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"Engrave this memory in your heart as if on a tablet…": Memory, meditation, and visual imagery in seventeenth-century Ukrainian preaching

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ABSTRACT

Much has been written on the importance of the arts of memory since Frances Yates's *The Art of Memory* (1966). However, in the expanding body of scholarship on mnemonic practices in the Middle Ages and early modern period, little attention has been given to the relationship between memory, preaching, and devotion, and to how sermons were remembered and transmitted. This article sets out to fill this gap by exploring the connection between rhetorical invention, memory, and the visual image in seventeenth-century Ukrainian preaching. Using the printed sermon collections of Ioanykii Galiatovs'kyi (*Kliuch Razuminiia*, 1659) and Antonii Radyvylovs'kyi (*Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsy*, 1676; *Vinets Khrystov*, 1688) and the previously unstudied manuscript vernacular sermons of Stefan Iavors'kyi (1690s), the author demonstrates how Ukrainian Orthodox literati understood the role that visual perception, imagination, and memory played in structuring their own rhetorical material as well as developing their listeners' virtuous behaviour. In particular, she argues that sermon literature used the techniques of visualization and memorization that enhanced the ability to meditate privately, and that these texts' emphasis on vividness (*enargeia* or *hypotyposis*) and memory schemes was strengthened by the Aristotelian idea that all thoughts and feelings depended on the imagination.

KEYWORDS

Memory; sermons; visual imagery; seventeenth-century Ukraine; intellectual history

RÉSUMÉ

Il existe de nombreux écrits sur l'importance des arts de la mémoire depuis la parution de *L'art de la mémoire* de Frances Yates en 1966 (1975 en français). Dans le nombre croissant de recherches universitaires sur les pratiques mnémoniques du Moyen Âge et du début des temps modernes, peu de travaux ont porté sur la relation entre la mémoire, la prédication et la dévotion, et sur la façon dont les sermons étaient mémorisés et transmis. Cet article cherche à combler cette lacune en explorant le lien entre l'invention rhétorique, la mémoire et l'image visuelle dans la prédication ukrainienne du dix-septième siècle. En employant les recueils de sermons imprimés de Joannice Galiatovski (*Kliuch Razuminiia*, 1659) et d'Antoine Radivilovskii (*Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsy*, 1676 ; *Vinets Khrystov*, 1688) et les sermons manuscrits en langue vernaculaire d'Étienne Iavorski (dans les années 1690), ces derniers jusqu'ici non étudiés,

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l'auteure montre comment les gens de lettres ukrainiens de confession orthodoxe comprenaient l'importance de la perception visuelle, l'imagination et la mémoire dans la structuration de leurs textes rhétoriques, ainsi que dans le développement de la conduite vertueuse chez leurs auditeurs. Elle affirme notamment que la littérature de prédication employait les techniques de la visualisation et de la mémorisation qui augmentaient la capacité de méditation à titre personnel. De plus, l'accent mis sur la vivacité (*enargeia* ou *hypotypose*) et sur les schémas de mémoire était renforcé par l'idée aristotélicienne selon laquelle tous les sentiments et toutes les pensées dépendent de l'imagination.

Much has been written on the importance of the arts of memory since Frances Yates's *The Art of Memory* (1966). However, in the expanding body of scholarship on mnemonic practices in the Middle Ages and early modern period, little attention has been given to the relationship between memory, preaching, and devotion, and to how sermons were remembered and transmitted.[1] Furthermore, while many memory tools and techniques have been skilfully charted for the medieval and early modern West, we lack a systematic treatment of the arts of memory for Byzantium and the Orthodox Slavs.[2] This article sets out to fill this gap by exploring the connection between rhetorical invention, memory, and the visual image in seventeenth-century Ukrainian preaching. Using the printed sermon collections of Ioanykii Galiatovs'kyi (*Kliuch Razuminiia*, 1659) and Antonii Radyvylovs'kyi (*Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsy*, 1676; *Vinets Khrystov*, 1688) and the previously unstudied manuscript vernacular sermons of Stefan Iavors'kyi (1690s), I demonstrate how Ukrainian Orthodox literati understood the role that visual perception, imagination, and memory played in structuring their own rhetorical material as well as in developing their listeners' virtuous behaviour.[3]

Though they are not well known to modern audiences, these authors were very influential in their own time as Orthodox Church leaders, preachers, theologians, and polemicists. Written in vernacular Ukrainian, their sermon collections addressed the more disparate and urban audiences that began to emerge in the seventeenth century, thus allowing us greater insight into their rhetorical strategies and their potential impact on the laity.[4] More specifically, a common feature of the texts examined here is the presence of mnemonic devices and verbal pictures that display the principles of classical mnemonics as we find them described by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. This prompts a series of interconnected questions about their origin, function, and possible reception by listeners. In particular, I argue that sermon literature used the techniques of visualization and memorization that enhanced the ability to meditate privately, and that these texts' emphasis on vividness (*enargeia* or *hypotyposis*) and memory schemes was strengthened by the Aristotelian idea that all thoughts and feelings depended on the imagination. In their turn, when people engaged imaginatively with sermons, they drew on a number of sources: their own experience of life, a memory of other sacred narratives, and a shared vocabulary of visual images, including the images they were actively invited to bring before their mind's eye.

The arts of memory

By the seventeenth century, the West possessed a number of traditions of the art of memory, some originating in monastic meditative practice, some in classical rhetorical theory (Cicero, Quintilian, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*), and others deriving from Aristotle's *De memoria et reminiscentia* and its medieval commentaries by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.[5] The best-known scheme is the one contained in the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, where we find a number of themes that later became standard in writings on memory, especially what Yates calls "the architectural type" of memory.[6] According to its anonymous author, an orator who wants to remember the topics of a speech had first to memorize an ordered set of places, such as "a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, an arch, or the like."[7] Once one had a visual memory of a series of locations, one could then arrange in these places images of the things one wished to remember. In particular, images should be distinctive or striking ("insignes"), even associated with violent events.[8]

While the influence of the *Ad Herennium* appears to have been slight between classical antiquity and the ninth century, in the Middle Ages the emergence of the cathedral and monastic schools, the growth of popular preaching, and a new emphasis on pastoral duties promoted a resurgence of interest in rhetorical techniques.[9] In particular, the rediscovery of Aristotelian psychology (*De memoria et reminiscentia* and *De Anima*) helped justify the use of mnemonic devices. For Aristotle, cognition and memory rely on imagination (*phantasia*). Memory operates through images, as what we remember are the phantasms (*phantasma*) of things or concepts. By virtue of imagination, we can call to mind an object we have experienced in the past, or, by combining different memories, create an image of an object we have never seen.[10] Following Aristotle – and in particular, the notion that man cannot think without an image ("nihil potest homo intelligere sine phantasmate"), in the *De bono* and in the commentaries on *De memoria et reminiscentia* – Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas promoted the resurgence of an image-based mnemonic system designed for preachers.[11] Influenced by the recommendations of the two masters of Scholasticism, Dominican and Franciscan *artes praedicandi* make clear that, for the task of composing, it was essential to use verbal mnemonic pictures that could help listeners remember the main points of a sermon but also arouse an emotional response that led to piety and repentance.[12] The importance of the moral implications of memory for the understanding of the medieval evolution of *ars memorativa* cannot be overstated. For Albertus and Aquinas, who draw on Cicero's *De inventione*, memory is, along with intelligence (*intelligentia*) and providence (*providentia*), one of the three parts of the virtue of prudence (*prudentia*): recollection of past events should lead to prudent (virtuous) conduct in the future, transforming memory into a matter of ethics.[13]

Thus, in the late Middle Ages, we witness a major shift in the history of the arts of memory: from the mind of the speaker to the psychology of audience response, and from rhetoric (the fashioning of a speech) to ethics (the fashioning of a soul).[14] The connection between memory, devotion, and ethics was still alive in the early modern period. The art of memory occupies a central space in Catholic devotional methods such as Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (1548), which invite us to employ memory – and, in particular, the visual prototypes stored in our memory – to create mental pictures of Christ's life or our past sins and meditate upon them.

The widespread popularity of the arts of memory in literary circles, schools, universities, and pedagogical programmes between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries had an impact on the Ukrainian Orthodox literati, whose ideas on memory took shape both under the influence of Aristotelian-Scholastic theories of perception and a tradition of monastic meditation that stressed memorization as a devotional practice. New cultural and educational factors that increased the need for speaking publicly, such as Metropolitan Petro Mohyla's emphasis on the *cura animarum* or the place of public disputations in the curriculum of the Kyiv College, also exercised an influence on the popularity of *ars memorativa* as a practical and ethical imperative.[15] We have evidence that the College's rhetorical courses featured sections on memory based on Cicero's *Ad Herennium* and Aristotle's *De Anima*, which, as already seen, gave intellectual impetus to the revival of the art of memory in the medieval West.[16]

An alumnus of the Jesuit Colleges of Lublin and Poznań, where he studied as a Uniate Catholic before returning to the Orthodox fold in 1689, Iavors'kyi (1656–1722) was well schooled in the doctrine of Aquinas and in the *Ad Herennium*, which was part of the Jesuit *ratio studiorum*.[17] Unlike Iavors'kyi, Galiatovs'kyi (died 1688) and Radyvylovs'kyi (died 1688) spent most of their lives in their native Ukraine.[18] Both raised in the peculiar blend of Orthodox and Western culture that was intrinsic to the Kyiv intellectual milieu, they would have used advice on memory that was available at the Kyiv College, where Aristotle had a near monopoly until the mid-eighteenth century.[19] In particular, Aristotle's *De Anima*, especially in its subsequent elaboration by the Spanish Francisco Suárez, stood at the basis of the Mohylian teachings on the soul, which included sections on memory and imagination. For instance, the section *On the Soul* (*De Anima*) of Inokentii Gizel''s philosophy course *Opus totiae philosophiae*, taught in the academic years 1645–46 and 1646–47, mentions Aristotle's *De memoria* ("ait Philosophus libro De Memoria, cap 2-do"), stressing the connection between memory and imagination and its dependence on images ("nulla memoria possit esse sine phantasia perfecta").[20] The Prussian born Gizel' (died 1683) was professor of philosophy and rector of the Kyiv College between 1645 and 1656: Galiatovs'kyi and Radyvylovs'kyi, who were students during the same years, most probably attended his courses and had access to his handwritten course syllabus or notes.

Works by Thomas Aquinas – who maintained that a locational memory was essential for thinking and discussed memory in the context of ethical philosophy – were also part of the philosophical curriculum of the school. His role in reviving a memory art designed for preachers has already been mentioned. The library of Iavors'kyi included a copy of Giovanni da San Gimignano's *Summa de exemplis ac similitudinibus rerum*, an enormously popular manual for preachers that appeared in the early fourteenth century and contains an abbreviated version of the Thomist memory rules (Book 6, Chapter 42).[21] In order to remember well, one should dispose things in a certain order ("aliquo ordine disponat"), adhere to them with affection ("affectum adhibeat"), reduce them to unusual similitudes ("ad aliquas similitudines non omnino consuetas"), and repeat them with frequent meditation ("ut per frequentem meditationem repetat").[22] In this respect, the *Summa* provided preachers with a method of constructing images that would help them in the task of creating an orderly exposition and capturing the attention of their listeners – a technique that, as we shall see, Iavors'kyi fully mastered.

Iavors'kyi's own rhetorical manual, the handwritten *Ritoricheskaia ruka*, includes a section on memory, which, following a metaphor widely used in ancient and medieval

times, is defined as a "treasury," or "storage box" ("Pamiat' est' sokrovishche razumenii").[23] Originally written in Latin and translated into Church Slavonic by Fedor Polikarpov, the *Ritoricheskaia ruka* is largely based on Cypriano de Soarez's *De arte rhetorica libri tres* (Coimbra, 1560), the first Jesuit rhetorical treatise and a text that was part of the Kyiv College's *ratio studiorum*.[24] Soarez, who encourages orators to employ a vast spectrum of image-based tropes to "put things before one's eyes" and make them adhere to one's memory, could be another source of the Ukrainian literati's acquaintance with the ethical and rhetorical power of memory. As this study will demonstrate, the rhetorical concept of *enargeia* (putting things before one's eyes) is one of the crucial instruments that enable one to understand the connection between sacred rhetoric, memory, and meditation that seems to be central to many seventeenth-century Ukrainian sermons.

Keeping the sermon in good working order: memory as a rhetorical tool

In her studies on medieval memory, Mary Carruthers has often emphasized that memory in the Middle Ages was important as a device for making new thoughts and compositions – as a tool for invention – and not simply for reproducing something exactly.[25] In order for cognition and composition to be possible, images derived from Scripture, the liturgy, or religious art were stored in mental structures and linked together through ordering devices.[26] These schemes functioned as locations (the *Ad Herennium* ordered set of places) in which one could reassemble matters that had previously been stored in the memory, becoming effective working tools for people who had to make new compositions such as sermons. Thus, the arts of composing and listening to a sermon were both essentially arts of memory, designed to help preachers handle their material and listeners remember and appropriate what they heard.

The sermons under analysis are not lacking in statements that show an awareness of the importance of memory for rhetorical purposes. The role of memory as a "machine" for performing the task of invention – to use Carruthers's term – can be seen in the introduction of Radyvylovs'kyi's first "Sermon on the Nativity of Christ." Radyvylovs'kyi, who, drawing on Augustinian anthropology, in the "Sermon on Saint Barbara" refers to "memory," "intellect," and "will" as the three "windows" of the soul, describes how he "wonders with his memory" ("blukaiuchisia pamiat'iu moei") through the events of secular history as if through a field full of flowers ("po vesolomu poliu Istorii svitovykh, iako mezhi tsvitami").[27] This image, highly resonant with the "fields and spacious palaces of memory" ("campos et lata praetoria memoriae") of the Tenth Book of Augustine's *Confessions*, shows that the process of composition meant bringing together matters stored in different mental structures, here epitomized by the metaphor of the field ("pole"), to be reassembled in a new place, that is, a new text.[28] A common medieval metaphor would, indeed, liken memory to fields and gardens full of flowers.[29] Radyvylovs'kyi's own sermons thus emerge as a florilegium of sorts, a selection of topics gathered together from the readings stored in his memory. Similarly, in the dedicatory epistle of the marriage sermon *Vynohrad Khrystov* (Kyiv, 1698), Iavors'kyi explains that had Hetman Ivan Mazepa not ordered the sermon to be printed, it would have been stored away in the "recesses of oblivion" ("peshchery nepamiati").[30] The image clearly builds on the medieval trope that in memory – but also in its corollary, "non-memory" ("nepamiat") – things are enclosed as in a storage chest, ready to be used for future compositions. Iavors'kyi's "peshchery" seem

indeed an allusion to Augustine's *Confessions* and the "deeper recesses" of the memory ("remotiora penetralia") where things learned are "buried" if not recalled for some time, thus reinforcing the idea of the central role of memory in gathering the topics of a sermon from a preacher's different readings.[31]

The notion that memory and cognitive processes are strictly linked – and that in order to properly compose or listen to a sermon it is essential to have a well-furnished memory – is further formulated in Iavors'kyi's manuscript sermons. There, we see the preacher's recurrent invitation to his listeners to "remember" different biblical episodes ("pripomianim tolko sebe," "vospomianim sobi"), visualize them in their minds, and meditate upon their significance.[32] The fact that Iavors'kyi employs the notion of memory ("remember") as an equivalent of cogitation ("think of") implies that in the seventeenth century people were still expected to retain several books of the Bible in their memory and retrieve them using some sort of mental map. "Thinking" is actually "remembering" – drawing together, in true Augustinian fashion, things already contained in the memory. More importantly, the frequent association between the need to remember and the trope of the "eye of the mind" ("dushevnoe oko") in which listeners are invited to visualize the recollected biblical passages, makes clear that Iavors'kyi emphasizes memory in its creative and contemplative aspects. As in the ancient and medieval periods, memory is still thought of as a visual process, one that entails the creation of mental images and their retrieval by the "mind's eye." As we shall see below, these mental images are constructed from images already stored in the listeners' and readers' memory – the traces left by things experienced in the material world, including their representations in works of art.

In order to stimulate the related processes of recollection and visualization, early modern Ukrainian preachers often resorted to ordering devices and verbal mnemonic images that allowed them to arrange their material in an orderly fashion. In fact, while the ancient mnemonic tradition exemplified by the *Ad Herennium* provided advice only to speakers, medieval and early modern mnemonic schemes appeared in the text, where they fulfilled a triple rhetorical function. They helped preachers remember their material (*memoria*); furthermore, they provided a model for the composition of the sermon (*inventio*) and an ordering scheme that influences the structure of the text (*dispositio*).[33]

The use of mnemonic structures as a tool for the expansion and contraction of rhetorical material that acts on the *dispositio* of the text is explicit in Galiatovs'kyi's "Sermon on the Intercession of the Theotokos" (Pokrov). There, a verse from Revelation 12 ("and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle") functions as both organizational scheme and mnemonic device. Each of the wings given to Mary, Galiatovs'kyi argues, contains a number of feathers from different birds (an eagle, a swan, a gryphon, a crane, a dove, a phoenix, a swallow, and so on), which exemplify different virtues of the Virgin, as explained in the *Physiologus* and other bestiaries. For instance, the "gryphon" ("pero grifovo") has the body of a lion and the wings of an eagle, thus testifying to Mary's "dual nature" ("dvoiaka natura") as both mother and virgin.[34] The "crane" ("pero zhuravlinoe"), who, according to Pliny, sleeps on one leg while holding a stone in the other, symbolizes Mary's vigilant nature while holding Christ in her arms.[35] Further, "swallows" ("lastovky") were believed by ancient writers to rub a plant known as "chelidonium" ("zelo nazvanoe khelidoneia") on the eyes of their babies to improve or restore their sight. Similarly, Mary gave birth to Christ, who offers the best remedy against our spiritual blindness.[36] Finally, drawing on Albertus Magnus's *De Animalibus*,

Galiatovs'kyi recounts that the bird known as "caladrius" ("kharadrii") has the ability to diagnose the outcome of a disease: if it faces the patient, he or she will survive; if he averts its head, the patient is destined to die. Likewise, Mary averts her eyes from those who are destined to hell, while she turns gently toward those who deserve eternal salvation.[37]

An abstract construction and not a physical object, Galiatovs'kyi's image of the wing is built on what Carruthers calls a "locational memory" system, that is, a scheme that provides a set of ordered and clearly articulated locations disposed at regular intervals (the feathers) in which to put memory images, enabling the division of a particular subject into its constituent topics.[38] The different birds attached to each feather are in fact *imagines rerum*, the mental notes Quintilian suggests orators use as associative cues to mark the key concepts of a text they wish to remember.[39] The purpose of this image is thus both compositional and pedagogical, as it offers a template upon which to construct new texts, or meditate privately on the Virgin and her virtues. For instance, a preacher could easily compose a new sermon on the Virgin using the subject matters associated with each feather (Mary's vigilant behaviour, her simultaneous motherhood and virginity, and so forth) and adapt them to his specific occasion, while a layperson could create mental images of the different birds in order to recollect Mary's virtues. In this respect, even if this is just a verbal picture, it is designed to be visualized as a sort of diagram in the preacher's and his listeners' minds, as a framework where one could dispose the main points of the sermon. Actual drawings of a six-winged seraph, each feather labelled with the topics of penance, were indeed popular among late medieval preachers as compositional tools for Lenten preaching.[40]

The zodiac provided another common framework for the storage of details that needed to be remembered, one that harkens back to Metrodorus of Scepsis and that, together with other numerical devices, was used in monastic meditation – for instance, in Hugh of St Victor's Ark picture.[41] Iavors'kyi, whose course on natural philosophy taught at the Kyiv College in 1691–93 (*Agonium philosophicum*) included sections on astrology, often uses the 12 signs as a locational system to help place the main points of a sermon.[42] A revealing example is found in the "Sermon on the Beheading of John the Baptist" (1694), where the "12 signs of the heavenly zodiac" ("dvanadesiat znakov u nebesnomu zodiaku") function as a "storage place" for John's virtues. Thus, Taurus should remind listeners of John's meekness as he took Christ's yoke upon him according to Matthew 11:29, Gemini of the close relationship between his mother Elizabeth and Mary, while Aquarius would point, more predictably, to John washing away people's sins in the waters of the river Jordan.[43] It is not difficult to understand that this scheme could be adapted, expanded, or contracted according to the preacher's specific needs. Iavors'kyi himself specifies that because of time constraints ("dlia krotkosti chasu") he will not be able to "remember" all the 12 signs of his "Palestinian Zodiac" ("ne vspomynaiu tut inshykh znakov na zodiaku palestynskom"), with the use of a verb of memory such as "vspomynaty" as a clear reminder of the recollecting and ordering function of such schemes.[44]

Buildings, real or allegorical, fulfill similar mnemonic and cognitive functions, offering another general scheme in which preachers and listeners or readers could mentally dispose the main topics of a sermon. In the "Sermon on the Dormition of the Theotokos" (1694), Iavors'kyi spatializes Mary as a solid house built by God the architect. The house has two doors: "one is closed to represent her virginity" ("edna dver zakliuchenna to est' divstvo") while "the other is open as a symbol of her motherhood" ("druhaia

Figure 1. *Stolp tsnot znamenitykh, v Bohu zeshloho Sylvestra Kossova … v Kollegiume bratskom Kyevomohyleanskom vystavlenyi*. Kyiv: Drukarnia Kyievo-Pechers'koi Lavry, 1658, 8 verso. Courtesy of the Russian State Library.

dver otverzenna to est' materynstvo").[45] Further, in the "Sermon on the Nativity of the Theotokos" (1693), he asks his listeners to "remember" ("vospomianim tolko sobi") "the pool of Siloe and its five rooms" ("kupel' Ierusalimskuiu piat' pritvor imushchuiu"), which become a convenient location for storing away the memory of God's "five mysteries" ("piat' tain") and Christ's "five wounds" ("piat' ran").[46]

Behind these passages clearly lies the *Ad Herennium*'s recommendation of the location of specific images within architectural structures (*loci*) in a way that could be easily found by both preacher and audience but also be the object of apparently endless variations.[47] However, unlike the Greco-Roman technique laid out by Cicero, Quintilian, and the *Ad Herennium*, which recommended visualizing the domestic places of a Roman house, what we see here is the medieval monastic version of *ars memorativa*, with its use of grids, diagrams, and architectures derived from the Bible as the structure for allegorical meditation.

Moreover, just like the wing in Galiatovs'kyi's "Sermon on the Intercession," these buildings describe images that the reader/listener is meant to see as mental pictures, disposing the words being heard within their imaginary architectures. That these structures were supposed to be visualized in the mind's eye is made explicit in the introduction of one of Iavors'kyi's earliest manuscript sermons, the "Concio de septe columnis Virginis" (1691), a text dominated by the allegorical spatialization of the Virgin as a "temple with seven columns." Introducing his topic, Iavors'kyi points out that the previous year, his listeners "*saw* in his sermon the temple of God" ("v proshlom hodu khram bozhii *vidiste na moei propovidi*" – emphasis mine), an allusion to an earlier sermon populated by other architectural memory images.[48] Interestingly, although these architectures were not intended for external representation, the emblems illustrating the funeral panegyric for the Kyiv Metropolitan Sylvestr Kosiv (died 1657), *Stolp tsnot znamenitykh, v Bohu zeshloho Sylvestra Kossova ... v Kollegiume bratskom Kyevomohyleanskom vystavlenyi* (Kyiv, 1658), where columns and other architectonic constructs function as a storage place for abstract concepts – as a *locus memoriae* for Kosiv's virtues – can be regarded as a visual translation of the architectural memory system behind our sermons (Figure 1).[49] As observed by Yates, the frontiers of the art of memory and of art properly "must surely have overlapped" and memory images that people were being taught to practise might have found their way "into outer expression," including an iconographic form as ubiquitous in the seventeenth century as the emblem, a tripartite combination of picture (normally a woodcut or engraving) and words (a motto and an epigram) intended to convey moral, religious, or political thoughts.[50]

A variation on the mnemonic technique of describing a building, or another architectural object, in all of its components and then associating each of these components with a moral message, is the use of parts of the body.[51] Radyvylovs'kyi provides an interesting example of the medieval and early modern trope of the body as a gathering place for memory work, one that testifies to the connection between memory schemes and mental images. In the "Sermon on the 25th Sunday after Pentecost," contained in the collection *Vinets Khrystov*, Radyvylovs'kyi gives an ethical reading of the Gospel of the day, "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves."[52] Elaborating on the classical patristic interpretation of the Parable of the Good Samaritan, he argues that the man wounded by the thieves does not represent only Adam but also our will ("volia"), intellect ("rozum"), and sense of moral discernment ("sila protiviashchesia zlomu i

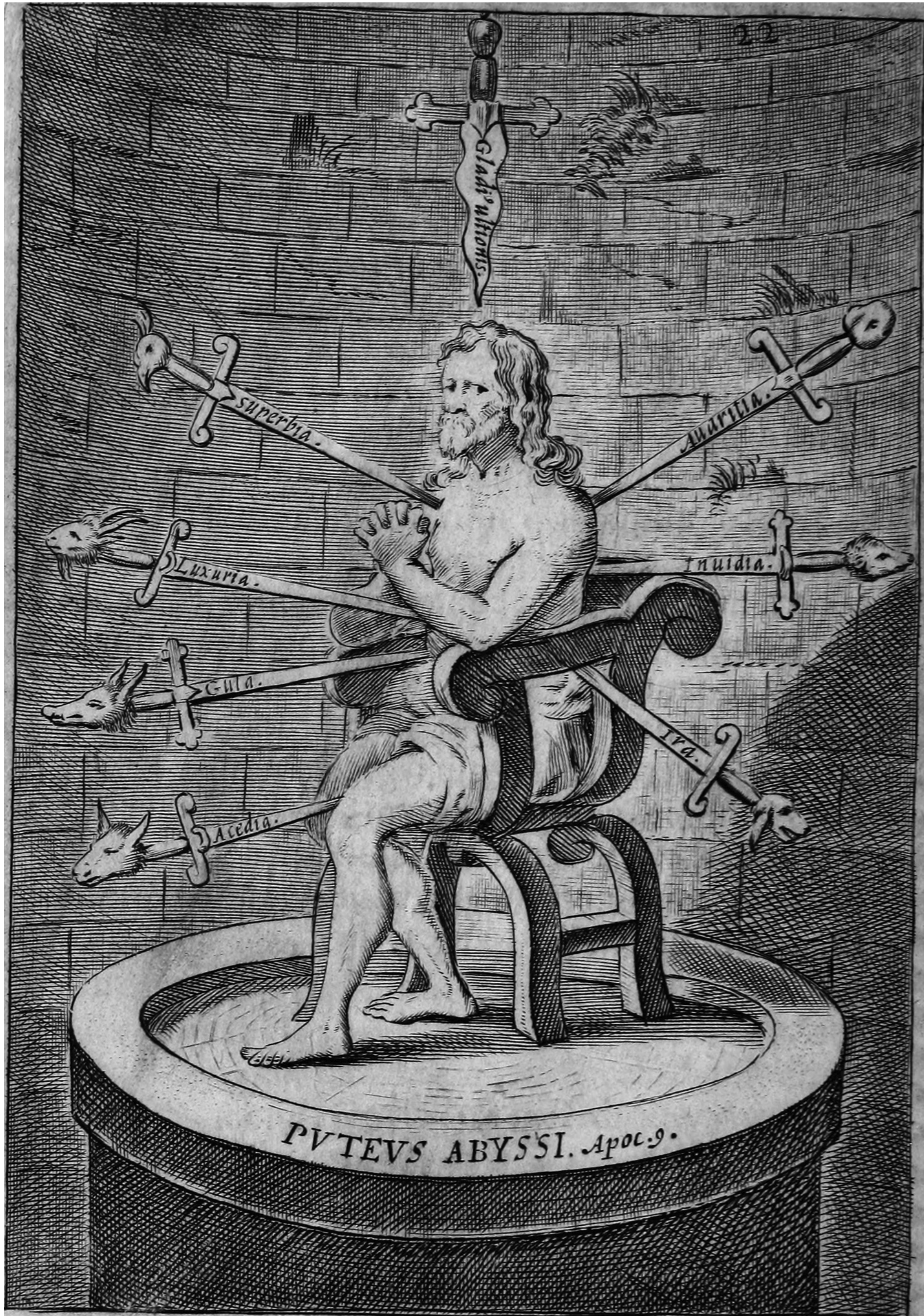

Figure 2. Sebastiano Izquierdo. *Praxis exercitiorum spiritualium P.N. S. Ignatii*. Rome: Typis Ioannis Francisci Buagni, 1695, 42. https://www.flickr.com/photos/internetarchivebookimages/14728310046/in/photolist-orurs7-orutNE-ovh9jM-otjnYu-otfarv-otjnAf-otwknz-ovha8a-otjjjA/

pozhadaiuchaia dobro"), three notions heavily infused with Aristotelian psychology.[53] In damaging our spiritual faculties, the thieves on the road to Jericho inflicted several wounds on different parts of our body ("chlonky") and each wound is related to the insurgence of one of the seven vices. Thus, the wound on the head generates pride ("hordynia"), the one in the eyes envy ("zaizdrost'"), the one in the legs sloth ("linyvstvo"), the one in the belly gluttony ("obzhyrstvo"), and so forth.[54]

Such connections clearly derive from the patristic and medieval tradition that attaches each sin to the part of the body with which one commonly commits that sin.[55] For instance, as Gregory the Great portrays pride as "the queen of the seven sins," the head is the queen of the other body parts, whereas sloth, whose primary symptom is a lack of strength in doing good works, is associated with a lack of physical strength and the inability to walk.[56] The result is an image-making sermon, one that provides a physical place – an ordered set of *loci* – for the listeners to memorize the Church's teachings about the seven vices and meditate over their sinful condition. Again, although what we have here is just a verbal picture, there is evidence that this *topos* lent itself to actual visualization. In particular, one of the engravings in an illustrated edition of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (Rome, 1678) shows a naked man sitting on a chair, with seven swords stuck into different parts of the body. Each sword is labelled with a different sin: sloth (*acedia*) is stuck in his legs, gluttony (*gula*) in his belly, and so forth (Figure 2).[57] Whether Radyvylovs'kyi had ever seen this image need not bother us here: what is important is the visual and pictorial nature of his reading of the Parable of the Good Samaritan, one that could be easily converted in his listeners' "eye of the mind" in an emblem-like picture such as that in the *Spiritual Exercises*.

The use of mnemonic schemes to turn the body into a map to aid in meditation is evident also in Iavors'kyi's "Sermon on the Trinity" (1694). There he "imagines" ("imahinuiu") Heaven having the "form of a mouth" ("zhe to Nebo est na kshtalt ust"): the tongue ("iazyk") is the Holy Spirit, Christ is the word ("slovo"), and God is the voice ("hlas").[58] As is typical of locational memory images, the anatomy of the chosen object provides the preacher with his topics as he composes: thus the tongue should remind his listeners of the Holy Spirit appearing to the apostles as "cloven tongues like as of fire," while the words a mouth can utter clearly point to Christ as Logos.[59] Again, this picture, which displays the tendency to division that is typical of the emblem, is a useful tool for the preacher, who could expand on the different parts of the mouth and their metaphorical implications, but also for the audience, who would use the mouth as a map for remembering a complex divine abstraction such as the Trinity.

Making the sermon memorable: the *imago agens*

Even from these brief remarks about mnemonic pictures, it must be clear that these sermons cause the audience to see things with the eye of the mind and to imagine them as they attend to the verbal process, a notion that Iavors'kyi reinforces by the emphasis on visualization of the verb "imahinuiu" ("I imagine"). A recurrent term in his manuscript sermons, it is clearly related to Aristotle's theory of memory and imagination in the *De Anima* and *De Memoria et reminiscentia*, and, in particular, to the idea of memory as a process of mentally visualizing signs of things that are not present.[60] This theory was well established in Mohylanian philosophy courses: in his manuscript treatise *On the Soul*

(1646–47), Gizel' refers to the Aristotelian notion of memory as the "knowledge of absent things" ("memoria nihil aliud non est quam cognitio rei absentis") by virtue of mental images ("per speciem in cerebro retentam repraesentationem").[61]

In this respect, images like the seven vices wounding the Samaritan's body or the Trinity grotesquely turned into a human mouth are an example of what the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* defines as *imagines agentes* – powerful images that appeal to the senses and the intellect, setting in motion the process of recollection. In particular, the anonymous author of the *Ad Herennium* argues that we are more likely to remember "something exceptionally base, dishonourable, unusual, great, unbelievable, or ridiculous," "ornamented with crowns or purple cloaks," and that a solar eclipse "stays longer in the mind" than a sunrise because the former "occurs seldom."[62] We can easily argue that a mouth-shaped Trinity is to the traditional iconography of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit what a solar eclipse is to a regular sunrise. Similarly, the seven vices wounding the Samaritan's body clearly comply with the *Ad Herennium* doctrine of making something memorable by presenting a figure "stained with blood, soiled with mud, or smeared with red paint, so that its form is more striking."[63] In adhering to the basic principle for memory-images, namely, that "what is unusual is more memorable than what is routine," these images become what Verdel A. Kolve calls the "governing image" of a text – the first image likely to come to mind as the listeners try to remember the content of what they heard.[64]

Not incidentally, the use of images that are bloody, violent, featuring intense colours, or "ornamented with crowns or purple cloaks" is a recurrent feature of Iavors'kyi's manuscript sermons, especially of his narrative *exempla* – the *exemplum* being, according to Carlo Delcorno, the equivalent "of the *imago agens*, which impresses itself in the memory of the hearer."[65] An example will help clarify this point. In the "Sermon on John the Baptist" (1697) and the "Sermon on the Intercession" (1694), he compares Christ to Trajan taking off his "imperial purple robe" ("tsezarskaia porfira") to heal one of his soldiers' wounds "mercilessly gushing with blood" ("kroviiu neshchadno plyvushchie").[66] The image, which addresses the *vis imaginativa* and the *memoria* of a listener in which biblical stories are stored together with notions of classical history, clearly applies the prescriptions of the *Ad Herennium* in relying on vivid colours (red, purple), opened wounds with flowing of blood, and exceptional characters and situations. One only has to compare Iavors'kyi's version of Trajan's story with its original recounting by Cassius Dio in the *Roman History* to understand the unmistakably Herennian shift in emphasis to blood and vivid colours: "[Trajan] saw many wounded on his own side … and when the bandages gave out, he is said not to have spared even his own clothing, but to have cut it up into strips."[67] Furthermore, although Trajan is not shown as "crowned" – another prescription of the *Ad Herennium* – his historical character does carry distinct royal implications, as the use of the adjective "tsezarskii" also makes clear.

The *Ad Herennium* recommends that intense colour, but also actual disfiguration ("si qua re deformabimus") and "certain comic effects" ("aut ridiculas res … adtribuamus"), must be assigned to images in order to ensure their recollection.[68] This is particularly evident in Iavors'kyi's "Sermon on the Nativity of Christ" (1695), where he compares Adam's sin toward God to a *muzhyk* slapping the king of Poland in his face ("v lanytu udaryl").[69] In this passage, physical violence and the unusual, almost comic detail of a peasant hitting the highest political personality of the country – a situation that seems to draw on the genre of the intermedia of Ukrainian school theatre – concur to make the

image memorable.[70] Built on a typically Baroque contrast between high and low planes, Iavors'kyi's *exemplum* is expected to "mark" one's memory just as the *muzhyk*'s muscular hand is supposed to leave a red trace on the king's cheeks – a choice that seems to draw on ancient and medieval notions of memory as a waxed tablet "wounded" by the stylus.[71]

The prescription of the *Ad Herennium* that in order to become memorable the ordinary must be distinctively "marked" is apparent also in the images that in Radyvylovs'kyi's "Sermon on Saint Andrew" describe the peculiar relationship God establishes with martyr saints. While the "lovers of this world" like to surround themselves with "coats of arms" ("herby") on which they engrave ("pechatuiut") different symbols to celebrate their glory, the body of the saints is the impresa on which God "prints" different sorrows ("kokhankove Khrista pechatuiutsia bidami, skorbami").[72] In the "Sermon on John the Baptist," Radyvylovs'kyi equally refers to the "visual" vocabulary of printing and engraving, as he draws a parallel between Christ and a seal that leaves on wax the images engraved on it ("pechat tye fihury na vosku vyrazhaet, kotorye na sebe maet").[73]

The language of mnemonic techniques permeates both passages. The waxed tablet upon which a person writes is, as seen above, a standard medieval trope for memory: Albertus Magnus, who derives the metaphor from Aristotle, compares memory to the impression of a signet ring on wax.[74] It is worth remarking that the practice of "inscribing" the body as a commemorative act is also encountered in Byzantine literature: a fourteenth-century homily by the Archbishop of Thessaloniki features the striking image of the souls appearing naked in front of the Lord during the Last Judgement, with their sins "tattooed" over their bodies. Members of the congregation should "engrave this memory in your heart as if on a tablet."[75] Drawing on this persistent cognitive archetype, one that goes back to classical antiquity, Radyvylovs'kyi thus turns the body of the saint into a surface on which memorial traces are inscribed as wounds and scars. Just as Christ did with his signet ring on John and Andrew, so would the listeners of the sermons impress the memory of it into their minds.

Putting the sermon in front of one's eyes: memory, *enargeia*, and meditation

In actively engaging the audience with procedures of mental imaging, these verbal pictures bring us to another important function of memory in preaching, one that deals with questions connected with sensation, imagination, and cognition – what Paolo Rossi calls the "speculative line" of the medieval treatment of memory.[76] As Carruthers has shown, medieval monastic culture conceived memory as an aid to composition but also as a "thinking machine" and a tool for meditation.[77] In particular, striking mental pictures such as the memory of the Passion or the sufferings of martyr saints would arouse strong feelings of love, fear, or extreme sadness, enabling the soul to begin the process of meditation, which is, in its essence, a creative act built upon remembered images.[78] Formal meditation falls into three parts that correspond to the three powers of the soul – memory, intellect, and will. The imagination forms the mental images necessary for thinking and these images, in turn, are impressed in the memory, which makes them accessible to the intellect and hence to the will.[79] The role of meditation as a particular activity of memory is evident from the peculiar medieval use of the verb "remember" to describe the act of meditating, as both activities imply making "mental pictures."[80] As

Frances Yates points out, behind the Scholastic revival of the Roman and Greek tradition of the arts of memory lay the devotional practice of “remembering Heaven and Hell” and therefore the moral obligation to meditate on the Last Things.[81] For instance, in his *Rhetorica novissima* (1235), the Bolognese rhetoric master Boncompagno da Signa invites the reader to remember “the invisible joys of Heaven” (“invisibilium gaudiorum paradisi”) and “the eternal punishments of hell” (“et eternarum penarum inferni”), which means that the faithful were to create vivid mental pictures of these two places and recollect them upon meditation.[82]

In a continuation of this tradition, which was destined to have significant influence also in the early modern period, Ukrainian preachers often use the memorable image as a point of departure for a process of meditation that entails the use of memory techniques. We have already seen that Iavors'kyi invites his listeners to “remember” (“pripomianim tolko sebe,” “vospomianim sobi”) a certain biblical passage in order to visualize it in the mind and meditate on its significance. The meditational potential of memory is apparent also in Radyvylovs'kyi’s “Sermon on Saint Barbara,” which makes use of the moralized version of memory recommended by Aquinas and foreshadowed by Boncompagno’s “remembrance of Heaven and hell.” In our memory, he argues, we store memories of the joys of eternal life in heaven (“zavaliuemo zapomnenem tsarstva nebesnoho, roskoshei eho i veselia vichnoho”) and eternal punishments in hell (“pekla, outraplenii eho i muk vichnykh”).[83] Such memories of the Four Last Things – a common feature of medieval monastic thought – are clearly intended to act on the emotions and stir the will to virtuous action, a point to which I shall return.

Apart from the use of the verb “to remember” as equivalent to “making mental pictures,” in our sermons, frequent exhortations to “behold” (“obachmo,” “vidite”) or “turn the eye of the mind to” (“prysmotrimosia umnymy ochyma,” “vozri umnym okom”) seem to imply a role for listeners and readers as ocular witnesses to the sacred characters they are expected to envision during meditation. For instance, in the “Sermon on the Dormition of the Theotokos” (1692), Iavors'kyi places before his listeners’ eyes (“vashym, slyshatelie, predstavlia ochesam”) the image of Mary of Egypt, inviting them to imagine (“pomyslite sobi”) the “deep pit” into which sin had cast her (“hlubokii hrikhovnii rov”).[84] He then exhorts his audience to look with their spiritual eyes (“dushevnymy ochyma”) at the Garden of Gethsemane and visualize the cast-down earth (“obachymo nyne raskopannuiu zemliu”) and Mary entering her own tomb (“oto i sama Mater nasha v toi raskopannyi spushchaetsia rov”) only to come out of the earth as the “fruitful vine” of Psalm 27.[85] Here Iavors'kyi clearly relies on his listeners’ ability to retrieve a certain episode from the complex of sacred narratives and religious images stored in their memories and use them as a point of departure for a lively meditation on those events. The descriptions of Mary of Egypt trapped in the pit of her own sins and the Virgin stepping into her grave have a distinctive dramatic quality that makes them another *imago agens* – a cognitive device designed to arouse the listeners’ emotions and lead them to repentance.

In summoning up in the mind the images required for meditation and prayer, both passages actualize the rhetorical technique of *enargeia*, which, according to Quintilian, “makes us seem not so much to narrate as to exhibit the actual scene, while our emotions will be no less actively stirred than if we were present at the actual occurrence.”[86] We can easily see the similarity between Iavors'kyi’s specific ability to put things into motion (“oto i sama Mater nasha v toi raskopannyi spushchaetsia rov”) and draw listeners outside

themselves, as in a theatre where they could contemplate sacred characters and events ("obachymo nyne …"), and the rhetorical technique Quintilian recommends to an orator preparing for court:

> Suppose I am presenting the case that a person has been murdered. Shall I not bring before my eyes all the circumstances which it is reasonable to imagine must have occurred on this occasion? Do I not see the murderer suddenly spring out? His victims tremble, cry for help, or try to flee? […][87]

Iavors'kyi, as well as the other Ukrainian literati, should have known Quintilian through Cypriano de Soarez, whose *De arte rhetorica* was a handy compilation of Cicero's, Quintilian's, and Aristotle's rhetorical works. In particular, the Tridentine rhetorical manuals that were popular in seventeenth-century Ukraine, such as Soarez's, place a special emphasis on the rhetorical technique of vividness (*enargeia* or *hypotyposis*), inviting orators to "depict the subject in all its colours, so that it stands before the eyes."[88] The idea, which draws on Aristotle's theory of imagination (*phantasia*) in *De Anima*, a text regularly taught at the Kyiv College, is that vivid images make discourse more memorable as memory belongs to the same part of the soul as imagination.[89]

The vivid recreation of the "circumstances which it is reasonable to imagine must have occurred" along with the depiction of the subject "in all its colours," so that the audience could paint a similar scene in their imagination and store it in their memories for future meditation, inform also Iavors'kyi's "Sermon on the Beheading of John the Baptist" (1694). Here Iavors'kyi asks his listeners to "go with their thoughts to Golgotha" ("poidem tolko mysliami nashymy na Holhofu") and listen to Christ's bloodied mouth ("uslyshym ot okrovavlennykh Khrystovykh ust") as he utters the words "I'm thirsty, I'm thirsty" ("zhazhdu zhazhdu").[90] This passage commands attention. First, listeners are expected to use memories from their reading of the Gospel to recreate their own "mental Golgotha" and use it as a theatre for a meditation on Christ's sufferings. Iavors'kyi is very clear in stressing the exclusively mental nature of this "journey" ("poidem *tolko mysliami nashymi*" – emphasis mine), which thus has to rely on the creative aspect of the audience's imagination – Aristotle's *phantasia*. Second, Christ's mouth stained with blood, begging the listener for some water ("zhazhdu zhazhdu"), is clearly another memory image: it activates different senses (sight, hear, taste, and possibly smell) while eliciting the mental and emotional sensations of pain and compassion that would help initiate the process of meditation.[91]

In this respect, the invitation to insert oneself as a participant in the scene of the Passion and perform actively with Christ or the Virgin Mary is a commonplace of late medieval meditation on the Passion (and in particular of the pseudo-Bonaventurian *Meditationes Vitae Christi*) as well as of the Ignatian *compositio loci*.[92] In the *Spiritual Exercises*, which Iavors'kyi must have read during his studies in Polish Jesuit colleges, Ignatius recommends using the standard triad of psychic faculties (memory, intellect, and will) to see the place where Jesus or Mary are situated, to hear what they are saying or could be saying, to taste and smell their sweetness.[93] Luis de la Puente's *Meditationes* (1605), which follows Ignatian prescriptions in identifying memory as the first stage of meditation ("memoria qua Deum representat, mysterium praecurrit, fidem excitat"), was also among the books in Iavors'kyi's library.[94]

Deeply rooted in Tridentine rhetoric and in early modern devotional practices, the connection between memory, meditation, and the rhetorical technique of *enargeia* is also

evident in Iavors'kyi's "Sermon on the Annunciation" (1695). Here listeners are invited to "remember" ("predstavliaiuchi sebe na vospominanie") Christ's Passion and use it as a focal image for a meditation on their own death. In a triumph of Baroque excess, the preacher exhorts his audience to visualize their own tomb ("predstavliaiuchi sebe pred ochi hrob"), see the "insatiable worms" ("nenasytnye chervi") feast on their corpse, and smell the putrid smell ("hnoinoe zlosmradie").[95] Like Christ's "bloodied mouth" in the Sermon on John the Baptist, Iavors'kyi's tomb – a most personal *memento mori* – has the synesthetic qualities that characterize medieval advice manuals in making memory pictures. It includes taste, odour, and touch, but also the emotions (fear, displeasure) and the extreme ugliness recommended by the *Ad Herennium*, thus initiating the intense feelings that would enable the process of meditation. In both sermons, the use of the verb " to remember" for two places (Golgotha and one's own grave) one could not have visited also points to the Aristotelian notion of imagination and its faculty to call to mind something we have seen in the past, and, by combining such memories, invent the image of an object we have never known.

The use of the rhetorical technique of imaginative vividness (*enargeia*) to create a *locus memoriae* and a fictive stage for meditation occupies a central place also in Galiatovs'kyi's "Sermon on Christ's Passion," which opens another important window on the relationship of Ukrainian sermons with memory techniques and the rich background of meditative literature. If we want to know how the Lord suffered for us, Galiatovs'kyi argues, we have to *look* ("hliadimo") at his head and *observe* ("obachymo") the crown of thorns. Our gaze should then go down to his cheeks ("lanity"), to the wound on his side ("hliadimo na bok Khrystov, obachymo zhe est kopieiu probity"), and to the nails on his hands ("hliadimo na ruky, obachymo zhe sut' hvozdmi probyty").[96] When he arrives at the feet ("hliadimo na nohy"), he invites his listeners/readers to look once again, this time at the whole body of Christ: "hliadimo eshche na vse tilo Khrystovo: obachymo zhe vse tilo Khrystovo!"[97]

Figure 3. Ioanykii Galiatovs'kyi, *Kliuch Razuminia*. L'viv: Drukarnia Mykhaila Sl'ozky, 1665. Engraving preceding the Sermon on the Passion of Christ. Courtesy of the Vernads'kyi National Library of Ukraine. http://www.irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/cgi-bin/irbis_ir/cgiirbis_64.exe?S21CNR=20&S21STN=1&S21REF=2&C21COM=S&I21DBN=ELIB&P21DBN=ELIB&S21All=%3C.%3EID%3D0001260%3C.%3E&&S21FMT=fullwebr

The emphasis on vision is central to this passage: the sermon makes Christ's body present to the listeners' eyes, describing it part by part, from top to bottom. This description owes a substantial debt in its general design to medieval meditations on the Passion, which often entailed a part-by-part approach to Christ's suffering body.[98] Here the meditation on Christ's physical sufferings is equally structured as a sequential movement, until the entire body can be envisioned as a whole.

Carruthers has compared such fragmentation of an image to the process commonly used in medieval monastic meditation of memorizing large amounts of biblical texts by dividing them and placing them into grid systems: monks would match the biblical quotations they wished to remember with the different parts of a certain picture and use it as a "memory diagram."[99] Using a similar compositional technique, Galiatovs'kyi attaches a biblical quotation to each of Christ's wounded parts, one that establishes an analogical relationship between Old and New Testament. Thus God cursing Adam in Genesis 3:17–18 ("thorns and also thistles shall it bring forth to thee") becomes a prefiguration of the crown of thorns he would wear on his head, while the water coming out of the rock in Exodus 17 anticipates the soldier piercing his side in John 19, when "water and blood" poured out of it.[100] In the tradition of the medieval *ars memorativa*, Christ's body becomes a virtual space – a memory diagram – and one that readers/listeners can journey through in the process of meditation; indeed, the emotional route through the things in one's memory represents one of the techniques of medieval monastic meditation.[101] Each station of this route is "marked" by a specific quotation from the Bible, with the different wounds on Christ's body acting as "striking" memory cues for recollecting them.

Vision (observing Christ's body, part by part) and recollection (memorizing a set of biblical passages) are thus strictly linked. Although Galiatovs'kyi does not specify if the observation he prescribes requires the presence of an actual image, we can assume that some of his listeners/readers would use a physical image of Christ placed in their house or in the church where the sermon was delivered to help the "eye of the mind" initiate the process of internal visualization. In particular, the invitation to move sequentially through Christ's body from head to feet would suggest the evocation of a Crucifixion image, which, not incidentally, prefaces the sermon under analysis in the L'viv printed edition of *Kliuch razuminiia* (1665) (Figure 3).[102] A similar engagement with the audience's visual literacy can be seen in Radyvylovs'kyi's "Sermon on the Nativity of the Theotokos," which invites listeners/readers to look at Mary's body part by part from top to bottom ("poizrysh na dvery ust eia ... na ochy ... na rutsi ... na chrevo") and consider her virtues.[103] Again, it is not clear if this process of meditation must begin with a physical work of art: as in the case of Galiatovs'kyi, one can easily assume that, while delivering the sermon, the preacher could have drawn his listeners' attention to an icon of Mary present in the church. However, in the absence of a concrete image, Radyvylovs'kyi's listeners/readers would have relied on their power to recollect visual prototypes of Mary stored in their memory, which would have formed the mental pictures necessary for thought and meditation.

If we now go back to Galiatovs'kyi's Passion sermon, we will see that the link between memory, vision, and meditation becomes more explicit in its final part. There the preacher invites his listeners to "draw in their memory" ("narysuimo na pamiati svoei") – or on the "tablet" ("tsegla") of one's memory – the city of Jerusalem ("misto Ierusalyma") and the

different places that were the theatre of Christ's passion.[104] Like in the part-by-part description of Christ's body on the cross, the aim is to recreate a sacred topography for subsequent meditation where each place is associated to a wound, or a physical offence on Christ's body. Thus Christ walked bound through "the streets and doorways of Jerusalem" ("ulitsy i bramy Ierusalyma"), received the crown of thorns in the Praetorium ("ratush Ierusalymskii"), and was humiliated during his ascent "to Golgotha" ("na Holhofi").[105] The analogies with the prescriptions of the *ars memorativa*, and in particular with the *Ad Herennium* system of places and images, are quite evident, as is the old topos that memorizing means writing on a surface. More important, Galiatovs'kyi is teaching his audience one of the basic principles of medieval and early modern meditation, namely that meditating on a text – in this case the Gospel narrative of Christ's Passion – means to re-experience it in the memory through a set of mental images.

The conflation of meditational practices with the architectural memory described in the *Ad Herennium* likewise dominates Iavors'kyi's unfinished sermon on Christ's five wounds ("Tisnyi i pryskorbnyi put' imushchym Khrysta Spasytelia Strazhdushchaho in illud Canticorum 3"), a text pronounced at the Kyiv Brotherhood Monastery in 1695 (the text that came down to us is incomplete). Elaborating on the kinetic subtext of the biblical quotation opening the sermon, "I will rise now, and go about the city in the streets" (Song of Songs 3:2), the preacher asks his listeners if anyone has ever visited Jerusalem ("chy byval z vas kto v Ierusalymi?"). Assuming that no one has ("tak rozumiiu zhe nikto"), he goes on to invite them to "go around the whole city" ("obyidem ves hrad Ierusalymskii") by a "mental route" ("umnym shestviem"), and "walk the streets" ("khodym po ulitsam") that Christ painted red with his blood ("svoeiu zafarboval kroviiu"). Thus he draws on the notion of "peregrination" from place to place, which is at the core of any *ars meditandi*.[106]

At this point, it should not be difficult to see the similarities between the sermons we have examined in this section. Heaven and hell, Golgotha, one's own tomb, the "pit of sin" of Mary of Egypt, or the locations of Jerusalem where Christ's Passion took place are mental images constructed on the basis of different "cognitive pictures" stored in the listeners' memories and reassembled by their imagination to fashion an unknown place (although Jerusalem might well be known to some people). Here one may recall Augustine's famous example of how mental images work. As he argues in *De Trinitate*, he could picture in his mind Alexandria, which he had never seen, by relying on the creative aspects of his imagination and on his memory of Carthage, which he knew.[107] Similarly, we can assume that each listener/reader of these sermons would see the city of Jerusalem, his or her own tomb, or Heaven and Hell in terms of what they had experienced in real life, in their readings, or in their observation of works of art. In this respect, the mental images constructed by one person could be different from that of another, as they would rely on different individual memories. However, what is important here is less the personal than the cognitive value of these "memories," their function as visual cues designed to elicit feelings such as guilt and terror, or love and compassion.

The point I wish to stress is that, even as these sermons do not invite a disciplined, structured process of meditation, they do elaborate on the interrelated notions of memory, visualization, and movement through an image – Iavors'kyi's "umnoe shestvie" – that are central to medieval and early modern meditation. As seen above, Christ's body parts, or the streets of Jerusalem, function as the different cognitive "stations" in one's meditational route, with each station made more memorable by the association with a

"striking" image such as a wound or a physical humiliation endured by Christ. Iavors'kyi even "marks" his mental topography of Jerusalem with Christ's blood ("po ulitsam … kotorye Khrystos svoieiu zafarboval kroviiu"), thus literally applying the *Ad Herennium* prescription that something stays longer in the memory if we "smear it with red paint" or "stain it with blood." Knowledge of these commonplaces could have come to Ukrainian preachers from intermediary sources, such as other sermons, but it is also likely that they were familiar with devotional literature on the Passion – or, in the case of Iavors'kyi, with Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* – from which they drew some specific details.

Remembering the past to be better in the future: memory and ethics

In these sermons, the use of vernacular Ukrainian suggests that the cultivation of memory for devotional purposes was being recommended to laymen as a pious exercise and that the visualization of sacred scenes was something preachers expected people to be able to do, using the full spectrum of rhetorical techniques – and especially *enargeia* – to help initiate this process. Indeed, the interconnection between memory, visualization, and meditation was already common in other Ukrainian books designed for priests and pious laymen. Petro Mohyla's *Trebnyk* (Book of Needs) (Kyiv, 1646) prescribes that, while preparing for the ministration of the Lord's Supper, the priest must meditate on Christ's Passion ("prilezhno da tshchitsia, ezhe snabdeti sebe ot razmyshleniia strastii gospodnikh"), visualizing the moment when "one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side" (John 19:34) – a mental exercise clearly based on one's memory of the sacred text.[108] Similarly, the introduction to Mohyla's new missal, the *Leiturgiarion*, printed in Kyiv in 1629, advised priests to imagine themselves present at the Passion and see Christ suffer with their "eyes, mind, and memory" ("ochesem, umom, i pamiatem").[109] Frequent appeals to memory appear also in the manuals for confession that were printed in the Hetmanate during the second half of the seventeenth century. The anonymous *Nauka o taine sviatoho pokaianiia* (1671) invites penitents to commit either to memory ("v pamiat sobi vozmet") or to the written page a detailed record of their sins, while Galiatovs'kyi's *Hrikhy rozmaitii* (1685) refers to one's conscience as a "book," a traditional medieval metaphor for memory and a reference to self-examination as a memorial practice.[110]

This pervasiveness of memory as a pious practice brings us to our last question: why is it so important to remember? According to Aristotle, imagination, which, as seen above, belongs to the same part of the intellect as memory, plays an important role in regulating moral conduct: it produces images of things past as well as images related to future events, and, in doing this, it can move the will to initiate, or not initiate, courses of action.[111] In Yates's example, "an image to remind one of a wolf's form will also contain the *intentio* that the wolf is a dangerous animal from which it would be wise to flee."[112] Aquinas and Albertus further developed the Aristotelian notion of memory as a "moral habit" by making it one of the three parts of the virtue of prudence (memory, intellect, and foresight) as described in Cicero's *De inventione*: memory recalls the past; intelligence is concerned with the present; while foresight sees that "something is going to occur before it occurs."[113] In Cesare Ripa's influential *Iconologia* (Rome, 1593), a book widely popular among Ukrainian literati, memory

Figure 4. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, translated into French by Jean Baudoin, 1643 edition. Allegory image. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ripa_-_Iconologie_-_1643_-_p._160_-_prudence.jpg

is represented as a woman with two faces, for she embraces all things past and, through the virtue of prudence, all things future.[114] The implications for ethics are obvious: the memory of past sins or the foresight of future punishment can lead the will to penance and to virtuous (prudent) behaviour.

This moral aspect of memory is crucial to all our examples. Radyvylovs'kyi's injunction to "remember Heaven and Hell," Iavors'kyi's invitation to recollect Christ's suffering at Golgotha, or the image of Christ impressing his sign into the martyr's body are clearly designed to generate an emotional response leading to virtuous action. In fact, the act of sacred recollection is less about the past than it is about the present and the future: looking for exemplary models and events in the past (in the storage box of one's memory) should persuade the listener to embrace the principles of Christian life in the present in order to gain personal salvation in the afterlife. Similarly, inscribing the city of Jerusalem and the drama of Christ's Passion into "the tablets of one's memory" would increase the audience's understanding of Christ's humanity and its capacity for compassion, a notion that is central to the development of the virtue necessary for a good life.

I will clarify this point with one final example from Iavors'kyi's "Sermon on the Nativity of Christ" (1695), a text in which the Scholastic connection between memory and prudence – and therefore the ethical dimension of recollection – is particularly evident. Using

the classic distinction made by Aquinas between the sacrament as *signum rememorativum* (a sign that recalls the past), *signum demonstrativum* (a sign that makes manifest the present), and *signum prognosticum* (a sign that prophesies the future), Iavors'kyi describes the newly born Christ as a "sign" of things "past, present, and future": "Mladenets est znameniem i vospomynatelnym, i iziavytelnym i predvozvestytelnym."[115] More specifically, as a *signum rememorativum* ("znamenie vospomynatelnoe"), Christ reminds us of Adam's sin, as a *signum demonstrativum* ("znamenie iziavytelnoe") he shows us God's love, while as a *signum prognosticum* ("znamenie predvozvestytelnoe") he warns us about the Last Judgement.

Iavors'kyi's "semiotic" approach to the mystery of the Incarnation clearly addresses the three basic meanings of prudence explained by Cicero in the *De inventione* (memory, intellect, and foresight) and, in particular, the notion of memory as a moral habit that makes moral judgement possible. If one of the main tenets of prudence – in the Ciceronian and Scholastic sense – is that our calculations about the future should be based on knowledge of past events, then memory of past things (Adam's sin) generates experience. Experience gives rise to ethical judgement in the present (the awareness of God's love) and the ability to make wise decisions about the future (prepare oneself for the Last Judgement and gain salvation). Therefore, Christ himself becomes an emblem of Prudence, which, following a medieval tradition, seventeenth-century emblem books represented looking to the past, present, and future (Figure 4).[116] By conflating Christ with Cicero's and Aquinas's *prudentia*, Iavors'kyi gives a complex intellectual treatment to an aspect that, as seen above, is pivotal to all our sermons: the foundational role of memory – memory of the past, of the Bible and other sacred narratives – in (re)structuring one's character and stimulating virtuous Christian behaviour. Once the readers/listeners transfer the mental pictures contained in the sermons to their memories, they will be stored there as an ethical device, ideally guiding their future judgement – *impressed* on it, as Christ's signet ring impressed its message on John and Andrew.

Conclusions

Mary Carruthers has argued that medieval culture "was fundamentally memorial."[117] Our study has suggested that this memorial culture persisted into the early modern age and was an important part of the preaching culture of seventeenth-century Ukraine, for reasons that have to do with the orality of the medium but also with the identification of memory with cognition, meditation, and the ability to make ethical judgements. Images within the sermon thus functioned as mnemonic devices intended to help preachers in the process of invention and delivery but also to stimulate readers to create intellectual and emotional associations that would stay in the mind long after the sermon was delivered.

In his influential study on Augustine, Brian Stock has argued that medieval meditative practices – and the specific recollections that are their point of departure – had the primary goal of "refashioning" the Self and its ethical values.[118] Similarly, our sermons embark on a programme of spiritual reform of their audience that involves a restructuring of memory for religious purposes. Their images had to be stored in the memory for future use in the moral task of living a good Christian life – the final goal of those who use memory as a part of the virtue of Prudence.

In doing this, Ukrainian preachers did not adhere to any particular mnemonic scheme, but they rather synthesized different traditions, especially the pseudo-Ciceronian and Aristotelian doctrines. Thus, mnemonic schemes of medieval origin (allegorical buildings, zodiac signs, parts of the body, and so forth) combine with the Baroque art of persuasion that called on the orator to affect the listeners' passions and emotions with vivid images (*enargeia*). Medieval meditative practices of visualizing the Passion – and possibly their adaptation by Loyola – also spilled into these sermons, reinforcing an already existing connection between memory and vision.

Unfortunately, we lack a systematic treatment of the memorial arts in Byzantium. While the use of the arts of memory by Ukrainian literati must have certainly included Byzantine sources and techniques (either directly or indirectly), as well as the typically Byzantine emphasis on visual perception, much future work remains to be done in order to uncover the interaction "between East and West" within this specific field. In the meantime, I hope to have given a useful glimpse into the possible ways of remembering, imagining, and seeing in the religious culture of early modern Ukraine.

Notes

1. On the art of memory in the West, see Yates, *Art of Memory*; Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*; Carruthers, *Book of Memory*; Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*. On memory and the art of preaching in the Late Middle Ages, see Bolzoni, *Web of Images*; and Rivers, *Preaching the Memory*.
2. For a preliminary overview of Byzantine memorial practices, see Papalexandrou, "Memory Culture of Byzantium." For an exploration of the connection between dissimulation, oblivion, and the memory arts in early modern Poland–Lithuania, see Ivanova and Viise, "Dissimulation and Memory."
3. The manuscript copies are found in: Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Archiv [Russian State Historical Archive; henceforth RGIA] f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, ll. 1–1792 ob. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.
4. For an overview of the changing social and political landscape of seventeenth-century Ukraine, see Iakovenko, *Narys istorii* and Plokhy, *Cossacks and Religion*.
5. Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, 5.
6. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 3.
7. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.16.29; Caplan, 209.
8. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 9–10.
9. Ibid., 77–8; Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 153; Rivers, *Preaching the Memory*, 3.
10. Aristotle, *De memoria et reminiscentia*, 449b31–450a1; quoted in Yates, *Art of Memory*, 32–3.
11. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 85.
12. Rivers, *Preaching the Memory*, 5.
13. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 70.
14. Minnis, "Medieval Imagination and Memory," 272; Carruthers and Ziolkowsky, *Medieval Craft of Memory*, 28.
15. Established in 1632 by Petro Mohyla, who conceived it as an institution of higher education, the school was initially granted the status of a college. In 1694 and 1701, two tsarist charters, issued by Ivan V and Peter I respectively, recognized its *de facto* and *de jure* status as an academy. See also Charipova, *Latin Books*, 56.
16. See Iosif Kononovych Horbatskyi's *Orator Mohileanus Marcii Tullii Ciceronis apparatissimis partitionis exculutus* (1635–36) and Ioasaf Krokovs'kyi's *Disputationes per consonam dispositionem Organi Aristotelici traditae et Roxolanae juventuti in Collegio KijovoMohilaeano resolutae; tradita et per sententias sapientium doctorum menti Aristotelis annuentium explicate anno 1686*. In Stratii, Lytvynov, and Andrushko, *Opisanie kursov*, 11, 173.

17. On Iavors'kyi's life and works, see Ternovskii, "Mitropolit Stefan Iavorskii"; and Samarin, *Stefan Iavorskii*. On the importance of the *Ad Herennium* for Ignatius and other Spanish Jesuits, see de la Flor, *Teatro de la memoria*, 83–5, 120–2.
18. Galiatovs'kyi was educated at the Kyiv College. From 1657, he served as its rector and hegumen of the Kyiv Epiphany Brotherhood Monastery. From 1669, he was archimandrite of the Elets'kyi Dormition Monastery in Chernihiv. A renowned orator, he also penned the first East Slavic treatise explaining the theory of baroque sermons (*Nauka, albo sposob zlozhenia kazania*, printed as an appendix of *Kliuch razuminiia*), a collection of Marian miracles (*Nebo novoe*), and several polemical treatises in Polish against the Uniate Church, Judaism, and Islam (*Łabędź z piórami swemi …*; *Alphabetum rozmaitym Heretykom; Alkoran Machometow*). Unlike Galiatovs'kyi and his other contemporaries, Lazar Baranovych (1620–93) and Inokentii Gizel' (died 1683), who cultivated different literary genres, Radyvylovs'kyi is known first and foremost as the official preacher at the Kyiv Caves Monastery, where he was ordained as an archimandrite in 1656. His two major homiletic works, *Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsy* and *Vinets Khrystov*, were composed in vernacular Ukrainian and testify to his extensive reading of Western books, a trait he shares with Galiatovs'kyi. The classic study on the life and work of Radyvylovs'kyi is Markovskii, *Antonii Radivilovskii*. On Galiatov'skyi see Iakovenko, *U poshukakh novoho neba*, which includes a meticulous reconstruction of the books quoted by Galiatovs'kyi in his works.
19. On the philosophical and theological curriculum of the Mohyla College, see Symchych, "Kyevo-Mohylians'kyi arystotelizm"; Pitch, "Tractatus de anima Inokentiia Gizelia"; Cracraft, "Theology at the Kyiv Academy."
20. Gizel', *Vybrani tvory*, 2: 298, 348.
21. Maslov, *Biblioteka Stefana Iavorskogo*, n. 164.
22. da San Gimignano, *Universum praedicabile sive Summa*, 526. The *Summa* was probably composed between 1298 and 1314, while the first printed edition appeared in 1477 (Dondaine, "La vie et les oeuvres de Jean de San Gimignano"). For a description of its section on memory, see Yates, *Art of Memory*, 85; Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, 14.
23. Iavorskii, *Ritoricheskaia ruka*, 83. On memory as a thesaurus, see Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 38.
24. On *Ritoricheskaia ruka* and Soarez, see Uhlenbruch, "Rhetorica slavica – Rhetorica latina."
25. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*; Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*.
26. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 33.
27. Ibid., 22; Radyvylovs'kyi, *Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsy*, хпв; Ibid., ψиг. In *De Trinitate*, Augustine uses the three powers of the soul (memory, intelligence, and will) as an analogy of the Trinity. See *De Trinitate* X.11–12 (*Patrologia Latina* 42, cols. 980–4).
28. Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, X.8.12.
29. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 45.
30. Iavorskii, *Vynograd Khrystov*, second unnumbered leaf of the dedicatory epistle, recto.
31. Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, X.11.18. On memory as a recess, or a storage chest see Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 51.
32. See, for instance, "Propovid' na prazdnyk Preslavnoho Uspeniia" (1694), RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 469; "Nova metaphora … Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in crastinum Resurrectionis Christi Annuntiatae" (1695), RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 384 ob. I am grateful to Maksym Iaremenko and Tetiana Kuzyk for providing me with transcriptions of Iavors'kyi's manuscript sermons.
33. See Rivers, *Preaching the Memory*, 7.
34. Galiatovs'kyi, *Kliuch Razuminiia*, рч verso.
35. Ibid., рча–рчв recto.
36. Ibid., рчг verso. On chelidonium see, "it is by the aid of this plant [chelidonium] that the swallow restores the sight of the young birds in the nest." Pliny, *Natural History*, XXV, 50.
37. Galiatovs'kyi, *Kliuch*, рчs recto. For the original description of the caladrius, which was later incorporated by other bestiaries, including Albertus' *De animalibus*, see *Physiologus latinus*, 15–16.
38. On this point, see Carruthers, "Poet as Master Builder," 881–2.

39. On Quintilian's memory advice in his *Institutio oratoria*, see Yates, *Art of Memory*, 25; Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 92.
40. See Bolzoni, *Web of Images*, 117–35. Reproductions of this image can be found in Carruthers, "Ars oblivionalis, ars inveniendi," 105–6.
41. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 24; Carruthers and Ziolkowski, *Medieval Craft of Memory*, 43.
42. On Iavors'kyi's interest in astrology and occult philosophy, see Collis, *Petrine Instauration*, 211–69.
43. "Hrozd zdrilyi michnym urizaniem otsichennyi . . .," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 861.
44. Ibid.
45. "Propovid' na prazdnyk Preslavnoho Uspeniia," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 467 ob.
46. "Natalis dies B. Mariae seu Imieniny przy pożądanym Bogarodzicy Narodzeniu," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 305 ob.
47. On this point, see Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 179.
48. "Concio de septe columnis Virginis," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 293 ob.
49. On this funeral panegyric, see Erdmann, *Heraldische Funeralpanegyrik des ukrainischen Barock*.
50. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 81.
51. On mnemonic schemes based on the human body, see Richter Sherman, *Writing on Hands.*
52. Luke 10:30–37. All Scripture quotations are taken from the King James Version unless otherwise noted. The numeration of the Psalms follows the Greek numbering, as in the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic liturgical tradition.
53. Radyvylovs'kyi, *Vinets Khrystov*, ткв.
54. Ibid.
55. On the medieval connection between sins and parts of the body, see Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*.
56. Ibid., 77, 177.
57. Izquierdo, *Praxis exercitiorum spiritualium*, 42.
58. "Triplex consolatio a Sanctissima Trinitate sermo," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 140 ob.
59. Acts 2:3.
60. Aristotle, *De memoria et reminiscentia*, 450b 10–11.
61. Gizel', *Vybrani tvory*, 2: 348.
62. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 3.22.37; Caplan, 220–1.
63. Ibid.
64. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 168. For the notion of "governing image," see Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative and Telling Images*.
65. Delcorno, *Exemplum e letteratura*, 10.
66. "Gratiosissima super Iordane apparitio Domini Nostri Iesu Christi quia cum Gratia Ioanne Baptista," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 44; "Blahosinnyyi vsikh virnykh Pokrov . . .," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 636.
67. Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, VIII.68.
68. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 3.22.37.
69. "Signum triplex in caelo Bethleemitico rememorativum, demonstrativum et prognosticum," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 2 ob.
70. According to Jean Philippe Antoine ("Ancora sulle Virtù"), who analyzes several fourteenth- and fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts, the arrangement of human figures involved in some unusual activities is a sign that the images are to be used mnemonically.
71. For this trope, which has its first explicit use in Plato's *Theaetetus*, and soon found its way into works by Cicero, Quintilian, Aristotle, and Augustine, see Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 24.
72. Radyvylovs'kyi, *Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsy*, хмг.
73. Ibid., фге.
74. Aristotle, *De memoria et reminiscentia*, 450a 25.
75. Papalexandrou, "Memory Culture of Byzantium," 111.
76. Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, 12.
77. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*.
78. Ibid., 95–103.

79. Martz, *Poetry of Meditation*, 38.
80. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 186.
81. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 59, 94.
82. Boncompagno da Signa, *Rhetorica novissima*, 8.1. Quoted in Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 297.
83. Radyvylovs'kyi, *Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsy*, хпв.
84. "Miraculum. Dyvnoe chudo istochnyk zhyzni v hrobe polozhennyi. Super hymnum ecclesiasticum O dyvnoe chudo," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 459.
85. Ibid., 461 recto.
86. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, VI.2.32.
87. Ibid.
88. Fumaroli, "Définition et description." On the importance of *enargeia* in early modern – and especially Tridentine – rhetorics, see also Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric*, 199.
89. Aristotle, *De Anima* III, 3, 427a–429a.
90. "Hrozd zdrilyi . . .," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 863 ob.
91. See Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 75.
92. See McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, 106–10; Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*, 108, 200.
93. de Loyola, *Exercitia Spiritualia*.
94. Luis de la Puente, *Meditationes*, 5; Maslov, *Biblioteka Stefana Iavorskago*, n. 165. A 1645 Vilnius edition of de la Puente's *Meditationes* is also found among the books bearing ownership inscriptions that mention the Mohyla College. See Charipova, *Latin Books*, 193.
95. "Nova metaphora . . . Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in crastinum Resurrectionis Christi Annuntiatae," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 388 ob.
96. Galiatovs'kyi, *Kliuch Razuminiia*, о verso-ов verso.
97. Ibid., ог recto.
98. On this point see Areford, *Viewer and the Printed Image*, 234.
99. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 147.
100. Galiatovs'kyi, *Kliuch Razuminiia*, оа recto.
101. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 254.
102. In the Kyiv edition (1659) of *Kliuch Razuminiia*, an engraving of the Deposition of Christ – an iconographic choice that equally displays the body in its entirety – prefaces this sermon.
103. Radyvylovs'kyi, *Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsy*, yei.
104. Galiatovs'kyi, *Kliuch*, од.
105. Ibid.
106. "Tisnyi i pryskorbnyi put' imushchym Khrysta Spasytelia Strazhdushchaho in illud Canticorum 3," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 1221. On the notion of spiritual peregrination and meditation, see Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 254.
107. *De Trinitate* X, 6 (*Patrologia Latina* 42, col. 955).
108. Mohyla, *Eukhologion*, ске.
109. Mohyla, *Sluzhebnyk*, ѳ.
110. Gizel', *Nauka*, г verso; Galiatovs'kyi, *Hrikhy rozmaitii*, к recto.
111. Aristotle, *De Anima*, 431b. See Minnis, "Medieval Imagination and Memory," 240–1.
112. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 61.
113. Cicero, *De inventione*, II, 53, 160.
114. Ripa, *Iconologia*, 166.
115. "Signum triplex in caelo Bethleemitico rememorativum, demonstrativum et prognosticum," RGIA f. 834, op. 2, d. 1592, l. 1 ob. Aquinas's threefold distinction can be read in *Summa Theologiae*, III, q. 60, a. 3.
116. Ripa, *Iconologia*, 224 refers to Prudence as a woman "with two faces" and a mirror in her hand, as this virtue arises from the simultaneous consideration of things past, present, and future. For three-eyed Prudence in the Middle Ages, see Mâle, *L'art religieux*, 321.
117. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 9.
118. Stock, *After Augustine*, 16–17.

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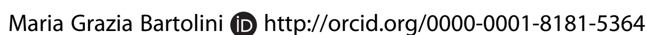
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