performance Literacy

1. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. B. A. Windeatt (New York: Penguin, 1985), 186 (I.60.3492–5). For the original language, see *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Lynn Staley, TEAMS Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996) available online at: http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/staley.htm.
2. Ibid., 104 (I.28.1565–68).
3. James H. Marrow, "Symbol and Meaning in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance," *Simiolus* 16 (1986): 152, original emphasis.
4. Scholars of medieval drama who have attended to performance's visual contributions to lay devotional culture include: Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Victor I. Scherb, *Staging Faith: East Anglian Drama in the Later Middle Ages* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001); Theodore K. Lerud, *Memory, Images, and the English Corpus Christi Drama* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Glenn Ehrstine, *Theater, Culture, and Community in Reformation Bern, 1523–1555* (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 2002); and "Framing the Passion: Mansion Staging as Visual Mnemonic," in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 263–77.
5. Beth Williamson, "Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion," *Speculum* 79, no. 2 (April 2004): 381, 387.
6. Eamon Duffy, "Late Medieval Religion," in *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*, eds. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 57.
7. Ibid., 40. Comments by an Italian visitor to England in 1497 reflect this characteristic of lay piety: "Although they all attend mass every day, and say many Paternosters in public, the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read taking the office of our Lady with them and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse in a low voice after the manner of churchmen, they always hear mass on Sunday in their parish church." "A Relation . . . of the Island of England . . . about the Year 1500," in *Women in England c. 1275–1525: Documentary Sources*, ed. P. Jeremy P. Goldberg, trans. C. A. Sneyd (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 283.
8. David Saltz, "Infiction and Outfiction: The Role of Fiction in Theatrical Performance," in *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of*

Theater, Performance, and Philosophy, eds. David Krasner and David Saltz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 203.

9. Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 104.
10. For example, scholars have argued that the N-town manuscript was compiled for a reader. See Martin Stevens, *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles: Textual, Contextual, and Critical Interpretations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 184, 191. Darwin Smith makes similar conclusions about a medieval copy of *Pierre Pathelin*. See *Maistre Pierre Pathelin-Le Miroir d'Orgueil* (Saint-Benoît-du-Sault: Tarabuste Editions, 2002).
11. As David Morgan asserts, a popular religious image is not "a neutral or a blank slate, an unresistant medium that receives whatever believers wish to see limned there." *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 122.
12. A frequently quoted story from the early seventeenth century recounts an old man who, when quizzed on his knowledge of Christ, replied "I think I heard of that man you spake of, once in a play at Kendall, called Corpus Christi play, where there was a man on a tree, and the blood ran down." "The Life of Master John Shaw," in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Charles Jackson (Durham: Andrews and Company, 1877), 139. Another example appears in the late-fifteenth-century Dutch play *Mariken van Nieumeghen* when a young girl is persuaded to repent her sins after attending a public play that advocates repentance. This episode also appears in the sixteenth-century English version of this play: *Mary of Nemmegen*, ed. Margaret M. Raftery (Leiden: Brill, 1991).
13. Simon Shepherd, *Theatre, Body and Pleasure* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 36–7.
14. Stanton B. Garner, Jr., *Bodied Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 12.
15. Paul Stoller reviews Husserl's contribution to phenomenology in "Rationality," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 249.
16. Many scholars working with cognitive theory have also found Husserl's approach problematic. Although Evan Thompson's earlier work took this position, Husserlian phenomenology figures centrally in *Mind in Life*. Thompson devotes an appendix to explaining this attitudinal shift. *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of the Mind* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 413–6.
17. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (1945; New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962; reprint, London and New York: Routledge, 2005), xii.

18. Ibid., 239.
19. Garner, *Bodied Spaces*, 4.
20. Ibid., 5.
21. Stoller, "Rationality," 252.
22. Shepherd, *Theatre*, 85.
23. Ibid., 90.
24. Ibid., 78–82.
25. Ibid., 94–5.
26. Nelson Goodman, "Pictures in the Mind?" in *Image and Understanding: Thoughts about Images, Ideas About Understanding*, eds. Horace Barlow, Colin Blakemore, and Miranda Weston-Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 362–3.
27. Shaun Gallagher and Dan Zahavi, *The Phenomenological Mind: An Introduction to Philosophy of Mind and Cognitive Science* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 28.
28. Ibid., 30.
29. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, 358. Francisco J. Varela first outlined this approach in "Neurophenomenology: A Methodological Remedy for the Hard Problem," *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 3 (1996): 330–50. As Gallagher and Zahavi explain, neurophenomenology, as defined by Varela, originally signified "an approach to the neuroscience of consciousness that incorporates the phenomenological methodology outlined in the Husserlian tradition. In recent years, however, the term has been used in a much looser sense to signify any kind of appeal to first-person data in combination with data from neuroscience." *Phenomenological Mind*, 41.
30. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, 14.
31. At the end of part one of *Mind in Life*, Thompson asserts, "If we follow Merleau-Ponty's lead, but combine it with the more recent developments reviewed in this chapter and the previous one, then we can begin to envision a different kind of approach to matter, life, and mind from objectivism and reductionism. Starting from a recognition of the transcendental and hence ineliminable status of experience, the aim would be to search for morphodynamical principles that can both integrate the orders of matter, life, and mind, and account for the originality of each order. This approach is precisely what Varela envisioned in calling for a 'neurophenomenology' in mind science" (87). Thompson offers an excellent overview and analysis of Merleau-Ponty's work that connects it with the concerns of cognitive theory in *Mind in Life*, 3–87.
32. Johnson, *Body in the Mind*, 175.
33. Suzannah Biernoff, "Carnal Relations: Embodied Sight in Merleau-Ponty, Roger Bacon and St Francis," *Journal of Visual Culture* 4, no. 1 (2005): 39–40.
34. Robert S. Nelson, "Descartes's Cow and Other Domestications of the Visual," in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing*

as Others See, ed. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–21.

35. Michael Camille, "Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing," in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others See*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 208.
36. David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 104–21.
37. Ibid., 109.
38. Roger Bacon, *The Opus majus of Roger Bacon*, 3 vols, ed. John H. Bridges (London, 1900; Reprint, Frankfurt: Minerva-Verlag, 1964), 2: 52; as quoted in Lindberg, *Theories of Vision*, 115.
39. Ibid., 2: 71–2; as quoted in Lindberg, *Theories of Vision*, 113.
40. Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 75, emphasis mine.
41. Biernoff remarks, "As a scientist [Bacon] is attentive to the world of sensible forms; as a Christian he cannot dispense with a realm of pre-existent, universal and immutable truths" (ibid., 84).
42. Biernoff explains, "The images of the visible world reproduced in the eyes and brain are, for Bacon as for Aristotle, *material* images. The idea of the disembodied mind having visual experiences is an oxymoron in this context because the sensitive soul is embodied." "Carnal Relations," 42, original emphasis.
43. Ibid. Claire Sponsler also discusses the impact of medieval visual theory on the use of devotional images by the laity. She writes, "meditation on images was understood as offering immediate access to the 'real' thing. Images were not viewed as abstract illusions but rather as ways of perceiving the religious world and so providing a route to direct sensory experience from which the worshiper might otherwise be shut off" (122–3). *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 121–6.
44. Biernoff, "Carnal Relations," 48. Biernoff argues, "In medieval sources, and in Merleau-Ponty's writings, 'flesh' exceeds the visible body. Sight lends the flesh an intersubjective dimension; it literally carries carnality outside the viewer's corporeal envelope and into the world" (ibid., 45).
45. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 325.
46. Thompson, as well as Gallagher and Zahavi, discuss the mirror neuron system. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, 393–7; Gallagher and Zahavi, *Phenomenological Mind*, 177–81.
47. Giacomo Rizzolatti, Laila Craighero, and Luciano Fadiga, "The Mirror System in Humans," *Mirror Neurons and the Evolution of Brain and Language*, eds. Maxim I. Stamenov and Vittorio Gallese (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002), 37–59.

48. Vittorio Gallese and George Lakoff, "The Brain's Concepts: The Role of Sensory-Motor System in Conceptual Knowledge," *Cognitive Neuropsychology* 22, no. 3/4 (2005), 463. It is important to highlight the fact that not all of the neurons that fire when we execute an action also fire when we perceive that action; only a percentage of our brain cells function as mirror neurons. As Amy Cook notes, in order for the conversation between the sciences and humanities to be "mutually fruitful, it is important for both sides to recognize the limits, as well as the potential, of the theories and findings" and not to overstate the possibilities that cognitive theories offer. See "Interplay: The Method and Potential of a Cognitive Science Approach to Theatre," *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 4 (2007): 591.
49. Gallese and Lakoff, "The Brain's Concepts," 464.
50. As Gallese explains, experiencing an emotion like disgust and "witnessing disgust expressed by the facial mimicry of someone else both activate the same neural structure." "Embodied Simulation: From Neurons to Phenomenal Experience," *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences* 4, no. 1 (2005): 39.
51. Ibid., 39, 37.
52. It is important to recognize that mirror neuron system (MNS) research is still developing and that the evidence is far from conclusive. Recent articles have challenged the notion of action understanding through the MNS in humans or questioned the existence of an MNS in humans entirely. See Gregory Hickok, "Eight Problems for the Mirror Neuron Theory of Action Understanding in Monkeys and Humans," *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 21, no. 7 (2008): 1229–1243; and Angelika Lingnau, Benno Gesierich, and Alfonso Caramazza, "Asymmetric fMRI Adaptation Reveals No Evidence for Mirror Neurons in Humans," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106, no. 24 (2009): 9925–9930. Other scholars have challenged these positions. For example, Christian Keysers explains that currently there is "no individual piece of evidence generally accepted as definitive, but quite a lot of indirect evidence for human mirror neurons has been reported" (R971). He contends that "for each experiment that fails to find evidence for mirror neurons in humans there is at least one that succeeds," and notes that in recent fMRI experiments testing for evidence of mirror neuron response in humans "three of the four experiments that tried found such an effect. Given statistics that limit false positives to <5%, this ratio of 3:4 is strong evidence for the existence of human mirror neurons" (R972). However, although some preliminary research has linked the MNS to empathy and emotion, Keysers admits that further studies are needed, and he calls for caution when applying such preliminary data to suggest higher cognitive functions (R972–R973). Christian Keysers, "Mirror Neurons," *Current Biology* 19, no. 21 (2009): R971–R973.

53. Vittorio Gallese, "The Roots of Empathy: The Shared Manifold Hypothesis and the Neural Basis of Intersubjectivity," *Psychopathology* 36 (2003): 174.
54. Gallese, "Embodied Simulation," 35.
55. Making a similar point, Phillip B. Zarrilli suggests that "the actor's body is a site that generates representation, as well as experience, for both self and other," and that the actor's experience constitutes "one's being-in-the-world." "Towards a Phenomenological Model of the Actor's Embodied Modes of Experience," *Theatre Journal* 56, no. 4 (2004): 664. Zarrilli's recent work draws upon research into human perception and cognition. See "An Enactive Approach to Understanding Acting," *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 4 (2007): 635–47.
56. Gallese and Lakoff, "The Brain's Concepts," 456.
57. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 13.
58. Ibid., 19.
59. This approach is especially compatible with visual culture's shift from analyzing a visual work to analyzing vision itself.
60. Vittorio Gallese, Morris N. Eagle, and Paolo Migone, "Intentional Attunement: Mirror Neurons and the Neural Underpinnings of Interpersonal Relations," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 55, no. 1 (2007): 143.
61. Kai Vogeley and Albert Newen, "Mirror Neurons and the Self Construct," in *Mirror Neurons and the Evolution of Brain and Language,* eds. Maxim I. Stamenov and Vittorio Gallese (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002), 136.
62. Gallese, Eagle, and Migone, "Intentional Attunement," 143.
63. Ibid., 144.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., 151.
66. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, 393. In chapters five and six, I examine Thompson's larger theory of empathy in which he argues that while empathetic understanding occurs at the level of involuntary coupling, it is also established through other cognitive responses.
67. Bruce McConachie, *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 72.
68. Ibid.
69. Thompson argues, "For me to perceive the other—that is, for the other's bodily presence to be perceptually disclosed to me—the open intersubjectivity of perceptual experience must already be in play. Thus one's actual experience of another bodily subject is based on an *a priori* openness to the other. For the same reason, the intersubjective openness of consciousness cannot be reduced to any contingent and factual relation of self and other, for this openness belongs to

the very structure of subjectivity in advance of any such encounter." *Mind in Life*, 385.

70. Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 82.
71. Ibid. Robert Pasnau also discusses this characteristic of medieval visual theory in *Theories of Cognition in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 43. For example, Thomas Aquinas posited that "in the case of seeing, the pupil is altered through the species of a color." Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's De anima*, trans. K. Foster and S. Humphries (London: Routledge, 1951), Lectio 14 on Book II, paragraph 417. As quoted in Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 82.
72. Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 100, original emphasis.
73. Jean Gerson, "Treatise against *The Romance of the Rose*," in *Jean Gerson: Early Works*, trans. Brian Patrick McGuire (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 388, emphasis mine.
74. Augustine, *The Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 10.33.
75. Johnson, *Body in the Mind*, 19, 205; Gallese, "Embodied Simulation," 23–48.
76. Johnson, *Body in the Mind*, 20. Johnson uses Ulric Neisser's definition of schema.
77. Ibid., 21, original emphasis.
78. Tobin Nellhaus, "Performance Strategies, Image Schemas, and Communication Frameworks," in *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*, eds. Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart (New York: Routledge, 2006), 83.
79. Ibid., 82.
80. Biernoff suggests that "Studying historical accounts of embodied vision helps us to make sense of the power that images have exercised." "Carnal Relations," 44.
81. Portions of this section appeared in "The Material Bodies of Medieval Religious Performance in England," *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art, and Belief* 2, no. 2 (2006): 204–32.
82. *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993). My modernizations of the *Tretise* were made using Davidson's extensive glossary.
83. Lawrence Clopper summarizes these arguments in *Drama, Play, and Game*: *English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 63–107.
84. Jonas Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1981); Glending Olson, "Plays as Plays: A Medieval Ethical Theory of Performance and the Intellectual Context of the *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*," *Viator* 26 (1995): 195–221.
85. Clopper, *Drama, Play, and Game*, 63–107.
86. Olson, "Plays as Plays," 206.

87. Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, 76. While Sponsler analyzes this characteristic of the treatise in relation to misbehavior and carnivalesque play, I am interested in its relationship to pious intention and devotional response.
88. *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, 96, 104.
89. Ibid., 98, 99.
90. Ibid., 97.
91. Ibid., 101.
92. Ibid., 102.
93. Ibid., 102, emphasis mine.
94. Ibid., 104.
95. Ibid., 107.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., 109.
98. Theodore K. Lerud also examines Augustine's views on theatre, noting that Augustine's mistrust of theatre is informed by his mistrust of the senses. See *Memory,* 15–23.
99. Augustine, *On Genesis: Two Books on Genesis Against the Manichees and On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis*, trans. R. J. Teske (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1991), 2: 186–215.
100. Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 25.
101. Augustine, *The Confessions*, 10.35. For the original Latin text, I have used the online reprint of *Augustine: Confessions*, text and commentary by James J. O'Donnell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), for the Stoa Consortium 1999, http://www.stoa.org/hippo/.
102. Ibid., 3.1.
103. Ibid., 3.2, 3.3.
104. Garner writes that for early-twentieth-century modernists such as Gordon Craig and Adolphe Appia, "the actor's body threatened the stage's formal autonomy through its non-aesthetic physiology, its independent sentience, the various ways by which it registers its living presence . . . [it] posed a danger to the aesthetic enterprise through its insistent naturalism." *Bodied Spaces*, 57. I would argue that for the medieval theologian the spectator's body similarly threatened the devotional aesthetic because of its "insistent naturalism," which was believed to focus devotion on the flesh, rather than on the spirit. A moral objection to sensory interactions appears in medieval discourse on other sense experiences. For instance, Mary Carruthers analyzes uses and meanings of the term sweetness (suavis; dulcis) arguing that in the Middle Ages there rests a degree of ambivalence within this much used term. In particular, she describes how because sweetness can reside in things that are not good for us, it underscores how the physical, sensing body cannot always distinguish pleasure from evil. See "Sweetness," *Speculum* 81, no. 4 (2006): 999–1013.

105. Donnalee Dox, *The Idea of the Theater in Latin Christian Thought: Augustine to the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 14. Dox teases out the various ways in which Augustine employed and critiqued theatrics. For example, she demonstrates how "in *Soliloquies, Sermons, On Christian Doctrine*, and *Concerning the Teacher*, Augustine uses theater much more neutrally, to investigate the problem of truth and falsity writ large" (38). Dox's excellent study examines various conclusions about ancient theatre made by writers up to the fourteenth century. She notes that writers after Augustine did not have first-hand experience of the Greco-Roman theatrics they were theorizing, which perhaps suggests why discussion of theatricality's sensuality is largely missing from these later analyses. Significantly, the final text that Dox engages—Bartholomew of Bruges' *Brevis expositio supra poetriam Aristotelis* (1307)—begins to address issues of theatricality that would become central in treatises from subsequent centuries. Bartholomew's commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* acknowledges the presentational elements of ancient poetry and thus its material form in the world of the senses, thereby linking the kinds of knowledge that poetry offers to experiences of its material form. Dox identifies in Bartholomew "an emerging consciousness of the theatrical presentation of dramatic poetry" (121).
106. Ibid., 17.
107. Dox notes, "Augustine finds that the counterfeit emotions of the theater fail to provoke proper Christian compassion . . . Pity remains lodged in the soul of the observer, with no outlet other than the enjoyment of the emotion itself and with no reinforcement of Christianity's ethical demands for compassion." *Idea of the Theater*, 17. Here we find Augustine—unlike cognitive theory—implying that simulated emotions provoked by theatre are unreal. However, his vocabulary suggests that he did believe they had a very real, material presence.
108. Mary Thomas Crane uses cognitive theory to explore theatrical criticism in Early Modern England. Analyzing "documents of control, as well as antitheatrical tracts and plays themselves" Crane notes that "a range of words with very different connotations, emerges." Among these are the terms "keep, use, exercise," which emphasize "the process of performance and its material effects on both actors and audience." "What was performance?" *Criticism* 43, no. 2 (Spring 2001). In Expanded Academic ASAP [database online]. Accessed September 3, 2009.
109. Original: "Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa etiam ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt; unde et praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est." Latin and English translation as cited in Celia Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope

Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word and Image* 6 (1990): 139–40.

110. Ibid., 138.
111. For connections between iconoclasm and anti-theatrical prejudice, see *Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama*, eds. Clifford Davidson and Ann Eljenholm Nichols (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989); and Michael O'Connell, *The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm and Theater in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
112. Theodore K. Lerud, "Quick Images: Memory and the English Corpus Christi Drama," in *Moving Subjects: Procession Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001), 215. Lerud develops these ideas further in *Memory, Images, and the English Corpus Christi Drama*, especially in chapter five.
113. Reginald Pecock, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, ed. Churchill Babington (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Robert, 1860), 163, 214.
114. Ibid., 152. Original: "thei meenen and feelen that this ymage is the Trinyte, or that thilk ymage is verili Iesus, and so forth of other."
115. Ibid., 220–1.
116. Ibid., 221. Original: "whanne a quyk man is sett in a pley to be hangid nakid on a cros and to be in semyng woundid and scourged."
117. Lerud, *Memory*, 61.
118. British Library Add. 24202 contains *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge* (fols 14r–17v) and *Tretyse of Ymagis* (fols 26r–28v). I will refer to these texts as *Tretise* and *Ymagis* hereafter. A transcription of the Middle English *Ymagis* is published as "Images and Pilgrimages," in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. Anne Hudson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 83–8.
119. "Images and Pilgrimages," 83.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid., 84.
124. Ibid. *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, 107, 109. Original: "fleysly pley is not leveful with the gostly werkis of Crist and of his seintis"; "goinge backward fro dedis of the spirit to onely signes don after lustis of the fleysh."
125. "Images and Pilgrimages," 83.
126. Ibid., 84.
127. Ibid.
128. Sara Lipton, "'The Sweet Lean of His Head': Writing About Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages," *Speculum* 80, no. 4 (October 2005): 1173.

129. Ibid., 1200, 1175.
130. Ibid., 1201.
131. Herbert Kessler describes how in the Middle Ages "many materials were selected because they seemed, in their very nature, to negotiate between the world of matter and the world of spirit." *Seeing Medieval Art* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004), 29.
132. "Images and Pilgrimages," 84.
133. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, 19–42.
134. J. Giles Milhaven, "A Medieval Lesson on Bodily Knowing: Women's Experience and Men's Thought," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 52, no. 2 (1989): 356–7.
135. Ibid., 360, 355. Milhaven builds on Joanna E. Ziegler's analysis in *Sculpture of Compassion: The Pietà and the Beguines in the Southern Low Countries c. 1300–c. 1600* (Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1992). Ziegler's aim is "to pursue the exchange between material (object) and the immaterial (feeling), and to explore the construction of emotions through art" (15).
136. In their study of material possessions, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton assert "in all cases where actual physical objects become associated with a particular quality of the self, it is difficult to know how far the thing simply reflects an already existing trait and to what extent it anticipates, or *even generates*, a previous nonexistent quality." *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 28, emphasis mine.
137. "Images and Pilgrimages," 84.
138. Ibid., 85.
139. Ibid., 86.
140. Ibid., 87.
141. Ibid., 86.
142. Alice Rayner, "Presenting Objects, Presenting Things," in *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy*, eds. David Krasner and David Z. Saltz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 187–8.
143. Ibid., 185. Rayner builds on Martin Heidegger's theory of "thingness" and uses his example of the jug to distinguish between the object put before us and thingness.
144. Ibid., 195.
145. McConachie, *Engaging Audiences*, 83. Using neuroscientific evidence, Pierre Jacob and Marc Jeannerod suggest that seeing is the product of interplay between two visual systems. Looking at inanimate elements uses a system that creates "visual perceptions," while the system that processes actions generates "visuomotor representations"; simply put, seeing an object and seeing someone pick up an object trigger different visual systems. Jacob and Jeannerod, *Ways of Seeing: The Scope and Limits of Visual Cognition* (Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2003), xi–xvi. Watching theatre requires spectators to switch seamlessly between these two systems, something McConachie examines in "Falsifiable Theories for Theatre and Performance Studies," *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 4 (2007): 561–3.

146. David Freedberg and Vittorio Gallese, "Motion, Emotion and Empathy in Esthetic Experience," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 5 (2007): 200. For the debate on this issue, see Roberto Casati and Alessandro Pignocchi, "Mirror and Canonical Neurons are not Constitutive of Aesthetic Response," *TRENDS in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 10 (2007): 410, and Freedberg and Gallese's response, "Mirror and Canonical Neurons are Crucial Elements in Esthetic Response," *TRENDS in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 10 (2007): 411.
147. Freedberg and Gallese, "Motion, Emotion and Empathy," 200–1.
148. Ibid., 201. At a 2007 panel discussion entitled "Eye of the Beholder," in which both Freedberg and Gallese participated, Freedberg discussed work he and another neuroscientist were undertaking that examined how viewer responses change based upon visual medium. He explained, "we've been using transcranial magnetic stimulation, and we found that the motor evoked potentials for muscles—this is the realm of automaticity—when you observe a Michelangelo are greater than when you observe a photograph" (8). Transcript of "Eye of the Beholder," April 23, 2007, The Philoctetes Center, New York, NY, http://philoctetes.org/Past_Programs/Eye_of_the_Beholder.
149. Freedberg and Gallese, "Motion, Emotion and Empathy," 202.
150. Work by cognitive-evolutionary psychologists can help us explore this idea further. Research reveals that as children we begin to think of plants, animals, and humans as having immutable "essences," but that we do not ascribe these same essences to objects or artifacts. Instead, we tend to think of objects in terms of function. In her article "Essentialism and Comedy," Lisa Zunshine provides a brief review of the scholarship in this area. Zunshine suggests that it is in part because the set of essentialism-enabled inferences that we "use to deal with living things is very different from that for dealing with artifacts" that we find plays and stories involving "domain-crossing" so compelling (105, 106). "Essentialism and Comedy: A Cognitive Reading of the Motif of Mislaid Identity in Dryden's *Amphitryon* (1690)," in *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*, eds. Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart (New York: Routledge, 2006), 97–121. Zunshine draws heavily upon Susan Gelman's work, particularly *The Essential Child: Origins of Essentialism in Everyday Thought* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Although this research indicates that we process living things/people and objects differently, as Zunshine's article illustrates, the cognitive evidence also reveals the creative possibilities that can

emerge when our essentialist-assumptions about living things and our assumptions about objects blend. She also points out that a degree of "nervousness" surfaces "precisely because the 'essence' that we attribute to individuals cannot be captured" (113). My work in subsequent chapters is, in part, an examination of the potential enjoyment and anxiety that can arise from such blending, especially when it involves devotional media.

151. Roger Bacon maintained, righteous men "turn away their senses as far as possible from all species of delectable things . . . lest the species multiplied into the senses should compel the spirit to serve carnal allurements." Bacon, *Opus majus*, 1: 241; as quoted in Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 104.
152. Rayner writes, "the thing is not a product of the mind but an otherness that is recognized as having its own, for lack of a better phrase, life process." "Presenting Objects," 186.
153. Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 104.
154. David Z. Saltz, "Infiction and Outfiction: The Role of Fiction in Theatrical Performance," *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy*, eds. David Krasner and David Z. Saltz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 215, 214.
155. Ibid., 203.
156. In his article analyzing William Wordsworth's ethics of the thing, Adam Potkay examines the way the term "thing" had been employed before Wordsworth. According to Potkay, "in Old English there is no term such as *object*, for a material entity . . . From this linguistic detail we can surmise that medieval Germanic-language speakers . . . did not in general conceive of material objects in a delimited physical sense, as separate from events, from the constitution and frame of that which is and comes to be, from the transcendental condition for knowing what little we can know of systems or stories that exceed our comprehension." For example, he notes how in *Beowulf* " 'thing' designates narrative that is not fully known and gestures toward the unknowability of larger chains of events." Moreover, the *Oxford English Dictionary* indicates that it is not until William Blackstone's mid-eighteenth-century use of the term that we have "the first clear example of *thing* as a 'being without life or consciousness; an inanimate object, as distinguished from a person or living creature.' " Potkay, "Wordsworth and the Ethics of Things," *PMLA* 123, no. 2 (2008): 394.
157. Katherine Zieman, "Reading, Singing and Understanding: Constructions of the Literacy of Women Religious in Late Medieval England," in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 101.
158. Ibid., 103, 101. In relation to medieval nuns, Zieman constructs a notion of "liturgical literacy" that "could draw upon a number of learned abilities, from those we might qualify as musical (such as

solmization), to phonetic decoding skill, to mnemonic techniques, to a variety of grammatical proficiencies" (106).

159. Keyan G. Tomaselli and Arnold Shepperson remind us that "people simply are not *born* literate: they *become* more or less literate as they develop their endowments into talents through education . . . Everyday people get on with life as they encounter it, draw on their experience as a basis for getting along, and make it all intelligible by virtue of the fact that what they do *works for them*." " 'Speaking in Tongues, Writing in Vision': Orality and Literacy in Televangelistic Communications," in *Practicing Religion in the Age of the Media: Explorations in Media, Religion, and Culture*, eds. Stewart M. Hoover and Lynn Schofield Clark (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 348–9, original emphasis.
160. Gallese, "Eye of the Beholder," 7. Gallese also asserts that "there is already plenty of evidence showing that the degree and intensity to which such mirroring mechanisms can be evoked during, for example, observation of different actions, emotions or sensations, is potently driven by the personal experiential history of the individual displaying these responses. There are beautiful studies done on professional dancers, for example, which clearly exemplify that if you're a classical ballet dancer and if you watch classical ballet, as opposed to Capoeira, your mirror neuron system is more driven by the observation of classical ballet than when you observe Capoeira, and the other way around" (7).
161. As Mary Thomas Crane and Alan Richardson note, a number of cognitive philosophers "leave room for the 'emergence' of agency through the massive integration of neural activity." "Literary Studies and Cognitive Science: Toward a New Interdisciplinarity," *Mosaic* 32, no. 2 (1999). In Expanded Academic ASAP [database online]. Accessed September 3, 2009.
162. Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xix, 173.
163. One could argue that this kind of seeing through the body served to perpetuate the trend toward a more visceral faith that began among mystics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Caroline Bynum argues that mystical writing from this period expresses a desire for encounters with God and that "such desire is not only *for* bodies; it is lodged *in* bodies." "Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective," *Critical Inquiry* 22 (August 1995): 26. The connection between body and desire found in these texts also invaded lay pious practices. Anne L. Clark's essay "Why All the Fuss About the Mind? A Medievalist's Perspective on Cognitive Theory," in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, eds. Rachel Fulton and Bruce Holsinger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 170–81, uses cognitive theory to respond to and build upon Bynum's conclusions.

164. Kathleen Ashley argues that the metaphor of the tactic "allows us to see medieval dramatic performances as always a reinterpretation or adaptation of traditional myths and ideologies." I am suggesting that it also allows us to see the performance encounter as a reinterpretation or adaptation of the laity's traditional role in devotion and devotional seeing. See Ashley, "Contemporary Theories of Popular Culture and Medieval Performances," *Mediaevalia* 18 (1995): 9. Claire Sponsler also employs de Certeau's theory of consumption to analyze how medieval laity used devotional (including dramatic) images. See Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, xiv, 122.
165. In some ways, performance literacy is related to the educational concept of disciplinary literacy: "Disciplinary literacy is based on the premise that students can develop deep conceptual knowledge in a discipline only by using the habits of reading, writing, talking, and thinking which that discipline values and uses" (8). See Stephanie McConachie, et al., "Task, Text, and Talk," *Educational Leadership* 64, no. 2 (2006): 8–14. Similarly, I would situate the elements of visual, material, and performance culture that I analyze in these chapters within a shared discipline of lay devotion. Performance literacy involved certain habits of seeing, thinking, and engaging, and, I would argue, laypeople could only gain a full conceptual understanding of the larger discipline of lay devotion if they adopted these very habits as part of their pious practices. Thanks to Bruce McConachie for pointing out this relationship.
166. Oliver Gerland, "From Playhouse to P2P Network: The History and Theory of Performance under Copyright Law in the United States," *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 1 (2007): 92–3.
167. Aleksandra Wolska, "Rabbits, Machines, and the Ontology of Performance," *Theatre Journal* 57, no. 1 (2005): 88.
168. Biernoff notes that in the most prevalent medieval models, "perception involves a process of becoming, a period of gestation if you like, as the sensitive organs of the mind and body are assimilated with their objects." *Sight and Embodiment*, 102.
169. During the later Middle Ages, York had a clear sense of itself as an historically significant city. York was self-governing, the seat of England's other archbishopric, second only to Canterbury, and by the late fourteenth century had the second largest population in England estimated at fifteen thousand. As Peter Meredith writes, "it was clearly a city proud of its history and its status and jealous of its privileges." "The City of York and its 'Play of Pageants,'" *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 23.

Two Material Devotion

1. See Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Michael Ann

Holly, *Past Looking: The Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); and John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1972).

2. V. S. Ramachandran and Sandra Blakeslee, *Phantoms in the Brain: Probing the Mysteries of the Human Mind* (New York: Quill, 1998), 59. Their experiments also reveal that we sometimes project our own sensations onto external objects and assimilate them into our own body image, even when those objects, such as tables or chairs, have little resemblance to our bodies (58–62).
3. Suzannah Biernoff explains, "medieval vision had a kinaesthetic dimension. It involved a sensation of movement." *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 97.
4. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 328. On memory in will-making practices, see Robert N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 191–234, 322–9.
5. Various scholars have analyzed medieval wills as examples of identity performance, and the funerals they describe as public performances. For example, see Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 67–106; and Gail Camiciotti Del Lungo, "Performative Aspects of Late Medieval Wills," *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 3, no. 2 (2002): 205–27.
6. This is the same period for which we have records of York's cycle performances. I surveyed over three hundred wills from the York diocese, concentrating on those made by people who identified themselves as members of parish churches in the city. I considered evidence from two sources: Registers of the Exchequer and Prerogative Court of the Archbishops of York, held at the Borthwick Institute (hereafter BI Reg., followed by volume and folio numbers) and Registers of the Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter, held at the York Minster Library (hereafter D&C Reg., followed by volume and folio numbers). Indices for these collections are published as: F. Collins, ed., *Index of Wills etc. from the Dean and Chapter of York, 1321–1636*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 38 (1907) and F. Collins, ed., *Index of Wills in the York Registry, vol. 1, 1389–1514 & vol. 2, 1514–1553*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 6 & 11 (1891 and 1899). I reviewed microfilm copies of the original manuscripts for every will that I cite. All modernized English translations of Middle English wills are mine, unless otherwise noted. I use published transcriptions of Middle English and translations of Latin when available, and will specify when these are my own. My primary sources for transcriptions are the *Testamenta Eboracensia* series,

Surteees Society: vol. I, wills up to 1429 (1836); vol. II, 1429–67 (1855); vol. III, 1467–85 (1865); vol. IV, 1485–1509 (1869); vol. V, 1509–34 (1884); vol. VI, 1534–50 (1902) (hereafter *TE*, followed by volume and page number), and *Some Early Civic Wills of York*, ed. R. Beilby Cooke, compiled from York Architectural Society Reports and Papers, 8 vols (1906, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1919) (hereafter Cooke, followed by year and page number). While extremely useful, these volumes do not always include the full text of a will and are therefore problematic when not used in conjunction with the manuscript originals.

7. Clive Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered," in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), 17.
8. Ibid., 18.
9. Peter Heath, "Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills," in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R. B. Dobson (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 210.
10. P. Jeremy P. Goldberg, "Lay Book Ownership in Late Medieval York: The Evidence of Wills," *The Library* 16, no. 3 (September 1994): 182. There are several gaps in York's medieval probate records. In addition to smaller interruptions, the Borthwick evidence has large gaps from October 1408 to March 1417, and from January 1418 to May 1426.
11. Clive Burgess notes that a meager will may indicate that the testator died "with his wishes and estate well in order and with widow and parish prepared for what was to be done, rather than suggesting lack of funds or apathy toward religion." "Late Medieval Wills," 21.
12. For an introduction to the typical features of late medieval wills from York and customary funeral practices, see P. S. Barnwell, "'Four hundred masses on the four Fridays next after my decease.' The Care of Souls in Fifteenth-Century All Saints', North Street, York," in *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York*, eds. Barnwell, Claire Cross, and Ann Rycraft (Reading: Spire Books, 2005), 57–87. For funeral practices in late medieval England, see also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 301–76.
13. Thomas Bracebrig, 4 September 1436, proved 10 May 1437 (BI Reg. 3 fols 487v–490r)
14. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 332.
15. John Dautre, 20 May 1458, proved 14 August 1459 (BI Reg. 2, fols 413r–414r): fol. 413r. Original: "coram ymagine Sanctissimi Johannis Baptistae quem prae ceteris Sanctis a juventute mea in maximo ardoris amore habuissem" (*TE* 2, 230–1).

16. John Mirk, *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus*, vol. 1, ed. Theodor Erbe (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905; Kraus Reprint, 1987), 297.
17. Both wax candles and torches are stipulated in wills. According to Duffy, torches refer to flaring lights made with thick plaited wicks and a mixture of resin and wax. *Stripping of the Altars*, 96.
18. Bracebrig, 487v.
19. Ibid. These include candles placed before images of the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and St. Anne, and one maintained before the Crucifix in the Rood loft.
20. P. S. Barnwell and Claire Cross note, "at their deaths virtually all of the more prosperous York testators paid for the four orders of friars to celebrate Masses for the welfare of their soul." "The Mass in its Urban Setting," in *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York*, eds. Barnwell, Cross, and Ann Rycraft (Reading: Spire Books, 2005), 23.
21. Barnwell, "'Four hundred masses,'" 60.
22. Ibid., 62. "Placebo" refers to the first line in the office of Vespers of the dead ("I shall please the Lord in the land of men") from Psalm 116 verse 9, and "Dirige" is the first word of the antiphon at the office of Matins for the dead, taken from Psalm 5 verse 8. The line reads "Dirige, Domine, Deus Meus, in conspectus tuo viam meam" (Direct my way in your sight, O Lord my God).
23. Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 113, 114. Yardley builds on Clifford Flanagan's "Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspectives," in *Moving Subjects: Procession Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001), 35–51.
24. Pilgrimage by proxy was "a common occurrence in wills from all over England up to and beyond the break with Rome." Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 193. Pilgrimage by proxy stipulations appear in: Dame Jane Chaumerleyn (dated 1502; BI Reg. 6 fols 34v–35v); John Cowper (dated 1518; BI Reg. 9 fol. 71v); Thomas Batley (dated 1521; BI Reg. 9 fol. 217v); and Thomas Strangwayes (dated 1525; BI Reg. 9 fols 343v–344r).
25. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 193.
26. Barnwell, "'Four hundred masses,'" 63; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 361–2.
27. Drew Leder, *The Absent Body* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 124–5.
28. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 243.
29. Ibid., 247–8.

30. *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, ed. R. H. Skaife (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1872).
31. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 701 (15).
32. Ibid., 702 (15).
33. Ibid., 777 (109).
34. Ibid., 780 (117).
35. Ibid., 283.
36. Ibid., 735 (51).
37. Ibid., 736 (52).
38. Ibid., 735 (51).
39. Ibid., 736 (52).
40. Maintaining the prescribed processional order seems to have become more challenging during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Multiple entries in the House Books outline penalties for those who do not attend the procession and describe efforts to regulate the event more closely. In addition, disputes between guilds regarding the processional order appear repeatedly throughout the civic record. A disagreement between the Cordwainers and Weavers continued for many years. In 1492 the Cordwainers were ultimately fined because they did not carry their torches in the procession as ordered to by the mayor and common council. Other disputes arose as well, such as a 1530 disagreement between the Carpenters and the Joiners and Carvers. See Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 186, 166, 252.
41. Funeral custom involved taking the body to the church "the day before the burial, and for the coffin, sometimes draped in a pall, to be surrounded by a timber frame, or hearse, which held candles." Later that same day the first part of the Office of the Dead was performed, which consisted of the Placebo. An overnight vigil was held, followed, the next day, by the second part of the Office (the Dirige) and, later that day, the Requiem Mass. At that point, the body was usually taken out of the coffin for burial. Barnwell, " 'Four hundred masses,' " 62.
42. Bracebrig, 489v; my transcription; translation from Cooke, 1915: 14.
43. Ibid.
44. Guaranteeing that a funeral procession would take place during daylight hours was a more pressing concern for those living in northern cities, such as York, where winter days are extremely short. Memory of the plague may have included stories about the logistical need to conduct many funeral processions after daylight.
45. This organization was first established in 1357 as the fraternity and guild of Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, associated with the parish church of St. Crux. Between 1358 and 1361, the fraternity built a guildhall on the Foss River, which still stands today. The

guild was associated with the Mercers' craft from its earliest years and by 1420 more than two-thirds of the men working in the guild's hospital were Mercers; however, other professions are represented among testamentary gifts to the guild. Because the religious guild seems to have offered a fertile beginning for the Mercers' guild, but was always open to a wider range of professions, any analysis of the Mercers' pageant must acknowledge the variety of individuals who may have contributed to the play's design and performance (including the guild's female members), and also how the Mercers' organization was simultaneously secular and sacred in nature. D. M. Palliser, *Company History* (York: The Company of Merchant Adventurers of the City of York, 1998), 4; David Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389–1547* (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 139–40.

46. Palliser, *Company History*, 5. Kate Crassons analyzes how the Mercers' guild documents and *Last Judgment* pageant present poverty, charity, and community. See "The Challenges of Social Unity: The *Last Judgment* Pageant and Guild Relations in York," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 305–34.
47. For detailed analyses of this indenture, see Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Dorrell, "The Doomsday Pageant of the York Mercers, 1433," *Leeds Studies in English* 5 (1971): 29–34; Johnston and Dorrell, "The York Mercers and their Pageant of Doomsday, 1433–1526," *Leeds Studies in English* 6 (1972): 10–35; Peter Meredith, "The Development of the York Mercers' Pageant Waggon," *Medieval English Theatre* 1 (1979): 5–18.
48. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 55. Original: "A Pagent With iiij Wheles helle mouthe iij garments of iij deuels vj deuelles faces in iij Vesernes Array for ij euell saules þat is to say ij Sirkes ij paire hoses ij vesenes & ij Chauelers Array for ij gode saules þat ys to say ij Sirkes ij paire hoses ij vesernes & ij Cheuelers ij paire Aungell Wynges with Iren in þe endes...A cloud & ij peces of Rainbow of tymber Array for god þat ys to say a Sirke Wounded a diademe With a veserne gilted A grete coster of rede damaske payntid for the bakke syde of þe pagent...iiij squared to hang at þe bakke of god iiij Irens to bere vppe heuen iiij finale coterelles & a Iren pynne A brandreth of Iren þat god sall sitte vppon when he sall sty vppe to heuen With iiij rapes at iiij corners."
49. Stanton B. Garner, Jr., *Bodied Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 89.
50. A three-play series related to the death of the Virgin appears at the end of the cycle: *The Death of the Virgin*, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, and *The Coronation of the Virgin*. The series appears between the pageants *Pentecost* and *The Last Judgment*. Originally there were four plays in this group, but *The Funeral of the Virgin*, also known as

the "Fergus" play, does not survive. For work on contemporary staging of these plays, see John McKinnell, "Producing the York *Mary* plays," *Medieval English Theatre* 12 (1990): 101–23.

51. Original: "Rise Marie, þou maiden and modir so milde"; "Come vppe to þe kyng to be crouned." *The York Plays*, ed. Richard Beadle (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), cited by play number and line numbers. For modern translations of a selection of York's pageants, see Richard Beadle and Pamela M. King, eds., *York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). Beadle's new edition of the plays is currently forthcoming: *The York Plays*. Volume 1: The Text, ed. Richard Beadle. Early English Text Society, supplementary series 23 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).
52. Original: "For to my tales þat I telle þei are not attendinge"; "I schall þe schewe / A token trewe / Full fresshe of hewe, / My girdill, loo, take þame þis tokyn."
53. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 709 (23).
54. Mary's Assumption is described in an apocryphal book attributed to John the Evangelist. *The Golden Legend*, a collection of saints' lives compiled around 1260 by Jacobus de Voragine, provides us with a version of the Assumption narrative that handles Thomas's doubt differently: "Thereupon Mary's soul entered her body, and she came forth glorious from the monument and was assumed into the heavenly bridal chamber, a great multitude of angels keeping her company. Thomas, however, was absent, and when he came back refused to believe. Then suddenly the girdle that had encircled her body fell intact into his hands, and he realized that the Blessed Virgin has really been assumed body and soul." Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 82.
55. Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 17.
56. Ibid., 18, 19.
57. Original: "Petrus: Itt is welcome iwis fro þat worthy wight, / For it was wonte for to wappe þat worthy virgine. / Jacobus: Itt is welcome iwis from þat lady so light, / For hir wombe scho wrappe with it and were it with wynne / Andreas: Itt is welcome iwis fro þat saluer of synne, / For scho bende it aboute hir with blossome so bright. / Johannes: Itt is welcome iwis from þe keye of our kynne, / For aboute þat reuerent it rechid full right."
58. Alice Rayner, "Presenting Objects, Presenting Things," in *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy,* eds. David Krasner and David Z. Saltz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 191.
59. Original: "Now knele we ilkone / Vppone oure kne"; "To þat lady free."

60. Rayner, "Presenting Objects," 192, original emphasis.
61. Ruth Evans also discusses how this play associates the girdle with Mary's body. She argues that the pageant sexualized the girdle with the apostles treating it "almost as a fetish, dwelling on its proximity to Mary's body" (210). "When a Body Meets a Body: Fergus and Mary in the York Cycle," in *New Medieval Literatures,* eds. Wendy Scase, Rita Copeland, and David Lawton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 193–212. Although I interpret the degree of fetishism in this pageant as related to the girdle's status as a devotional object, rather than as a sexualized object, these readings are not mutually exclusive. A variety of medieval practices involving saints' relics can be interpreted as simultaneously devotional and sexual in nature. For a collection of hagiographic material, see Thomas Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 2001).
62. Girdles were valued as mnemonic objects, bequeathed by and to both men and women, and often decorated to enhance their memorializing capabilities. For instance, Beatrix Santon bequeaths a small girdle ornamented with silver letters to John Haliwell, her clerk and relation. Beatrix, wife of Thomas Santon, citizen and draper, York, 10 March 1405, proved 15 Mar 1405 (BI Reg. 3 fols 246r–v): 246v. Girdles are mentioned in fifteen of the wills in my survey.
63. Rayner, "Presenting Objects," 196. Rayner uses this phrase in respect to the work of Tadeusz Kantor.
64. Richard Marks, "An Age of Consumption: Art for England c. 1400–1547," in *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*, eds. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 15.
65. Susan Foister, "Private Devotion," in *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*, eds. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 334–6. Eamon Duffy discusses—and in part refutes—arguments about "laicisation" as they pertain to Books of Hours. See *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).
66. Susan Foister, "Paintings in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories," *Burlington Magazine* 123, no. 938 (May 1981): 273–82. Foister lists a number of terms used for images that appear in late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century inventories including: "costryngs" (a common type of hanging), "hanging paynted," "pageant" (Foister suggests that this denotes a smaller type of painted hanging), "ymage," "table" or "tabelet," and "picture."
67. Annas Thomson, 5 Oct 1546, proved 21 Oct 1546 (D&C Reg. 3 fols 16r–v): 16r. Original: "paynted clothe hanging in my halle having one pieta upon it"; "one paynted clothe hanging at my bedside having upon it one Image of our Ladie"; and "one of the lityll paynted clothe that hang in my bed" (my transcription).
68. P. M. Stell and Louise Hampson outline the standard format used for medieval English inventories, as well as medieval monetary values, in

Probate Inventories of the York Diocese 1350–1500 (York: Unpublished typescript, 2005), 3–7, 11. Bound copies of the typescript are available through the York Minster Library. Monetary values in York's medieval records are given in pre-decimal notation. Four farthings equaled one penny (d.); twelve pennies totaled one shilling (s.); and, twenty shillings equaled a pound (£1). Sometimes values are given in marks, with one mark typically worth 13s. 4d.

69. Ibid., 5–7.
70. Foister, "Paintings," 278.
71. Stell and Hampson, *Probate Inventories*, 155. Original: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Dean and Chapter of York, Original Wills, 1383–1499. "Chapman" usually denotes either dealer or peddlar, which means there is a chance that Gryssop may have sold images himself. Although I use their translations, I reviewed the original manuscripts for those inventories that I cite from Stell and Hampson.
72. Ibid., 314–15. Original: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Dean and Chapter of York, Original Wills, 1383–1499.
73. Ibid., 287. Original: York Minster Library, Probate Jurisdiction, Inventories, L1(17)6.
74. Ibid., 159–70. Original: York Minster Library, Probate Jurisdiction, Inventories, L1(17)44.
75. Ibid., 192–223. Original: York Minster Library, Probate Jurisdiction, Inventories, L1(17)17.
76. William Revetour, 2 August 1446, codicil 11 August 1446, proved 3 September 1446 (BI Reg. 2 fols 137v–138v): 138r.
77. Revetour's performance-related entries appear in Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 68. For a Latin transcription and English translation of Revetour's entire will, see Alexandra F. Johnston, "William Revetour, Chaplain and Clerk of York, Testator," *Leeds Studies in English* 29 (1998): 153–71.
78. "Quemdam librum vocatum le Crede Play cum libris & vexillis eidem pertinentibus." Revetour, 138v; transcription and translation Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 68 (746).
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Revetour, 138r–v. Transcription from Johnston, "William Revetour," 161; translation 169.
82. Revetour, 138v. Transcription from Johnston, "William Revetour," 165–7; translation 171.
83. Thomas Wod, draper and alderman, Hull, 3 November 1490, proved 25 Nov 1491 (BI Reg. fols 402v–403v): 403r. The term "bed" usually refers to bedding. This is almost certainly the case here, since Wod uses the phrase "Arras work" typically employed in wills to indicate a rich style of tapestry fabric associated with Arras, France. Stell and Hampson, *Probate Inventories*, 349, 347.

84. Katheryne the Countes of Northumberlande, widow of the Earl of Northumberland, 14 October 1542, proved 9 November 1542 (BI Reg. 11 fols 638r–v): 638v. Original: "a rynge of golde to remember and pray for me" (Transcription *TE* 4: 168).
85. David Freedberg and Vittorio Gallese, "Motion, Emotion and Empathy in Esthetic Experience," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 5 (2007): 197–203. Alice Rayner suggests something similar when she argues that the surfaces of objects offer a degree of "tactility" that can exceed visibility and representational modes of signification. "Presenting Objects," 195.
86. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 16. See also *The York Play: A Facsimile of British Library MS Additional 35290, together with a Facsimile of the Ordo Paginarum Section of the A/Y Memorandum Book, and a Note on the Music by Richard Rastall*, eds. Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith (Leeds: University of Leeds, School of English, 1983).
87. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 703 (17).
88. Ibid., 707 (22).
89. Ibid., 708 (23).
90. Ibid., 109.
91. "And concerning the rent of the first station, it is let to William Catterton and others beyond the station of the common clerk." Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 801 (187). Source: City Chamberlains' Rolls. See also Peter Meredith, "John Clerke's Hand in the York Register," *Leeds Studies in English* 12 (1981): 245–71.
92. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 722 (37). Richard Beadle discusses possible reasons for this performance change in "The York Cycle," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 100–2.
93. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 722 (37).
94. Ibid., 722 (37).
95. A similar concern is expressed in the Banns to the Chester cycle. Although the 1609 Banns describe Chester's pageants as "set forth apparently to all eyes," the anxiety over reception expressed here is directed at the performance's verbal cues: "Condemn not our matter when simple words you hear / which convey at this day little sense or understanding." Lawrence Clopper, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Chester* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 240, 241. Peter Meredith identifies in these words an "awareness of the old-fashionedness of the language at Chester" that, over the years, would have caused it to sound different to audiences, something he believes may also have been the case in sixteenth-century York. See "The City of York and its 'Play of Pageants,'" *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 27. As the English language transformed during the cycle's lifetime, to some degree York's laity must have recognized that the pageant texts were no longer, if they had indeed ever been, stable sites of meaning. For commentary on the York cycle's inherent textual

instability, see Pamela M. King, "The York Cycle and Instruction on the Sacraments," in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 178; and *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 182.

96. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 732 (47–8). For work on this lost pageant and the laughter it provoked, see Evans, "When a Body Meets a Body," 193–212.
97. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 732 (48).
98. Ibid., 732–3 (48).
99. The Masons may have been unhappy for other, less devotional or performance-oriented reasons. For instance, they may have wanted to finish early so that they could take part in the day's other festivities. Yet, because their concern about daylight is juxtaposed against concerns about the pageant's sacred, devotional goals, I would argue that, at least when presenting their case, they framed the issue of daylight as a concern about the audience's ability to see the pageant and thereby receive its spiritual benefits.
100. David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 48.
101. Seth Lerer identifies in medieval drama "a growing self-consciousness about the theatricality of theater." " 'Representyd now in yower syght': The Culture of Spectatorship in Late Fifteenth Century England," in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, eds. Barbara Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 34. For instance, according to the extant production records from the Gréban-Michel *Passion*, presented at Mons from July 5 to 12, 1501, this performance had spectacular visual effects, including devices that caused blood to pour from Christ's wounds and fire-throwing machines. See *Le livre de conduite du régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501 (The Director's Handbook and the Expense Record for the Mystery of the Passion Performed at Mons in 1501)*, ed. Gustave Cohen (Paris: Champion, 1925). For primary evidence about staging medieval religious performances, much of which concerns visual elements, see Peter Meredith and John E. Tailby, *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documentation in English Translation* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982).

Three Claiming Devotional Space

1. York's Minster is both a cathedral, a term applied to the principal church within a bishop's diocese that houses the episcopal throne,

and a Minster, which denotes a church attached to a monastery. The cathedral is dedicated to St. Peter and is often referred to in wills as the cathedral church of St. Peter.

2. John H. Harvey, "Architectural History from 1291 to 1558," in *A History of York Minster*, eds. G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 149–92; R. B. Dobson, "The Later Middle Ages, 1215–1500," in *A History of York Minster*, 44–109.
3. A number of wills from York include bequests to the head of Richard Scrope, which was kept as a relic at his shrine near the city's Clementhorpe neighborhood, and these donations (such as girdles, jewelry, torches, and beads) attest to the strength of his cult in the city and diocese. For examples, see Katherine de Craven, 1418 (BI Reg. 3 fols 613r–v); John Dautre, 1458 (BI Reg. 2, fols 413r–414r); Isabell Bruce, 1477 (BI Reg. 5 fol. 17v); and Alison Clark 1509 (D&C Reg. 2 fols 82r–83v).
4. Dobson, "The Later Middle Ages," 108.
5. Ibid.
6. The present boss in the Minster is a reproduction made from John Browne's drawing of the fourteenth-century original. For an image and description, see *York Art: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1978), 100.
7. Sara Lipton, " 'The Sweet Lean of His Head': Writing About Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages," *Speculum* 80, no. 4 (October 2005): 1202. I discuss Lipton's analysis in chapter one.
8. Katherine French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 20. Eamon Duffy lists various objects for which parishioners were responsible. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 132–4.
9. French, *People of the Parish*, 173.
10. A. G. Dickens, ed., "Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation," *English Historical Review* 62 (1947): 58–83. Parkyn's will, dated March 16, 1568, appears in the York Probate Registry and indicates that he was a parish priest in Adwick, near Doncaster. See BI Reg. 19 fols 54v–55r.
11. "Robert Parkyn's Narrative," 66. My modern translation of the Middle English.
12. Ibid., 68, 68–9.
13. Ibid., 74.
14. Ibid., all excerpts from 68, except the final quotation from 75.
15. Ibid., 80.
16. Paul Binski, "The English Parish Church and Its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem," *Studies in Iconography* 20 (1999): 3, 18.

17. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. Volume Five: The Central Area* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1981), 6. Most of the medieval parish glass can be found in All Saints Pavement, Holy Trinity Goodramgate, St. Martin Coneystreet, St. Michael-le-Belfry, and St. Michael Spurriergate. St. Denys' Walmgate houses York's only extant example of thirteenth-century glass in a parish church.
18. Rachel Fulton makes a similar point in her article "Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice," *Speculum* 81, no. 3 (2006): 700–33. Analyzing prayers as experiences, Fulton attempts to "use" medieval prayers herself as one mode of inquiry. She writes, "it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to handle such artifacts as prayers without experiencing something of their intended effect. Some readers may find this unsettling, not what they are used to in reading an academic article" (707).
19. P. S. Barnwell notes, "All Saints' stands in the middle rank in the 1524 Lay Subsidy," which suggests that by the end of the Middle Ages this parish was average in terms of wealth. " 'Four hundred masses on the four Fridays next after my decease.' The Care of Souls in Fifteenth-Century All Saints', North Street, York," in *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York*, eds. Barnwell, Claire Cross, and Ann Rycraft (Reading: Spire Books, 2005), 60.
20. The size and color of the chancel's hammerbeam angels may have made them visible to some of the laity standing in the nave.
21. Barnwell, " 'Four hundred masses,' " 70–7. A chantry was an office established for a priest in a specific chapel or altar within a church. The priest's duty was to offer prayers and Masses for the souls of its founder and any others whom the founder named. See Clive Burgess, "For the Increase of Divine Service: Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985): 46–65.
22. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 95.
23. Ibid., 112.
24. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 49–63. Eamon Duffy argues that the effectiveness of the large veil used during Lent to completely conceal the high altar from the laity "derived from the fact that it obscured for a time something which was normally accessible." *Stripping of the Altars*, 111.
25. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 97–9.
26. Eamon Duffy notes that although a rich array of altars and chantries is usually associated with larger churches and cathedrals, "even small churches had their quota of altars for the celebration of gild and chantry Masses, all crammed into the nave." *Stripping of the Altars*, 113.
27. Ibid., 112. Duffy also describes how these side altars made use of the rood screen "as the backdrop" for the Mass (113).

28. *The Pricke of Conscience*, ed. Richard Morris (Berlin: A. Asher, 1863; London: Philological Society, 1863).
29. Barnwell, " 'Four hundred masses,' " 81.
30. Reginald Bawtre, 21 Nov 1429, proved 21 Nov 1429 (BI Reg. 2 fols 572r–v).
31. Barnwell, " 'Four hundred masses,' " 81. Clara Barnett, "Memorials and Commemoration in the Parish Churches of Late Medieval York," 2 vols (PhD diss., University of York, 1997), 326.
32. According to E. A. Gee, an inscription originally under the images in the window's eastern donor panel reads "Rogeri Henrison et Cecilie uxoris ejus. Abel Hesyl et Agnete ... et omni fidelium defunct." An inscription under the images in the center donor panel reads "et dni. H. Hesyl." Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street," *Archaeologia* 102 (1969): 161, 162.
33. Barnwell, " 'Four hundred masses,' " 81.
34. Ibid., 77; French, *People of the Parish*, 170–3.
35. French, *People of the Parish*, 162. French analyzes the English parish church's "architecture of community" and suggests the ways in which design relates to social and devotional functions. For instance, she writes, "As the laity filled their nave with pews, chapels, and side altars, they shaped the route of the liturgical processions and compelled the clergy to acknowledge their social concerns, while caring for their spiritual ones" (155). See ibid., 142–74.
36. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 96.
37. Corine Schleif, "Hands that Appoint, Anoint and Ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation Through Painting," *Art History* 16, no. 1 (March 1993): 1–32.
38. Alice Rayner notes that "the staging of things put them in process, traveling between a gathering of objects from the world, showing them in the transit of performative present, and still allowing their embeddedness in signification to trail along." "Presenting Objects, Presenting Things," in *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy,* eds. David Krasner and David Z. Saltz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 189.
39. This practice of dressing a saint's statue in layers of clothes and accoutrements is exactly the kind of devotional activity to which the *Ymagis* author objects. Original will Katherine de Craven, 20 July 1418, proved 28 Jan 1419 (BI Reg. 3 fols 613r–v): 613v; Latin translation from Cooke 1913: 314–17.
40. Mary E. Fissell, "The Politics of Reproduction in the English Reformation," *Representations* 87 (Summer 2004): 54.
41. Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London: Stationery Office, 1998). Spencer notes that by the fifteenth century such souvenirs included "religious pictures, statuettes of saints, votive figurines, candles and candleholders, as well as secular and

heraldic badges, bells, whistles and other knick-knacks, which had nothing to do with the shrine concerned" (5).

42. Pamela King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 136.
43. Some medieval devotees believed that Christ and the Virgin animated the pictures and sculptures depicting them. They sometimes addressed sacred images as persons and even attributed sensitive faculties to images. Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 135, 212. See also Richard Trexler, *Church and Community 1200–1600: Studies in the History of Florence and New Spain* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1987).
44. French, *The People of the Parish*, 155.
45. John Schofield, "Urban Housing in England, 1400–1600," in *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400–1600*, eds. David Gaimster and Paul Stamper (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 140–1.
46. P. Jeremy P. Goldberg, "Household and the Organisation of Labour in Late Medieval Towns: Some English Evidence," in *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared*, eds. Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens (Louvain-Apeldoorn: Garant, 2001), 59–70; Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
47. Felicity Riddy, "Looking Closely: Authority and Intimacy in the Late Medieval Urban Home," in *Gendering the Master Narrative*, eds. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 217.
48. According to Riddy, these "demands of the body" included "eating, sleeping, washing, getting dressed and undressed, preparing the food and clearing it away; raising the children; tending the sick and the dying" (ibid., 222).
49. Ibid.
50. For work on the development of an idea of "one's own body" and its relationship to sacrality, see Alain Boureau, "The Sacrality of One's Own Body in the Middle Ages," *Yale French Studies* 86 (1994): 5–17.
51. W. L. Hildburgh, "Folk-life Recorded in Medieval English Alabaster Carvings," *Folklore: Transactions of the Folk-lore Society* 60, no. 2 (1949): 252.
52. Francis Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters: With a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 13–17.
53. F. Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York from the City Records, 1272–1558* (London: Surtees Society, 1896), 177, 183, 185, 187, 194, 213, 246.

54. Richard Marks, "An Age of Consumption: Art for England c. 1400–1547," in *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*, eds. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 22. The *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, Volume 3, ed. S. G. Johnson (London and Nottingham: Bernard Quaritch and Thomas Forman and Sons, 1885) contains a number of cases that appear to involve alabasters. An April 1492 action prices a head of Saint John the Baptist at 5 shillings (22), and a January 1500 appraisement lists six heads of John the Baptist as worth 8 pennies (74). The 1402 probate inventory of John de Scardeburgh includes an alabaster image of Mary Magdalene worth 2 shillings. P. M. Stell and Louise Hampson, *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese 1350–1500* (York: Unpublished typescript, 2005), 53.
55. Susan Foister, "Paintings in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories," *Burlington Magazine* 123, no. 938 (May 1981): 275.
56. Pamela Sheingorn identifies several visual principles functioning in both medieval art and drama, including framing, juxtaposition, and recapitulation. "The Visual Language of Drama: Principles of Composition," in *Contexts for Early English Drama*, eds. Marianne G. Briscoe and John C. Coldeway (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 173–91.
57. Although we cannot suggest an "ideal" position for the alabaster viewer that remained consistent for every interaction with the piece—a viewer may have stood in various locations with respect to an image placed in the home—the performance viewer's perspective was variable in much the same way. Both genres offered laypeople opportunities to choose viewing positions for themselves before sacred images.
58. For examples, see Francis Cheetham, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), numbers 90–95. The Victoria and Albert Museum collection contains a number of Ascension alabasters, most of which follow the basic design I described earlier. Images and descriptions of these pieces are available through the V&A's online collection (http://collections.vam.ac.uk/) using museum numbers A.113-1946; A.144-1946; A.147-1946; A.27-1950; A.54-1935. An especially good example in the collection is an early-fifteenth-century panel, museum number A.112-1946. This panel, which once formed part of an altarpiece, was later reappropriated as an independent sculpture and placed in a wooden box. See: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/indexplus/result.html?_IXFIRST_=1&_IXSS_=_IXFIRST_%3d1%26_IXINITSR_%3dy%26%2524%253dIXID%3d%26_IXACTION_%3dquery%26%2524%253dIXOBJECT%3d%26_IXMAXHITS_%3d15%26%252asform%3dvanda%26%2524%253dIXNAME%3d%26_IXSESSION_%3dJ5nFLcURf3e%26%2524%253dIXPLACE%3d%26_IXadv_%3d1%26search%3dsearch%26%2524%253dIXMATERIAL%

3d%26%2524%253ds%3dascension%26%2524%253dop%3dAND%26_IXFPFX_%3dtemplates%252ft%26%2524%253dsi%3dtext%26%2524%253dIXFROM%3d%26%2524%253dIXTO%3d%26%2524%253ddelflag%3dy&_IXACTION_=query&_IXMAXHITS_=1&_IXSR_=Ls6ONwoHMWO&_IXSPFX_=templates%2ft&_IXFPFX_=templates%2ft

59. The 1433 inventory for *The Last Judgment* describes that pageant's raising machinery as, "A brandreth of Iren þat god sall sitte vppon when he sall sty vppe to heuen With iiij rapes at iiij corners." Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 55. Something similar may have been used in the *Ascension* and *Assumption of the Virgin* pageants.
60. For analysis of this image in medieval art and drama, see Pamela Sheingorn, "The Moments of Resurrection in the Corpus Christi Plays," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 11 (1982): 111–29.
61. According to Francis Cheetham, the first reference to a Saint John Head alabaster appears in the May 15, 1432, will of Isabella Hamerton, the widow of a York merchant and chapman (BI Reg. 3 fols 345v–346v). Hamerton gives John Branthwate, a chaplain, a number of items, among them "unum lapidem alabastri, secundum formam capitis Sancti Johannis Baptistae" (346v, my transcription). For a few examples of such bequests, see: Alice Grymmesby, 1440 (BI Reg. 2 fols 17v–18r), Johannet Holme, 1488 (BI Reg. 5 fol. 335), and Mawde Shawe, 1532 (BI Reg. 11 fol. 278v).
62. Images of different Head of John the Baptist panels are reproduced in Cheetham's 1984 catalogue *English Medieval Alabasters*, numbers 243–56.
63. Francis Cheetham, *Medieval English Alabaster Carvings in the Castle Museum of Nottingham* (Nottingham: Art Galleries and Museums Committee, 1962), 49.
64. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 315.
65. Ibid.
66. Original: "abill to fullfill þis dede certayne"; "holy gost schalle doune be sente." *The York Plays*, ed. Richard Beadle (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), cited by play number and line numbers.
67. Original: "fullfillid in worde but also in dede."
68. Henk Van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 12.
69. David Freedberg and Vittorio Gallese, "Motion, Emotion and Empathy in Esthetic Experience," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 5 (2007): 197–203.
70. Mary Carruthers's work on memory demonstrates the many different layers of interpretation that a single medieval text or image often invited users to contemplate simultaneously. See *The Book of Memory:*

A Study of Memory and Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

71. Herbert L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004), 108–9.
72. One such diptych is only 20.3 x 9.5 cm (Van Os, *Art of Devotion*, Plate 1), while the Head of John alabaster I analyzed is 42.7 x 53.3 cm (including box with wings open).

Four Devotion and Conceptual Blending

1. Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 102.
2. Ibid., 103.
3. Ibid., 102–4.
4. Ibid., 104.
5. Ibid., 205.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 206.
8. Ibid., 207.
9. Ibid., 266–7.
10. Ibid., 267.
11. This decision suggests that the community was prepared to perform this play on relatively short notice. Royal visitors to York include: Richard II, Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, Princess Margaret (Henry VII's daughter), and Henry VIII. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 130–1.
12. Ibid., 137–52.
13. Lorraine Attreed, "The Politics of Welcome: Ceremonies and Constitutional Development in Later Medieval English Towns," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 215.
14. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 139.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., 140. Original: "To you henrie I submitt my Citie key and Croune / To reuyll and redresse your dew to defence / Neuer to this Citie to presume ne pretence / Bot holy I graunt it to your gouernaunce / as A principall parcel of your inheritaunce / Please it I besuch you for my remembrance / Seth that I am prematiue of your progenie / Shew your grace to this Citie with such Abounedance / As the reame may recouer in to prosperitie."

17. Ibid. "With oon concent knowing you yer sufferaine and king."
18. Ibid., 142.
19. Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 134–9.
20. Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 30.
21. Fauconnier and Turner use graduation ceremonies to exemplify "compression achieved by blending," that is then further "compressed into an abiding material anchor that you take with you and hang on the wall: your diploma" (ibid., 30–1).
22. Rhonda Blair, "Image and Action: Cognitive Neuroscience and Actor-Training," in *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*, eds. Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart (New York: Routledge, 2006), 176, 177, emphasis mine. See also Blair, *The Actor, Image, and Action: Acting and Cognitive Neuroscience* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2008).
23. Blair, "Image and Action," 182, original emphasis; 182–3.
24. For example, an *A/Y* entry regarding the Tailors' guild notes that "four searchers will collect each year within the city the proper amount from each man of the said guild for the support of their pageant of Corpus Christi." Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 690–1 (4).
25. Ibid., 696 (10). Source: *A/Y Memorandum*.
26. For instance, the Plasterers fined members 40d. to the Chamber and 40d. to their pageant if they employed apprentices for terms shorter than seven years. The Parchmentmakers fined their members 40d. for preventing searches, to be divided equally between the common purse and their pageant. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 16, 39. Source: *A/Y Memorandum*.
27. P. Jeremy P. Goldberg, "Craft Guilds, The Corpus Christi Play and Civic Government," in *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (York: University of York and Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1997), 148–9.
28. Heather Swanson, *Medieval British Towns* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999). See also R. B. Dobson who argues that the cycle developed as a way for the overseas merchant elite to exert control over York's commercial life. "Craft Guilds and City: The Historical Origins of the York Mystery Plays Reassessed," in *The Stage as Mirror: Civic Theatre in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Alan Knight (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 91–105.
29. Goldberg, "Craft Guilds," 157.
30. Sarah Beckwith, *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in the York Corpus Christi Plays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 53. See also Margaret Aziza Pappano, "Judas in York: Masters and Servants in the Late Medieval Cycle Drama," *Exemplaria* 14, no. 2 (October 2002): 317–50; and Gervase Rosser, "Crafts, Guilds

and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town," *Past and Present* 154 (1997): 3–31.

31. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 697 (11).
32. After 1517, when this body was patented as the "Common Council," it was composed of two representatives from each of the thirteen "major crafts" and one representative from the fifteen "minor crafts." Meetings of the civic council were normally attended by the mayor, Council of Twelve (made up of the twelve aldermen), and the Council of Twenty-four (whose life-term memberships were limited to ex-sheriffs). The Common Council did not convene regularly, though it sometimes met to protest the actions taken by the senior Councils or to present its concerns to these bodies. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, xiii. See also Sarah Rees Jones, "York's Civic Administration 1354–1464," in *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter*, ed. Rees Jones (York: University of York and Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1997), 108–40.
33. Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 131.
34. Ibid., 132–3.
35. Ibid., 136.
36. Ibid., 267.
37. For example, *The Temptation* opens with Diabolus saying, "Make rome belyve, and late me gang!" (22.1), suggesting that the actor entered through, or at least physically interacted with, the crowd of spectators. *The York Plays*, ed. Richard Beadle (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), cited by play number and line numbers.
38. Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 83.
39. Bruce McConachie, "Falsifiable Theories for Theatre and Performance Studies," *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 4 (2007): 559.
40. Theodore K. Lerud, "Quick Images: Memory and the English Corpus Christi Drama," in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001), 213–37; and *Memory, Images, and the English Corpus Christi Drama* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
41. For instance, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, by pseudo-Cicero, instructs readers to remember a man accused of murder in order to obtain an inheritance by imagining a man lying ill in bed with the defendant at his bedside "holding in his right hand a cup, and in his left tablets, and on the fourth finger a ram's testicles" (III.xx). *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. H. Caplan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 215.
42. Thomas Bradwardine, "On Acquiring a Trained Memory," in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, eds. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 208.

43. Ibid., 210.
44. Kimberly Rivers, "Memory and Medieval Preaching: Mnemonic Advice in the Ars Praedicandi of Francesc Eiximenis (ca. 1327–1409)," *Viator* 30 (1999): 253–84. For analysis of performance elements in medieval sermons, see Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden, Boston & Köln: Brill, 2002), 89–124. Significantly, Alexandra F. Johnston's recent work connects the creation and monitoring of the York cycle with the city's Augustinian Friary, whose residents were important members of the community, particularly as preachers to York's laity. Her theory aligns the cycle with preaching culture, which supports the idea that the cycle's creators may have consciously employed mnemonic devices. Johnston, "John Waldeby, the Augustinian Friary, and the Plays of York," in *In Honor of Clifford Davidson: Papers Presented at the 35th International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 6, 2000* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), 1–15. Fauconnier and Turner mention medieval mnemonic systems briefly when discussing how material structures, such as cathedrals, developed as conceptual structures because they offered accurate material anchors for mental spaces and blends. *The Way We Think*, 206–10.
45. Original: "þe firmament sal nough moue, / But be a mene, þus will I mene, / Ouir all þe worlde to halde and houe, / And be þo *tow wateris betwyne*."
46. Amy Cook, "Interplay: The Method and Potential of a Cognitive Science Approach to Theatre," *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 4 (2007): 589.
47. Original: "For I haue all þis worlde to welde, / Toure and toune, forest and felde: / If þou thyn herte will to me helde / With wordis hende, / 3itt will I baynly be thy belde / And faithfull frende. / Behalde now ser, and þou schalt see / Sere kyngdomes and sere contré; / Alle þis wile I giffe to þe / For euermore, / And þou fall and honour me / As I saide are."
48. Beckwith, *Signifying God*, 100–3; Martin Stevens, *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles: Textual, Contextual, and Critical Interpretations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
49. Original: "I murne, I sigh, I wepe also / Jerusalem on þe to loke."
50. Stanton B. Garner, Jr., *Bodied Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 42.
51. Scholars such as Ruth Evans and Sarah Beckwith have examined how York's pageants generate theological meaning through the spectator's presence within the cycle's representational field. Although they recognize the spectator and actor as bodied, these scholars concentrate on how meaning develops through signification rather than on how it develops through the spectator's embodiment explicitly.

Ruth Evans, "When a Body Meets a Body: Fergus and Mary in the York Cycle," in *New Medieval Literatures*, eds. Wendy Scase, Rita Copeland, and David Lawton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 193–212; Beckwith, *Signifying God*, 88–9.

52. Simon Shepherd, *Theatre, Body and Pleasure* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 76.
53. The ancient story of Simonides, who is credited with establishing the art of memory, is based upon visual order; Simonides was able to identify the bodies of people who had been crushed by a fallen roof from his recollection of the place where each of them had been reclining at table. Cicero recounts this story in Book Two of *De Oratore*, but it also appears in a number of memory treatises from antiquity and the Middle Ages. Theodore K. Lerud draws similar conclusions about how "[p]laces or backgrounds, in the form of key town spaces, themselves became part of the play, incorporating the town itself into the festive pageant" (6) in *Memory, Images*. Sarah Beckwith also analyzes this relationship in *Signifying God*.
54. Mary Carruthers, "The Poet as Master Builder: Composition and Locational Memory in the Middle Ages," *New Literary History* 24 (1993): 881–2.
55. Francesc Eiximenis, "On Two Kinds of Order that Aid Understanding and Memory," in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, eds. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 192.
56. Mary Carruthers, "Rhetorical *Ductus,* or, Moving through a Composition," in *Acting on the Past: Historical Performance Across the Disciplines,* eds. Mark Franko and Annette Richards (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), 104.
57. Ibid., 101. Given that these compositions were also highly flexible, thus allowing users to develop conversational and personalized ways of working with and through them, Carruthers acknowledges the performance aspect of ductus. She contends that a composed work is "open" and that every reading or "repetition of a work will differ" (112). With respect to York's cycle design, audience members could personalize their viewing experience through various physical choices. At the most basic level, they could begin and end viewing at different times and places, decide to visit multiple stations, watch a pageant more than once, or skip one or more plays entirely.
58. Many scholars have considered how the medieval processional cycle generated social meaning through civic space. The most widely cited article is Mervyn James' "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 3–29. James argues that the Corpus Christi procession and play resolved social conflict through ritual action, a claim that many scholars have since refuted. See chapter two of Sarah Beckwith's *Signifying God* and

Benjamin R. McRee, "Unity or Division?: The Social Meaning of Guild Ceremony in Urban Communities," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994), 189–207. For general work on theatre and processional space, see David Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 63–91; and Marvin Carlson, *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

59. Much work has examined the York cycle's route and staging, including Eileen White, "Places to Hear the Play in York: The Performance of the Corpus Christi Play in York," *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 49–78; Meg Twycross, "The Theatricality of Medieval English Plays," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 37–84; and "The Left-Hand Theory: A Retraction," *Medieval English Theatre* 14 (1992): 77–94; David Crouch, "Paying to See the Play: The Stationholders on the Route of the York Corpus Christi Play in the Fifteenth Century," *Medieval English Theatre* 13 (1991): 64–111. Debate about the logistical feasibility of staging all of York's pageants processionally on wagons in a single day at multiple stations has, for the most part, been put to rest in favor of such a possibility. For a summary of this debate, see William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 114–20.
60. Johnston and Rogerson, *York*, 694 (8).
61. Ibid., 698 (11). For the topography of medieval York, I have referred to the York Archaeological Trust's "Viking and Medieval York" map (1998), which was reconstructed from ordinance survey results.
62. Gervase Rosser, "Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages," in *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350–1750*, ed. Susan Wright (London: Hutchinson 1988), 35.
63. See Lynette Muir's argument regarding the development of the cycle route out of the Eucharistic processional route in *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
64. Beckwith, *Signifying God*, 23–55.
65. Julia A. Walker, "The Text/Performance Split Across the Analytic/Continental Divide," in *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy,* eds. David Krasner and David Z. Saltz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 39.
66. Crouch, "Paying to See the Play," 66–7; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. Volume Three: Southwest of the Ouse* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1972), 68.
67. Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, "The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere," in *Household, Women*

and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, eds. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakke and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 245.

68. Ibid., 239. See also Christopher Dyer, "Work Ethics in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, eds. James Bothwell and P. Jeremy P. Goldberg (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000), 21–42.
69. Pamela King, "York Plays, Urban Piety and the Case of Nicholas Blackburn, Mercer," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 232 (1995): 42.
70. Ibid., 44.
71. Shepherd, *Theatre*, 94.
72. Portions of this section were previously published as "The Material Bodies of Medieval Religious Performance in England," *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art, and Belief* 2, no. 2 (2006): 204–32
73. P. Jeremy P. Goldberg, "Lay Book Ownership in Late Medieval York: The Evidence of Wills," *The Library* 16, no. 3 (September 1994): 185.
74. Ibid., 189.
75. For a model for the medieval Book of Hours based upon the York Use, see *Horae Eboracenses: The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York, with other devotions as they were used by the lay-folk in the Northern Province in the XVth and XVIth centuries*, ed. C. Wordsworth (Durham: Surtees Society, 1920).
76. Although the basic textual content was fixed, Eamon Duffy notes that "printed editions varied hugely in appearance, decoration and price, ranging from economy paper books half the size of the palm of your hand with few or no pictures, to sumptuous large quarto or octavo volumes printed on vellum, sometimes consciously passing themselves off as substitutes for manuscript, very elegantly and convincingly indeed" (122). Owners also personalized printed editions through annotations, erasures, and other means. *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 121–46.
77. Ibid., 38.
78. Amelia Adams, "Evolution of a Manuscript: Text and Image in the Pavement Hours" (MA thesis, University of York, 2004), 1. This manuscript is sometimes referred to as the Pulleyn Hours.
79. Ibid., 52.
80. There are other medieval manuscripts that contain images sewn or pasted onto the pages. See Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 38–45. Jeffrey Hamburger describes this devotional practice as it relates to Veronica images and badges, arguing that "the [Veronica] images inserted in the margins of missals underscore the Veronica's claims to concrete

physical presence, a presence associated with both the original relic and the consecrated Host." *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone, 1998), 332. According to Mary Erler, the earliest example of an English printed book that is embellished through pasted images is most likely British Library IA 55038 (STC 16253), a Caxton Psalter (*ca.* 1480). See "Pasted-in Embellishments in English Manuscripts and Printed Books c. 1480–1533," *The Library* 14, Series VI (1992): 185–206.

81. For instance, in their analysis of the Bolton Hours, another Book of Hours from York dated to the same period as the Pavement Hours, Patricia Cullum and P. Jeremy P. Goldberg suggest that it was commissioned by a mother under the assumption that it would be passed down along her family's female line. But the authors also propose that this manuscript may have simultaneously served as a family book. See "How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours," in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, eds. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 217–36.
82. Adams, "Evolution of a Manuscript," 39.
83. Ibid., 38.
84. Ibid., 41.
85. Alternatively, Adams argues that "it is likely that the owner placed the Agnes image here knowing that the same text appeared earlier in the manuscript. Therefore, covering the text here would not interfere with the use of the text" (ibid.).
86. Alice Rayner, "Presenting Objects, Presenting Things," in *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy*, eds. David Krasner and David Z. Saltz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 191.
87. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 135.
88. Transcription from Neil Ker and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 729. As cited in Adams, "Evolution of a Manuscript," 45.
89. For a discussion of "ghosting" in the theatre, see Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).
90. Mark Amsler, "Affective Literacy: Gestures of Reading in the Later Middle Ages," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 18 (2001): 84.
91. Ibid., 96, 97.
92. My conclusions are supported by David Freedberg and Vittorio Gallese's research into aesthetic experiences with art that I discussed in chapter one. Freedberg and Gallese, "Motion, Emotion and

Empathy in Esthetic Experience," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 5 (2007): 197–203.

93. Adams, "Evolution of a Manuscript," 50.

Five Pious Body Rhythms

1. As Gail McMurray Gibson notes, the late Middle Ages experienced an "ever-growing tendency to transform the abstract and theological to the personal and concrete." *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 7.
2. *The York Plays*, ed. Richard Beadle (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), cited by play number and line numbers.
3. The Chester Banns indicate that the face of God was presented as a "face gilte," which implies either a mask or painted face. Something similar may have been used in York's pageants. See Lawrence Clopper, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Chester* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 247.
4. Original: "þe heuenes schalle be oppen sene, / The holy gost schalle doune be sente / To se in sight / The fadirs voyce with grete talent / Be herde full riȝt."
5. Original: "ȝe þat haue sene þis sight / My blissyng with ȝo be."
6. Original: "His clothyng is as white as snowe, / His face schynes as þe sonne."
7. Original: "þis brightnes made me blynde"; "Brethir, whateuere ȝone brightnes be? / Swilk burdis beforne was neuere sene. / It marres my myght, I may not see, / So selcouth thyng was neuere sene."
8. Original: "A, lord, why latest þou vs noȝt see / Thy fadirs face in his fayrenes?"
9. Original: "What þe prophettis saide in þer sawe, / All longis to hym."
10. Original: "For I desire to se hym fayne / And hym honnoure as his awne man. / Sen þe soth I see"; "I coveyte hym with feruent wille / Onys for to see, / I trowe fro þens I schall / Bettir man be." Pamela King also identifies the significance of Christ's visual presence and absence in this pageant, and points out that the speeches made by the eight Burgesses after Christ appears "take the form of Elevation lyrics, probably also uttered by the faithful as the Host passes them in its monstrance on the Corpus Christi procession." *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 140.
11. Original: "O, my harte hoppis for joie / To se nowe þis prophette appere."
12. Original: "I am gracyus and grete, God withoutyn begynnyng, / I am maker vnmade, all mighte es in me; / I am lyfe and way vnto

welth-wynnyng, / I am formaste and fyrste, als I byd sall it be. / My blyssyng o ble sall be blending, / And heldand, fro harme to be hydande, / *My body* in blys ay abydande, / Vnendande, withoutyn any endyng."

13. Original: "In chastité of thy bodye / Consayue and bere a childe þou sall."
14. For scholarship on this pageant, see Chester Scoville, *Saints and the Audience in Middle English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 55–80; Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 159–81; Alexandra F. Johnston, "*The Word Made Flesh*: Augustinian Elements in the *York Cycle*," in *The Centre and its Compass: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor John Leyerle*, eds. Robert A. Taylor, et al. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993), 241–3.
15. Original: "Thy wombe is waxen grete, thynke me, / þou arte with barne"; "Hir sidis shewes she is with childe."
16. Original: "For trulye her come neuer no man / To waite *þe body* with non ill / Of this swete wight, / For we haue dwelt ay with hir still / And was neuere fro hir day nor nyght. / Hir kepars haue we bene / And sho aye in oure sight, / Come here no man bytwene / *To touche þat berde* so bright."
17. For work on the late medieval culture of surveillance and its relationship to drama, see Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 1–49; and Seth Lerer, " 'Representyd now in yower syght': The Culture of Spectatorship in Late Fifteenth Century England," in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, eds. Barbara Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 29–62.
18. Original: "Nowe in my sawle grete joie haue I, / I am all cladde in comforte clere, / *Now will be borne of my body / Both God and man togedir in feere*, / Blist mott he be. / Jesu my sone þat is so dere, / Nowe borne is he" (emphasis mine). For the possible staging of this moment, and how it may have recalled liturgical imagery, see King, *The York Mystery Cycle*, 103.
19. Pamela King analyzes how the trial pageants address issues of social and political authority. See *York Mystery Cycle*, 184–203, and "Contemporary Cultural Models of the Trial Plays in the York Cycle," in *Drama and Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe*, ed. Alan Hindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 200–16.
20. Alexandra F. Johnston, " 'His Language is Lorne': The Silent Centre of the York Cycle," *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 185, 194; and "*The Word Made Flesh*," 225–46.
21. Original: "But firste schall I wirschippe þe with witte and with will. / This reuerence I do þe forthy, / For wytes þar wer wiser þan

I, / They worshipped þe full holy on hy / And with solempnité sange Osanna till."

22. Original: "þis boy here before yowe full boldely was bowand / To worschippe þis warlowe"; "in youre presence he prayed hym of pees, / In knelyng on knes to þis knave / He besoughte hym his seruaunte to saue."
23. "Trial of Margery Baxter of Norwich," in *Women in England c. 1275–1525: Documentary Sources*, ed. and trans. P. Jeremy P. Goldberg (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 291.
24. Reginald Pecock, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, ed. Churchill Babington (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Robert, 1860), 169.
25. Original: "The loke of his faire face so clere / With full sadde sorrowe sheris my harte."
26. Original: "Knele doune here to þe kyng on thy knee."
27. For a related analysis of how tyrants resort to physical violence as a means of controlling Christ, see Ruth Nisse, *Defining Acts: Drama and the Politics of Interpretation in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 40–5.
28. Original: "For me likis noght youre langage so large."
29. Original: "Slike a sight was neuere ʒit sene. / Come sytt, / My comforth was caught fro me clene— / I vpstritt, I me myght noʒt abstene / To wirschip hym in wark and in witte."
30. Pilate's reaction is based on an apocryphal episode that was later embellished in the contemporary medieval narrative poem *The Northern Passion*. See *The Northern Passion*, ed. Francis Foster (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2002). Richard Beadle notes this connection in "The York Cycle," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 104.
31. Original: "Thus we teche hym to tempre his tales." I discuss this scourging scene in greater detail in chapter six.
32. Original: "Drawe hym faste hense, delyuere ʒou, haue done. / Go, do se hym to dede withoute lenger delay."
33. Original: "Of japes ʒitt jangelid yone Jewe, / And cursedly he called hym a kyng"; "And worste of all, / He garte hym call / Goddes sonne"; "þou mustered emange many menne; / But, brothell, þou bourded to brade."
34. Original: "þou man þat of mys here has mente, / To me tente enteerly þou take. / On roode am I ragged and rente, / þou synfull sawle, for thy sake; / For thy misse amendis wille I make. / My bakke for to bende here I bide, / þis teene for thi trespase I take."
35. Original: "To þe, kyng, on knes here I knele, / þat baynly þou belde me in blisse."
36. Claire Sponsler analyzes the display of Christ's broken body in York's cycle. See *Drama and Resistance*, 136-60.

37. Patricia Cox Miller, "Visceral Seeing: The Holy Body in Late Ancient Christianity," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12, no. 4 (2004): 398.
38. Ibid., 400.
39. Vittorio Gallese, "Embodied Simulation: From Neurons to Phenomenal Experience," *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences* 4, no. 1 (March 2005): 35.
40. Pamela King describes how York's pageants present witnessing as a "process of seeing," specifically when Longinus's sight is restored by Christ's blood. "Seeing and Hearing; Looking and Listening," *Early Drama* 3 (2000): 163. King also discusses the significance of witnessing throughout *The York Mystery Cycle*.
41. Original: "wende we vnto seere contre / To preche thurgh all þis worlde so wide."
42. Original: "turne þame tyte"; "þis lawe þat þou nowe late has laide."
43. Original: "I schall walke este and weste, / And garre þame werke wele were"; "thy selle where þou schalte sitte." According to the Gospel of Nicodemus, from which the harrowing scene is derived, after Hell cast Satan from his dwelling to fight Christ (V.1) "[t]hen the King of Glory seized the chief ruler Satan by the head and handed him over to the angels, saying, 'Bind with irons his hands and his feet and his neck and his mouth'" (VI.2). See the descent episode in "The Gospel of Nicodemus *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation based on M. R. James*, ed. J. K. Elliott (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 164–204.
44. Stanton B. Garner, Jr., *Bodied Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 42.
45. Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 17–39.
46. Alexandra F. Johnston discusses how the use of verbal, and perhaps physical, contrast in this pageant emphasizes the Augustinian notion that "good is stable, tranquil, and harmonious; evil is unstable, restless, and dissonant" (235). "*The Word Made Flesh*," 234–6.
47. Original: "Þat is my comyng for to knawe, / And to my sacramente pursewe, / Mi dede, my rysing, rede be rawe— / Who will noght trowe, þei are noght trewe. / Vnto my dome I schall þame drawe, / And juge þame worse þanne any Jewe. / *And all þat likis to leere / My lawe and leue þerbye* / Shall neuere haue harmes heere, / But welthe, as is worthy" (emphasis mine).
48. Original: "Ensaumpill he gaue þame heuene to wynne."
49. Original: "the tymen is comen I will make ende."
50. Original: "we haue his flesh forsworne"; "may bringe forthe no goode dede."

51. Original: “Allas, þat we swilke liffe schulde lede / þat dighte vs has þis destonye / Oure wikkid werkis þei will vs wreye / þat we wende never schuld haue bene weten.”
52. Original: “Oure dedis beis oure dampnacioune”; “Oure wikkid werkis may we not hide, / But on oure bakkis vs muste þem bere –”; “Before vs playnly bese fourth brought / Þe dedis þat vs schall dame bedene / Þat eres has herde, or harte has boght, / Sen any tyme þat we may mene, / Þat fote has gone or hande has wroght, / That mouthe hath spoken or ey has sene—/ Þis day full dere þanne bese it boght; / Allas, vnborne and we hadde bene.”
53. Original: “deme folke ferre and nere / Aftir þer werkyng, wronge or right”; “But, aftir wirkyng, welth or wrake.”
54. Clifford Davidson, “Space and Time in Medieval Drama: Meditations on Orientation in the Early Theater,” in *Word, Picture, Spectacle*, ed. Davidson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1984), 80.
55. As I noted in the introduction, this emphasis on deeds is prevalent throughout late medieval devotional and catechetical literature, and in sermons. See John Mirk, *Mirk’s Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus*, vol. 1, ed. Theodor Erbe (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905; Kraus Reprint, 1987). Likewise, artistic representations of the seven Corporal Acts of Mercy, such as the early-fifteenth-century window in York’s church of All Saints North Street, usually depict laypeople performing these seven pious acts. These include feeding the hungry, offering drink to the thirsty, providing hospitality to strangers, visiting the sick, clothing the naked, visiting those in prison, and burying the dead.
56. Evan Thompson, *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of the Mind* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 386. See also Shaun Gallagher and Dan Zahavi, *The Phenomenological Mind: An Introduction to Philosophy of Mind and Cognitive Science* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 183.
57. Edith Stein, *On the Problem of Empathy*, trans. Waltraut Stein (Washington, DC: ICS Publications, 1989), 6–11. Thompson outlines his four processes in *Mind in Life*, 382–411.
58. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, 401.
59. Ibid., 402.
60. Thompson explains, “One of the most important reasons that human mentality cannot be reduced simply to what goes on inside the brain of an individual is that human mental activity is fundamentally social and cultural. Culture is no mere external addition or support to cognition; it is woven into the very fabric of each human mind from the beginning” (ibid., 403).
61. Bruce McConachie, *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 69.

62. For an analysis of charity within this play, see Kate Crassons, "The Challenges of Social Unity: The *Last Judgment* Pageant and Guild Relations in York," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 305–34.
63. Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, 163.
64. Bruce McConachie, "Falsifiable Theories for Theatre and Performance Studies," *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 4 (2007): 566–7.

Six Empathy, Entrainment, & Devotional Instability

1. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 728 (43).
2. Ibid., 729 (43).
3. Ibid., 729 (44).
4. Ibid., 62, 777 (109).
5. Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 134.
6. Ibid., 163.
7. *The York Plays*, ed. Richard Beadle (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), cited by play number and line numbers.
8. Original: "I Judeus: Do, do, laye youre handes belyue on þis lourdayne. / III Judeus: We, haue holde þis hauk in þi hend."
9. Original: "That I myght þe take in þe armys of myne / And in þis poure wede to arraie þe"; "The wedir is colde as ye may feele, / To halde hym warme þei are full fayne / With þare warme breth."
10. Original: "Come halse me, the babb that is best born"; "That this sweyt babb, that I in armes hent"; "And yf þou will ought ese thyn arme / Gyff me hym, late me bere hym awhile."
11. Brigitte Cazelles, "Bodies on Stage and the Production of Meaning," *Yale French Studies* 86 (1994): 62, original emphasis.
12. Pamela King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 103.
13. Ibid., 174, 155, 179.
14. In the *Appearance to Mary Magdalene*, Christ utters the well-known "do not touch me" command; in *The Supper at Emmaus* he eats; in *The Incredulity of Thomas* he invites the disciples to "gropes" his wounds and then agrees to eat with them; and, as King notes, in *The Ascension* "Christ himself makes the point that he has spent forty days eating and spending time with them so that they will be in no doubt of his Resurrection" (ibid., 164–5).
15. Christian Keysers, et al., "A Touching Sight: SII/PV Activation during the Observation and Experience of Touch," *Neuron* 42 (April 2004): 335–46.

16. Vittorio Gallese, "The Roots of Empathy: The Shared Manifold Hypothesis and the Neural Basis of Intersubjectivity," *Psychopathology* 36 (2003): 173.
17. Keysers, et al., "A Touching Sight," 343.
18. Ibid., original emphasis.
19. Original: "Sone, as I am sympill sugett of thyne, / Vowchesaffe, swete sone I pray þe, / That I myght þe take in þe armys of myne / And in þis poure wede to arraie þe." Symeon uses similar language and gesture when he encounters the Christ child in *The Purification* (17.354–410).
20. Chester Scoville argues, "This lifting of the Christ child may have had mnemonic resonances with the Mass . . . Mary's elevation of the Christ child into visibility may have had an effect reminiscent of that of the elevation of the Host." *Saints and the Audience in Middle English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 66. Pamela King argues for a similar resonance. See *The York Mystery Cycle*, 103. Gail McMurray Gibson makes a related point about East Anglian drama in *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 166–8.
21. V. A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), 182.
22. Ibid., 185. Alexandra F. Johnston describes how the verbal parody and rapid stichomythia in this pageant turns the scourging into a kind of dance. See "*The Word Made Flesh*: Augustinian Elements in the *York Cycle*," in *The Centre and its Compass: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor John Leyerle*, eds. Robert A. Taylor et al. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993), 239.
23. Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 150.
24. Ibid. Sponsler argues that this is especially true in medieval morality plays.
25. Michael H. Thaut, "Rhythm, Human Temporality, and Brain Function," in *Musical Communication*, eds. Dorothy Miell, Raymond MacDonald, and David J. Hargreaves (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 176. I am employing the traditional definition of entrainment from physics that Thaut uses—when the "frequency of one moving system becomes locked to the frequency of another 'driver' system" (176).
26. Ibid., 185.
27. R. Keith Sawyer, "Music and Communication," in *Musical Communication*, eds. Dorothy Miell, Raymond MacDonald, and David J. Hargreaves (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 52. Sawyer is citing W. S. Condon and W. D. Ogston, "Sound Film

Analysis of Normal and Pathological Behavior Patterns," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases* 143 (1966): 338–47.

28. Sawyer, "Music and Communication," 52.
29. Ibid.
30. Thaut, "Rhythm," 183. As Thaut explains, experiments also indicate that music can help people recover speech and motor functions in instances of stroke, brain trauma, Parkinson's disease, and cerebral palsy (181–2).
31. Ibid., 181.
32. Sponsler makes a similar point, suggesting that the English cycle plays "seem rather to encourage spectators to enjoy the attacks on Christ's body as moments of undisguised sadistic delight in the inflicting of bodily pain." *Drama and Resistance*, 152.
33. Original: "And þis daye schall his deth be dight—/ Latte see who dare saie naye?"
34. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 98.
35. Hans Belting, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, trans. M. Bartusis and R. Meyer (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas, 1990), 58.
36. In the case of *The Mirror*, a vernacular adaptation of the early-fourteenth-century Latin text *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, the witness motif is present in the original source. As Michael Sargent explains about the *Meditationes*'s narrative structure, "The purpose of these episodes, as of the imaginative presentation of the events of the gospel narrative, is not to supplant the words of scripture, but rather to increase the devotion of the reader or hearer of the book by presenting not merely the story of Christ's life, but even the basic doctrines of Christianity in such a way that they can be held in the mind's eye and recalled at will." See Sargent's "Introduction" to Nicholas Love's *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Critical Edition Based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686*, ed. Sargent (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), xi.
37. Love, *The Mirror*, 179. Original: "Þou also if þou beholde wele þi lorde. Þou maiht haue here matire ynouh of hye compassion, seynge him to tormentede, þat fro þe sole of þe fote in to þe heist part of þe hede. Þer was in him none hole place nor membre without passion."

    "Þis is a pitevouse siht & a ioyful siht. A pitevous siht in him. for þat harde passion þat he suffrede for oure sauacion, bot it is a likyng siht to vs, for þe matire & þe effecte þat we haue þerbye of oure redempcion. Soþely þis siht of oure lord Jesu hangyng so on þe crosse by deuoute ymaginacion of þe soule, is so likyng to sume creatours. Þat after longe exercise of sorouful compassion. Þei felen sumtyme, so grete likyng not onely in soule bot also in þe body þat þei kunne

not telle, & þat noman may knowe, bot onely he þat by experience feleþ it."

38. William F. Hodapp, "Ritual and Performance in Richard Rolle's Passion Meditation B," in *Performance and Transformation: New Approaches to Late Medieval Spirituality*, eds. Mary A. Suydam and Joanna E. Ziegler (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 242.
39. *The Book of Margery Kempe* indicates that Kempe spent time in York, perhaps even attending the city's annual Corpus Christi cycle performance. In chapters 10–11, there are references to Kempe journeying to York. And Kempe is in York throughout chapters 50, 51, and 52. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. B. A. Windeatt (New York: Penguin, 1985). For the original language, see *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Lynn Staley, TEAMS Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996) available online at: http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/staley.htm.
40. "For some said that she had a devil within her, and some said to her own face that the friar should have driven those devils out of her. Thus she was slandered, and eaten and gnawed by people's talk, because of the grace that God worked in her of contrition, of devotion, and of compassion"; "A good friend of the said creature met the friar who had preached so keenly against her, and asked him what he thought of her. The friar, answering back sharply, said 'She has the devil within her,' not at all shifting from his opinion, but instead defending his error" (ibid., 193, 204–5. Original: I.67.3915–18).
41. The term "tokenys" is used in this way throughout Book One: 18.972, 18.978, 33.1935, 35.2059, 36.2113, 36.2119, 36.2120, 36.2239, and 67.3902.
42. Ibid., 197 (I.64.3734–6). According to Staley, the phrase "token of love" is "enclosed by parallel slash marks that indicate the scribe deleted the phrase and substituted charité, which he wrote above token of love."
43. Ibid., 148 (I.46.2607–12).
44. Evan Thompson, *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of the Mind* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 382–411. I discuss these in chapter five.
45. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 124 (I.35.2042, 2039, 2046–8).
46. Augustine, *Eighty-three Different Questions*, trans. D. L. Mosher. Fathers of the Church 70 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1982), 43 (Q.12). As quoted by Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 36.
47. Susan Feagin explains that a sympathetic response "does *not* involve simulating the mental activity and processes of a protagonist; it instead requires having feelings or emotions that are in concert with the interests or desires the sympathizer (justifiably) attributes to the

protagonist." *Reading with Feeling: The Aesthetics of Appreciation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 114, original emphasis.

48. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, 395, original emphasis.
49. Bruce McConachie, *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 97.
50. *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993), 102.
51. Sarah Beckwith, *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in the York Corpus Christi Plays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 69–70, original emphasis.
52. Stanton B. Garner, Jr., *Bodied Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 183.
53. Vittorio Gallese, Morris N. Eagle, and Paolo Migone, "Intentional Attunement: Mirror Neurons and the Neural Underpinnings of Interpersonal Relations," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 55, no. 1 (2007): 142. Experiments reveal that the observer's mental attitude determines the degree and quality of the neural activation. As Gallese, Eagle, and Migone explain, "When subjects are required to simply watch the pain stimulation of a body part experienced by some stranger, the observer extracts the basic sensory qualities of the pain experienced by others, mapping it somatotopically onto his or her own sensorimotor system. However, when subjects are required to imagine the pain suffered by their partner out of their sight, only brain areas mediating the affective quality of pain . . . are activated" (ibid.). This evidence suggests that watching pain onstage will prompt a different neural response than imagining pain inflicted on offstage characters or just hearing it described, a distinction that is relevant to the way York staged Christ's crucifixion.
54. Bruce McConachie, "Falsifiable Theories for Theatre and Performance Studies," *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 4 (2007): 567.
55. *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, 102.
56. Original: "For-grete harme haue I hente, / My schuldir is in soundre."
57. Original: "Strike on þan harde, for hym þe boght. / Ȝis, here is a stubbe will stiffely stande, / Thurgh bones and senous it schall be soght"; "Faste on a corde / And tugge hym to, by toppe and taile"; "Ther cordis haue evill encressed his paynes, / Or he wer tille þe booryngis brought. / Ȝaa, assoundir are bothe synnous and veynis / On ilke a side, so haue we soughte"; "Latte doune, so all his bones / Are asoundre nowe on sides seere."
58. Gallese, "Roots of Empathy," 174; Vittorio Gallese, Christian Keysers, and Giacomo Rizzolatti, "A Unifying View of the Basis of Social Cognition," *Trends in Cognitive Science* 8, no. 9 (2004): 397.
59. Feagin says that with sympathy we "take on" another person's "interests as our own." *Reading with Feeling*, 114.

60. Robert Sturges argues that this play's action is concerned with achieving Christ's visibility and that by "submitting to the soldiers, Christ allows them to turn him into an object of vision, a spiritual and theatrical icon" (44). He contends that "the spectators are to 'behold' [Christ], and by beholding him, to 'fully feel' his sacrifice, to make an empathetic connection between street and stage, between audience and performer, in an act of affective piety that characterizes the York cycle as a whole . . . Christ here demands an audience" (43). "Spectacle and Self-Knowledge: The Authority of the Audience in the Mystery Plays," *South Central Review* 9, no. 2 (1992): 27–48.
61. Pamela King also identifies certain control mechanisms operating in *The Crucifixion*. See *York Mystery Cycle*, 149.
62. Original: "Al men þat walkis by waye or strete, / Takes tente ʒe schalle no trauayle tyne. / Byholdes myn heede, myn handis, and my feete, / And fully feele nowe, or ʒe fyne." David Mills argues that Christ's lines from the cross are directed at the audience and only secondarily intended for the characters within the dramatic action. "'Look at Me When I'm Speaking to You': The 'Behold and See' Convention in Medieval Drama," *Medieval English Theatre* 7, no. 1 (1985): 4–12.
63. Original: "My fadir, þat alle bales may bete, / Forgiffis þes men þat dois me pyne. / What þei wirke wotte þai noght; / Therfore, my fadir, I craue, / Latte neuere þer synnys be sought, / But see þer saules to saue."
64. King, *York Mystery Cycle*, 151.
65. Original: "þou man þat of mys here has mente, / To me tente enteerly þou take. / On roode am I ragged and rente, / þou synfull sawle, for thy sake; / For thy misse amendis wille I make. / My bakke for to bende here I bide, / þis teene for thi trespase I take / Who couthe þe more kyndynes haue kydde / Than I? / Þus for thy goode / I schedde my bloode. / Manne, mende thy moode, / For full bittir þi blisse mon I by."
66. This Christ is far more verbose than the Christ in *The Crucifixion*, who only speaks two twelve-line monologues.
67. Original: "on me for to looke lette þou noʒt "; "Manne, kaste þe thy kyndynesse be kende, / Trewe tente vnto me þat þou take, / And treste."

Coda

1. W. J. T. Mitchell, "There Are No Visual Media," *Journal of Visual Culture* 4, no. 2 (2005): 257–8, 262. Using painting as an example, Mitchell explains how materiality, and therefore the sense of touch, is an inextricable feature of this genre: "the beholder who knows nothing about the theory behind the painting, or the story or the allegory, need only understand that this is a painting, a handmade object, to

understand that it is a trace of manual production, that everything one sees is the trace of a brush or a hand touching canvas. Seeing painting is seeing touching" (259). Dominic M. M. Lopes makes a related argument for dispensing with visually oriented genre distinctions in "Art Media and the Sense Modalities: Tactile Pictures," *The Philosophical Quarterly* 47, no. 189 (October 1997): 439. These ideas are substantiated, at least in part, by the research described in David Freedberg and Vittorio Gallese, "Motion, Emotion and Empathy in Esthetic Experience," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 5 (2007): 197–203.

2. Julie Bloom, "Moved by the Spirit to Dance With the Lord," *The New York Times*, March 4, 2007, Arts section.
3. In the Middle Ages, dance was regularly employed as a part of worship and devotion, and often integrated into religious drama. Records suggest that a wide range of medieval religious dance forms were popular among the late medieval laity. As Walter Salmen explains, throughout late medieval Europe, solo and round dances were common in and around churches, with movements ranging from devout gestures and prayer to more fully choreographed group dances. "Dances and Dance Music, c. 1300–1530," in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 162–8. See also Jennifer Nevile, "Dance Performance in the Late Middle Ages: A Contested Space," in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 295–310.
4. Bloom, "Moved by the Spirit."
5. N' Him We Move, "About 'N Him," http://www.tpid.org/; Dancing for Him, "Ministry Vision," http://www.dancingforhim.com/.
6. Bloom, "Moved by the Spirit."
7. Bruce L. Shelley and Marshall Shelley, *The Consumer Church: Can Evangelicals Win the World Without Losing Their Souls?* (Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992), 14–16; John Fletcher, "Tasteless as Hell: Community Performance, Distinction, and Countertaste in Hell House," *Theatre Survey* 48, no. 2 (2007): 314–16.
8. Naomi Rokotnitz, "'It is required/You do awake your faith': Learning to Trust the Body Through Performing *The Winter's Tale*," in *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*, eds. Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart (New York: Routledge, 2006), 139.
9. For example, in the 1399 list the cycle's sixth station is listed as the "End of Jubbergate in Coney Street," where York's Jewish community lived and worshipped. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds, *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 698 (11).
10. *Hell House*, DVD, directed by George Ratliff (Cantina Pictures Inc., 2001).

11. This juxtaposition and tonal shift are perhaps most effective in "The Ironists" scene. In this episode, a group of young adults in a coffee shop, speaking in the familiar sarcastic rhythms of "slacker" conversation, discuss making a mockumentary about Christianity. This scene concludes when a bunch of devils interrupt the banter and chase the characters offstage.
12. Matthew Philips and Lisa Miller, "Visions of Hell," *Newsweek* 148, no. 19 (November 6, 2006): 52–3. In Academic Search Premier [database online]. Accessed August 9, 2007. John Fletcher discusses the low immediate conversion rate at Hell Houses: "of the five hundred or so people who had seen the Tallahassee Hell House, only twelve made first-time confessions of faith. Though no comprehensive studies on Hell House efficacy yet exist, my research suggests that Tallahassee's statistics are fairly typical; the people who simply watch the show and leave substantially outnumber those who choose to convert. Keenan Roberts himself estimates that at least 70 percent of attendees at his annual Hell House are simply gawkers uninterested in anything more profound than a few cheap scares. Furthermore, many of the conversions reported by larger Hell House productions turn out in fact to be 'recommitments' by backsliding Christians rather than first-time decisions of brand-new converts." Fletcher, "Tasteless as Hell," 318.
13. As quoted in Barbara Brown Taylor, "Hell House," *Christian Century* 123, no. 24 (November 28, 2006). In Academic Search Premier [database online]. Accessed August 9, 2007.
14. I would echo John Fletcher's view that "the popular dismissal of these events as nothing more than distasteful Grand Guignol proselytizing" constitutes an "impoverished" analytical approach (313–14). Although Fletcher and I consider Hell Houses from different perspectives, his conclusions are consonant with mine, especially his assertion that "Hell House performances are not (or not only) about promoting the love of Christ to unbelievers but (also) about provoking in believers a properly Christian attitude of distaste for the world in general." "Tasteless as Hell," 324.
15. Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 75–103.
16. According to the *Pensacola News Journal*, Hovind "is serving 10 years in federal prison as a result of a tax-fraud conviction for failing to pay more than $470,000 in employee taxes in a long-running dispute with the Internal Revenue Service." In early August 2009, "the nine properties that make up Dinosaur Adventure Land, and two bank accounts associated with the park will be used to satisfy $430,400 in restitution owed to the federal government." Kris Wernowsky, "Feds Can Seize Dinosaur Adventure Land," *Pensacola News Journal*, July 31, 2009, http://www.pnj.com/article/20090731/NEWS01/90731016/1006.

17. Abby Goodnough, “Darwin-Free Fun for Creationists,” *The New York Times*, May 1, 2004, final edition.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Dinosaur Adventure Land, “About DAL,” http://www.dinosauradventureland.com/aboutDAL.php.
21. Holy Land Experience, “About the Experience,” http://www.holylandexperience.com/abouthle/index.html.
22. Holy Land Experience, “Guest Services,” http://www.holylandexperience.com/discoverhle/guestservices.html.
23. Creation Museum Souvenir Guide, Answers in Genesis, 36.
24. Creation Museum Souvenir Guide, Answers in Genesis, “Helpful Hints for your day at the Creation Museum,” internal page insert.
25. Kenneth Chang, “Paleontology and Creationism Meet but Don’t Mesh,” *The New York Times*, June 30, 2009, final edition.
26. Creation Museum Souvenir Guide, Answers in Genesis, inside front cover.
27. The Creation Museum, “About Us,” http://www.creationmuseum.org/about.
28. “The Scientific Heritage of Christianity,” *Joy! Magazine* (January 2009): 50, http://blogs.answersingenesis.org/aroundtheworld/wp-content/uploads/2009/01/article-creation-musuem1-in-joy-mag-jan09.pdf
29. Hovind suggests about Dinosaur Adventure Land: “You’re missing 98 percent of the population if you only go the intellectual route.” As quoted in Goodnough, “Darwin-Free Fun.”
30. Peter W. Williams, “Creation Museum,” *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 4, no. 3 (2008): 373.
31. Quoted in Leah Arroyo, “Science on Faith at the Creation Museum,” *Museum News*, November/December 2007, http://www.aam-us.org/pubs/mn/scienceonfaith.cfm.
32. Edward Rothstein, “Adam and Eve in the Land of Dinosaurs,” *The New York Times*, May 24, 2007, Arts and Leisure section, final edition.
33. Rokotnitz, “Learning to Trust the Body,” 138.
34. Anne C. Loveland and Otis B. Wheeler, *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 1, 226.
35. Although I have visited the Brooklyn Tabernacle megachurch, I have not physically engaged any of the megachurches that I discuss here. My analysis is focused on the discourse surrounding megachurches, and is not informed to any great extent by my own experience of these worship spaces.
36. Ibid., 2.
37. Medieval parish churches and megachurches are similar in many respects. Both regularly function as community centers, operate

under a seven-day-a-week "full-service" model, and provide social, recreational, and educational services to the laity. Both also demand a high level of personal and financial commitment from parishioners. Here, I will restrict myself to suggesting how both of these physical spaces construct devotional encounters for worshippers through material enhancements.

38. Ibid., 232–3.
39. Bo Emerson, "Wired for Worship," *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, January 26, 2002. In LexisNexis Academic [database online]. Accessed August 9, 2007.
40. Marvin Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction*, second ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 22.
41. As quoted in Bo Emerson, "Wired for Worship."
42. Jonathan Mahler, "The Soul of the New Exurb," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 27, 2005. In http://select.nytimes.com/search/restricted/article?res=F00613FE3C5B0C748EDDAA0894DD404482.
43. Ibid.
44. "Images and Pilgrimages," in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. Anne Hudson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 84.
45. As quoted in Mahler, "The Soul of the New Exurb."
46. Loveland and Wheeler, *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch*, 257.
47. Mahler, "The Soul of the New Exurb."
48. Ibid.
49. Marcus Bull, *Thinking Medieval* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 131.
50. Bull defines cognitive assumptions as "the basic conceptual frameworks that we carry around with us all the time in order to make sense of the world as we are bombarded with its sights and sounds" (ibid., 132–3).

Selected Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research:
Probate Registers of the Exchequer and Prerogative Court of the Archbishop: Regs. 1–13.
Dean and Chapter of York, Original Wills, 1383–1499.
York, Minster Library Archives:
Manuscript XVI.K.6
Probate Jurisdiction, Inventories, L1(17)6, L1(17)17, L1(17)44.
Probate Registers of the Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter: Regs. 1–3.

Published Primary Sources

Augustine. *On Genesis: Two Books on Genesis against the Manichees and on the Literal Interpretation of Genesis.* Translated by R. J. Teske. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1991.

———. *The Confessions.* Translated by Henry Chadwick. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Bacon, Roger. *The Opus majus of Roger Bacon.* 3 Vols. Edited by John H. Bridges. London, 1900; Reprint, Frankfurt: Minerva-Verlag, 1964.

The Book of Margery Kempe. Translated by B. A. Windeatt. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.

The Book of Margery Kempe. Edited by Lynn Staley. TEAMS Middle English Texts. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996.

Bradwardine, Thomas. "On Acquiring a Trained Memory." In *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures.* Edited by Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski. Translated by Mary Carruthers, 205–14. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

[Cicero]. *Rhetorica ad Herennium.* Edited and translated by H. Caplan. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.

Clopper, Lawrence, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Chester.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

Collins, F. ed. *Index of Wills in the York Registry, 1389–1514.* Worsop: Robert White, 1891.

———. *Register of the Freemen of the City of York from the City Records, 1272–1558.* London: Surtees Society, 1896.

———. *Index of Wills etc. from the Dean and Chapter of York, 1321–1636.* Worsop: Robert White, 1907.

Collins, F., and A. W. Gibbons, eds. *Index of Wills in the York Registry, 1514–1553.* Worsop: Robert White, 1899.

Cooke, R. Beilby. *Some Early Civic Wills of York.* Vols 1–8. Lincoln: Lincolnshire Chronicle, 1906, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1919.

Davidson, Clifford, ed. *York Art: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama.* Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1978.

Dickens, A. G., ed. "Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation." *English Historical Review* 62 (1947): 58–83.

Eiximenis, Francesc. "On Two Kinds of Order that Aid Understanding and Memory." In *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures.* Edited by Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski. Translated by Kimberly Rivers, 189–204. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Elliott, J. K., ed. and trans. *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation based on M. R. James.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Gerson, Jean. "Treatise against *The Romance of the Rose.*" In *Jean Gerson: Early Works.* Translated by Brian Patrick McGuire, 378–98. New York: Paulist Press, 1998.

Head, Thomas, ed. *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology.* New York: Routledge, 2001.

Horae Eboracenses: The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York, with other devotions as they were used by the lay-folk in the Northern Province in the XVth and XVIth centuries. Edited by C. Wordsworth. Durham: Surtees Society, 1920.

"Images and Pilgrimages." In *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings.* Edited by Anne Hudson, 83–8. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1997.

Jackson, Charles, ed. *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* Durham: Andrews and Company, 1877.

Johnson, S. G., ed. *Records of the Borough of Nottingham.* Vol. 3. London and Nottingham: Bernard Quaritch and Thomas Forman and Sons, 1885.

Johnston, Alexandra, and Margaret Rogerson, eds. *Records of Early English Drama: York.* 2 Vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

Langland, William. *The Vision of Piers Plowman. A Critical Edition of the B-Text Based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17.* Second edition. Edited by A. V. C. Schmidt. London: J. M. Dent, 1995.

Lay Folks' Catechism. Edited by T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth. Early English Text Society, o.s., 112. London: K. Paul, Trench, and Trubner, 1901.

Lay Folks' Mass Book. Edited by T. F. Simmons. English Text Society, o.s., 71. London: N. Trübner, 1879.

Le livre de conduite du régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501 (The Director's Handbook and the Expense Record for the Mystery of the Passion Performed at Mons in 1501). Edited by Gustave Cohen. Paris: Champion, 1925.

Love, Nicholas. *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Critical Edition Based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686*. Edited by Michael G. Sargent. New York: Garland Publishing, 1992.

Mariken van Nieumeghen: a Bilingual Edition. Edited by Therese Decker and Martin W. Walsh. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994.

Mary of Nemmegen. Edited by Margaret M. Raftery. Leiden: Brill, 1991.

Meredith, Peter, and John E. Tailby, eds. *Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documentation in English Translation*. Translations by Raffaella Ferrari, et al. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982.

Mirk, John. *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus*. Edited by Theodor Erbe. Early English Text Society, e.s., 96. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905.

The Northern Passion. Edited by Francis Foster. Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2002.

Pecock, Reginald. *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*. 2 Vols. Edited by Churchill Babington. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Robert, 1860.

The Pricke of Conscience. Edited by Richard Morris. Berlin: A. Asher, 1863; London: Philological Society, 1863.

"A Relation . . . of the Island of England . . . about the Year 1500." In *Women in England c. 1275–1525: Documentary Sources*. Edited by P. J. P. Goldberg. Translated by C. A. Sneyd, 283. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. Volume Three: Southwest of the Ouse*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1972.

———. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. Volume Five: The Central Area*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1981.

Skaife, R. H., ed., *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*. London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1872.

Testamenta Eboracensia. Vol. 1–5. Edited by James Raine. Surtees Society 4, 30, 45, 53, 79. London: 1836, 1855, 1865, 1869, 1884.

Testamenta Eboracensia. A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York. Vol. 6. Edited by John William Clay. Surtees Society 106. London: 1902.

A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge. Edited by Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993.

"Trial of Margery Baxter of Norwich." In *Women in England c. 1275–1525: Documentary Sources*. Edited and translated by P. J. P. Goldberg, 290–5. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.

"Viking and Medieval York, Map." York Archaeological Trust: York, 1998.

York Civic Records. Vols 1–8. Edited by Angelo Raine. Wakefield: York Archeological Society Record Series, 1938–52.

York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling. Edited by Richard Beadle and Pamela M. King. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

The York Play: A Facsimile of British Library MS Additional 35290, Together with a Facsimile of the "Ordo Paginarum" Section of the A/Y Memorandum Book, and a Note on the Music by Richard Rastall. Edited by Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith. Leeds: University of Leeds, 1983.

The York Plays. Edited by Richard Beadle. London: Edward Arnold, 1982.

The York Plays. Vol. 1: The Text. Edited by Richard Beadle. Early English Text Society, supplementary series 23. Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Secondary Sources

Amsler, Mark. "Affective Literacy: Gestures of Reading in the Later Middle Ages." *Essays in Medieval Studies* 18 (2001): 83–110.

Anderson, M. D. *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

Arroyo, Leah. "Science on Faith at the Creation Museum." *Museum News*. November/December 2007. http://www.aam-us.org/pubs/mn/scienceonfaith.cfm.

Ashley, Kathleen. "Contemporary Theories of Popular Culture and Medieval Performances." *Mediaevalia* 18 (1995): 5–17.

———. "Sponsorship, Reflexivity and Resistance: Cultural Readings of the York Cycle Plays." In *The Performance of Middle English Cultures: Essays on Chaucer and Drama in Honor of Martin Stevens*. Edited by James J. Paxson, Lawrence M. Clopper, and Sylvia Tomasch, 9–24. Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998.

Attreed, Lorraine. "The Politics of Welcome: Ceremonies and Constitutional Development in Later Medieval English Towns." In *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*. Edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, 208–31. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

Badir, Patricia. "Playing Space: History, the Body, and Records of Early English Drama." *Exemplaria* 9 (1997): 255–79.

Barnwell, P. S. "'Four hundred masses on the four Fridays next after my decease.' The Care of Souls in Fifteenth-Century All Saints', North Street, York." In *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York*. Edited by P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross, and Ann Rycraft, 57–87. Reading, UK: Spire Books, 2005.

Barnwell, P. S., Claire Cross, and Ann Rycraft, eds. *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York*. Reading, UK: Spire Books, 2005.

Beadle, Richard. "York Cycle." In *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*. Edited by Richard Beadle, 85–108. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Beckwith, Sarah. *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.

———. *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in the York Corpus Christi Plays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Belting, Hans. *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*. Translated by M. Bartusis and R. Meyer. New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas, 1990.

Bennett, Judith M. *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Biernoff, Suzannah. *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

———. "Carnal Relations: Embodied Sight in Merleau-Ponty, Roger Bacon and St Francis." *Journal of Visual Culture* 4, no. 1 (2005): 39–52.

Binski, Paul. "The English Parish Church and its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem." *Studies in Iconography* 20 (1999): 1–25.

Blair, Rhonda. "Image and Action: Cognitive Neuroscience and Actor-Training." In *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*. Edited by Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart, 167–85. New York: Routledge, 2006.

———. *The Actor, Image, and Action: Acting and Cognitive Neuroscience*. London: Taylor & Francis, 2008.

Bloom, Julie. "Moved by the Spirit to Dance With the Lord." *New York Times*, March 4, 2007, Arts and Leisure section.

Boureau, Alain. "The Sacrality of One's Own Body in the Middle Ages." *Yale French Studies* 86 (1994): 5–17.

Boyle, Leonard E., O.P. "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology." In *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*. Edited by Thomas J. Heffernan, 30–43. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985.

Bull, Marcus. *Thinking Medieval*. New York: Palgrave, 2005.

Burgess, Clive. "For the Increase of Divine Service: Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985): 46–65.

———. "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered." In *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*. Edited by Michael Hicks, 14–33. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990.

Burke, Peter. *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Zone Books, 1991.

———. "Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective." *Critical Inquiry* 22 (August 1995): 1–33.

Camille, Michael. "Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing." In *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance*. Edited by Robert S. Nelson, 197–223. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Carlson, Marvin. *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

———. *Performance: A Critical Introduction*. Second edition. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.

———. *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.

Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

———. "The Poet as Master Builder: Composition and Locational Memory in the Middle Ages." *New Literary History* 24 (1993): 881–2.

———. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

———. "Rhetorical *Ductus*, or, Moving through a Composition." In *Acting on the Past: Historical Performance Across the Disciplines*. Edited by Mark Franko and Annette Richards, 99–117. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 2000.

———. "Sweetness." *Speculum* 81, no. 4 (2006): 999–1013.

Casati, Roberto, and Alessandro Pignocchi. "Mirror and Canonical Neurons are not Constitutive of Aesthetic Response." *TRENDS in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 10 (2007): 410.

Caviness, Madeline H. *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Cazelles, Brigitte. "Bodies on Stage and the Production of Meaning." *Yale French Studies* 86 (1994): 56–74.

Chambers, E.K. *The Mediaeval Stage*. 2 Vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1903.

Chang, Kenneth. "Paleontology and Creationism Meet but Don't Mesh." *The New York Times*, June 30, 2009, final edition.

Chazelle, Celia. "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles." *Word and Image* 6, no. 2 (1990): 138–53.

Cheetham, Francis. *Medieval English Alabaster Carvings in the Castle Museum of Nottingham*. Nottingham: Art Galleries and Museums Committee, 1962.

———. *English Medieval Alabasters: With a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1984.

———. *Alabaster Images of Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003.

Clark, Anne L. "Why All the Fuss About the Mind? A Medievalist's Perspective on Cognitive Theory." In *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*. Edited by Rachel Fulton and Bruce Holsinger, 170–81. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Clark, Robert L. A. "Constructing the Female Subject in Devotion." In *Medieval Conduct*. Edited by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, 160–82. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Clopper, Lawrence M. *Drama, Play, and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

———. "Is the *Tretise of Miraclis Pleying* a Lollard Tract Against Devotional Drama?" *Viator* 34 (2003): 229–71.

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, and Bonnie Wheeler. "Becoming and Unbecoming." In *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Cohen and Wheeler, vii–xx. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1997.

Coletti, Theresa. "Reading REED: History and the Records of Early English Drama." In *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain 1380–1530*. Edited by Lee Patterson, 248–84. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Collins, Patrick J. *The N-Town Plays and Medieval Picture Cycles*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1979.

Condon, W. S., and W. D. Ogston. "Sound Film Analysis of Normal and Pathological Behavior Patterns." *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases* 143 (1966): 338–47.

Cook, Amy. "Interplay: The Method and Potential of a Cognitive Science Approach to Theatre." *Theatre Journal* 59 (2007): 579–94.

Crane, Mary Thomas. "What was Performance?" *Criticism* 43, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 169–87. In Expanded Academic ASAP [database online]. Cited September 3, 2009.

Crane, Mary Thomas, and Alan Richardson. "Literary Studies and Cognitive Science: Toward a New Interdisciplinarity." *Mosaic* 32, no. 2 (1999): 123–40.. In Expanded Academic ASAP [database online]. Cited September 3, 2009.

Crassons, Kate. "The Challenges of Social Unity: The *Last Judgment* Pageant and Guild Relations in York." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 305–34.

Cross, Claire, and P. S. Barnwell, "The Mass in its Urban Setting." In *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York*. Edited by P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross, and Ann Rycraft, 13–26. Reading: Spire Books, 2005.

Crouch, David. "Paying to See the Play: The Stationholders on the Route of the York Corpus Christi Play in the Fifteenth Century." *Medieval English Theatre* 13 (1991): 64–111.

Crouch, David. *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389–1547.* York: York Medieval Press, 2000.

Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly, and Eugene Rochberg-Halton. *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Cullum, Patricia, and Jeremy Goldberg. "How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours." In *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*. Edited by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, et al., 217–36. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Davidson, Clifford. *Drama and Art: An Introduction to the Use of Evidence from the Visual Arts for the Study of Early Drama*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1977.

———. "Space and Time in Medieval Drama: Meditations on Orientation in the Early Theater." In *Word, Picture, Spectacle*. Edited by Clifford Davidson, 39–93. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1984.

Davidson, Clifford, and Ann Eljenholm Nichols, eds. *Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989.

De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Del Lungo, Gabriella Camiciotti. "Performative Aspects of Late Medieval Wills." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 3, no. 2 (2002): 205–27.

Dobson, R. B. "The Later Middle Ages, 1215–1500." In *A History of York Minster*. Edited by G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant, 44–109. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.

———. "Craft Guilds and City: The Historical Origins of the York Mystery Plays Reassessed." In *The Stage as Mirror: Civic Theatre in Late Medieval Europe*. Edited by Alan Knight, 91–105. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997.

Dox, Donnalee. *The Idea of the Theater in Latin Christian Thought: Augustine to the Fourteenth Century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Dronzek, Anna. "Gendered Theories of Education in Fifteenth-Century Conduct Books." In *Medieval Conduct*. Edited by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, 135–59. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

———. "Late Medieval Religion." In *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547.* Edited by Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, 56–67. London: V&A Publications, 2003.

———. *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240–1570*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006.

Dyer, Christopher. "Work Ethics in the Fourteenth Century." In *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*. Edited by James Bothwell and P. Jeremy P. Goldberg, 21–41. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000.

Ehrstine, Glenn. *Theater, Culture, and Community in Reformation Bern, 1523–1555*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 2002.

———. "Framing the Passion: Mansion Staging as Visual Mnemonic." In *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*. Edited by Elina Gertsman, 263–77. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.

Emerson, Bo. "Wired for Worship." *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, January 26, 2002. In LexisNexis Academic [database online]. Cited August 9, 2007.

Erler, Mary C. "Pasted-in Embellishments in English Manuscripts and Printed Books c. 1480–1533." *The Library* 14, Series VI (1992): 185–206.

Erler, Mary C., and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds. *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Evans, Ruth. "When a Body Meets a Body: Fergus and Mary in the York Cycle." In *New Medieval Literatures*. Edited by Wendy Scase, Rita Copeland, and David Lawton, 193–212. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Fauconnier, Gilles, and Mark Turner. *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Feagin, Susan. *Reading with Feeling: The Aethetics of Appreciation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Fissell, Mary E. "The Politics of Reproduction in the English Reformation." *Representations* 87 (Summer 2004): 43–81.

Flanagan, C. Clifford. "Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspectives." In *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Edited by Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken, 35–51. Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi, 2001.

Fletcher, John. "Tasteless as Hell: Community Performance, Distinction, and Countertaste in Hell House." *Theatre Survey* 48, no. 2 (2007): 313–30.

Foister, Susan. "Paintings in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories." *Burlington Magazine* 123, no. 938 (May 1981): 273–82.

———. "Private Devotion." In *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*. Edited by Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, 334–6. London: V&A Publications, 2003.

Freedberg, David, and Vittorio Gallese. "Motion, Emotion and Empathy in Esthetic Experience." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 5 (2007): 197–203.

———. "Mirror and Canonical Neurons are Crucial Elements in Esthetic Response." *TRENDS in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 10 (2007): 411.

French, Katherine. *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Fulton, Rachel. "Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice." *Speculum* 81, no. 3 (2006): 700–33.

Gallagher, Shaun, and Dan Zahavi. *The Phenomenological Mind: An Introduction to Philosophy of Mind and Cognitive Science*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

Gallese, Vittorio. "The Roots of Empathy: The Shared Manifold Hypothesis and the Neural Basis of Intersubjectivity." *Psychopathology* 36 (2003): 171–80.

———. "Embodied Simulation: From Neurons to Phenomenal Experience." *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences* 4, no. 1 (March 2005): 23–48.

Gallese, Vittorio, and George Lakoff. "The Brain's Concepts: The Role of Sensory-Motor System in Conceptual Knowledge." *Cognitive Neuropsychology* 22, no. 3/4 (2005): 455–79.

Gallese, Vittorio, Christian Keysers, and Giacomo Rizzolatti. "A Unifying View of the Basis of Social Cognition." *Trends in Cognitive Science* 8, no. 9 (2004): 396–403.

Gallese, Vittorio, Morris N. Eagle, and Paolo Migone. "Intentional Attunement: Mirror Neurons and the Neural Underpinnings of Interpersonal Relations." *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 55, no. 1 (2007): 131–76.

Gardiner, Harold C. *Mysteries' End*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946.

Garner, Stanton B., Jr. *Bodied Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Gee, E. A. "The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street." *Archaeologia* 102 (1969): 151–202.

Gelman, Susan. *The Essential Child: Origins of Essentialism in Everyday Thought*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Gertsman, Elina, ed. *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.

Gibson, Gail McMurray. *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Goldberg, P. Jeremy P. "Public and the Private: Women in the Pre-Plague Economy." In *Thirteenth-Century England*. Vol 3. Edited by J. Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg, and W. M. Ormrod, 75–89. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1991.

———. *Women, Work and Life-Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300–1520*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

———. "Lay Book Ownership in Late Medieval York: The Evidence of Wills." *The Library* 16, no. 3 (September 1994): 181–9.

———. "Craft Guilds, The Corpus Christi Play and Civic Government." In *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter*. Edited by Sarah Rees Jones, 141–63. York: University of York and Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1997.

———. "Household and the Organisation of Labour in Late Medieval Towns: Some English Evidence." In *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy*

and Northwestern Europe Compared. Edited by Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens, 59–70. Louvain-Apeldoorn: Garant, 2001.

Goodman, Nelson. "Pictures in the Mind?" In *Image and Understanding: Thoughts About Images, Ideas About Understanding*. Edited by Horace Barlow, Colin Blakemore, and Miranda Weston-Smith, 358–64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Goodnough, Abby. "Darwin-Free Fun for Creationists." *The New York Times*, May 1, 2004, final edition.

Hamburger, Jeffrey F. *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*. New York: Zone, 1998.

Harvey, John H. "Architectural History from 1291 to 1558." In *A History of York Minster*. Edited by G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant, 149–92. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.

Heath, Peter. "Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills." In *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by R. B. Dobson, 209–34. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984.

Hickok, Gregory. "Eight Problems for the Mirror Neuron Theory of Action Understanding in Monkeys and Humans." *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 21, no. 7 (2008): 1229–1243.

Hildburgh, W. L. "Folk-life Recorded in Medieval English Alabaster Carvings." *Folklore: Transactions of the Folk-lore Society* 60, no. 2 (June 1949): 249–65.

———. "English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval English Drama." *Archaeologica* 93 (1955): 51–101.

Hodapp, William F. "Ritual and Performance in Richard Rolle's Passion Meditation B." In *Performance and Transformation: New Approaches to Late Medieval Spirituality*. Edited by Mary A. Suydam and Joanna E. Ziegler, 241–72. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Holly, Michael Ann. *Past Looking: The Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Hope, W. H. St. John. "On The Early Working of Alabaster in England." In *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster Work*. Edited by Society of Antiquaries, 1–15. London: Burlington House, 1913.

Husserl, Edmund. *Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy*. Translated by Q. Lauer. 1910; New York: Harper, 1965

———. *Experience and Judgement*. Translated by J. S. Churchill and K. Ameriks. 1939; London: Routledge, 1973.

Jacob, Pierre, and Marc Jeannerod. *Ways of Seeing: The Scope and Limits of Visual Cognition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

James, Mervyn. "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town." *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 3–29.

Johnson, Mark. *The Body in the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

———. *The Meaning of the Body: Aesthetics of Human Understanding*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Johnston, Alexandra F. "The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: The Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play." *Speculum* 50 (1975): 55–90.

———. "*The Word Made Flesh*: Augustinian Elements in the *York Cycle*." In *The Centre and its Compass: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor John Leyerle*. Edited by Robert A. Taylor, et al., 225–46. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993.

———. "William Revetour, Chaplain and Clerk of York, Testator." *Leeds Studies in English* 29 (1998): 153–71.

———. " 'His langage is lorne': The Silent Centre of the York Cycle." *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 185–95.

———. "York Cycle 1998: What We Learned." *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 199–203.

———. "John Waldeby, the Augustinian Friary, and the Plays of York." In *In Honor of Clifford Davidson: Papers Presented at the 35th International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 6, 2000*, 1–15. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002.

Johnston, Alexandra F., and Margaret Dorrell. "The Doomsday Pageant of the York Mercers, 1433." *Leeds Studies in English* 5 (1971): 29–34.

———."The York Mercers and their Pageant of Doomsday, 1433–1526." *Leeds Studies in English* 6 (1972): 10–35.

Ker, Neil, and A. J. Piper. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries.* Vol. 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Kessler, Herbert L. *Seeing Medieval Art.* Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004.

Keysers, Christian. "Mirror Neurons." *Current Biology* 19, no. 21 (2009): R971–R973.

Keysers, Christian et al. "A Touching Sight: SII/PV Activation during the Observation and Experience of Touch." *Neuron* 42 (April 2004): 335–46.

Kienzle, Beverly Mayne. "Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record." In *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages.* Edited by Carolyn Muessig, 89–124. Leiden, Boston & Köln: Brill, 2002.

King, Pamela M. "Contemporary Cultural Models of the Trial Plays in the York Cycle." In *Drama and Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe*. Edited by Alan Hindley, 200–16. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.

———. "Seeing and Hearing; Looking and Listening." *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 155–66.

———. "The York Cycle and Instruction on the Sacraments." In *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*. Edited by Sarah Rees Jones, 155–78. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

———. *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City.* Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006.

Kipling, Gordon. *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Kobialka, Michal. *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

Kolve, V. A. *The Play Called Corpus Christi*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.

Krasner, David, and David Z. Saltz, eds. *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books, 1999.

Leder, Drew. *The Absent Body*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Lerer, Seth. " 'Representyd now in yower syght': The Culture of Spectatorship in Late Fifteenth Century England." In *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*. Edited by Barbara Hanawalt and David Wallace, 29–62. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Lerud, Theodore K. "Quick Images: Memory and the English Corpus Christi Drama." In *Moving Subjects: Procession Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Edited by Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken, 213–37. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001.

———. *Memory, Images, and the English Corpus Christi Drama*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Lindberg, David C. *Theories of Vision From Al-Kindi to Kepler*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Lingnau, Angelika, Benno Gesierich, and Alfonso Caramazza. "Asymmetric fMRI Adaptation Reveals No Evidence for Mirror Neurons in Humans." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106, no. 24 (2009): 9925–9930.

Lipton, Sara. " 'The Sweet Lean of His Head': Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages." *Speculum* 80, no. 4 (October 2005): 1172–208.

Lopes, Dominic M. M. "Art Media and the Sense Modalities: Tactile Pictures." *The Philosophical Quarterly* 47, no. 189 (October 1997): 425–40.

Loveland, Anne C., and Otis B. Wheeler. *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History*. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2003.

Lumiansky, R. M., and David Mills. *The Chester Mystery Cycle: Essays and Documents*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

Mahler, Jonathan. "The Soul of the New Exurb." *The New York Times Magazine*, March 27, 2005. In http://select.nytimes.com/search/restricted/article?res=F00613FE3C5B0C748EDDAA0894DD404482.

Mâle, Emile. *The Gothic Image*. New York: Harper, 1958.

———. *Religious Art in France, The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Mancing, Howard. "See The Play, Read The Book." In *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*. Edited by Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart, 189–206. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Marks, Richard. "An Age of Consumption: Art for England c. 1400–1547." In *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*. Edited by Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, 12–25. London: V&A Publications, 2003.

Marrow, James H. "Symbol and Meaning In Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance." *Simiolus* 16 (1986): 150–69.

McConachie, Bruce. "Metaphors We Act By: Kinesthetics, Cognitive Psychology, and Historical Structures." *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 8, no. 2 (1993): 23–45.

———. "Approaching Performance History through Cognitive Psychology." *Assaph* 10 (1994): 113–22.

———. "Doing Things with Image Schemas: The Cognitive Turn in Theatre Studies and the Problem of Experience for Historians." *Theatre Journal* 53 (2001): 569–94.

———. "Cognitive Studies and Epistemic Competence in Cultural History: Moving Beyond Freud and Lacan." In *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*. Edited by Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart, 52–75. New York: Routledge, 2006.

———. "Falsifiable Theories for Theatre and Performance Studies," *Theatre Journal* 59 (2007): 553–77.

———. *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

McConachie, Bruce, and F. Elizabeth Hart, eds. *Performance and Cognition*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

McConachie, Stephanie, et al. "Task, Text, and Talk." *Educational Leadership* 64, no. 2 (2006): 8–14.

McKinnell, John. "Producing the York *Mary* plays." *Medieval English Theatre* 12 (1990): 101–23.

McRee, Benjamin R. "Unity or Division?: The Social Meaning of Guild Ceremony in Urban Communities." In *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*. Edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, 189–207. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994.

Meredith, Peter. "The Development of the York Mercers' Pageant Waggon." *Medieval English Theatre* 1 (1979): 5–18.

———. "John Clerke's Hand in the York Register." *Leeds Studies in English* 12 (1981): 245–71.

———. "The City of York and its 'Plays of Pageants.'" *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 23–47.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *Phenomenology of Perception*. Translated by Colin Smith. 1945; New York: Humanities Press, 1962.

Milhaven, J. Giles. "A Medieval Lesson on Bodily Knowing: Women's Experience and Men's Thought." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 52, no. 2 (1989): 341–73.

Miller, Patricia Cox. "Visceral Seeing: The Holy Body in Late Ancient Christianity." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12, no. 4 (2004): 391–411.

Mills, David. "'Look at Me When I'm Speaking to You': The 'Behold and See' Convention in Medieval Drama." *Medieval English Theatre* 7, no. 1 (1985): 4–12.

———. *Recycling the Cycle: The City of Chester and its Whitsun Plays.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Mitchell, W. T. J. "There Are No Visual Media." *Journal of Visual Culture* 4, no. 2 (2005): 257–66.

Morgan, David. *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Muir, Lynette. *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Mulder-Bakker, A. B., ed. *Seeing and Knowing: Medieval Women and the Transmission of Knowledge.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

Mustanoja, Tauno F. *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter, the Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage [and] the Thewis of Gud Women.* Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden, 1948.

Nellhaus, Tobin. "Performance Strategies, Image Schemas, and Communication Frameworks." In *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn.* Edited by Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart, 76–94. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Nelson, Robert. "Introduction: Descartes's Cow and Other Domestications of the Visual." In *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance.* Edited by Robert S. Nelson, 1–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Nevile, Jennifer. "Dance Performance in the Late Middle Ages: A Contested Space." *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts.* Edited by Elina Gertsman, 295–310. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.

Nichols, Stephen G. "Writing the New Middle Ages." *PMLA* 120, no. 2 (March 2005): 422–41.

Nisse, Ruth. *Defining Acts: Drama and the Politics of Interpretation in Late Medieval England.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.

O'Connell, Michael. *The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm and Theater in Early Modern England.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Palliser, D. M. *Company History.* York: The Company of Merchant Adventurers of the City of York, 1998.

Pappano, Margaret Aziza. "Judas in York: Masters and Servants in the Late Medieval Cycle Drama." *Exemplaria* 14, no. 2 (October 2002): 317–50.

Pasnau, Robert. *Theories of Cognition in the Later Middle Ages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Peters, Christine. *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Philips, Matthew, and Lisa Miller. "Visions of Hell." *Newsweek* 148, no. 19 (November 6, 2006): 52–3. In Academic Search Premier [database online]. Accessed August 9, 2007.

Potkay, Adam. "Wordsworth and the Ethics of Things." *PMLA* 123, no. 2 (2008): 390–404.

Powell, Sue. "*Pastoralia* and the Lost York Plays of the Creed and Paternoster." *European Medieval Drama* 8 (2004): 35–50.

Ramachandran, V. S., and Sandra Blakeslee. *Phantoms in the Brain: Probing the Mysteries of the Human Mind*. New York: Quill, 1998.

Rayner, Alice. "Presenting Objects, Presenting Things." In *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy*. Edited by David Krasner and David Z. Saltz, 180–99. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Rees Jones, Sarah. "York's Civic Administration 1354–1464." In *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter*. Edited by Rees Jones, 108–40. York: University of York and Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1997.

Rees Jones, Sarah, and Felicity Riddy. "The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domesticity, Piety and the Public Sphere." In *Household, Women and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Edited by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakke and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 215–60. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

Riddy, Felicity. "Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text." *Speculum* 71, no. 1 (January 1996): 66–86.

———. "Looking Closely: Authority and Intimacy in the Late Medieval Urban Home." In *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, 212–28. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Rivers, Kimberly. "Memory and Medieval Preaching: Mnemonic Advice in the *Ars Praedicandi* of Francesc Eiximenis (ca. 1327–1409)." *Viator* 30 (1999): 253–84.

Rizzolatti, Giacomo, Laila Craighero, and Luciano Fadiga. "The Mirror System in Humans," *Mirror Neurons and the Evolution of Brain and Language*. Edited by Maxim I. Stamenov and Vittorio Gallese, 37–59. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002.

Rokotnitz, Naomi. " 'It is required/You do awake your faith': Learning To Trust the Body Through Performing *The Winter's Tale*." In *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*. Edited by Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart, 122–46. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Rosser, Gervase. "Crafts, Guilds and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town." *Past and Present* 154 (1997): 3–31.

———. "Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages." In *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350–1750*. Edited by Susan Wright, 29–55. London: Hutchinson 1988.

Rothstein, Edward. "Adam and Eve in the Land of Dinosaurs." *The New York Times*, May 24, 2007, Arts and Leisure section, final edition.

Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Salmen, Walter. "Dances and Dance Music, c. 1300–1530." In *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*. Edited by Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, 162–90. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Saltz, David. "Infiction and Outfiction: The Role of Fiction in Theatrical Performance." In *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy*. Edited by David Krasner and David Z. Saltz, 203–20. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Sawyer, R. Keith. "Music and Communication." In *Musical Communication*. Edited by Dorothy Miell, Raymond MacDonald, and David J. Hargreaves, 45–60. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Scherb, Victor I. *Staging Faith: East Anglian Drama in the Later Middle Ages*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001.

Schleif, Corine. "Hands That Appoint, Anoint and Ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation Through Painting." *Art History* 16, no. 1 (March 1993): 1–32.

Schofield, John. "Urban Housing in England 1400–1600." In *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400–1600*. Edited by David Gaimster and Paul Stamper, 127–44. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.

Scoville, Chester N. *Saints and the Audience in Middle English Drama*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Scribner, Robert. "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late Medieval and Reformation Germany." *Journal of Religious History* 15 (1989): 448–69.

Sheingorn, Pamela. "On Using Medieval Art in the Study of Medieval Drama: An Introduction to Methodology." *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 22 (1979): 101–9.

———. "The Moments of Resurrection in the Corpus Christi Plays." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 11 (1982): 111–29.

———. "The Visual Language of Drama: Principles of Composition." In *Contexts for Early English Drama*. Edited by Marianne G. Briscoe and John C. Coldeway, 173–91. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

———. "Medieval Drama Studies and the New Art History." *Mediaevalia: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 18 (1995): 143–62.

Shelley, Bruce L., and Marshall Shelley. *The Consumer Church: Can Evangelicals Win the World without Losing their Souls?* Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992.

Shepherd, Simon. *Theatre, Body and Pleasure*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Smith, Darwin. *Maistre Pierre Pathelin-Le Miroir d'Orgueil*. Tarabuste Editions: Saint-Benoît-du-Sault, 2002.

Sofer, Andrew. *The Stage Life of Props*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.

Spencer, Brian. *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*. London: Stationery Office, 1998.

Sponsler, Claire. *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Stafford, Pauline, and Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, eds. *Gendering the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Stanbury, Sarah. *The Visual Object of Desire in Late Medieval England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

States, Bert O. *Great Reckonings in Little Rooms: On the Phenomenology of Theater*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1985.

Stein, Edith. *On the Problem of Empathy*. Translated by Waltraut Stein. Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1989.

Stevens, Martin. *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles: Textual, Contextual, and Critical Interpretations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

———. "The Intertextuality of Late Medieval Art and Drama." *New Literary History* 22, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 317–37.

Stevenson, Jill. "The Material Bodies of Medieval Religious Performance in England." *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art, and Belief* 2, no. 2 (2006): 204–32.

Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

Stoller, Paul. "Rationality." In *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*. Edited by Mark C. Taylor, 239–55. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Sturges, Robert. "Spectacle and Self-Knowledge: The Authority of the Audience in the Mystery Plays." *South Central Review* 9, no. 2 (1992): 27–48.

Swanson, Heather. *Medieval British Towns*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Swanson, Robert N. *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–1515*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Taylor, Barbara Brown. "Hell House." *Christian Century* 123, no. 24 (November 28, 2006). In Academic Search Premier [database online]. Cited August 9, 2007.

Thaut, Michael H. "Rhythm, Human Temporality, and Brain Function," In *Musical Communication*. Edited by Dorothy Miell, Raymond MacDonald, and David J. Hargreaves, 171–91. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Thompson, Evan. *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of the Mind*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Tomaselli, Keyan G., and Arnold Shepperson. "'Speaking in Tongues, Writing in Vision': Orality and Literacy in Televangelistic Communications." In *Practicing Religion in the Age of the Media: Explorations in Media, Religion, and Culture*. Edited by Stewart M. Hoover and Lynn Schofield Clark, 345–59. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Travis, Peter W. *Dramatic Design in the Chester Cycle*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Trexler, Richard. *Church and Community 1200–1600: Studies in the History of Florence and New Spain*. Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1987.

Twycross, Meg. "The Left-Hand Theory: A Retraction." *Medieval English Theatre* 14 (1992): 77–94.

———. "The Theatricality of Medieval English Plays." In *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*. Edited by Richard Beadle, 37–84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

———. "The *Ordo paginarum* Revisited, with a Digital Camera." In *'Bring furth the pagants': Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*. Edited by David Klausner and Karen Sawyer Marsalek, 105–31. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Tydeman, William. *The Theatre in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Van Os, Henk. *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500*. Translated by Michael Hoyle. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Varela, Francisco J. "Neurophenomenology: A Methodological Remedy for the Hard Problem." *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 3 (1996): 330–50.

Vogeley, Kai, and Albert Newen. "Mirror Neurons and the Self Construct." In *Mirror Neurons and the Evolution of Brain and Language*. Edited by Maxim I. Stamenov and Vittorio Gallese, 135–50. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002.

Walker, Julia A. "The Text/Performance Split Across the Analytic/Continental Divide." In *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theater, Performance, and Philosophy*. Edited by David Krasner and David Z. Saltz, 19–40. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Wernowsky, Kris. "Feds Can Seize Dinosaur Adventure Land." *Pensacola News Journal*. July 31, 2009. http://www.pnj.com/article/20090731/NEWS01/90731016/1006.

White, Eileen. "Places to Hear the Play: The Performance of the Corpus Christi Play at York." *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 49–78.

Wiles, David. *A Short History of Western Performance Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Williams, Peter W. "Creation Museum." *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 4, no. 3 (2008): 373–5.

Williamson, Beth. "Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion." *Speculum* 79 (2004): 341–406.

Wolska, Aleksandra. "Rabbits, Machines, and the Ontology of Performance." *Theatre Journal* 57, no. 1 (2005): 83–95.

Woolf, Rosemary. *The English Mystery Plays*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Yardley, Anne Bagnall. *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Zarrilli, Phillip B. "Towards a Phenomenological Model of the Actor's Embodied Modes of Experience." *Theatre Journal* 56, no. 4 (2004): 653–66.

———. "An Enactive Approach to Understanding Acting." *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 4 (2007): 635–47.

Ziegler, Joanna E. *Sculpture of Compassion: The Pietà and the Beguines in the Southern Low Countries c. 1300– c. 1600*. Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1992.

Zieman, Katherine. "Reading, Singing and Understanding: Constructions of the Literacy of Women Religious in Late Medieval England," In *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*. Edited by Sarah Rees Jones, 97–120. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

Zunshine, Lisa. "Essentialism and Comedy: A Cognitive Reading of the Motif of Mislaid Identity in Dryden's *Amphitryon* (1690)." In *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*. Edited by Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart, 97–121. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Multimedia Sources

Augustine: Confessions. Text and commentary by James J. O'Donnell. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. For the Stoa Consortium, 1999. http://www.stoa.org/hippo/.

The Creation Museum. "About Us." http://www.creationmuseum.org/about.

Dancing for Him. "Ministry Vision." http://www.dancingforhim.com/.

Dinosaur Adventure Land. "About DAL." http://www.dinosauradventureland.com/aboutDAL.php.

"Eye of the Beholder." April 23, 2007. The Philoctetes Center, New York, NY. Transcript available at: http://philoctetes.org/Past_Programs/Eye_of_the_Beholder.

The Guilds of York. "York Mystery Plays." http://www.yorkmysteryplays.co.uk/.

Hell House, DVD. Directed by George Ratliff. Cantina Pictures Inc., 2001.

Holy Land Experience. "Homepage." http://www.holylandexperience.com/index.html.

N' Him We Move. "About 'N Him." http://www.tpid.org/.

"The Scientific Heritage of Christianity." *Joy! Magazine*. January 2009. http://blogs.answersingenesis.org/aroundtheworld/wp-content/uploads/2009/01/article-creation-musuem1-in-joy-mag-jan09.pdf.

Unpublished Works

Adams, Amelia. "Evolution of a Manuscript: Text and Image in the Pavement Hours." MA thesis, University of York, 2004.

Barnett, Clara. "Memorials and Commemoration in the Parish Churches of Late Medieval York." 2 Vols. PhD diss., University of York, 1997.

Creation Museum Souvenir Guide, Answers in Genesis.

Stell, P. M., and Louise Hampson, eds. and trans. *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350–1500.* Unpublished typescript, University of York, 1999.

White, E. "Bequests to Religious Gilds in York." Manuscript in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1983.

Index

actor, 2, 8–9, 12, 16, 19, 24, 26, 39, 54, 56–7, 68, 76–7, 81, 88, 95–9, 118, 124, 126–7, 131–2, 134–6, 140, 146–8, 177 n55, 179 n104, 180 n108, 206 n51
  cognitive research into actor training, 92
  see also players
actuality, 9, 17, 18, 89, 126–7, 132, 135, 149
  material actuality, 12, 33, 38
  rhythmic actuality, 41, 96
Adams, Amelia, xi, 106, 108, 110, 113, 210 n85
aesthetic, 3, 18–19, 39, 69, 138, 146, 155, 157, 160–1, 166 n14, 179 n104, 210 n92
affective, 3, 23, 25, 92, 102, 124, 134, 141, 220 n53
  affective resonance, 144
agency, 18–19, 22–3, 42, 57, 96, 104, 185 n161
alabaster sculpture, 58, 80–6, 88, 97, 104, 105, 210 n54
  Ascension panel, 81, 201 n58
  bequests, 61, 80, 202 n61
  Betrayal panel, 82
  composition, 80–1
  Harrowing of Hell panel, 81–2
  Head of John the Baptist panel, 82–5, 203 n72
  production, 80
  Resurrection panel, 82
al-Haytham, Ibn, 21
alms, 38, 48
altar, 48, 50, 60, 61, 68, 70–2, 74, 76, 198 n24, 198 n26, 199 n35
Amsler, Mark, 113
angels, 54, 55, 63, 71, 72, 82, 83–4, 85, 91, 116, 119, 128–9, 192 n54, 198 n20, 214 n43
Answers in Genesis (AiG), 157–8
anti-image prejudice, 33–7, 38, 40–1
anti-theatrical prejudice, 27–38, 40–1, 145
Aristotle, 21, 22, 180 n105
Arma Christi, 111–12
art, 6, 15–16, 33, 39–41, 45, 80, 184 n156
  borrowed from churches, 78
  claiming space, 67–86
  cognitive studies of, 39–41, 62, 85, 182 n145
  commissioned, 58, 78, 106, 210 n81
  devotional art, 10, 33, 40, 45, 55, 58, 62, 80, 84, 86, 134, 147, 193 n61
  devotional props, 58–64
  domestic, 13, 58, 60, 79–86, 88, 104
  individual art objects

art—*Continued*
"arras work," 61, 194 n83
badges, 60, 62, 78, 83, 199 n41, 209 n80
beads (rosary), 16, 58, 59, 62, 77, 78, 172 n7, 197 n3
decorated pillows, 59
hammerbeams, 71, 74, 198 n20
hangings (hallings), 59, 193 n66, 193 n67
misericord, 74
necklaces, 62, 77, 78
painted cloth, 54, 59–60
painted images, 35, 58
painted papers, 59
pendants, 60, 62
rings, 58, 59, 60, 62, 77, 78
roof boss, 68–9, 81
rosary, *see* beads
silver plate, 58, 60, 76
stained glass, 10, 68, 71, 77, 110, 198 n17
Bellfounder's window, 68–9, 74–6
Corporal Acts of Mercy window, 71, 74, 215 n55
see also Pricke of Conscience
tapestries, 58, 59, 60
mass production of, 80
materiality of 6, 34–7, 50, 53–4, 57, 69, 76, 85–6, 105–6, 111, 167 n23, 221 n1
as performing, 45–66
relationship to viewer, 17, 37, 40–2, 45, 56–7, 69, 85, 121, 132, 166 n14, 182 n135
see also alabaster sculpture; anti-image prejudice; Books of Hours; cross; donations; Reformation; stage props; "thingness;" wills
artisan, 10, 37, 58, 80, 94, 105
artisanal ideology, 94
see also guilds
"as if" response, *see* equivalence
Ascension, 68–9, 81, 201 n58
see also York Cycle, pageants
Ashley, Kathleen, 186 n164
assimilation, 22, 27, 43, 53, 149
with city of York, 98–9
Attreed, Lorraine, 89
audience, *see* spectatorship; reception
Augustine, Saint, 26, 30–2, 35, 79, 127, 143, 179 n98, 180 n107
Confessions, 30–2
aural, 3, 7
A/Y Memorandum Book, 11, 63, 64, 65, 94, 100, 101, 133, 171 n49, 171 n51

Bacon, Roger, 21, 22–3, 26, 175 n42, 184 n151
baptism, 162
see also York Cycle, *The Baptism*
Baxter, Margery, of Norwich, 121
Beadle, Richard, 10, 125, 128
Beckwith, Sarah, 3, 12, 94, 102, 144, 206 n51
bedding, 51, 59, 61, 194 n83
bells, 49, 68, 72, 76, 104, 165 n6, 199 n41
see also art, Bellfounder's window
Belting, Hans, 140
Bible, *see* books
biblical history, 57, 91, 125, 130, 158–9
Biernoff, Suzannah, 21–3, 26, 30, 127, 134
Binski, Paul, 70
Blair, Rhonda, 92
Blakeslee, Sandra, 45
blending, *see* conceptual blending
blindness, 116–17, 124, 125
bodied forth, 18, 22, 29, 76, 78, 135
Bolton, Alice, 61
Bolton, John, 61
books, 3, 41, 58, 60, 61, 62, 69, 72, 76, 104–5, 113, 149, 159

Bible, 61, 157, 158
Breviary, 82, 105
primer, *see* Books of Hours
Psalter, 60, 61, 105
see also Books of Hours
Books of Hours, 13, 16, 61, 62, 104–13
Bolton Hours, 210 n81
materiality of, 105–13
Pavement Hours, 106–13
printed editions, 105, 209 n76, 210 n80
rhythmic program, 113
visual layering, 109–10
Bradwardine, Thomas, *On Acquiring a Trained Memory*, 96–7
brain, 9, 25, 98, 137–9, 146, 169 n37, 175 n42, 215 n60, 218 n30
brain imaging, 23, 39–41, 176 n48, 176 n52
motor areas, 39–40, 138
neural, 23–4, 42, 139, 153, 155, 176 n50, 185 n161
neural mapping, 32, 130, 220 n53
see also cognition; mirror neurons
Bull, Marcus, 163
Burgess, Clive, 46–7, 49, 188 n11
burial, 47–8, 53, 60, 95, 136, 190 n41
arguments about, 48
by daylight, 53, 190 n44
Bynum, Caroline, 6, 185 n163

Camille, Michael, 21
candle, 4, 15, 16, 46, 48, 50, 61, 69–72, 78, 104, 189 n19, 190 n41, 199 n41
wax, 48, 70, 189 n17
see also torches
Carlson, Marvin, 161
Carruthers, Mary, 99, 100, 179 n104, 202 n70
catechetical program, 3–4
cathedral, 67–9, 72, 76, 86, 88, 102, 160, 171 n55, 198 n26, 206 n44
Minster of York, 67–77, 81, 82, 85, 89, 101–2, 106
Cats, 1–3
Cazelles, Brigitte, 136
Chambers, E. K., 10
chantries, 46, 72, 78, 198 n21, 198 n26
chapel, 35, 48, 59, 74, 77, 78, 90
St. William's chapel, 52
Chazelle, Celia, 33
Cheetham, Francis, 82, 202 n61
Christ's body, 3, 118, 120, 124–8, 133–49
absence and presence onstage, 117–24, 134, 217 n20, 221 n60
characters' physical contact with, 135–7, 216 n14, 217 n20
identification with, 141, 143–9
violence to, 122, 123, 126–7, 138–40, 141, 145–6
see also Corpus Christi; Eucharist
churches, *see* parish church; Minster of York
city honor, 51–2, 64
civic identity, 65
Clark, Anne L., 185 n163
Clark, Robert, 7
clergy, 4, 5, 33, 36, 38, 50, 60, 61, 69, 79, 96, 121, 140–4, 149
anti-clerical, 38
Clopper, Lawrence, 28
clothing, 35, 46, 48, 51–2, 53, 71, 76, 77, 90, 110, 117, 135, 137, 157, 162, 199 n39
livery, 46
sumptuary laws, 46, 157
see also costumes
cognition
cognitive pattern, 43
cognitive psychology, 20, 23, 136

cognition—*Continued*
cognitive science, 8–9, 16–17, 20, 32, 39–42, 130, 132, 139, 145
cognitive structure, 42
cognitive template, 41
cognitive theory, 6, 8–9, 12–13, 16–17, 19–21, 26–7, 32, 42–3, 57, 86, 87, 92, 149, 153
cognitive unconscious, 24
see also brain; mirror neurons
Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, 13
Common Clerk of York, 51, 64, 195 n91
Common Council of York (also Commons), 90, 94, 190 n40, 205 n32
communication practices, 24, 27, 40
conceptual blending, 13, 86–113, 132, 152–9, 183 n150
being-in-the-biblical-world, 98–99
with Books of Hours, 105–13
compression within, 91–2, 204 n21
decompress, 89
digging your own grave blend, 95
double-scope blend, 95, 104
emergent structure, 95
framing, 87–9, 94–6, 104, 162
identity blends, 92, 110
imaginative addition, 96
integration networks, 87, 88, 94
living in the blend, 13, 86, 88–9, 92, 94, 99, 102–6, 113, 115, 130–2, 137, 139, 145, 147, 149, 152–60, 162–3
living with the dead, 88–9
material anchors, 87–8, 92, 93, 115, 204 n21, 206 n44
mental spaces, 87, 163, 206 n44
relation to suspension of disbelief, 96
with York cycle route, 100–4
conceptual knowledge, 20, 24, 186 n165
conduct, 4, 7, 51, 53, 94, 127–8, 154, 157
conduct literature, 7, 128
confession, 38, 93, 223 n12
consumption, theory of, 42, 132, 186 n164
tactics, 42, 45, 108, 132, 186 n164
Cook, Amy, 98, 176 n48
Corporal Acts of Mercy, 71, 74, 215 n55
corporeality, 9, 18, 22, 30–1, 35, 136, 147, 148, 175 n44
Corpus Christi, 50, 118, 133–5, 136, 137, 145, 147
procession, 11, 50–2, 101–2, 133–5, 207 n58, 211 n10
disputes over, 190 n40
shrine, 52
York guild of, 12, 50–2, 53, 60, 83
see also Eucharist; York cycle
costumes, 54, 61, 66, 78, 116, 117, 126, 135, 211 n3
Council of Lambeth, 4
creationism, 156–60, 163
Creed play, 11, 12, 60, 89, 171 n53
cross (also crucifix), 4, 5, 13, 15, 33, 34–6, 47, 58, 60–4, 69, 70, 78, 79, 97, 99, 118, 121, 123–5, 136, 140–3, 145–9, 165 n6, 166 n16, 221 n62
see also York cycle, *The Crucifixion*; York cycle, *The Death of Christ*
crucifix, *see* cross
crucifixion, *see* cross
cycle plays, 10, 195 n95, 218 n32
see also York cycle

damnation, 29, 126, 129–30, 152–6

dance, 1, 151–2, 160, 163, 165 n6, 185 n160, 217 n22, 222 n3
  Praise Dance, 151–2
Davidson, Clifford, 10, 130
de Certeau, Michel, 42
de Thoresby, John, 4, 128
decoration, 35, 37, 50, 52, 58–60, 62, 67, 71, 106, 193 n61
decorum, *see* conduct
Descartes, 20–22
design, *see* spectacle; stage design
devil, 29, 143, 153, 219 n40, 223 n11
  see also York Cycle, characters
devotional seeing *see* vision
dinosaur, 156–60
Dinosaur Adventure Land, 156–7, 160, 223 n16, 224 n29
direct address, 97, 130, 147, 221 n62
Dobson, Barrie, 67, 204 n28
domestic art, *see* art
donations, 13, 50, 67, 74, 76–8, 197 n3
  of dramatic texts, 61
  proxy, 74
  to statues, 76–8, 85, 106, 109–10
Dox, Donnalee, 32, 180 n105, 180 n107
ductus, 100, 207 n57
  see also memory; mnemonic
Duffy, Eamon, 11, 16, 46, 49, 72, 105, 193 n65, 198 n24, 198 n26, 198 n27, 209 n76

Early Drama, Art, and Music project (EDAM), 6
ears, 26, 31, 38, 129, 143
Eiximenis, Francesc, 99–100
embodiment, 9, 12, 16, 17, 20–1, 24, 26–7, 58, 61, 87, 91, 94, 124, 127, 132, 144, 152, 158, 168 n35, 175 n42, 178 n80, 206 n51
  Christ's embodiment, 3, 120, 124, 126–7, 135–7, 145–9
  embodied belief, 158–60
  embodied mind, 20
  embodied schema, 26–7, 32, 38, 41–2, 45, 57–8, 75–6, 84, 88, 99, 103–4, 131, 137, 139
  embodied simulation, 25–6, 39–40, 62, 76, 84, 125, 131, 138–9, 141, 143, 145, 149
Emerson, Bo, 160
emotion, 3, 24–6, 32, 49, 53, 76, 84–5, 92, 121, 130–1, 136, 144, 146, 149, 155, 176 n50, 176 n52, 180 n107, 182 n135, 185 n160, 219 n47
  emotive coupling, 144
empathy, 25–6, 39, 40, 84, 130–1, 133, 137–48, 155–6, 176 n52, 177 n66, 221 n60
  alterity, 143–4
  moral empathy, 131, 143–4
enlivened images, 16, 82, 116, 144
entrainment, 133, 137–9, 145–6, 149, 152, 155, 217 n25
equivalence, 24, 27
Erler, Mary, 210 n80
Eucharist, 50–2, 70, 72, 74, 82, 101, 102, 133–4, 210 n80, 211 n10
  Elevation of the Host, 48, 70, 72, 76, 105, 106–8, 118, 140, 146, 217 n20
  see also Corpus Christi
Evangelical Christianity, 151–2, 155, 157, 159, 162–3
Evans, Ruth, 193 n61, 206 n51
everyday, 2, 7, 19, 88, 104, 128, 138, 147, 163
  everyday body, 79–80, 85–6, 88
  everyday materialities, 162–3
evolution, theory of, 156–9
excess
  bodily, 38, 139
  material, 38

experiential, 7, 25, 42, 77, 103, 124, 132, 185 n160
eyes, 1, 4, 21–3, 26, 31, 42, 63, 75, 76, 100, 118, 121, 129, 139, 143, 152, 175 n42, 195 n95

Fauconnier, Gilles, 87–9, 91, 95–6, 204 n21, 206 n44
Feagin, Susan, 219 n47, 220 n59
Fissell, Mary E., 78
flesh, 3, 4, 16, 30–2, 34, 35, 37, 55–7, 62, 76, 79–80, 84–5, 105, 113, 118–19, 123, 127, 135–6, 143–4, 149, 162, 175 n44, 179 n104
  control of fleshiness, 4, 28, 30–2, 37, 127–9, 143–4
Fletcher, John, 223 n12, 223 n14
flow, 100, 104, 161
Foister, Susan, 193 n66
Fourth Lateran Council, 3
framing, *see* conceptual blending
Freedberg, David, 39–40, 62, 85, 183 n148
French, Katherine, 69, 74, 78, 199 n35
friar, 4, 15, 48, 60, 100, 133, 189 n20, 206 n44, 219 n40
funerals, 13, 46–54, 57–8, 61, 63, 66, 69, 74, 87, 88, 94, 190 n41, 190 n42

Gallagher, Shaun, 8, 20, 168 n35, 174 n29
Gallese, Vittorio, 23–5, 27, 39–40, 42, 62, 85, 125, 176 n50, 183 n148, 185 n160, 220 n53
Garden of Eden, 158, 159
Garner, Stanton, Jr., 17–18, 42, 54, 99, 127, 145, 179 n104
gender, 6–7
Gerland, Oliver, 43
Gerson, Jean, 26
gesture, 3, 7, 16, 19, 28, 38, 40, 56, 71, 91, 97–8, 120–3, 136, 137, 152, 217 n19, 222 n3
  proper use, 7, 120–5
  spontaneous, 120–4
  see also kneeling
ghosting, 111
Gibson, Gail McMurray, 211 n1
girdle, 55–7, 61–2, 77–8, 93, 101, 142, 192 n54, 193 n61, 193 n62, 197 n3
  see also props
Goldberg, Jeremy, xi, 47, 93–4, 105
The Golden Legend, 192 n54
Gréban-Michel, *Mystère de la Passion*, 196 n101
guilds of York, 11, 48, 53, 63–5, 77, 85, 92–4, 102, 104, 133, 190 n40, 205 n32
  disciplinary tactics, 93–4
  fines, 92–3, 100
  values, 94, 104
  Specific guilds
    Armourers, 133
    Coopers, 63
    Cordwainers, 190 n40
    Corpus Christi guild, 12, 50–3, 60
    Girdlers, 61, 93
    Glaziers, 102
    Goldsmiths, 65
    Guild of Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, 190 n45
    Latteners, 63–5
    Lorimers, 93
    Masons, 65, 102, 196 n99
    Mercers (also Merchants), 53, 80, 103, 110, 191 n45
    Painters, 63–4
    Parchmentmakers, 204 n26
    Pater Noster, 11
    Pinners, 63–5
    Plasterers, 204 n26
    Saddlers, 92–3
    St. Christopher, guild of, 60

Stainers, 64
Tailors, 204 n24
Weavers, 93, 190 n40

hagiography, 124, 193 n61
Ham, Ken, 157, 159
Hamburger, Jeffrey, 209 n80
Harrowing of Hell, 81–2, 125–9, 214 n43
Hell Houses, 153–6, 163, 223 n12, 223 n14
documentary *Hell House*, 153, 154
heresy, 121
Hodapp, William, 141
Holy Land Experience theme park, 157
Holy Trinity Priory of York, 100, 101
home, 16, 59, 78, 79–86, 99, 100, 104, 163
homly, 79, 86
see also everyday
Host, *see* Eucharist; Corpus Christi
Hovind, Kent, 156, 160, 223 n16, 224 n29
Husserl, Edmund, 17–18, 20, 173 n16, 174 n29

iconography, 6, 16, 30, 36–7, 68–70, 81, 106, 116, 146
see also art
ideology, 2, 12, 56, 94, 186 n164
imaginative addition, 96
Imago Pietatis (Man of Sorrows), 82, 85, 140
incarnational theology, 3
indulgence, 4, 49, 111, 133
infiction, 41–2, 45–6, 57
integration networks, *see* conceptual blending
intentionality, 25, 39–41, 45–6, 54, 81, 84, 95, 104, 130
intentional attunement, 25, 40
interactivity, 5, 24–7, 41–2, 45, 53, 58, 134, 136–8, 144, 153, 159, 179 n104
with objects, 3, 27, 37, 39, 42, 45, 54–5, 57–8, 70, 201 n57
of spectatorship, 8, 41, 43, 45, 134, 136–8, 144–9, 153
inventories, 57, 58–60, 80, 193 n66
conventions, 58–9, 193 n68
Specific individuals
Carter, John, 59
Collan, John, 59
Duffield, William, 60
Gryssop, Thomas, 59
Morton, Thomas, 60

James, Mervyn, 207 n58
jews
in medieval York, 222 n9
references in cycle, 63, 122, 123, 128, 135
John the Baptist, *see* Saints; York Cycle, characters
Johnson, Mark, 8, 24, 26–7
Johnston, Alexandra F., 10, 60, 120, 171 n53, 206 n44, 214 n46, 217 n22

Kempe, Margery, 4–5, 15, 142–3
Kessler, Herbert, 85–6, 167 n23, 182 n131
kinesthetic, 46, 49, 92, 187 n3
King, Pamela, 10, 78, 103, 136, 147–8, 214 n40, 221 n61
Kipling, Gordon, 91
kneeling, 50, 56, 75, 82, 121–2, 124–5
Kolve, V. A., 138–9

Lakoff, George, 23–4
language, 24, 33, 51, 52, 98, 115–19, 122–3, 126, 135–6, 141, 152, 184 n156, 195 n95
laughter, 65, 138
Lay Folks' Catechism, 4, 10, 128
Lay Folks' Mass Book, 10
Leder, Drew, 50
Leiblichkeit, 18, 20

Lerer, Seth, 196 n101
Lerud, Theodore K., 33–4, 96, 207 n53
Les Freres Corbusier, 153–5
Lindberg, David C., 22
Lipton, Sara, 36
literacy, 113, 185 n159, 186 n165
  liturgical literacy, 41
  see also performance literacy
liturgy, 3, 16, 49, 69–72, 74, 76, 78, 105, 107–8, 110, 140, 147, 22 n18
  liturgical drama, 28
  liturgical literacy, 41, 49
  see also Eucharist; worship
lived experience, 26, 42, 125
liveness of objects, 46, 81, 140
living in the blend, *see* conceptual blending
Lollard, 33
Lopes, Dominic M. M., 222 n1
Lord's Prayer, *see* Pater Noster
Love, Nicholas, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, 5, 140–1
Loveland, Anne C., 160

Mahler, Jonathan, 161–2
make-up, 1, 54, 116, 117, 2212 n3
  see also costumes
manuscript, 11, 17, 34, 63, 105–13, 170 n44, 171 n48, 209 n76
  see also books; Books of Hours
Marks, Richard, 80
Marrow, James, 15–16
Mary, the Virgin, *see* Saints; York Cycle, characters
mass, 10, 41, 48–50, 61, 68–70, 72, 74, 140, 172 n7, 189 n20, 190 n41, 198 n21, 198 n26, 217 n20
material anchors, 87–8, 92–3, 115
material culture, 10, 86–8
material piety, 16, 44
McConachie, Bruce, 8–9, 25, 39, 96, 131–2, 144, 186 n165
McFarland, Lee, 161–2
media, 3, 5, 12, 40, 43, 46, 77, 81, 88, 141, 149, 151–2, 159, 163
  devotional media, 6, 9, 13, 41–2, 45–6, 132, 141, 149, 163
medievalism, 163
meditation, 5, 29, 100, 113, 128, 147, 175 n43
megachurch, 159–63
  Radiant Church, 161–2
Melton, Friar William, 133
memorials, in churches, 46, 62, 74, 104
memory, 12, 27, 34–5, 37–8, 46, 49–50, 53, 58, 61–3, 66, 87, 90, 113, 139, 169 n37, 187 n4, 190 n44
  bodily memory, 27, 37–8, 48–9, 58, 128
  communal memory, 47, 66
  locational memory system, 99–100
  medieval treatises, 96–100, 202 n70
  remember, 1, 12, 33–4, 48, 62, 74, 76, 88, 126
  sense memory, 48, 66, 76–7, 92
  see also memorials; mnemonic; pilgrimage
mental images, 5, 16, 20, 30, 96–9, 151 175 n42
merchant, 47, 80, 103, 110, 202 n61, 204 n28
  see also guilds of York, Mercers
Meredith, Peter, 10, 186 n169, 195 n95
Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, 18, 20, 23, 174 n31, 175, n44
Mickelgate, 71, 100, 101–4, 131
Milhaven, J. Giles, 37–8
Miller, Patricia Cox, 124–5
Mills, David, 221 n62
Minster of York, *see* cathedral

miraclis pleyinge, 27–30, 34–5, 38, 79, 144, 145, 149
Mirk, John, 48
mirror neurons, 23–6, 39–40, 53, 130, 132, 146
  disputes surrounding studies, 176 n52
  responses to touch, 62, 98, 136–7
  see also brain; cognition; simulation
Mitchell, W. J. T., 151
mnemonic, 49, 50, 53, 61–2, 68, 92, 96–7, 99, 102, 137, 139, 206 n44, 217 n20
  see also memory
mode of becoming, 2–3, 12, 43, 58, 62, 88, 149, 153
monarchs of England
  Edward IV, 203 n11
  Edward V, 89
  Edwin, 67
  Henry IV, 67, 91
  Henry VI, 91, 203 n11
  Henry VII, 89–92, 94, 203 n11
  Henry VIII, 203 n11
  Mary, 70
  Richard II, 203 n11
  Richard III, 89, 203 n11
monetary values, 193 n68
moral perception, 142
  see also empathy
Morgan, David, 2, 5, 20, 66, 173 n11
mortality of objects, 38–41, 57
motor system, 24, 39–40, 95, 138, 153, 183 n148, 218 n30
  see also sensorimotor
Muir, Lynette, 208 n63
museum, 111, 156–60, 163
music, 6, 26, 46, 49, 76, 138–9, 160, 184 n158, 218 n30
  see also rhythm

Nellhaus, Tobin, 27
Nerve-Wracking Ball, 156
neural, *see* brain; cognition
neuron, *see* brain; mirror neurons
The Northern Passion, 213, n30

objectness, 36–7, 56, 69, 76
Olson, Glending, 28
openness of spectator, 19, 158–9, 177 n69
Ordo paginarum, 55, 63
ornamentation, 52, 60, 104, 193 n62
  see also decoration
Ouse bridge, 52, 60, 100
Ouse River, 71, 97, 100, 103

pageants, *see* York Cycle
pain, spectator respones to, 29, 31, 136, 144–6, 154, 220 n53
Palm Sunday, 78, 98–9, 121
parish church, 10, 13, 35, 47–8, 50, 60–1, 69–79, 81, 85–6, 88, 101, 104, 105, 110, 121, 160, 224 n37
  lay control, 69–71, 77–9
  as material anchor, 88
  as medium, 70
  seating arrangements, 74
  on York Cycle route, 100–2
  Selected parish churches
    All Saints North Street, 71–6
    All Saints Pavement, 100, 101, 106, 110, 198 n17
    St. Michael-le-Belfry, 102, 198 n17
Parkyn, Robert, “Narrative of the Reformation,” 70
Passion of Christ, 4–5, 15, 29, 34, 36, 37, 55, 81, 98, 108, 111, 120, 135, 136, 138, 141–9
  textual control, 36, 141
Pater Noster (Lord’s Prayer), 11, 61, 171 n55
  Pater Noster play, 11
patronage, 37, 58, 84
Pavement in York, 100–1, 106, 110, 198
Pavement Hours, *see* Books of Hours

Pecham, John, 21, 22
Pecock, Reginald, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, 33–4, 121
penance, 38, 93
perception, 12, 17–27, 30–43, 45, 50, 58, 85, 96, 98, 104–5, 125, 131, 138, 142, 144–5, 167 n23, 169 n37, 177 n69, 182 n145, 186 n168
  medieval theories, 21–3, 26–7, 30–7, 45, 58, 145, 186 n168
performance, definition of, 2–3, 42–44
performance literacy, 9–10, 12–13, 15, 41–3, 45–6, 49, 54, 57, 67, 69, 71, 76, 79, 113, 120, 130, 132, 149, 152, 186 n165
  instability, 132, 144–9, 155–6
performing objects, 39
  see also art; props; "thingness"
phenomenology, 6, 7–9, 12, 16–21, 23, 34, 54, 56, 85, 130
  naturalized phenomenology, 8–9, 20–1, 23
  neurophenomenology, 20, 174 n29, 174 n31
pietà, 15, 37–8, 59
piety, 4, 7, 15, 47, 58, 67, 70, 85, 103, 104, 121, 124, 142, 167 n24, 172 n7, 221 n60
  female piety, 6–7
  sensual piety, 151–2, 156, 163
  visual piety, 2, 3, 5–6, 12–13, 16, 17, 20, 42, 45, 66, 68–9, 80, 113, 115, 117, 124, 132, 134, 137, 151
pilgrimage, 4, 15, 38, 111
  badges, 62, 78, 111
  by proxy, 49, 189 n24
Plato, 21
players, 29, 64–5
  see also actor
plays
  Creed play, 11–12, 60, 89
  Pater Noster play, 11
  Play about Saint James the Apostle, 60
  see also York Cycle
pleyinge, *see* miraclis pleyinge
Pope Gregory the Great, 33
Pope Urban IV, 50, 133
Praise Dance, *see* dance
prayer, 11, 38, 48, 49, 50, 55, 61, 62, 72, 75, 78, 86, 104–6, 108–10, 121, 137, 154, 198 n18, 198 n21, 222 n3
preaching, 3, 36, 40, 48, 55, 83, 97, 99, 125, 133, 140, 142–3, 147, 160, 215 n55
Pricke of Conscience window, 71, 72–6, 82, 88
priest, 4, 29, 38, 50–1, 61, 72, 80, 197 n10, 198 n21
primer, *see* Books of Hours
procession, 3, 11, 46, 48–52, 70, 78, 94, 100–2, 133–4, 221 n10
  see also royal entry
props, 19, 39, 54–8, 61, 66, 77, 78
  devotional props, 58–63
  Virgin's girdle, 55–8, 61–2, 142
  see also art; stage design
proselytize, 152–3, 223 n14

Ramachandran, V. S., 45
Ratliff, George, 153–4
Rayner, Alice, 38–9, 56–7, 111, 195 n85, 199 n38
reading, 5, 7, 17, 33, 43, 78, 113, 132, 140–1, 153, 163, 172 n7, 186 n165, 207 n57
  misreading, 36
  reader, 4, 36, 105, 110, 113, 124, 141
  see also books; Books of Hours
reception, 8, 18–19, 89, 115, 137
Records of Early English Drama (*REED*), 10, 170 n45

Rees Jones, Sarah, 103
Reformation, 33, 70, 72
  see also Parkyn, Robert
relics, 16, 60, 78, 106, 193 n61, 197 n3, 209 n80
  therapeutic powers, 78
Revetour, William, 60–1
Rhetorica ad Herennium, 205 n41
rhythm, 19, 39, 41, 44, 46, 50–4, 58, 62, 69, 72, 75, 76, 84–6, 94, 104, 151, 153, 163
  auditory rhythm, 138–9, 146
  of Books of Hours, 104–5, 111–13
of performance, 19, 32, 54, 57, 63, 66, 85, 96–7, 99, 120, 126, 127, 131, 138–9, 145–6, 149, 152–5, 223 n11
  of space, 60, 68–9, 72, 75–80, 88, 96, 104, 155, 156, 158
  see also music
Riddy, Felicity, 79, 103, 200 n48
ritual, 1, 3, 4, 12, 28, 42, 43, 72, 78, 86, 103, 105, 121, 124, 140, 142, 149, 207 n58
  posthumous rituals, 46–54, 74, 88, 94, 104
Roberts, Pastor Keenan, 153, 155
Rogerson, Margaret, 10
Rokotnitz, Naomi, 9, 159
rood screen, 72, 198 n27
Rosser, Gervase, 102
Rothstein, Edward, 159
royal entry, 11, 89–94
  specific characters
    Ebrauk, 90–1
    King Solomon, 91
    King David, 91
    Mary, the Virgin, 91
Rubin, Miri, 82–3, 140

sacraments, 3, 4, 16, 29, 51–2, 70, 74, 128, 136, 140
saints, 30, 35, 36, 47, 48, 49, 60, 61, 105, 108–9, 110, 124, 136, 192 n54, 193 n61, 199 n39, 199 n41
  Agnes, 108
  Anne, 48
  Anthony, 106–8, 110
  Catherine, 60
  Christopher, 60, 108–10
  Clare, 106–8, 110
  Clement, 60
  George, 59, 61, 106–8, 110
  James, 48, 60, 72, 90
  John of Bridlington, 77
  John the Baptist, 48, 82
    head of, 82–5, 203 n72
  John the Evangelist, 48, 60, 81, 192 n54
  Leonard, 101
  Mary Magdalene, 201 n54
  Mary, the Virgin, 15, 37–8, 47, 48, 59, 60, 68, 71, 77, 79, 81, 91, 105, 121, 142, 189 n19, 190 n45, 192 n54, 200 n43
  Michael, 60
  Nicholas, 48, 72
  Peter, 60, 77, 82, 196 n1
  Richard Scrope, 67, 77, 106, 197 n3
  Roch, 106–8, 110
  Thomas, 72, 192 n54
  Thomas Becket, 82
  William of York, 52, 77, 82
  see also Augustine; parish church; relics; York cycle, characters
Salmen, Walter, 222 n3
Saltz, David, 16, 41
salvation, 11, 49, 84, 99, 119, 124, 127–8, 130, 141, 147–8, 152–3
Sargent, Michael, 218 n36
Satan, 154, 214 n43
  see also York cycle, characters
Sawyer, R. Keith, 138
scourge, 34, 123, 136, 138–9, 154
Scoville, Chester, 217 n20
Scribner, Robert, 167 n24
Scrope, Richard, *see* saints

sculpture, *see* alabaster sculpture; art
seeing, *see* vision; visual
semiotics, 8, 54
sensation, 1, 25–6, 142, 160, 185 n160, 187 n2
senses, 17, 30, 57, 92, 96, 111, 124, 142–3, 149, 151–2, 155, 157, 179 n104
  concerns about senses, 30–2, 35, 143, 162, 184 n151
  sense organs, 21, 26
  sense to history, 57–8, 62, 66, 77
sensorimotor, 23–6, 57, 98, 125, 136, 144, 146, 220 n53
sensual, 2–3, 18–19, 31–2, 50, 53, 57, 62, 66, 72, 76, 78, 86, 88–9, 104, 111, 113, 149, 151–2, 155–8, 160–1, 163, 180 n105
  sensual culture, 151–2
  sensual piety, 151–2, 156, 163
sermons, *see* preaching
Sheingorn, Pamela, 6, 166 n18, 201 n56
Shepherd, Simon, 17, 19, 54, 85, 99, 103–4
sight, *see* vision; visual
signify, 3, 12, 33–4, 39, 46, 47, 50, 54, 57, 93, 111, 195 n85, 199 n38, 206 n51
silence, 120, 122, 138, 139, 146–7
simulation, 23–5, 32, 39–40, 42, 53, 57, 62, 76, 84–5, 125, 130–2, 137–9, 141, 143–6, 149, 153–5, 219 n47
sin, 26, 29, 30, 36, 56, 124, 127–8, 143, 145, 148, 153–5
singing, 1, 38, 48, 49, 55, 68, 91, 152, 160–1
  see also music
slippage, 77, 106, 134, 137, 145, 147
Sofer, Andrew, 55–6
souvenir, 78, 111
space, 10, 12–13, 38, 39, 41–4, 59–60, 67–86, 88–106, 123, 132, 140, 141, 149, 151, 156, 159–63
  bodied space, 85
  city space, 10, 12, 88, 96, 99, 100–3
  performance space (stage space; theatrical space), 10, 17, 18, 19, 57, 64, 95, 102
    spatial assimilation with city, 89, 96–9, 100, 102
species, 21–2, 40–1
spectacle, 1, 46, 53, 64–6, 72, 90–1, 93, 136, 139, 157, 159, 160
  see also stage design; technological enhancement
spectatorship, 16, 27, 42, 65, 117, 120, 134, 145, 152
  actor-audience relationship, 12, 118, 124, 136
  participatory, 83, 95–9, 116, 125–6, 128–30, 138–40, 148
  viewing positions, 102, 145–6, 148–9
Sponsler, Claire, 7, 28, 132, 155, 169 n39, 175 n43, 186 n164, 213 n36, 218 n32
St. Leonard's Hospital, 101
St. Mary's abbey, 77
stage design, 1, 6, 63, 77, 81, 90–2, 96, 117, 155–6, 196 n101
  The Last Judgment indenture, 53–4, 78, 202 n59
  see also props; costumes; spectacle
stained glass, *see* art; *Pricke of Conscience* window
Stein, Edith, 130
Stewart, Susan, 111
Sturges, Robert, 221 n60
subjectivity, 18, 26, 131, 177 n69, 220 n53
suffering, 4, 31, 34, 79, 145, 148, 154, 156

of Christ, 4, 15, 123, 130, 134, 141–3, 145, 147–9
surveillance, 119, 212 n17
suspension of disbelief, 96
sympathy, 13, 25, 130–1, 139, 141–4, 147–8
synesthetic, 46, 50, 162
synesthetic memory, 48, 76
synesthetic worship, 160, 162

tactility, 37, 56, 76, 111, 195 n85
Taylor, Barbara Brown, 155
technological enhancement, 160–1
Ten Commandments, 4, 34
testator, *see* wills
Thaut, Michael, 138–9
theme parks, 156–7, 160, 162, 163
theology, 3, 12, 36, 38, 54–5, 83–4, 115, 127, 130, 137, 149, 152, 162, 206 n51, 211 n1
Theory of Mind, 24–5, 131
standard simulation theory, 25
thingness, 38–42, 57, 62, 75, 78, 80
Thompson, Evan, 8, 20, 25, 130–1, 142, 144, 173 n16, 175 n46, 177 n69
Thumma, Scott, 161
tombstone, 88
torches, 11, 48, 50–2, 74, 76, 78, 104, 190 n40, 197 n3
see also candles
touch, 16, 23, 33, 57, 97, 113, 134–6, 152, 221 n1
neural responses to, 137
in performance, 57, 62, 84, 119, 124, 135–7, 216 n14
A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge, 27–32, 34, 35, 38, 79, 144–5
Tretyse of Ymagis, 34–8, 69, 79, 199 n39
Trinity images, 33, 34, 48, 59
Trinity Church (Assemblies of God), 153
Turner, Mark, 87–9, 91, 95–6, 204 n21, 206 n44
Twycross, Meg, 10, 171 n51

Van Os, Henk, 84
Veronica images, 209 n80
vestments, 61, 71, 76
Vie de Saint Jehan Paulus, 136
violence in performance, 138–9, 146
as game, 138
visceral, 1, 32, 41, 76, 78, 100, 102, 124–5, 141, 145, 155, 185 n163
vision, 4, 7, 16, 23, 52, 134, 159, 225 n50
cognitive theory, 23–7, 32, 39–40, 125, 136–7, 145
devotional seeing, 9, 15–16, 41–3, 110, 134
hierarchy of vision, 30–1, 35
interpretive strategies, 9, 45
medieval theories, 13, 16, 21–3, 26–7, 30–7, 40–1, 45–6, 53, 134, 149, 151, 187 n3
optical illusions, 45
regulation of, 5, 6, 36, 51–2, 134, 137, 141
sight in the York cycle, 63, 115–19, 121–5, 133–7, 146, 148, 221 n60
visceral seeing, 124–5
visuomotor, 23, 39, 182 n145
see also cognition; perception; senses; visual
visual, 2–3, 5–6, 21, 27, 39, 46–7, 51–4, 62–6, 68–74, 76–82, 86–91, 94, 108, 111, 117–18, 122, 127, 134, 145, 152–3, 157–8, 160
cycle's visual arrangement, 94, 100–4
interactivity, 8, 24, 26–7, 58
juxtaposition, 74, 111, 117
visual anticipation, 115–18, 134
visual culture, 2, 5–6, 13, 17, 70, 151, 177 n59

visual—*Continued*
visual devotion, 2, 6, 15, 46, 159
visual layering, 74, 77, 85, 106, 110, 162
visual metaphors, 115–16
visual performance encounter, 2–3, 12, 17, 18, 29, 32, 39, 43, 45, 63, 66, 103–4, 115, 117, 125, 130, 134, 140, 145–9, 152
visual piety, 2–3, 5–6, 12–13, 16–17, 20, 42, 45, 66, 68–9, 80, 113, 115, 117, 124, 132, 134, 137, 151
visual theory, *see* vision
visuality, 2, 46, 70
visualize, 29, 80, 127, 130
see also spectacle; stage design

wagons, *see* pageants
Walker, Julia A., 102
wax, *see* candles
wealth, medieval interpretations of, 37, 47, 103
weeping, 4, 15, 29, 97, 98, 142, 144–5
Wheeler, Bonnie, 13
Wheeler, Otis B., 160
White, Eileen, 170 n46
Williamson, Beth, 16
wills, 46–9, 52–3, 57–63, 65, 74, 80, 82, 105, 197 n1, 197 n10, 199 n39
bequests, 47–9, 58–62, 67, 77, 80, 88, 191 n45, 193 n62, 197 n3
customs, 47, 49, 52–3
problems of interpretation, 46–7, 52–3
testators, 46–54, 61–2, 77, 80, 188 n11, 189 n20
Specific testators
Bawtre, Reginald, 74
Blackburn family, 74
Bracebrig, Thomas, 47–9, 52–3, 65, 88
Carter, John, 59
clergy, 60–1
de Craven, Katherine, 77
Dautre, John , 48
Duffield, William, 60
Gryssop, Thomas, 59
Henryson family, 74
Hessle family, 74
Katheryne the Countes of Northumberlande, 62
Morton, Thomas, 60
Revetour, William, 60–1
Santon, Beatrix, 193 n62
Thomson, Annas, 59
Wod, Thomas , 61
witness, 29, 68–9, 77, 81–2, 84, 93, 116–18, 121–2, 125–6, 128, 137, 141, 144, 147–8, 152–3, 214 n40, 218 n36
bere wittenesse (bodily witness), 85, 125–6, 168
eyewitness, 55
relationship to belief, 128
visual witness, 81–2, 116, 141
Wolska, Aleksandra, 2, 43
worship, 3, 28–9, 38, 50, 67–8, 70–2, 78, 104, 110, 121, 123, 151–2, 160–2, 175 n43, 222 n9

Yardley, Anne Bagnall, 49
York cycle, 10–13, 17, 28, 53, 54, 63, 66, 77, 80, 81, 83, 85, 90, 92, 95, 106, 115–49, 219 n39
as artisanal ideology, 94
assimilation within, 97–9, 102–4, 145–9
characters
Adam, 63
Andrew, 56
angels, 54, 55, 63, 83–4, 91, 116, 119, 128–9
Annas, 122–3, 147
Barabbas, 123

Bedellus, 120–1, 125
Belliall, 126
burgess, 117, 211 n10
Caiaphas, 122–3, 147
Centurion, 125
Christ, 54, 55, 63, 64, 81, 84, 97–9, 115–49
Deus, 54, 63, 67, 117–19, 128
devils, 54, 126
disciples, 55–7, 116–17, 125, 135–6, 147–8, 216 n14
Elizabeth, 119
Eve, 63
Fergus, 65, 191 n50
Herod, 118, 122–3
Jacobus, 56
James, 56, 117
jews, 63, 122, 123, 128, 135
John the Baptist, 83–4, 116
John the Evangelist, 56, 63, 81
Joseph, 54, 79, 115, 119, 136
Joseph of Arimathea, 124–5
Judas, 135
Lazarus, 116
Longinus, 124, 214 n40
Mary, the Virgin, 55–7, 61–3, 79, 119–20, 135–7, 142, 147–8, 191 n50, 193 n61, 217 n20
Peter, 56, 117, 121, 125
Pilate, 120, 122–5, 139, 147
porter, 117
Satan, 126–7
soldiers, 97, 115–16, 118, 120–1, 123–4, 135, 138–9, 145–6
Symeon, 115, 126, 136, 217 n19
Thomas, 55–6
Vice characters, 155
waiting women, 119
Zaché, 118
disputes over, 64–5, 133–5
dramatic structure, 96–7, 99–100
as memory system, 95–7, 99–100
pageants by title
The Agony in the Garden and the Betrayal, 115–16, 135, 138
The Annunciation and the Visitation, 119
Appearance to Mary Magdalene, 216 n14
The Ascension, 63, 68, 81, 84, 97, 117, 125, 216 n14
The Assumption of the Virgin, 55–7, 61, 142, 192 n54, 202 n59
The Baptism, 83–4, 116
Christ Before Annas and Caiaphas, 121
Christ Before Herod, 118, 120, 122
Christ Before Pilate I: The Dream of Pilate's Wife, 120
Christ Before Pilate II: The Judgment, 120, 122–3, 138
The Coronation of the Virgin, 191 n50
The Creation, 63, 97–8
The Crucifixion, 54, 97, 118, 124–5, 140, 144–9, 220 n53
The Death of Christ, 123–5, 136, 147–9
The Death of the Virgin, 191 n50
The Entry into Jerusalem, 98, 117–18
The Fall of the Angels, 97, 118–19
The Fall of Man, 63
The Flight into Egypt, 136
The Funeral of the Virgin ("Fergus" play), 65, 191 n50
The Harrowing of Hell, 125–9
The Incredulity of Thomas, 55, 216 n14
Joseph's Trouble about Mary, 119
The Last Judgment, 54, 78, 125, 128–30, 137, 154, 191 n46, 191 n50
indenture, 53–4, 78, 202 n59

York cycle—*Continued*
The Last Supper, 116, 136
The Nativity, 54, 115, 119–20, 135–7
Pentecost, 125
The Purification, 115, 136, 217 n19
The Road to Calvary, 139–40, 146
The Supper at Emmaus, 216 n14
The Temptation, 98, 116, 205 n37
The Transfiguration, 116–17
The Women Taken in Adultery/ The Raising of Lazarus, 116
as penance, 93–4
processional route and stations, 11, 94–5, 100–4, 208 n59, 208 n63
regulation, 11, 64, 93–4, 100
relationship to Corpus Christi procession, 133–5
wagons, 11, 81, 95, 97, 100, 146

Zahavi, Dan, 8, 20, 168 n35, 174 n29
Zieman, Katherine, 41
Zunshine, Lisa, 183 n150