4

Reading architecturally: The wall texts of a Percy family manuscript and the *Poulys Daunce* of St Paul's Cathedral

As discussed in the previous chapter, reading extracodexical texts materially requires attending to particular details such as space and place, and embodied experiences shaped by these materialities, such as movement. These three aspects of material reading converge in a striking way when considering the role of architecture in fashioning reading practices. Architecture may not seem an obvious direction in which to look when assessing the culture of reading in late-medieval England, but its neglect intersects with modern aesthetic judgments regarding the kinds of texts deemed sufficiently literary for study, a practice that has led to neglect of extracodexical texts more generally. In fact, civic and religious buildings throughout medieval Europe, and even the households of private individuals, could incorporate text in several ways and places, from the plates used at table to the hangings and paintings on their walls. The latter category of extracodexical texts offers a striking example of the intersection between reading and architecture. Wall texts typically accompanied imagistic paintings made on the walls, or on cloths or panels hung on the walls, of churches, private houses, and professional buildings. Although not completely unknown to modern audiences of medieval culture, they are uncommon in their survival.[1] The most well-known wall texts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries survive only through transcriptions of the texts recorded in manuscripts, where they may be supplemented only by brief descriptions of the images they once accompanied. Yet both in manuscript and in what can be reconstructed of their original locations, wall texts present another opportunity to examine how readers related to texts outside the bounds of manuscripts, and present instead in alternative material spaces. They also provide reminders of how richly textual were daily lives in late-medieval England, where texts might appear in cathedrals, guild houses,

and well-to-do households not only in elaborately decorated manuscripts, but also on pottery vases, pitchers, rings, panel paintings, wall hangings, and wall paintings – to say nothing of the text in cathedral windows.

Confronting the practice of reading in architectural contexts requires further widening recognition of the spectrum of participatory reading experiences, particularly those shaped by materialities. In an architectural, extracodexical text, reading does not occur only when a reader holds or views a static, stationary book. It can also occur as readers moved throughout rooms, walking by or walking to or walking around textually contingent places and objects. Such places are socially constructed, and as such not only are shaped by the people who designed and used them, but shape those people in return.[2] Such effects extend also to reading practice. In particular, movement in architectural space further emphasizes the social and physical role of the body in reading practice. Such considerations as these are not restricted, however, to medieval literary culture and architecture alone. Writing about such physical experiences in more modern contexts, digital media theorist Mark Hansen and others emphasize how bodily engagement with the world around a person can create marked effects. Acknowledging how various forms of media, and media located within particular places, promote specific types of relationships with readers today, it becomes particularly clear that understanding of medieval textual culture can be enriched by considering how texts, such as wall texts, might elicit or promote distinct types of interactions with readers. I contend that these modes of participation could, in turn, shape reading practices and reading experiences. Consequently, focusing on wall texts provides an opportunity to consider how architecturally inflected participation might arise, what its processes of apprehension might be, and how participation through architectural reading might shape interpretation. In particular, because wall texts can be located in spaces that people moved through, the reading experiences involving wall texts occasion the participation and shaping of the body as it negotiates the material, architectural space that also becomes readable space. Accordingly, in this chapter I will examine two sets of wall texts surviving in manuscripts that evidence details of their original architecture contexts, one secular and one religious, and will argue that the material environs effect alternative modes of reading experience shaped by both architectural space and the embodiment of readers.

The Percy wall texts

The secular example with which I begin addresses a series of particularly noteworthy wall texts recorded in the mid-fifteenth-century English manuscript MS Royal 18.D.ii at the British Library in London. The manuscript is best known as the sole illuminated copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*. The illuminations in the manuscript were added after the Percy family acquired the book in the early sixteenth century. These were not the only additions made to the text in the first quarter of the century, however. Initially the manuscript only included two texts, namely Lydgate's aforementioned *Siege* as well as his *Troy Book*. Sometime between 1516 and 1527, following its acquisition by the fourth Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, the manuscript was expanded. The new additions included a metrical chronicle of the Percy family as well as copies of additional verses painted on walls and ceilings of two of the family's Yorkshire estates. The latter form the particular interest of this chapter, notably for how they connect reading and architectural space, for the way these connections function to shape the authority of the Percy family, and for how they enable recognition of a late-medieval secular mode of contemplative, domestic pilgrimage enacted through embodied reading.

The Percy wall texts are significant both for the number that survive and for the manuscript's descriptions that locate them within specific rooms and buildings on two of the family estates, the manor houses of Leconfield and Wressle. These rooms include a library ceiling, the Earl's son's private closet, garden-houses, and a bath – spaces both private and semi-public within the estates. In their subject matter, consistently instructive, the Percy family wall texts touch upon proverbial advice regarding sin, the vanity of human delights, a moralization of musical instruments, a dialogue about youth, and Aristotelian advice to princes. Together, they create a series of didactic works that, as one of the verses painted on the Earl's son's closet proclaims, 'made this hous for contemplacioun'.[3]

In effect, Royal 18.D.ii preserves a rare textual anthology of both the wall texts and the designations of the architectural spaces in which they were designed to be read. In this context, reading is not an experience bound solely between the covers of a book or kept within the temporal bounds of an individual, public, or private reading event, but figures as an intrinsic element of the household's architectural fabric and, indeed, that of the collective Percy estates.

Similarly, architectural space figures as an essential constitutive frame for the reading experience, a subject lightly touched upon in the previous chapter, but deserving of extended attention.

The surviving wall texts thus represent the Percy estates as spaces that – through the verses' original collection on specific estates, and as unified again in manuscript – invite readers to traverse the Percy holdings and view the houses and estates as readable, textual, literary works. These verses manifest the estates in ways both virtual and physical, represented in the former through the manuscript, and in the latter through the original spaces they accompanied. As such, the verses invite readers to become virtual and physical tourists of the estate. They figure the Percy household as a space performed through embodied reading. In this reading experience, the reader's physical body assumes a significant role in the production of meaning that is, here, related to the spatialization of the Percy wall texts. Even as they figure the household in this way, they also contribute to the assessment of the varying materialities constituting late-medieval English literary culture, a culture that encompassed both embodied reading practice and large-scale spaces and places like the Percy estates. The Percy family wall texts demonstrate how, in and outside of books, a particular category of literary production invited readers to move through, use, and relate to space.

A review of the two manors mentioned in the manuscript anthologizing the wall texts, Leconfield and Wressle, will give context to the verses and their role in creating spaces for the transit of readers in the Royal manuscript and on the estates themselves.

Leconfield was located in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and functioned as the principal seat of the Percy family from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. Demolished in 1608–9, only earthwork remains today and these indicate the layout of what once was a fortified manor house surrounded by a moat. In the sixteenth century, however, a survey made in 1537, an inventory of 1577, and an estate plan of 1591 provide some details of the manor's layout around the time the verses were collected in the Royal manuscript. Leconfield was a quadrangular manor with three-storied towers at each corner. Residential wings flanked each side of the central courtyard, and the great hall was located opposite the entrance. The 1577 inventory noted a total of eighty-three chambers in the house; the earl and his family spread over twenty-three chambers in the south wing, which included a great chamber, a chapel, and a dining chamber, in addition to the closet of Lord Percy (the Earl's

son, later the sixth Earl of Northumberland) and the library mentioned in the manuscript description of the verses.[4] A deer park, 'very fair and large and meatley welle woddid', with a towered, brick house located a mile from the main house (referred to as the 'New Lodge') and garden (containing a multi-storied chamber) completed the grounds of the estate.[5] The New Lodge was referred to in the household regulations of the fifth earl, compiled beginning in 1512, as the 'secrat houss' (secret house). In it, the earl annually broke up his household to retreat with select family and companions while taking the annual accounts.[6] In addition, the household regulations record expenses for providing wood for fires in various rooms at Leconfield, including 'My Ladies Lybrary', 'My Lords Lybrary within the Mannor', and 'My Lords Lybrary over the Chapell Dour within the Mannour', and similarly record the expenses for a groom of the chamber whose duty involved 'kepynge of Fyre in the Jewell-Hous and Lyberary and Houses in the Garden and outher places where my Lorde shall syt aboute his Books' (353, 378). While this is the barest beginning of how the estate might be assessed, the repeated emphasis on the spaces the estate offered for reading situates its architectural fabric as part of the design that the wall texts themselves complemented and extended.[7] Leconfield was made for reading.

Like Leconfield, Wressle Castle shared much in common with the layout of Leconfield. It too was structured as a quadrangular manor with multi-storied towers at each corner. Wressle survives today in the East Riding of Yorkshire only as ruins, three sides of this quadrangular castle having been demolished around 1650 or later.[8] As with Leconfield, a garden inside the moat complimented the property, and the descriptions contextualizing the verses in Royal 18.D.ii indicate that Wressle included a house with an inner and outer chamber, its design perhaps inspired by the 'medieval love for the sequential planning of spaces'.[9] At Wressle, the castle similarly emphasizes the value and necessity of reading, as the sixteenth-century antiquarian and book collector John Leland delightedly indicates in his description of Wressle from his 1538–43 *Itinerary*:

> One thing I likid exceedingly: yn one of the Toures ther was a study called Paradise, wher was a closet in the middle of eight squares latisd aboute, and at the top of every square was a desk legid to set bookes on booke on cofers within them; and this seemid as joined hard to the toppe of the closette, and yet by pulling one or al wolde

> cum downe briste highte in rabbettes [grooves] and serve for desks to lay bookes on.[10]

Here, Leland describes a study – significantly named Paradise – that possessed a kind of Murphy-bed-style octagonal bookcase with pull-out shelves that converted into standing desks for the convenience of readers consulting multiple volumes. These descriptions of architecture, furnishings, and household maintenance practices at both Leconfield and Wressle clearly demonstrate the Percy family's deep interest in linking reading and architecture throughout two of their most significant properties.

Within these spaces can now be situated the specific locations of wall texts. MS Royal 18.D.ii records six different sets of verses in five different rooms at Leconfield. The rooms decorated with wall texts included the 'garett over the bayne', which provides a dialogue between the 'parte sensatyue' and the 'parte intellectyue' on the vanity of human delights; the garret could be either a room over the bath-chamber, or the ceiling of the bath-chamber.[11] The 'garet at the New lodge in the parke' offers a poem on music as a metaphor for the well-ordered, virtuous life; this space might have served as a music room for the earl's pleasure during his annual retreat or during other times when he might wish to live separately from his household, as verses are composed on a variety of instruments.[12] Between this set of verses and the next, the manuscript introduces a full-page illuminated Tudor-Percy emblem on f. 200r, the folio verso left blank.[13] The emblem depicts a sun-in-splendour superimposed by a Tudor rose above a silver crescent that alludes to the Percy family, and includes additional imagery along with Latin and Middle English verses.[14] Following the emblem, the provision of wall texts continues with proverbs on hope located on the 'rooffe of the hyest chawmbre in the gardinge', also on the walls of garret in the garden are verses relating the counsel of Aristotle to Alexander the Great; following these, 'in the rouf of my lorde percy closet', are proverbs about how, in youth, to become wise through study, which seem pointedly directed to the fifth Earl's son, Lord Percy, later the sixth Earl; lastly at Leconfield are proverbs on 'the roufe of my lordis library' that guide readers in their practice of daily virtues.[15]

At Wressle, three sets of verses decorated the walls of a single room of a house in the garden: first listed are those in the 'Innere chamber abouv of the house in the garding' that provide advice on a life of moderation, and which represent selections from Benedict

Burgh's 'Cato major', a translation of the Distichs and the only set of wall texts in either household for which there are other witnesses.[16] On the walls of the 'side of the vtter chamber aboue of the house' is more advice from Aristotle to Alexander; on the 'side of thutter chamber aboue of the house' are proverbs encouraging a virtuous life that twice refer to themselves as left to the reader 'for a memorial', one quatrain explaining further that this memorial is, 'Of loue and kyndnes and gode mynd special', suggesting a mnemonic function to the verses as well.[17]

In both their original locations and in the manuscript versions, the context provided for the wall texts indicates the extensive connection between the estates' architecture and the wall texts, and also indicates how this extensive textual architecture might have shaped readers' experiences. First, the texts *in situ* were not confined to a single room or even a single building at Leconfield, and even in Wressle occupied multiple rooms. Such a mode of organization would have required readers to move through multiple rooms and buildings in order to read them all at Leconfield, and multiple estates to read the entirety of them, an accomplishment most accessible to members of the family, their household, and frequent guests. Second, the manuscript version of the texts collects them all in a single, physical space, thus providing a more accessible source for those interested in reading the texts, but disinclined or unable to move between the estates and buildings. Third, the inclusion of the Percy emblem amid the manuscript presentation of the wall texts suggests that this unit in the manuscripts serves as more than a simple catalogue of texts that originated elsewhere. As such, the wall texts of the manuscript must be apprehended as part of a discrete work the emblem helps to create out of that section of the manuscript.

Recognizing these significant features of the wall texts suggests that, when considered for how they shape reading experiences, the reading experiences of the audiences engaged by each version of the wall texts must differ. This point may seem transparently obvious, but is worth stressing nevertheless for its ramifications. As audiences read the different versions of the wall texts, the spaces they traversed differ; readers of the texts originally located across the Percy estates were required to physically move among the buildings and estates (approximately twenty-five miles apart) in order to read the texts, while the readers of the manuscript version traversed the spaces virtually, and thus with greater ease. These dissimilar modes of access and reading impact how the Percy

estates and MS Royal 18.D.ii contextualized the estate spaces and reading experiences, even though the modes of access – architecture, reading, and movement – seem initially points of commonality between the two.

Before pursuing this analysis of architectural reading further, discussion of the theoretical framework that underlies the consideration of the wall texts in their spatial settings will help evaluate the significance of the wall texts in their architectural settings, and the consequences their settings carry for our understanding of the embodied reading processes they provoke. This study emerges from intersecting focuses on bodies, architecture, and reading that are current interests in digital media and medieval studies. In particular, I employ the work of media theorist Mark Hansen, whose work has influenced the phenomenological approach to theorizing and analysing digital media. In 'Wearable space', an essay that became a chapter in *Bodies in code*, Hansen begins not phenomenologically, but with a nod to Gilles Deleuze's *Cinema 1: the movement image*. He first focuses on a concept introduced by Deleuze, that of the framing function performed by the technical image (a function that includes, for example, the technologies of the photograph, the film camera, and video camera). Deleuze identifies the frame as 'a relatively closed system which includes everything which is present in the image – sets, characters and props'.[18] According to Deleuze, what makes the frame a closed system is its relation to what is out-of-frame and is, therefore, 'out-of-field', which 'refers to what is neither seen nor understood, but is nevertheless perfectly present'.[19] As Deleuze further explains in *Cinema 1*,

> [T]he out-of-field already has two qualitatively different aspects: a relative aspect by means of which a closed system refers in space to a set which is not seen, and which in turn can be seen, even if it gives rise to a new unseen set, on to infinity; and an absolute aspect by which the closed system opens on to a duration which is immanent to the whole universe.[20]

This relative aspect of the frame creates space by its reference to what is not seen but, through the moving focus of the camera or through montage, relates one frame to the next. For Hansen, Deleuze's concept of the frame centres on bodily experience, for the 'the bottom line is we are able to perceive images only because we sense ourselves as form'.[21] Hansen builds on this concept by arguing that our cultural shift to the digital 'has suspended the

framing function' of the technical image, and 'has accordingly empowered the body, in a truly unprecedented way, as the framer of information'.[22] Thinking of the shift away from the framing function of the technical image to the body as framer of information not only allows Hansen to move from ontological analysis to the phenomenological, but also carries ramifications for my argument and medieval studies more generally. That is, Hansen's shift is important for the way it suggests possible application of the analysis of modern digital culture to pre-print culture, where the body can also be similarly considered the framer of information or, more appropriately for medieval culture, knowledge. Accordingly, Hansen's relocation of spatial meaning from cinema technology to the embodied frame offers the grounds for applying digital media theory on space and architecture to medieval works.

Hansen connects his analysis of the frame to architecture, which works as a framing function and in relation to the body: 'architecture has, quite simply, displaced cinema as the quintessential art of framing for our time. … [A]rchitectural framing necessarily involves a negotiation between formal manipulation, built space, and the life of the body'.[23] For Hansen, to study the architectural is to consider how it relates to our embodied lives, how it is calibrated to them, and how it interacts with space. Considering space, in turn, involves the consideration of movement, that is, how one navigates bodily through space. Architecture, space, and embodiment are inextricably intertwined. For Hansen, these interactions create 'wearable space'. He explores the notion of wearable space through the Japanese-American artist Arakawa's concept of the 'architectural body': since the body, Hansen summarizes, is always a body in space, it thus becomes an architectural body.[24] For Arakawa and his long-time collaborator Madeleine Gins, architecture contributes fundamentally to the fashioning of the self, acting as an 'outer skin' that dictates 'our behavior, beliefs, [and] perceptions, as well as our ways of living our lives'.[25] Thinking of architecture as wearable space will impact our understanding of the wall texts in their architectural setting, as will be discussed further below.

In analysing how the architectural body spatially conditions human perception, Arakawa and Gins posit the notion of 'landing sites'. Landing sites describe how different forms of attention situate the body within an environment. As Arakawa and Gins explain, analysing landing sites enables one to 'gain perspective on human functioning and separate out its component factors …

kinaesthetically, tactilely, visually, orally, olfactorily, and gustatorily all at once'.[26] Hansen adds that these landing sites 'occur as a perceiver's perception … lands *here* and *there*', and compel 'the body to concentrate on recalibrating itself' in relation to space.[27] In other words, landing sites implicate how the body participates with architectural space. Landing sites operate through three imbricated modes of attention: perceptual, imaging, and dimensionalizing. The perceptual landing site 'lands narrowly as an immediate and direct response to a probable existent, a bit of reporting on what presents itself'.[28] Such a site might be the manuscript in front of a reader, a chair, a wall: whatever occurs in proximity to the body. In contrast, the imaging landing site 'lands widely and in an un-pinpointing way, dancing attendance on the perceptual landing site, responding indirectly and diffusedly to whatever the latter leaves unprocessed'.[29] The imaging site shares some characteristics with Deleuze's notion of the out-of-field; it may be diffused, and perception might include what exists or happens around the corner, or will occur later in the day. Finally, the dimensionalizing landing site 'registers location and position relative to the body'; it creates the perception of depth and the effect of the siting environment.[30] As Hansen summarizes, these sites 'are responsible for *embodying* space, for imbuing it with a sensory richness that yields bodily meaning'.[31]

In this approach to assessing how architecture participates with a person to affect apprehension and interpretation of space, we can already begin to see how analysis of the Percy wall texts, in their manuscript instantiation and in their original context, might be approached. Before offering such a reading, however, I want to emphasize how the practice of reading fits into this constellation of architectural, spatial embodiment. It has long been an understanding among medievalists that the body bears an important role in understanding medieval book culture, particularly through the influential book-as-body metaphor, and more lately in grappling with the recognition of the ways in which medieval manuscripts were based on the flesh of slaughtered animals; in recent years, scholars have acknowledged that reading, too, can involve the body, particularly through the mode of performance.[32] Assessing the performative aspects of reading which contribute to the role of reading as an embodied experience, we should not only acknowledge performative and sensory modes of apprehension, such as the sensations of touching the flesh pages of a manuscript, but consider how other practices, such as materialities as discussed in the

previous chapter, also contribute to embodiment. In this context, movement, which Hansen views as central to space–architecture–body negotiations, has a role in medieval sensory theory, which itself offers insight on a medieval theory of embodiment: it is through movement that the body visually, aurally, tactilely, spatially, and olfactorily apprehends its environment. This view of space–architecture–body negotiations provides a means for assessing the processes through which architectural reading relies on embodiment, and refines the role of medieval theories of the senses in the context of reading. Engaging embodiment and architecture in these ways points to the generalized nature of medieval reading as embodied experience, and to the specific functioning of architectural reading practice.

Consequently, in turning to architectural reading as the practice through which the wall texts of the Percy estates and MS Royal 18.D.ii can be apprehended, the body assumes a key role in constituting meaning through the experience of reading. As noted above, the meaning thus constituted will differ when considering the locations and reading experiences of the wall texts. First considering the texts as originally located on the Percy estate, as one of the verses notes, reading them casts the house – and the outlying buildings into which the wall texts extend – as an architecture of secular, household 'contemplacioun'. Although conventionally a devotional, immaterial practice, such contemplation relocates the readers' focus from the realm of the immaterial to the material. In Arakawa and Gins's terms, the readers' 'architectural body', their outer skin, incorporates all the information from the landing sites of each space in which they encounter the wall texts. Such incorporation does not simply insist on embodied reading, but also widens the readers' embodied perspectives, which become informed both by the didactic message of the texts, as well as by the servants that pass through or by the rooms, intent on their work; the other people using the spaces for edification, labour, or devotion; and those who are not present, but absent, intent on other activities. Consequently, the reader participates in the pageantry of life on the Percy estate, whether they read at Leconfield or Wressle.

To read on the estates, and to read these verses with the architectural body, encourages readers to recognize how the Percy family values proverbial advice, classical learning, and appreciation for the moral instruction of the musical arts, and to recognize how they decry vices: these are portrayed as essential not simply to the intellectual or moral life of readers, but also to the readers'

conduct of themselves and their bodies. Indeed, this reading mode both emphasizes and models, through its embodied physicality, such a mode of living for the reader. Through the embodied role of reading and the architectural body, the reader, who becomes clothed in this educative space, both perceives and participates in the moral model household of the Percy family.

The localizability of the wall texts informs readers about virtues particular to the use of specific rooms in specific spaces. In Lord Percy's closet at Leconfield, for example, the wall texts inform the reader that the youth who 'thynkithe himself wyse / Shall know himself better by vertuus exercise' (202r / Flügel 482). These same verses, however, also comment on the mobility of information and learning: the youth who takes advantage of the opportunity to gain knowledge and skill in reasoning through study – perhaps even study in the library whose walls were decorated with proverbial advice – will be able to 'bere them away for his owne goode informacion' (*ibid*.). A later line additionally recommends moderation in education, as other verses recommend moderation more generally, advising readers that 'But allway to be in stody dryethe vp a mannes blode' (*ibid*.). The verses thus gesture to their location-specific function, suggest the transportability of the virtues gained in different spaces, and indicate that physical engagement with the texts read becomes part of the practice of these virtues. Furthermore, because the verses can be found in not just one room, but many, and not just one estate, but multiple estates, this moral mapping makes a statement that encompasses the Percy family lifestyle as a whole, and suggests the transferability of this lifestyle to readers outside the Percy family: it is both individuated to the family, but learnable by non-family readers. Even the recommendation to spend time on activities other than study encourages readers to move elsewhere and pursue other activities – into, for example, the park, where readers could enter the New Lodge at Leconfield for musical practice and encounter the verses there, or into the garden and the garden-houses possessed by both estates, and gain new opportunities to embody and be clothed in the moral architecture of the other verses.

Furthermore, the role of landing sites as applied to the Percy family wall texts suggests how the architectural environment of the texts would have engaged the readers' participation and thus their apprehension of the texts themselves. Royal 18.D.ii does not simply supply the name of the room or building in which wall texts are located, but also often identifies them spatially, as located in

the 'rooffe' or the sides of chambers. It also identifies the rooms in relation to other rooms, emphasizing how the space of a particular wall text was meant to be understood. Wall texts are located in the 'hyest chawmbre', the 'vtter' (outer) chamber 'abouv of the house', in a 'closet', a 'garett over the bayne', the garret of the New Lodge, a mile distant from the manor itself. Spatially these rooms signify exclusivity of access, privacy, elevation. The work of accessing them at the estates themselves, and through the descriptions in the Royal manuscript, emphasizes that these architectural spaces convey meaning of which the reader of the wall texts is elicited to be aware.

As a result of such awareness provoked by landing sites, the reader engaged in apprehending the wall texts is made cognizant of reading as a bodily activity shaped by the architectural space of the texts. Places are not interchangeable; to read the music proverbs in a ground-level, great hall would produce a different interpretation and yield a different experience than would reading them in the garret in the New Lodge. In a great hall casually open to the public, the music proverbs would produce a reading experience shaped by the details of that landing site, attesting to a general valuation of musical instruction; in the garret above the New Lodge, they become woven into the apprehension of individual music education, eloquent of the personal value the earl places upon fluency in the art of musical practice. Further details of the spaces no longer recoverable would add to these readings in even more detailed ways: the nooks and crannies of the rooms, the presence or absence of windows and natural lighting, even the presence of servants or other people.

In contrast to the verses as they might have been read at Leconfield or Wressle, the manuscript version of the verses in Royal 18.D.ii provides an alternative perspective of the Percy estate. First, some description of the manuscript provides additional context for understanding the verses. The manuscript is a sizeable volume, measuring 395 × 280 mm: a large book probably made for display and public reading, and less for individual reading experiences. Perhaps originally for presentation by its first owner, Sir William Herbert, the first Earl of Pembroke, it entered the Percy family when Henry Percy, the fourth Earl of Northumberland, married Maud Herbert, William's daughter. It then came into the ownership of Percy's son, Henry Algernon, for whom the manuscript was expanded to include material specific to the Percy family. The wall texts themselves are written in a

gothic hand and decorated by large capitals with all the strapwork, flourishes, and decorative techniques of a display script. In its inclusion of the wall text verses, the manuscript seems to imply use elsewhere than Leconfield in particular, where manuscript access to the wall text verses might seem redundant, as so many of them focus on spaces on that estate; read in Wressle Castle, it could evoke the distant Leconfield while also providing the text of the verses in the Wressle garden-house; read elsewhere, it could evoke both absent estates.

While the reader of the wall texts in their original locations, who would pass amongst rooms with verses, would also be aware of rooms without verses, and thus tie the advice of the verses more strongly to specific types of activities available elsewhere on the estates, the manuscript version of the wall texts depicts the estates almost in the form of a summary, or synecdochally, in which the absence of rooms becomes less noticeable, and this 'highlights tour' of the estate represents the entirety of the estate. In Deleuze's terms, the other rooms of the estates are wholly 'out of frame' of the manuscript. Restricting the frame of the estates only to those rooms mentioned in Royal 18.D.ii consequently shapes the readers' focus exclusively on the work of this more limited collection of architectural frames. Yet the rest of the manuscript's contents might be viewed as standing in place of the absent rooms; it is to these works that the manuscript assemblage of the verses connect, rather than to other rooms at Leconfield and Wressle. These other texts include John Lydgate's 'Testament', 'Reignes of the Kinges of England', *Siege of Thebes*, and *Troy Book*; William Cornish's *A Treatise between Information and Truth*; John Skelton's 'On the Death of the Earl of Northumberland'; the anonymous *Le assemble de dyeus*; the anonymous 'The blsyoure of the arms of kyngis', which describes the arms of various kings; William Peeris's metrical chronicle of the Percy family; and, of course, the Tudor-Percy emblem placed between two sets of wall texts.

Overall, the manuscript includes works that provide advice on governance and moral authority, and others that speak to the history and might of England's secular rulers in general and the Percy family in particular. As Alexandra Gillespie characterizes the miscellany, it sustains 'traditional ideas about noble service to the monarch'.[33] Viewed in a slightly different light, the texts move from a devotional exaltation of the virtues of Christ to several texts that engage, at a global-historical (*Troy Book* and *Siege of Thebes*), national (Lydgate's 'Reignes'), and local (Peeris's chronicle) level

with the virtues, successes, failures, and necessary skills of secular rule, before ending with the wall texts. In consequence, the wall texts seem representative of the virtues and successes of private life that follow those of public service, and specifically testify to the private as well as public values and morals of the Percy family.

In the coupling of the verses with descriptions of architectural space, the wall texts of Royal 18.D.ii invite virtual movement through the estate. The role of movement indicates the significance of the embodied role of reading and the way that such a mode of reading can be enacted virtually. The way the manuscript wall texts invite movement into the virtual space of the estates' educational architecture intersects with recent scholarship on virtuality in medieval literary contexts. In particular, Seeta Chaganti has emphasized how multimedia combinations of, for example, 'murals, architecture, sculpture, poetic inscription and kinetic bodily participation' lead to the articulation of a virtual space for the viewer.[34] The Royal manuscript, however, demonstrates how a single medium, poetic inscription, can create similar effects exclusively through its textual representation of architectural space. Architectural framing alone suffices to create virtual space through which readers can travel. Significantly, this suggests that focus on the role of 'multi-' in multimedia may not be a necessary condition for virtuality, particularly for medieval audiences conditioned to make connections across media instantiations of narratives – for example, hagiographic narratives in manuscripts and stained glass windows – on their own. Rather, the crucial determinant of virtual space is the role of embodied reading. When texts or other media works rely on, invite, or recommend experiences that situate reading as embodied experience, virtual movement and spatial negotiation commonly follow. For Hansen, to be embodied is to negotiate the relationship between the body and space. Furthermore, reading with the architectural body locates readers as central participants in the act of making meaning: such meaning exists not solely in the words of the texts themselves, but in the spaces and how the reader both perceives and relates to them.

Lydgate's *Daunce macabre*

The importance of space and place is particularly crucial to another set of wall texts, the *danse macabre* of the medieval St Paul's Cathedral in London. As such, the *danse macabre* demonstrates another example of architectural reading, showing how it emerged

in contexts other than that of wall texts situated in the domestic household space. John Lydgate based his translated, revised and extended version of the *danse macabre* verses upon those painted on the outer walls of the charnel house (a building in which bones are piled) that bordered the cemetery of the Franciscan parish church Les Saints Innocents. The Parisian mural was created in the mid-1420s, and Lydgate likely saw it when living in the city from 1426 to 1429.[35] Arranged in several sequential images, the mural depicted personifications of Death, represented as a decomposing corpse, leading away people who represented members of medieval society, such as kings, cardinals, merchants, and gentlewomen. Verses accompanied each pair of figures, one stanza in which Death addresses a person, commenting on the inevitability of death that the person's privileges cannot gainsay, and one stanza in which the person responds, first in protest and in contemplation of their sins, then in reluctant acceptance. Although not the first artistic depiction of the personification of death in medieval artistic culture, the Parisian *danse macabre* proved immediately influential; by the mid-fourteenth century churches across Europe had been adorned by the *danse macabre*. It was also quick to enter print circulation: by 1485 the Parisian *danse* entered print publication, and in 1538 Hans Holbein published a series of woodcuts of the *danse* likely based on the version at Basel.[36] Its inclusion in St Paul's Cathedral in London represents the earliest adoption of the *danse macabre* outside Paris, fashioned about five years after the Parisian *danse* was created and Lydgate first saw and translated it. Lydgate's *Daunce of Poulys*, as a text and in its location in St Paul's Cathedral, has enjoyed greater attention in recent years in the wake of growing interest in both Lydgate's work in general and his engagement with materiality.[37] Although the *danse* at St Paul's was destroyed in the mid-sixteenth century, and there are many questions about it that cannot be answered, documentary records, archaeological evidence, and manuscript witnesses to the London *danse* illustrate how it, as with the wall texts of the Percy estates, invited participation through space and place, visual apprehension, and mobility.

Place is particularly important to how the *Daunce of Poulys* invited participation, and what details can be identified about that place deserve consideration. Some of these details can be had from the surviving manuscripts that take care to indicate the place and space the poem inhabited. One of these manuscripts, Cambridge, Trinity College R.3.21, an important collection of

Lydgatean verse, identifies the original location of the poem, later supplemented by further details in a second hand.[38] The scribe provided his description of the poem's place in a rubricated headnote: 'hEre foloweth the Prologe of the / Daunce of Machabre translatyd by / Dan John lydgate monke of Bury out of / ffrensshe in to englyssh. whyche now ys / callyd the Daunce of Poulys'. Later, a second hand added more details around the headnote, noting below that '& ther was pryntyd in þe cloystar at þe dispensys & request of Jankyn Carpynter', while mentioning in the top margin above that 'this daunce of machabre is depeyntyd richly / at sent innocents closter in parys in fraunce'.[39] Both the scribe and the writer of the later gloss emphasize the lineage and situation of the *danse* at St Paul's, with the scribe associating it more generally with St Paul's, and the second hand providing specific details of its place within St Paul's precinct: the *Daunce of Poulys* was located in the cloister.

Which cloister at St Paul's enclosed the *Daunce of Poulys* is made clear by the sixteenth-century historian and antiquarian John Stow, who comments upon it in his survey of London, stating that

> There was also one great Cloyster on the north side of this church inuironing a plot of ground, of old time called Pardon church yard, wherof *Thomas More*, deane of Pauls, was either the first builder, or a most especiall benefactor, and was buried there. About this Cloyster, was artificially and richly painted the dance of *Machabray*, or dance of death.[40]

The scribe adds a few key details to the descriptions of Lydgate's poem in Trinity College R.3.21: the cloister enclosing the *Daunce of Poulys* framed a space referred to as the Pardon Churchyard, and had been built or rebuilt by Thomas More in the early fifteenth century. Pardon Churchyard was located on the north side of the cathedral, situated in a square framed on the south and east sides by the nave and north transept of St Paul's. The degree to which More intervened in the cloister's space remains as uncertain to audiences today as it did to Stow in the mid-sixteenth century, but evidence from archaeological research indicates that the space had been used for burials dating from the Anglo-Saxon era through the thirteenth century; by the fourteenth, it appears regularly as *Pardonchirchhawe* in the wills of citizens requesting burial there.[41] Pardon Churchyard thus had functioned as a space important for several centuries to the citizens of the city who sought burial in its grounds.

Whether More's contribution in the 1420s was to arrange, as Stow notes uncertainly, for either the endowment or building of the cloister, it is clear that by the time Lydgate translates the verses, the space had become enclosed and thus less accessible to the general public. Amy Appleford views this enclosure and restricted access as one possible motivation for John Carpenter's contributions to having Lydgate's *Daunce Macabre* installed in the cloister at St Paul's. John Carpenter worked as the 'secretarius' for the city of London, its Common Clerk, from 1417 to 1438. He also compiled a manuscript documenting the practices of the city, a custumal called *Liber Albus*, and later became a member of Parliament.[42] Carpenter was thus deeply engaged in the civic life of London, and his provision for the installation of the *Daunce of Poulys*, Appleford argues, represents the assertion and insertion of civic interests into the sacral space of St Paul's.[43]

Civic influence at St Paul's could also be expressed in more mundane and quotidian ways. Although the period in which the *Daunce of Poulys* was fashioned and installed in the Pardon Churchyard was yet a century from the notoriety of 'Paul's Walk', in which city fashionables and news hunters promenaded through the middle aisle of the cathedral nave to display their selves and discover news, St Paul's nonetheless contributed to and manifested the interests of citizens in many ways. Scribes assigned to serve the populace occupied designated places in the nave; its bells regulated the opening and closing of city markets; traffic between its north and south doors led to irritation and, by the mid-sixteenth-century, a mayoral injunction against the carrying of ale, fish, and foods through the short cut.[44] Boys gathered in the precinct grounds to play ball games until they were forbidden in 1385, and in 1400 a pretend battle among youths enacting disputes between the monarchies of Britain became an actual battle that ended with bloodshed and death.[45] Some guilds also used the space for their own purposes; for example, the fullers assembled to attack one of their fellows there in 1365.[46] More significant to civic welfare were the uses of the space around St Paul's Cross in the north-eastern yard as a site for folkmoots, where as early as 1263 the guilds 'won rights of self-determination for the first time in the city's history'.[47] As David Lepine observes, the spaces and places of St Paul's served a variety of civic and secular social purposes.[48]

This use of St Paul's space particularly affected the locale of *Poulys Daunce* and, consequently, its reading. Its enclosure with the cloister built or endowed by More sought to effect a removal

of the space from the city, and even a separation of the churchyard from the grounds of St Paul's itself. Such restrictions on access effected through the claustration of the Churchyard, however, may have had the counter-effect of making the space more desirable to the people of London. Over the course of the fifteenth century, Stow notes that Pardon Churchyard became a desirable space for burials of the city's elite: 'In this Cloyster were buryed many persons, some of worship, and others of honour. The Monuments of whome, in number and curious workemanship, passed all other that were in that Church'.[49] The popularity of Pardon Churchyard as a desirable burying-ground for those of status in the city, 'in the years that Westminster Abbey was becoming the royal burial church and thus exclusive, … gave tomb-makers more chances to innovate and establish fashionable designs'.[50] Its restricted access and the innovative possibilities for its monuments made it a fashionable place to be seen in death.

It is within this space of the Pardon Churchyard and Cloister that Carpenter had caused the *Daunce of Poulys* to be installed on the inside wall of the cloister, 'curiously painted vpon boord', as Stow notes.[51] It thus framed Pardon Churchyard with its tombs and monuments. The location of the *danse macabre* on the walls of the cloister itself furthered this connection to death and reading, for the architectural conventions of the monastic cloister upon which the cloister of St Paul's and other secular cloisters drew identify the space as one for reading. That is, cloisters by the end of the eleventh century 'had become the place for reading *par excellence*'.[52] In monastic cloisters, the cloister walks were often filled with book chests and cupboards; the arcade that let light and air into the cloister walk frequently included low benches at its base, so that monks might sit upon them to take advantage of better light for reading.[53] While no archaeological evidence remains of the arcade at St Paul's to indicate whether it, too, included such a bench, the cloister participated in a long history associated with reading. This association was furthered in the 1440s, less than a quarter-century after the installation of *Poulys Daunce*, when Walter Sherrington, a canon of St Paul's from 1440 to 1449, established a library over the east walk of the cloister.[54] Like the Percy family estates, the Pardon Cloister housing the *Poulys Daunce* was a space designed for reading. That *Poulys Daunce* inhabited a space designed for reading furthers understanding medieval perceptions of the range of experiences bound up in the act of reading, for *Poulys Daunce*, as a mural series, could be considered primarily a work of visual

artistry, and could also be considered a performative text that leaned on the conventions of drama.[55]

These details of space and place further indicate how they, as landing sites, shaped the reading of *Poulys Daunce* in ways that, by design and by chance, could affect interpretation of the work. That is, following Appleford's argument, Carpenter's contribution of *Poulys Daunce* linked the city to the sacral space of the Pardon Churchyard. Pardon Churchyard itself linked to the city through the myriad ways that people of London made their presence felt in St Paul's. To read *Poulys Daunce*, then, was not simply to be educated in or reminded of the ever-present possibility of death and the need to prepare for it as individuals. To read *Poulys Daunce* was also to be invited through its architectural setting to consider the application of death to the community: to the dancers the work depicted, who included in their numbers not only the national and religious elites of king and pope, ladies and abbesses, but also the civic and familial members of society, from mayors to artificers and servants.[56] The architecture of the space functions with the text to create a landing site that elicits such connections, even as the environment of St Paul's – audible to those in the Pardon Churchyard to view *Poulys Daunce*, and known to those familiar with the city – still furthered readers making such connections.

As readers confronted the *Poulys Daunce*, these details of the landing site of cloister and cathedral would have become incorporated into their apprehension as they read the work. In visuals and text, *Poulys Daunce* invites another form of identification and engagement from readers, that of embodied identification. Death, whose own embodiment is emphasized in the visual tradition of the *danse macabre* through its representation as a dessicated, animated corpse, is similarly shown reaching out to grasp the people it addresses, bridging the two bodies, and connecting them as a mirror reflecting present and future. A line from the 'verba auctoris', the author's words to the reader, makes the invitation to readers that they identify with the individuals death leads explicit: 'In this myrrour / euery man may fynde / That hym behouyth / to goon vpon this daunce'.[57] The reader apprehending *Poulys Daunce*, in its images and texts, should apply it to themselves as if the work were a mirror that allowed them to see themselves and their end reflected in it. They are the bodies dancing with death; simultaneously, they are also the desiccated bodies of Death itself, a point made clear in one of the concluding stanzas of the *danse*:

> Ye folk that loken / vpon this scripture
> Conceyveth heer / that al estatis daunce
> Seth what ye be / & what is your nature
> Mete vnto wormys / nat ellis in substaunce
> And have this myrrour / ay in remembraunce
> Before your mynde / aboven al thyng
> To all estatis / a trew resemblaunce
> That wormes foode / is ende of your lyvyng. (Lansdowne MS 561–8)

Accordingly, *Poulys Daunce* invites readers to engage with the text in ways that cast light upon late-medieval views regarding how readers should participate with and interpret the work. The emphasis on the text as a mirror indicates that readers' participation with literary works was conceived through invitations to self-identify with the work, both in its representation of individuals and more generalized bodies. This invitation to identify further nuances another reading practice previously referred to that also involved identification, that of immersion. That is, texts represented as mirrors invite immersion through connecting the reader's self to the subjectivity represented in the text. The treatment of the subject in the work is, consequently, viewed as affecting readers' own subjectivities because of their identification with the subject or subjectivities of the work.

Furthermore, Lydgate's *Daunce Macabre* urges readers to participate by adopting multiple, overlapping subjectivities, in which they are both themselves, living and moving inexorably towards death, and themselves, in a sense already dead. In this way, readers apply the lessons of the *danse* to themselves in a visceral, immediate, and personal manner.[58] In addition, as with other immersive texts, the multiplication of selfhood effected through participating in the mirroring of the text again suggests that medieval audiences engaged in their own practices for affecting and extending identity through accessories that, although not textual, represent another avenue for expressing the premodern posthuman.

Such application of text to self, leading to a distributed practice of subjectivities, is enhanced by the landing sites provided by St Paul's: standing in the cloister, they not only face the *danse*, but as they read it they move around the tombs and monuments of the churchyard circled by the cloister walk. These landing sites provoke readers to extend their awareness beyond themselves, participating in its multiplicity by means of the proliferation of deaths figured in the text and visuals of the mural, and through

the monumental furnishings of the courtyard itself. The presence of the tombs and monuments consequently provide another set of landing sites available to readers, sites that provoke readers to participate in the message of *Poulys Daunce* by applying it to themselves, seeing all possible futures and professions that they might currently enjoy or to which they might have aspired, multiplying before them as bodies in death and in memory.

Although, again, none of these monuments survived Somerset's demolition of the Pardon Churchyard in 1549, the tombs favoured by the city elites who arranged for these tombs and monuments in the Pardon Churchyard certainly took advantage of the 'innovate[ive] and … fashionable designs' offered by tomb-makers of the time.[59] Among these designs would certainly have been included 'a new and strikingly different type of sepulchral monument' first built in England in 1424, a handful of years before the installation of *Poulys Daunce*: the transi-tomb, which depicted – like the *danse macabre* itself – a doubled mirror of the person buried, one image of them in life, and one of their decayed corpse reposing in death, skin stretched tight across a skeletal frame, often perforated by worms.[60] The transi-tomb changed the traditional purpose of death monuments; rather than acting solely to represent the decayed body of the deceased, transi-tombs served a variety of purposes, one of which was to educate the living as a *memento mori*, reminding viewers of their own forthcoming deaths.[61] In engaging with both tombs and text, readers of *Poulys Daunce* triangulate between three bodily landing sites: the bodies of the *danse* macabre, the bodies monumentalized on tombs, and the bodies of the readers themselves. The interrelationships between these three bodies effect architectural reading of *Poulys Daunce* as dependent upon both place and body. Reading *Poulys Daunce* in the Pardon Churchyard thus even more profoundly emphasizes the message of the work by the way the landing sites of the churchyard provided direct, immediate evidence of the readers' end, and of the bodies they inhabited that were simultaneously both living and dead, salvation their only hope of survival. In all these ways, the work of landing sites evoked through the location of *Poulys Daunce* thus invites readers to extend their situational awareness beyond the frame of those artfully crafted boards painted with the *danse* to consider the surrounding environment itself and its contributions to their apprehension of the work. They, too, may see their ends in the same churchyard whose transi-tombs, along with the *danse*, depict the finality of death along with an embodied force

focused on the decaying corpse. This is the work of the posthuman, in which the sense of self becomes multiplied and externalized through the technology of the tomb, the art of the multimodal text-and-image of the *Poulys Daunce*, the architecture of the churchyard and cloister walk, and the interactions among these landing sites and the reader.

Exclusive to the tradition of Lydgate's *Daunce Macabre* most associated with *Poulys Daunce* is acknowledgment of the emotional response such work might engender in the reader who participates by applying this visual, visceral, bodily lesson to themselves: 'Be nat afferd', Lydgate consoles (577). With that phrase he both acknowledges an anticipated response and then seeks to transform it: '[T]rust trewly / ye shal nevir the sonner deye', he adds; rather, the sight should cause the reader to 'dreede' sin 'And vse vertu / prayer & almesse deede' to 'doon the bettir' (579, 580, 583–4). By acting on the dread stirred by the *danse*, readers so moved are invited to conclude their reading with action bent on improving their spiritual state.

This situated awareness and the emotional movement that Lydgate invites readers to transform through action correspond to a similar interest in movement throughout the *danse macabre*, which, after all, is conceived through the expression of movement in dance. The intersection between its choreographic mode of expression and its architectural inhabitance have received attention from both Elina Gertsman and Seeta Chaganti, who note how the vertical movement of the *danse* (framed by the verticality of the cloister arcade and from the verticality of the upright figures of Death and the people whom Death invites to dance, which most likely were placed above the verses of their dialogues) exists in tension with its lateral movement of the dance (its sequential progression along the walls from figure to figure). For Gertsman this movement, fused with artistic traditions including literary and visual, invites readers to perform a 'kinesthetic mode of looking' at the *danse*.[62] For Chaganti, the tension between the vertical and lateral movement of the *danse* create the 'virtual churchyard that becomes an important part of the spectator's experience', and it is within this space that interchange between multiple forms – of bodies, of movement, of the temporalities of life and death – can occur.[63] I would argue that the movement extends beyond looking by contributing to the performance of participatory reading. Furthermore, the virtualizing effects of movement, although in need of further discussion here, are not

the least effects that movement creates for the participatory reader of *Poulys Daunce*.

That is, while the placement of the dance along the four walls of the cloister walk not only effects virtual movement, it also effects literal, physical movement around the Pardon Churchyard that, nonetheless, does not end within the cloistered walk of the Pardon Churchyard itself: the Pardon Churchyard at St Paul's was not only an end point in one's travels, but was also a through-point, a space between spaces, through which readers passed as they entered and left the Pardon Churchyard. Reading concluded, business in the Pardon Churchyard concluded, readers had to move on, enter new landing sites, and that forward movement is further propelled and shaped by the invitation issued them in the final lines of the poem: readers should move themselves physically out of the space, mentally in their 'mynde / to revolve and rede' further (578) and, through these movements, engage in 'vertu / prayer & almesse deede' (583). The most logical place to begin the text of *Poulys Daunce* would have been on the wall adjacent to the door leading into and from the nave of St Paul's, which was located on the east wall in the southernmost corner of the cloister.[64] Following the typical progression of laterally organized murals in the direction of reading, left to right, *Poulys Daunce* likely began by that door on the south wall, leading to the west wall, north wall, then east wall and back towards the door leading into the nave. This layout would position readers to re-enter the nave upon concluding their reading, where they would then be situated to act on Lydgate's advice to engage in prayer. Under such conditions, readers' mobility as elicited by *Poulys Daunce* would lead them into the space where they could further the instruction begun by the work. Re-entrance into the nave, then, functions as a transition to a final landing site, a conclusion that propels readers from self-scrutiny to spiritual action.

In these ways, *Poulys Daunce* and the Percy family wall texts, one a work situated in a religious space focused on inspiring the reader to pursue spiritual improvement, one a work situated in domestic spaces focused on inspiring the reader to moral improvement, are similarly shaped by their architectural environments and the landing sites these environments provide to provoke a reading practice that responds to the details of space and place. This architectural reading also, like the other reading practices focused on making readers work, invites readers' participation: not only the performance of visual apprehension, but the interactions

of mobility conditioned by that architectural context. The details of these architectural situations share a similar difficulty in reconstructing their finer details, but that difficulty does not disguise the impact location had on the participatory work of reading. The particular influence of place on wall texts of the *danse macabre* and the Percy family estates would generate different interpretive responses among readers, and generate distinct practices of apprehension, if situated in distinct places with their own particular architectural demands. Even in their manuscript contexts, they provoke a different mode of participatory reading.

Virtual tourism, mental pilgrimage and the wall texts

Mobile participation with Lydgate's *Daunce Macabre* and the Percy estates does not end with the simple representation of text situated within architectural space across the Pardon Churchyard and the Percy estates. The manuscript versions of both works offer an alternative mode of participatory reading, in which movement aided by architectural references reconstructs what Chaganti refers to as a 'virtual churchyard' – and what might thus be termed in the context of the Percy wall texts the 'virtual estate'. The virtual spaces – virtual landing sites – created through the manuscript versions of these works, however, differ markedly from the physical spaces of their architectural installation. Manuscript versions of the two works treat the spaces as exemplary, from which noise, traffic, labourers, servants, and all the details of quotidian experience are elided. In these contexts, movement and place, and the interactions between them, become both sanitized and virtualized.

Such treatment of movement in the manuscripts evokes intriguing connections between the virtualized movement they offer and today's practice of virtual tourism. Such tourism – often by website, but also through videos and other media – selectively represents destinations in order to appeal to the desires of the target audiences. A basic example of virtual tourism is that provided by Google Earth, which a person can use to revisit sites from which they have been absent for years, or access panoramic imagery of a site to which they have never been.[65] In particular, virtual tourism has been criticized for the way it lifts spaces 'out of their local contexts' for the purpose of providing luxury experiences to the 'mobile elites'.[66] Extending this reading to the manuscripts of Lydgate's *Daunce Macabre* and the wall texts in Royal 18.D.ii suggests that the manuscripts' versions of the works remove them

from their local contexts in order to re-map them onto landing sites designed for the benefit of a reading elite. Reading the two wall texts through manuscripts encourages readers not only to absorb their moral lessons, but to participate in virtualized movement that offers insight on the locationally distinct authority of the works. For Lydgate's *Daunce Macabre*, the visceral instruction offered by the architectural surroundings of the Pardon Churchyard, with its tombs and monuments, is replaced by the guiding authority of the poet's voice, which comes to dominate in the absence of the architecture and, in the longest version of the work (the version of Lydgate's translation considered less connected to St Paul's), through the inclusion of verses in which the translator, Lydgate, addresses his readers. For the Percy wall texts, the sanitized landing sites of the manuscript that situates the wall texts among other works invites readers to understand the political, social, and moral authority enjoyed by the Percy family. The collection of other texts in the Percy family manuscript also suggests an investment in this message of power and authority. As readers encounter the wall texts in manuscript form, removed as the texts are from the daily life of the estates where they were originally located, readers encounter the Percy family estates as a fantasy of the idealized household, characterized by the moderate lifestyle of labour, education, and self-improvement of the family.

However, the didactic function of *Poulys Daunce* and the Percy wall texts in manuscript also shapes the expectation that touring virtual, didactic architecture will result in moral improvement for readers. This differs from, as is arguably its consequence in modern contexts of virtual tourism, an enhanced sense of self-importance. These differing attitudes that emerge from contemporary analysis of the function of virtual tourism, and how this enables analogous critiques of the way the wall texts facilitate experience of the *danse* and the Percy estates, create tension between two modes of virtual experience (and the didactic work of moral improvement clearly intended as a consequence of absorbing the moral lessons of the wall texts). This tension gestures to culturally distinct expectations and practices that surround both virtual experiences: one functions to enhance the individual's sense of specialness, and the other functions didactically to facilitate moral reflection and inculcate virtue.

These contrasts between the modern and late-medieval function of virtual tourism also evoke another experience more familiar to medieval audiences, the practice of mental pilgrimage. Medieval mental or 'imaginary' pilgrimage drew on pilgrimage literature in

order to provide more accessible experiences to wider audiences. Rewards might even be considered greater for those who travelled mentally as opposed to physically, for the mental travellers received their rewards for this spiritual labour from God alone.[67] Yet the continued popularity of pilgrimage in the later Middle Ages challenges the valuation thus placed upon mental pilgrimage. As Kathryne Beebe observes, 'Pilgrimage in spirit perhaps drew basic inspiration from a fundamental ambivalence within Christian thought about the merits of going elsewhere to seek the holy, as opposed to seeking inner sanctity'.[68] When considering the manuscript versions of the texts of Lydgate's *Daunce Macabre* and the Percy family manuscript in this light, the dynamic between the problems of mental tourism and the benefits of mental pilgrimage suggests a complicated role for the works.

Indeed, with specific reference to the Percy wall texts, the life of one of the Royal manuscript's readers provides evidence to indicate that at least one person seems to have responded to the manuscript's representation of the Percy estates and their moral messages as a virtual tourist, rather than as a mental pilgrim: Henry Algernon Percy, the 'Lord percy' for whom wall texts were provided in his closet (f. 202r–204r / Flügel 482–5), later the sixth earl of Northumberland. Placed within the household of Cardinal Wolsey, where he was bullied for fiscal imprudence, the young Percy developed a romantic attachment to Anne Boleyn in the early 1520s. This incurred the wrath of Henry VIII, directed at both son and father, and led to a severe chastising of Percy from the fifth Earl, who came to the Cardinal's household to meet with his son. During this meeting the father condemned his son, saying, 'thou hast allwayes byn a prowde, presumpcious, disdaynfull, And a very onthryfte waster'.[69] Throughout his adulthood, the sixth earl furthered the familial tensions apparent in this episode. His comment in a letter to Thomas Cromwell on the 'debility and unnaturalness of those of my name' indicates his own contempt for his family.[70] Childless and in the last years of his life, he seems to have sought to disperse the inheritance of his brothers by assigning grants of lands outside the family (*ibid.*). Finally, in the months before his death, he was unwillingly caught up in the Yorkshire rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace and, while bedridden, said to be 'weeping, ever wishing himself out of the world', upon which occasion he handed over Wressle to Robert Aske, a leader of the uprising and a former servant of the Percys, and fled.[71] He died not many months after, in June of 1537, having refused to make financial provisions

for his widow.[72] Such actions seem to be less the work of a magnate respectful of his inheritance and guided by the moral principles advocated in the wall texts, learning from them in the way that a 'mental pilgrim' might from a pilgrimage text, and more the responses of a member of the political and cultural elite of Tudor England, interested in securing his comfort and pleasures in ways analogous to those of the contemporary virtual tourist.[73] Indeed, Henry Algernon Percy's father, when commenting on his son's pride, disdain, and wastrel ways, certainly seems to have expected that his son would have engaged with the wisdom of the wall texts on a much less superficial level.

Not only does this again broaden our understanding of interests that shape cultural production in later medieval England, but the connection also creates a parallel between religious sites and the way the wall texts of Royal 18.D.ii map the Percy estate, and the *danse macabre* evokes mental pilgrimage as its readers traverse the landing sites of the Pardon Cloister. Both the wall texts of the Royal manuscript and medieval pilgrimage activities focus on the spatialization of knowledge, in which particular modes of experience are tied to specific locations. As a pilgrim might travel to specific locations in Jerusalem, or within a cathedral marked by virtual pilgrimage stations, or through reading an itinerary or travel narrative to learn and refresh their knowledge of events in the life of Christ, so might the reader of the Royal manuscript traverse various sites of the Percy estates, gaining knowledge in each location. In effect, this parallel depicts a kind of nascent 'heritage tourism', in which the religious has been replaced by secular moral and ethical guides for living a virtuous life, and demonstrates how the texts serve as a 'memoriall' (210r / Flügel 495) to the family's past values.

Considering the connection between mental pilgrimage and the two wall texts also points to further connections to the work of mental pilgrimage. John Ganim and Shayne Legassie, introducing an essay collection focused on exploring the notion of cosmopolitanism in medieval culture, through examples including texts that allowed readers to travel virtually to other places through reading them, suggest that 'imaginative identifications' between and among places provided means by which medievals evaluated their own identities and senses of belonging.[74] What this suggests is that wall texts like those of *Poulys Daunce* and those of the Percy estates may have, through their localized, architectural reading, engaged readers similarly in both reflection on their identities and senses

of belonging. Readers of *Poulys Daunce* were reminded that they belonged to the Christian community of London, centred at St Paul's; through the connection of *Poulys Daunce* with installations of the *danse macabre* in other locations – connections that were (for example) made explicit in Shirley's and the second hand's additions to Lydgate's *Daunce Macabre* in the Trinity manuscript – readers were also invited to considered themselves part of a broader European community of readers drawn together by both their engagement with the *danse* and its universalizing subject matter. In a related vein, readers of the Percy wall texts in Royal 18.D.ii were invited to participate in a pilgrimage of the estates of this elite family in a way otherwise restricted to members of the household. Reading wall texts in manuscripts, then, in addition to reading them on site, could invite readers to perform fellowship across space, time, and place. As Ganim asserts of pilgrimage, wall texts could offer an 'epistemological metaphor'[75] focused on the performance of embodied, architectural reading that enabled readers to know themselves better, improve themselves, and join similarly minded communities of fellow readers. It is the virtual churchyard turned outward to encompass the whole of a shared culture.

Conclusion

Returning to the initial quote offered in Royal 18.D.ii regarding how the Percy wall texts present their architectural frame as a 'hous' that was 'made … for contemplacioun', the mnemonic function of the wall texts evokes as well their apprehension through architectural reading. The presence of *Poulys Daunce* and the Percy family wall texts emphasizes how architecture, as well as books, could be designed for reading, for speaking to and with their readers. Furthermore, the interrelationship between place and text indicates that, just as the materiality of manuscripts produces different effects on readers, and invites distinct modes of reading practice, so too could architecture, through the local, immediate details of the landing sites created through the interaction of place, text, and reader. In considering the interrelationships effected through texts situated architecturally, Heather Meakin argues for the adoption of the term 'architext'. To analyse an architext is to recognize 'that the texts *and the space they occupy* are interdependent on one another for their meaning; text is not simply applied to a neutral surface'.[76] Not only is it that space and place are socially constructed, but how that space is designed and used

– from its passers-by to its wall texts – reflects that construction and consequently invites readers to participate in particular ways conditioned by this social context. Furthermore, the wall texts, in both manuscripts, on the Percy estates and on the walls of Pardon Churchyard at medieval St Paul's, exemplify reading practices that cross the boundary of secular and religious reading. In this context, negotiating the architectural bodies of reader and text provides access to the shaping of the self, and reinvigorates the recurring late-medieval debate between active and devotional lives by blending the two into an experience that remains engaged with the world through domestic architecture, or through civic engagement, even as it leans on devotional practices. Such mobile reading through space echoes how, in the immersive reading practices of the previous chapter, movement in synthetic space provided a key means by which the agency of immersive readers could be enacted. Mobility, in physical architectural spaces, synthetic narrative spaces, and the virtual spaces provided through texts in manuscripts, fundamentally shapes the role of reading through its emphasis on the body as a conduit to interpretation. Reading is, in all these circumstances, an embodied experience, in which how the body moves and relates to space affects the interpretive work of readers.

This reliance on reading as an activity carried out through the ability to move through space also underscores how provision of the extracodexical wall texts throughout the estate at Leconfield, in particular, equates the house with reading and textuality, as if the estates were books themselves to be traversed by their embodied readers. Similarly, reading begun through participating in *Poulys Daunce* in the Pardon Churchyard could reinforce the social role of the cathedral in medieval culture as dedicated to reading, practised across the landing sites of the cathedral: in the churchyard in contemplation of death, and in the nave while gazing at stained glass windows that visually and textually related their own narratives, or in chapels at prayers. Not only does this allude to the culturally authoritative function of medieval literature, but the estates and cathedrals, like books, also become authoritative texts that invite people to read and learn from them, reinforcing their cultural authority. In creating textual, inhabitable space, extracodexical works such as the wall texts also suggest that reading evokes both learning and inhabitation, developing a resonance between immersion in the household or cathedral and immersion in a book. Such immersion entails identification of reader with the textual work and, in the case of the wall texts, the morals and values they

express. Furthermore, the way that landing sites function to extend readers' bodily conceptions of themselves beyond their physical confines into the spaces in which they read highlights how reading functions as a technology of the self. To read, and particularly to read with the architectural body, engages the body and changes the body in relation to the space of reading. In this way, reading both enables readers of the extracodexical texts situated within architectural spaces to recognize the way that these spaces can inform, teach, and improve their inhabitants, and also invites readers to bring that architectural, textual, moral awareness with them as they move into new landing sites, religious and secular, public and private, embodied and virtual. Participatory reading involves bodies in action.

Notes

1 Wall texts have been little-studied before the recent material turn generated interest in these non-canonical, architecturally sited texts, which include not only works painted directly on the plaster of walls or ceilings, but on cloth hangings and tapestries. The past decade's re-evaluation of the work of John Lydgate has been especially prominent in assessing wall texts and verses on painted cloths, as the verses of several poems designed for walls or wall hangings survive. Most relevant for the present essay is Seeta Chaganti's work on the role of death in apprehending John Lydgate's verses on the *danse macabre* situated in medieval St Paul's Cathedral in London ('*Danse macabre* and the virtual churchyard'. *postmedieval* 3:1 [2012], 7–26). Claire Sponsler addresses the close relationship between such works and writing when assessing the etymological links between 'textile' and 'text' ('Text and textile: Lydgate's tapestry poems', in *Medieval fabrications: dress, textiles, clothwork, and other cultural imaginings*, ed. E. Jane Burns [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004], 19–34). See also Jennifer Floyd's discussion of Lydgate's verses for the Amorours of London ('St. George and the "steyned Halle": Lydgate's verse for the London Armourers', in *Lydgate matters*, ed. Cooper and Denny-Brown, 139–64). Writing from the perspective of an art historian, rather than a literary critic, Linda Safran situates the wall texts of medieval Italy as a form of public discourse that functioned in conjunction with other spatial, textual, and decorative systems ('Public textual cultures: a case study in southern Italy', in *Textual cultures of medieval Italy*, ed. William Robins [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011], 115–44). For a general introduction to wall texts, see Roger Rosewell (*Medieval wall paintings in English and Welsh churches* [Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2011]).

2 For an extended analysis on the social construction of space in a medieval literary context, see Valerie Johnson, 'A forest of her own: greenwood-space and the forgotten female characters of the Robin Hood tradition', in *Robin Hood in outlaw(ed) spaces: media, performance, and other new directions*, ed. Lesley Coote and Valerie B. Johnson (London and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2017), 21–39.

3 The wall texts from the Royal manuscript have been edited by Ewald Flügel, 'Kleinere Mitteilungen aus handschriften', *Anglia* 14 (1892), 463–97, and the manuscript is also available online in a digitized facsimile published by the British Library (at the time of this writing, accessible at www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?index=11&ref=Royal_MS_18_D_II); see f. 202r (Flügel, 1892: 482) for this specific quote. All other quotations from the text will be transcribed from the manuscript, and their citations will also include the page numbers to the corresponding passage in Flügel's edition. Critical treatment of these verses has been of the passing sort; see, in addition to other sources cited above, A. S. G. Edwards ('Middle English inscriptional verse texts', in *Texts and their contexts: papers from the Early Book Society*, ed. John Scattergood and Julia Boffey [Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997], 26–43, at 29–30), which situates the Leconfield and Wressle verses within the context of genre.

4 Anthony Emery, *Greater medieval houses of England and Wales, 1300–1500: volume 1, northern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 262–3.

5 A petition of 1652–3 provides a twenty-one-year lease of 'the house called the New Lodge in the Park called the New Park of Leconfield' to Allan and Josselin Percy (Clay, 1896: 183). The description of the park is offered by John Leland in 1577; see the *Itinerary of John Leland the antiquary*, Vol. 1. 3rd ed. Ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford: James Fletcher, 1768), 47.

6 Henry Algernon Percy, *The regulations and establishment of the household of Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland at his castles of Wressle and Leckonfield in Yorkshire, begun Anno Domini MDXII* (London: William Pickering), 299, 303, 442. This work is also known as the Northumberland Household Book. On the tradition of the 'secret house', see Girouard, *Life in the English country house*, 76, 78.

7 For an extensive, detailed analysis of how the space of a Tudor estate might be explored and analysed, see James M. Sutton, *Materializing space at an early modern prodigy house: the Cecils at Theobalds, 1564–1607* (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

8 Bernard Burke, *The historic lands of England*, vol. 2 (London: E. Churton, 1849), 55.

9 John A. Goodall, 'The great tower of Rochester Castle', in *Medieval art, architecture, and archaeology at Rochester*, ed. Tim Ayers and

Tim Tatton-Brown (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 2006), 265–99, at 288.

10 Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland the antiquary*, Vol. 1, 55. At Leconfield, Leland had observed a related space, also called Paradise; at Leconfield, however, it is 'a litle studying Chaumber', which housed the genealogy of the Percy family (*ibid*., 47).

11 The latter is the more probable conclusion; although in the sixteenth century great houses began to include specialized spaces for books and reading, in earlier buildings, such as Caister Castle, constructed in the early fifteenth century at the behest of Sir John Fastolf, the bathing house formed part of the owner's suite of chambers; at Caister Castle, it held about two dozen books (see Chris M. Woolgar, *The Great House in late medieval England* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999], at 63).

12 For a discussion on the types of instruments and music lessons supported by these proverbs, see Rob C. Webman, *The crisis of music in early modern Europe, 1470–1530* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), at 155–6.

13 Fol. 200 is a singleton added into the quire, but Malcolm Parkes considers the scribal hand to be the same throughout these folios; see Malcolm B. Parkes, *English cursive book hands 1250–1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pl. 15.

14 The most extensive analysis to date of the emblem is that offered by Arthur. G. Dickens, 'The Tudor-Percy Emblem in Royal MS. 18 D ii'. *The archaeological journal* 112 (1956), 95–99. For a more recent analysis, see Alexandra Gillespie, '"These proverbes yet do last": Lydgate, the fifth earl of Northumberland, and Tudor miscellanies from print to manuscript'. *The yearbook of English studies* 33, Medieval and Early Modern Miscellanies and Anthologies (2003), 215–32, at 230–2.

15 In this case, 'roufe' most probably means ceiling, a not uncommon location for wall texts. These library proverbs have been argued to represent a debate between two voices offering opposing comments on the value of study, although they are not formatted as a dialogue in the way that the verses in the 'garett over the bayne' are, where the speakers are labelled each time the voices shift. For more on this argument, see Fiona S. Dunlop, 'Mightier than the sword: reading, writing and noble masculinity in the early sixteenth century', in *Representing medieval genders and sexualities in Europe: construction, transformation, and subversion, 600–1530* (Woodbridge, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 161–72, at 163–4. See Appendix C for an index of the wall texts' first and last lines.

16 For more details about the verses situated in each of these spaces, see Appendix C.

17 This passage's evocation of medieval mnemonic practices suggests a significant relationship between the wall texts and the embodied,

mobile reading depicted here. For more on locationally situated medieval mnemonic practices, see Mary Carruthers, *The craft of thought: meditation, rhetoric, and the making of images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). The Royal manuscript's linking of wall text to sites within the Percy family estates, in particular, evokes the 'locational memory' of which Carruthers writes (10); by emphasizing mobility not solely in the manuscript alone, but also through the estates themselves, however, the function of the Percy wall texts extends beyond that of the mnemonic into the realm of embodied shaping of the self.

18 Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The movement-image*, trans. H. Tomlinson and B. Habberjam (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), at 12.

19 *Ibid*., 16.

20 *Ibid*., 17.

21 Mark Hansen, *New philosophy for new media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 176.

22 Mark Hansen, 'Wearable space'. *Configurations* 10:2 (2002), 321–70, at 322.

23 Hansen, 'Wearable space', 322, 323.

24 *Ibid*., 331.

25 Michel Deville, 'How not to die in Venice: The art of Arakawa and Madeline Gins', in *Architectures of poetry*, ed. María Eugenia Díaz Sánchez and Craig Douglas Dworkin (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2004), 77–91, at 80. Deville discusses Madeline Gins and Arakawa, *Architectural Body* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002).

26 Gins and Arakawa, *Architectural Body*, 13.

27 Hansen, 'Wearable space', 331; *New philosophy for new media*, 186.

28 Gins and Arakawa, *Architectural Body*, 7.

29 *Ibid*., 8.

30 *Ibid*., 21.

31 Hansen, 'Wearable space', 322.

32 See, for example, Jessica Brantley's *Reading in the wilderness*.

33 Gillespie, 'These proverbes yet do last', 229.

34 Chaganti, '*Danse macabre* and the virtual churchyard', 7.

35 For the creation date of the Parisian danse macabre, see Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Money, morality, mortality: the migration of the *danse macabre* from murals to misericords', in *freedom of movement in the Middle Ages* (2003 Harlaxton Symposium Proceedings), ed. Peregrine Horden, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 15 (Donington, UK: Shaun Tyas, 2007), 37–56. For Lydgate's residency in Paris, see Schirmer, *John Lydgate*, 91–2.

36 A timeline of the spread of the *danse* is included as an appendix to the only critical version of Lydgate's version of the text, *The Dance of*

Death, ed. Florence Warren and Beatrice White, EETS 181 (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), at 97–8; the 1485 edition printed by Guy de Marchaunt is reproduced in *Der tanzende tod. Mittelalterliche totentänze*, ed. Gert Kaiser (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1983), 70–107. For Holbein's version, see Peter Parshall, 'Hans Holbein's *Pictures of death*', in *Hans Holbein: paintings, prints and reception*, ed. Mark Roskill and John Oliver Hand (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2001), 83–95, and Christian Müller, *Hans holbein d.j. die druckgraphik im kupferstichkabinett Basel* (Basel: Schwabe, 1997), 144–9, 278–85.

37 Influential studies of Lydgate's *danse macabre* include that of Amy Appleford, 'The dance of death in London: John Carpenter, John Lydgate, and the *Daunce of Poulys*', *Journal of medieval and early modern studies* 38:2 (2008), 285–314; Chaganti, '*Danse macabre* and the virtual churchyard'; and Sophie Oosterwijk, who has studied it as part of an extensive body of work focused on the *danse macabre* in medieval Europe. See especially, 'Death, memory and commemoration: John Lydgate and "Macabrees Daunce" at Old St Paul's Cathedral, London', in *Memory and commemoration in medieval England* (Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium), ed. Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 20 (Donington, UK: Shaun Tyas, 2010), 185–201. For a more general, but comprehensive assessment of the *danse macabre*, see Elina Gertsman, *The dance of death in the Middle Ages: image, text, performance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

38 Trinity R.3.21 was compiled by two scribes, one known as the Hammond scribe and the other as the Trinity Anthologies scribe; it later belonged to the antiquarian John Stow. The portion of the manuscript containing the wall texts is attributed to the hand of the Trinity Anthologies scribe. For details on the work of these scribes in these and a related manuscript, see Linne R. Mooney, 'Scribes and booklets of Trinity College Cambridge, manuscripts R.3.19 and R.3.21', in *Middle English poetry: texts and traditions; essays in honour of Derek Pearsall*, ed. Alastair J. Minnis (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2001), 241–66.

39 F. 278v, my transcription; a digitized facsimile of the manuscript is available online at http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1374. The miniscule initial 'h' above the first line of the scribe's headnote was clearly intended as a guide for the later illumination of a major capital, for which additional space was provided; this programme of decoration extends through the first twelve folios of the manuscript, but was never completed. It nevertheless indicates that both scribes involved in collaborating on the manuscript compiled it with attention to it as an important collection worth the additional time, effort, and expense to decorate.

40 John Stow, *A Survey of London: reprinted from the text of 1603*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), at 327.

41 John Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral before Wren* (Swindon, UK: English Heritage, 2011), at 167.
42 Sheila Lindenbaum, 'London texts and literate practice', in *The Cambridge history of medieval English literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 284–309, at 294.
43 Appleford, 'The dance of death in London', 305.
44 Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral before Wren*, 145, 185.
45 On the denunciation of ball games by the Bishop of London in 1385, see David Lepine, *A brotherhood of canons serving God: English secular cathedrals in the later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 1995), 13. On the battle play, see Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Popular protest in late medieval English towns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 71.
46 *Ibid.*, 50.
47 *Ibid.*, 85.
48 Lepine, *A brotherhood of canons*, 13.
49 Stow, *A Survey of London*, vol. 1, 327–8.
50 Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral before Wren*, 137.
51 *Ibid.*, 109.
52 John McNeill, 'The continental context', *Journal of the British archaeological association* 159 (2006), themed issue on *The medieval cloister in England and Wales*, ed. Martin Henig and John McNeill, 1–47, at 13.
53 *Ibid.*, 12–13.
54 Caroline M. Barron and Marie-Hélène Rousseau, 'Cathedral, city and state, 1300–1540', in *St Paul's: The cathedral church of London, 604–2004* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), at 42.
55 For assessment of *Poulys Daunce* as dramatic performance, see Sponsler, *The queen's dumbshows*, 'Performing pictures', 67–96.
56 Two versions of Lydgate's poem exist, referred to as the A and B versions. Which figures are included in the *danse* differs between these (the A text, for example, includes passages on a lady of great estate, a monk, a usurer, a squire, a parson, a clerk, and a tregetour; the B text includes passages on a mayor, a canon regular, a doctor of law, a judge, a nun, an artificer, and a servant). Appleford argues that the B text is most likely the version that was installed at St Paul's, as the inclusion of major, judge, artificer, and servant made the text more localized to figures more characteristic of London (*Learning to die in London, 1380–1540* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015], 90–4).
57 *The dance of death*, ed. Warren and White, lines 9–10 from the B version represented by the London, British Library MS Landsdowne 699.
58 Chaganti, in '*Danse macabre* and the virtual churchyard', notes that previous discussion of this phenomenon demonstrates a Derridean

paradox, that identification is both individual and universal; for Chaganti, this emphasizes the focus on form in the *danse macabre* (11–12).

59 For the fashionableness of St Paul's tombs, see Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral before Wren*, 137.

60 The best resource for the *transi*-tomb itself is Kathleen Cohen's *Metamorphosis of a death symbol: the transi tomb in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), quoted here from p. 1. Schofield, in *St Paul's Cathedral Before Wren*, also discusses a transi-tomb originally located in the middle of the choir of St Paul's, the tomb of Dean Colet, which survives only in an engraving made by Wenceslaus Hollar from 1657, at 137–8; further study of the fragmentary survivals of other monuments at St Paul's is still wanting, until which the most comprehensive resource is the engravings by Hollar published in William Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* (London: Thomas Warren, 1658).

61 Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a death symbol*, introduction and chapter 1. The first English transi-tomb, that of Henry Chichele, the Archbishop of Canterbury, makes this educational role of the transi-tomb explicit in its inscription, which reads (in Cohen's translation from the original Latin): 'I was a pauper born, then to Primate raised / Now I am cut down and ready to be food for worms / Behold my grave, / Whoever you may be who passes by, I ask you to remember / You will be like me after you die; / All horrible, dust, worms, vile flesh' (16, n. 9).

62 Gertsman, *The dance of death in the Middle Ages*, 180.

63 Chaganti, '*Danse macabre* and the virtual churchyard', 17 and 22.

64 This door has been omitted in the map of St Paul's that has seen the widest circulation, created by Tracey Wellman for Derek Keene, Arthur Burns, and Andrew Saint, eds, *St Paul's: The cathedral church of London 604–2004*, 42 (fig. 20), and reprinted in Appleford, 'The dance of death in London', 288; Appleford, *Learning to die in London*, 85 (fig. 3). This map shows only one exit in the centre of the north cloister wall, leading from the Pardon Churchyard into the grounds of the Minor Canon's residences, and omits any means for entering or exiting the cloister from the cathedral itself. Schofield, intimately familiar with the architectural evidence of the cathedral and its history, suggests that there 'was probably a public entrance to the cloister, perhaps near Sherrington's chapel' outside the northeast corner of the cloister and abutting the north entrance to the nave (*St Paul's Cathedral before Wren*, 172). A second door into Pardon Cloister, Schofield notes, was the one referred to in the arrangements for Prince Arthur's marriage to Catherine of Aragon as a 'little door against the Consistory that leadeth into the Palace', from the west wall of the north transept, shown in an undated sixteenth-century plan of the cathedral known as the 'Codrington plan', which 'led first to the

Pardon Churchyard' (*ibid.*, 145 and figs 4.4 [Codrington plan] and 4.108 [Museum of London Archaeology plan]).

65 Google's most well-known virtual tour explores Abbey Road, https://insideabbeyroad.withgoogle.com/en. In a more serious example of the political and historical role virtual imagery like that provided by Google Earth can play: at the time of the writing of this chapter, satellite imagery was used by the UN to assess the state of the late antique ruins at Palmyra, much of which had been overtaken and demolished by the Islamic State (ISIS) in 2016.

66 Mimi Sheller, 'Virtual islands: mobilities, connectivity, and the new Caribbean spatialities'. *Small Axe* 11:3 (October 2007), 16–33, at 23, 26. Mobile elites are not only those who can choose to visit the sites, however remote, but also those who will never visit the sites, but possess technology, such as mobile smartphone technology, enabling them to access such tours.

67 Kathryne Beebe, 'Reading mental pilgrimage in context: the imaginary pilgrims and real travels of Felix Fabri's "Die Sionpilger."' *Essays in medieval studies* 25 (2008), 39–70, at 43. See also Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimages in the convent: imagining Jerusalem in the late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

68 Beebe, 'Reading mental pilgrimage in context', 58.

69 George Cavendish, *The life and death of Cardinal Wolsey*, ed. R. S. Sylvester, EETS 243 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 32.

70 Quoted in Richard W. Hoyle, 'Percy, Henry Algernon, sixth earl of Northumberland (*c*.1502–1537)'. *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008.

71 Richard W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the politics of the 1530s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), at 284.

72 Cf. Hoyle, 'Percy, Henry Algernon'.

73 During or after the sixth earl's lifetime, other readers of the manuscript left their marks between its pages: on f. 1r, the inscription 'Kateryne Eggcomb' may have been that of the sixth earl's wife; the sixth earl's nephew, Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel, inscribed his surname and motto on f. 212vol. After that, according to the British Library description of the manuscript's provenance, it seems to have entered the hands of John Lumley, the first baron Lumley, who records it in a catalogue of his collection assembled in the year of his death, 1609.

74 John M. Ganim and Shayne Aaron Legassie, 'Introduction' to *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1–20, at 3 and 6. See also Matthew Boyd Goldie, *The idea of the antipodes: place, people, and voices* (New York: Routledge, 2010), who argues that place-specific medieval practices, laws, and expression simultaneously produce a kind of 'flatness' through how they are shared across cultures (14).

75 John M. Ganim, *Chaucerian theatricality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 63. Ganim also emphasizes the performativity of the pilgrimage narrative, which he relates to theatricality. Relatedly, Claire Sponsler argues that the theatrical performativity of many late-medieval texts represents a medieval engagement with collaboration through readers' and others' performances of texts that counters modern notions of the singular author (*The queen's dumbshows*, 1).

76 Heather Meakin, *The painted closet of Lady Anne Bacon Drury* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 3.